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PERFORMING IMMOBILITY: THE INDIVIDUAL-
COLLECTIVE BODY AND THE REPRESENTATION
OF CONFINED SUBJECTIVITIES IN
CONTEMPORARY PALESTINIAN THEATRE

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Since the signing of the Oslo Accords (1993-1995) and the outbreak of the Second Intifada (2000), an increasing system of movement restrictions and closure has been imposed over the population of the occupied Palestinian territories. These different technologies of occupation, like the Wall, the system of permanent check-points, the prison system or the blockade of Gaza, have had an impact on the everyday lives of the Palestinian population. Their understanding of their life choices and their own identities is therefore mediated by the immobility imposed by the Israeli occupation. Theatre is a form of art in which space has a central role and the use of space by Palestinian theatre groups and practitioners can reveal different social dynamics. I am interested in understanding if –and how– the movement restrictions imposed over the Palestinian population, understood in physical, psychological and social terms, have had an impact and changed the embodied narratives of identity and the use of space in dramatic production. I argue that Palestinian dramatic production in the last decades has focused on a political representation of immobility, portraying an increasing tension between narratives of individual and collective experience. Theatre favours representations of individual stories over the kind of political theatre from the previous decades, focused on national cohesion and collective action. In this sense, theatre becomes a mobilizer agent by speaking to the collective through the shared individual experiences. This process is also a gendered process, in which the role of the female body needs to be taken into account. Besides, contemporary Palestinian theatre needs to be located in an increasingly interconnected international scene. Theatre production has been included in the strategies of international development agencies in Palestine. This trend has meant a growing presence of Palestinian theatre in international circuits, while at the same time, these international encounters might produce a counterproductive dependence on external funding that can affect theatre's efficacy as a political and social tool.

A mis padres, por confiar siempre en mí.

*'In the state of siege, time becomes space
Transfixed in its eternity
In the state of siege, space becomes time
That has missed its yesterday and its tomorrow'*

Under Siege - Poem by Mahmoud Darwish

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In terms of translation, some of the plays were translated by the groups, which had toured internationally and therefore had the plays translated to provide to foreign donors and theatres in most cases to be used as supertitles during the performances for international audiences. This was the case of Alkasaba's *The Wall*, Freedom Theatre's *The Island* or Ashtar Theatre's *Richard II* and *I am Jerusalem*. In other cases, like *Keffiyeh/Made in China*, the play was written and produced originally in English, which is why I focus on the English text. In some cases, the groups provided the script and recording in Arabic, as in the case of Al-Harah's *Confinement* and *The House of Yasmine* (co-production with Ashtar Theatre), the Freedom Theatre's *Suicide Note* or Al-Midan's *A Parallel Timeline*; in those cases the translation to English was done by the author, with the help of native speaker Heitham Talahmeh and professional translator Ahmed Sukker.

For the transliteration of the Arabic names and lines of the script I have used the system of Arabic transliteration as outlined in the guidelines of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES) transliteration system. Where names of people and places have standardised spellings in English, the IJMES system of diacritics has been dispensed with. In the case of the theatre titles, all the titles of the plays were translated into English by the theatre groups; however, I have done a transliteration of the Arabic titles for the sake of giving a more detailed account of the plays.

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The establishment of the state of Israel in May 1948, with the endorsement of the United Nations General Assembly, is known as the ‘Nakba’ (the Catastrophe) by the Arab Palestinian population that inhabited Mandatory Palestine¹. It is commemorated by Palestinians to remember the displacement prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948. That date marked the beginning of the Palestinian exile and fragmentation, and 65 years of endless conflict (Kramer 2011, 323). More than 750,000 people were evicted from their houses and sought refuge in the neighbouring Arab countries and in other areas of Mandatory Palestine². The ‘occupation’ of Palestine³ formally started in the aftermath of the 1967 ‘Six Days War’⁴ between Israel and Egypt, Jordan and Syria, whereupon Israel took control of the Gaza Strip and started a policy of settlement in the West Bank (Farsakh 2008, 10).

In 1993-1995 Israel and Palestine signed, under the auspices of the United States, the Oslo Accords, which introduced a new era for the Palestinian population. The photo of the handshake between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Yasser Arafat went around the world, marking the beginning of a more ‘pragmatic form of Palestinian Nationalism’⁵ (Danin 2011, 1), which involved the elite’s engagement in the construction of a Palestinian nation-state. The Oslo Accords created a Palestinian National Authority (PNA) on the basis of a pre-existing system of secular and religious elites⁶, pushing Palestine towards an increasingly fragmented political landscape: ‘the Oslo Accords dealt a heavy blow to Palestinian national unity and effectively ruptured Palestinian national consensus’ (Ibrahim 2011, 61). Not only the presence of political Islam and the rise of the Islamic party Hamas, but also the opposition to the Accords by other PLO factions (Hilal 2010, 26) enhanced internal political divisions. Therefore, the Accords meant another rupture in an already fragmented and dispersed community. At a social level, the national project fostered by the Oslo Accords sought to create a ‘culturally homogeneous’ mass (Baubock 2004, 106), which was indeed problematic insofar as it tried to impose a stable and fixed notion of

¹ ‘Mandatory Palestine’ is the geopolitical entity under British administration between 1920 and 1948.

² For references on the issue of Palestinian refugees see Kaplan 1959, Forsythe 1983, Teveth 1990, Zureik 1994, Elad 1999, Gelber 2006 - on Refugees and Arts and Performance: Tibawi 1963, Balfour 2012-.

³ For references on life conditions under occupation, see Tarāki 2006; about the economic impact of occupation: Sayigh 1986, Arnon 1997, Roy 2001; about its psychological impact: Baker 1990, Qouta et al. 1995, Abdeen et al. 2008.

⁴ For an extensive account on 1967 ‘Naksa’, see the special issue of ‘The MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies’ (Spring 2008), edited by Leila Farsakh.

⁵ For references on Palestinian Nationalism see Frisch 1998, Jamal 2005, Nusseibeh 2011, Danin 2011.

⁶ For references on Palestinian elites see Brynen 1995, Jamal 2005, Robinson 1997, Quandt et al. 1973.

Palestinian identity on a deeply fragmented population, both in terms of their geographical and political locations. This fixed idea of a single and stable Palestinian identity aimed at providing enough legitimacy to the national project through a homogeneous collective identity; this process of ‘homogenization’ was received with heavy criticism within the cultural scene.

In addition, since the 1990s, the Palestinian population inside of Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) has faced significant restrictions of movement that will be analysed throughout the present thesis. The new political landscape that resulted from the Oslo Accords and the outbreak of the second Intifada⁷ became the framework for an increasingly oppressive situation in which the mobility of the population has been continuously reduced. From this context stems what I will define as ‘immobility’ in Palestine, a political and social structure that permeates the everyday lives of the Palestinian population and that is linked with the Israeli occupation as well as the complex dynamics inside Palestinian society. I argue that this structure of immobility has an impact on identity formation and understanding, establishing a series of complex dynamics between the individual and collective experience. This ‘immobility’ permeates artistic representation, which portrays the frictions between the local/national/international narratives that define Palestine.

Theatre provides a space for identity negotiation (Carlson 2004, 157), challenging the idea of purity and the conservative approaches to identity according to which there is a correct/right way of being a member of the Palestinian collective. The theatrical space allows the ‘embodiment’ of identity in its most existential state of transience and instability. I am interested in Palestinian Theatre as a cultural artefact that reveals the ‘discontinuous nature of Palestinian experience’ (Said 1986, 65) as a core feature of the spatial and temporary connection between the body in dramatic production and the context within which it is produced. The present thesis will focus on theatrical production in Palestine after the Oslo Accords, and specifically on the use of the theatrical space to represent and challenge immobility. I argue that theatre can foster a new consciousness or, at least, it can open the space for dialogic reflection upon Palestinian identity and the increasing physical, social and political immobility of the population in the aftermath of the Oslo Accords.

⁷ The second Intifada, or Al-Aqsa Intifada was the second Palestinian uprising against Israel, which started in September 2000 when Israeli politician Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, which was seen as a provocation by the Palestinian population.

Within the diverse Palestinian cultural scene, theatre's potential relies on the interrelation between the individual and the collective within the same time and space; this is, the embodied character and the embodied audience interact in a more direct way than in other forms of art. Collective action can also be enhanced by the individual representation of a common reality of oppression. As Cleary asserts in relation to South African theatre during apartheid, representations of 'the particular, the mundane, the interior in (...) theatrical self-representation' can have a strong political sense and reflect collective aspirations (2000, 221). I argue that theatre necessarily reflects the physical, social and political constraints that the Palestinian population has to face in everyday life. Within this context, theatre can create a network of alternative counter-narratives to defy the immobilization imposed by the forces of the Israeli occupation, the dehumanization to which they are subjected on a daily basis by the Israeli state and the homogenization imposed by the Palestinian political and religious elites.

The present introduction aims at introducing the notion of immobility and defining the boundaries of what Palestinian theatre is in terms of its physical location and historical background. In addition, I will expose my theoretical and methodological approach to the topic and articulate the questions driving the research presented here. I will offer an overview of the coming chapters, their structure and the different primary texts that will be analysed.

I. Situating the Debate: Geographical Scope of the Present Thesis

Since space is at the heart of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the neo-colonial interests of Israel, it is necessary to first define the geographical scope of the present thesis. In order to explain the different manifestations of immobility on the ground, we need to understand the deep connections between the history of the land and its current geographical configuration. The Israeli occupation has been shaping the Palestinian landscape, creating 'new and extreme spatial configurations within historic Palestine' (Abujidi 2010, 313), also defining and mapping the territory to comply with its hegemonic narratives (Wallach 2011, 360). Therefore, defining the geographical scope of the present thesis is necessary in order to situate Palestinian narratives and understand the multi-layered individual experiences that are linked to that territory and represented in theatre. Once we have defined the whole geographical scope, we can understand the multi-layered

dimension of Palestinian narratives and how immobility becomes an everyday experience that is intimately linked to the broader geographical configuration.

Palestine has followed a process of de-territorialisation after the Nakba in 1948, which entails a number of complexities when defining what we mean by Palestine and Palestinian. On the one hand, this de-territorialisation has worked through forced migration or 'forced mobility', as defined by Aouragh (2011, 375). It has created a large mass of people that were 'no longer reside on Palestinian land and subsequent generations continue to label themselves Palestinians, yet hold no citizenship nor are they permitted to return to their homeland' (Tawil-Souri 2012b, 145). This external displacement is linked to spatial dispossession and a 'displacement in place' (Lubkemann 2008, 454), a kind of immobility that applies to the Palestinian diaspora through the denial of the right to return to the Palestinian land.

On the other hand, Palestinian de-territorialisation has also worked through increasing movement restrictions within what has been called 'historical Palestine' or '48 Palestine'. The general consensus accepts that the boundaries of 'historical Palestine', also called 'Mandatory Palestine', were the territories that were the subject of the 1947 United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Partition Plan for Palestine which resulted in the Resolution 181 and recommended the creation of an independent Arab and Jewish States within the territories of the British Mandate. In terms of its geographical extension, 'historical Palestine' covered:

'about 10,000 sq. miles and was bounded in the north by the lower Litani (Kassamiye) River and in the north-east by the southern foot of the Mount Hermon; the eastern line was either the Jordan River, or a line some miles to the eastward; the southern line passed from the Wadi Arnon, through the southern point of the Dead Sea and Beersheba westward to the mouth of Wadi Gaza' (Biger 1981, 158).

These territories that were under the control of the British mandatory authorities, became the core of the space struggle for Palestinians once the Israeli state was created. Besides, during the British mandate, the territorial mapping and geographical definition of the Palestinian land were already related to the expansionist interest of the early Zionist settlers (Gavish 2005, xv). In this sense, the detailed description of the land responded to Zionist 'imaginative geography' (Gregory 2004, 82) that aimed at unlimited territorial expansion.

In fact, what we know nowadays as the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), only ‘makes up about 22 percent of Mandatory Palestine’ (Handel 2009, 179), which is indicative of the consistent shrinking of Palestinian space from the 1947 UN partition plan⁸. At the outset, the Israeli state relied pre-eminently on strategies of occupation that would lead to the eviction of the population. More recently, the Oslo Accords (1993-1995) have had a severe impact on the spatial sovereignty of the Palestinians in the last decades; after the peace process, Israeli occupation strategy intensified the confinement of the population to a limited space geographically, articulated in order to make almost impossible even ‘internal’ movement within the Palestinian territories (Abu Nahleh 2006, 103-185). The policy of land appropriation launched by the Israeli state since its creation in 1948 has resulted in a sophisticated system of physical barriers, such as the Segregation Wall and check-points, and administrative curtails, passes and permits, which has adapted itself in the course of the new historical events (Brown 2004, 501).

At the same time, the occupation and de-territorialization entailed a series of demographic movements and changes that affect the definition of Palestine. Thus, the Palestinian population cannot be accurately defined only in terms of its geographical location, but it has become in most cases a matter of self-definition (Tawil-Souri 2012b, 145). Aside from the population of the Palestinian diaspora and that within the above-defined territories of Mandatory Palestine which belong now to Israel, Palestinians can be located primarily in the OPT, which include the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza. The present thesis focuses on these populations and their cultural production within these geographical arrangements, which have been subject to an increasing spatial closure and restriction, what makes the term ‘immobility’ relevant when talking about theatre production in these areas.

Since the geographical context in Palestine is in constant change, it is also important to delimitate the timeframe of this research, in order to understand what the facts were on the ground at the time in which the analysed theatre productions were devised and presented. The plays analysed in the present research were all produced after the signature of the Oslo Accords (1993-1995), which had a striking impact on the geographical landscape of Palestine (Iwais et Al. 2010, 101; Isaac and Hilal 2011); and the second Intifada (2000). This corresponds to a period of 17 years in which important developments have been seen in the physical, social and political configuration of Palestine. For instance, since 2002 onwards, the Wall has become an everyday element

⁸ Text and maps available online: [http://undocs.org/A/RES/181\(II\)](http://undocs.org/A/RES/181(II)) (Last accessed July 2017)

in the lives of Palestinians in the West Bank as well as a controversial topic of political discussion in any negotiation between Israeli and Palestinian governments. Most of the theatrical production in the last 17 years has been concentrated in the West Bank, and it is still a rather urban production as we will see later.

If we look at the map of the West Bank (Appendix I), published in 2017 by OCHA (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), we can see how the land, on the East side of the Green Line border (the cease-fire line of 1967), was divided in three different areas: A, B and C in 1995. Area A is controlled administratively and militarily by the Palestinian National Authority; Area B is subjected to Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian security control and Area C is controlled by Israeli military (Hass 2002, 9). Area C constitutes '18.1 percent of the overall land space of the Occupied Territories' (Handel 2009, 179).

We can also appreciate the impact of the Wall⁹ in the spatial definition of Palestine and in the relationship of the population with its surroundings. This relationship is also mediated by the encounters at the different checkpoints that are interspersed throughout the West Bank. Checkpoints try to control Palestinian movement while pre-eminently aiming at disrupting the population's everyday life. After the Oslo Accords, the checkpoint closure system was tightened and the Wall and check-points became permanent structures of the landscape, increasing the restriction of movement among the three zones (Keshet 2006, 13). This 'internal closure' (Brown 2004, 505) is also fostered by the intricate permit bureaucracy and the construction of segregated roads for Israeli settlers, which impede the movement among the different Palestinian cities of the West Bank (Kellerman 1993, 28).

Another defining element of the territory of the West Bank is the proliferation of Israeli settlements (Ayyash 1981, 111; Brown 2003, 225). As stated by Handel, back in 2009, 41.9 percent of the West Bank territory is under direct control of the settlements (Handel 2009, 179). Although the UN has repeatedly condemned the establishment of Israeli settlements in Palestinian territory, defining them as a 'removable obstacle to peace' (UN Information Officer 2012, n.p), the number of Israelis living in settlements inside of the West Bank keeps rising; according to B'tselem, as of the end of 2015, there were 127 settlements sanctioned by the Israeli government and approximately 100 illegal settlement 'outposts' without government recognition (B'tselem 2017, n.p.); which

⁹ A thorough study of this impact and its cultural representation will be offered on the first chapter of the present thesis.

corresponds to an estimated 588,000 settlers in the West Bank. The presence of settlements in the West Bank is linked with other Israeli policies which affect the Palestinian population, like the co-optation of natural resources, such as the confiscation of the water sources in the West Bank (Rishmawi and Safar 2004) or a policy of land confiscation by Israel (Roy 2002, 13) which includes punitive house demolitions (Darcy 2002, 477; Houssari 1997).

In the Gaza strip, the situation of enclosure is even more dramatic and it has been defined as an 'open-air prison' (Kuriansky 2006, 209; Lein 2005). In 2005, Israel withdrew its military forces from Gaza and dismantled all existing Israeli settlements. The plan was viewed as a first step for peace by part of the international community while it aimed 'yet again to create practical realities that will contain and fragment Palestinians and diminish their collective and personal aspirations' (Roy 2005, 73). Two years later, the sunni-Islamic party Hamas took control of the Gaza strip, which sparked a blockade that has lasted more than 10 years to the present day. As stated by Li, 'the Gaza Strip exemplifies the longstanding Zionist "dilemma" of how to deal with dense concentrations of Palestinians who must not be granted equality but who cannot be removed or exterminated en masse' (Li 2006, 38). In fact, the Gaza Strip has been the guinea pig of the model of 'closure' planned by the Israeli forces (Hass 2002, 6) as its population has been subjected to movement restrictions since 1991. Ilan Pappé, commenting on the situation in the 'hermetically sealed' territory of Gaza in September 2006, wrote 'the conventional Israeli policies of ethnic cleansing employed successfully (...) in the West Bank are not useful here. You can slowly transfer Palestinians out of the West Bank (...) but you cannot do it in the Gaza Strip once you sealed it as a maximum security prison camp' (2006, n.p.).

The map elaborated by OCHA in 2016 (Appendix II) shows how, ten years later, more than one and a half million human beings live in an area of 365km², enclosed by fences and by a sea that has become another physical barrier as the freedom to navigate it has been limited as well (Migdalovitz 2010, 1). Since 2007, the blockade has not only destroyed and isolated Gaza's economy from the rest of the world (UNCTAD 2015, 9) but has also led to a growing humanitarian crisis (OCHA 2009).

Gaza is also isolated in political terms from the rest of Palestine; the victory of the Islamic party Hamas in 2006 meant a definitive political breach in the internal Palestinian politics (Schanzer 2008, 1-2; Milton-Edwards 2008, 1585) and also caused the declaration of Gaza as a 'hostile entity' by the Israeli government (Friedmann 2016, 276). This

declaration resulted in a 'blockade' imposed by Israel since 2007 that has progressively drained the population in a physical, economic, social and cultural way (Maras 2012, 250) and the continuous clashes between the Israeli and Hamas forces, with major attacks in 2008-2009, 2012 and 2014 that have contributed to creating a ruined landscape and a humanitarian crisis.

Although the blockade affects the whole population of the strip, Israel's strategy aims at putting pressure on the government of Hamas. To do so, it exercises a 'humanitarian management' over the strip, which consists on 'the calibration of life-sustaining flows of resources through the physical enclosure, one meant to keep the entire population close to the minimum limit of physical existence' (Weizman 2011, 81). In that sense, the Israeli High Court of Justice issued two separate rulings in 2007, stating that the government of Israel was only responsible for preventing a humanitarian disaster in Gaza (Azoulay and Ophir 2012, 182). Therefore, Israel manages to control the strip, restricting the movement of goods and people, cutting electricity and other supplies, without assuming any responsibility and just engaging in maintaining an acceptable situation for the population under humanitarian standards. In 2009, the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* revealed a military document entitled *Red Lines* that calculated the minimum number of calories required to maintain the population of Gaza just over the UN definition of hunger. This 'line', as stated by Weizman, rather than 'functioning as a minimum threshold with the level of provisions fluctuating over it (...), began designating the maximum cap on provisions' (2011, 81), which reveals the Israeli interest in putting as much pressure and being as 'punitive' as possible to the government and population of Gaza, without reaching levels that would make it unacceptable for the international community.

Under these extreme restrictions, artistic production in Gaza struggles to assert its presence within the conditions of minimum humanitarian standards and the ruling of Hamas. According to the Hamas Charter, only Islamic art can serve the purpose of the Islamic liberation of Palestine, which implies a tight definition of what kind of artistic expression is allowed by the government of Gaza. Generally, Hamas allows only 'art that promotes its political agenda and does not violate its definition of Islam or Islamic morals' (Unger 1997, 194). In fact, since 2007, Gaza 'is the most strictly controlled Palestinian area concerning lifestyle, expression, dress codes, and so forth' (Berg 2012, 307). However, certain artistic expressions are tolerated and sponsored by Hamas like poetry (Alshaer 2009, 229) and music (Berg 2012, 310), often used to express collective feelings and shared political affiliation. In 2012, the Palestine Festival for Literature (PalFest) was

celebrated in Gaza. It is an independent festival, sponsored by the British Council, Riad Kamal, the Bank of Palestine and the Abdalla Foundation among others, which has been running for 10 years. It brings together Palestinian and international authors 'with the aim of showcasing and supporting cultural life in Palestine, breaking the cultural siege imposed on Palestinians by the Israeli military occupation, and strengthening cultural links between Palestine and the rest of the world.' ('Palestine Festival of Literature' 2017, n.p.). The celebration of this international festival in Gaza successfully raised awareness of the movement restrictions and harsh living conditions of the inhabitants of Gaza.

Similarly, some theatre productions have tried to foster Gaza's visibility abroad. Following the Israeli military operation of 2008-2009, Ashtar Theatre produced the play *The Gaza Monologues* (2010), from the testimonies of 33 young people from Gaza who participated in a series of workshops that used theatre as therapy after the attacks. The young people that participated in the workshops did not tour but the resulting play has been translated into 18 different languages and performed in 40 countries around the world by different international theatre groups (Ashtar Theatre 2010, n.p.), raising awareness of the impact of the situation in Gaza on international stages. Theatre in Gaza has mostly been employed in educational contexts, as in the case of Theatre Day Productions (TDP), which is intended as a tool to make 'a young person an independent critical thinker capable of controlling and negotiating his or her world no matter how, in case of Gaza, underprivileged the child as an agent may be' (Theatre Day Productions and Jagiełło- Rusiłowski 2007, 6). Theatre production in such a context might have limited scope, due to the political limitations and the lack of infrastructures; however, the use of drama as therapy and as an educational tool still has a valuable social impact and it can also, in some cases like *The Gaza Monologues*, help to raise awareness abroad of the situation in Gaza.

Along with the Palestinians that inhabit the OPT, there are around 1.7 million Palestinians with Israeli citizenship living within the borders of the Israeli state – corresponding to around 21 percent of its population (Ghanem 2016, 37) - whose living conditions are negatively influenced by Israeli policies. These Palestinians descend from the 156,000 people who, after the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, remained in the part of Mandatory Palestine that had become the State of Israel. The members of this population have Israeli passports and therefore have higher physical mobility than Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza; yet they are considered second-class citizens (Khouri 1985, 330; Caspi and Weltsch 1998, 18). They live in segregated neighbourhoods (Falah 1996) and have

to face difficult economic and social situations (Kraus and Hodge 1990, Mar'i 1978, Mazawi 1994) that lead to what I call 'social immobility'. This immobility is less literal than in other areas of the OPT, it is rather linked to their economic inscription into a liberal ethno-nationalist discourse (Shafir and Peled 1998, 408) in which they are located in a subordinate position. This is what Mary Boger defines as a 'ghettoization', according to which Palestinians in Israel have ensured 'a readily available supply of cheap labour to be called into action within Israel's productive activity when needed and restricted to the ghetto when not' (2008, 119).

In my opinion, this immobility is also linked to the duality of their identities, always trying to find a balance between their national (Palestinian or Arab) and their civic identities (Israeli), which locates them on the side of the occupier (Suleiman 2002, 754). Older generations had to go through the trauma of becoming a 'minority in an alien state' (Jamal 2007, 269-270) through the 1948 and 1967 wars, while the 'stand tall' generations, called so by Rabinowitz and Abu-Baker to describe these youngsters born after 1975, 'seem determined to redefine their situation within Israel, modifying the very nature of the state in the process' (Rabinowitz and Abu-Baker 2005, 10). This might point towards a strengthening of the Palestinian identity in these young people, who are now more willing to participate in Israel's democratic life to claim their rights as a minority group (Mana et al. 2014, 64). In such a situation, dramatic representation is intimately linked to the problematic sense of identity, linked to collective and individual belonging. An example of that sense of 'in-betweenness' and the struggle for belonging in Palestinian Israeli theatre is the play *I am Yusuf and this is My Brother*¹⁰, premiered in 2009 in Haifa. Written by Amir Nizar Zuabi, the play tells the story of two brothers, Ali and Yusuf, set between the proposal of the UN Partition Plan for Palestine and the 1948 war. The play is not only the chronicle of a convulsive period, but it also reflects upon the connection of past and present in the construction of memories. In fact, the characters of Ali and Yusuf return to the past, 52 years after the 1948 *Nakba* and say:

"Tell them ... if they leave they will never come back" (Zuabi 2010, 41)

The future is giving advice to the past in a discourse that recalls the idea of 'collective responsibility'; the re-enacting of the past becomes a lesson for the present generations who were born and raised with a common and collective, yet fragmented, identity. Being

¹⁰ The play was written in English. The exact quote in Arabic (Anā Yūsufu wa hādhā akhī), which means 'I am Yusuf and this is my brother', is present on the 90th verse of chapter 12 (*sūrat yūsuf*). Its name recalls the biblical story of Yoseph, in Arabic Yusuf, son of Jacob, an important figure for Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

a refugee is an identity feature that has been permanently present in Palestinian theatre but that has acquired a new meaning connected with the new context of immobility.

Urian has questioned to what extent the performances of Israeli Arabs working in an Arabic framework are not part of Israeli theatre (Urian 1997, 5). On the one hand, it is undeniable that Palestinian theatre production inside Israel has been traditionally tightly connected with the Israeli theatre scene, especially since the seventies. This connection take the form of different projects in which Palestinian-Israelis and Israelis practioners collaborate, but mainly reflects Israel's interest in presenting Arab characters in Israeli theatre as symbols 'representing a change in the pioneering ideals as well as a desire for coexistence' (Urian 1997, 5). Figures like writers Emil Habibi or Anton Shammas, and performers Makram Kouri, Yousef Abu Warda, Salwa Naqqara or Bushra Karaman were relevant to the increasing visibility of Palestinian-Israelis inside Israel, especially in Haifa and Nazareth (Daoud 1995, 119).

On the other hand, Arab theatre practitioners made an intense effort in reproducing narratives of the past (Slymovics 1998, xi), which are the ones that locate them in the Palestinian collective. Palestinian theatre production inside of Israel represents their identity in a way that would inscribe them into a wider collective Arab-Palestinian narrative while at the same time preserving their specificities (Slymovics 1991, 25). In the present thesis, two productions created by Palestinians in Israel will be analysed: *Exit* (2013) and *A Parallel Timeline* (2014). Both case studies offer an insight into their experiences as part of the Palestinian collective that develops their work in Israel. In this context, the connection between the individual and collective identity is very clear, always trying to connect with a wider audience beyond the Green Line. I argue that for Palestinians in both sides of that line, theatre is increasingly focused on the individual experience, while at the same, it engages with collective discourses of struggle against oppression, becoming a 'collective signifier' of a broader political project.

Within such a complex and fragmented context, it is very relevant to understand the origins of what we call nowadays Palestinian theatre. In the following section I will define Palestinian theatre, trying to answer the different questions that arise in this section and incorporating a historical timeline of the development of Palestinian theatre within Arab theatre in general and, more concretely, since the establishment of the state of Israel. Finally, I will define Palestinian theatre in the period that is addressed in my research, focusing on its development after the signing of the Oslo Accords and the political changes that it entailed.

II. Defining Palestinian Theatre and its Origins

Throughout my research, I have often encountered the problem of defining ‘Palestinian theatre’, or more importantly, of finding the origins and influences that have shaped what we understand nowadays as ‘Palestinian theatre’. To do so, we need first to understand the influences of the Arab performative tradition, folklore and oral tradition in the modern configuration of not only Palestinian theatre but of Arab theatre in general. Although the Palestinian context has often been analysed based on an ‘interest in drama as literature’ (Badawi 1995, 17) and therefore more based on a study of the text, there is indeed an Arab performative tradition that can be traced back to the classical Arab period, during which the existence of ‘semi-theatrical or semi-dramatic’ elements within Arab poetry and literature can be recognized. Snir states how the assumption of the relevance of this performative tradition ‘has forced academia to deconstruct pre-existing Eurocentric and Arab-Islamic historiography and to formulate a new historical account that takes into account other elements rather than the text in the formation of modern theatre’ (2005a, 1). He points at imitation and mimicry as indicators of the existence of dramatic elements in the Arab culture. When researching Palestinian theatre and attending different performances during my fieldwork in the West Bank and Israel, many elements of this ‘pre-dramatic’ tradition recurrently came up. The strong and direct involvement of audiences in the actions represented on stage, jeering and whistling against the villains, or the activation of spontaneous storytelling events in different social environments, is reminiscent of elements of a past performative tradition that are still present and influence modern Western-influenced theatre production nowadays.

Some authors trace back the origins of Arab theatre to the pre-Islamic era (Moreh 1992, Gassner 2002, Amine 2006), while some other authors (Farouk 1974, Machutt-Mendecka 1997 or Moreh and Sadgrove 1996) talk about some ‘dramatic elements’ or ‘proto-dramatic’ features within pre-modern literary and performative expression. All these features come from literary Arab tradition and are conceived to be performed. However, according to these authors, these different ‘proto-dramatic’ elements were only dispersed forms that would not help to configure a cohesive drama and they are considered only precursors of modern Arab drama, which are still relevant to understanding contemporary Arab theatre. For instance, a relevant ‘proto-dramatic’ form is the ‘Ḥakawātī’ (The Storyteller), which combines a complex narrative style of storytelling that used different kinds of performative and non-performative elements, such as the rhetorical strategy of

the allegory, the performance of live-music or spectacular gesticulation and use of the body as a channel for communication (Chaudhary 2010, n.p.). Pre-dramatic artistic forms tend to be fluid in terms of form and function and they often ‘soften(s) the boundaries between epic poetry, religious music and performance, seeking for an interaction with the audience’, as is the case in epic storytelling (Reynolds 1995, 145-146). The relevance of this pre-dramatic elements in theatre nowadays challenges a strict definition of theatre according to the European tradition as ‘an established art form which provides an imitation of an action on a stage through dialogue in verse or prose by human actors’, constructed from a written text (Badawi 1993, 241).

The next important issue in order to define contemporary Palestinian theatre is to understand its inscription in modern Arab theatre. According to some scholars (Landau 1958, Aziza 1971, Moosa 1997), the Napoleonic invasion, the inter-Mediterranean trade or the international education of the Arab elites created a context of increasing ‘encounters’, which motivated the awakening of Arab theatre during the nineteenth century. Therefore, this awakening is understood as a result of contact with the European ‘other’, which influenced the already existing dramatic forms to create an Arab drama that meets European requirements for being considered so (Ḥamdān 2006, ix; Ben-Zvi 1996, 324). Some authors define the ‘birth’ of Arab theatre as a conscious and deliberate import of Western theatre (Aziza 1971, Landau 1958, Moreh 1992, Badawi 1988, Hastings 1991); however, connecting modern Arab theatre with the above mentioned Arab tradition, other scholars, such as Khalid Amine talk about this new era of contact with the European theatre tradition as a ‘moment of rupture rather than a moment of departure for theatrical tradition. It is a rupture between a period of indigenous performing events (...) and a new era of imitation and mimicry’ (2006, 158).

Therefore, the nineteenth century was rather a moment of unprecedented contact, or even, as it were, ‘synthetization of Eastern and Western cultures’ (Machut-Mendecka 2000, 9), but to see it as a unidirectional influence is indeed problematic. Even if the ‘medium’ was European (Amine 2006, 158), it was appropriated and transformed using indigenous dramatic or performative forms. Therefore, to fully understand modern and contemporary Arab theatre and, therefore, Palestinian theatre, we need to acknowledge the points of intersection of traditional Arab forms and Western influences which lead to the creation of what we now know as the new Arab theatre. Important Arab playwrights emerged during that period; for instance, Ahmad Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī (Syria, 1835-1902), Tawfiq Al-Hakim (Egypt, b. 1898), Faraḥ Antūn (1874-1922), Ibrāhīm Rāmzī (1884-

1949), Muḥammad Taymūr (1894-1973) and Anṭūn Yazbak (1876-1933). The theatre that they developed was clearly inspired by Western drama, while at the same time, they specifically used Arab dramatic forms, based upon tradition, folklore and traditional Arab literary forms as well (Badawi 1995, 10; Moreh 1988, 75).

At the same time, European spectators and theatre artists became increasingly interested in this new Arab theatre and its traditional influences, developing important avant-garde experiments in the field of dramatic art by seeking non-European theatrical forms to create a new kind of modern theatre (Pannewick 2000, 105-106). Therefore, the issue is not so much a matter of a quantitative or qualitative analysis of the mutual influences, but more about questioning the issue of appropriation and transformation of an art form. Pannewick's idea of 'cultural syncretism' (2000) challenges the vision of Arab and European culture as the extremes of a cultural dichotomy. Amid the extreme positions that argue that Arab theatre was an independent and autochthonous art form or that it was exclusively a western import, Pannewick offers a theoretical midpoint that breaks the dichotomy 'us' vs. 'them'. No theatre is subject to or depends on the other, different trends arise and Europe looks for foreign influences to break up European rigidity of the bourgeois-Aristotelian tradition. At the same time, 'the East (...) demand(s) for a theatre which should 'mirror' life' (Fischer-Lichte 1990, 15), which wants to go 'back to the roots'. Artistic forms travel across cultures and get rooted in local contexts; therefore, there is a bi-directional influence of European and Arab drama.

Regarding the origins of modern theatre in Palestine, many works about Arab theatre and literature 'either wholly or partially ignored the existence of Palestinian theatrical activities' (Snir 2005a, ix). This widespread attitude (Tomiche and Khaznadar 1969, Haywood 1972, Cachia 1990, Somekh 1991, Elad 1999) has to be understood in the light of the colonial past of Palestine and the fact that almost until the late nineteenth century, Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire and geographically assimilated to Syria. Most cultural activity occurred in Egypt and the limited production that happened in Palestine did not reflect any particular political consciousness and was, therefore, included in the broader category of Arab literature, which, up until World War I, could not be identified with any specific national identity (Snir 1995, 29). This situation changed since the 1920s, prior to the creation of Israel, when a new cultural scene started to flourish in Mandatory Palestine and local amateur theatre started to thrive, inspired by Egyptian theatre and used mostly as an educational tool (Gertz and Khleifi 2008, 16). In parallel, there was a Palestinian production which started with the work of Nasrī al-Jawzī, who published

plays for different audiences, from children's plays to radio meta-dramatic plays (Snir 2005a, 36) in which he expressed a critical attitude towards Palestinian society. He was strongly committed to the spread of Palestinian theatre, writing an essay entitled 'How can we encourage Palestinian theatre'¹¹. The same social criticism can be found in Gamil al-Bahri (1930) a Palestinian dramatist who understood theatre as a force for social change and strived to subvert traditional conservatism.

The creation of the state of Israel in 1948 meant the interruption of Palestinian theatre's development and therefore, academic investigation was also strongly restricted (Al Mallah 2002; Snir 1998, 2005a, Nassar 2006, Urian 1997, Barham 2009). Emil Habibi¹² was questioned about this period and he stated that 'the unnatural and abnormal conditions forced upon the Palestinian people are responsible for the fact that the Palestinian theatre did not develop' (Daoud 1995, 110). The establishment of the Israeli state and the resulting exodus of a large number of Palestinians made any theatrical activity almost impossible, least of all productions with political content.

However, changes started to happen after the 1967 war (Nassar 2006, 18), shaping Palestinian theatre as we know it nowadays. After a dark period in which almost no play was produced, the 1967 war raised Palestinian self-awareness and opened the door for a stronger and institutionalized national identity. This resurgence of Palestinian nationalism renewed interest in restoring and renovating the Palestinian cultural scene (Snir 2001, 294; Cody 2007, 1033). Just as Arab theatre worked to challenge colonialism (Ouyang 1999, 391), Palestinian theatre was involved in the process of nation-building and wanted to come to terms with the Israeli occupation and the internal divisions, both geographical and political, which were threatening their collective memory (Snir 1995, 38). The 1967 war left a disoriented Arab leadership and opened the road for Palestinians to claim for their own political entity and the institutionalization of their cause in the form of a nation-state (Quandt et Al. 1973, 52). However, this process of re-emergence of Palestinian theatre was not easy and it had to face the difficulties of being dependent on a relatively large budget for productions, an audience and a considerable number of trained individuals compared to other forms of art.

¹¹Published by Al-Hadaf the 21st of April 1946. The essay has been cited in Snir 2005a, Landau 1958, Al Mallah 2002.

¹² Emil Habibi (1922-1996) was a Palestinian-Israeli author, whose most famous novel is *Al-Waq'a'i' al-Gharibah fi Ikhtifa' Sa'idAbi-l-Nahs al-Mutasha'il* (known in English under its short title, *The Pessimist*, 1974). His famous theatre plays are *Luka'Ibn Luka'* in 1979 - *Luka the son of Luka* - and *Umm al-Rubabikia* in 1992 *The Pedlar Woman* (Hafez 1996, n.p.)

The occupation influenced the possibility of creating audiences and connecting society and drama; besides, it limited the number of available printed scripts as, to avoid censorship, the plays were mainly constructed through improvisatory techniques and there were no written texts (Snir 2005a, 132). Yet this absence makes it absolutely necessary to engage with the vision of the practitioners who shape theatre as a living art form. Another technique commonly employed to avoid censorship, which is also present in the wider Arab theatrical scene, is the 'metadrama': 'a break in dramatic illusion' (Amin 2008, 51) which creates a new way of engaging with the audience, opening the ground for a shared self-criticism that involves actors and spectators, creating an alternate horizon for social criticism. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms, metadrama can be defined as 'any moment of self-consciousness by which a play draws attention to its own fictional status as a theatrical pretence'. In Palestine, the use of 'metadrama' is influenced not only by Brecht's alienation technique but also by Egyptian authors like Yusuf Idris (1927-1991) or Alfred Farag (1929-2005). In Palestine, an example of the use of metadrama is the play 'Al- 'Atma' (*The Darkness*), which represents also the definitive professionalization of Palestinian theatre. The play was produced produced by the troupe Al-Balālīn, founded by François Abu Salem¹³ (1951-2001) in 1971. In this 'self-referential play', the spectators are forced to interact and assume their 'responsibility' in 'the process of changing the reversed reality' (Snir 2005b, 19). The main action of the play, developed on stage is framed by another action in which the performers interact with the audience as if they were also members of the audience. In this sense, the experience of the audience is one of 'unease, a dislocation of perception' (Hornby 1986, 31). *Al- 'Atma* blurs the boundaries between what is real and what is not and it is an example of how, after the 1967 war, theatre - and culture in general - engaged with the idea, and contributed to the formation, of a national identity and political consciousness. As the first professional Palestinian troupe, Al-Balālīn was committed to nation-building (Shinar 1987, 134) and wanted to create a direct connection with local audiences. For the first time, theatre in Palestine acquired an internal dimension by linking social criticism with a rhetoric of the 'nation' which could foster a reflection among Palestinians about their own future and the kind of society they wanted to build.

After the dissolution of Al-Balālīn in 1976, a new troupe called Al-Ḥakawātī (the storyteller) emerged, led by François Abu Salem. The group was 'progressive and socio-

¹³ François Abu Salem is 'one of the most influential figures who worked to establish modern theatre production in Palestine' (Jawad 2011, n.p.).

politically conscious, and had a profound influence on the Palestinian theatre movement' (Handal 2015, xxii). They tried to mediate between the traditional, as its name already indicates, and the modern, with which the founder of the troupe maintained a conflicting relationship. In this sense, he offered a definition of the modern individual as 'free, but marginalised to the point where he is reduced to a non-thinking consumerist automaton' (Ditmars 1994, 35). He rejected the idea of the modern as the homogenization of human beings in the modern era; on the other hand, he fostered an 'avant-garde' theatre that wanted to experiment and challenge pre-established social structures. The troupe's plays, such as *Bism al-Abwa-l-Umm wa-l-Ibn (In the name of the Father, the Mother, and the Son 1978)*, *Mahjub Mahjub (1980-81)*, *Jalili, Ya 'Ali (Ali, the Galilean 1983)* and *Hikayat al- 'Aynwa-l-Sinn (The Story of the Eye and the Tooth)*, dealt with common topics of the Palestinian experience. The Ḥakawātī was not the only theatre group during the eighties (Handal 2015, xxiii), but it was indeed the most relevant; in fact, some of its members would then create new theatre groups in the nineties, for instance, Jackie Lubeck created Theatre Day Productions in Gaza or Iman Aoun and Edward Muallem created Ashtar Theatre in Ramallah. The outbreak of the Intifada in 1987 was almost prophetically presented by the Ḥakawātī's play *Alf Layla wa-Layla min Layali Rami al-Hijara (A Thousand and One Nights of a Stone Thrower)*; this 'David vs. Goliath' confrontation compelled the cultural scene to appropriate the meaning of 'resistance' and convey a message of unity and steadfastness in line with the nationalist rhetoric.

From the outbreak of the first Intifada (1987), theatre activity had to pause due to the political situation. Activity was resumed approximately at the time of the Oslo Accords (1993-1995). The Accords did not mean a complete rupture in dramatic production and many of the above-mentioned trends and features of Palestinian theatre have been recurrent under occupation. Yet, the Oslo Accords meant a new turning point both in terms of the geographical and physical dimensions of occupation; and in terms of Palestinian internal cohesion and steadfastness (Roy 2002, 12), especially when a few years later the second intifada erupted. These events are the starting point of the present thesis since, according to Handal, the production of theatre during the post-Oslo period has been defined 'by restrictions on movement' (Handal 2015, xxiii). In the next section I will expose the development of Palestinian theatre in the last two decades, mapping the theatre scene in order to understand where the current research stands.

Palestinian Theatre from 1993 to the present: Performing Immobility

In order to illustrate in a visual way and therefore in a way more in tune with the focus of this research on space as perceived, conceived and lived, I have made a series of maps (Figures 1, 2 and 3), which illustrate the current status of Palestinian theatre in relation to its geographical locations and relationship with space¹⁴. One of the first consequences of the Oslo Accords and the establishment of a National Authority in the OPT has been the geographical re-distribution of cultural production, especially theatrical groups. There has been a proliferation of troupes moving or being created in Ramallah, which has become the de facto administrative capital of the Palestinian state and centralizes ‘economic, political, cultural and recreational activity’ in the West Bank (Abourahme 2009, 500). In fact, the division of the West Bank into zones A, B and C has fostered theatre’s ‘urbanization’, with an 80% of major cultural activities happening in Ramallah, as extracted from an interview to Julian Chiappone-Lucchesi, director of the French Institute in Ramallah (Odgaard 2013, n.p.).

For instance, Ashtar Theatre, founded by ex-members of the Ḥakawātī Edward Muallem and Iman Aoun in 1991 in Jerusalem, had to later move its activity to Ramallah because of the increasing difficulties encountered by West Bank Palestinians in getting to Jerusalem. Another example of this Jerusalem to Ramallah movement is the Alkasaba Theatre, founded by George Ibrahim in the 1970s in Jerusalem, which in the year 2000 opened the doors of the ‘Alkasaba Theatre and Cinemateque’ in Ramallah, which hosts both theatre events and regular cinema projections. We can see in Figure 3, how the main centres of theatre production are located along the line between Hebron and Ramallah inside of the West Bank (Na’am or Yes Theatre in Hebron, Al-Harah, Al-Rowwad and Inad Theatre in Beit Jala and Bethlehem and Ashtar and Al-kasaba Theatre in Ramallah). Ramallah has also become the centre for cultural and artistic production, with new cultural venues being opened (like the A.M. Qattan Foundation, the Khalil Sakakini Cultural centre or the Al Kamandjati music school).

¹⁴To access the whole preview on google drive:
<https://tinyurl.com/ydc9n3w3>



Figure 1. Main Palestinian Theatre Groups in OPT and Israel

The corpus of the present thesis responds to that new geographical conformation, as can be seen in Figure 2. The purple locations correspond to the places where the different plays were produced, mainly in Ramallah, Jenin and Haifa. The blue locations correspond to the internal tours, and the places where these plays were performed. As we can see, apart from the performance of *Keffiyeh/Made in China* (Chapter four), that was presented in the Oyoun Theatre in the Golan Heights (Syrian territory occupied by Israel) the rest of the plays were performed around the main areas of production, including some more remote locations of the West Bank, like Tulkarem or areas near the Jordan Valley.

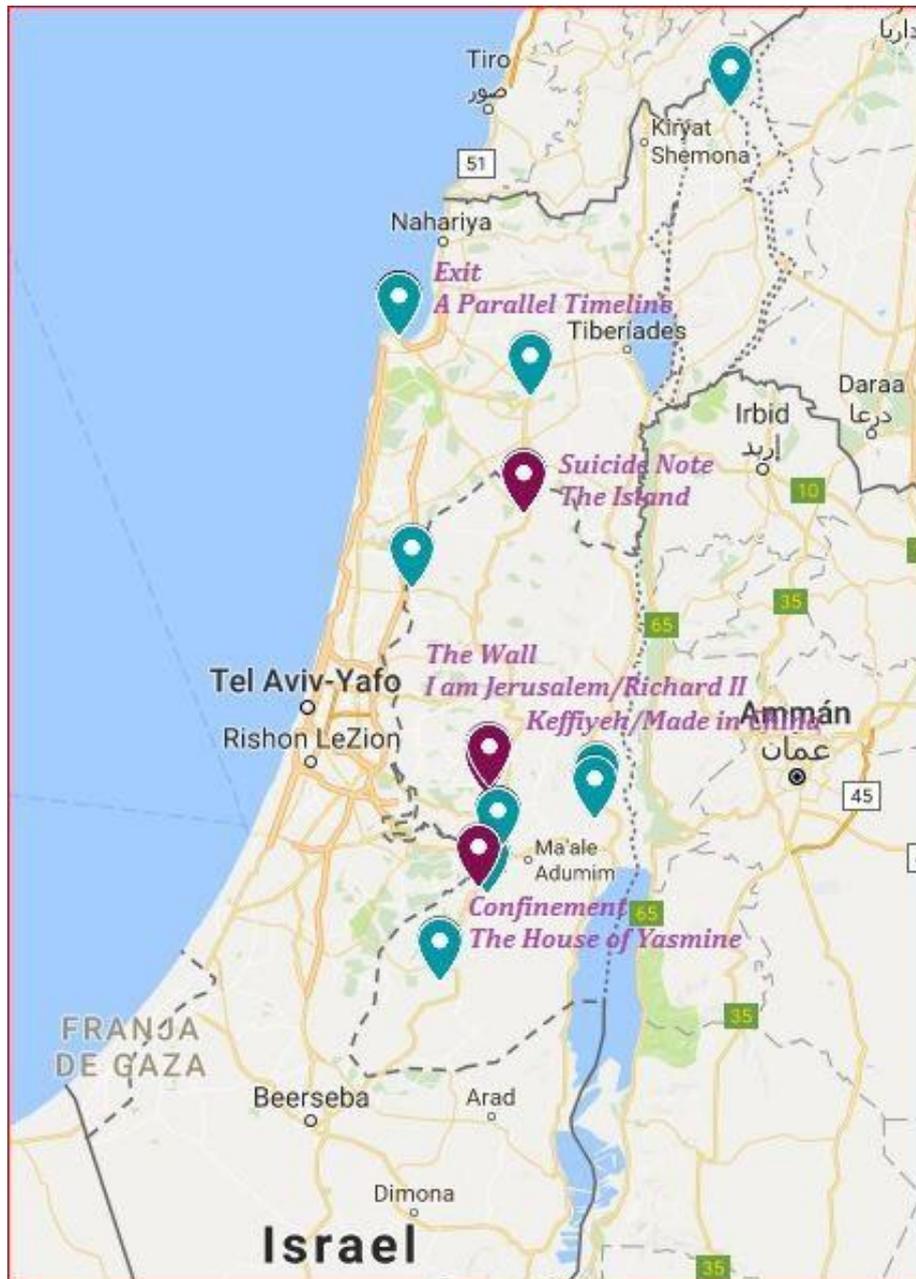


Figure 2. Territorial distribution of the corpus of the present thesis (Production and Touring locations)

The only Palestinian theatre group that has still a physical venue in Jerusalem corresponds to the Ḥakawātī, which was renamed the Palestinian National Theatre (*Al-Masrah al-Waṭanī al-Falastīnī - PNT*) in the 1990s as a splinter of the 1980s group (Jawad 2011). The PNT embodied the national meaning of the cultural struggle and its establishment and reluctance to leave Jerusalem despite the constraints imposed by the Israeli authorities ruling Jerusalem have proved the strong symbolism of that theatre for Palestinians. The theatre does not receive funding from either the Israeli institutions or the Palestinian Authority (Gostoli 2015, n.p.) and it theatre has been struggling to organize events that would gather together different troupes from the Occupied Territories and Israel, in order to create a comprehensive national scene. In recent years, the theatre has faced recurring

economic hardship that has threatened its existence. In a conversation with the online newspaper Al-Monitor, the theatre's artistic director, Amer Khalili, raised the issue of the lack of institutional support and the issue of theatre's dependence on foreign funding to survive (Eldar 2015a, n.p.)

Khalili has presented one of the main issues that I have encountered in my research. This is that, the 'increase in productions since the end of the Second Intifada in 2005 (Handal 2015, xxvi); has been promoted by a flood of international funds directed 'to build dialogue and construct a coexistence framework in the daily lives of Israelis and Palestinians' (Al-Saber 2014a, n.p.). This phenomenon is inscribed in the broader context of postcolonial encounters within the current global system of international NGOs. The 'NGOization' of cultural production offers insight into how artistic and performance practices are read in globalized circuits' (Jawad 2012, 29). In chapter four, I will analyse how this phenomenon has had two different effects on Palestinian theatre; the first one is related to the increase in the possibilities for access to funding for Palestinian troupes and the second one concerns how theatre-makers are subjected to international donors' guidelines and agendas. The 'dependence' on external funding coming from international bodies, which might impose a certain agenda upon the theatre groups, is an issue that could reinforce a new form of 'immobility': it risks curtailing efforts to convey resistant discourses through drama. What is more, it could even unconsciously reproduce censorship schemes as the troupes could fall into self-censorship in order to ensure access to funding. It is relevant to understand the connection between foreign aid and the 'historical process of colonialism and the ties it forged over generations or centuries in the areas of trade, finance, manufacturing, and exploitation of natural resources, as well as the building of a dualistic structure - to say nothing of political, cultural, and technological ties' (Sayigh 1986, 53).

On the other hand, the increase in funding has helped alleviate the lack of funding for theatre production – 'lack of original texts, actors, rehearsal spaces and an infrastructure' (Nassar 2006, 16-17) – which was exacerbated even further by the Post-Oslo restrictions on movement. As stated by Handal, 'all productions faced, and continue to face¹⁵, challenges from Israeli censorship, continuous disruption of the conditions of production and destruction of theatre spaces, roadblocks, compulsory permits, closure to Jerusalem, actors and writers imprisoned or detained, bulldozed theaters and lack of funds' (Handal

¹⁵ As this thesis is being written Palestinian circus artist, Mohammed Abu Sakha, has been held in prison without charges since December 2015.

2015, xxvii). In this sense, we need to understand that the complexities of theatre production in Palestine under occupation and the lack of national institutions have forced Palestinian practitioners to ‘turn to Western donors’ (Nassar 2006, 37) in order to survive. Besides, the support of international donors has contributed to spreading the voice of Palestinian theatre practitioners both inside of the West Bank and abroad. Figure 5 shows the international tours that were conducted by the different productions that are included in the current research. As we can see, most of these locations are in Europe and the US, with a few collaborations with theatre groups from Tunisia, India and Brazil¹⁶.

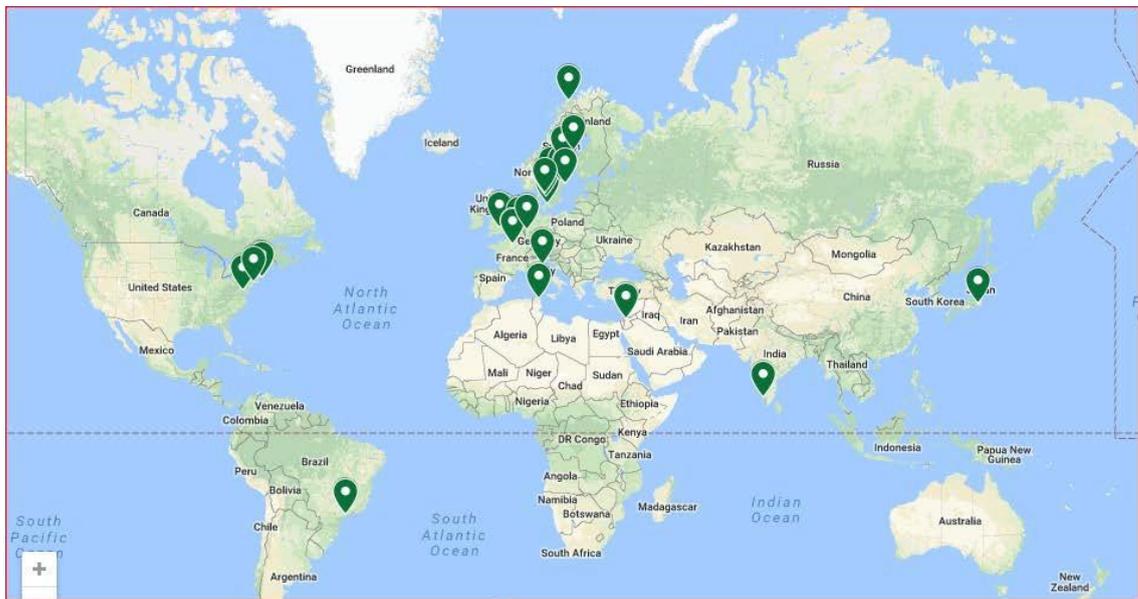


Figure 3. International Tours

One of the main questions of this thesis is how the influence of the international donors and the efforts to assert Palestinian cultural identity and to defend Palestinian tradition have shaped a new theatrical language. I argue that, in this new context, theatres have found a new language for a theatre that has extended beyond local, national and even individual boundaries, reflected through the bounded body on stage. By bounded I mean a body that reflects the constraints that individuals face in their everyday life through the use of their bodies on stage. I want to argue that theatre has potential as a space for metaphor and encounter. Just as Darwish conceived poetry, theatre ‘can help us to understand the self by liberating it of what could hinder its flight in a limitless space¹⁷’

¹⁶ I need to highlight here that this map is created from the corpus of this thesis. Some of the major donors of Palestinian non-governmental organizations and cultural institutions, like Germany or the United Kingdom (De Voir and Tartir 2009), are not proportionally represented.

¹⁷ As translated by Atef Alshaer (2013) in ‘*Humanism, Nationalism and Violence in Mahmoud Darwish’s poetry*’

(Darwish 2007, 33-34). Contemporary Palestinian theatre has redefined the notions of 'local', 'national', 'international', 'collective' and 'individual', intertwining in a network of complicated allegiances that has needed to adapt to the new political and social reality, while at the same time it has struggled to maintain its traditional voice as a bearer of Palestinian identity. I want to argue that all of these terms, which have an inherent spatial character, have been reshaped by the increasing movement restrictions. Therefore, in a context of complex immobility, theatre provides a space that allows individuals to create new and moving narratives and alternative forms of mobility that challenge everyday restrictions.

On the one hand, theatre looks to generate social cohesion and speak to the collective in the OPT, Palestine and the diaspora, both using traditional Palestinian symbols and representing common daily experiences the audiences can relate to. The representation of these symbols and experiences is linked to an interest in talking to the 'collective', to a broader Palestinian community and their identity, that has not only been questioned and divided for decades, but that nowadays keeps being increasingly fragmented political, socially and geographically. This collective identity needs then to be traced back to a common past prior to the Israeli occupation in order to claim its legitimacy: as stated by Gertz and Khleifi, they need a 'narrative of controversies and differences' that would ignore the split 'thus creating one history revolving around a single memory and shared by all' (2008, 4). At the same time, these productions challenge the traditional idea of an unaltered Palestinian identity by focusing on the individual stories behind that identity. They question the idea of an authentic Palestinian identity or the articulation of collective 'traits' as a coherent rhetoric of identity politics towards the creation of a Palestinian nation-state (Calhoun 1993, 231), seeking to deconstruct 'Palestinian society's image of unity and homogeneity, evoked by the idyllic perception of the past' (Gertz and Khleifi 2008, 5). In this sense, internal criticism towards the newly created National Authority and its performance during the negotiations has become a recurrent topic in Palestinian theatre, which tries to convey a message against the homogenization that nationalist ideology risks imposing on Palestinian people.

Theatre is an art that creates alternatives and can indeed be used to speak to and contest power. Most of the theatre plays analysed in the present thesis focus on the personal experience of their characters, not denying the collective trauma behind it, but highlighting individual peculiarities beyond the necessity of a collective coherence. One example of such focus on individual experience will be seen in chapter two, when

analysing the representation of prisoners in Palestinian theatre and how practitioners give priority to the voice of personal experience as a mechanism to talk to the community, instead of reinforcing narratives of national heroism which could instrumentalize the prisoners' experience to benefit nationalist rhetoric. Other plays will also illustrate how theatre manages to find ways to criticize power structures inside and outside of the Palestinian society. We will see throughout this thesis how, in recent years, practitioners have been consistently challenging the Israeli occupation and their immobility, questioning the power structures within Palestinian society and critically reconsidering the place of Palestinian theatre on the international stage.

In the last 25 years, the representation of Palestinian identity in theatre has shifted according to the political and social changes and, especially, responding to the increasing physical and psychological barriers imposed by the Israeli occupation. New themes and concerns have been transposed into the dramatic production, as reflected by the topics presented in the different case studies of this thesis. Besides, there has been a renewed interest in the study of Palestinian theatre, with new academic work being done in the last ten years. Palestinian scholars like Hala Khamis Nassar (2001; 2006), Rania Jawad (2008; 2011; 2012), Samer Al-Saber (Al-Saber 2014a; 2014b; Al-Saber and Taylor 2014) have focused on Palestinian theatre production of recent years from the perspective of theatre and performance studies. Similarly, some authors, such as Ben Rivers (2013, 2015) and Gabriel Varghese (2016), are also practitioners who have been involved both in theatre productions and research in Palestine. A new young generation of theatre makers and playwrights have emerged, like Amir Nizar Zuabi (*I am Yusuf and this is my Brother*) Raeda Ghazaleh (*Confinement*), Dalia Taha (*Keffiyeh/Made in China*), Imad Farajin (*603*), with the support of different programs like the A.M. Qattan Foundation's Young Writer Award or the Royal Court Theatre International Residency for Emerging Playwrights in London.

The present thesis follows up the momentum gathered by these researchers and practitioners, but at the same time, I engage with a different methodological approach that brings together different disciplines. In this regard, I locate my research within the discipline of Cultural Studies, which means that there is an inter-disciplinary work of deconstruction of the different layers of narrative in order to uncover power dynamics that would be obviated in an only textual or aesthetic approach. My research is deeply rooted in an understanding of the socio-political dynamics inside Palestinian society and in its relation with Israeli occupation, as a starting point of the analysis of the theatrical

representation. In the coming section, I will define thoroughly the notion of immobility that will work as a theoretical paradigm throughout this research.

III. Introducing Immobility

“The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space [emphasis added]. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment. I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein”

This quote, extracted from Foucault’s work *Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias* (1984), refers to a new interest in space within social theory from the late eighties until the present. Bachelard (1964) and Lefebvre¹⁸ (1991) are broadly accepted as being two of the most relevant figures (Hetherington 1997; Shields 1999; Tompkins 2003; Kobialka 2003; Elden 2004; Simonsen 2005; Merrifield 2006; Goonewardena et al. 2008; Stanek 2011; Giesecking et al. 2014) of what has been defined as a ‘spatial turn’ (Schmid 2008, 27). This new theoretical consideration of space blurs the lines between disciplines (geography, architecture, cultural studies, and anthropology) and proposes a new space-time configuration. Critical and Marxist human geographers like Cresswell (2006, 2010), Thrift (1996), Tuan (2001), Massey (2005), Harvey (1989, 2000), Shields (1991), Soja (1989), Keith and Pile (1993), Giesecking et al. (2014); post-colonial and cultural theorists like Homi K. Bhabha (1994), Anderson (1991), Said (1979); feminist theorists like Rose (1993, 1999); and theatre and performance scholars like Brook (1968), Hetherington (1998) or Tompkins (2003), have broadened the disciplinary boundaries of geography and the understanding of space as socially constructed.

Lefebvre’s work, especially *The Production of Space*, is usually credited with altering the course of the study of space and conferring a ‘multidisciplinary’ dimension to it. One of Lefebvre’s main propositions is that ‘(social) space is a (social) product’ (Lefebvre 1991, 26) that is particular to every society. In the analysis of the process of space production, Lefebvre proposes the idea of a threefold dialectics of space which link the materiality of space and the centrality of the human experience both socially and humanly. He seeks a

¹⁸ Besides, the connection that Lefebvre’s work makes of space and everyday life-rhythms (Lefebvre 2004) emphasizes the role of movement and mobility for social studies.

whole vision of the production of space as a social practice defining it in terms of a space triad: space can be ‘perceived’ - ‘spatial practices’, ‘conceived’ - ‘representations of space’, and ‘lived’ - ‘representational spaces’, which works as a tool for social analysis (Lefebvre 1991, 34). Lefebvre’s focus is therefore a broader idea of space which includes practice and experience, connecting them tightly with ‘everyday time - space orders and ‘lived spaces’’ (Rief 2017, 9). As stated by Rief, Lefebvre’s work ‘emphasizes the role of movement and mobility for social studies’ since it connects space and everyday life (Rief 2017, 10).

Recently, some authors have recognized the influence of Lefebvre’s theory for the emergence of a new area of interdisciplinary study: ‘Mobilities studies’ (Adey 2006; Sheller and Urry 2006; Urry 2000; Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006). Within the current global landscape, mobility has to be considered as covering ‘a wide range of meanings, from the mobility of ideas and ideologies to that of consumer commodities’ (Aouragh 2012, 41). Against the idea of the ‘death of distance’ (Cairncross 2001), scholars started talking about a ‘mobility turn’ (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006, 1; Fraser 2011, 34; Urry 2003, 157). This mobility turn was encouraged by the idea of a disappearance of social boundaries, fostered by the political and social events of the final decade of the twentieth century, like the fall of the iron curtain that divided West and East during the Cold War (Turner 2007, 288). By talking about a ‘turn’, theorists shifted the attention from the nation-state as the main actor of human mobility and proposed a new paradigm in which multiple disciplines collaborate to formulate new notions of mobility. Therefore, ‘mobility’ needs to be conceptualized as a complex notion, full of nuances; in Lefebvre’s terms, this ‘mobility turn has reconcile(d) space as perceived, conceived and most importantly *lived* [emphasis in original]’ (Fraser 2011, 34). This means that the practice of space and the power structures that are attached to that space are aligned with the experience that contemporary populations have within a context of mobility.

Lefebvre is also relevant because he talks about ‘experience’ as one of the constitutive elements of that space that is socially constructed; as we will see, individual and collective experience will be relevant elements of analysis in the present thesis when looking at representations of space. According to Tuan, freedom manifests as the elementary power to move: ‘in the act of moving, space and its attributes are directly experienced’ (Tuan 2001, 52). It is through movement that space is experienced and therefore we win our freedom. Mobility implies both movement and the experience of that movement and therefore, mobility implies a particular meaning of freedom. In parallel, the experience of

that space moves within a complex spatial system of social and political connections, which becomes the subject of mobility studies. As defined by Cresswell, movement is ‘mobility abstracted from contexts of power’ (2006, 2); hence, ‘mobility’ is movement which is concretized within contexts of power. Mobility tells us how bodies interact in/with/within a space in which different structures of power and meaning are at play. Lefebvre’s threefold categorization (‘perceived’, ‘conceived’ and ‘lived’ space) is relevant here as it recognizes the material character of space while at the same time he acknowledges the relevance of the experience of that space, which is infused with structures of power, through movement. Physical bodies move through their material environment while, at the same time, they become ‘categorical figures moving through representational spaces’ (Delaney 1999, n.p.). These bodies experience time and space through movement, while at the same time they are agents in the production of that space.

Mobility has been connected with modern life in Western societies (Moradi and Wiberg 2016, 3) and the new technologies that have altered any stable space-time relationship. It is therefore a phenomenon bounded to a social reality, both ‘a geographical and social phenomenon’ (Urry 2000, 3), which has attracted great attention by some authors (Shurmer-Smith and Hannam 1994; Thrift 1996; Cresswell 2006, 2010) interested in the power dynamics underlying social mobility and boundaries. Mobility has therefore been defined as increasingly connected with capitalist structures of globalization (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006; Tawil-Souri 2011; Hall 2005), as we will explore in chapter 4 of the present thesis. There has been a development of what Hardt and Negri describe as a new ‘global order’ or ‘form of sovereignty’ (2001, xi). Within this global order, multiple mobilities are intrinsically connected and dependent, which is not always an easy junction. Against the above-defined ‘mobility turn’, there is a ‘mobility gap’ which recognizes the linkage between mobilities and ‘the conditions of the possibilities of movement, such as socioeconomic factors, geographical locations, cultural imperatives, and political circumstances’ (Shamir 2005, 200). Therefore, Shamir states that these conditions are inscribed in a ‘trans-national political economy of movement’ (200) which, however, restricts the movement of a certain stratum of the global society. As Cresswell precisely puts it: ‘some mobilities are dependent on the immobilities of others’ (2001, 22).

Zygmunt Bauman described two mobile figures who represented the highest and lowest levels of mobility in the global social hierarchy: the vagabond and the tourist, which are the result of a high polarization. While stating that we are all mobile, he recognizes that

‘the mark of the excluded in the era of time/space compression is immobility’ (Bauman 1998, 113). Therefore, difference and exclusion qualify the division between mobility and immobility. More broadly, even though the study of the ‘noncitizens’ or ‘vagabonds’ and their mobility has predominantly focused on the transnational migrations to the West¹⁹, it has already been recognized (Pellegrino 2016, 5; Aouragh 2011, 376) that these economic migrations are related to immobility. In this sense, the mobility gap dividing human populations defines a power unbalance which goes beyond binaries; mobility and immobility represent the poles of a global ‘mobility regime’ (Shamir 2005, 206) that operates not only in Palestine but within ‘the perimeters of privileged localities, countries and economic and political blocs’ (Shamir 2005, 206). There are multiple possible locations in that regime, different forms of mobility and immobility within an exclusionary and segregating system. I argue that immobility is not a fixed notion, but a discourse that adapts to and changes with different power dynamics. In my opinion, immobility is defined within power imbalance and not as opposed to mobility, but as opposed to the power dynamics that allow free movement. I am not talking about immobility as a ‘lack of movement’ or ‘lack of action’, but as the lack of freedom to choose one’s movements due to the different restricting power structures. Turner has argued that Shamir’s notion of the ‘mobility regime’ should be re-titled the ‘immobility regime’ (Turner 2007, 289) in the current global context, referring to the increasing surveillance and control over migrants and refugees. At the same time, Adey talks about ‘relative immobilities’ created by differences in mobility (Adey 2006, 84).

The present thesis uses ‘immobility’²⁰ as a paradigm through which to consider the system of movement restrictions imposed by Israel over the Palestinian population and, more concretely, the impact of that system on the theatrical representation of identity. Palestine have a complex place within the dynamics of the above mentioned ‘mobility regime’; not only do Palestinians belong to the segment of the world’s population that has been excluded from the patterns of hyper-mobility of the current globalized world, but also Palestine has a long history of both forced displacement and movement restrictions due to the ongoing military occupation. The imposed system of immobility in Palestine is an outcome of ‘artificial geography based on a mythic narrative of entitlement, implemented through military power to set land boundaries and to sort and grade the people’ (Ra’ad and Nafi’ 2007, 33). The ‘immobility’ imposed on Palestinians

¹⁹ See for instance Arjun Appadurai’s *Modernity at Large* (1996)

²⁰ The term ‘immobility’ has also been defined as ‘stillness’ (Bissell and Fuller 2011a; Murphie 2009) or moorings (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006; Urry 2007).

locates them not only on the margins of an hyper-mobile global system, but it reflects the 'structures and hierarchies of power and position by race, gender, age and class' (Teshfahoney 1998, 501) that are constitutive of Israel's colonial project.

Some authors have already linked the Palestinian situation with current discussions of the theoretical intricacies of the dichotomy mobility-immobility regarding many different issues. The impact of permanent structures such as the Wall or the checkpoints in Palestinian everyday lives, which will be the focus of the first chapter of the present thesis, has attracted a lot of academic attention. For instance, scholars have analysed the impact of the checkpoints on Birzeit's students' mobility (Harker 2009); the 'practice of waiting' in checkpoints (Wick 2011); the checkpoints' connection with the system of liberal freedom (Kotef 2015); or the identity card system (Tawil-Souri 2012a). Bowman talked about a 'logic of encystation' in the construction of the Wall (2007), Brown has defined the Palestinians as an 'immobile mass' (2004a) and Razack has spoken about the 'spatial arrangements that memorialize power on the bodies of the colonized in occupied Palestine' (Razack 2010, 90). Other authors have enquired about the conflictive status of Jerusalem (Pullan 2013); the connection between social reproduction, social mobility and occupation (Tarākī 2006b), the options of online mobility for Palestinians (Aouragh 2011) or the social mobility of Palestinians inside Israel (Kraus and Hodge 1990). All of these works highlight the movement restrictions and the increasing immobility of Palestinian people, which stem from a system of oppression that marginalizes Palestinian movements. Therefore, my research will be inscribed in an already existing trend of studying Palestine in terms of immobility, incorporating a new perspective through the analysis of theatre production within that immobility.

On the one hand, the term 'immobility' is related to the increasing closure that characterizes the Israeli policy on the OPT, in which population's mobility is 'supervised within enclosed, segmented spaces' (Brown 2004, 205). These techniques for disciplining bodies 'exemplify the productive nature of power in that they not only set up systems of control, but call forth new desires and institute new normativities' (Shildrick and Price 1999, 433-434). These techniques will be the main focus of the first two chapters of the present thesis, with a close analysis of the representation of different technologies that restrict Palestinian mobility, like the prison system or the structures of occupation in the West Bank. On the other hand, 'immobility' is also related to the social and political dynamics within Palestinian society that curtail people's relationship with their own space. The current analysis is not limited to individual immobility, but also to the 'nexus

between spatial and social mobility' (Faist 2013, 1637). For Faist, not seeing that nexus overlooks the power dynamics that create different kinds of mobilities and immobilities. For instance, chapter three of the present thesis will focus on the use of the female body to represent the Palestinian land in theatre. One of the questions will be whether such representation entails a process of othering that affects the female body and confers on her a differential position within the Palestinian community, as in charge of the reproduction and preservation of the community, while at the same time excluded from full membership of the community.

At the same time, immobility can also curtail people's capacity to develop 'ideas of abstract space' (Tuan 2001, 52) which has an important impact on artistic expression. Physical and psychological barriers in Palestine limit the population's agency and their chances to decide over their lives; and that has an impact on the way they represent and express their experience in art. In this sense, my research locates itself in the above-mentioned corpus of scholarly work about Palestinian immobility, but it focuses on the impact of such immobility on theatrical language and the use of the theatrical space. I argue that immobility can be considered a theoretical paradigm from which to acknowledge the intricacies of the representation of mobility in theatre. The interaction between bodies and space in Palestinian theatre becomes crucial to understanding the per-se complex process of the formation of subjectivities in such a context that restricts their movements. The role of space and mobility in other kinds of artistic expression in Palestine has been studied by other authors; like popular culture (Stein and Swedenburg 2005), cinema (Gertz and Khleifi 2008) and visual arts (González 2009; Slitine 2016). However, the choice of theatre rather than other forms of artistic expression is, first and foremost, because of the specific and unique relation of theatre with space. As stated by Kobialka²¹ (2003, 558): 'the experience of space (mental/physical, imaginary/real, produced/producing, material/social, immediate/mediated, and so on) is implicit and conditions every conception of theatre (mental/physical, imaginary/real, produced/producing, material/social, immediate/mediated, and so on)'. Therefore, the way in which Palestinians experience their space is going to be present in how they present their stories on stage; or, the other way round, through an analysis of the use of the theatrical space in recent years, we can reach an insightful understanding of the way in which Palestinian immobility has permeated people's lives and affected their

²¹ Drawing upon Agamben's conception of history as 'invariably accompanied by a certain experience of time' (1993, 91).

understanding of their own identity. For instance, the presence of physical and psychological barriers that limit people's life choices can be represented in either a use of the theatrical space that would recognize and promote a representation of infinite life choices or, which is a very common trend in Palestinian contemporary theatre, would reproduce and reiterate those restrictions as a critique and as a way to alleviate psychological burden.

The concept of space is paramount to theatre as 'we talk about plays and theatre in spatial terms' (Donahue 1993, 77). All the elements of theatre are placed, limited and defined by space; the characters, the scenery and even language interact in a definite dramatic space within which a signifying system is elaborated (81). Space is therefore a 'tool', as the impact of the arrangements of the dramatic space in the construction of meaning is never innocent (Brook 1989, 149) and it is purposefully directed towards fostering certain reactions within the audience. In this sense, immobility is highly charged with meaning that reflects the different power structures. Therefore, by focusing on theatre processes of representation, I engage in a 'relational interpretive framework that includes issues of meaning, representation, and ideology as integral to the process of understanding mobility' (Cresswell 2006, 128). As stated above, we cannot understand immobility as a binary opposition to mobility and, in fact, immobility can be put in motion by means of performance which is indeed paradoxical. The paradox stems from the fact that the term 'immobility' is linked to the subjective construction of identity as a dynamic process that pervades the artistic scene. I argue that 'immobility' can be seen as multiple 'instabilities in the processes through which people are related to place' (Kelly 2009, 28). Many questions arise here: Can we perform in an immobile way? Can we be dynamically immobile? Theatre allows alternative representations of space that incorporate social actions, 'the actions of subjects both individual and collective who are born and who die, who suffer and who act (...)' (Lefebvre 1991, 33). Individual/collective actions are thus connected to individual/collective experience and this experience can be an experience of 'immobility' that can be expressed by any theatrical means through the bodies of the performers in dialogue with the bodies of the audience.

Therefore, even though to label one of the defining patterns of contemporary dramatic production in Palestine as 'Immobility' may seem a denial of the possibility of 'development' and 'change' within Palestinian cultural production, this assumption is not accurate since I do not understand immobility as being constructed in opposition to the notion of movement. As we have already mentioned, immobility is connected with

differential/restricted mobilities, rather than operating as an opposite. As stated by Cresswell, 'speeds, slownesses, and immobilities are all related in ways that are thoroughly infused with power and its distribution' (2010, 21). This thesis delves into the matter of power in the theatrical representation of the Palestinian identity. Power pervades daily life and it is daily life and individual actions which are increasingly represented in contemporary Palestinian theatre (Nassar 2006, 24). Space is the canvas and network for everyday activities and it 'is not only not self-evidently innocent, but also bound into various and diverse social and psychic dynamics of subjectivity and power' (Rose 1999, 365). The management of the space that is available and in which bodies interact is subjected to a hierarchy and is never left to chance. These structures of power are translated to the dramatic space and the body on stage becomes a locus of power in relation with broader narratives of the surrounding context.

In the Palestinian context, space cannot be understood as a mapped reality as it is an endlessly changing and increasingly confined reality. The translation of this spatial reality into theatre necessarily reflects the social and physical dynamics linked to certain power structures. Lived experience is necessarily embodied and placed in a certain space and, for the purpose of this research, the body as sign and discourse is the cornerstone of the notion of immobility. 'After all' -as stated by Patrice Pavis - 'the body is always there, even immobilized and even if, in the most extreme case, it is hidden by some object' (Pavis and Biller-Lappin 1981, 72). At the same time, the centrality of the connection between bodies, space and immobility is closely connected with the formation of identity. The embodied experiences in relation with space determine the processes of identity construction and therefore, 'restrictions on bodies restrict identities' (Brown 2004, 511). Through theatre, identity mechanisms can be explored through those 'immobile' bodies. We may say that indeed we can be dynamically immobile. Immobility in theatre becomes then a kind of silence, an emptiness that produces 'a hobbled subjectivity without active agency' (Bissell and Fuller 2011b, 3). Theatre becomes a reflection of an absence, a void in which certain narratives of identity are possible and necessary.

The present thesis articulates the notion of immobility in the Palestinian context related to different notions that will be developed throughout this work. The first chapters will focus on 'closure' as a 'disciplinary arrangement of space spread(s) throughout the whole social body' (Foucault 1995, 209). This closure means that the population's mobility is 'supervised within enclosed, segmented spaces' (Brown 2004, 205). In Palestine, this closure is made more evident by permanent structures such as the prisons, the Wall or the

checkpoints that play both physical and psychological roles. The Israeli prison system, which reflects the ultimate restriction of Palestinian mobility, has become a defining element of Palestinian experience and has been broadly represented in theatre.

My research analyses the intersection between bodies and spaces in a theatre directed to both represent and overcome the limitations imposed on the Palestinian population in terms of its social, geographical and personal mobility. The intersection of individual and collective mobility will be a constant throughout this work. In the Palestinian context, collective immobility is as central to the different narratives of identity as the actual individual experience. Collective immobility produces ‘germinal conditions for a nascent community of experience no longer bound by existing protocol but instead newly forming through the shared act of being still’ (Cocker 2011, 87). The present thesis will analyse the dynamics of community building that are fostered by different theatre groups. I argue that through the representation of individual experiences of immobility, Palestinian practitioners are trying to speak to the community, fostering a narrative of a common struggle through personal experiences that are, at the same time, part of a common and shared experience of immobility. Therefore, theatre bridges the individual and collective bodies of the performers and the audience in order to construct a common narrative that can challenge that immobility. In this sense, the dramatic space acquires a new meaning to an audience for whom the theatrical experience is ‘one spatial experience in a series which would also include home and workplace’ (Shepherd 2006, 99). Theatre experience becomes as real and understandable as any other everyday life action, which makes it easier for it to convey a message of steadfastness and resistance against the shared restrictions. In brief, theatre creates realities on stage that can be experienced by the audience as reality; moreover, when this reality is a reflection of everyday life restrictions, the way in which theatre challenges those restrictions on stage can become a model or inspiration for Palestinian audiences.

In the present thesis, I argue that the theatrical representation of immobility opens up diverse possibilities for resistance. Immobility in Palestine is articulated in a three-layered structure of power. Firstly, the dynamics of Palestinian society and the internal socio-political complexities that have arisen after the Oslo Accords (1993-1995) and the second Intifada (2000), and which have a big impact on the internal configuration of the Palestinian community inside of the OPT and how individuals locate themselves within it. Secondly, the Israeli occupation and the increasing division of the Palestinian land, which entails the segmentation of the Palestinian population and the consolidation of a

physical structure of domination through permanent elements of the landscape, like the Wall. Thirdly, Palestine is inscribed in broader dynamics of the global ‘mobility regime’ that we described earlier; as we will see in chapter 4, Palestine has become increasingly present in international circuits, while at the same time it remains in a subordinate position within postcolonial dynamics. Theatre becomes not only a ‘rupture in the rhythm of a ‘globalizing’ life’ (Bissell and Fuller 2011b, 6), but it also represents ‘a mode of playful resistance to – or refusal of – societal norms; a wilful attempt to rupture or divert the trajectory of the dominant hegemonic social order’ (Cocker 2011, 87). Therefore, Palestinian theatre works to challenge these three layers of immobility that affect Palestinian everyday life. As Azoulay puts it: ‘(Palestinians) are not free to move about spontaneously and find their way into and out of places; they are not free to use space in their work, commerce, and other forms of economic and professional activities; and they are not free to create open spaces for public gatherings, free speech, and free association without being limited, controlled, and monitored by the occupying authorities’ (2009, 155). The present thesis will focus on the way in which, through the use of theatre and theatrical space, all these limitations are handled and if theatre is really used as a space in which alternative realities and experiences can be imagined.

IV. Methodological Approach

In my research, I am using an interdisciplinary approach, combining concepts and methods of cultural geography, anthropology, philosophy and theatre and performance studies. I recognize the potential of applying different cultural theories to the study of theatre, taking into account not only the context of production but also engaging with ‘a detailed interrogation of diverse and sometimes unexpected responses’ (Freshwater 2009, 28). I am engaging with a definition of performance as an ‘anthropological term that relates to the conditions of presentation and experience’ (Zumthor 1988, 218), which means understanding theatre as a platform for the exchange of experiences in which both theatre groups and audiences engage in an open dialogue that is always intimately linked to the context and conditions of production. Immobility is inserted into these contexts and conditions of production through the use of theatrical space to present individual and collective experiences. In terms of the transformative potential of performance, I draw upon Erika Fischer-Lichte’s focus on the experience as the central concern of the performance: ‘performance introduces novelty into the world, creates realities alternatives and has a transformative power’ (Fischer-Lichte 2008, 11).

Throughout the thesis I will engage with theories of space in connection with different topics. I consider space as a juxtaposition of different narratives that can be deconstructed. My analysis starts with an analysis of the primary texts – both in terms of performance and literary text – to then expand through an interpretative framework in which the different layers of meaning are to be uncovered. As stated by Foucault: ‘There is not one but many silences, and they are an integral part of the strategies that underlie and permeate discourses’ (Foucault and Rabinow 1991, 310); in this sense, as I have already mentioned, immobility can become a silence in the narrative that emerges in the theatrical space and can, therefore, be deconstructed. As we have seen in the previous section, Lefebvre’s theory of space will be relevant and I will recurrently draw upon different notions like Lefebvre’s triad – space as perceived, conceived and lived – to define different dynamics of power in Palestine. For instance in chapter one, the materiality and conceptual relevance of the Wall are considered ‘conceived spaces’ in which the forces of Israeli power operate to oppress Palestinians. However, I will argue that the representation of the Wall on stage becomes a ‘lived’ space, a symbolic use of the space that allows alternative narratives.

I will draw upon different theories of Foucault, for instance, his notion of ‘technologies of power’ in chapter one, as systems that ‘determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject’ (Martin, Gutman, and Hutton 1988, 18). When defining ‘technologies of occupation’ I will apply Foucault’s notion to the Israeli-Palestinian situation in which different technologies operate by controlling individuals’ everyday mobility through space arrangement and military occupation. In chapter two, I will look at Foucault’s theories about imprisonment (*Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*), along with his definition of prison as a ‘heterotopia’ (Foucault 1984, 5). Besides, I will apply Foucault’s notion of ‘biopower’, coined in his book *The Will to Knowledge*, Foucault's first volume of *The History of Sexuality*. Biopower is a technology directed towards the regulation of a population’s bodies, permeating social codes and is a technology of power defined by Foucault that refers to contemporary regulatory techniques by the sovereign power (Foucault 1978, 140). Biopower targets the bodies of the population and permeates social codes and behaviour in order to control them, which is indeed a pattern that can be observed in the Palestinian case. This notion has been used by other theorists like Sari Hanafi to refer to the Israeli ‘colonial bio-power’ and how it applies its power to create a ‘spacio-cide’ in Palestine (2009, 106-121).

Different feminist theorists have influenced my work, especially the connections between women and nationalism, and how these connections interrelate in space. For instance, Gillian Rose's works *Feminism & Geography* or *Women and Everyday Spaces*; Yuval-Davis' *Gender & Nation*, Kandiyoti's *Bargaining with Patriarchy*; as well as scholarship about Palestinian women and space: Kanaaneh's *Birthing the Nation*, Peteet's *Gender in Crisis* or Ball's work *Palestinian Literature and Film in Postcolonial Feminist Perspective*. Besides, I have also explored different works on masculinity, especially when talking about the prison system and the construction of subjectivities; for instance: Peteet's *Male Gender and Rituals of Resistance in the Palestinian Intifada*; Evans and Wallace's *A Prison within a Prison? The Masculinity Narratives of Male Prisoners* or Massad's *Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism*.

In the present thesis, I consider the body as a 'conceptual framework' (Conroy 2009, 7), which means a study of the body beyond its materiality, focusing on the deconstruction of the meaning that the theatrical body can acquire during a performance. Theatre is an art that exhibits the body on a stage; at the same time, it consciously conveys an abstract message in order to engage the receiver in the definition of meaning. In my research, I have engaged with the materiality of the body and the actual relationship of the body with the theatrical space, in order to be able to deconstruct the different layers of meaning underneath that relationship and how that relates with the actual context of Palestine.

At the same time, different elements of the stage dramaturgy and the written text will also be taken into consideration. All of these elements are part of the broader theatrical event and are involved in the process of meaning creation. The bodies of the performers are in a 'constant state of flux and action' (Aston and Savona 1991, 116) and, I add, interaction with the other elements on stage. Therefore my research offers an interpretative reading by looking at different indices and using different analytical procedures - written text, costumes, stage, and didascalia – in order to deconstruct the different layers of meanings and the process of representation of immobility on stage.

All these layers of meaning emerge partially through the identification of the audiences with the enacted experience on stage. This identification doesn't have to be positive, it can also be absent and therefore create 'a creepy sensation of uncanniness' (Conroy 2009, 26). Different examples of this calculated interest in creating a sense of estrangement in the audience will be seen throughout the thesis. For instance, *Confinement* (2010), analysed in the first chapter, uses some resources of Brechtian 'alienation' to bring the audience's attention to the actual social alienation of the characters. This strategy is used

in theatre, according to Schumacher (1955, 192), as ‘a tool to render social alienation conspicuous in the theatre, to turn it (...) into a power so unbearable that it will provoke revolutionary action’ (as quoted in Held 2011, 28). In that sense, the present thesis explores the mobilizing interest and potential behind each of the analysed theatre productions, with the different theatre groups trying to speak to their different audiences and mobilize different emotions.

The specific modes of reception of the audience interact with the dialectical tension between the stage and its ideological content; in this sense, the audience will engage in a process of ‘concretization’ intimately linked to the context in which the presentation-reception-concretization happens. This concretization is a process of creation of meaning by the audience in which the processes of ‘objectivization’ and ‘actualization’, specific to the perception of the performance, are given concrete meanings according to the context (Toro 1995, 100–101). To put it more simply, the meaning of a theatre play depends on the context in which the theatrical event happens. For instance, the display of explicit violence against the characters in the first scene of *The Island* (2013, analysed in chapter 2), may be something disturbing for Western audiences. However, when this violence is presented to a Palestinian audience, the spectators not only recall their own personal experience but they also feel inscribed into the collective narratives of trauma presented on stage.

It is in this transaction of meaning that the focus on the individual-collective body happens. The different layers of meaning of the body on stage have a strong social relevance, since ‘social, moral and political values attach themselves to body shape, size, colour, movement’ (Shepherd 2006, 1). Theatre then becomes a place for negotiation, a contemporary agora where the body is a tool for social dialogue. This negotiation is inscribed in a wider code of social norms that are translated into daily life through physical techniques that are learnt and defined in terms of morals and ‘manners’ (Goffman 1959, 24). As a mirror of the social environment, ‘performance dramatizes the relationship between the personal body of the performer and the symbolic arrangements of the social body’ (Shepherd and Wallis 2004, 120).

Within the Palestinian context, the representation of immobility is not only relevant because of the presentation on stage of the individual experiences related to it; it is also significant in terms of the construction of a common meaning for this ‘immobility’ drawing upon the individual-collective experience of the audience. In this sense, the theatre plays analysed in this thesis rather represent the individual experiences of the

characters, allowing the process of meaning creation to stem from the theatrical event. The immobility of the bodies on stage reflects the collective experience of the embodied audience and opens ways for collective expression. Just as Elias Canetti recognized the power of the 'stiller' for his endurance and resistance (1981, 388), immobility can indeed become a position of resistance. The different immobilities that can be presented in theatre 'pulse through multiple ecologies with multiple effects' which can be indeed be productive and positive (Bissell and Fuller 2011b, 3).

The current research stems from my work as a development worker and cultural manager in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and the West Bank and Gaza in 2010-2011. During that time I had the opportunity to get increasingly involved in the Palestinian cultural scene, helping with the organization of events such as the 'Festiclown Palestine' in September 2011, the first clown festival in the West Bank, which resulted in my small house in Ramallah being flooded with red noses and an exciting belief in the possibilities of theatre and clowning in the context of Palestine. From that period, I started thinking about and researching the political potential of theatre in contexts like Palestine. In 2012, I finished a MA in Cultural Studies at SOAS, writing my dissertation about Palestinian identity politics and the way they were problematized in the Freedom Theatre's productions (Jenin, OPT).

During the research for my MA dissertation and my previous work in the OPT, I recognized the same underlying two factors in theatre production: on the one hand, an increasing self-consciousness of theatre makers not only as voices and mobilizers inside of their communities but also as voices for the Palestinian community that could be heard in international circles. On the other hand, an interest in individual stories, in daily experiences of their lives under occupation rather than in complying with nationalist or collective narratives. Groups were talking about 'cultural resistance' ('The Freedom Theatre / Generating Cultural Resistance' 2017, n.p.) or 'beautiful resistance' ('Alrowwad, Pioneers for Life' 2014, n.p.) as their strategy to articulate their political position, focusing on the individual experiences of their communities. Those experiences were permeated by a sense of immobility; a sense of political disenchantment and frustration over the lack of life options, that were represented on stage to create a sense of community around them.

I conducted fieldwork during spring 2014 and summer 2015. I first located the different theatre venues and groups throughout the territory of Israel and the OPT, arranging unstructured interviews with the artistic directors of these groups. In addition, I also

conducted interviews with representatives of different cultural institutions like the Qattan Foundation. In this first phase of my fieldwork, I collected the available material from performances produced after 1997 in the OPT and Israel and I attended the performances that were showing at that time. In this first period, I obtained a comprehensive overview of the Palestinian theatre scene, its problems and intricacies, as well as a large body of theatre productions from previous years. At the same time, this allowed me to have a first introduction to the different groups and have a complete overview of their work, in terms of individual productions. Due to the lack of access to Gaza, I decided to focus on the groups based and working in the West Bank and Israel. It is mainly because of this lack of access, along with the above-mentioned focus on educational theatre rather than performance, that the present thesis does not present any case study that was originally produced and performed in Gaza.

In March 2014, I participated in the Freedom Bus, an initiative of the Freedom Theatre from Jenin, an initiative that brings together Palestinians and internationals touring different towns, villages, Bedouin encampments and refugee camps throughout the West Bank using Playback Theatre²² and challenging the movement restrictions imposed by the Israeli occupation. During that time, I was able to participate as an audience member in several shows and I was even invited to participate in a 3-day Playback Theatre workshop with some of the inhabitants of At-Tuwani, a community located in South Hebron Hills that is harshly harassed by the surrounding settlements and by the Israeli military forces. These experiences allowed me to engage in conversational analysis with the participants and the actors and actresses of the Freedom Theatre and in observation as a member of the audience and participant in the workshop.

From the analysis of the different plays I saw during that period and the visualization of the different material that theatre groups made available to me, I configured the structure of the present thesis, deconstructing the visual material to reveal the underlying power structures and the messages hidden in the representation of the individual/collective experience. In the summer of 2015, I conducted a second period of fieldwork, visiting again some of the groups I had been in touch with in 2014. In that period, I conducted deeper research into some of the materials that I had already selected as relevant for the present thesis. In that trip, I also presented a paper at the 7th International Conference of

²² Playback theatre is a form of social participatory theatre in which the audience shares different stories that are then re-enacted by the performers. It is a technique that has been used in Palestine by the Freedom Theatre.

Critical Geography: *Precarious Radicalism on Shifting Grounds: Towards a Politics of Possibility*, organized in Ramallah between 26 and 30 July 2015.

On 2 February 2016, I was travelling to the OPT to do some further research and participate in the 'François Abu Salem Symposium: Defining Palestinian Contemporary Theatre today: issues, practices and challenges', which was held in Bethlehem and Jerusalem and organized by the French Institute of the Middle East (IFPO) among other organizations. Despite having a letter of invitation from the French Consulate in Jerusalem, I was denied entrance to Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories after six hours in custody at Ben Gurion Airport, in Tel Aviv. My flight landed in Tel Aviv at 3am. At the initial standard passport control, after a couple of generic questions, the official asked me why I had been to the West Bank in the summer of 2015. I replied that my work was related to theatre and I had been to the West Bank to visit some theatres there. He said they needed to ask me some more questions and kept my passport.

I was subjected to interrogation for approximately six hours, time in which my phone was confiscated and my telephone directory and personal photos carefully scrutinised. The Israeli official recorded all the numbers of people related to the Palestinian artistic scene that I had on my phone. She asked repeatedly if I had participated in any demonstrations in the Palestinian territories, saying that they had photographs of me and that I needed to tell the truth. My position at that time was always that I had not actively participated in demonstrations but that I had observed demonstrations as part of my research on performance and performativity. After four hours without any food or water I was already feeling sick and light-headed. I was not given any reason for my denial of entry; they sent me to the waiting room, gave me a bottle of water and a sandwich and, twenty minutes later, a woman came to make me sign the letter acknowledging that I was being deported. After a thorough body search, I boarded a plane to Istanbul at 9am while my passport was kept in custody until my arrival in Europe.

Of course, this is not an isolated practice and I am not the first scholar or student to be prevented from entering Israel in order to conduct or present their research in Palestine. This denial not only meant an obstacle to my research, but it also highlighted how research about Palestinian culture, directed towards enhancing understanding and critical thinking, is being targeted and obstructed by the Israeli authorities. This gives an idea of the extent of Israeli's efforts to render voiceless and invisible Palestinian cultural production. From that experience, I faced the limitations of not having access to Palestine, but I also engaged with a more determined view about the relevance of scholarship

focused on Palestine and, more concretely, on Palestinian cultural expression and production.

V. Primary Texts and Structure of the Thesis

This thesis has been organized in four chapters that will connect the individual-collective narratives of immobility and that will explore the different frictions between the local, national and global dimensions of Palestinian narratives. The first two chapters will focus on the actual mechanisms of enclosure and confinement that are put in place by the Israeli state system and how the Palestinian population has internalized them. I will analyse how theatre represents these movement restrictions and I will question what the potential for theatre to challenge them is. Chapter three analyses the gender representations and their connection with space. More concretely, I am interested in understanding the symbolic relevance of representing the female body as the Palestinian land, becoming a symbol for the reproduction and preservation of the national project, while at the same time, risking reproducing immobilizing patriarchal discourses about women's identities. The last chapter will focus on the global dimensions of Palestinian theatre and how production is inserted into broader discourses of international development. The notion of immobility will be related to the new global order, locating Palestinian theatre inside the regime of unequal mobility at an international level.

The first chapter of the present thesis explores the articulation of the different methods of disciplinary arrangement of space in theatre. The regime of movement restriction in Palestine has a strong impact on people's everyday lives. This chapter will explore the different methods of closure that have been put in action by Israel, defining them as 'technologies of occupation' and exploring how theatre represents these technologies on stage. The permanent aspect of these elements has shaped and fixed a new landscape that has a strong impact on the constitution of subjectivities. Theatre has increasingly represented these technologies on stage as part of Palestinians' daily lives. Besides, I will question the relevance of proposing a division inside-outside between Israel and Palestine and offer a fluid definition of a border. Although these 'technologies of occupation' have been defined as borders between Israel and Palestine, I argue that the impossibility of defining Israel and Palestine as separate entities in spatial terms challenges the idea of borders. Moreover, I will explore how these discursive borders have an impact on

theatrical language and how subjectivities can be represented within this context in which space is tightly controlled and regulated.

I will also talk about the mechanisms of control that operate inside of Palestinian society and that are related to the need for a coherent national identity, and performance of that identity, based on certain social rules. These rules often have a gender component of regulation and definition of gender roles, which will be analysed in chapter two when talking about dynamics inside-outside prison and chapter three when talking about the representation of the female body in Palestinian theatre. This means that Palestinian theatre not only responds to the limitations imposed by the Israeli occupation system, but also to the immobilizing factors and rules inside of Palestinian society.

Chapter one will pay special attention to one technology of occupation, the Wall that has been built by Israel between the OPT and Israel. Despite how problematic this Wall and its geographical layout is, it has become a permanent element of the landscape and has permeated the everyday lives of the Palestinian population. Therefore, theatre deals with it in a two-fold manner; on the one hand, theatre wants to challenge the presence of that Wall and presents ways in which it can be destroyed. On the other hand, Palestinian practitioners and artists acknowledge the important role that the Wall has in their daily lives and offer theatrical representations in which their experiences are at the core of the plot, with the Wall becoming just a background element. In the first chapter, I will analyse the following plays: *Confinement* (2010) by Al-Harah Theatre in Beit Jala, *Exit* (2013) by Khashabi Ensemble in Haifa and *The Wall* (2004) by Al-kasaba Theatre in Ramallah.

Chapter two focuses the attention on prisons as institutions where the technologies of the Israeli state exert total control over bodies and their position in time and space. The high rates of imprisonment in Palestine have shaped imprisonment as a defining element of Palestinian individual and collective experience. In this sense, the representation of imprisonment in theatre responds both to the collective symbolism of the prisoners and an individual reclaiming of their subjectivity. However, this collective value can become problematic because, on the one hand, it might entail the instrumentalization of the prisoners' suffering for political purposes. On the other hand, there has been a decrease in the social support for Palestinian prisoners and their families.

Therefore, the focus of theatre on individual experience is trying to speak to the collective, deconstructing essentializing discourses and trying to bring the collective together in support of the prisoners. I argue that the aesthetic representation of imprisonment resorts to an existentialist narrative that focuses on individual experience and the everyday lives

of the inmates; in this sense, theatre intends to speak to the community through the re-constitution of the imprisoned subject who suffers the invisibilization of the Israeli prison system. The second chapter will focus on two plays: *The Island* (2013), produced by the Freedom Theatre in the refugee camp of Jenin and *A Parallel Timeline* produced by Al-Midan Theatre in Haifa (Israel). Again in this case, we will be able to see the parallelisms that arise in different Palestinian contexts.

Chapter three explores the implications of the feminization of Palestinian land in theatre. The representation of Palestine as a female body might in fact reinforce ideas of the land and the woman as object/subjects to be protected, reinforcing nationalist patriarchal discourses. On the other hand, to parallel Palestine and the female body triggers a process of 'othering' in which a binary equation is established - oppressed land equals oppressed woman. This equation emphasizes the 'otherness' of both elements within the context of colonial occupation. The process of self-othering could be considered an assertion of a subaltern position where agency can be claimed and resistance can be articulated. Chapter three will explore whether theatre allows the female body to overcome the nationalist-patriarchal rhetoric and counter hegemonic representations of both Palestine and the female body by presenting a different reality on stage.

This chapter comes to deepen the analysis of the gender dynamics that are constructed in the context of immobility. The definition of the female identity as equal to the land has the risk of becoming an immobilizing feature insofar as it proposes an idea of the female identity as something fixed and immobile. The plays analysed in the third chapter are *Suicide Note from Palestine* (2013), produced by the Freedom Theatre in Jenin Refugee Camp and *I am Jerusalem* (2010), produced by Ashtar Theatre in Ramallah. In both of them, the female protagonist is both the character and the land, exposing the different narrative tensions in terms of their political affiliation and the different roles attached to their gendered identity. I will explore this representation as a strategy of 'othering', defining the woman and the land as the 'others' against the Israeli hegemonic rhetoric. In fact, this position might allow new narratives about the female role to be articulated, challenging pre-determined gender roles.

Chapter four situates the preceding discussion within the context of globalization's 'mobility regime' (Shamir 2005), which emphasizes the existence of a 'mobility gap' that only grants access to mobility to a restricted number of individuals. This gap creates a structural tension that has a strong impact on cultural expression. The system of International Aid is part of this global regime and its emergence in the Palestinian post-

Oslo scenario has been sustained as a strategy to support peace building. This chapter will explore the position of Palestinian theatre within the new international scene, analysing the different dynamics that underlie these encounters and influences.

The NGO-ization of theatre production in Palestine is part of the broader system and, on the one hand, it has increased the possibilities for access to funding, which fosters a more dynamic production. On the other hand, practitioners face the challenge of economic and conceptual dependence as they might be forced to convey a certain message and a certain idea of an 'authentic' Palestinian experience to comply with donors' agendas. I argue that, although dependence on external funding might result in a lack of empowerment in terms of the theatre groups' agency, groups manage to convey dissenting messages and performances anyway.

In this last chapter, I will analyse three different plays: *Keffiyeh/Made in China* (2012), written by Palestinian playwright Dalia Taha and co-produced by the Royal Flemish Theatre of Belgium and the A.M. Qattan Foundation of Palestine; *The House of Yasmine* (2011), a co-production between Al-Harah Theatre in Beit Jala and Ashtar Theatre in Ramallah; and *Richard II* (2012), produced by Ashtar Theatre in Ramallah for the World Shakespeare Festival (WSF) in London.

Chapter One. Materializing the Matrix of Control: The Representation of the Technologies of Occupation on Stage

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I. Introduction

The present chapter focuses on the material manifestation and the mechanisms through which the previously defined notion of immobility is implemented on the ground. The Israeli occupation is not based on a random combination of oppressive techniques but rather, it is articulated through a whole structure, what Halper has defined as a ‘matrix of control’, within which movement restriction serves the purpose of curtailing personal and collective freedom (Halper 2001, n.p.). This matrix of control connects different technologies that have a physical presence and impact on the landscape and, as it will become visible in the case studies in this chapter, conditions and limits every aspect of Palestinian everyday lives. In the first section of this first chapter, I will analyse the implication of this matrix of control, questioning the division of this spatial control in an inside-outside binary. As stated by Pullan: ‘this is not a matter of separating two warring factions; rather, the spatiality of everyday life between Palestinians and Israelis is dissonant and disparate. Palestinian lives are dominated by an arbitrary matrix of spatial enclosures whereas Israelis appear to have freedom of movement’ (2013, 126). These technologies do not aim at separating Israel and Palestine in an inside-outside fashion, but at controlling Palestinian movement altogether and imposing an intricate system of restrictions. There are a number of spatial arrangements at play that deny the possibility of understanding Israel and Palestine as two separated entities (Azoulay and Ophir 2012b, 130), like the presence of Israeli settlements inside of the West Bank or the high number of Palestinians with Israeli citizenship that live in Israel. Acknowledging the impact that these technologies have on the shaping of Palestinian identity, this chapter presents

theatre as an aesthetic form of representing and countering the limitations imposed by the matrix.

In the first section of this chapter we will analyse two plays: *Confinement* (2010) produced by Al-Harah theatre in Beit Jala, a Palestinian village in the West Bank, and *Exit* (2013), produced by Khashabi Ensemble, a Palestinian group working in Haifa (Israel). I argue that both plays show how the Israeli mechanisms of movement control are present in both context, again challenging the division inside-outside, although they have a different impact in the lives of the Palestinian population. We will see how both plays use the different stage arrangements to present a reality of confinement, in which the characters are deprived of their ability to move. Both case studies also represent how that 'matrix of control' has been internalized by the different characters and how it interacts with their understanding of their own identity. In this sense, both plays reflect not only the oppressive character of the Israeli matrix of control, but it also questions the structures of oppression that exist inside of the Palestinian society. Besides, *Exit* was produced for YouTube, becoming an example of internet theatre that offers a new and interesting approach to theatre's potential for bridging the fragmented Palestinian community.

The second section of this chapter will look at the materialization on the ground of this matrix of control through the establishment of different technologies directed to the actual control of the population through different institutions and procedures. Some examples of these technologies are the permanent checkpoints, the Segregation barrier or Wall or the construction of segregated roads for settlers inside of the West Bank. I will argue throughout this chapter that the permanent aspect of these elements has shaped and fixed a new landscape that has a strong impact on the constitution of Palestinian identity. These technologies entail the population's closure and Israeli control over their movements in what Bowman has defined as a 'logic of encystation' (2007, 295). Theatre has increasingly represented these technologies on stage as part of the daily landscape of the Palestinian population. This chapter will focus on the Wall and its theatrical representation in *The Wall* (2004) produced by Al-Kasaba Theatre in Ramallah. In the play, an actual wall is located on stage and the actions of the different characters are always related to it. I aim at uncovering the different meanings attributed to the Wall when located on stage and how theatre becomes a space for the contestation of such a structure and the power dynamics it represents. This question draws on the premise that theatrical representation of movement restrictions can foster dynamic challenges of these

power relations and both influence and represent their impact on Palestinian identity. The play represents different scenes of the characters' everyday life, reflecting upon the repressive effects of the Wall presence while, at the same time, it portrays different mechanisms of resistance that are put in place by the different characters. I argue that theatre can instrumentalise the aesthetic potential of the representation of the different 'technologies of occupation'. Through that representation, theatre can counter the oppressive matrix of control and propose new subject positions that challenge the oppressive character of these technologies.

II. The Geographical 'Matrix of Control'

Drawing upon the theoretical introduction to the notion of 'immobility' that was already presented, it is now necessary to expand upon its actual spatial arrangements and the actual operations on the ground. The materialization of the concept of 'immobility', when related to Palestine, is intimately linked to mechanisms of 'closure', as will be shown throughout this chapter. This closure is developed throughout a disciplinary arrangement of space that 'spread(s) throughout the whole social body' (Brown 2004, 209) and within which the population's mobility is controlled and supervised in an enclosed space. Jeff Halper coined the notion of the 'matrix of control' as 'an interlocking series of mechanisms, only a few of which require physical occupation of the territory, that allow Israel to control every aspect of Palestinian life in the occupied territories' (Halper 2001, n.p.). More than fifteen years later, the matrix defined by Halper has acquired a stronger physical presence, with a dramatic increase in the implementation of what he calls 'facts on the ground' - including land appropriation, the construction of settlements and bypass roads connecting these settlements to Israel – and the reinforcement of different administrative measures, like house demolitions and an intricate system of permits. According to Kotef, the regime of movement restriction in Palestine is nowadays 'one of the most perfected and elaborate systems of controlling a population via controlling its movement' (2015, 5) which have one of its predominant components in the checkpoints and the Wall.

Israeli policies target *place* (Hanafi 2009, 109), which means they aim to restrict Palestinian mobility and its particular connection with the land, and they have been implemented in different ways since the establishment of the Israeli state. At the outset, Israel relied pre-eminently on strategies of occupation that would lead to the eviction of

the population, which Abu-Zahra and Kay define as ‘survival policy’ (2013, 5). Israeli policy then turned to expansionism after the 1967 War and, from 2000, into separation policies (Abu-Zahra and Kay 2013, 5). Between 1972 and 1991, ‘general exit orders’ were issued and permitted OPT residents to leave the Palestinian territories (Parsons and Salter 2008, 704). During the 1990s, Israeli policies became increasingly directed towards closure, which ‘became institutionalized as the rule’ (Handel 2009, 183); traditional techniques of imprisonment were combined and/or reinforced with the confinement of the population to a limited space geographically articulated in order to make movement almost impossible within the Palestinian territories. These policies were directed to order the everyday life of the Palestinian population, who, as stated by Dayan, were already ‘‘caged’ out-group populations’ since the occupation in 1948 (2009, 293).

After the signature of the Oslo accords, the matrix of control became centred on ‘dissection’ or ‘fragmentation: ‘Palestinian territory was literally carved up, making the area itself far more penetrable while curbing Palestinian movement within it even more extensively’ (Azoulay and Ophir 2009, 100). As stated by Azoulay, Israeli arrangements of Palestinian space have disrupted it through three forms of intervention: ‘construction, the administration of movement, and destruction’ (2009, 153) which constitute a complex matrix of intervention that negates any agency of Palestinian individuals over their own space. Gaza and the West Bank were disconnected in terms of transportation and internal immobility became one of the main strategies of control of the Israeli policy. In order to enforce it, Israel needed to consolidate a series of ‘movement-control technologies’ (Handel 2009, 183), which ultimately became permanent traits of the Palestinian physical and social landscape, as we will see in the next sections.

Spatial control has been defined as a system that divides immobility between ‘internal’ and ‘external’ (Aouragh 2011, 375). At an external level, closure works by secluding the Palestinian territories, both Gaza and West Bank, from Israel (Parsons 2008, 705). At the same time, for Miryam Aouragh ‘internal immobility (...) means facing immobility on practically every level of life: a cocktail of curfews, checkpoints and military zones combining to form quasi-Bantustans’ (2011, 375) which have divided the West Bank into ‘land cells’ (Handel 2009, 183). However, in my opinion, the geographical matrix of control that is at hand in the present chapter cannot be understood only on an internal vs. external binary division. This means that, as defined by Pallister-Wilkins, there is ‘a split between the domestic and the foreign spheres in Israeli-Palestine (2011, 1857). Neither can the Palestinian territories be considered a foreign sphere for the Israelis, nor can Israel

be considered a foreign sphere for the Palestinians. Firstly because we cannot consider Israel and/or Palestine as ‘fixed units of sovereign space’ (Pallister-Wilkins 2011, 1857); Israel maintains disciplinary control over the Palestinian population and therefore, outside of its internationally recognized borders²³. In fact, Israel has ‘effectively de-bordered itself through expansion’ (Parsons and Salter 2008, 704), which is made evident by Israel’s neo-colonial advancement in the form of the establishment of Israeli settlements inside of the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and, until 2005, in Gaza.

Israel is implementing premeditated and exhaustive mechanisms of space control over Palestinians that are arranged around pre-established structures of power in which Israel seeks to colonise and separate Palestinian land. What Parsons and Salter define as a ‘soft curfew’ entails ‘a dense thicket of restrictions on Palestinian identity, residence and movement, mediated by military occupation, and a well-resourced machinery of state encouraging the Israeli population eastwards’ (2008, 707). The construction of Palestinian movement as a threat has justified the construction of permanent physical structures such as the Wall, the checkpoints or the segregated roads. We will see later how the notion of ‘border’ between Israel and Palestine is a problematic one, especially when it is used to legitimize the construction of a separation barrier or Wall. Bremner compares this situation to the apartheid system in South Africa, where the ‘native’ – as a definition for black people – could be contained and domesticated: ‘he/she was the property of power’ (Bremner 2005, 129). In Palestine, the bodies of the Palestinians are subject to the regulatory power of Israel even if they are not considered citizens of that state.

Besides, the presence of a large number of Palestinian citizens of Israel emphasizes the impossibility of a binary division internal vs. external. According to the Israeli Bureau of Statistics, in 2013 20.7% of the population of Israel were Arabs (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 2013, n.p.). This percentage corresponds to more than one and half million Palestinians living in Israel with Israeli citizenship. They are often perceived as a ‘Trojan horse’ inside of Israel and they have been treated as second-class citizens, excluded from the Israeli public sphere (Jabareen 2006, 1055). In this sense, the regime of immobility that is imposed over the Palestinian inside of Israel is one of exclusion and discrimination.

²³ The so-called ‘Green Line’ was the armistice line after the 1948/49 war which emerged from the negotiations between Israeli and Jordanian representatives. Until 1967, the West Bank was under Jordanian control. After the 1967 war, that territory was occupied by Israel and, nowadays, the ‘Green Line’ demarcates the geographical boundaries of the Palestinian territories of the West Bank. (Newman 2002; Bornstein 2002)

Their situation can be included in the general position of immobility that is being investigated in the present thesis; we will see in the coming section, through the analysis of *Confinement* (2010) and *Exit* (2013), how the Israeli matrix of control also affects this large mass of population in terms of their identity and everyday life.

The Israeli state exerts sovereignty inside and outside of its borders over the unsovereign social body of the Palestinians. They therefore become ‘masses of noncitizens’ (Dayan 2009, 283) or undesired citizens whose movements are controlled. The Israeli regime manipulates political space and devastates what Azoulay calls ‘the foundations of public space’: ‘the occupation regime has developed its own unique spatial language of blockade, separation and subjugation, preventing its subjects from maintaining a public space in which speech, gaze, and action are supposed to take place as free, spontaneous, and unpredictable play’ (2009, 155). The Palestinian population is defined and represented as individuals that are deprived of movement or whose movement is highly undesirable, or even criminalized. Of course these representations have an impact on the configuration of subjectivities and how they are translated into the theatrical language. I want to argue that there are certain theatrical patterns in the use of the space, the language, the body and movement on stage that can express the identity struggle within the matrix of control. The representation of daily life limitations and frustrations can be considered a coping mechanism that brings together different experiences. The next section will present two case studies in which the impact of the immobility regime in Palestinians’ everyday life is made evident.

I argue that the different theatrical arrangements help to create a narrative of closure and confinement. Both plays use the distortion of everyday life actions to articulate a critique of the restrictions imposed by the above-described matrix of control. Movement and dialogue also reflect how the characters have internalized these restrictions and, more importantly, how these restrictions can also come from the internal functioning of Palestinian society. Both plays take as a central element the representation of the internalization of restrictions and violence. The spectators are confronted with the absurdness of actions that escape the control of the characters. The two plays were produced three years apart from each other and offer a thought-provoking insight into the wide effects of the matrix of control on different Palestinian contexts. On the one hand, *Confinement* (2010) was produced in the West Bank and offers a critique of the social constraints that the Palestinian population has to face in order to ensure social stability within the Israeli occupation. The play makes clear that the occupation is only an

overarching system that can become internalized and determines the everyday lives of the residents of the West Bank. On the other hand, *Exit* (2013) asserts that the matrix of control is also relevant for the Palestinian inside Israel, insofar as Israel also exerts its power over them and they have been removed from their collective. *Exit* is a YouTube play produced by Khashabi Ensemble in Haifa, available online for broader audiences but lacking an audience in the moment of the performance recording. As we will see, this use of the new technologies by the Palestinians inside of Israel reveal an interest in bridging the divisions among the Palestinian community, making available their own experience of the Palestinian struggle.

Confinement (2010)

In 2010, the group Al-Harah (The neighbourhood), based in Beit Jala, a Palestinian town in the Bethlehem Governorate, presented the play *Al-ḥashra* (translated to English by the group as *Confinement*). The play was directed by Raeda Ghazaleh and was inspired by another play of the same name, originally produced in the 70s by a Palestinian group called Dababis, in which three people find themselves stuck in a bottle. The creative crew from Al-Harah adapted it to the present situation with the financial support of the Stockholm Academy of Dramatic Arts (SADA) and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), using different improvisation techniques.

The action unfolds as two actors, played by Nicola Zreineh and Atta Nasser, and one actress, played by Riham Isaac (Al-Harah Theatre 2010, n.p.) wake up in a three-meter diameter round stage that represents the inside of a bottle. The actors and actress struggle to breathe in what quickly becomes a dense and anguishing scene that swathes the audience, who are sitting around the performance area. The play represents the anguish of the unknown through its simple language, short sentences, and playful physical scenery. Both the internal dialogues of the three characters and the conversations among them form the script of the play. Their dialogues are articulated like agitated exchanges in which the unrest is visible. The uncertainty of their confinement, the lack of reasons for it and the lack of prospects are made evident at each second.

Immobility is represented in *Confinement* from its very title to the scenography arrangements. A circle of light and empty glass bottles demarcates the round non-proscenium stage as it reproduces the inside of a bottle in which the three characters are confined. The empty bottles are the only props used in the play. The symbolism of their confinement inside of a bottle recalls the feelings of the inhabitants of Qalqilya, in the

West Bank, who referred to themselves as ‘bottled’ (Bowman 2007, 293). This kind of central staging, also called ‘Arena’ or ‘Theatre-in-the-round’, allows ‘vast new possibilities impracticable with any other theatre method’ (Boyle 1956, 15); the close interaction with the audience reinforces an ‘immersive, almost tactile’ experience (Norman 2013, 49). Central staging is a wide-spread arrangement of representation that has been broadly used throughout theatre’s history: for instance, there are accounts of its use in Rome and Greece, as well as its use in the European Medieval period (Southern 1975; Higgins 2013), in traditional Nautanki theatre in India (Mason 2016, 225) and in Russia in the early twentieth century (Courtney 1967, 7).

In the 1950s, British practitioners like Stephen Joseph started promoting an upsurge of this kind of staging as a sign of the ‘democratization of theatre through its egalitarian use of space’ (Foster 2015, 209). This kind of democratization is what Al-Harah was looking for in this performance; the use of a ‘theatre-in-the-round’ was a conscious choice towards creating a certain experience for the audience. As stated by the play’s director, Raeda Ghazaleh²⁴, they wanted to ‘invite the audience to be part of the feeling (...) to understand what it means to be stuck and what to do about that’.



Figure 1.1. Stage arrangement
Confinement

This kind of staging does not seek to create any ease or comfort for the audience but to facilitate a ‘communal experience’: ‘audience members sit facing the actors onstage, but beyond the stage they can clearly see and sense other audience members and can observe their responses to the performance’ (Elsam 2013, 7). Not only will each member of the audience have a different experience of the play, but also certain actions may be lost to some portions of the audience because of its perspective limitations. The spectator will have to experience the unease of striving to have a full picture that is indeed impossible. The experience of the play will be inescapably different for each member of the audience.

²⁴ Interview conducted by the author over video-conference on 21 August 2014. (Appendix IV)

It is a kind of staging that also strongly reminds us of the itinerant storyteller or the street performer (Barron 1993, 288), who tells her story surrounded by her spectators. As stated by British playwright Simon Stephens, ‘there's no theatrical architecture that challenges or interrogates what it is to be a human being more than theatre in-the-round’ (in Grieve and Perrin 2011, n.p.). Indeed, *Al-Harah* places human experience at the centre of the stage, offering the audience an intimate proximity that challenges their assumptions of the reality of the performers’ experience. The actors and audience get together to create a sense of the performance in a collaborative and private way.

Confinement engages with the audience not only in terms of its stage design, but it also pushes them towards ‘alienation’ in a Brechtian sense. On the one hand, the play portrays typical everyday gestures and movements that create the spectator’s identification with the characters. In this sense, central staging ‘allows for a nuanced, quite naturalistic style of performance’ (Elsam 2013, 10). On the other hand, those gestures are repeated and modified to create estrangement among the audience. *Confinement* gives a different meaning to these everyday gestures by representing them as strange and out of place. In this sense, the overall tone of the play waves and changes; the characters shift their profound internal dialogues into expansive and impish games that suddenly outpace the audience. The code of communication with the audience is based on abstract references to the everyday world, looking for the purity of the gesture, like playing popular children’s games or adopting sleep positions on stage. This abstract code connects the gesture and the everyday life, while it deconstructs their original meanings. The representation of children’s games played by adults in a confined space does indeed confuse the audience and creates a sense of distance rather than empathy with the characters.

In my opinion, *Confinement* draws upon certain techniques that recall certain techniques of Grotowski’s ‘Poor Theatre²⁵’ insofar as it eliminates ‘all things unnecessary to the primal and pure ‘offering’ of (the) actor’s bodily and ‘organic’ sacrifice’ (Schneider 2011, 116). In this sense, *Confinement* presents the bodies of its performers like the only stage property and their suffering is exposed in the confined space of the stage. They are placed in an ‘empty’ space, stripped bare of non-essentials like stage set and costumes’ (Baxter 2015, 178). These restrictions are definitely an aesthetic choice, but at the same time they are imposed by the lack of means and the restrictions in the material conditions of production. However, as opposed to Grotowski who considered text in theatre

²⁵ Performance style created by Polish theatre practitioner and director, Jerzy Grotowski in 1968.

unnecessary (1991, 32), text plays an important role in *Confinement*, while at the same time, it suggests more than it says. In terms of its dialogues, the succession of seemingly purposeless gestures encompasses unarticulated dialogues, based on repetition. The common pattern of communication in *Confinement* is interconnected sentences uttered by the different characters that do not represent an exchange, but rather a linear discourse. The actors' and actress's speech is articulated in short, unstructured and empty of emotional content that are mainly part of the characters' internal dialogues, getting close to Grotowski's idea of dispensing with text. However, the text is used to construct an atmosphere of confusion and forces the audience to listen to what is hidden underneath the text. The construction of the play's narrative around scattered pieces of coherent information fosters a collective construction of meaning that is led by confusion and yet, uncovers the social critique that the play is bringing forward. This way, the play is forcing the audience to pay more attention to the bodies of the performers. Emotions are conveyed through gestures, which are mainly 'expressive, imitative, conventional (whether it be social, cultural or aesthetic convention)' (Pavis and Biller-Lappin 1981, 69) and it is through that combination of body language and text that the sense of the play can be revealed.



Figure 1. 2. *Confinement.*

By representing conventional movements in an aesthetic way, they confer a new meaning to these movements. Different patterns of movement are presented and repeated throughout the play. In such a restricted playing area, the movements become poetic images that speak to the audience more than the actual words. The performers play with different levels, rhythms and three-dimensional patterns creating a waving net that

integrates what Lecoq calls ‘universal poetic awareness’: ‘an abstract dimension, made up of spaces, lights, colours, materials, sounds that can be found in all of us’ (2013, 47). Lecoq emphasizes the relevance of simply bringing everyday life movements into play; linking the familiarity of these movements with the abstract emotions to be transmitted. This connection between familiar and abstract may call upon hidden sensations among the audience. The beginning of the play shows the actors playing within a vertical axis as they try to reach the top of the bottle in which they are trapped. They pull and push as they struggle to breathe. The tension between the low and the high is a matter of life and death, a matter of saving oxygen and sharing it. This vertical tension in some scenes is combined with a horizontal tension, which would reflect a return to the mundane discussions. In a horizontal dialogue, the actors play with the different rhythms, creating different levels of acting tension depending on the speed of their movements and, especially, in the combination of circular movements and front-to-front dialogues. These movement patterns are connected to a disciplinary arrangement of space that connects with the above mentioned ‘matrix of control’, portraying the way in which physical limitation of their movements affects the movements themselves and the way they interact with their surrounding space.

The third scene starts when one of the actors starts wandering around, painfully pulling his legs with his hands as if he could not walk, while he repeats: ‘I’m carrying my 4 walls and walking with them’²⁶. A light beam draws a square inside the circular stage while the rest of the stage and the audience are left in semi-darkness. This scene was inspired by Ghassan Kanafani’s short story *Thirst* (‘*Ātaš*’ in Arabic), first published in 1961 in Kanafani’s first short story collection *Mawt Sarīr Raqam 12*. *Thirst* narrates the story of an unhappy man who lives an undesired and downcast yet passively accepted life confined within the four walls of his apartment. The action ‘to carry four walls’ does not entail that these four walls are mobile, but that they are inside him, they are internalised and limit his individual freedom. This scene speaks about the actual impact and internalization of the matrix of control. Ultimately, *Thirst* talks about the estrangement of the self, the existential moment in which an individual recognizes that he/she has become a stranger. In a similar fashion, *Confinement* is built upon internal dialogue that expresses the unease of the individual characters; but at the same time, it encourages the reaction against self-constraints. The walls that are carried are the boundaries between him and a world that imposes the toil of permanently dealing with social norms and its translation

²⁶ My own translation (Original: ḥamil ḡudrani al-arba’a, u mashī fihā).

into self-constraint. Palestinians face the consequences of internalizing the occupation and feel as though ‘thrown into a whirlpool from a rush which you did not want to leave’ (Kanafani 2013, 34). In this sense, Halper talked about the matrix of control operating independently from physical occupation of the territories (2001, n.p.), which is represented by this scene’s portrait of that internal struggle, the internalization of the above-mentioned matrix of control.

In the foreword of the short story, written by Alex Taylor for Aljadid, he states that:

‘At the time Kanafani wrote this story, (...) it may have seemed that Palestinians were, lost in a sense, with nothing else to do except tell others how they have been wronged. Today, though Palestinian activism is strong, the search for dignity depicted in Kanafani’s “Thirst” remains as poignant as ever’ (2013, 34).

Even though *Confinement* is set in an aseptic and timeless environment, the connection with a broader social reality that cannot be seen is always present. The character carries around his four walls as a symbol of the internalization of certain rules, imposed both by the Israeli occupation and by the Palestinian society, as we will see below.

The fourth scene starts with a Kanafani-like whirlpool in which the three actors wave and shake from one side to the other of the stage as if the bottle was shaken. The chaotic and uncontrollable force that pulls and pushes them as if they were little insects inside the bottle becomes then a linear and monotonous movement similar to the marching of a military drill. They line up, keep their gaze lost in the horizon and mark a repetitious pattern accompanied by string music that seems to chaotically follow the movement. From that controlled and repetitive movement, the actors get out of the ‘marching queue’, one at the time, proposing simple and functional movements (plugging their ears, laughing out loud, rolling up his trousers) to challenge the ruling movement. This ruling movement recalls the Israeli regime of movement control according to which crowds ‘will not be allowed to form, but rather must continue to move or stand in single file’ (Azoulay 2009, 158). This controlled movement becomes internalized by the characters who do not need violence anymore to comply with the ruling mechanism.

In my opinion, this scene portrays the effects of an internalized violence which does not only operate through the daily presence of the military occupation, but that has also permeated Palestinian structures. The mechanisms of control that are displayed in *Confinement* also recall different disciplinary techniques that are internal to society. For instance, the performers always come back to the ‘marching queue’ by themselves,

without anyone forcing them, and usually with their heads down, as if ashamed by the realization of their role in their own oppression. For Israel, Palestinians have become just a ‘matter to be administered, rather than potential subjects of historical or social action’ (Hanafi 2009, 113). Palestinian bodies can still be resistant, but their ‘subjective trajectory’ is always reduced to their bodies (Pandolfi 2002, 39). In this sense, the ruling movement ends up being a self-imposed constraint. The other characters only face the dissenting movement with silence, and it is this silence rather than violence that forces individuals to return to the conventional movement. At some point in this scene, one of the characters steps out of the queue and rolls up his trousers as a signal of rebellion; as a response, another actor covers his mouth, scandalized. This simple gesture forces the first actor to give up his rebellion and come back to the established order. This scene is a reflection of the immobilizing and confining power of social rules and norms.

In *Confinement*, the characters’ immobility is not only related to the context of the Israeli occupation but also to the internal functioning of Palestinian society. Within the wider narrative of disciplinary restrictions, the characters of the play expose the limitations imposed by social rules. They permanently feel the inadequacy of their actions to their social context and express their frustration. The characters’ dialogue reflects the sense of defectiveness that they feel as their actions are judged by their social environment. They construct short sentences with a binary structure: ‘if I, they say; if I, they say’. They are emphasizing the uttered criticisms that all of their actions receive from the collective. In this sense, this is a disciplinary operation of power that works through judgement:

‘Of what use is it to observe individuals if their behaviour is left un-judged? Under disciplinary power, not only is everyone both observer and observed; everyone is also judge and defendant. Others judge an individual’s behaviour within the hierarchal network as to whether they live up to the prevalent normative behaviour or not. Adherents to the correct behaviour are labelled normal while deviants are judged abnormal, so every departure from the established correct behaviour is punished’ (Najjar 2014, 11).

If we look at the development of an increasingly authoritarian and repressive society in Palestine, we can see the connections with the context of occupation. Tamari explains the complex social dynamics that have resulted from Israeli colonialism and the forced displacement of a large proportion of the population. (2008, 36-55). He mentions how the culture of collective resistance in Palestine against the Israeli regime reinforced ‘a

consensual ideology that acted to reduce the perception of internal conflict' (Tamari 2008, 51) by strengthening the idea of loyalty to traditions. Social unity was indispensable to face the common enemy, Israel, and therefore, any conduct away from the established social pattern was considered dangerous for the rest of the collective. This leads to a context of internalized discipline that operates inside and between individuals, who now have the responsibility of being both guards and suspects of their own identity. One of the most salient interventions in social life for the sake of public morality evolves around issues of gender rules. We will talk extensively about gender rules and roles in the next two chapters; however *Confinement* depicts the restrictions that the female character has to face. The actress lies down on the floor while the two male actors face each other over her head. Social norms seem then to revolve around her gendered body. She explains how females are not supposed to watch TV, raise their voices or move their bodies freely. Palestinian collective identity is based on a certain definition of social rules and relies upon pre-given categories of class, religion, gender, etc. These can be oppressive to individuals, since they reinforce a static and pre-fixed concept of identity.

This scene reflects how the imposition of a homogeneous performance of identity can be overwhelming for them. Homogeneity is 'linked strongly to ideas of purity and normalizations of the "correct" way to be a member of a nation' (Calhoun 1993, 231) and in the Palestinian case, the process of homogenization arrives in a moment of high social fragmentation within the situation of on-going occupation. The multiplicity of identities that conform Palestinian society clashes with the internal homogeneity imposed by the official nationalist and religious rhetoric. This sense of inadequacy within society increases tension and exacerbates the divisions inside of the Palestinian community, especially for those who do not meet all the requirements of performativity of the collective identity. It is clear that in this scene the three characters in *Confinement* are reflecting on their performance in society. In fact, some of the sentences they said on stage made the audience laugh 'out loud when no one expected it'²⁷ as they created a certain degree of familiarity and drew the attention to the absurdity of some of these constraints.

The atmosphere during the last ten minutes of the play becomes even more painful and tormenting; by scene eleven, their speech slows down, keeping the form of the internal dialogue disconnected from each other, and they start drawing circles with their fingers

²⁷ Extracted from interview conducted by the author to director, Raeda Ghazaleh, over video-conference on 21 August 2014. See Appendix IV.

and their bodies in different directions and levels. ‘I think we live in circles’, says one of the characters. This sentence makes clear how repetition is central for the notion of confinement presented in the play, for instance in the repetition of gestures, which is a feature we will also see later when analysing the play *Exit* (2013) by Khashabi Ensemble. In *Confinement*, objective time loses any relevance and it is experienced as a heavy flow that keeps the dramatic tension high throughout the thirty-seven minutes of performance. When analysing the text of the play, we can see how the circularity and repetition of the characters’ problems is articulated in a similar way. A recurrent pattern of short interconnected sentences can be identified throughout the whole play. For instance:

‘Character1 (C1): I think we should not be afraid to think...

C2: I think we should think...

C3: I think it is difficult to think....

C1: I think that a rise in oxygen levels equals a rise in thinking...

C2: I think there is no oxygen...²⁸’

In this sense, *Confinement* intertwines time and space creating a performative rhythm that recalls Lefebvre’s idea of rhythms. According to him, time is cyclical and space is linear, however, ‘time and space, the cyclical and the linear, exert a reciprocal action: they measure themselves against one another (...) everything is cyclical repetition through lineal repetition’ (Lefebvre 2004, 8). In the play, the confinement leads to the repetition, the scenes seem to evolve in a circular pattern while time seems to be irrelevant.

The play ends without any apparent conclusion. The three characters start to disconnectedly repeat the words ‘Fear’, ‘Illusion’ and ‘Trick’ and hold a bottle as if they wanted to get rid of it and break it. The lights fade abruptly and a sound of a broken glass is heard. The audience is left asking whether that sound represents their liberation, if the characters have managed to break free. The play does not seek to provide any answer to this: it is up to the audience to decide. *Confinement* offers a special connection between space and bodies, making the audience an integral part of this connection due to the in-the-round staging and the proximity to the action. The play portrays both individual and social anxiety, connecting this to the situation of enclosure and making evident the different layers of oppression that the characters are suffering. It is clearly not only about their individual response to their closure, but about the different social norms that seem

²⁸ My own translation.

to oppress them, further limiting their already curtailed movements. As we said, the matrix of control is a breeding ground for more oppressive structures that emerge from within Palestinian society. The relevance of self-constraint and internal dialogue in *Confinement* reflects a pattern in which not only the disciplinary aspects of occupation have been internalized, but also in which structures of power and knowledge within Palestinian society are imposed on individuals.

Therefore, the connection between space, individual anxiety and social constraints are represented in *Confinement*. In this sense, a three layered narrative is created in which individual experience is connected both with the constraints within Palestinian society and the oppressive character of the Israeli apparatus. As we will see in the next case study, this three layers are a relevant feature of Palestinian theatre. Indeed, the play *Exit* presents a similar relationship between individuals and space, according to which these interactions are importantly mediated by the social structures and the situation of occupation. More importantly, since *Exit* was produced in Haifa by Palestinians with Israeli citizenship, the similarities in artistic representation help us bridge the different realities, identifying similar patterns of interaction between the individuals and their social and material spaces.

Exit (2013)

In 2013, the Khashabi Ensemble, based in Haifa, presented eight short plays that were only available on YouTube. They all were performed exclusively in Arabic with English subtitles and they were presented first with the name in English followed by the name in Arabic. With funding from the Qattan foundation, they adapted different plays such as Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* (2013) and Emil Habibi's *Letters (Rasā'l* in Arabic). Some of them were also a result of improvisation by the members of the ensemble, like *Occupa* (2013) or *Exit* (2013). *Exit (Khurūj* in Arabic) is a 16:55 minute movement play directed by Bashar Murkus in which six people find themselves inside of a room with no exit. The scene starts with four women and two men during a normal dinner that rapidly unfolds into a chaotic choreography in which the movements of the characters are constantly repeated, amplified and distorted, to create a grotesque atmosphere. It all starts when one of the characters, played by Henry Andrawes, leaves the dining table and takes a suitcase. He walks towards a set of stairs placed on stage and water starts falling from the suitcase, soaking the stage. When he reaches the top of the stairs, trying to leave the room, it becomes obvious that there is no way out. There is no door. The stairs lead to a wall that blocks the path of the character.

The initial image of a normal dinner is disrupted as soon as the rest of the characters realize that they cannot leave the room. Different characters try unsuccessfully to leave the room, hurling themselves against the walls, but they cannot, which reminds us of *Confinement*. These attempts to leave the room are repeated and distorted, becoming a painful and disturbing pattern of movement around the stage. All of these movements, directed to exit the room, prove to be useless, but also frustrating and painful. The facial expression of the different characters is not particularly revealing, which shifts the focus of the audience's gaze to the movements of the bodies and the confusing patterns that are repeated on stage. The intimacy of the house becomes suffocating and their attempts to leave become more blatantly futile. From the timepoint 11:38 of the video, three of the characters are facing the walls of the stage; two of them keep walking against it, remaining obviously in place despite all of their effort to move forward. The music, played on stage by one of the men and a woman wearing a blue dress, becomes louder and high-pitched.

A woman in a red dress, played by Shaden Kanboura, comes back to the table and stuffs her mouth with pita bread while another woman wearing trousers recreates a pregnant womb by putting bread under her T-shirt. With her mouth full of bread, she runs up the stairs, trying to go out; her run ends up with her spewing out all the bread from her mouth and throwing it against the wall. The role of bread as theatrical property recalls Pierre Mayol's definition of bread as 'the symbol of the hardships of life and work; it is the memory of a better standard of living acquired the hard way over the course of previous generations' (Certeau, Giard, and Mayol 1998, 86). Bread has a very important role in Mediterranean cultures (Balfet 1975, 310) and a relevant meaning in biblical traditions (Soler 1997, 55-66). As a central element of the Mediterranean and Palestinian diet, the use of bread has a symbolic meaning in *Exit*. Besides, the production of bread has traditionally been a domestic labour that was mostly assigned to women (Rosenblum 2010, 24-25). The bread in *Exit* becomes a symbol of the reproductive role of the women and how it becomes a burden for them, almost choking the woman in the red dress. Later on, the man approaches the pregnant woman, kisses her womb and starts playfully punching her in the belly. The game seems to be fun for both of them, but it becomes increasingly disquieting when the laugh of the man starts to mingle with the woman's quietened sounds of pain. There has been some breach in the rules of the game, but no clue about these rules is presented to the spectators. Violence against the female character is exposed physically on stage until she runs away from the man. The issue of violence

against women will be presented again in more detail in the third chapter of this thesis, where we will offer a deeper analysis of the connection between violence and the reproductive role of women, symbolized in *Exit* by the use of bread to represent pregnancy.



Figure 1.3. Youtube footage. *Exit* (2013)

The characters seem to have no control over their movements and therefore over the decisions that drive them to move in a specific way: these movements always seem to lead to derangement and alienation. The matrix of control is here represented as an invisible force that makes them act in an endless game of self-sabotage. This invisibility of power is also present, for instance, in Ariella Azoulay's photographic project about the '(In)Human Spatial Condition' where she portrays the destruction of built environments and the movement restrictions (2009, 153-177). Similarly to *Exit*, in her photographs, power operates to 'magnetize the subjects in his absence, to administer and supervise their movement, to rivet them to their basic needs, and to paralyze their ability to act' (Azoulay 2009, 156). Her photographs focus on what she calls 'the disaster' of destruction of Palestinian space as a demonstration of Israeli sovereign power. In *Exit*, the actions of the characters seem to be controlled by an invisible puppeteer against their will. The same kind of incontestable power seems to operate in both *Exit* and Azoulay's photographers, leaving the population 'doomed to observe their own disaster' (2009, 157). The system of domination that is presented in *Exit* plays with the division between normality/abnormality by representing everyday life activities performed in a distorted manner. Every action of the characters starts as an everyday activity that then becomes

crooked and altered to create a surrealist succession of far-fetched events. For instance, in *Exit*, a woman wearing a colourful shirt, played by Khulood Tannous, advances forward barefoot. She tries to walk normally, but she repeatedly steps on her own feet. Her face reflects the struggle of trying to advance while curtailing her own ability to move. In this case, what could be seen as a self-inflicted paralysis is clearly not a voluntary action and responds to the disciplinary impositions of the system of closure she is subjected to.

The force that is deforming their movements is not disputed nor passively accepted. The matrix of control operates again without a physical presence, creating a sense of estrangement. Similarly to *Confinement*, the characters are aware of their role in their own confinement. Yet, the reason for the lack of a door is never questioned, what is highlighted is the growing hostility and despair among them. They cannot go out of the room and yet they keep walking against the wall. They know this is an endless task and the awareness of the hopelessness of their exit attempts makes them visibly miserable. The possibility of an 'outside' is denied by the system; the matrix of control negates the possibility of an exit. This is due to the fact that, as Palestinians inside Israel, the division inside-outside is not possible; they are both an undesirable part of the Israeli state while at the same time, they struggle 'to preserve their unique identity as well as testifying to their status as a criticized group in the Palestinian community' (Mana et al. 2015, 76). In this sense, the lack of an exit in the play also reflects the complex positionality of Palestinians with Israeli citizenship, who go through 'an on-going process of identity differentiation' (Mana et al. 2015, 79), that separates them from the West Bank and Gaza Palestinians. In the play, for instance, the situation of confinement strengthens the characters' disunion and disaffection among them as a metaphor for their position within the Palestinian community.

The last scene of the play starts with everyone in a line, walking against the wall of the room; progressively they start holding hands and walk painfully around the room. They start dancing Dabke²⁹ and suddenly all of them smile, changing the atmosphere of the scene. However, they soon begin to feel sick and one by one they leave the line, filling the stage's space and wincing in pain. One more time, a normal action has become disproportioned and excessive; one of the characters even punches herself in the stomach to provoke more pain. The only male character, left alone in his dance, tries for a last time

²⁹ Arab folk dance performed in the Levant (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine), Iraq and Saudi Arabia. It is a dance for celebration and combines circle dance and line dance. It has become a strong symbol of Palestinian national identity (Kaschl 2003, xvi).

to go out of the stage through the invisible door at the end of the stairs. Again, he remains helpless facing the wall before the lights fade out to mark the end of the play.

The reference to Dabke as a cultural symbol of Palestinian nationalism, which then drifts towards chaos and agony might well represent the sense of isolation that Palestinians inside of Israel experience. By expressing their connection to the Palestinian community, *Exit* is drawing attention to the lack of mobility that Palestinians inside Israel also experience. With their final dance, they are actively asserting their belonging to the Palestinian collective. The traditional Palestinian dance is bringing them closer to the broader Palestinian community; the shift into a chaotic dance reminds of us how that same collective identity remains problematic for them. As stated by Peleg and Waxman, Palestinians inside Israel have increasingly embraced Palestinian identity, while at the same time they being exposed to Israeli culture (2011, 30). As we have already mentioned, these in-principle citizens of the state of Israel are considered second-class citizens (Khoury 1985, 330; Caspi and Weltsch 1998, 18) and face daily life discrimination (Falah 1996; Kraus and Hodge 1990; Mazawi 1994), which reinforces their longing for a stable identity. The play's characters live between the desire to be recognized as an equally treated national minority inside Israel and their sense of belonging to a broader Palestinian nation. *Exit* speaks to the Palestinian populations both in the Occupied Territories and in Israel. The play asserts that the matrix of control affects them as well, although in a different way. As a marginalized collective inside of Israel, they challenge the division inside-outside by representing their struggle on a virtual platform and speaking to the broader Palestinian community from their own position. Individual and collective identities therefore become multiple and overlapping, which is indeed a complex and often baffling process. *Exit* portrays the immobilizing power of the political situation for the Palestinian population inside Israel. The play conveys a collective narrative that, while trying to connect them with the broader Palestinian collective, tries also to highlight the singularities of their own experience as Palestinians.

Besides, the play communicates to its viewers through new technological and virtual spaces, trying to create a bridge with other Palestinian audiences. In this sense, the troupe breaks the division inside-outside in terms of its production, challenging theatrical requirements by using the Internet as a medium for dissemination. YouTube becomes a platform to reach those audiences who are also subjected to lack of mobility. This kind of performance might lose the potential of the dramatic encounter, since there is no direct interaction between the characters and the audiences, but it is trying to facilitate other

kind of encounters that would not be possible otherwise. As stated by playwright Simon Stephens, 'when we use the Internet, we're gazing into the black mirror, doing things to ourselves. It's insular and profoundly unbehavioural. That's fundamentally not dramatic' (as quoted in Trueman 2013, n.p.). Stephen is pointing here towards the lack of collective experience in mediated theatrical encounters that happen online. Besides, the YouTube video has been edited, and the camera focuses on different details of the stage, directing the audience's gaze. This produces an aesthetic effect closer to cinema and gives different perspectives to the spectators, having a closer but also selective view of the events on stage than the one they would have from their theatre seats.

On the other hand, new technologies offer a platform for bring together the collective, despite the fact that they forego the direct interaction between performers and audience. Besides, as stated by Boenisch, theatricality 'is not to be found in theatre's exclusive values and aesthetic qualities – but in its very impact on and over the perception of its observers' (2006, 113). In this sense, Khashabi Ensemble (re)creates a performance venue online that enables access to many observers from everywhere around the world. *Exit*'s objective is not to produce a refined theatrical experience, but to challenge the immobility within Palestinian society and find new and innovative channels to convey its message to a divided and fragmented community that wouldn't have access to it otherwise. From the stage of Al-Midan Theatre in Haifa, Khashabi Ensemble proposes a more 'cinematographic' theatre that makes us think about new emerging forms of Palestinian theatre. The Internet offers the possibility of creating new community links and maybe contributing to what Anderson defined as 'long-distance nationalism' (1992, 1), a bounding set of identity claims that connect people living in different parts of the world.

In her book *Palestine Online*, Miriyam Aouragh speaks about the new relevance of the Internet as a 'mediating space through which the Palestinian nation is globally 'imagined' and shaped', which challenges the immobility and disconnection between the different Palestinian communities (Aouragh 2012, 4). Moreover, as suggested by Stamatopoulou-Robbins, the idea of a virtual Palestine can become 'emplaced' through online storytelling (2005, 2). In the case of *Exit*, Khashabi explores the potential of online platforms for storytelling, as a strategy to build collective memory (Stamatopoulou 2005, 25) or, what is more important, to reconnect the fragmented memories of the different Palestinian communities. Online platforms can become a common Palestinian space in which these dramatic encounters can be directed to strengthen the sense of community. *Exit* is part of a new trend of transnational theatre that projects Palestinian theatre beyond national

boundaries and divisions. Within the above-mentioned impossibility of an inside-outside division, the unbounded reach of the Internet brings together diverse Palestinian and international audiences. In this sense, *Exit* both represents and bridges the geographical matrix of control by translating isolation and confinement to the stage while at the same time trying to break it by challenging any theatrical fixity.

The next sections of the present chapter will critically examine the actual mechanisms around which the Israeli occupation is articulated, which I will read as ‘technologies of occupation’. The way these technologies have been implemented from the ‘90s has been increasingly directed to de-bordering Palestine and limiting Palestinian movement. Through them, as will be seen in the next section, Israel implements a ‘suspended violence’ which ‘forbids, deters, delays, complicates simple actions, undermines preferences, undercuts daily schedules, drives people crazy, and sometimes even kills’ (Azoulay and Ophir 2005, 5). Besides, we will analyse how these technologies have shaped a new landscape in which Palestinian movement is measured around new architectural elements like the Wall or the checkpoints. I will focus on the separation Wall that isolates large communities in the West Bank. In this sense, the Wall has become a central element of the stage in contemporary theatre, as we will see in the analysis of the play *The Wall* (2004). I argue that the presence of the Wall on stage opens a possibility of presenting the realities that are usually hidden behind it. The sense of sight gives relevance to the experience of everyday encounters with it. In my opinion this offers a space to reevaluate experience as an alternative narrative to the Israeli technologies.

III. Technologies of Occupation: The Wall

The idea of ‘technologies of occupation’ comes from Foucault’s concept of ‘technologies of power’ (Foucault 1995, 131) as a disciplinary tool. These technologies are mechanisms integrated in the Israeli matrix of control that was defined earlier. For Foucault, power operates through technologies directed to the control of the population’s conduct ‘in the hope of producing certain desired effects and averting certain undesired ones’ (Rose 1999, 52). This shaping of conduct is articulated not only through the state’s force and violence, but also – and primarily, according to Foucault – through social disciplinary institutions, procedures and forms of knowledge. In the Palestinian case, the Israeli State has created a complex apparatus where different technologies of power not only seek to impose collective closure, immobilizing and segmenting the community both internally and

externally as in the management of the plague (Foucault 1995, 198), but they also ‘limit a space of action and reaction for their subjects’ (Ophir, Givoni, and Hanafi 2009, 17). This means that the technologies of power implemented by Israel over the Palestinian population are a form of social control with a strong impact on their daily lives and their relationship with the surrounding space. The control of the population’s movement is not a strategy alien to the operation of modern liberal states. ‘Biopower’ is a technology of power defined by Foucault that refers to contemporary regulatory techniques by the sovereign power (Foucault 1978, 140). Biopower targets the bodies of the population and permeates social codes and behaviour in order to control them, which is indeed a pattern that can be observed in the Palestinian case.

Through what Hanafi calls a ‘colonial bio-power’ (2009, 113), Israel develops a ‘systematic destruction of the Palestinian living space’ or ‘spacio-cide’ (Hanafi 2009, 107). This ‘spacio-cide’ is developed through three strategies: ‘space annihilation’, ‘ethnic cleansing’ and ‘creeping apartheid’, terms that Hanafi borrows from Oren Yiftachel (2006, 7). According to Yiftachel, Israel’s creeping apartheid is characterized by ‘violent Jewish domination, strict separation, and ethnic inequality’ (Yiftachel 2006, 9). Against the idea of spectacular destruction implied in Hanafi’s ‘space annihilation’, a creeping apartheid operates at the level of the population using ‘increasingly impregnable ethnic, geographic, and economic barriers between groups vying for recognition, power, and resources’ (Hanafi 2009, 108). These barriers are mostly exercised through the spatial colonial control of the population, one of the most visible being the Wall. Besides, this creeping apartheid not only operates in the West Bank and Gaza, but as it operates through the control of the population, it also affects the Palestinian population inside of Israel (Yiftachel 2006, 83). Israel is ‘incapable of constructing and shaping Palestinian individuals as its own subjects’ (Azoulay and Ophir 2005, 7) and that incapability is translated into a recurrent exclusion, isolation and immobilization.

The system implemented in Palestine represents an example of a neo-colonial state (Israel), restricting any possibility of Palestine becoming an autonomous entity. Israel negates full-citizenship to Palestinians, excluding them from the normal functioning of the state. In his work about the genealogies of citizenship, Isin suggests that spatial practices are essential for the formation of citizenship (2002, 43). In the Israeli-Palestinian case we can see that the spatial practices implemented by the State of Israel are directed to demarcate the boundaries between what being Israeli and being Palestinian means while, in terms of its spatial meaning, these two categories are allowed a completely

different relationship with the space. In this sense, Israel exerts a ‘territorial power’ (Alatout 2006, 605) over Palestine through the expropriation of land, segregated roads or the construction of the Wall. However, when it comes to the management of the population, not only are Palestinians not included in the collective, but also they are actively removed and ostracized through these same spatial practices. Israeli practices operate through a ‘ritual of exclusion’ (Ozguc 2010, 6), as in the treatment of a leper. It is, indeed, a practice of exclusion that aims at demarcating and rendering invisible an important segment of the population. These technologies aim at defining who is a citizen and who is not, while at the same time they want to achieve total control over the territory.

Since its foundation, Israel has followed the ‘policy of acquiring the most land with the least people (where ‘people’, of course, refers to the Palestinians)’ (Hanafi 2009, 106). Therefore, the objective of Israeli policy is the control of the Palestinian population as external to the state with the final objective of controlling as much territory as possible. Therefore, Israel’s exclusionary governmentality operates within the broader framework of Israel’s colonial project. In this case, I find it more accurate to talk about ‘technologies of occupation’ rather than ‘technologies of power’. In fact, separation and colonization are ‘modalities’ (Ophir, Givoni, and Hanafi 2009, 22) through which Israeli power achieves control over the Palestinian bodies. From a concrete and tangible perspective, the technologies of occupation have a direct impact on space and on the Palestinian subjects’ relationship with it. These are technologies that condition the Palestinian subject’s position and which seek to ultimately grant Israel with the total control and sovereignty over the land of historic Palestine (Gordon 2008, 117). Israel’s colonial struggle over geography aims at reshaping the landscape so that it will reinforce the narration of its spatial power.

The spatial colonial control of the population, as we have seen, materializes in the form of different techniques and procedures. Israeli policies focus on combining the creation of a sophisticated system of physical manifestations of static and permanent nature (Dayan 2009, 304), such as the Wall and the check-points, and a regime of administrative curtails (Brown 2004, 504). This bureaucratic system constitutes what Dayan defines as a ‘dynamic grid of administrative differentiation’ (2009, 304). Identification cards (in Arabic *hawīya*) are one example of the administrative regime that curtails Palestinian mobility. Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem and Israel have different coloured cards which determine Palestine’s ‘geographic, economic, and social mobility’ (Tawil-Souri 2012a, 5). The permit regime is ‘a controlling apparatus in its own right’

(Abu-Zahra and Kay 2013, 4) while it is also linked to other infrastructures, like the checkpoints or the Wall, working together in order to exacerbate the segregation and isolation caused by these infrastructures. All these intangible administrative regulations present high levels of sophistication and require a low amount of energy from the occupying power. The bureaucratic system pre-establishes a system for the population's profiling, marking whose movements can be considered normal and which ones are not normal, and therefore undesirable and banned.

These technologies of occupation work following what Bowman has defined as a 'logic of encystation', which aims at enclosing the Palestinian enclaves as 'cysts' that need to be put in quarantine (Bowman 2007, 295). Bowman argues that this logic challenges the notion of border between Israel and Palestine, moreover, he states that Israel acts as though there were no borders at all and its sovereignty would extend to 'everywhere Israeli-defined "Jewish" interests can be discerned' (2007, 301). The appropriation of Palestinian land is part of the Israeli expansionist interest, and therefore, Israeli sovereignty extends beyond the defined borders. Coming back to the above-discussed dichotomy inside-outside, the logic of the nation-state borders does not apply to the Israeli-Palestinian case and the current borders constitute a 'zone of interpretation' (Zureik 2001, 221), subject to arbitrary definition by Israel. In fact, the penetration of the geographical limits of Palestine has become 'a symbolic practice, a genuine territorial ritual' (Kemp 1998, 92) that has reshaped the notion of border, emptying it of its original meaning.

Therefore, the technologies of occupation have become bordering mechanisms subjected to the constant interpretation of the meaning of the border itself by the Israeli state. In so far as the division inside/outside is not possible when talking about Israel and Palestine, as we saw earlier, articulating a coherent border becomes impossible. Moreover, the bordering logic of Israel relies only on a symbolic construction based on cultural identity (Gelbman and Keinan 2007; Newman and Paasi 1998, 194). In this sense, Israeli borders are 'discursive borders between an idealized Self and a demonized Other' (Tuathail and Toal 1996, 15). Palestinians, as the 'Others', are devoid of their full human condition, seen as animals that can both 'be contained through violence and domination' and 'domesticated' (Bremner 2005, 129). Shamir has defined this logic as the 'anti-border' logic (2009, 591): firstly, because a border presupposes some recognition of the 'Other'. The Israeli system relies on the total rejection of Palestinians, which has materialized

even in attempts at erasing them as collective³⁰. Therefore, Israel's techniques of bordering are actually de-bordering themselves by implementing a gradual exclusion of the Palestinian from the whole territory, and also reducing the connection between Israeli and Palestinian individuals, restricting it to contact points 'vaguely demarcated and open to the occupier's free movement' (Azoulay and Ophir 2009, 99).

We can see how the definition of the different subjectivities is mediated by these technologies of occupation and their impact on the ability to move. Individuals are produced as 'moving bodies that can be ruled primarily by managing their location and circulation' through what Kotef calls 'technologies of subjectification' (2015, 23). Movement shapes individual and collective identities, while the process of identity formation is intimately linked to movement. Power articulates a discourse of desirable-undesirable movement that lead to different subject positions. The exclusionary power of Israel through spatial practices entails a binary division: normal-abnormal (Foucault 1995, 199) within which Palestinian movement is located and disciplined. The definition of Palestinian movement as abnormal therefore validates Israeli policies of movement restriction. Regimes of movement are integral to the *formation of different modes of being* [emphasis in original]' (Kotef 2015, 15) and therefore, the Palestinian subject's definition is based in the consideration of her movement as 'abnormal'.

The control of the Palestinian population's movement also has an impact on their individual choices, their understanding of their life options and, ultimately, the formation of the self. The technologies of occupation operate through 'the systematic production of uncertainty that strips the subject of rational mastery of her future and destiny' (Ophir, Givoni, and Hanafi 2009, 22). As we have seen, the different technologies constantly redefine the Palestinian-Israeli border, and therefore have a fundamental role in the redefinition of the Palestinian subject. In fact, the constitution of the Palestinian subject has repeatedly been defined in terms of its relationship with the 'border'. As stated by Khalidi, 'borders are a problem for Palestinians since their identity –which is constantly reinforced in myriad positive and negative ways- not only is subject to question by powers that be; but also is in many contexts suspect almost by definition' (1997, 2). Since borders are complex and fluid geographical distributions, the encounter of Palestinians with

³⁰ This necessarily recalls former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir's words in a 1969 interview in 'The Washington Post': 'It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist' (Meir 1969). She bases her argument in the absence of Palestinian nationhood, and extends that into defending their lack of material existence (Bier 2017, 92).

borders is always complicated and their identity is configured through the individual and collective experience of that encounter. Borders are discourses that delineate what is and can be; denying any illusion of stability and presence to the Palestinian communities trapped within the technologies of occupation.

Relevant for this current research is how these discursive and ever-changing borders and the immobility imposed by these technologies of occupation has an impact on theatrical language and on how Palestinian theatre makes use of theatrical space. Since subjectivities are mediated by these mechanisms of space control, Palestinians will necessarily 'perform notions of territoriality, cultural identities, and power relations' (Leuenberger 2016, 213) attached to these mechanisms. For instance, as we saw in *Confinement*, the stage became a platform where social norms and the oppression of the characters' subjectivities could be presented. By confining themselves on stage, the performers of the above-analysed plays are reproducing their everyday relation with the space and the ways in which their own subject position is mediated by that space and the power relations intertwined in it. The coming section will focus on a production, *The Wall* (2004), that deals with the presence of the Wall as a mechanism of oppression and bordering and as a discursive element that determines the different narratives of their own experience. The experience of movement becomes entrenched in the cultural imagination and in fact, as suggested by Sophie Nield, I argue that the theatrical can imply 'the production of a space in which 'appearance' of a particular kind becomes possible' (2006, 64). Therefore, theatre gives relevance to these experiences by making them appear and reclaim the legitimacy of that appearance. We will see more in detail how this mechanism works for *The Wall*; in my opinion, since it works as a technology of invisibilization of the Palestinian population, the presence on stage of the stories that surround it opens new possibilities of resisting its prevailing power over people's lives.

From all the technologies of occupation, the present chapter focuses on the Wall, not only because it is the most visible and spectacular expression of the Israeli closure system imposed on the Palestinians. The wall is just one of the 'arsenal of strategies for physically disentangling and spatially dividing two intimately entwined populations' (W. Brown 2010, 29); but its powerful visual presence confers it a noteworthy role in visual representations of Palestine and Palestinian daily life. Similarly to what Bernard stated about the checkpoint's salience, I argue that the Wall 'helps illuminate other less evident or comprehensive systems of restriction and segregation' (Bernard 2014a, 90). It is also the most relevant of the technologies of occupation in its aim at total separation and

movement control, especially when we look at the impact it has on people's everyday lives. The Wall presents a clear cause-effect relationship with the immobility of the population, since it is a 'stark and unmistakable declaration of separation and exclusion' (Petee 2017, 2). Its construction, which according to Dolphin was the 'logical, if terrifying, outcome' of the Oslo accords (2006, 14), began in 2003 and its total length is around 712 km, more than twice the length of the 1949 'Green Line' (OCHA 2004, 3). According to OCHA (2013), 62% of the Barrier's approved route is complete, a further 10% is under construction and 28% is planned but not yet constructed. The Wall has drawn much attention from the international community. It has awakened the ghosts of the Berlin Wall and the South African Apartheid, which were thought to be 'consigned to historical memory' (Fields 2010, 63). In 2004, the International Court of Justice released an advisory document about the legal consequences of the construction of a wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory in which they defined the Wall as 'contrary to international law' (International Court of Justice 2004, 49). However, in spite of international opposition, the Wall is becoming an embedded part of the landscape, which keeps growing as a deep geographical scar.

The Wall's impact on the population's mobility is mainly due to the fact that even though Israel has tried to present it as a border, it is not. Bowman criticizes the idea of the Wall as a border since it isolates the Palestinian communities in the West Bank not only from Israel but also from each other (2007, 296). Besides, a considerable amount of settlements are still east of the Wall. According to OCHA, 'since 1967, about 250 Israeli settlements and settlement outposts have been established across the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, in contravention of international law' (OCHA 2012, n.p.). This responds indeed to what Eyal Weizman calls a 'fantasy of separation': 'although preparations for the voluntary evacuation of settlements are already under way, no government to date has had either the political ability or the wish to dismantle the large settlements blocks of the West Bank' (Weizman 2005, 225). These settlements delegitimize the idea of the Wall as a protective border against 'Palestinian terrorism' insofar as continuous activity of the Israeli military and settlers beyond the limits of the 'Green Line' keep asserting the power of Israel to operate within and beyond the limits of its state (Bowman 2004, 504).

Therefore, the Wall transgresses the division in/out and therefore, cannot be considered a border, which further contradicts the hypothesis of the security-driven closure. It only displays 'the reassuring iconography' of a fortified and absolute political border (Weizman 2005, 225) for the Israeli population, while rendering visible the multi-faceted

power structures at work in the oppression and domination of Palestinians (Pallister-Wilkins 2011, 1869). The Wall has indeed been tailored to capture the greatest amount of Palestinian land: ‘the Israeli fence is unique in that it simultaneously tries to establish a border and to concentrate the Palestinian suspect population in highly guarded enclaves that look like a mixture of medieval ghettos and gigantic gulags’ (Shamir 2005, 204-205). Therefore, the Wall is an aggression, it is ‘a seemingly perfect architectonic-geostrategic machine of suspended violence’ (Azoulay and Ophir 2005, 11), with destructive effects over the lives of the inhabitants of Palestine.

In this sense, the Wall has become an element of the everyday life of the Palestinians and shapes their interactions among themselves, with the Palestinians living inside Israel and with the Israeli population, deepening the sense of alienation and the dichotomy ‘us vs. them’. In the meantime, the Wall has become a scar in the everyday life of the Palestinian population. The inevitable question is: how does the Palestinian population cope with life under these conditions? In this sense, the representation of the Wall in cultural production is namely a coping strategy to deal with its crushing presence in everyday life. The Wall has become an element commonly represented in Palestinian cultural production such as cinema, literature, music, and theatre. Its use as a background object for artistic resistance has led to discussions about the risk of its ‘aesthetization’ as a strategy for its normalization (Parry 2010; Eidelman 2011). However, I argue that following Anna Ball’s argument, the ‘aesthetization’ of the Wall does not necessarily mean a depoliticized critique of it, rather it ‘offers a medium through which politics is rendered tangible and personal’ (2012b, 191). In fact, as Ball recognized, this creative visualization of the Wall can reveal complex subject positions, power dynamics (2012b, 191) and foster an ‘intimate empathy that cannot be derived from political discourse’ (192). In fact, the visual relevance of the Wall gives an opportunity for Palestinians to open new modalities of struggle, turning it into a new site of resistance through creativity (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2006, 1110).

The barrier has also been considered ‘the largest canvas on the planet’ (Parry 2010, 11) and a background element for performative actions of the everyday life. In fact, not only theatre companies but also activists and international groups of solidarity with Palestine have used the Wall as a stage for different artistic activities. A multiplicity of performances has been developed with the Wall as a background. For instance, in 2011, the International Festival of Circus ‘Festiclown’ organized by the Spanish activist organization ‘Pallasos en Rebeldia’ (Clowns in Rebellion) in collaboration with the

Palestinian Circus school ('Festiclown Palestina' 2011, n.p.), whose performance 'Circus behind the Wall' will be analysed later, carried out a performance by the Wall next to the Qalandia checkpoint, near Ramallah. The Wall provided both a blank and a brutal space towards which all the clowns involved walked, armed with toy hammers they used to try to demolish the Wall in an act of creative resistance. The scene provoked a lot of amusement both among the soldiers at the check point who didn't do anything to stop the clowns and the Palestinians who were crossing the check point.

In the coming sections I will concentrate on a production that was presented between 2004 and 2010 in which the Wall has become a part of the stage. The play relocates movement restrictions to the bounded space of a theatre stage. The reproduction of the Wall's architectural reality allows imagination and personal experiences to surface, helping to 'transcend the paradox of real space' (Tschumi 1996, 50-51). While offering a 'clear, non-metaphorical and literally concrete structure representative of the multi-factorial nature of power' (Pallister-Wilkins 2011, 1853), the reproduction of the Wall within the space of the theatre has the potential to deconstruct it, creating a metaphorical sense that can indeed be transformed by imagination. *The Wall* provides a very interesting approach to its actual impact on people's subjectivities and how it disrupts their everyday lives, while it also proposes coping mechanisms and engages the audience in new narratives that eventually allow resistance. In this sense, I argue that the theatrical reproduction of the Wall locates its visibility in a new realm, establishing a new dialogue with the audiences, within which new narratives of resistance can be constructed.

The Wall (2004)

In 2004, the play *Al-Jidār - Qaṣaṣ taḥta al- ḥītilāl II* (translated to English by the group as *The Wall – Stories under occupation II*) was presented by Al-Kasaba Theatre in Ramallah. The play was written by the group members, directed by George Ibrahim and constructed from the experiences of the actors³¹. *The Wall* is the second part of the play *Alive from Palestine – Stories under Occupation I* (2002) that was presented in Jerusalem and Ramallah and subsequently toured the United States. In the second part, a six metres high wall, formed by seven separated panels, becomes an actual element of the scenery. The play does not only deal with the Wall, it works also as an allegory of the frustrating uncertainty that every element of the closure system causes in Palestinian lives. It blends

³¹ Extracted from interview conducted by the author to George Ibrahim, director of the play, in Ramallah. 2 April 2014. See Appendix IV.

the portrayal of different scenes from everyday life with a representation of various encounters with the Wall, which builds up a deeper sense of the real impact of the Wall in the characters' lives. *The Wall* intersperses scenes of strong dramatic character with songs and playful scenes, keeping the dramatic tension until the end. It begins with all the characters³² each lying against one of the Wall's panels. One of them plays an oud and sings while the rest of the characters engage in a chaotically and disconnected utterance of different sentences related to the individual stories that they will present later in the play.

Then, the first scene starts, making reference to another wall: the Jerusalem rampart. One of the characters narrates the relevance of the wall that surrounds the old city of Jerusalem to his life. From within his childhood memories, he recovers the memory of a curfew when he and his friends, played by two other male actors, were stopped. '*Each one of the soldiers was as big as a wall*³³' he says. They initially manage to escape the soldiers and hide in an alcove of the old city's wall and the first character says: 'Suleiman the Great built the wall and the alcove to protect us'. However, this joyful exclamation abruptly fades when the soldiers' torches blind them. When the first character recovers his sight, the wall that appears before him is no longer the Jerusalem wall - '*This is not Jerusalem wall. Where is the wall?*' he asks -. The character no longer recognizes the wall that has been raised in front of him. The second scene bursts out from the sense of estrangement that prevents him from recognizing his surroundings. Another character, an aged man, starts singing:

'Jerusalem prison.

My heart mourns because of you (...)

According to his song, Jerusalem has become a prison. The Jerusalem wall is not 'the wall' anymore; a new wall is taking over its place. The show plays with a disconcerting back-forward narration that connects the loss of their holiest historical reference, Jerusalem, with the current situation of occupation. The actor sings and mixes epic yarns of a glorious past with a present that has become unbearably ridiculous:

'Oh! Come and look at the miracles of the time.

See miracles before you

³² In alphabetic order: Ahmad Abu Saloum, Dorin Munir, Hussam Abu Eiseh, Imad Farajin, Ismail Dabagh, Manal Awad.

³³ Translation of the play provided by Al-Kasaba Theatre and Cinemateque. See Appendix III.

*And show them to your loved ones:
Antar was madly in love with Abla,
He took her though her family grudged (...)
What's been taken away isn't given back;
You may ask Kofi Annan³⁴,*

The connection between the story of Antar and Abla and Kofi Annan drives the audience to laugh sharing the irony of the statement as seen in the video provided by Al-Kasaba Theatre (Appendix III). The 'miracles of time' that are mentioned in his monologue ironically recall Kofi Annan's speech in front of the UN Security Council:

'We must never forget that Jews have very good historical reasons for taking seriously any threat to Israel's existence. (...) Therefore, those who want to be heard on Palestine should not deny or minimize (Jewish) history, or the connection many Jews feel for their historic homeland. Rather, they should acknowledge Israel's security concerns and make clear that their criticism is rooted not in hatred or intolerance, but in a desire for justice, self-determination and peaceful coexistence (Annan 2007, n.p.)'

This statement illustrates the reference to Kofi Annan made in the play, as it shows how the burden of legitimacy proof is again imposed on the Palestinians whose past and attachment to the land is never acknowledged nor recognized. Palestinian memory is reclaimed by referring to Antar: 'Antarah ibn Shaddād al-'Absī, a pre-Islamic Arab knight and poet who lived in central Arabia in the sixth century between 525 and 615 B.C. Both his love for his cousin Abla and his war prowess were an important part of his poetry, which has become 'a part of the literary heritage of the Arabic-speaking world' (Forbis 1976, 62). This referral to a pre-Islamic common past attempts to bring legitimacy to the Palestinian identity discourse, which is a strategy that we will also observe in *I am Jerusalem* (chapter three). The play refers to a past that has been taken away by the Israeli rhetoric to erase the existence of historic Palestine.

Moreover, the Wall's materiality has an 'engendering role in the re-constitution of memory and identity' (Hadi Curti 2008, 109). In this sense, the strong relevance of the reference to the pre-Islamic poet and his love poetry lies in its challenge of the impact that the Wall, as another Israeli strategy of erasure, can have on memory. The Wall plays

³⁴ Kofi Annan was Secretary-General of the United Nations from 1997 to 2006.

a paradoxical role on memory insofar as, as stated by Shalhoub-Kevorkian in her study about Palestinian children's relationship with the Wall, for them 'the Wall is a symbol (...) of both time passing and time standing still: the sense of past, present and future amalgamated into a history that is both continuing and obdurately static' (2006, 1111). The blurred lines of temporality compel the narrative to turn to a distant past in which not only the current Wall was unimaginable, but also the legitimacy of a common Arab identity is out of the question. The Wall is indeed a permanent element on stage, but the play tries to emphasize that the memory of a Palestinian land and identity prior to this Wall has to be asserted. The Wall 'impacts memory not only at the scale of the body and its relationship with and to landscape, but works to affect what is remembered territorially in global memory as borders are constantly re-negotiated in the public forum of national legitimization' (Hadi Curti 2008, 108-109). In this sense, the Wall turns into an instrument used to delegitimize and obstruct Palestinian national identity construction based on a yet-inevitable fragmented territoriality.

To look at Lefebvre's theory of space in this particular case might shed some light on the relevance of the installation of a wall on stage. The Wall's material reality bridges its character as 'perceived' to a 'conceived space', the official space handled by urban planners and social engineers. This 'conceived' level of space responds to the security rhetoric within Israeli policy that justifies the construction of the wall insofar as it is 'a place for the practices of social and political power' (Lefebvre 1991, 222). Therefore knowledge is constructed and articulated in this space, 'designed to manipulate those who exist within them' (222), and in the case of the Israeli wall, it reinforces the idea of being 'the dividing line between two separate civilizations: autocracy, collectivism, and the 'Arab mind' versus democracy, individualism, and the 'Israeli mind' (Leuenberger 2011, 73). In this sense, the Wall represents a structure of power. It is linked to an 'order' that is imposed and related to knowledge production.

When located on stage, the Wall acquires a new relevance and contributes to 'a performance of Lefebvrian representational space even though the concept of the monument is more closely allied with official (Lefebvrian) representations of space' (2006, 44). This means that the representation of the wall on stage allows a 'representational space'; this is a 'lived' space that embodies a symbolic use of the space. Indeed, the Wall has different symbolic meanings for Israelis and Palestinians, meanings that are 'not fixed or stable, but are transitory and multiple' (Leuenberger 2011, 72); and it is within the process of meaning creation that art materializes as a valid language to

propose subversive meanings. To place the Wall on stage acknowledges it as a structure of power and does not try to subvert it or challenge it by defeating it, breaking it or getting over it, but by inserting and intertwining within its panels the stories of the Palestinians. In this sense, the wall on stage opens a 'representational space' as it embodies the 'lived' possibilities of resistance within the interstices of the conceived and perceived space. The representational space is 'the dominated (...) space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects' (Lefebvre 1991, 39). Thus, it is the space in which art can intervene against reality: the scenography proposes a certain practice of space within which the wall 'remains an ominous backdrop or threatening presence rather than a point of focus' (Ball 2012b, 178). The troupe's choice of including the wall as a central element of the scenography connects the audience with a certain practice of space, which mediates the audience's experience.

By the end of the fifth scene, the Wall's panels start to move to the oneiric music, slowly approaching the audience. The actors and actresses manipulate the panels from behind, moving them in an unsynchronized and anarchic movement. On the one hand, the movement of the Wall recognizes its political agency, which is indeed a recurrent theme in *The Wall* as we will see during the twentieth scene of the play. The agency of the Wall escapes the control of the Palestinian characters whose movements are increasingly restricted within the stage. In this sense, the Wall has never stopped being extended, continuously gobbling up Palestinian land. By moving the Wall closer to the audience, the play is trying to reproduce that sense of increasing confinement, recalling the audience's experience. When performed in a Palestinian stage like the one in the theatre hall of Al-Kasaba theatre in Ramallah, the play is recalling the audience's experience. The spectators can relate in an embodied way to the kind of interaction of the characters with this ever-present element on stage and they can connect them with their own experiences. Palestinian audiences that attended the performance could see their daily experiences reflected on stage, creating a sense of collective understanding. In international tours, like the one that brought *The Wall* to the Tokyo International Art Festival in 2005, the different audiences were exposed to the experience of confinement by means of, for instance, the moving Wall. The movement of the Wall makes more evident the impact of the Wall in the characters' lives to an audience that would not have access to that experience otherwise, recreating the sense of confinement to them.

After the panels have been relocated closer to the audience, the stage becomes a market in which different traders interact. One of the actresses starts telling the story of how she

opened a fashion store in Ramallah. When the ‘good days’ finished and the bombardments began; ‘*bombardment and fashion don’t go together*’ she says, she moved her shop to a smaller establishment – ‘*4m by 4m. Not bad!*’ - closer to Birzeit University. In a similar pattern of confinement, the Surda checkpoint was built on the way from Ramallah to Birzeit and she was again compelled to move her shop to the A-Ram³⁵ checkpoint, she says ‘*My new store was smaller, 3m by 3m. Not bad!*’. The image of the trader in the checkpoints illustrates how checkpoints have become ‘centres of social and economic relations’ (Aouragh 2011, 379) in which, as Hammami states precisely in her study of the Surda checkpoint, there are ‘dispossessed workers from throughout the West Bank seeking to earn a living from the thousands of commuters passing through the checkpoint every day’ (2004, n.p.). By saying ‘not bad’, the character recognizes that it could have been worse. The normalization of dispossession is reflected here as an implicit acceptance of a certain level of structural violence.

Finally the female character states:

‘One morning I went to open the store. I took the key out of my bag and tried to stick it in the lock. What the heck! Where’s the lock? Where’s the door? Where’s the store? What’s this wall?’

Her new store, 1m by 1m, is her own body moving around the stage with a basket full of products. The increasing confinement, from 120 square meters in Ramallah to 9 square meters in A-Ram, has turned her into a peddler and her shop has been deprived of materiality. This monologue shows the gradual character of confinement. The ever-decreasing size of the shop indicates the ever-growing sense of restriction both physical and psychological. Checkpoints are ‘valves wherein, first, individual moving bodies are inspected and allowed (or denied) passage; and second, the circulation of an entire population, as well as the goods it consumes and produces, is managed’ (Kotef 2015, 21). In this sense, movement restrictions have resulted in a noticeable burden on Palestinian local economy (Isaac 2010, 581); in an executive summary in 2007, the World Bank recognized that:

‘In economic terms, the restrictions arising from closure not only increase transaction costs, but create such a high level of uncertainty and inefficiency that the normal conduct of business becomes enormously difficult and stymies the

³⁵ A-Ram is a Palestinian town which lies northeast of Jerusalem. For more information about the construction of the separation barrier in the area check Btselem report “The Separation Barrier Surrounding a-Ram” (2014).

growth and investment which are necessary to fuel economic revival' (World Bank Technical Team 2007, 1).

Within this situation of economic deprivation, an informal economy develops around some checkpoints that become centres of trade and exchange, as is the case at the Qalandia checkpoint, on the road from Ramallah to Jerusalem. According to Tawil-Souri in her study of the 'checkpoint economy', checkpoints have become 'contradictory spaces: barriers that asphyxiate the individual and the collective on the one hand, and burgeoning centres of social and economic relations, on the other' (2009, 218). In this sense, this shows an appropriation of the checkpoint space wherever possible through activities 'that do not lessen the alienation, discontinuity, and dispossession, but that dramatize and clarify them instead' (Said 1985, 41). Therefore, we see how the population copes with the oppressing reality of these technologies of occupation. Something that strikes the spectator when watching the scene is how her discourse of steadfastness is disrupted by some ashamed gazes to the basket in which she carries her 'shop'.

The twentieth monologue represents a critical point in the play as it vividly asserts the agency of the Wall and the subsequent hopelessness of the characters. The actress who was playing the street vendor takes to the stage again. Her attitude is variable and unpredictable from proud and slightly arrogant to fearful and despairing, while she narrates a story about how her neighbours built a fence when she was eight years old.

'We grew older. I didn't understand what the matter was. I felt sad and wept a lot. Who am I going to play with?

*The fence is high and strong. It's becoming a wall. It stands between us and our neighbours. I climb it and I feel **it's staring at me with two ugly ghoulish eyes. Greedy. It wants the house** [emphasis added]. It's creeping to our house and our house is getting smaller. (...)*

When I pass by the wall I turn my head away. I don't want to go out of the house because if I do I see the ugly way. I began to see the wall in my dreams: huge walls smothering me. Nightmares haunt me. Monsters with jaws wide open gulping me down. They go before me. They're ripping me apart'

This monologue recognizes the psychological impact that the wall had on the character, becoming a monster that haunts her on her nightmares. The psychological impact of the wall has been broadly recognized (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2006; Giacaman et al. 2009; 2011; Leuenberger 2011). As stated by Shalhoub-Kevorkian, the wall has a 'palpable

presence' in Palestinian children's minds: 'the ways in which it haunted their dreams and indeed, their conceptions of a future' (2006, 1114). Besides, the character is recognizing the agency of the Wall itself. Until this moment of the play, the characters have interacted with the Wall and mentioned it in their speeches. The wall itself has moved but it is in this monologue that the Wall is recognized as an actor or character by itself. In fact, as she speaks, the panels of the Wall noisily advance towards her. The Wall is not only a permanent element on stage, it becomes a character itself and it emerges here with the same autonomy as its physical relevance confers it in reality. It controls the space, moves freely and it and its visual control onstage reflect the power exerted offstage through the controlling of space. The Wall exceeds the limits of conscious visibility and, as recognized in the play, pervades the realm of the unconscious. It becomes a nightmare, a monster. Its movement is faltering and threatening. There is no more music and the stage is dimly lit. The Wall's agency is now made clear as a reflection of the powerlessness of the rest of the characters.

Moreover, this scene also talks about the relevance of the sense of sight by highlighting the permanent visibility of the wall that forces the character to turn her head away. Its perennial presence does indeed have an impact in people's lives and, like Bentham's Panopticon, it 'assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects' (Foucault 1995, 201). The architecture of the Wall ensures a sustainment not only of coercive discipline but also of the individual self-control. The Wall is real and it is there to be seen, to allow 'everything to be seen and heard' as it appears in Bitton's film *Wall* when interviewing General Amos Yaron, director general of the Israeli Ministry of Defence (Ball 2012b, 188). As stated by Foucault, the uncertain and unpredictable gaze of the power in the Panopticon becomes a means of subordination for the inmates who never know if they are being observed. Therefore, the oppression of that gaze is internalized and functions even if no one is actually watching the inmates. Similarly, the Wall operates on an individual level by colonizing Palestinian minds through the unconscious internalization of oppression. The undeniable presence of the Wall contributes to the internalization of the restrictions imposed by the Israeli movement regime.

In scenes ten and eleven, the relevance of the sense of sight is presented through the representation of two characters that are separated by the Wall and are unable to see each other. Scene ten presents a man who wants to pray. He has not seen his wife for five years and he explains how new restrictions are being imposed to his plans to go to pray.

First, the Israelis deny him the permit to travel to Al Hajj³⁶ - a prayer there is worth 1000 prayers, then he is also rejected when trying to go to the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, which is worth 500 prayers, he cannot reach his local mosque either, which is worth 27 prayers, as the wall is constructed in front of his house's door. Finally, he narrates how an Israeli bulldozer destroys his house when he was trying to pray in his toilet. This monologue reflects two situations related to the Israeli occupation. On the one hand, it has imposed a ban on Palestinian family unification by controlling Palestinian residency status both inside and outside of the OPT (Dayan 2009, 310). Secondly, it illustrates the reality of house demolition, which is one of the three forms of Israeli intervention (Azoulay 2009, 153). The Israeli organization ICAHD (The Israeli Committee against House Demolitions) estimates that 48,038 Palestinian structures have been demolished since 1967 ('The Israeli Committee against House Demolitions (ICAHD)' 2017, n.p.)³⁷, which promotes active displacement and suspends the development of Palestinian villages and cities (Halper 2009, n.p.). House demolitions contribute to the 'spacio-cide' defined by Hanafi (2009, 193), whether they are punitive demolitions or they aim at destroying Palestinian houses which are deemed illegal by the Israeli system (B'tselem 2017b, n.p.). By presenting the direct testimony of a man who lost his home, Al-Kasaba theatre is transforming the house into a home, creating an emotional link with the audience. As stated by Harker, it is easy to dismiss statistics and, by putting human experience anew at the centre of the stage, the play is countering the 'risk of homogenising and anaesthetising' the dreadful reality of house demolitions (Harker 2009, 323-324).

This monologue illustrates the situation of the character describing it in a numerical fashion similar to the monologue of the street vendor. When he finishes his speech, a woman sitting on the opposite side of the wall tries to comfort him. She tells him to close his eyes and imagine he is 'in paradise with prophets and angels'. It is the first time during the play in which two characters placed on stage cannot see each other, just like the man cannot see his wife in real life. The Wall is presented not only as an element that divides the Palestinian population, but also as an element that altogether denies Palestinian visibility both to the Israeli population and the international community. The

³⁶ The Hajj is the annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca which is a mandatory religious duty for Muslims to be carried out at least once in lifetime by every adult Muslim who is physically and financially capable of undertaking the journey, and can support his family during his absence.

³⁷ According to their webpage, this information is based on information collected from the Israeli Ministry of Interior, the Jerusalem Municipality, the Civil Administration, UN bodies and agencies, Palestinian, Israeli and international human rights groups, our field monitoring, and other sources.

Wall serves the perverse ‘process of invisibilization of the Palestinian’ (Alazzeah 2014, 104), denying the presence of Palestinian voices inside and outside Israel (Shor and Yonay 2011; Khalili 2010; Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2014). As stated by Hanafi, the Zionist myth of ‘a land without a people for a people without land’ has resulted in an ‘institutionalized invisibility of the Palestinian people (which) both feeds and is being fed by Israel’s everyday settler-colonial practices’ (Hanafi 2013, 190). Israel has systematically tried to deny and erase the existence and/or legitimacy of the Palestinian narratives. In order to accomplish such denial, the wall has been constructed to ultimately ‘remove the *visual* presence of Palestinian villages’ (Hanafi 2009, 107). As stated by Laleh Khalili, Palestinian visibility ‘lay bare the apparatus of (Israeli) coercion. To counter these, the Israeli state has acted to circumscribe Palestinian visibility (...). The mechanisms of invisibility are manifold but the wall is perhaps the most powerful one’ (2010, 128). For Palestinians, the wall is not a boundary ‘from which something begins its presencing’ (Heidegger 2001, 152), but the wall becomes the departing point of their disappearance; the wall becomes a site ‘of absence and erasure’ (Ball 2012b, 177).

Different technologies of occupation, like the wall or the check-points, are spaces ‘in which solitude is experienced as an emptying of individuality, as a temporal experience concerned only with the present task of passing through’ (Tawil-Souri 2011, 18). However, whereas in other technologies of occupation, such as the check-points, there is direct contact with both Israeli soldiers and other Palestinians from both sides, like a ‘non-place’ in Augé’s terms (Tawil-Souri 2011, 16), the Wall denies any contact with either Israelis or Palestinians from the other side unless using the established crossing-points. The presence of the Wall has also contributed to deepening the sense of fragmentation within Palestinian society that is now constituted by increasingly isolated population units, blocking the possibilities of seeing each other. The Wall isolates and creates distance among individuals; in fact, there is little physical contact between the characters of the play.

As we mentioned before, there has been an internalization of the effects of the Wall, which leads to individual self-control. For instance, in scene fourteen, the play represents a classroom in which the pupils are being taught about the closure system. The teacher starts asking questions about the traffic rules, for example, the meaning of traffic lights colours; she then questions the kids about the procedure for crossing the Wall:

- *Teacher: If we want to go anywhere. Where do we go?*
- *Pupils: To the Wall’s gate!*

- *T: What's there?*
- *P: Israeli soldier!*
- *T: What does he want?*
- *P: The Permit!*
- *T: Where's the permit?*
- *P: In Bet El!*³⁸
- *T: Where are we?*
- *P: In Ramallah!*
- *T: Where should we go?*
- *P: To the Israeli military governor!*

The scene's purpose is to create laughter among the audience by stultifying an everyday life situation, but at the same time it crudely represents the colonization of pupils' minds, making clear how internalized the whole structure has become. The deterioration of Palestinian educational system due to the wall has been reported by Shalhoub-Kevorkian in terms of the restriction of access to schools: 'The political violence has restricted children's access to schools, and continual delays at checkpoints often force them to take lengthy detours to reach their schools' (2006, 1102) . Besides, from an early age, Palestinians embody and assimilate the closure system that dramatically limits their daily lives. As stated by Bremner: 'daily acts and rituals were transformed into acts of segregation and humiliation that accumulated into an omnipresent violence of everyday life' (2005, 129-130).

The impact of the Wall, as well as other mechanisms of closure like the checkpoints or the segregated roads, on everyday life is intimately linked with its unpredictable character. Of course its presence is unavoidable and predictable, but the way in which the closure system operates upon Palestinian bodies is consciously kept unpredictable by the Israeli authorities. In this sense, unpredictability is part of Israeli spatial control practices, which is directed not so much to 'routine data collection and surveillance but blocking *per se* and prevention of movement' (Handel 2011, 260). The uncertainty caused by the Wall plays at two different levels: on the one hand, it disrupts everyday life, while on the other hand, it perpetuates and legitimizes Israeli control methods. Even if the presence of

³⁸ Israeli military base that issues permits for Palestinians.

the wall is certain, Palestinian life is still marked by uncertainty, a reality that *The Wall* wants to show by portraying different life situations that come to be disrupted by the occupation mechanisms. One good example of this unpredictability is the checkpoints; as stated by Handel, 'the checkpoints map, printed by OCHA every two to three months, is not only out of date by the time it is published, but cannot be up to date at any given moment. Since data collection takes time, and the array of barriers changes so quickly, by the time the Nablus segment of the map is being prepared, the data collected in the Hebron region are no longer accurate' (2009, 183).

The disruption of Palestinians' everyday lives due to the Israeli occupation includes 'the narrowing of their horizons and their expectations' through the control of the population's time and space (Hass 2005, n.p.). As stated by Amira Hass:

'The loss of time, which Israel is stealing every day from 3.5 million people, is evident everywhere: in the damage it causes to their ability to earn a living; in their economic, family and cultural activity; in the leisure hours, in studies and in creativity; and in the shrinking of the space in which every individual lives.' (2005, n.p.)

These disciplinary technologies operate on a deeper level than just the physical restriction of movement 'by inciting and channelling desires, generating and focusing individual and group energies, and establishing bodily norms and techniques for observing, monitoring and controlling bodily movements, processes, and capacities' (Sawicki 1991, 83). This is why not only the constitution of the Palestinian subject itself is determined by the movement restrictions, but also the way in which such subjects represent themselves in space. In that sense, the occupation works at the 'level of the banal', limiting everyday life actions from catching a bus to visiting a relative (Bremner 2005, 129). Moreover, the artistic representation of the impact of the Wall is translated as a pattern that tends to preclude life flows and the everyday life - from birth to death³⁹, from prayer to marriage. In this sense, the play presents how the Wall is not only, as defined by visual artist Steve Sabella, a 'scar of occupation' (Masasam 2013) in the land of Palestine. The Wall is also a scar in Palestinian everyday life, a rupture of the patterns of quotidian movement of Palestinian bodies.

³⁹ Scene seventeen portrays the story of a dead man who cannot be buried as the cemetery 'is gone behind the wall'.

The last scene of *The Wall* starts when the different panels advance again up to the edge of the stage. The actors and actresses are now very close to the audience and they stand leaning against the wall's panels with their arms and legs apart, grabbing the Wall as if



Figure 1. 4. *The Wall*. Last scene.

they were tied to it. One by one, they talk as if they were prisoners. Many of the monologues start with the word ‘suffocated’ (pronounced in Palestinian Arabic ‘*khana’a*’) and go on narrating all the hardships and restrictions imposed on prisoners. By connecting all the previous stories with prison, they are wrapping up all the restrictions narrated during the play and connecting them with the ultimate and more illustrative form of lack of freedom. The ultimate coherence of the play is linked to this final assertion of the different experiences of enclosure. In a powerful scene, the segregation wall becomes the actual walls of the prison; at the same time, the wall is still the segregation wall, the same wall that has been an element of disruption in all the stories presented beforehand. The prison becomes the space of utmost isolation, which is an issue that has been implicitly handled during the whole play.

For the audience, everything that is on stage, in front of the Wall’s panels, can be seen. From the spectator point of view, the physical and visual disconnection of the characters illustrates the dramatic social fracture caused by the Wall (Lagerquist 2004, 5). By presenting all the characters as visible to the audience, the play is emphasizing the power of ‘appearance’ as a crucial element for the configuration of identity (Hatuka 2012, 349).

I propose that *The Wall* tries to counter the hegemonic narratives of the occupation through aesthetic and artistic representation and appearance.

Of course, this does not alleviate the consequences of the Wall outside of the theatre; but it proposes an alternative relationship with space in which the unheard voices of the Palestinian experience can resonate. These voices speak to the collective, fostering the idea of the commonality of the oppression. In this sense, this artistic tool becomes a technology against the occupation. From an etymological point of view, the Greek root ‘*techne*’ means ‘to make something appear, within what is present, as this or that, in this way or that way (...) producing, in terms of letting appear’ (Heidegger 2001, 157). *The Wall* let the characters appear and allowed their stories to permeate the seemingly insurmountable barrier. This is a powerful effect of theatre, where this phenomenological re-appropriation of the space can be enacted and shared. As we have seen, these technologies have a strong impact on the formation of Palestinian identity, mediated by the relationship with space. In this sense, an alternative positioning within that space allows the creation of a new reality on stage and in people’s minds. The representation on stage of stories in which the technologies of occupation and, more broadly, the whole Israeli matrix of control are represented, opens a new space in which challenging narratives can be articulated. Furthermore, to counter the process of confinement and invisibilization of the Palestinian population, theatre in Palestine wants ‘to prove the existence of Palestinians by representing them’ (Young 2016, 135). In the first chapter of the present thesis we have seen different cases in which the representation of the Palestinian reality inside and outside of Palestine has been used to raise the issue of the negative effects of the Israeli structure of oppression over the individual and collective experience of the Palestinian population.

IV. Concluding Remarks

This chapter presented the material character of the Israeli power structures and how the notion of immobility that was defined in the Introduction materializes both on the ground and in theatrical production. In this sense, we have defined the Israeli structure as a ‘matrix of control’ that operates through disciplinary arrangement of space that controls and limits every aspect of Palestinian life. This matrix, institutionalized after the Oslo Accords, aims at dissecting and fragmenting the Palestinian territory, and ultimately at occupying the whole territory. The different mechanisms of the Israeli occupation

challenge the idea of Israel and Palestine being two different entities that can be defined by stable borders. As we have seen, the fact that Palestinian movements are controlled inside of what have been internationally recognized as the Palestinian territories, and the increasing presence of Israeli settlements inside the West Bank, negates the possibility of two separate entities and reinforces the idea of a total control over the Palestinian population.

This chapter wanted to explore how that matrix of control is translated into theatrical representation, specially taking into account its impact in Palestinian everyday lives and how this might shape their understanding of their own subjectivities. Through the analysis of the plays *Confinement* (2010), produced in the West Bank, and *Exit* (2013), produced in Haifa (Israel), we explored how space restrictions for Palestinians are conceived and represented as part of a system of control that goes beyond the individual bodies and permeates the whole Palestinian society. In fact, the two plays showed how the characters had internalized oppression and how, apart from the situation of confinement that the characters of both plays were suffering, they were also beset by their social context and the rules and roles imposed by it.

Confinement reflected the ‘matrix of control’ with its stage arrangements, creating an intimate performance with a ‘stage-in-the-round’ in which the characters did not have a way out and all their actions were seen by the audience. With this kind of staging, the play was also inviting the audience to participate in the feelings of the performers, involving each member in thinking of a solution for the characters’ desperate situation of confinement; therefore allowing a platform to think of alternatives of resistance. With *Exit*, Khashabi ensemble chose a completely different theatrical setting, presenting the play only on YouTube, in order to make the play accessible for other Palestinian and international audiences. Although online theatre might lose the immediacy of traditional theatre, the play managed to breach the movement restrictions imposed over the Palestinian population, bringing different audiences together.

The analysis of these two plays has shown the relevant connection between the situation of Palestinians in Israel and in the West Bank and how different structures of oppression are at work. The matrix of control becomes, in both cases, an invisible force that disrupts the characters’ actions and options. In this sense, the analysis of these two plays wanted to illustrate how the ‘matrix of control’ is not only bounded to the OPT, but also extends to other Palestinian groups like the Palestinian population inside of Israel. *Exit* represented the identity dilemma that Palestinians with Israeli citizenship, showing how

they are subject to the same matrix but the effects are different since they do indeed have Israeli citizenship. However, as presented in *Exit*, that belonging in terms of their citizenship does not ease the problem of self-definition that the collective has to face, criticized as a group inside of the OPT for staying inside of Israel (Mana et al. 2015, 76), while being considered second-class citizens inside of Israel (Khoury 1985, 330). In my opinion, the play reflects the problems that collective face in the process of constructing their own identity, as individuals and as a collective, showing the strong sense of estrangement from the rest of the Palestinian community.

The Israeli matrix of control has been articulated through different technologies that I have named ‘technologies of occupation’, which are directed to the effective control of Palestinian population’s movement. We have seen how these technologies work in different ways and have different forms, physical institutions, which re-shape the Palestinian landscape, like the checkpoints, or administrative restrictions, which define and profile individuals through movement control, like the system of administrative permits. All these technologies respond to what Bowman has called a ‘logic of encystation’, confining Palestinians to demarcated and isolated ‘cysts’ (Bowman 2007, 295). One of the most salient technologies of occupation, at least in terms of its spectacular effect in the landscape, is the Wall. Besides, it has been a popular element in cultural production and more concretely, in dramatic representation. It has become such a permanent and ever-present element of the landscape that it is used both on stage, as an element of the scenery or even a character, and as a stage itself.

One example of that relevance in dramatic representation is the play *The Wall – Stories under occupation* (2004) by Al-Kasaba Theatre in Ramallah. In the play, the Wall is presented as a permanent element on stage that also has its own agency. The Wall keeps advancing towards the audience during the play, increasingly enclosing the characters to make the stage almost non-existent. The play focuses on the individual stories surrounding the wall, and the impact of the daily encounters with the wall in the characters’ understanding of their own position and identity. The representation of the Wall illustrates the way in which theatre allows actual elements of the landscape to be deconstructed, challenged, and reproduced. More importantly, the play shows how the relevance of this ominous structure is always diminished by the reaffirmation of the centrality of the individual experiences.

In fact, the title of the play itself *The Wall – Stories under occupation* makes a strong claim for the centrality of the characters’ experiences. In fact, it is through these

experiences that the different subject positions emerge and, by placing those experiences on stage, I argue that an open narration of the different positions can be shared with the audience. The representation of how the Wall impacts on the different characters' experience provides the audience with the opportunity of articulating a new meaning for that oppression. The play puts the emphasis on the characters' experiences and the mechanisms that the characters use to challenge the everyday restrictions caused by the Wall. I argue that in this case Lefebvre's theory of space can be used to understand how the Wall becomes a 'lived space', a space where artistic language can provide alternative narratives that challenge the materiality of the wall.

Following the analysis of the different technologies of occupation, the next chapter of this thesis will focus on the prison system as an institution that works by exacerbating the meaning of immobility. The control that the prison system exerts over the bodies of the prisoners has a strong relevance in the Palestinian context due to the high rates of imprisonment. Throughout the chapter we will explore the different meanings of the representation of imprisonment in theatre, paying special attention to the links between individual and collective. In this sense, we will see how theatre focuses on the individual experiences of prisoners as a way to speak to the collective. Simultaneously, theatre exacerbates the division inside-outside by also representing the stories of the inmates' families, with a specific and relevant gender component. I argue that theatre wants to speak to the Palestinian community from the individual experience, focusing on an existentialist narrative that would re-constitute the prisoner as a subject for her community.

Chapter Two. Representations of Imprisonment in Palestinian Contemporary Theatre: an Existentialist Turn

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I. Introduction

The technologies of occupation that were analysed in the previous chapter arrange space in a way that ‘mimics the space of the prison’ (Peteet 2017, 11). In fact, Palestine has often been defined as an ‘open-air prison’, especially when talking about the situation in the Gaza strip (Chomsky, Pappé, and Barat 2015; Peteet 2005a; McDonnell Twair 2004). At the same time, the Israeli prison system represents a central institution for Palestinian society due to the very high overall rates of imprisonment of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories and Israel. Imprisonment has become a pandemic condition inside Palestinian society. In a period of less than three decades, approximately 20 percent of the total Palestinian population (Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association 2014, 4) has been arrested and imprisoned in an Israeli jail, which makes incarceration a defining element of Palestinian experience and it is from that relevance for both individual and collective identity that the present chapter will explore the representation of imprisonment in theatre.

Prison is an institution that legitimizes total control over bodies; it is a site in which the state’s technologies of power exert total control over space and time, signifying the ultimate disruption of everyday life. In this chapter, I will analyse how the Palestinian experience of imprisonment has been represented in theatre in recent years in terms of both its individual and collective meaning. On the one hand, prison can be seen as a symbol laden with meanings that may be relevant for community-building. As stated by Nashif, prison gives Palestinian captives a ‘social time and social space’ (2008, 8) in

which they act and re-act. Imprisonment might sharpen the inside-outside division by dividing the community in spatial terms, but the recurrent representation of those who are 'inside' gives them a voice within their collective. This representation recreates a 'narrative of absence' around which the community who waits outside can gather. In this sense, theatre offers a space for the exhibition of these voices and the gathering of the community. It opens up a space to discuss the increasing 'absence of solidarity' towards prisoners and their families as has been reported in recent years (Giacaman and Johnson 2013, 68).

On the other hand, the representation of imprisonment has a clear individual focus, in which the everyday experiences of the inmates become central to the dramatic story. These stories challenge mythical representations of the prisoner as a hero and martyr, putting the human stories first. This focus on the individual problematizes the instrumentalization of prisoners' suffering for political purposes. I argue that the aesthetics of imprisonment in Palestine resort to an existentialist narrative that focuses on the human and the embodied dynamics - individual and collective - that the prison space constitutes. The enclosed space of the prison forces individuals to enter into dialogue with the self, which brings up a stronger sense of the self. Therefore, theatre counters the use of the figure of the prisoner for nationalist rhetoric while at the same time, connects individual intimacy with collective vision. This focus on the individual experience deconstructs pre-established discourses around imprisonment and allows new narratives of imprisonment to arise and speak to the collective.

The present chapter focuses on the theatrical representation of imprisonment to shed light on the process of collective and individual identity building inside and outside of prison and how that is represented through the bodies of the performers on stage. The first section of this chapter will focus on the actual situation of Palestinian prisoners inside of Israeli prisons. I will look at the issue of administrative detention and how imprisonment in Israel has become more of a collective punishment for the whole Palestinian community. I will reflect upon the connections between the previously defined notion of immobility and how it operates within the prison system. In the second section of this chapter, I will introduce theoretically the representation of imprisonment in theatre, looking at imprisonment as a cultural text that speaks about broader issues that affect the individual and the collective. I will introduce how theatre about prisons usually focuses on the everyday life of the prisoners and how this trend draws upon an existentialist view

of imprisonment from which different narratives that question the prison system can be articulated.

Two plays will be analyzed in the present chapter, both of which are based on true stories, one in South Africa in the 70s and the other one on the story of an actual prisoner in Israel. First, we will talk about *The Island* produced by the Freedom Theatre in 2013. It is an adaptation of Athol Fugard's play about prison in Apartheid South Africa. The connections between the Apartheid prison system in the 70s and current Palestine is an important political statement that needs to be taken into account. The play tells the story of two inmates that are preparing a performance of the Greek tragedy *Antigone* to be performed in front of the other prisoners. The play focuses on the experience and interaction of the two characters, and it is through these experiences that it acquires its political meaning. The meta-theatrical representation of *Antigone* inside of the play allows, as will be discussed later, a role reversal in which the whole prison system is not only represented but also challenged.

The second play that will be examined is *A Parallel Timeline*, directed by Bashar Murkus and produced in 2014 by Al-Midan Theatre in Haifa. The play draws upon the letters sent by the Palestinian prisoner Walid Daka, serving life in an Israeli prison. *A Parallel Timeline* has the added interest of being produced inside of Israel with Palestinian-Israeli citizens as its characters. Similarly to what we saw in chapter one, the present chapter will reflect upon the impact of the Israeli apparatus on the different Palestinian communities inside and outside of the OPT. It is worth noting that the Palestinian Authority's penitentiary institutions (Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association 2011, 4) have become an increasingly discussed issue in recent years, however this chapter will focus on Israeli prisons, where both plays are set. I will draw attention to the aesthetics of imprisonment and the arrangement of theatrical space to represent the everyday life experience inside prison. Besides, the analysis of both scripts illuminates the process of identity configuration inside prison, with a special focus on gender dynamics. The social dynamics that shape the characters' narratives are also related to their individual experiences and discourses, which will be highlighted throughout the chapter.

II. The Individual and Collective Dimension of Palestinian Imprisonment in Israeli Colonial Prisons.

According to Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association, as of December 2015, there were 6,800 Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli prisons (Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association 2014, n.p.). As of the end of August 2016, 644 of them were held in administrative detention by Israel, including 1 woman and 10 minors (B'tselem 2017c, n.p.). B'tselem - the Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories - defines administrative detention as:

‘Detention without trial, ostensibly intended to prevent people from committing acts that are liable to endanger public safety, rather than punishing them for offenses already committed, as is the case in criminal proceedings’ (B'tselem 2017c, n.p.).

Administrative detention is used on a mass scale by the Israeli security system, which illustrates the profiling effort of the Israeli General Security Service (GSS) based on the criteria of ‘security threat’ (Berda 2011, 44-45). This threat is mainly directed towards ‘criminalizing political membership’ (46). More extensively, the imprisonment of Palestinians is part of a broader strategy of Israel to criminalize the whole community. In general, as stated by Rooney, imprisonment is ‘an orchestrated *political* policy [emphasis in original]’ rather than ‘a matter of due criminal proceedings’ (2014, 135-136).

The non-governmental human rights organisation Amnesty International defines the term ‘political prisoner’ as ‘any prisoner whose case has a significant political element: whether the motivation of the prisoner's acts, the acts in themselves, or the motivation of the authorities (Amnesty International 2002, 40)’. Under this definition a large proportion of Palestinians who are incarcerated in Israeli prisons can be considered political prisoners.

The Israeli military courts are in charge of prosecuting Palestinians who have been arrested by the Israeli military. The laws enforced by these courts criminalize not only Palestinian violence, but also ‘certain forms of political and cultural expression, association, movement and nonviolent protest - anything deemed to threaten Israeli security’ (Hajjar 2005, 3). The application of emergency law denies the civilian status of Palestinians and always confers a political meaning to their detention. The political character of Palestinian imprisonment is reinforced by the large numbers associated with the prison phenomena: according to Addameer, since 1967 more than 800,000 Palestinians from the Occupied Territories (West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip) have been detained under Israeli military order (Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association 2014, n.p.). The impact of such a figure can be grasped when, as stated by Addameer, we understand that it refers to approximately 20 percent of the

total Palestinian population. This figure also refers to 40 percent of the total male Palestinian population, which will strongly define the dynamics of gender identity conformation and reinforcement, as we will see throughout this chapter.

As stated by Rosenfeld, 'it is rare to find a family in the West Bank or in the Gaza strip that has not experienced the incarceration (even if short-term) of at least one of its male members and many a family has faced the imprisonment of two or more members', which makes it an 'overriding structural factor' of Israeli occupation (2011, 4-5). Besides, the experience of prison in the Palestinian context is also special because it is connected with the colonial character of Israeli prisons (Bornstein 2010; Giacaman and Johnson 2013). As stated by Nashif, 'the presence of the colonizer is so overwhelming in the colonial prison, and the captives are mainly criminalized, and targeted as part of the Palestinian collective and less as individuals' (2008, 36). Therefore, the profiling and the collectivisation of the prisoners' community are two of the main strategies of the Israeli penitentiary apparatus.

The penitentiary apparatus is part of the technologies that were described in the previous chapter and, therefore, it is an element that contributes to constructing the general context of immobility for Palestinians. As one of the elementary forms of the mobility regime, prisons are 'located along a continuum of practices designed to consolidate a mobility regime' (Shamir 2005, 206). They are spatially fixed and all the human dynamics connected to them are also fixed and regulated. Prisons operate by blocking movement and negating exit to the subjects confined inside, while at the same time they also operate by denying entrance to the people from outside. This feature reminds of Foucault's definition of a heterotopia as somewhere 'capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' (Foucault 1984, 25). One of the defining principles of heterotopias is that they 'always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable' (Foucault 1984, 7). Prisons were defined by Foucault as 'heterotopias of deviation': places 'in which individuals whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed' (1984, 5). This deviant behaviour is not defined as opposed to the Palestinian society they are members of, but as opposed to the whole of Israeli society. Palestinian behaviour is deviant because of its belonging to the larger Palestinian community, and that alone justifies their immobilization.

The prison system distributes individuals in space (Foucault 1995, 141), creating different levels of immobility with the prison system. Immobility in prisons operates at both a

macro- and micro-level. On the one hand, this means that prisoners are separated from the rest of society to prevent social connection and ‘better to facilitate tightly regulated programmes of disciplinary control’ (Philo 2014, 497). Prison disconnects the inmates from their own communities, becoming a ‘factory of exclusion’ which defines the immobility of the excluded (Bauman 1998, 113). As we will see, a new community of inmates emerge in this situation, which reflects the social structure from which they have been disconnected. As stated by Nashif, the body of the captive ‘can be understood only if positioned in the social space of the body of the community of captives’ (2008, 67). This means that prison links the individual and the collective bodies of the inmates, reproducing social relations on a reduced scale. At the same time, these internal social relations are a reflection of the broader community outside of the prison. Theatre works to represent this ‘community of captives’ outside of the prison, bridging their reality and dynamics with the broader community.

On the other hand, the prison institution makes sure that the control over prisoners is exerted on an individual level and they are confined to closed-off spaces in which their routines are closely controlled. At that micro-level, disciplinary power increases the use of technologies of isolation and related torture that target the individual. The Israeli prison system has refined the methods of carceral repression, such as solitary confinement. Spatial control and restriction contributes to creating a sense of estrangement that ‘reduces, thins down and compresses the view of the other’ (Bauman 1998, 106). These methods of repression over the individual indeed have a destructive effect on her psyche as she loses the ability to understand experience as a relational construction. As we will see in the analysis of *Parallel Timeline*, solitary confinement as well as other means of repression aim at destroying the sense of community and the ‘possibilities for action’ (Nashif 2008, 9) that the above-mentioned prisoners’ community might create. Caroline Rooney talks about the destruction of a ‘collective consciousness⁴⁰’: ‘through isolating techniques, from degrees of solitary confinement to severing the links between prisoners and their families, as well as through techniques of humiliation aimed at religious feelings and collective morale’ (2014, 142). This micro-level of management and repression of the individual aims to break the collective ties by affecting the individual’s ability to create social ties.

⁴⁰ For her, this collective consciousness is ‘what individual self-consciousness shuts out, represses or is not conscious of is collective consciousness. This collective consciousness may be elaborated in various ways: as empathy, as fellow feeling and as freedom of spirit (which is precisely the antithesis of solitary confinement)’ (Rooney 2014, 143).

However sophisticated these methods of repression have become, the collective character of the prison experience is undeniable in terms of its representation and symbolic relevance. As stated by Khalili, ‘the prison experience is seen as another node of resistance, and commemoration for prisoners has become another exhortation to mobilization’ (2007, 201). Prison forms part of the paradoxical reality of Palestinian lives: while prison means the disappearance of a member of the family and her/his disconnection from the usual patterns of space-time relations, it also implies the creation of a common narrative of the families that remain outside; this is a reinforcement of community bonding based on the common experience of imprisonment and/or having a member of the family in prison. On 17 April 2017, coinciding with the celebration of the Palestinian Prisoners’ Day, an annual event to show solidarity with the Palestinian prisoners incarcerated in Israeli prisons, nearly 1,500 prisoners went on a hunger strike to protest against unfair and abusive conditions of imprisonment in Israeli jails. Prisoners’ demands included the right to family visits every two weeks, longer visitation time (from 45 to 90 minutes) and easier access to a public telephone (Tahhan 2017, n.p.). The strike lasted for forty days, finishing with an agreement between the Israeli Prison Service (IPS) and the Palestinian Committee of Prisoners Affairs, in which some of the demands of the prisoners were met (Ma’an 2017, n.p.). According to Pierre Beaumont in an article for the British newspaper *The Guardian*, ‘Palestinians rallied behind the hunger strikers as national heroes, relishing a rare break from deep divisions between two rival political groups’ (2017, n.p.), which emphasizes the important role of Palestinian prisoners in community cohesiveness.

Artistic representation enters the above-presented situation in a twofold manner. On the one hand, it works to produce and reproduce the narrative of the commonality of imprisonment experience. Theatre, for instance, becomes a common space where the community can gather to share the experience of imprisonment. On the other hand, art is a response within society to the issue of incarceration in Palestine. In recent years it has been recognized that there is an increasing feeling of an ‘absence of solidarity’ with the families of the prisoners and the prisoners themselves and a ‘weakening of social support’ (Giacaman and Johnson 2013, 68). These authors explain how the resulting landscape after the Oslo accords has changed the social perception of political prisoners, who ‘are re-configured as bureaucratic subjects or victims, rather than as political actors and bearers of the national cause’ (2013, 69). The value that the prisoners’ communities give to imprisonment has diminished; the collective support for the captives’ families has now

been substituted by a cash transfer for current and former Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons by the Ministry of Detainees and Ex-detainees Affairs (Dwaik 2014, n.p.). As stated by Giacaman and Johnson, the problem of this shift is not only the insufficient monetary help, but the ‘erasure, or erosion, of the collective project of liberation whose emblem was the liberation of political prisoners’ (2013, 69). However, re-constituting the prisoners’ subjectivity and re-connecting their narratives to their communities can counter this erasure. In this context, the relevance of the representation of prisoners in art not only works to counter their invisibilization, it also contributes to the reaffirmation of the prisoners’ presence by redirecting the audience’s gaze towards the inside of the prison and reasserting the collective meaning of imprisonment and the individual agency of these prisoners.

In the coming section, we will have a closer look at how these dynamics are translated into theatre. We will see how, when the theatrical space is transformed into a prison cell, theatre creates a bridge between the action represented on stage and the audience who is invited to get into that enclosed space. At the same time, this representation has a strong political charge, firstly, because of the reality it represents. Secondly, because presenting the individual experience of imprisonment on stage opens up the possibility of resisting any essentialization of such experience by the collective narratives, allowing a space for contestation from the standpoint of the individual. Thirdly, the collective and individual aspects of imprisonment are reconnected through theatre, giving relevance to the individual narratives to the reconstruction of collective affection.

III. Theoretical Introduction to the Theatrical Representation of Imprisonment

As stated by Garland, ‘the practices, institutions and discourses of penality all signify, and the meanings which are conveyed thereby tend to outrun the immediacies of crime and punishment and ‘speak of’ broader and more extended issues’ (1990, 252). This means that the narratives and actions attached to imprisonment need to be inscribed in a broader cultural context in order to understand their symbolism, which transcends the walls of the prison. When these cultural performances are represented in theatre, it is the power of representation that emerges. To approach imprisonment through representation offers a ‘powerful system of communication whereby meaning is culturally constructed and received’ (Preston 2009, 65). Therefore, the representation of imprisonment on stage

has a strong impact on the process of meaning construction, which is always linked to the social and cultural aspects of the context. This process involves both the audience and the practitioners and is mediated by a multiplicity of cultural factors beyond the walls of the theatre. The audiences involved in this process engage with their own memories and lives in order to make sense of what they have experienced in the theatre event. The meaning of imprisonment exceeds the discourses of crime and punishment and has, as we have seen, a collective and individual meaning that are intertwined.

In Palestinian theatre, the narratives of prisoners are represented in a theatrical way in front of the community where the real characters come from, which has a strong symbolic significance, as we will explore in the present chapter. Differently to other representations of prison stories in literature, theatre or film (Caster 2008; Griffiths 2014; Llinares 2015; D'Harlingue 2010), Palestinian theatre excludes any reference to the punitive character of prison or the prisoners' criminal history and focuses on the impact that punishment has on the inmates' everyday life. Even though Palestinian theatre still strongly represents the Israeli prison system as a laboratory for masculinity – similarly to what Llinares (2015) states about British prison film – and describes the inside of the Israeli prison from a structural perspective, the focus on an apparently banal day-to-day routine directs the focal point towards the experience of imprisonment as an almost epidemic social phenomena. Theatre primarily aims at representing the reality of the Palestinian inmates' collective, which not only occupies a very vulnerable position before the forces of the Israeli occupation, but also holds a strong symbolism within the whole of the Palestinian community.

As stated by Thompson, penalty is a performance since it 'involve(s) ritualised acts and entertain(s) or appeal(s)' to certain audiences (2004, 57). He says that the whole penal procedure is a complex 'cultural text' (59) that is in itself also performative. The whole 'reiteration of a norm or sets of norms' (Butler 2011, xxi) throughout the deployment of its disciplinary activity configures a certain reality and constructs a certain notion of the prisoner-subject. Imprisonment constitutes subjectivities inside and outside of its material limits. In this sense, Judith Butler talks about how the aim of Israeli power was to 'deconstitute (or destitute) the Palestinian subject' (Butler and Meari 2012), which is indeed the case in the more radical manifestation of that power in the prison system. These performed subjectivities have a collective and individual dimension that is constructed through the process of meaning creation. The representation in theatre of these subjectivities that are constructed and performed through the prison system carries a

strong question of the ethics and political responsibility (Preston 2009, 65). Before the deconstitution of the Palestinian subject mentioned by Butler, theatre opens up a space for the re-constitution of the subject; an open zone for re-imagining the lack of freedom through the freedom of imagination, which is crucial for resistance (Rooney 2014, 136). According to Brunow, only then we can ‘examine them (...) as tools for political intervention in a contested discursive space’ (Brunow 2009, 56). Within the theatre stage, the audience cannot only see a symbolic reproduction of a prison cell, as the actions presented onstage describe the situation while at the same time constitute new narratives that work to reconstruct the subject’s identity in front of the community. Theatre does not aim solely at describing prisoners’ suffering and torture, but to construct narratives that would reconstitute the inmate as a subject and again as a part of the Palestinian community.

This reconstruction of the prisoners’ subjectivity is connected with the collective. The presentation of these new subjects to the community they once belonged to fosters cohesiveness. It is true that there has been a shift in the social perception of prisoners in the post-Oslo era towards a decrease in the social value of the experience of imprisonment and a decline of community solidarity, as mentioned earlier (Giacaman and Johnson 2013, 68). However, Palestinian audiences still certainly feel connected with the stories on stage, which not only fill the void left by the prisoners’ absence, but also recreate the reality of these subjects who would otherwise exist only in their imagination. At the same time, this reconstruction of the prison subject within the established performer-audience dialogue may run the risk of essentializing those experiences in order to maintain a strong political stand aimed at mobilizing the audience. That political stand would imply the reinforcement of the narratives of the prisoners as heroic characters embodying the struggles and longings of the nationalist project. However, this is not the case in the two case studies that will be analysed in the present chapter. As we will see, both fictional and non-fictional subjects represented in *The Island* and *A Parallel Timeline* are never stable; they are perpetually questioned and their humanity is never essentialized.

This acknowledges connections between theatre and existentialism⁴¹, what results in a theatre that reaches the emotional aspect of the matter. Traditionally connected with the

⁴¹ Existentialism is a late-19th and 20th-century philosophical current that originated in Europe. The Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard is considered the founding figure. Existentialism is ‘a philosophy of life, of individualism, choice and instinct’ (Al-Abdulla 1993, 96). French writers Albert Camus and Jean Paul Sartre are two of the most representative figures of the movement in literature and theatre. The Theatre of the Absurd developed from existentialism, focusing on human helplessness and the lack of purpose of human life.

Theatre of the Absurd (Lehmann 2006, 53), existentialism had a special relevance in the work of Arab writers and playwrights during the last century, like in Saddallah Wannus (Al-Abdulla 1993, 96). In contemporary Palestinian theatre, existentialist features can be observed by the focus on individual experience, without explicitly providing the audience with a definition of that self. That focus on experience contributes to creating a common experience of imprisonment with the audience outside of the prison. The audience's mind connects both with the image of the actual prisoners and with their experiences of imprisonment. The audience feels both represented and united in the commonality of the experience represented and therefore, experience becomes more important than the political ideology that might stand behind it or the longing for a certain social status or recognition.

This chapter wants to understand the different dynamics of theatrical representation of imprisonment in Palestine through the study of two representative productions. I argue that theatre has chosen an approach close to existentialist positions and focuses on prisoners' individual experiences, influenced by the widespread character of such experience among the community. This may contribute to the deconstruction of the collectivization of experience in order to extract a more complex depiction of the individual experience which, as stated by Nashif, is fluid and goes beyond national ideologies (2008, 9). I argue that contemporary theatre production has managed to connect with the experiences of prisoners in order to portray, enact and be constitutive of the common narrative of Palestinian imprisonment.

Boundaries between theatre and prison are blurred not only because both plays are based on, or inspired by, real stories of prisoners; but also because the experience of prison is not unfamiliar to Palestinian theatre practitioners. In fact, Palestinian artists, performers and groups are also targeted by the Israeli prison system. For instance, Faisal Abu Alheja, one of the actors in Freedom Theatre's *The Island*, which will be analysed in the next section, was arrested in December 2011. As he narrates in an interview with Mondoweiss (Abu Alheja 2013, n.p.), that same afternoon he had been involved in a street performance in Jenin refugee camp in which the experiences of people who had suffered from the recent raids and arrests in the camp could share their stories, which would consequently be re-enacted through the techniques of Playback theatre⁴². As we can see, theatrical

⁴² Playback theatre is a form of social participatory theatre in which the audience shares different stories that are then re-enacted by the performers. The theatre event is mediated by the questions of a conductor. The members of the audience narrate their experience, allowing the performers to understand the feelings behind the story and to translate them into their improvisation. Playback Theatre is currently used in over

experience becomes an experience of closeness and mirroring as the line between fiction and reality becomes blurred in the collective imaginary.

IV. From South Africa to Palestine: the Absurdist Prison of the Freedom Theatre's *The Island* (2013)

Al-Jazīra (in English, *The Island*) was premiered in March 2013 at the Freedom Theatre of Jenin. The four-scene play, directed by Gary English, was an adaptation of the play of the same name created by Athol Fugard, Winston Ntshona and John Kani in South Africa in 1973. It narrates the true story of two prisoners held captive on Robben Island during the apartheid era in South Africa. The two cellmates spend their days and nights between the meaningless forced labour of the prison and the rehearsals for the performance of Sophocles' *Antigone*. The original play opened in June 1973 at the Space Theatre in Cape Town (Wertheim 2001, 88). The title was changed back then to *Hodoshe Span* to avoid the apartheid authorities understanding that the play was referring to the Robben Island prison.

The adaptation of *The Island* to the Palestinian context by the Freedom Theatre was intended to assert the parallels between the situation in Apartheid South Africa and the current situation in Palestine. In fact, the script of the play was hardly modified – as stated by one of the actors, Faisal Abu Alhayjaa (Strugglevideomedia 2013, n.p.). *The Island* cannot be connected only to a specific political reality, such as the South African one, as it ‘continues to politicize audiences and move them deeply, (...) by forcing them to remember and revile the realities it depicts’ (Wertheim 2001, 98); this is why it can be applied to the Palestinian situation and any other context in which freedom is being curtailed.

According to Wertheim, *The Island* represents ‘an absurd prison with absurd rules enforced by absurd officials’ (2001, 98). Wertheim is creating here a parallelism between the mechanism of Robben Island, the South African prison, and the reality of the country. The prison is a reproduction at a small scale of the whole country's reality. Therefore, when applied to the Palestinian reality, *The Island* not only represents the situation of Palestinian prisoners; it is a metaphor for Palestine itself, a metaphor for the situation of the Palestinian population in their everyday lives and the absurd character of the Israeli

sixty countries and, as applied theatre, it is considered both an educational and a conflict resolution tool (Hutt and Hosking 2004, 6-24; Cohen 2005, 1-61).

system of occupation and oppression. As we will see in the coming analysis of *The Island*'s performance in Palestine, the play has a strong individual sense in which the existential anxiety of the prisoners is represented.

As the stage is first lit up, the audience can see the two characters: Eyad, played by Ahmad Rokh, and Mokhtar, played by Faisal Abu Alhayjaa. Both names were changed for the Arabic version, since in the original Fugard's version the two characters were named John and Winston. Both men work in a quarry, using imaginary tools to dig, carry and move imaginary earth. Fugard's stage notes state that 'it is an image of backbreaking and grotesquely futile labour. Each in turn fills a wheelbarrow and then with great effort pushes it to where the other man is digging, and empties it. As a result, the piles of sand never diminish. Their labour is interminable' (Fugard 2000, 195). This forced labour imposed on their bodies and minds symbolically recalls the actual situation in Palestinian prisons. According to Amnesty International's report 2016/2017, 'torture and other ill-treatment of detainees remained rife and was committed with impunity' in Israel (Amnesty International 2017, n.p.). Torture was traditionally used in Israeli prisons as a method to 'obtain confessions and information about involvement in political activities and to recruit prisoners as collaborators' (Sarraj et al. 1996, 596). In this context, torture is definitely a current and systematic practice inside of the Israeli prisons that, as stated by Ahed Abu Ghoulmeh, a prominent Palestinian leader who has been held in Israeli prisons since 2006⁴³, corresponds to 'the masked, modernized, hidden oppression. It does not have a clear visual representation' (Abu Ghoulmeh 2013, n.p.).

In *The Island*, torture has a clear visual representation. Paradoxically, it is an invisible guard, named Aldorzi in the Arabic adaptation, who physically assaults the two characters. Even though the audience cannot see the actual attack, they can perfectly see the 'sweat, the human voice, real pain, real time' (Fugard 1984, 89) which preserves Fugard's idea of confronting the audience with the 'living moment'. The torture represented on stage is also psychological; the forced labour is used as a way of breaking down the inmates and making them turn against each other, as each one is responsible for the infinite loop of the other's toil.

⁴³ Ahed Abu Ghoulmeh is a member of the Central Committee of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). After being imprisoned for four years in PNA's prisons, he was kidnapped from the Palestinian Authority's Jericho Prison in 2006 along several other imprisoned Palestinians and moved to an Israeli prison where he is serving a life sentence plus five years.

This part of the play references a classical myth: the myth of Sisyphus. According to Greek mythology, the king Sisyphus was condemned by Zeus to endlessly roll a huge stone up a hill. Before reaching the top, the boulder would roll away from Sisyphus, condemning him to an eternity of useless effort. In his essay *The Myth of Sisyphus* (first published in 1942), Albert Camus asserts the absurd as a negation of hope; in *The Island*, hopelessness becomes tragic because of the prisoners' consciousness. As stated by Camus, Sisyphus is a tragic myth because he is conscious: 'Where would his torture be, indeed, if at every step the hope of succeeding upheld him? The workman of today works every day in his life at the same tasks, and this fate is no less absurd. But it is tragic only at the rare moments when it becomes conscious' (Camus 2012, 121).

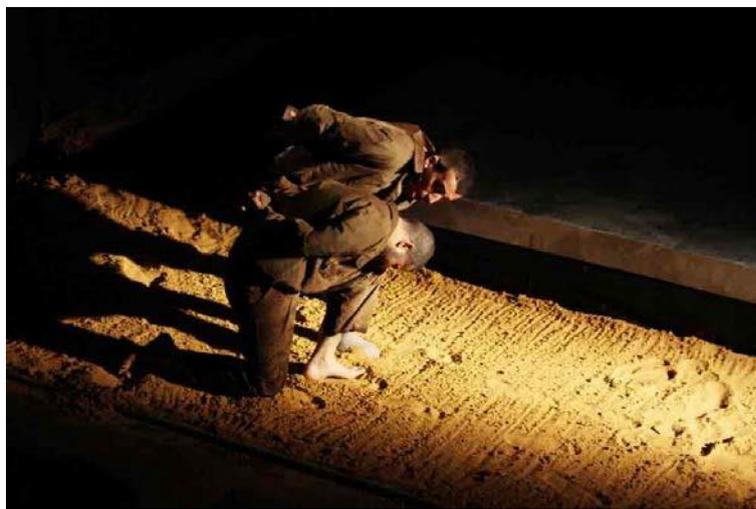


Figure 2.1. Scene from *The Island*

During the first scene of *The Island*, punishment acquires an emotional character by portraying both the tragic absurdness of their toil and the characters' consciousness of such absurdness. That consciousness also becomes clear for the audience who is not only confronted with the disturbing experience of witnessing forced labour but also has to deal with the realization of how the work of the two prisoners can never end. The play shows a 'surreal limbo of living-death (...) where man is condemned to the absurdity of meaningless repetition' (Durbach 1984, 256). Fugard's existentialist position is here reflected by *The Island's* focus on the present, 'which creates the absurdist atmosphere' (Hanna 2010, 190). According to Fugard, theatre seeks 'to take the desperation out of Silence, learn to live with it, let it happen if it must, and think of it as something real and positive - not 'nothing' or 'negative'' (1984, 189). He gives voice to that desperation, without hiding or trying to provide any comfort to his audiences.

Another feature of the first scene that renders the Sisyphus myth even more tragic and absurd in Fugard's play is the fact that the work of each inmate is the origin of the work

of the other. There is a 'mutual participation in the act of self-defeat' (Thomson 2013, 385) that, in addition, represents another challenge to the characters who are the only people left for each other. In their situation of isolation, their brotherhood connects them to the world and their human nature. Back to their cell again by the end of a tense first scene, Emam recognizes:

'It was going to last forever, man! Because of you. And for you, because of me. He's cleverer than I thought⁴⁴.'

The second scene starts with a dress rehearsal of *Antigone*, which is not free from controversies. They are preparing the performance of *Antigone* to be presented to the other prisoners. Mokhtar, the character playing Antigone's role, rejects the idea of dressing like a woman:

'I'm not doing Antigone. And in case you want to know why ... I'm a man, not a bloody woman.'

Mokhtar refuses to dress as a woman because that could incur mockery by the other inmates. This scene raises the issue of the oppressive character of masculine codes inside of prison. These codes have been defined as 'a prison within a prison' (Evans and Wallace 2008, 494) since they can 'keep the man locked away within his own mind, unable to find any emotional release or support' (494). The control over their own bodies is a central element of the construction of masculinity for Palestinian men (Amireh 2003, 759). This control is not only about gaining physical strength, but also about the ability to repress emotions, fears and drives. The prison becomes a threat for that control and inmates fear the loss of control over the bodies. Prison employs different techniques to deprive inmates of control: forced labour, regulation of their daily activities and movements, queuing for food. Within their daily life in prison, men need to make sure they engage with body-reflexive practices that grant them control over their bodies, which usually means complying with a 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell 2005). In this context, hegemonic masculinity refers to 'the dominant style of masculine performance' (Evans and Wallace 2008, 485), a masculinity that grants men social recognition and power.

In *The Island*, Mokhtar says that he would rather 'run the whole day' for the prison guard, who at least wants to 'make him a boy⁴⁵'. He is portraying this physical activity as

⁴⁴ The full text, both in Arabic and English, was provided by the Freedom Theatre.

⁴⁵ In the Arabic original, Mokhtar uses the word 'walad', which is translated as 'boy' by the Freedom Theatre. The word 'walad', that can be also used for 'son' points at the relationship of subordination between the guard and Mokhtar. Haney, Banks, and Zimbardo talk about the dependency relationship that is established between guards and inmates and how these work to emasculate prisoners (2004, 32).

masculinizing, as opposed to dressing as a woman, which he perceives as emasculating. Running for the whole day correspond to the above-mentioned body-reflexive practices through which he is complying with an image of a physically strong and tough man. Mokhtar's masculinization of his ideal self is therefore correlated with a feminization of his undesired self (Kilianski 2002, 37); namely, crossdressing as a woman epitomises for him the highest level of humiliation, as he clearly states in this second scene. This rejection of what he perceives as feminine characteristics is caused by 'a fear of being cast out and declared not a proper man' (Evans and Wallace 2008, 487). The idea of the improper man is constructed according to a set of cultural criteria for manhood.

Prison exacerbates these dynamics and it interferes with inmates' gender identity construction in many different ways. On the one hand, imprisonment contributes to the masculinizing of the self and it can be considered a rite of passage and a reinforcement of masculine selfhood (Peteet 1994, 45). For instance, Mokhtar considers his crime and imprisonment a symbol of his manhood:

'I didn't walk with those men and burn my bloody passbook in front of that police station, and have a magistrate send me here for life so that he (Emam) can dress me up like a woman and make a bloody fool of me'.

The crime that sent him to prison proves a certain kind of heroicity and reinforces his self-consideration as complying with the above-mentioned hegemonic masculinity. On the other hand, imprisonment involves a calculated process of emasculation that is enforced through different carceral techniques. Some authors have referred to the ill-fitting clothes of the prisoners which 'forced them to assume unfamiliar postures, more like those of a woman than a man' (Haney, Banks, and Zimbardo 2004, 25), the treatment received from the guards referring to the inmates in feminine terms like 'sissies' or 'girls' is also part of the process. In this case, taking into account the narrow social spectrum of relations that prisoners have, being the guards one of the main social interactions, illustrates how important this treatment is for inmates. To confront this emasculating process, Mokhtar tries to assert his own masculinity by rejecting what he feels as emasculating practices coming from his cellmate.

Besides, Mokhtar is not only opposed to the performance of Antigone because of his female role and dress; he also complains about the fact that Antigone would plead guilty:

'Emam: (...) Stage two is pleading. What does Antigone plead, Guilty or Not Guilty?

Mokhtar: Not guilty.

Emam: {trying to be tactful} Now look, Mokhtar, we're not going to argue. Between me and you, in this cell, we know she's Not Guilty. But in the play she pleads Guilty.

Mokhtar: No, man, Emam! Antigone is Not Guilty

Emam: In the play

Mokhtar: {Losing his temper} to hell with the play! Antigone had every right to bury her brother.'



Figure 2.2. Photograph from *The Island*

Antigone is for Mokhtar a referent of defiance and disobedience to the state; her entitlement to bury her brother is what makes Creon's law unjust for him. According to Judith Butler, Antigone is 'one who articulates a prepolitical opposition to politics, representing *kinship as the sphere that conditions the possibility of politics without ever entering into it* [emphasis in original]' (2010, 2). This is what she defines a politically 'impure' position from which Antigone puts the honor and sacredness of her family before the authority of the state (2010, 5). In fact, she speaks to the face of the king, defending her right to bury her brother. This defiance resonates with the Palestinian context and the struggle to resist the apparatus of the Israeli state. For Mokhtar, pleading guilty is a recognition of the legitimacy of the state laws and that is why he opposes that idea of surrender to the authority of the state. At the same time he shows himself disappointed by the fact that *Antigone* is a legend:

'Go to hell, man. Only last night you tell me that this Antigone is a bloody What you call it Legend! A Greek one at that. Bloody thing never even happened. Not even history! Look, brother, I got no time for bullshit. Fuck legends. Me? I live my life here! I know why I'm here, and it's history, not legends. (...). Your Antigone is a child's play, man.'

Even though the experience of Antigone in front of her uncle, King Creon, who sentences her to die for burying her brother, Polynices, considered a traitor, reminds Emam of his experience in front of the jury which sent him to prison; Mokhtar's life is a real story and his consciousness of that fact prevents him from considering theatre as a valid and fair way of representing his life. On the contrary, Emam is aware of the relevance of theatre in the context of a confined life. For him, acting becomes a way to counter the disdain that the prison system shows towards the lives of its prisoners. If imprisonment and its disciplinary regimes imply the infantilization and emasculation of the inmates, theatre restores their adulthood and agency. For Emam and Mokhtar, acting becomes 'a means for the acting out of one's life, acting as a form of survival and acting as a basis for (political) *action* [emphasis in original]' (Wertheim 2001, 88). Theatre serves the purpose of re-humanizing these individuals who have been reduced to numbers by the carceral apparatus. Although Mokhtar feels that the representation of a fictional character would infantilize him and tries to resist it, Emam makes a clear point saying that it is the prison system that is infantilizing them by denying their dreams and ideals, their agency and freedom. The representation of Antigone is what makes them regain that agency and counter the de-humanizing dynamic of the prison apparatus:

'Aldorzi's talk, Mokhtar! That's what he says all the time. What he wants us to say all our lives. Our convictions, our ideals That's what he calls them Child's play. Everything we fucking do is 'child's play' ... when we ran that whole day in the sun and pushed those wheelbarrows, when we cry, when we shit ... child's play! '

This reflects how the performance of Sophocles' classical Greek tragedy, as well as Brecht or Anouilh's adaptation can be an 'eye-opener' that can generate performative and critical responses to the carceral structure (van Steen 2005, 335). In fact, *Antigone* has been used in real experiences of theatre used inside of prisons; for instance, in the prison islands in Greece after the Greek Civil War, as reported by Gonda van Steen. For Greek political detainees, the performance of *Antigone* offered 'multiple emotional and ideological entry points into the minds of the detainees, who recognized their political voice (...)' (360). Notions of defiance and political resistance are implicit in Greek classical texts, which give the opportunity to the inmates to articulate their political positions through theatre, while at the same time they can avoid being overtly political. Acting becomes therefore 'a means for taking action or acting against the captors, against

the state' (Wertheim 2001, 89). Beyond the theatricality of the plays, the inmates are able to connect them with their actual experience and political consciousness.

The Island portrays that process by following the production of *Antigone* inside of a South African or Palestinian prison. Even though the prisoners are fictional and the audience are watching actors on stage, *The Island* draws upon the potential of prison theatre for the political articulation of the inmates' thoughts. As stated by van Steen, classical theatre 'stirred inmates to bring some of their concerns and criticisms into public view, which, otherwise, they had to keep safely out of sight' (2005, 382). The opportunity for a public display of their thinking provided them with a way of protecting their own political positions, while at the same time meant 'a means for self-protection, for protection of the self' (Wertheim 2001, 89). Theatre can escape censorship, conceal open political messages, and provide the inmates a safe space for reflection. In *The Island*, the representation of *Antigone* is not only seen as a collective act of defiance within the walls of the prison, but it is also seen as a matter of human dignity. In fact, Fugard reads *Antigone* as 'the indictment of a political system which devalues human dignity in the name of law and order' (Durbach 1984, 253). Even though the notion of dignity is here intimately linked with the political and legal system, Fugard's play wants to go beyond these structures and 'mobilize an "existential theatre"' (Thomson 2013, 376). This does not deny the political stance of the play, but highlights the focus on a more intimate approach to the prisoners' personal experiences. The play puts the emphasis on the authenticity of human experience and the confusion created by it. This emptiness and anxiety inherent in our human experience can be observed, for instance, at the end of the second scene, when Emam has learnt that he will be leaving prison three months later; his appeal was heard and the sentence was reduced. At first, the news unleashes joy in both inmates, who celebrate in the prison cell; however, Emam's release deepens the sense of Mokhtar's helplessness as he has to serve a life sentence. This new situation not only challenges the bonds that the two inmates have created during their time of imprisonment - or marriage, as they call it:

'You stink, Emam. You stink of beer, of company, of poes, of freedom. ... Your freedom stinks, Emam, and it's driving me mad'

The relationship between Mokhtar and Emam is the only human connection that is seen on stage. As recognized by Richard Peck, even though it was not Fugard's intention, *The Island* contains 'a hint of optimism' based on that assertion of brotherhood (1992, 72) that is actually central within the Palestinian community of inmates. This 'political

affirmation of brotherhood' (Peck 1992, 72) is not only present in other plays like *A Parallel Timeline* (2014), but is also relevant for the Palestinian general community. As stated in the Freedom Theatre's webpage, after the staging of *The Island* 'other residents of Jenin refugee camp also shared their thoughts and feelings about Israeli military violence and the increasing number of arbitrary arrests that have occurred over the past months' (Freedom Theatre 2011, n.p.). As we can see, theatrical experience becomes an experience of closeness and mirroring as the line between fiction and reality becomes blurred in the collective imagination. In fact, this reflects how the collective feels identified with the individual narratives presented on stage. When represented outside of the prison, this sense of brotherhood creates a sense of solidarity also in the audience, which makes them engage in a process of re-humanization. This process of humanization is also conveyed through the representation of their existential doubts reflected even in the cruel portrayal of their miseries and lowest instincts.

When Mokhtar learns that Emam is going to be released, it becomes clear to the audience the tortuous travel of his mind, fluctuating between happiness for his friend's freedom and the anger and anxiety towards the unavoidability of his own fate:

No Emam! Forget me ... because I'm going to forget you. Yes, I will forget you. Others will come in here, Emam, count, go, and I'll forget them. Still more will come, count like you, go like you, and I will forget them. And then one day, it will all be over.

The Island does not seek any kind of idealization of the figure of the prisoner. Fugard's interest is mainly focused on the material reality of the body, what he calls the 'carnal reality' of the actor (Fugard 1984, 171). His interest in the techniques of Grotowski's 'Poor Theatre', similar to what we already saw in *Confinement* in the first chapter, materializes in a theatre focused on the encounter between audience and actor. *The Island* presents a very simple scenography and the focus is mainly on the dialogues between the two characters. Fugard's play tries to remove anything that is not essential in the play, so that the profound feelings of the characters can emerge. In this scene, for instance, Mokhtar cannot hide the despair that Emam's release is causing him and he spreads the sense of ephemerality and human transience to the audience. There is no redemption for the present hardship, and the present is the only thing that the inmates, and in fact, every member of the audience, have. It is in this encounter with the audience that 'unconscious complexes that govern apparently 'natural' behaviour' (Thomson 2013, 390) can emerge and become obvious to the audience. The audience is also confronted with the existential dimension that the sense of time and memory have for the two inmates. Memory acquires

a special relevance in contexts of confinement as their conversation proves when talking about old Jamal, the prisoner from cell twenty three, serving life:

'Look into his eyes, Emam. Look at his hands. They've changed him. They've turned him into stone. Watch him work with that chisel and hammer. Twenty perfect blocks of stone every day. Nobody else can do it like him. He loves stone. That's why they're nice to him. He's forgotten himself. He's forgotten everything...why he's here, where he comes from. That's happening to me Emam. I've forgotten why I'm here'

Mokhtar's words connect memory with gaze; prison makes the inmates invisible, and that which is invisible is condemned to be forgotten. Both actors and prisoners' identities are contingent upon and circumscribed by their status as objects of this gaze' (Thomson 2013, 387). In the same way Mokhtar has forgotten why he is in prison, he knows that Emam will forget him after his release. *The Island* deals with the issue of gaze in two different ways. On the one hand, it makes visible those who cannot be seen, those subjected to the maximum closure and privation of freedom. Within the Palestinian community, Emam and Mokhtar could be anyone and their actual visual presence on stage prevents the relentless machinery of forgetfulness from moving on. On the other hand, insofar as 'the actor and the prisoner exist to be seen' (Thomson 2013, 387), being subjects of the audience's gaze provides both inmates and actors with 'a means for self-protection, for protection of the Self, and a means for taking action or acting against their captors, against the state' (Wertheim 2001, 89). For prisoners, acting becomes a way of reconnecting with their own humanity and existential self. The humanity of both characters stays untouched before a system of confinement that is intended to make them forget who they are.

The Freedom Theatre's choice of this play shows the twofold objective of the group from the refugee camp of Jenin; by reclaiming and representing the existential dimension of imprisonment they are not only challenging their audiences, they are also articulating their strategy for cultural resistance. Micaela Miranda⁴⁶, Theatre School Director at the Freedom Theatre, explained how this idea of cultural resistance was connected with individual responsibility, especially concerning the role of the audiences. In this sense, the return gaze of the prisoners in *The Island* 'imputes co-responsibility for the punishment to the viewer' (Griffiths 2014, 184). The Palestinian and international audiences that see *The Island* are consciously placed in an uncomfortable position in which, by seeing, they are also compelled to ask themselves questions about their own

⁴⁶ Extracted from interview conducted by the author to director, Micaela Miranda. Jenin 30 March 2014. See Appendix II.

role in the situation they see on stage. There are certain questions about responsibility and power that are raised among the audience. In fact, the play 'is not intended to please its audience, but instead, to indict and to censure its voyeurism' (Thomson 2013, 387).

At the same time, the Freedom Theatre's *The Island* is trying to mobilize Palestinian and international audiences by portraying 'the importance of culture as a tool for resistance, and for humanity' (The Freedom Theatre 2013, n.p.). Despite the prisoners' harsh life conditions, they still pursue artistic fulfilment to survive. If prison aims at engineering a state of mind which excludes creativity and aesthetics, theatre works in the opposite direction as a tool for the empowerment and resilience of the community of prisoners. Theatre becomes also a way of escape from their daily reality. This existential anxiety and thirst for culture is portrayed in *The Island* as part of the humanization of the characters. *The Island*'s metatheatricality can be considered 'counter-discursive', since it redeploys *Antigone*'s classical text and capitalizes its history of political resistance on the familiar to mobilize anti-Apartheid or anti-occupation resistance (Tompkins 1995, 42-43). As stated by Tompkins 'the play seems to defend state justice' (43), but in reality it is a response to the dominant system.

The Island questions the political and legal system by portraying the absurdity of the case against Antigone. In scene four, the trial of Antigone is represented in front of the Robben Island guards and inmates. Emam faces the audience as the King Creon, while at the same time, for the audience of *The Island*, he is still the prisoner Emam. He embodies Creon and talks to the audience as the head of the State. His grandiloquent talk and his pledge to ensure 'the fatness and happiness of his people' contrast with his rags, which remind the audience that what they are seeing is just the acting of a prisoner. In this scene, the props that have been used during the rest of the play are used to create the costumes of the prisoners to represent *Antigone*. This maintains the illusion of the stark and austere life of the prisoners, void of materiality. Subsequently, Antigone pleads guilty to the burial of her brother Polynices and she has the right to speak in mitigation. Mokhtar, dressed as Antigone, explains then that human laws cannot supersede the laws of her morals:

"Even as there are laws made by men, so too there are others that come from God. (...) Even without your law, Creon, and the threat of death to whoever defied it, I know I must die. Because of your law and my defiance, that fate is now very near."

Antigone declares her loyalty to her moral values without regard to the consequences. Her love and loyalty to her dead brother are more important for her than her own life. She

claims that she '*shared her love, not her hate*'. This is indeed 'the same ethical principle which John and Winston (Emam and Mokhtar) have dredged out of their destructive shackling and which would undermine the whole system on which the Island thrives' (Durbach 1984, 262). A similar example of a theatrical challenge of the political and legal system is the adaptation of the 1954 teleplay by American writer Reginald Rose *12 Angry Men* in the Lebanese prison of Roumieh. The project involved drama therapy sessions with the inmates and the production of the play, all coordinated by Zeina Daccache. The play follows a jury deliberating about the case of an 18-year-old boy accused of having killed his father. Renamed *12 Angry Lebanese*⁴⁷, Daccache's adaptation dealt with issues of prejudice and faulty judgements (Daccache 2016, 232). Similarly to what happens in the staging of *Antigone* in *The Island*, *12 Angry Lebanese* allowed a reversal of role by allowing the inmates to become a judge and a jury. This reversal dismantles 'the idea that justice can be delivered objectively, instead calling upon the participants to engage in the ethics of justice with respect to their own experience of incarceration' (Alzaid 2013, 115). In *The Island*, the inmates become judge and judged, which works to spot the flaws of the legal system and to question it. Those who were objects of that system become therefore, subjects.

The Island's scene four also represents the first time the audience is confronted with the play's metanarrative. The metadramatic representation of *Antigone* within the play transforms the initial audience's interpretation of the stage as a prison cell into another stage within the stage. The audience of *The Island* becomes at the same time the audience of the two prisoners' representation of *Antigone* (Shelley 2009, 140). Therefore, they are also considered prisoners who have access to that intimate performance inside of the walls of the prison. The audience faces the splitting of the characters, which aims at making relevant the uncanniness of the prisoners' hopelessness. The audience in *The Island* find themselves in the position of witnessing what is not supposed to be seen. By becoming actors, Emam and Mokhtar become also aware of the audience's gaze and they return it. When Creon dictates his sentence and Antigone is condemned to be confined in a cell for life, 'the play-within-the-play suddenly coincides with the play proper, myth and history fusing into Winston's (Mokhtar) final cry of defiance' (Durbach 1984, 262). Mokhtar tears off his wig and confronts the audience not as Antigone anymore, screaming how he accepts his fate:

⁴⁷ A documentary about the whole process was released in 2009, directed, written and produced by Zeina Daccache.

Time waits no longer. I go now to my living death, because I honoured those things to which honour belongs.

The words of Mokhtar merge with the script and the voice of Antigone. Both Mokhtar and Antigone are accepting their fate. The play becomes a reaffirmation of the political act that brought Antigone to that trial, but at the same time, it is also consolidating the political voice of Mokhtar. He is also talking about his honour and reasserting his responsibility towards the Palestinian collective. Once again, *The Island* plays with the illusion of a reality split (prison vs. theatre) that, according to Durbach, burst ‘Brechtian “Verfremdung” into agit-prop theatre’ (1984, 262); this means that the audience is prompted to take action as it is confronted with the reality of the prison they are witnessing doubly. In the case of the Palestinian *Island*, we need also to question the role of the international audiences, as the play is rather questioning the responsibility of these audiences in the current situation of occupation and to what extent they are closer to the role of the State as an oppressive body. The play toured in Sweden and Norway, the United States, Brasil, France and India trying to raise awareness and to call for international action. In an article published in Al-Jazeera about the staging of the play in New York, Alia Malek emphasizes the connections between Palestinian and Apartheid South African realities and she states that: ‘while the decision to bring the show to the United States stemmed from activism and an intent to prick the American conscience, the Freedom Theatre originally chose this play because it would resonate with its Palestinian audience in Jenin’ (Malek 2013, n.p.) Therefore the Freedom Theatre managed to stage a play that speaks both to local and international audiences.

Durbach gives a rather pessimistic view of the play’s conclusion as he sees political defeat as inevitable (1984, 262). However, I argue that it is precisely the existentialist dimension of the play which challenges this assumption. It is indeed true that the play ends with the same scene it began with; the two prisoners run around the stage and are punished and humiliated. Like a Greek *Ouroboros*⁴⁸ there is a metaphor for the eternal return which, applied to the prison, represents the inevitable eternity of their punishment. Nonetheless, in my opinion, one can find a sense of hope in *The Island*, which is meaningful for the Palestinian community in different ways. This is partly due to the connection between Palestine and South Africa, where the play was originally created. The abolishment of Apartheid in 1991 presents a narrative of hope for Palestinians, who can foresee a free future. The representation of *The Island* as connected to contemporary

⁴⁸ A Greek symbol depicting a serpent eating its own tail.

Palestine opens the discussion about what can be done for an end to the current context of occupation and oppression.

The Freedom Theatre's *The Island* reconstructs the story of two prisoners through their interactions in everyday life confined to the space of the prison. The second play that we will analyse also draws upon the everyday life of the characters but, as we will see below, *A Parallel Timeline* works with a different notion of space that is visualized through the connection between time and movement on stage. The play follows Roux's affirmation: 'a prison sentence is understood primarily as a distinct way of organising time, and not just space' (2014, 249) and it chooses to connect time and space in its theatrical representation of imprisonment.

V. Circular Patterns of Memory and Dreams in Al-Midan's *A Parallel Timeline* (2014).

On the 4th of April 2014, I attended the premiere of *Al-Zaman Al-Muwāzī* (translated by the group into English as *A Parallel Timeline*) in Al-Midan Theatre (Haifa). The play was written and directed by Bashar Murkus, director of Khashabi Ensemble, who worked with Al-Midan theatre in Haifa to produce this play. I interviewed the director and performers after their premiere on the premises of Al-Midan Theatre (appendix IV), the only Arabic-speaking theatre in Haifa at that time. *A Parallel timeline* was developed over a nine-month process of research; Murkus was inspired by the letters written by the prisoner Walid Daka, one of the longest-serving Palestinian political prisoners with Israeli citizenship, who has been serving a life sentence in an Israeli prison since 1986 for the killing of an Israeli soldier in 1984. He has been a politically active prisoner, publishing different articles and letters. In one of Walid Daka's personal letters, he said:

'I am writing to you from the parallel time. We don't use your ordinary units of time, like minutes or hours, except during the moments when our time meets your time next to the visitors' window. Then we are forced to pay attention to those same units of time' (Levac and Levy 2015, n.p.).

The idea of a 'parallel time' gives name to Murkus' play and it is reflected visually in the play's stage design. On stage, time is represented through different patterns of movement between the inside and the outside of the prison. The prison cell is located at the centre of the stage and is the focal point of the prisoners' daily activities. The inmates can only move within the cell or, when taken to the courtyard, they always

follow a counter clockwise pattern of movement around the stage. The main character is Wadih, who is inspired by the person of Walid Daka, along with Fouad, Murad, Saleh and Rami. They go about their daily routine mainly inside that prison cell and the prison courtyard which creates an intense sense of brotherhood and ‘community of crisis’ (Nashif 2008, 9) similar to that which was presented in *The Island*.

Time is a central issue in the play’s plot, as the different meanings that time acquires for the inmates are represented in a visual and textual way. The audience can see how ‘time becomes strictly institutionalized’ (Edensor 2010, 11) inside of prison and everything, from the small daily acts to the exceptional time of the visits, is regulated and rationalized. In the third scene, Wadih, Fouad and Saleh walk around the prison courtyard; Wadih looks anxiously through the metal bars of the fence and asks repeatedly for the time. Saleh, the oldest prisoner, who is serving a life sentence responds: ‘*my watch stopped a long time ago*⁴⁹’. Fouad then tells him to take off his watch and ‘*rīh rāsik*’ (literally, ‘wind your head’ or ‘be comfortable, forget about it’). This scene reflects how time in prison has lost its original meaning; becoming a ‘mythical time (...) reduced to a question of day-to-day survival (...) a highly artificial time outside of time, a way of freezing lives for a period determined by the juridical system’ (Roux 2014, 250).



Figure 2.3. Poster of 'A Parallel Timeline'

The prison is, as defined by Roux, ‘a site of multiple temporal intersections’ (2014, 250). The confined space in which the bodies of the inmates are rendered immobile is connected with an alternative understanding of time. This particular connection of time

⁴⁹ Script in Arabic provided by Al-Midan Theatre. My own translation with the help of Haithem Metani.

and space is theatrically represented by a highly aesthetically curated arrangement of movement. The play's stage movement has been thought to recreate the strong sense of disjuncture, which characterizes the division between the inside and the outside of the prison. This is reflected on the different senses of movement for the characters who are inside and outside the prison. Whereas in *The Island* there was no representation of the world outside of the prison, in *A Parallel Timeline* the outside world is represented as strange; temporally and spatially alien to the everyday life of the prisoners inside of the prison. At the same time, the audience witnesses how the Israeli state apparatus controls the inmates' freedom of movement not only within the inside-outside dichotomy, but also through the disaggregation of the prison's spatial units, which are strictly controlled by the prison guards. As stated by Griffith, 'the borders between spatial units that hold prisoners captive are not only heavily policed but also governed by complex rituals enacted upon the body' (2014, 189-190); the play portrays in different scenes how this body-related control of the inmates is carried out by the guard. In addition, the strong disaggregated character of prison architecture has an impact on the 'mind architecture' (Smith 2009, 96). This means that the inmates recreate the space of the prison in their own minds, a mental architecture of their confinement. The architecture of the prison, therefore, aims at making inmates' minds stagnate and suffer from the solitude and despair of their condition. The closed walls of the prison permeate the prisoners' minds and disconnect them from the outside world and from their own families and community. This extreme immobility is imposed by the prison system and has a devastating effect on the inmates' understanding of their own subjectivity. The institutional power lying behind the prison system exerts a 'technological mediation' through different techniques like 'the constructed silence and invisibility of prisoners, the difficulty of communicating from the inside to the outside' (Caster 2004, 111). In this way, the penal institution operates over the inmates' subjectivities until rendering them silent and invisible.

Wadih's fiancée character Fida is played by Shaden Kanboura and inspired by Sanaa Salamé, wife of Walid Daka and activist for the rights of Palestinian prisoners. Her actions always develop in a clockwise pattern around the prison, representing the dichotomy inside-outside. Fida's life turns around the life inside of the prison, which represents a different kind of confinement insofar as her movements are always conditioned by the world inside of the prison. In their article, they describe thoroughly the hardship that mothers and wives have to face in order to get to visit their family

members in Israeli prisons. In fact, Fida only appears on stage either to check the mailbox where she expects to find letters from the prison or to go to visit Wadih in prison. Both actions are strongly regulated, the repetitive pattern of her movements reflects the strong control that the penitentiary exerts over the bodies –not only of the inmates, but also their visitors.

The relationship between Wadih and Fida is one of the main themes of *A Parallel Timeline*'s plot, which describes the experience of the Palestinian people who are outside of the prison and whose lives revolve around the life in the prison. In fact, the play presents metaphorical borders that do not require any specific effects or set props. The penitentiary's structure comprising 'borders between cells, cell blocks, interior and exterior space, and external walls or razor wire topped fences' (Griffiths 2014, 189-190) is represented by the lack of physical contact between Wadih and Fida even when they are only a couple of centimetres away from each other on stage. This proximity and yet rupture in the body arrangement on stage represents clearly the estrangement caused by imprisonment. In the eleventh scene, Wadih and Fida have their first visit face to face. They stand at the front of the stage, opposite each other and each behind a microphone. From the conversation the audience understands that they are actually separated by the glass of the meeting room. The physical separation between the characters, depending on whether they are inside or outside the prison is counteracted by the conversation in which Wadih asks Fida to untie her hair, showing with his hand how she should touch her hair. This mirror dynamic creates the illusion of a physical connection between them. However, as we will see later, the relationship between Wadih and Fida is subject to a lot of pressure and manipulation by the prison system. In the first letter that Fida receives from Wadih, which she reads out loud for the audience, Wadih talks about the baby that is yet to be born and the audience learns that Fida and Wadih are trying to get married.

Another central element of the play is the inmates' plan to build an oud for Wadih's wedding celebration. It all starts in the third scene with the arrival of a new inmate, Murad, who is a musician and composer. In prison, 'the abundance of time creates a market for entertainment' (Kaminski 2010, 34), and this kind of activity shows how the inmates try to fill the time in prison to break the repetitive pattern of their everyday lives. However, the construction of the oud gives rise to some conflict within the prison cell as Fouad is opposed to the idea. He says that he wants to live peacefully and that

the ‘projects’ that they are always plotting might bring them trouble. In a tense conversation between the two inmates Wadih asks him:

- ‘W: *do you want to stop dreaming?*
- F: *I am bored of dreaming.*
- W: *That is the talk that the management wants to hear*’ (referring to the Israeli prison authorities)

This passage of the play is reminiscent of a similar conversation between Emam and Mokhtar in *The Island*, where one of the inmates defends the idea of performing *Antigone* as a way of resisting the prison system and re-humanizing themselves as individual beings. In both cases, the prison authorities want to stop and curtail their possibilities of action, discouraging any action that would give some sense of agency to the inmates. Besides, in both cases arts become the way to escape the reality of the prison, through theatre or music; to deny them this ‘might prove an effective political move, not unlike depriving them of the various other and more basic rights such as to safety, autonomy and privacy’ (Cheliotis 2016, 8). For them, this strategy of self-expression is paramount to maintaining their humanity when other basic rights have been systematically denied. In the case of *A Parallel Timeline*, the construction of the oud counters time in prison as a reduction ‘to mind-numbing repetition’ (Roux 2014, 250). The construction of a musical instrument brings them back a sense of freedom while at the same time fosters the sense of community among them. In fact, the play presents in a very insightful and human way the process of bonding of the inmates around their daily activities inside of the prison and the projects they take on together. The relationship among the inmates evolves during the whole play, sometimes complex and contradictory, but coated by disguised tenderness and affection. In my opinion, this intends to talk to the audience from a deep human perspective and facilitate an emotional connection between the audience and the characters.

The process of building up a brotherhood among the inmates is not connected with political ideology in either *The Island* or *A Parallel Timeline*. In fact, both plays distance themselves from the idea of political affiliation of a relevant connection inside the prison. This contradicts the reality of most of the Israeli prisons, which are ‘one of the major sites of the Palestinian national movement’ (Nashif 2008, 72), and therefore a key location for political mobilization. *A Parallel Timeline* does not present that aspect of the inmates’ community. I argue that this is because the play adopts a similar approach to what we have already seen in *The Island*: it focuses on deconstructing social patterns of interaction

in order to uncover unmediated human behaviour beyond political affiliation. Both plays focus on human experience and connections beyond formal politics. To do so, the play rather focuses on the everyday reality of the embodied characters and the relationships among them and with the space. Prison hierarchies are usually constructed around ‘an ability to withstand violation and pain, political affiliation and rank’ (Petee 1994, 40). However, these elements are not relevant in *A Parallel Timeline* and the reasons behind their confinement, their past life or what Roux calls their ‘criminal biography’ (2014, 257) are mainly presented in a detached and poeticized manner. I argue that the play focuses on the present moment, which can be witnessed and shared by the audience, in order to talk about the individuality of the subjects separated from their crimes. This responds to an interest to make characters ‘visible in the present’ (Roux 2014, 257). For instance, when asked about the reasons for his incarceration, Murad, the new inmate answers: ‘*My dreams were too big*’.

Dreams are brought up in different ways during the play. In fact, according to Ruggiero, ‘the prison cell is also the space of dream and poetry’ (Ruggiero 2016, 73). As we will see later, dreams in *A Parallel Timeline* refer to a state of mind that connects memory and imagination in the prisoners’ minds to release them from the reality of the prison. At another time, Saleh, the oldest inmate, coins the notion of ‘developing the film’ after visits from the outside. He explains that this means ‘*to sleep after the visits (...) so you can continue the visit in your dreams*’. He is conflating dreaming and imagination as a strategy to deal with the brutality of the prison system. In fact, he is expressing what has been defined as a ‘sensation seeking’ mechanism (Solomon et al. 1995) to cope with the harsh conditions of imprisonment. He reproduces in his mind the good feelings that the visit brought to him, and reproduces them in order to keep feeling that way. As stated by Rooney, ‘the Palestinian response to the literal and legalistic consolidation of their outlaw status entails the freedom of the imagination as a crucial means of resistance’ (Rooney 2014, 136). Dreaming and imagining alternative realities becomes a way to cope with the lack of hope and the infinity of time.

The last inmate to arrive in the prison is Rami, a fourteen year old incarcerated for burning an Israeli flag in a demonstration. Rami’s presence in the play represents the growing problem of the incarceration of minors by the Israeli forces. According to Addameer, ‘approximately 700 Palestinian children under the age of 18 from the occupied West Bank are prosecuted every year through Israeli military courts after being arrested, interrogated and detained by the Israeli army. The most common charge levied against

children is throwing stones, a crime that is punishable under military law by up to 20 years in prison' (Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association 2017, n.p.). Addameer's report reflects on the impact of these detentions for the children and their communities, referring to a 'systematic destruction of childhood'. In *A Parallel Timeline* Rami is treated as if he was another inmate, he even lies about his age to make the others treat him as an equal. However, his innocence and naivety keep reminding the audience that he is only fourteen years old. He and Saleh, who is serving life, develop a growing connection. Their relationship is based on the relation between the simplicity of their conversations with the hard and helpless reality that surrounds them:

Rami: How long have you been here?

Saleh: Ten

Rami: Aren't you bored yet?

Saleh: If I get bored I will die.

Rami: Me too, I am not bored.'

Boredom as a consequence of the deprivations that accompany the withdrawal of freedom carries a 'more profound hurt as a set of threats or attacks which are directed against the very foundations of the prisoner's being' (Sykes 2007, 79). However, Saleh and Rami's denial of boredom is a reassertion of their agency and a challenge to the prison system. Their narrative is 'one of entering history as agents and not as victims of history' (Nashif 2008, 36). Similarly to the acting of *Antigone* in the Freedom Theatre's *The Island*, everyday agency stands before the oppression of the system in the form of small gestures and actions which are mundane, yet full of significance.

This agency is also portrayed in the representation of the inmates' interactions with the guard, who is the embodied representation on stage of the Israeli prison system. They maintain a calculated distance from the guard, limiting their words to him and, when possible, articulating actions of micro-resistance inside the prison. For instance, in scene nine, the guard asks them if they have taken care of Murad, the newcomer and no one replies. Walid Daka himself describes in *Consciousness Moulded or the Re-Identification of Palestinian Torture* how 'any collective gesture, such as consolidation in the case of death, reception of a new prisoner, or a farewell party to a released prisoner, is strictly forbidden' (Daka 2011, 245). The characters of *A Parallel timeline* are well aware of their vulnerability within the prison and decide to articulate a series of passive reactions which are resistant by themselves. At the same time, the play portrays different scenes in which

small acts of defiance are articulated, like when the inmates celebrate Rami's birthday, hidden from the guard's eye.

The power of the prison system is also made stingingly clear, especially through the psychological manipulation and torture of the prisoners. The physical and psychological violence that we saw in the Freedom Theatre's *The Island* is represented also in different scenes of *A Parallel Timeline*. One clear example is the direct manipulative interaction between the guard and Wadih. The physical representation of torture is not as hard and visual as in *The Island* but the inhumanity of the system's manipulation of the inmates becomes an effective visual resource. In scene fourteen, the prison guard calls Wadih to his office and mentions Fida and Wadih's wedding. He asks: '*do you know what your request could do to Fida's life? (...) she is not only marrying you, she is marrying you and your whole case (...) do you know what twenty years mean? You are asking her to wait outside for you for another 20 years (...) That is called being selfish, it is not love*⁵⁰'.

The only answer Wadih manages to articulate is that Fida has the right to choose for her own life. However, this conversation has a strong impact on the character, who becomes more circumspect and reluctant to speak. His reaction illustrates how he is aware of the hardship that marriage will bring to Fida. As stated by Giacaman and Johnson, 'wives and mothers of prisoners navigate a triple captivity: from the Israeli colonial system of separation, inside the Israeli prison system of incarceration, and through the isolating and constricting effects of the post-Oslo Palestinian political and social landscape' (2013, 75). Wadih is aware of the social constraints that Fida will experience after marrying him, a prisoner, and staying alone outside of the prison. In scene sixteen, the guard approaches Wadih in the courtyard and asks him why his mother has not visited him in a long while, saying: '*I was afraid that she would not accept the idea of the wedding or the idea of Fida*'.

This strong intrusion in the prisoner's private life aims at destroying the confidence and psychological strength of the inmates. Prison already deprives inmates of any privacy or personal space, but in this scene the guard is going even further by questioning Wadih's life plans. On the one hand, this intrusion in Wadih's private life aims at asserting the guard's power. He is making clear that the Israeli system has all the information about the inmate's relatives, which is indeed a threat for them and is considered a method of psychological torture (Reyes 2007, 612). Besides, the guard is invading the space of

⁵⁰ All the translations of the original script in Arabic are made by myself and Heithem Metani, unless contrarily indicated.

Wadih's imagination, where the wedding with Fida is possible and desirable as a sign of normality that keeps him connected to the outside world. The anonymous guard is occupying the space of his dreams and, from that position he is being able to break him psychologically.

However, the guard is raising an issue of which both the prisoners and the audience are aware: the impact of the wedding on the life of Fida reflects the complex gender roles that operate around the prison system. In fact, the life of the female relatives of Palestinian political prisoners is marked by social isolation and community surveillance (Giacaman and Johnson 2013, 71) and very frequently 'family members wanted to control (female relatives') movement, speech and even personal matters' (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2005, 331). Differently to *The Island*, where no female character is cast, the presence of Fida on stage gives a gendered dimension to the community experience of imprisonment. In terms of her political agency, Fida's choice to become the wife of a prisoner outside of the prison can be seen as 'a gendered version of the *sumud*' (Giacaman and Johnson 2013, 65). The role of Fida encompasses great despair and her "choice" to endure a hard life as the wife of a prisoner outside of the prison that starts with the project of the wedding and the legal process to obtain the court permits, is a strong act of defiance against the prison system.

However, Fida is always subject to the life of Wadih, as her movements on stage represent. Her movements are restricted to circular and repetitive turns around the prison cell, showing that she belongs to the outside world. However, her restricted patterns of movement represent a kind of immobility in which she finds herself confined between the inside and the outside. In fact, she mediates 'between prison and family life by navigating through the multiple dynamics of Israeli securitization and geographic incarceration, political invisibility in the Palestinian field, and social isolation in their communities (Giacaman and Johnson 2013, 58). The audience only knows about her life through the conversations she has with Wadih in her visits. That is how they learn that she is getting pressure from the media and her family due to her decision to marry Wadih. In the last face to face, she asks him: "*Do you want to ask about me?*", as a way of pointing out the lack of interest that Wadih is showing in her own state. When he asks how she is doing, she responds: "*I am waiting for your suit*". This avoidance of talking about herself leaves the audience with a bittersweet sense of her silent suffering.

A Parallel Timeline reflects the actual position of women within the narratives of the Palestinian community. Shalhoub-Kevorkian defines these as ‘one dimensional narratives that are all about men’ and reflect the patriarchal discrimination that silences women (2005, 323). Indeed, both of the plays that have been analysed in the present chapter are ‘all about men’ and the gendered dimension of imprisonment in Palestine always mediates the references to female characters. Besides, women are usually represented as mothers, wives, daughters or sexual objects, which denies their agency. These representations will be deeply explored in chapter number three; recognizing the possibilities for women to speak out within them and reclaim their own political and social, collective and individual agency.



Figure 2.4. Last scene of '*A Parallel Timeline*'

In the next scene, the audience see how the inmates have managed to smuggle a phone inside the cell. Wadih uses it to call Fida and the guard discovers him and he is later invited ‘for tea’. He is then led to a new cell in which he is held in solitary confinement. He enters the stage painfully carrying a ladder and dragging two long chains tied to his wrists while distressing music plays. He gets to the top of the ladder, where he stands arms open with a blinding light slanting towards his face. The guard holds a microphone at the end of a long stick, which he puts in front of Wadih’s mouth while Wadih helplessly tries to get rid of it. The audience can clearly hear Wadih’s shortness of breath for a couple of minutes that seem to go on forever. Marton’s work talks about the impact of solitary confinement on Palestinian prisoners in Israel. He affirms that this technique aims at shaping ‘submissive, compliant subjects who will fail to develop a national consciousness, develop into a community’ (2011, 231). When he gets down from the ladder and comes back to his cell, he finds it difficult to walk, talk and interact with the other inmates. Solitary confinement is a disciplinary measure that attacks the basic need

to ‘hear, speak with and touch another human being’ (Marton 2011, 232). The presence of a microphone suggests that Wadih was interrogated during his confinement, a practice whose methods, as stated by B’tselem, constitute torture in eighty five percent of cases (B’tselem 1998, n.p.).

At that point of the play, around me, other members of the audience were visibly disturbed by the scene of Wadih’s interrogation. The hardness of the situation for the prisoner was represented in a symbolic way; the presence of the microphone, in front of which he is forced to stand, symbolizes the brutality of the methods of interrogation to ‘make them “talk”’ (Reyes 2007, 592). This scene broke the illusion of the theatrical representation because, even though explicit physical violence was not shown, the audience understood the kind of violence that was being represented and could relate to that experience. The play mobilizes certain emotions among the audience by turning to a representation of the prisoner’s experience. Besides, the emotional reaction of the audience asserts how emotions have a social character and, therefore, their portrait on stage is far from having only individual relevance. Emotions ‘constitute responses to specific physical and social problems posed by the environment’ (Niedenthal et al. 2005, 22); as defined by Kleinman, Das and Lock, ‘cultural representations of suffering shape it as a form of *social experience* [emphasis in original]’ (1997, xi-xii). By confronting the audience with an aestheticized representation of torture, it became real for them and triggered an emotional response. Robben and Suarez-Orozco also talk about the collective dimension of trauma, and they say that these ‘collective traumatic remembrances are reproduced through ritual commemorations, monuments, testimonies, narratives, historical studies and even bodily practices’ (2000, 24). Theatre can therefore mobilize strong emotions from the audience, appealing not only to their personal memories and empathy, but also supporting and reasserting a collective narrative. I argue that this mobilization of feelings can have an impact not only on political views and possibilities for political action, but also definitely in a community’s approach and solidarity feelings towards the prisoners and their families.

A Parallel timeline talks through the poetics of the mundane, representing ordinary situations of the life inside of the prison and filling them with philosophical reflections about transcendental questions. After Wadih has returned to the common cell, the inmates lie in their beds talking about their dreams. Fouad had dreamt that he was back home and eating chestnuts with his family. Murad has dreamt that he was playing oud on stage and the strings started breaking one after the other. He felt very embarrassed but the audience

seemed to be happy. Wadih then starts speaking again for the first time and describes his dream with his gaze lost in the horizon:

'I entered in the room, she was sitting behind the glass, as usual, she seemed old with white hair, I said 'hi', she answered 'hi', she was looking at me with a smile in her face, a new smile, I wanted to hug her but her body was stiff and her back was bent forward. I remained silent, I did not know what to say, I thought of asking her how she was, but I did not ask. She was ashamed, I understood it from her smile. She was looking me in the eyes, she was looking around the room and then back into my eyes, as if she was examining something. I lowered my eyes. I stared at the ground for a while, at my shoe, which was dirty. After a while, I looked up, she was still looking at me. I had to say something. I asked her about my sister Najla, I said 'How is Najla?' She said: 'Perfect'. 'And how is Mahmoud and the kids?' She stayed quiet. I asked again: How is Abdullah? She kept quiet and did not speak. I didn't know if I should ask again or just shut up. I shut up. After a while, she said: 'They are all good. But where do you know my kids from?' I said: 'what do you mean?' She said: do you know them? I said: Yes I know them well, mum'. She had forgotten me. I held a tear in my eye, I did not want to cry in front of her.'

His dream was about his mother forgetting him; this scene represents, again, the prison's machinery of forgetfulness and the hardship of the idea of being suppressed from their beloved's memories. As we saw in *The Island*, memory is what keeps the prisoners visible and alive. However, it was only a dream that represented the unconscious fear of Wadih of being forgotten by his mother. The fear of becoming a 'forgotten man' is a common one amid inmates, especially long-term prisoners (Newman 1944, 9). This dream represents Wadih's fear of being forgotten by his relatives; this fear responds to the fact that his mum has not visited him for a long time, as the guard emphasized earlier. The audience does not know the reasons why Wadih's mother has not visited him, but the way in which Wadih narrates his dream gives the audience a sense of the emotional burden of the absence of his mother. In this sense, the connection of the prisoners with the outside world is exclusively through the visiting arrangements (Addameer 2017b, n.p.), which are systematically curtailed and hindered. For the families, it becomes 'an ordeal that structured and haunted daily life, whether in the seeking of permits, the fear of obstacles and checkpoints on the way, the humiliating search at the prison, or simply the day of the visit, dreaded in its length and miseries and poignant in the brevity and inadequacy of the visit itself' (Giacaman and Johnson 2013, 62). The visitation restrictions are 'a means of

punishing prisoners and their families’, according to Amnesty International in a press release on April 2017, ahead of the prisoner’s hunger strike that began on Palestinian Prisoner’s Day on 17 April (Amnesty International 2017b, n.p.). In fact, one of the prisoners’ demands is an improvement in visitation rights from family members (Beaumont 2017, n.p.), which constitutes a ‘fundamental right of the relatives and the prisoners to family life’ (Ben-Ari and Barsella 2011, 201).

The last scene of the play maintains the abstract imagery by combining different dream-like images with the reading of a letter from Wadih to his ‘yet-to-be-born son’. During the whole play, Wadih and Fida have tried to get married and have a child. In fact, in real life, Walid Daka and his wife sought the permission of the court to have conjugal visits but this permission was never granted (Harel 2011, 40). In the centre of the stage, the audience can see Murad tuning an oud whose soundboard is made out of a *tawilah* (backgammon) board. Fida enters the stage dressed in her wedding dress and walks around the stage clockwise. She encounters Wadih, who is standing at the front of the stage with a big pile of papers. They advance towards each other but then, when only centimetres away, Wadih starts walking around the stage in the opposite direction. Fouad enters on stage carrying a bunch of colourful air balloons. His facial expression contrasts with the air balloons’ playfulness and overtly shows unhappiness. At the same time, Saleh carries Rami on his shoulders, the latter opens his arms and simulates that he can fly; both of them look happy.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his imprisonment, Walid Daka wrote a letter ‘for the child to come’ whose text was used in this part of the play. Wadih stands next to the microphone and reads:

I am writing to a child that is yet to be born. I am writing for an idea or a dream that will terrorize the jailer before it happens. I am writing for a child, a boy or a girl. I am writing to my son who has not come to life yet. I am writing for the birth of the future, that is how I want to call him or her, which is how I want the future to know us, my dear Milad.

The name of the future child is ‘Milad’, which in Arabic means ‘birth’ (Tushyeh, Lawson, and Rishmawi 1989, 260), and has also a strong symbolism in this part of the play. This new birth refers to the future, and their son will carry the name of that future. As the play’s closure, the use of this metaphor wants to send a message of hope to the audience. In her article ‘Words as interventions: naming in the Palestine - Israel conflict’, Julie Peteet recognizes the relevance of naming in Palestine. She says that names ‘form the substance of representations and as such they form a field of intense meaning and activity’

(Peteet 2005a, 157). The baby's name represents the possibility of a new birth, a new future in which they will be known, in which he, Wadih, will not be forgotten.

Wadih's monologue goes on:

'(...) Every day I spent in prison rejects a day of life. It is like a bag turned around, trying to empty what is left from memory inside. Prison is like fire, it feeds itself with the remains of memory. And my memory, oh my beloved child, is no more than ashes and debris, I secretly write it in a piece of dry paper to preserve it from the fire of the prison and from forgetfulness. But you, you are the most beautiful fraud of my memory, you are my message of future (...)

The prisoner is using different visual metaphors to describe the prison. Prison is a bag turned around, from which life is rejected; a fire that works to destroy his memory. This last monologue, based on Daka's real letter, examines and recognizes the connection between memory and dreams inside the prison. Dreams are not perceived as an illusory construction during sleep, or as a fantasy separated from the present moment. *A Parallel Timeline* blurs the division between dreams and memory, the future and the past. Prison, within its 'parallel timeline', allows the illusion of a non-division between the two realms, which become connected by imagination. Dreams open the door for a dismembered temporality (Perelberg 2007, xiv): they become at the same time messages of future and parts of a memory that is represented as fluid and in permanent construction. His future child is described as a fraud of his memory, a future dream that still constitutes the prisoner's memory. Walid's letter continues by questioning the sense of a letter to a child that has not even been conceived:

Do you think, my beloved child, that I am crazy writing to a creature that is yet to be born? What is crazier: a nuclear country that fights against an unborn child considering him a security threat (...)? Or me, dreaming to have a child? What is crazier: to write a letter to a dream or a dream becoming a file in the country's security services?

Against the idea of the nonsense of dreaming, Wadih confronts the audience with the nonsense of the Israeli system. He points out the absurdity of a system that considers unborn creatures a security threat. He criticizes the normalization of an apparatus of oppression in which dreams become files in the security services:

My beloved child, do you know that you already own a secret file in the archives of the Israeli Shabak? What do you say about that? Should I stop dreaming? No, I will never

stop dreaming despite the bitter reality. I will keep looking for the meaning of life despite all the life I have lost.

Dreams in *A Parallel Timeline* are about imagining a future which preserves Wadih's memory from forgetfulness and disappearance. Dreams provide him with a meaning for his life. By dreaming, he places himself in a kind of 'timelessness' that allows him to be creative (Perelberg 2007, xx) and resist the prison system through that creativity. Throughout the whole play we have seen how dreams are played up as a tool for resisting the prison system. Despite 'all the life he has lost' inside of prison, dreaming provides him way to look for the meaning of life. Wadih is conscious of the finitude of his existence and the life he has lost inside the prison. He resorts to the imaginative power within his memory and dreams to counter the annihilating effect of imprisonment, similarly to how *The Island's* characters used theatre. As stated by Bashar Murkus, the idea of the group was to 'go back to basics'⁵¹, in order to emphasize the humanity portrayed in the play.

In a highly stylized manner, *A Parallel Timeline* describes the 'simulated eternity' (Thomson 2013, 385) of the prison, by way of the endless circular paces around the stage. As we have seen, the ordering of movement throughout the play also reflects a deep disruption of the characters' relationship. However, it is through the deep and depoliticized sense of brotherhood and the honesty with which the play presents the characters' misery and sorrows that *A Parallel Timeline* succeeds in awakening the audience's empathy and emotions. In fact, the use of non-fictional text inside of the play 'gives to the piece a testimonial value, and participates thus in the construction of a Palestinian common memory and, thereby, of the identity claim of the Palestinians' (Nakhlé-Cerruti 2015, n.p).

Even though *A Parallel Timeline* gives more relevance to the individual experience of the characters, it manages to create a collective narrative that brings together the audience. Once that collective narrative has been presented, talking about memory and dreams sets the stage for a collective momentum of enhanced reflection and commemoration. After the premiere of *A Parallel Timeline*, the director and actors stood in front of the audience and explained how it had been postponed because Walid Daka was supposed to be released during the month of March 2015. He had not been released and his absence amid the applause of the audience gave a new meaning to imprisonment. The illusion of theatre was broken, and the 'parallel timeline' that had been described in the play became

⁵¹ Extracted from interview conducted by the author to Bashar Murkus, director of *Parallel Timeline*, in Haifa, 5 April 2014. See Appendix IV.

a throbbing realization. While we were all comfortably sitting in a theatre chair in Haifa, Walid Daka – along with many others - was still confined in a cell, in the different timeline he had described. The breach of the fourth wall to talk about the real story behind the play, made it even more real and connected the two spaces that were co-existing in that moment - the theatre with all the audience in it - and the prison on stage. The play in its ephemeral sense became less of a play and more of a gathering.

The production of *A Parallel Timeline* has experienced multiple difficulties since its premiere. In May 2015, Haifa municipality froze the funding of Al-Midan Theatre after Shai Blumenthal, Haifa's council member from the party Habayit HaYehudi (The Jewish Home), declared that *A Parallel Timeline* was presenting 'a terrorist, a murderer, you give him a platform and try to turn him into something positive' (Eldar 2015b, n.p.). One month later, the minister of Culture and Sport, Miri Regev, also suspended the funding for the theatre due to the political controversy caused by *A Parallel Timeline* (Ashkenazi 2015, n.p.). The play was excluded from the Israeli 'Cultural Basket' by the minister of Education, Naftali Bennett, and banned from being represented in any Israeli educational centre (Nakhlé-Cerruti 2015, n.p.). Against these restrictions, stand the words of Bashar Murkus⁵²:

'Palestinian theatre, usually, when it presents this kind of ideas - prisoners, martyrs - always present these individuals as heroes (...). The play would be full with political statements. Here we chose, and I think that is what makes it beautiful, that those prisoners we have heard of and we have imagined as big heroes, suddenly we see them as simple humans like you and me [emphasis added], celebrating birthdays, going to the bathroom, they get diarrhoea (laughs) and there is the beauty of it (...). Humanity, going back to basics is important.'

VI. Concluding Remarks

The present chapter focused on the representation of imprisonment in contemporary Palestinian Theatre, uncovering different collective and individual dynamics that underlie these representations. Firstly, I offered an account of the centrality of imprisonment for the Palestinian community, which has become the target of the Israeli politics of collective criminalization. The large proportion of the Palestinian population that has

⁵² As extracted from an interview conducted by the author to Bashar Murkus in Haifa, 5 of April 2014. See Appendix IV.

been imprisoned at some point in their lives informs the idea of the importance of such experience for the community. I have argued that prison becomes another institution that aggravates Palestinian immobility and works at a micro and macro level. On the one hand, it works to separate individuals from society, creating a sense of estrangement in the community that has materialized in the last years in an increasing lack of solidarity with the families of prisoners (Giacaman and Johnson 2013, 68). On the other hand, it works by imposing total control over the individuals' lives, curtailing the possibilities of social interaction or community construction. However, as we have seen, the sense of community inside prison is still largely represented in theatre and goes beyond political affiliations.

I have argued that theatrical representation of imprisonment tries to bring the community together while at the same time it wants to foster a critical response to the situation and counter the invisibilization efforts of the penitentiary institutions in Israel. Besides, we have seen how the stories of the prisoners represented on stage focus on their everyday experiences, which both avoids any essentialization of their experience and connects Palestinian audiences with a more human narrative, which fosters empathy and solidarity. Walid Daka, a Palestinian prisoner whose letters served as inspiration for *A Parallel Timeline*, said that the conditions of the Palestinian population and those of the prisoners were similar not only in terms of their geographical and physical confinement, but also because of Israel's purpose: 'to remold them according to an Israeli vision, by means of molding their consciousness' (Daka 2011, 235). Theatre counters this molding of the Palestinian mind by bringing the personal stories of resistance inside prison to broader Palestinian audiences. The focus on individual experience and everyday life of the inmates is intended to speak to the community through the re-constitution of the imprisoned subject who suffers from the objectification and invisibilization of the Israeli prison system. This chapter has aimed at illustrating the existential approach to imprisonment of Palestinian theatre. Wherever any essentialized representation of the prisoners is presented on stage – for instance, when Mokhtar reclaims a hegemonic masculinity in *The Island* – it is unravelled to uncover some existential fear behind it. My argument is that from that exposed humanity, theatre sends a message to a community deeply stricken by the figures and impact of imprisonment.

The first example of this strategy was *The Island* (2013), by the Freedom Theatre. We have seen how the dialogues between the two inmates constitute the core of the play, whereas the staging is simple and there are almost no props on stage. The play had a

strong political sense already in the 1970s when it became a symbol of anti-apartheid theatre in South Africa and, when translated to the Palestinian context four decades later, it regains its political message by playing with the absurd reality of prison. The use of metatheatre brings the audience's attention towards the 'play inside of the play'; in this way, they also become the audience for the prisoners' performance of *Antigone*, and therefore, find themselves in the position of the prisoners who attend the performance. At the same time, the performance of *Antigone* has a strong symbolic meaning since the play represents the relevance of disobedience against the injustices of the political and legal system.

A Parallel Timeline (2014), by Al Midan Theatre was written and directed by Bashar Murkus, inspired by the letters of Walid Daka. Murkus plays with the stage design and the movement of the characters to create the illusion of the division between the inside and outside of the prison. The play focuses on the everyday life of the prisoners and the relationship between their inside world and the outside world where the wife of Wadih, Fida, lives just waiting for letters from the prison and visits. Both plays reflect on the meaning of memory for prisoners, their fears to be forgotten by their families in the outside world and they both represent how imprisonment blurs the line between dreams and memory, representing the inmates' fear of stopping dreaming or of being forgotten. Both plays represent the relationships of brotherhood and solidarity that are established among the inmates, whereas neither of them offers a politicized view of those relationships. Politics are never discussed in the plays, neither is their political affiliation nor the reasons of their imprisonment.

Theatre is bringing together the individual and collective dimension of imprisonment. In two very different ways, *The Island* and *A Parallel Timeline* seek to mobilize the audience by confronting them with the individual stories behind the collective narratives of imprisonment. To dream or not to dream, to be remembered or to be forgotten, to love and to be loved, or the mercilessness of time are all existential matters which gain harsh relevance when experienced in a confined space that restricts individual freedom to a maximum. The present chapter shows how prison is the most notable representation of the immobility imposed by the Israeli system upon the Palestinians. Although neither of the plays finish with a positive outcome for the characters. They both represent a reality that is relevant for the audiences they target. In fact, both plays decide to show the suffering first, before challenging the system, stimulating the solidarity of the different audiences. In this sense, this chapter establishes the parallelism between the two contexts,

where both plays use the same strategy and chose to represent similar topics in relation to imprisonment. The experience of imprisonment is similar for Palestinians inside of Israel and inside of the OPT, not only due to the political implications of their imprisonment, but also due to the similarities in their human experience.

Another relevant topic that has been present in both of the plays analysed, is the representation of gender dynamics inside and outside prison. Both plays raise issues related to the characters' masculinity, like when Mokhtar refuses to dress up as a woman in *The Island*. Fida, the fiancée of Wadih, is the only female that is represented in both plays. This underrepresentation reflects the actual situation of imprisonment in Palestine, which is indeed a masculine experience. In May 2017, only 56 women were being held in the Israeli Prison System, as opposed to the 6200 male prisoners in the same date (Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association 2014, n.p.). In this chapter, therefore, women have been described as mothers and wives of Palestinian political prisoners, articulating their narratives only around the prisoners' lives. In the next chapter, the focus will shift towards the relevance of women within the immobility imposed on the Palestinian community. I will analyse and question the different roles that are imposed on Palestinian women and how these represented on stage. More concretely, I will draw attention to the fact that women have been represented in a strong connection with the land, conflating their physical femaleness to the materiality of the Palestinian land. In this context, their bodies can become instruments for both patriarchal and nationalist rhetoric over which they have little or no control; but they can also become a tool to articulate different narratives that may challenge different power structures as well as the immobility imposed by the Israeli system.

Chapter Three. Palestinian Women as the Land: Female Bodies as Spaces of Otherness

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I. Introduction

This chapter will explore the representation of the female body in Palestinian contemporary dramatic production and its symbolic implications. Women's bodies have been used to represent space in contemporary Palestinian theatre, which needs to be analysed in terms of the narratives that such representation suggests. The feminization of the land emphasizes the representation of Palestine as a subject to be protected: a symbol of the earth, the mother, the housekeeper, the sister and the wife. In this way, it also counters the emasculating effects of Israeli colonialism by reasserting the Palestinian male-centred nationalist narrative. In this regard, theatre can be 'one of various systems of representations in patriarchies' (Taylor and Morales 1994, 13) and support a rhetoric that, while supporting anti-occupation nationalist positions, relegates women to traditional roles which deny them any agency. This chapter follows up the previous chapter's analysis of the position of women within the Palestinian community. In that case, women were granted a supporting role in the narrative of imprisonment and, although their struggle as wives or mothers of captives was recognized, they were always relegated to a lower place and a secondary use of the space in the two analysed plays. In the present chapter, I will reflect on the practices of representation that surround the female body and how they also reflect different power structures within the collective.

At the same time, it needs to be questioned to what extent the use of female bodies as metaphors for the land in theatrical representation can help to produce alternative narratives to colonialism and imperialism. In the coming section, I give a theoretical introduction to this theatrical representation and I show how the paralleling of Palestine

and the female body triggers a process of 'othering'. To represent the woman and the land

as 'others' brings to the fore different issues concerning women's agency, while it also might be able to counter the hegemonic representations of Palestine articulated by the West and Israel. This chapter proposes to understand immobility in gendered terms, looking at the use of the female body and the meaning and practices that are put in play on stage.

All these possible implications will be analysed in the coming sections through two different theatre productions: The Freedom Theatre's *Suicide Note from Palestine* (2013) and Ashtar Theatre's *I am Jerusalem* (2009). In both plays the female body of an actress has been used to represent the Palestinian land. The two case studies will illustrate the paradoxical nature of such identification within a complex context like Palestine. I argue that, by locating themselves in that position of 'otherness', theatre practitioners are defending/reasserting the subaltern position from which resistance can be articulated. Through theatrical representation, the female body is actually able to overcome the nationalist-patriarchal rhetoric and counter hegemonic representations of both Palestine and the female body by presenting a different reality on stage. At the same time, as we will see, there are still problematic implications in this identification since it might offer a fixed idea of the female identity, which can have an undesired immobilizing effect. Besides, we will see how the female individual experience is used to speak to the collective, which offers an interesting insight on the axis individual-collective body that is a recurrent theme throughout this thesis.

Suicide Note from Palestine (2013), produced by the Freedom Theatre in Jenin refugee camp, tells the story of a student, Amal, who dreams that she wakes up in a hospital room surrounded by other characters who represent different world actors. They start calling her Palestine. She announces her intention to kill herself and the play shows how her body is subsequently dominated by them in a desperate attempt to prevent her suicide. The play shows in an explicit and violent fashion how her body is medicalized, denying her agency and control over her own body. This lack of mobility and control becomes a metaphor for the Palestinian land, it also reflects the personal experience of the female character. This way, they are both portrayed as an 'other' whose agency is taken away. As we will see, the play challenges the initial lack of prospects for both Palestine and Amal, by presenting on stage the woman's role of giving birth to a new generation that will challenge the male characters' domination. This reproductive role is presented as a mobilizing role, which provides the female character, and by extension Palestine, renewed political agency.

The second play that will be analysed is *I am Jerusalem* (2009), produced by Ashtar Theatre in Ramallah. As its name indicates, the play is the story of a woman who represents the city of Jerusalem. Her biography conflates with the history of the city, and the play represents it as an anti-colonial critique of all the different conquerors of the city that try to dominate the woman and the city. This play calls upon Jerusalem's mythical past, presenting the woman as a symbol of the reproduction of the nation. It seems that it is trying to respond to the narratives that have legitimized the Israeli occupation based on their historical rights over the land, locating Palestine as an 'other' in that narrative and speaking out against Israeli domination from that standpoint. As we will see, the character of Jerusalem is repeatedly raped and her body is controlled by all the conquerors, which makes her challenge the audience and ask for new knowledge that will challenge Israeli narratives.

In both plays, personal experience is central to the narrative, emphasizing the individual character of such experience, in a similar fashion to what we have seen in previous case studies. At the same time, there is a certain message to the collective, a call for action against oppression. In both plays, the women's demands speak to the collective and their bodies are in tension between their collective and individual meaning. Within that position, I want to explore whether the characters manage to articulate resistant strategies against their oppressors and what the potential of the different representations of the Palestinian land as a woman is.

II. Theatrical Representations of the Female Body as the Land: Theoretical Considerations

The feminization of Palestinian land is an artistic trend that does not exclusively attain dramatic production. As recognized by Anna Ball, 'though Palestine is referred to as the "fatherland", Palestinian land itself is feminized' in literature, cinema and other art forms (2008, 9). Theatre puts special emphasis on the body as a site of contestation (Shepherd 2006, 2), but also as a site and expression of power relations (McDowell 1995, 79). Therefore, representing Palestine as a gendered and sexualized body may be reproducing already existing power structures based on gender inequalities. This might have 'enabled the dominant powers to maintain and legitimize their power positions' (Domosh and Seager 2001, 173), which is relevant to the articulation of the nationalist rhetoric. Besides, it can open a space of 'otherness', in which both Palestine and women are represented as the 'others'. From that position of alterity, the female body could actually find a space to

speak out for liberation of both herself and the Palestinian land. There is therefore a set of contradictions that need to be exposed in order to see if these representations of the woman as the land have any potential to articulate resistant messages. In any case, I argue that there is a strong symbolic implication in the gendering of Palestinian space that needs to be explored.

To do so, it is crucial to understand the role of space ‘in the production and reproduction of masculinist societies’ (Rose 1993, 17) and how space and mobility are understood in gendered terms. Uteng and Cresswell defined four aspects of mobility – movement, meaning, practice and potential – and they state that all of them have ‘histories and geographies of gendered difference’ (Uteng and Cresswell 2008, 2). Therefore, not only is movement gendered, but also the meaning and practice of that movement is different depending on gender affiliation. Also, the potential to move is gendered and women have unequal access to mobility. Women’s relationship with space is mediated by their gender and their experience of that space is always conditioned by their position in society. In fact, these four aspects can be articulated around two types of stories: ‘one about containment and another about mobility’ (Hanson and Pratt 1995, 14). These authors talk about female mobility not in terms of agency, but in terms of their disadvantaged position in global circuits of migration. Therefore, within the pole mobility-immobility, women’s relationship with space is never unproblematic. In this sense, women are often represented as ‘mere object and immanence’ (Young 1980, 141), not only in terms of their possibilities of actually moving, but rather in terms of their agency and access to mobility. Therefore, the relationship of the woman with the space is determined by each different context and it is never free from contradiction.

Space is part of daily life and ‘central to the national imaginary’ (Mitchell 2002, 27-28) and therefore, not only the use of that space, but also the meaning that this space acquires through artistic representation is extremely important. The two plays that will be analysed in this chapter present different layers of both containment and mobility. The present chapter not only looks at the actual use of the space and the body comportment of the characters according to their gender, but it also considers the meaning of that movement at two different levels: first, as social bodies situated on a stage within a certain context. Second, at a more symbolic level, their bodies are allegorical representations of the actual space and therefore they acquire a different, more collective meaning. Both Ashtar Theatre and the Freedom Theatre made the artistic decision of conflating the physicality of the female body on stage with the idea of the land. This symbolism is relevant since it

reflects the geographical reality of Palestinian land, the increasing shrinking and closure of Palestinian living space and translates the population's immobility to the body of the woman, as a symbol. In this sense, the practice and experience of Palestinian space is an embodied practice and the immobility imposed by Israeli settler colonialism is gendered. Peteet explores women's mobility in Palestine as trapped in between a patriarchal system and a colonial occupation: 'Conflict can provide an opportunity for the mobilization and emancipation of women, yet they can also face sexual violence, and a re-traditionalization of gender roles can unfold' (Peteet 2017, 123). Palestinian women find themselves negotiating their use of space within both patriarchy and Israeli occupation, which results in a multi-layered system of restrictions and possibilities that shape the complexities of what I have defined as immobility.

The representation of the land conflated with the female body both reflects certain values and works 'to perpetuate socially constructed gender stereotyping' (Dowler, Carubia, and Szczygiel 2005, 1). The physical fusion of the female body and the land still provides a framework for nationalist discourses that imply an unequal treatment of women. For instance, in her analysis of the film 'Divine intervention' by Elia Suleiman, Anna Ball dissects the role of the female character in the construction of a 'more fluid, plural, and postmodern nation'. Yet, Ball states how this symbolic role is more limiting for the woman than liberating, 'for the female subject is constructed as the agent of Suleiman's wish-fulfilling fantasy' (2008, 24). Similarly, theatrical representations of woman on stage have been frequently used for 'the male subject's self-realization' (Bryant-Bertail 1994, 101). Elleke Boehmer has underlined the prevalence of such objectification of women by the male nationalist rhetoric while, at the same time, she acknowledges the 'famously contradictory' character of nationalism and how it 'can be deployed to reactionary and progressive ends; as a means to self-determination and social justice for an entire people, (...) *and* [emphasis original] as an oppressive formation run in the interest of an elite' (2009, 4). In the Palestinian case, the celebration of nationalist rhetoric is linked to the fact that it is indeed considered a path for liberation for oppressed groups (Agnew 2008, 223). This feature has been a constant element of the construction of Palestinian national identity.

However, anti-colonial nationalism has usually been a masculine project (Midgley 1998, 14; Holden 2008, 31; Mayer 2012, 16) and the female body has been mostly relegated to a role of signifier of the nationalist project. This dynamic responds to a certain ideological system that depends on physical and symbolic boundaries. This does not mean that there

has been no participation of Palestinian women in the anti-colonial struggle (Sharoni 1995; Peteet 2013), but that it is within the symbolic realm of nationalism that women have a more salient role, which indeed speaks to the male psyche. National structures try to ensure the limits of the 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991, 6) upon which the national project must be built. As has been widely recognized (Anderson 1991, McClintock 1993, Yuval-Davis and Stoetzler 2002, Billig 1995), the boundaries of those 'imagined communities' are constructed in order to create a division between 'us' and 'them' (Yuval-Davis 2011, 3). As stated by Bauder, national communities materialize through 'practices of inclusion and exclusion' (Bauder 2011, n. p.) that are directed towards the construction of an essentialized 'other' in order to define the boundaries of their own existence. In the Palestinian case, this process is inscribed in an anti-colonial discourse that struggles to define a present national project on the junction between a colonial past and present.

The construction of Palestinian national identity is both related to internal factors such as the role of the nationalist elite (Lindholm Schulz 1999, 3) and the identification of an 'other'. As we will see throughout this chapter, Palestine has often been positioned as the 'other' for Israeli nationalism. Israeli occupation and earlier on, the Zionist idea (Quandt, Jabber, and Lesch 1973, 2) paved the way for such identification. The Israeli occupation has been contested with the articulation of a symbolic code that supports the Palestinian male-centred nationalist narrative. The whole nationalist discourse is constructed 'through gendered tropes and symbols that resonate with many elements of postcolonial theory' (Ball 2012a, 18) and assert and reinforce power dynamics. However, as we will see, Palestine as the 'other' is still a recurrent narrative that has permeated even Palestinian self-representation. Palestinian nationalism struggles to define 'boundaries' due to the pervasiveness of the Israeli occupation, which makes it almost impossible to individuate a coherent territory upon which to materialize the Palestinian national project. This results in an ideological construction of a fluid idea of boundaries, which are not based on a geographical division inside-outside, but on some identity attributes.

Boundaries need to be maintained and reproduced by what Yuval-Davis and Stoetzler call 'boundary guards' (2002, 334). Women often adopt a symbolic role in the guarding of those boundaries; they are supposed to 'identify people as members or non-members of a particular collectivity' by preserving and transmitting 'specific cultural codes of style of dress and behaviour as well as to more elaborate bodies of customs, religion, literary and artistic modes of production, and, of course, language' (Yuval-Davis 1997, 23).

However, this role is a paradoxical one, as even though they can be identified as members of the collective, they are 'excluded from direct action as national citizens (...) and subsumed symbolically into the national body politic as its boundary and metaphoric limit' (McClintock 1993, 62). Women are contradictorily positioned 'as both symbols and 'others' of the collective: women symbolize the nation's identity while at the same time they are a non-identical element within the nation' (Yuval-Davis 1997, 47).

The modern national project resorts to the idea of a common past and tradition to reaffirm authentic cultural values that justify the coherence of the project itself. The process of nation-building depends highly on the construction of myths and on the creation of a unified story which could 'provide the nation a shared understanding of the past' and contribute to binding the collective (Baron 2005, 2). As 'boundary markers' (Kandiyoti 1991, 441), Palestinian women get enmeshed in an intricate entanglement of parallel discourses between the present and the past. Within these discourses, they are supposed to define what belongs to the nation and what does not, while at the same time they are excluded from the process. Women are represented as the keepers of a mythical past, who contribute to the community narrative's cohesion to counter what Azoulay calls an 'occupation of representations' when talking about Jerusalem: 'Palestinians were deprived of most resources and positions that enable the representations of (their) past and the production and distribution of images of (their) city' (Azoulay 2008, 166). This idea will be developed further in the analysis of *I am Jerusalem*, where the relevance of the narratives of the past as legitimating agent for the representation of Palestine will become evident. The idea of a common Palestinian past that sustains Palestinian identity validity tries to counter the Israeli hegemony and their efforts to prevent Palestinians from representing their own past.

The relationship of the woman with the idea of a common past as a cohesive element for her community reveals a set of power dynamics that emanates from 'masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope' (Enloe 1989, 44). Women's role is reduced to counter and redefine the colonial consequences on the male psyche and memory. Nationalist narratives need to provide a coherent and shared vision of the past, which could work as an element for community cohesion. Besides, this representation of the woman as the keeper of a mythical past is connected with 'the assumption (and reality) of the rootedness of women' (Domosh and Seager 2001, 121). This rootedness is related to women's immobility which can both ensure the maintenance of culture and also become a tool of oppression.

Besides, the role of 'boundary markers' is not only connected to the preservation of the community's boundaries, but is also strongly defined by its reproductive role; in this regard, women are in charge of the reproduction of the nation 'biologically, culturally and symbolically' (Yuval-Davis 1997, 2). As we will see, this reproductive role is present in the representations of the land as well. The feminization of the Palestinian land emphasizes the role of both the woman and the land as objects to be sexualized and thus fertilized. Emily Martin talks about the use of language to define female reproductive process as passive in contrast to the male process. She states: 'the egg is seen as large and passive. It does not move or journey' (Martin 1991, 489). In contrast, men are presented as the active subject in the fertilization process. Similarly, femininity is seen as following this biological order and cultural representation is fraught with representations of 'passive females and heroic males' (Martin 1991, 500).

As we will see, the main characters of the two plays analysed in the present chapter talk from the position of a colonial subject that needs to respond to a current situation of oppression. We will see how, from that subject position, they manage to actually speak out and challenge certain power structures. Theatrical representation of women is determined by the context surrounding each production and these representations might be deemed as 'liberating' by the theatre groups insofar as theatre makes it possible to 'liberate in the realms of the imagination' (Ball 2012a, 115). Different plays adopt ideas as 'the 'natural' power of women, their enhanced sensibility for imagination, their earth-mother status' from a leftist perspective (Beer 1997, 82-83) that allegedly presumes the liberating effect of such representation. However, these representations still essentialize women, ascribing certain inherent characteristics to them, which disregard complex gender power dynamics.

However, we need to acknowledge that a paradox arises from the identification of woman with land in Palestinian artistic representation: it is deliberately locating both the land and the identity attached to it in the position of that excluded 'other'. The 'feminization of place' establishes a binary equation between oppressed land and woman that emphasizes the 'otherness' of both elements within the context of colonial occupation. Women are already defined as an active element of the preservation of cultural boundaries while at the same time they are considered and represented as 'other' (Loshitzky 2013, 59). From the point of view of a colonized land, the territory and the female become an object 'void of sexual agency, passively awaiting the thrusting, male insemination of history, language, and reason' (McClintock 2013, 30). Place becomes itself that 'other':

‘mysterious, unknowable, beyond language and rationality, and feminine (Rose 1993, 61) and it is from that position that any discourse of agency is articulated. *I am Jerusalem* and *Suicide Note* talk about the identity of the woman but also the land, and it is this self-representation that defines them as ‘others’. Both plays make the conscious decision of conflating Palestine and the female body in order to portray them both as ‘others’ and as representatives of a collective Palestinian identity. By extending the woman’s identity to the land, her identity becomes collective and contributes to a common identity narrative.

We need to acknowledge that the ideological construction of ‘otherness’ relies on the fixation of a certain rigid and stable identity (Khatib 2006, 173) that, in colonial discourse, justifies the politics of subjugation and exclusion. In the Palestinian case, due to the ongoing settler colonial occupation, their construction of otherness is trying to claim cultural integrity within an anti-colonial discourse. In order to maintain that cultural integrity, gender differences have to be articulated in terms of a ‘natural’ gender affiliation’ (Burgwinkle 1993, 51). This ‘natural’ affiliation is based on an already established and accepted division of gender roles based on a binary division man vs. woman. The term ‘natural’ is used to justify the unavoidability of such unequal division of roles. It also emphasizes the need for maintaining that division in order to maintain cultural integrity. This is necessary since natural gender affiliations are at the core of the nationalist project. As we stated above, the role of the female as 'boundary guards' is precisely to delimit the boundaries of the community - the division ‘us vs. them’. Nonetheless, this division, which is based on the foundational premises of the nationalist discourse, can limit our understanding of Palestinian identity and fall into the trap of considering identity as a stable element.

These ‘natural’ gender divisions reproduce categories – man vs. woman – connected to ‘the construction of the self and the other’ (Staszak 2009, 44). This view defines both of them as objects rather than subjects, inert elements that face oppression hopelessly. The woman would be represented as an ‘other’ and this otherness is necessary to maintain a patriarchal order based on inequality. The ‘other’ can therefore be characterized as ‘the illusory yet very real foundation of a culture’ (Burgwinkle 1993, 51). According to Young, since women are defined as the ‘other’, they are ‘denied by the subjectivity, autonomy, and creativity which are definitive of being human and which in a patriarchal society are accorded the man. However, the female person is necessarily a ‘subjectivity and transcendence and she knows herself to be’ (Young 1980, 141). From the subjectivity that otherness allows, women are able to respond to and challenge the above-mentioned

natural gender division. The question becomes here: what is the potential of that identification when represented on stage? Does that position as an ‘other’ offer any possibility for resistance? One answer could be that to equate the space to the female body is a strategy of self-positioning, treating ‘oneself as another’, which could provide the ‘narrative component of the comprehension of self’ (Yuval-Davis 2010, 266). Yuval-Davis does not specifically refer here to the construction of the subject as ‘other’, but to the construction of one’s own self through the presentation of who we are and who we are not.

Both *I am Jerusalem* and *Suicide Note from Palestine* show how it is possible to use that position of otherness to speak out and call for cohesion and resistance. Theatre opens a space that could allow the articulation of a transgressive discourse that would dismantle the different layers of oppression within Palestinian society. When it comes to the study of self-representation, we can then question if theatre is reproducing the fixity of identity categories or if it allows the representation of Palestinian identity to be more fluid and flexible. In this sense, ‘otherness’ is also a non-stable notion, which allows different subject positions. From these positions, the articulation of their identity as ‘other’ comes from an agent standpoint that challenges the immobilizing effects of the hegemonic narratives. Indeed, similar to what Brian Singleton states about emerging nation-states, Palestinian theatre represents “‘the other tradition’ as a means to attempt a post-Independence strategy of resistance against a nationalist replication of the old colonial dominant order’ (Singleton 1997, 94). Therefore, this articulation of otherness works to counter the colonial discourses that have shaped the representation of Palestine.

As we will see, there is a risk of essentialization in theatrical representation that reproduces the delusion of a fixed gender identity. This essentialization needs to be taken into consideration in order to avoid participating in a gender construction that perpetuates certain structures of power. However, I agree with Solomon’s idea of theatre creating a critical distance between the audience and the play, which allows us ‘to see ourselves seeing the theatrical construction of a social construction’ (Solomon 2003, 9), and therefore identify and challenge it. Both plays present a female reality that does not respond to the feminist ideal of empowerment; yet, by presenting certain social patterns that ultimately oppress Palestinian women, the audience is able to identify and challenge those patterns in real life. The following sections will focus on how the two plays work in the theatrical space both to create that theatrical illusion that will uncover social constructions and to allow the audience to participate in a collective interrogation into the

role of the female body within these. The first case study presented in the current chapter is *Suicide Note from Palestine* (2013), produced by the Freedom Theatre, the same company that produced the play *The Island*, which was analysed in the previous chapter.

III. The Birth of a New Generation: The Freedom Theatre's *Suicide Note from Palestine* (2013)

In 2013, the Freedom Theatre from the Jenin Refugee camp premiered the play *Suicide Note from Palestine* (*Risāla āintiḥār min Filastīn*) directed by Palestinian Nabil AlRae, artistic director of the Freedom Theatre, and Portuguese Micaela Miranda, also director of the Freedom Theatre School. The play tells the story of a young student, Amal, who dreams she has become an embodiment of Palestine and decides to commit suicide. As stated on the group's webpage: '*Amal's nightmare drifts between confusion, torture and despair - notions set as strange characters that symbolise some of the key players in world politics that shape the land, history, politics and the occupation of her country*'.

The play was inspired by *4:48 Psychosis*, the final play of Sarah Kane, an English playwright (1971-1999) whose non-realist plays deal with pain, love, suffering and violence (Saunders 2002). It was presented in different locations across the West Bank. The play narrates the dream of Amal, a young Palestinian woman played by Christine El Hodali, who finds herself being revived in a hospital. She is the main character and the only female on stage; around her, five male actors represent various characters: the Israeli army, the Israeli state itself, Europe, the United States, the Arab countries, the international media along with a United Nations medical team. The play has a dream-like structure, which is based on a 'non-hierarchy of images, movements and words' (Lehmann 2006, 84). As we will see, the play does not follow a coherent linear narrative; different aesthetic resources, like videos and lighting arrangements, which emphasize the fragmentation and intensity of the theatrical experience, fracture the story. The audience can hear Amal's thoughts and see her body on stage as two separate elements, this fragmentation responds to postdramatic theatre's interest in 'the artistic potential of the decomposition of perception' (Lehmann 2006, 83), fostered by technology.

In a black box theatre, a hospital bed is placed in the centre of the stage. In the background there is a white panel that is used as projection screen and as an entrance gate for the actors in the last scene, as we will see. In the four corners of the stage there are stacks of old televisions that show different images during the play, including a live camera operated by the actor representing international media records. In the first scene of the

play, the male characters invite Amal to take part in a UN general meeting and name her 'Palestine'. Differently to what we will see in *I am Jerusalem*, in the Freedom theatre's play the identification with the land is imposed on the actress by the other characters. This imposition recalls how the imposition of an active or passive role is also an expression of power in representation (Burgwinkle 1993, 49) and it might be read in two different ways: on the one hand, it may suggest that also in *Suicide Note* the female body is portrayed as hopeless and deprived of agency by its identification with the land. On the other hand, that imposition might also reassert the politicization of the woman's body and the complexities of gender identity construction, and open a door to a resistant discourse. As we will see, by conferring a political meaning to Amal's body, her actions also become political and can therefore foster resistance.

In front of the UN general assembly, Amal, who is now Palestine, announces her decision to commit suicide as a political act by stating:

"I can't be with myself, and I can't be with others. My body is not mine! At 4:48 I will hang myself! I don't want to live. I don't want to live. At 4:48 I will hang myself!"⁵³

The time - 4:48 - refers to the time of night when *4:48 Psychosis*' playwright Sarah Kane would be hit by the clinical depression which led her to commit suicide (Vincentelli 2014). *Suicide Note* is presented as the dream of the main character, portraying an illusory and brutal reality similar to Kane's 'dramatic poem' (Diedrich 2013, 376) in which 'you no longer know the difference between your waking life and your dream life' (Kane as quoted in Saunders 2009, 81). From the moment in which Amal/Palestine declares her determination to commit suicide, the play unravels as a continuous struggle between the other characters to get control over Palestine's body. While the female character stands in front of the other characters and claims control over her body to accomplish her decision to kill herself, the male characters' desperately strive to keep her alive. *Suicide Note* not only poses a sharp critique of the structure of international actors and their role in the situation in Palestine, similar to what we will see in *The House of Yasmine* (2011) in the next chapter, but, at a more symbolic level, it highlights how the female body can be either objectified and overpowered or resistant (Kassem 2011, 131).

Interestingly, one of the character's reasons for killing herself is that she does not feel her body is hers anymore. This represents a metaphor for the occupation of the land and the dispossession of the Palestinian population. Suicide would therefore mean to win back

⁵³ The Freedom Theatre provided the full video of the play in July 2015.

her own physicality and exert her own agency over her body. The identification of the female body with the land of Palestine gives her suicide a political dimension that transcends the psychological dimension of suicide. Therefore, if we identify suicide as an 'action' or a 'behaviour', rather than as an 'attempt' or a 'threat' (Shneidman 1993, 6), the suicide of the main character in *Suicide Note* becomes a political act imbued both with agency and meaning for her community. The identification of her body with the land means its collectivization and, therefore, her acts can be considered in terms of 'nurturance and self-sacrifice' (Jenkins 1998, 127) for the benefit of the collective. The sense of her life decisions is based on the impact that these will have on her community, somehow limiting her own agency. This collectivization of her body is therefore connected with a national discourse of steadfastness.

Her sacrifice necessarily reminds the viewer of the narratives of martyrdom, which praise the idea of self-sacrifice as a heroic act for the collective. Only around 7% of Palestinian suicide bombers have been women (Sjoberg 2010, 63) and most of them were affiliated to secularist-nationalist movements rather than religious (Cragin and Daly 2009, 62). However, Palestine's suicidal declaration is not presented as a decision moved by the idea of martyrdom; her loyalty and sacrifice do not seem to lie on an idea of 'the sacred' (Yuval-Davis 2011, 10) but on a notion of ownership and agency. Her suicide is disconnected from any representation of the heroic figure of the martyr or *fidai'yyin* (freedom fighters or guerrillas). In this sense, heroism is not an attribute usually connected to female warriors (Khalili 2007, 20); and even though women have traditionally been involved in the Palestinian liberation movement, their role has always been defined as pivotal to male heroism. In fact, as stated by Hasso, woman's self-sacrifice challenges 'the idea that such action in defence of community was solely the responsibility of men' (Hasso 2005, 37). In the play she is taking action for the collective and her suicide is a claim for the ownership of her body and its boundaries, which are the only elements both she and the community own. The reaction of the other characters, who desperately try to persuade her to avoid suicide, even by violent means, confirms that her body is indeed a site for resistance.

The connection between the land and the body is reflected again in the fifth scene of the play. After announcing her decision to commit suicide, she is drugged and left alone in bed. In her altered state of consciousness, she hallucinates and hears a voice. On the one hand, this reflects the medicalization of her body as a form of control and the construction of otherness through these practices of exclusion. By being treated as 'mad', patterns of

exclusion are reproduced and her voice is delegitimized both as woman and as land. On the other hand, the hallucinations she has connect her again to the collective: old footage of the *Nakba* is projected behind her bed, images of Palestinian refugees fleeing from their homes in 1948 and building tents to shelter. A voice-over talks to ‘those who are born and die without leaving their villages’, therefore referring to the new generation that did not go through the trauma of the *Nakba*. This scene illustrates the kind of disruptive element in the lineal narrative of the play mentioned above. The voice is talking from the past to the present but, differently to what we will see in *I am Jerusalem*, it focuses on the role of the present generation to take action:

‘Although being born in a Homeland is like having roots connecting the man with his land - these roots will never be strong and grow except if you water them with freedom and justice. The whole nation is playing crosswords and watching football games and following the latest happenings of the newest TV series while the Israeli guns are pointed at their foreheads and their land and their dignity and their oil... how do I wake them up [emphasis added]’

The scene highlights the demobilization of Palestinian social movements after the Oslo Accords (1993-1995) and more importantly after the second intifada (Jad 2008, 108). This demobilization is particularly salient within the Palestinian youth, who have to face an evident lack of future prospects. A 2009 report by the Middle East Youth Initiative situated the average unemployment rates among men aged 20 to 24 with a university degree in the West Bank at 36.4 percent. In Gaza, the same age and education group has an unemployment rate of 63.7 percent (Sayre and Al-Botmeh 2009, 23). According to a press release on the ‘Results of the Labour Force Survey’ from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) in 2016, ‘the labour force participation rate of persons aged 15 years and above was 45.8%’ (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics 2016, n.p.). This situation is indeed dramatic and has a great impact on people’s life decisions. Yet, it ‘has proven hard to achieve massive and sustained mobilization for protest’ (Høigilt 2013, 347). Explanations for this demobilization range from disillusionment and political apathy to the fact that youth’s biggest concern ‘is not liberation, but the economy and education’ (348). *Suicide Note* is criticizing this by saying they are ‘playing crosswords and watching football games and following the latest happenings of the newest TV series’ while they are still threatened by Israel. In fact, ‘Palestinian youth in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are equally concerned with their looks, their health, and their possibility of marriage’ (Sayre and Al-Botmeh 2009, 8).

During her hallucination, Amal questions her role in awakening this youth and creating a sense of community that stems from her conscious role as an element of cohesion, a representation of the 'we' that is being threatened by the other characters. By asking the question '*how do I wake them up?*' Amal is assuming her role as community keeper and mind agitator. This role of community keeper differs from the role that would traditionally be given to men, usually a 'directing role and charged with defending the homeland against or liberating it from its foreign enemies' (Agnew 2008, 232). As will be made evident in the last scene of the play, Amal's role as community guard is one that focuses on the production of future generations.

I argue that the lack of mobility of Amal's body, drugged and confined to bed, has a deeper political connotation, representing the lack of autonomy of the Palestinian land after the Oslo negotiations. Even more so since the male characters in fact represent different international actors. Palestinian and Israeli leadership have pursued some kind of abstract Palestinian autonomy that has nothing to do with the actual autonomy of the Palestinian land (Said 1996, 18). This means that even though the negotiations aimed at the creation of a Palestinian political entity governed by a Palestinian elite, there was a disconnection between the actual negotiations and the facts on the ground. The Oslo Accords and subsequent developments confirmed some of Edward Said's predictions and meant 'never giving up the apartheid notion that Jews and non-Jews live separate existences, with the Jews always in a dominant, more privileged position, the Palestinians crowded into narrow enclaves that are encircled by Jewish roads and settlements' (Said 2011, 70). The land has never been in Palestinian hands and the Palestinian population have never had the control of their space or, ultimately, of their bodies. Therefore, Palestinians always find themselves caught up in endless negotiations and contestation over their physical space.

The second issue at stake in this scene is the medicalization of her body and how it is paired with her reproductive role as a female. She is induced into a stage of mental hallucination and her movements are controlled, depicting her as 'mad' or 'insane'. Her suicide is not considered by the rest of the characters as a political act, but as a condition that needs to be treated and therefore, her agency is disowned. In fact, 'women's suicides are interpreted specifically through the lens of relationship breakdown as a result of emotional weakness and internal turmoil' (Jaworski 2010, 122). This definition of women as 'mad' or 'hysterical' has been traditionally negatively biased towards femininity, (Meyer, Fallah, and Wood 2011, 218; Ussher 2011, 7) as women have been defined as

‘chronically weak and as victims of a pathological physiology’ (Balsamo 1996, 42). The conflation of the woman and the mad emphasizes the process of ‘othering’ (Morgan 1998, 93) and exclusion (Foucault 1980, 184). According to Beer, that process of othering includes women in the ‘list of inhabitants of the periphery’ (Beer 1997, 83) which also includes the mad, the poor and workers. The main character is excluded from normal movement and therefore implies her immobility, which is reflected on stage by the control of her movements and the violent repression she is subjected to.

To consider Amal’s acts as a sign of madness corresponds to the assumption that women are not fully capable of choosing suicide and their acts are considered suspect when they ‘enter the male preserve of martyrdom’ (Jaworski 2010, 127). This is tied to the idea of women’s lesser political involvement in national issues and discontent not being enough per se to understand her reasons to end her life. However, to define her as mad opens up the possibility of expressing that discontent; the medicalization of her suicidal decision allows her to use it as a form of expression. Madness therefore becomes a ‘creatively elaborated form of alternative thinking that defies conventional modes of thought’ within what Mehta defines as ‘inhibiting social structures’ (Mehta 2004, 718). Of course madness should not be romanticized or confused with political or cultural revolution (Chesler 1974, xxi), but when it is introduced on stage by a character who has been presented to the audience as an embodiment of Palestine, the meaning of her dismay is necessarily connected to both her physicality and the land.

Suicide Note presents an open game in which Amal/Palestine plays within the boundaries of her dream, which allow her a certain degree of agency as the woman and the land. Being treated as mad represents the efforts of the other characters to politically castrate her and force her to assume a dependent and helpless role (Felman 1975, 2). Even though Amal has made clear from the beginning of the play the political character of her suicide, the diagnosis given by the characters who represent the UN, who are wearing white robes and present themselves as doctors, presents a clear gender bias. They delegitimize her political act by defining it in terms of deviation, showing then the connection between madness and power, which was recognized by Foucault in the review of his work *Madness and Civilization* (Foucault 1980, 115). In *Suicide Note*, the female character is induced into a hallucinating state and tied to the bed by the representatives of the United Nations, who have the power to define what is sane and what is mad. Their power legitimizes a certain behaviour towards Amal, while at the same time, their actions define her and construct a new subject position difficult to scape (Ussher 2011, 4).



Figure 3.1: Caption of scene number 9. Amal's macabre dance.

The only option left for Amal is to give up her suicide attempts and negotiate. In the ninth scene, the character representing the Arab countries convinces Amal/Palestine to negotiate, mirroring the Arab countries' mild and condescending attitude towards Israel and their silence regarding the compromises made in the Oslo Accords by the Palestinian leadership (Said 2001, 6). In the play, the signature of the Oslo Accords triggers the transformation of Palestine into a state. On stage, Amal is surrounded by the other characters and forced into a hectic and disturbing dance. The unsettling dance represents how, under the denomination of 'peace accords', the Oslo Accords aimed at both creating a 'client state' rather than a full sovereign state (Alissa 2007, 131) and consolidating Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza (Said Zomlot 2013, 57). After the dance, different videos are projected on the panel behind the characters. The face of Amal is painted in white and blue –the colours of the Israeli flag- and violently manipulated by different hands. Next to it, we can see the map of 'Mandatory Palestine'⁵⁴ painted in black leaving Gaza and the West Bank unpainted. Then, progressively, a hand paints over the territory of the West Bank, dividing the map in many small islands that recall the 'Bantustan' system (Hanafi 2009, 116) of disconnected territorial units that the West Bank has been turned into. After that, the whole map is covered with black paint. The woman's face and the map are presented in parallel; both of them are transformed and handled. Both of them are presented in the video as passive elements with no control, while the character playing the role of Israel stares at the camera and eats an apple.

In the foreground, Amal is immobilized, tied and wrapped in plastic, her face is painted in a similar way to the video image. The representative of the Israeli state, who is in a wheelchair, cuts the ribbon to inaugurate the Palestinian state, embodied by Amal. Her

⁵⁴ The term 'Mandatory Palestine' refers to the land considered Palestine during the British Mandate, before the creation of the State of Israel. It includes the territory of the state of Israel, the West Bank and Gaza.

body has been manipulated by the different world forces aiming at the transformation of her physical appearance in order to make her look like their desirable nation state. Her physical transformation therefore wants to comply with the desires of the male representatives of the different world forces. In fact, all the characters congratulate each other and show their happiness about the event, while Amal stands still with an emotionless expression. This whole scene is an open critique against the Oslo Accords and its resulting political failure. The different international actors are presented as puppets controlled by the Israeli government. This picture criticizes the lack of political will to ensure the enforcement of the conditions signed and the naïve confidence of the international community in the success of the agreements (Said Zomlot 2013, 56). The control and transformation of the female body against her will represents the fallacy of the creation of a Palestinian state and, more importantly, the denial and curtailing of Palestinian sovereignty (Said 2001, 313). The transformation of her body, which was presented as the way to peace, ends up ultimately granting Israel with the total control over her movements.

After the inauguration of the new 'Palestinian state', Amal is left alone with Israel, who stands up from the wheel chair, revealing his lie. He sticks an Israeli flag to her chest, unleashing a violent reaction from the main character. She screams and breaks the plastic that holds her and rebels against Israel. She beats him to the ground before he starts calling 'America', a character that represents the United States and that is dressed as Superman. The satire is here articulated by presenting the United States as a pathetic superhero that comes to save Israel from the hands of a young woman. If Superman is considered the American 'quintessential male role model' (Pecora 1992, 63), that model is put on the spot in the play *Suicide Note* portrays Superman as a pusillanimous being that blindly supports Israel. Superman offers his unconditional support to Israel, providing a metaphor for the state of the international order and the United States' role as Israel's ally (Chomsky 1999).

Palestine revolts and symbolically breaks her ties and comes back to her original state. If the medicalization of her body in the above-mentioned scene was linked to a definition of her subjectivity tied to the structures of power of the male characters, the retrieval of her mobility in this scene represents a possibility for resistance. After this act of defiance, a soldier takes her behind the background white curtain and tortures her. Her rebellion results in a very violent retaliation from the Israeli soldier. The torture scene is presented as a shadow theatre scene, in which a light illuminates the human figures from behind.

Only the shapes of both characters are visible to the audience. The brutality of the scene is built through the stylization of the fighting movements; the characters' shadows change size in an explicitly violent choreography playing with different volumes to transmit the crudeness of the confrontation to the audience. Palestine fights back, challenging the image of the woman as a passive recipient of male nurturing, protection and aggression and reinventing the traditional role of women as 'a woman to be rescued' (Schulz 1999, 70).

Women have been historically set aside from the use of violence to reach liberation (Lerner 1998, 109) as violence has been traditionally a tool of both the nation-state structures and patriarchy to legitimize their control and protect their interests (Reardon 1998, 290). However, in *Suicide Note* the female character uses violence to liberate herself and, as the last scene will show, to give birth to a new generation. Amal/Palestine goes through the cathartic process of being tortured for her beliefs and being able to resist it; she regains control over her body and recovers agency. She manages to defeat the soldier who realizes his mistake and states: *'I know that you will be fine because you are very strong'*. Repenting his actions, the soldier commits suicide. The stage is then covered by a dream-like blue light; Palestine-Amal speaks as a voiceover while she stares at the audience. Different young men dressed in white start to emerge from behind the white curtain; their movements are slow and painful representing the act of birth. The scene is called 'The birth of a new generation' and it represents how 'a new generation is born to the words of realization that the power is with the weak if they are together'⁵⁵.

The voice of Amal recites a poem in which she sends a call for action to the new generation⁵⁶:

"If the lowly do not

Think about what's low

They will never rise.

(...)

We say: we still have time.

(...)

The patient people still breathe.

(...)

⁵⁵ Extracted from the scene breakdown.

⁵⁶ Translation extracted from the scene breakdown.

*We have to wake up.
When the time comes,
We don't have to hesitate”*



Figure 3.2. Photograph from the last scene of *Suicide Note from Palestine*.

She is addressing the need to ‘wake up’ and gain consciousness about the position of the Palestinian population within the political situation and the need for action. The ‘birth’ of this new generation is, therefore, symbolic and it is paralleled with a process of political awareness, which aims at the liberation of Palestine as a symbolic category. The awakening of this new generation handles the above-mentioned demobilization of the Palestinian youth. She uses the pronoun ‘we’ to define a whole collectivity or generation that she is actually defining in her speech. She is creating this new generation by ways of her words, linking them with the context outside of the theatre to which the audience can relate. The new generation is fluid and an ‘actuality’ that is not defined by location but by ‘a concrete bond is created between members of a generation by their being exposed to the social and intellectual symptoms of a process of dynamic de-stabilization’ (Mannheim 1952, 303). By talking to the audience and including them in the collective, she is asking them to become ‘active witnesses who reflect on their own meaning-making and who are also willing to tolerate gaps and suspend the assignment of meaning. (Lehmann 2006, 6). The play first creates a sense of estrangement within the audience by presenting dreams and an incoherent narrative on stage; then it challenges that same audience by making them part of the performance and demanding a special political engagement. The new generation that is born in *Suicide Note* is therefore a reality that is created by means of the words of the character while it also reflects the strategic view of

the Freedom Theatre. As I have already mentioned in the present thesis, the Freedom Theatre works with youth from the refugee camp of Jenin offering different activities and professional theatre training. They advocate for what Micaela Miranda, Theatre School Director and co-director of *Suicide Note*, calls cultural resistance⁵⁷; they aim at connecting cultural and political responsibility while empowering the youth to create change in their community.

One interesting fact in this scene is that Amal does not include herself in the new generation that needs to emerge. Speaking from the position of the land, the young Palestinian female does not present herself as part of that generation, but as a mobilizer of that new generation (Peteet 2013, 100). This role is clearly linked to her gendered identity; however, no explicit reference to the gender of the main character is made in *Suicide Note*. The fact that she is a woman does not affect her behaviour or the attitude of the rest of the characters towards her. Contrarily to what we will see in *I am Jerusalem*, her body is never sexualized during the play and her gender does not seem to affect the behaviour of the rest of the characters. We need to question to what extent it is her identification with Palestine, rather than her gender, that triggers the attempts to patronize and control her. Gender, as a social category, seems to be emptied of any social significance and symbolic meaning. This releases the pressure against the female character based only on her gender, and can open a path to liberation (Crenshaw 1991, 1242). In this case, theatre opens a space in which the female body can ‘bargain with patriarchy (Kandiyoti 1988, 274). As we have seen, *Suicide Note*’s Palestine challenges those narratives by different means, including violent revolt. All these actions acquire a symbolism that confronts traditional representations of women and deconstructs the notion of ‘otherness’ to reinvent it as a new category for the liberation of the oppressed. We could say that the Palestinian narrative is in itself also a counternarrative, and that is where the idea of otherness becomes important.

However, we still need to be aware of the symbolic connotations of the identification of the woman with the land. The female body represents the ‘other’, in the sense that it epitomizes what mainstream masculinities ‘deny as part of themselves: the bodily, the emotional, the passionate, the natural and the irrational’ (Rose 1993, 11). The audience understand that on stage it is ‘Palestine’ as a geographical location that is the target of the male characters’ colonization. Yet, it is still a female body that the audience perceives

⁵⁷ Extracted from interview conducted by the author to director, Micaela Miranda. Jenin, 30 March 2014. See Appendix IV.

on stage. The visual identification of woman and land reproduces the categorization of both Palestine and the woman as 'others', excluded from or with a delimited role in (Kanaaneh 2002, 72) both the international political scene and the nationalist rhetoric. Her body is subject to the abuses and manipulation of the male characters, which represents a stark critique of Palestinian formal politics and institutions.

Her resistance is always articulated as a response to the male attacks throughout the play, except for the last scene in which she is defined by her reproductive role to create a new generation. Her role in the play is therefore inscribed in a broader narrative that, although anti-colonial, reproduces 'not only the nation and its nationalist agents but also the very national culture defining it' (Massad 1995, 468). This is indeed an immobilizing position insofar as her resistant discourse needs to function within cultural boundaries that still define the role of the woman as inferior and opposed to the man's hegemony. When it comes to allowing the woman as the 'other' to speak out, a more complex articulation of resistance is needed; one that would go beyond the reproduction of traditional roles. Insofar as women 'had so little to say in the rules of the game' (Rose 1993, 83) of patriarchy, it is necessary to have a deeper deconstruction of the power structures that are responsible for her oppression.

These power structures are represented in *Suicide Note* in the form of the different male characters, from the occupying forces of Israel to the international actors like the European Union or the United States. The female character repeatedly challenges their power and control by different and powerful means. Her suicide attempt and the revolt against her transformation into a state illustrate her claims of control over her body. I argue that the play critically deconstructs the hegemonic discourses that have shaped Palestinian narratives after the Oslo Accords. *Suicide Note* critically approaches official nationalist narratives by questioning the relationship of Palestine with the other international actors. Her position on stage is always central, dealing with the different aggressions and attempts to control her body. In theatre, a woman is presented and perceived by the audience as a living being who connects the character with the reality of the context in which the play is produced. This living being presents the dichotomy between the body of the actress and the body of the character who, in the cases analysed in this chapter, are also a representation of the Palestinian land. This real body presented on stage can actually 'break the illusion that spectators are being shown what is natural' (Solomon 2003, 11) and instead refer to some kind of allegorical being. This breach is what allows new representations of gender to arise, which might counter certain

homogenizing discourses that essentialize women and keep connecting them with more traditional roles. *Suicide Note* presents a young woman who has strong political agency and adopts a strong role in the mobilization of her community, and that was successfully transmitted to the audiences who attended the show in Jenin and Bologna (Italy).

The next section will focus on the production *I am Jerusalem*, which also presents the personal experience of a female character who is the embodiment, in this case, of the city of Jerusalem. This second production differs from *Suicide Note*, in which focuses on Amal's experience of the present and takes critical approach to current political issues; *I am Jerusalem* shows more interest in emphasizing narratives of the past experience of the female character. These past experiences, which belong to both the woman and the city of Jerusalem, are the ones which authorize the woman's political position and, more importantly, her role as a mobilizer of the collective. As we will see, *I am Jerusalem* offers a similar approach in terms of the female role with respect to the Palestinian community in general. At the same time, I argue that the way in which the woman is depicted throughout the play, looking to comply and obey the patriarchal structures inside of the Palestinian society, needs to be equally questioned.

IV. Ashtar Theatre's *I am Jerusalem* (2009): Woman as the Mythical Past

I am Jerusalem ('*Ana AlQuds*) was produced in 2009 by Ashtar Theatre, based in Ramallah. The play was written and directed by Nasser Omar and it starred Iman Aoun, also co-founder and artistic director of Ashtar Theatre. The play premiered in Amman (Jordan) as part of the celebrations of Jerusalem 'Capital City of Arab Culture 2009'. It then toured the West Bank and Israel, with performances in Ramallah, Jerusalem, Haifa and Bethlehem, and went to the first festival of the Arab Theatre Organization in Cairo and to the 'Carthage Theatre Days'. *I am Jerusalem* presents the history of Jerusalem as the embodied biography of the female protagonist. On stage, two dancers, Rasha Jahshan and Mohammad Eid, accompany the stories narrated by the actress. At the beginning of the play, she breaks the fourth wall, addressing the audience directly; she stares at them and solemnly states:

'It's an open game. A stage and an audience...you sit in your chairs, hiding animosity and boredom (...). You can't tolerate half of what I know. You are safe with what you have. Comfortable in your beliefs (...) when someone brings you a new and a different

*text, you gang up against him, especially if it is a woman. (...) Woman is your private and public shame and the place for sin?*⁵⁸

This initial statement establishes three important facts that will be strongly relevant for the rest of the play. Firstly, the actress is positioning herself as the ‘woman’; just after the audience establishes visual contact with her embodied presence on stage, she draws the audience’s attention to her gender: she is establishing with the audience the tacit acknowledging that she is the ‘I’ of the play’s title; her name is Jerusalem. Whereas in *Suicide Note* the main character’s identity was imposed on her by the rest of the characters, in *I am Jerusalem* the main character is defining herself as the city. Her body on stage is suddenly bestowed with various layers of meaning. She is defined by different dimensions of time and space around her embodied biography. As we will see, time and space are represented as fluid and ever changing throughout a human biography that, however, lasts for centuries in the imagination of the audience.

Secondly, she stands as the woman who is going to bring a new text to the audience. A text that, as she assumes beforehand, is going to be criticized and even censored by them. She is introducing an issue that will be significant for the rest of the play: the definition of knowledge. She is announcing that she will be challenging the audience’s idea of knowledge throughout the play as a way to liberate herself and, therefore, liberate the city of Jerusalem. This means that her new text will counter hegemonic Israeli narratives. That is possible because, thirdly, she is connecting the woman’s physicality with the notion of place. She asks the audience if the woman is ‘the place of sin’, a specific place in which the hegemonic construction of knowledge is contested – as we will see later on. She establishes from the very beginning the parallelism between Jerusalem and herself, leading the audience to a calculated confusion, as they can never know to what extent the character is talking as the woman or as the city. Therefore, her embodied biography merges with the history of a specific place, Jerusalem.

Connecting the female body and the city of Jerusalem is neither casual nor innocent and it has a strong sense of criticism against the colonial history of Jerusalem, a ‘conflict-riven city’ (Benvenisti 1996, 9). The play’s historical chronological narrative deepens this sense of anti-colonial critique as it recalls the different conquerors or masters of the city - from the Canaanites to the Israeli occupation- from the perspective of the woman who envisions them as lovers who transgressed her physical boundaries and invaded her. The

⁵⁸ English translation of the script was provided by Ashtar Theatre.

gendering of the city establishes an account of the anti-colonial struggle of the Palestinian people in the form of the embodiment of the character's biography. The biographical account works by connecting the embodied experience of the female character with the materiality of the land, more specifically the city of Jerusalem and the land of Palestine.

In *I am Jerusalem*, the stage is kept as a bare black box, which avoids any direct or realist reference to Jerusalem's material symbolism. The scenography is kept plain and the only permanent elements on stage are three wooden triangles and a large cross-shaped steel structure. These stage elements simply call to the subconscious common understanding of the audience since, as Aoun explained to Maurya Wickstrom, they represent 'the symbol for Canaan and its trinity: father, mother, and son' (Wickstrom 2012, 79). In this way, the performance empties the scene of any signs of 'Jerusalem-as-it-is' and 'instead, it returns the Canaanite trinity as a kind of unconquerable idea' (2012, 117). This return is relevant since Palestinian narratives rely on the Canaanite past as a representation of their legitimacy of their claims over the Palestinian land. As stated by Khalidi, Palestinian nationalism has claimed to have deep historical roots and anachronistically considers peoples such as the Canaanites, Jebusites and Philistines as 'the lineal ancestors of the modern Palestinians' (Khalidi 1997, 149 and 253, n.13).

By returning to Canaan, *I am Jerusalem* is referring to a mythical past that shapes the legitimacy of the Palestinian nationalistic discourse around the issue of the city of Jerusalem. There is a desire to return to an 'authentic' and ancient Palestinian society before occupation (Ball 2008, 5-6) that would legitimize Palestinian existence before the attempts of the Israeli rhetoric to erase it. That desire is translated into a gendered order that instrumentalizes the embodied identity of the woman, who is not only a signifier of the specific geographical location but has also an historical (Jabra 2005, 245) and chronological meaning articulated through her biography. At the same time, this return to Canaan also tries to challenge the settler colonial narratives that Israel has articulated around biblical texts in order to provide legitimacy to the occupation of Palestine. As stated by Masalha, 'the biblical paradigm, the story of the Exodus from Egypt and Joshua's conquest of the 'promised land' have all become central to the foundational myths of secular political Zionism' (2009, 64). The Israeli State as a political entity has construed a narrative from the Bible that provides support to its narrative of ethnical superiority and historical entitlement to the land.

The ever-returning idea of a remote common past serves to essentialize the actual city and claim a transcendent belonging and ownership of the city. Israel has used that strategy

before by calling themselves ‘the Canaanites’ (Benvenisti 1996, 5) and claiming that Jerusalem has always been a Jewish city, as stated by Edward Said:

‘Israel (...) convert it from a multi-cultural and multi-religious city into a principally Jewish one with sovereignty controlled exclusively by Israel; what it did was to project an idea of the city that not only contradicted the city's history but its very lived actuality, and turned it into what appeared to be unified, "eternally" central reality in the life principally of Jews the world over’ (Said 2011, 60).

However, the play might be actually entering the dead-end discussion around the ownership of Jerusalem. It is not an isolated case: the Palestinian historical legitimising argument based on that Canaanite myth has been criticised as an ‘absurd attempt to give a historical basis to their claim to Jerusalem’ (Benvenisti 1996, 4-5). Edward Said rejected the debate about Jerusalem's ownership as ‘unpleasant, unedifying and objectionable’ (Said 2011, 63). More importantly, this debate has been regarded as a further limiting view of the complexities of the city which only slices it back ‘in two parts’ (Said in Ghada Karmi 1996, 13).



Figure 3.3: Stage in ‘I am Jerusalem’. Screenshot from YouTube video

Through their stage arrangements, Ashtar Theatre empties the scene of any other symbol that would remind the audience of the actual image of Jerusalem nowadays. This strategy aims at deconstructing pre-conceived ideas about the city by drawing the audience’s attention towards the bodies of the actress and dancers. The idea of a common mythical Palestinian past that dates back to the Canaanites is conveyed through the main character, Jerusalem, whose physicality is presented as the essence of the city through an autobiographical narration that traces back to the city’s origins. She presents her memories as ‘a legitimate form of historical understanding’ (Johnson 2004, 321) by returning to the Canaanite trinity and articulating an historical account that covers different periods until arriving at the Israeli occupation.

By means of the use of the female body of the main character, *I am Jerusalem* contradicts the Israeli rhetoric by claiming that the actual history of Palestine has its origins in that same mythical past that Israel has tried to appropriate. To do so, *I am Jerusalem* chooses an autobiographical monologue, to further deepen the idea of the woman as a symbol of the mythical past. The female body is therefore the bearer of the communal past upon which nationalism is constructed (Kandiyoti 1991, 431) and that dates back to the same mythical past which the Israeli narrative has tried to appropriate. Her role is the one of cultural reproduction of the nation (Yuval-Davis and Stoetzler 2002, 329-344) and the preservation of authenticity; which, paradoxically, does not grant her inclusion in the collective. Her role as the keeper of the mythical past presents her as ‘the atavistic and authentic body of national tradition (inert, backward-looking and natural) embodying nationalism’s conservative principle of continuity’ (Mcclintock 2013, 359).

Besides, the character Jerusalem does not limit her account to the Canaanite trinity. Throughout the play, the different conquerors interact with a figure of the city of Jerusalem that is immutable, a powerless victim, an active agent of commemoration (Slyomovics 2002, 110), and a set of tropes that consolidate the idea of a colonial ‘other’ (Salzman 2007, 840). First the Egyptians, then the Assyrians, the Babylonians and the Persians led by Koresh⁵⁹; the play goes over the different colonizers that have penetrated and subjugated her physicality as an historical account of Jerusalem’s colonial past. All these different colonizers exercise their power in different ways, always imposing a ‘regime of truth’ from which the woman –as female and as land- was set aside. I understand here ‘regime of truth’ as defined by Foucault:

‘The types of discourse which (general politics) accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true’ (Foucault and Rabinow 1991, 73).

All of the different colonizers have imposed a certain discourse over/about Jerusalem. This truth is convened through different structures and authorities. For instance, *I am Jerusalem* refers to the formation of Christianity as the creation of a new truth. In this

⁵⁹ Koresh is a Hebrew name corresponding to the anglicised name Cyrus, which refers to Cyrus II of Persia (558-529 B.C.), also known as Cyrus the Great, founder of the Achaemenid Empire. He captured Babylon which ‘brought in its train hegemony over the rich cities of Syria and Palestine’ (Mallowan 1972, 9). According to the book of Ezra in the Hebrew Bible, he liberated the Jews from the Babylonian captivity and rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, which earned him ‘a favourable place in Jewish visions of the past’ (Kuhrt 2007, 172).

sense, religion proposes and imposes new codes and explanations that become so powerful that they ‘are able to marginalize other ways of understanding and talking about the world’ (Maaka and Andersen 2006, 162). On stage, the ghost of Jesus is projected and he states:

‘I discovered the need to establish new truths. My city is beautiful but it lacks a comprehensive logic⁶⁰’.

These new truths become then the explanation for violent aggressions and incursion in the land of Jerusalem, based on a presumed cultural superiority. The regime of truth that emanates from Jesus’ new logic establishes a division between those who adhere to that truth and those who do not, the latest being excluded and marginalized. Jesus’ name appears again in the play when the crusaders take over the city and literally penetrate the woman’s body, which metaphorically represents the colonization of the land. The truths enunciated by Jesus become one of the founding premises of the division between ‘the West and the rest’. As stated by Stuart Hall, ‘those who produce the discourse also have the power to *make it true* - i.e. to enforce its validity, its scientific status’ (2006, 169). She says:

‘The lunatics and fanatics of Europe became kings and princes on a land that was intellectually and culturally superior. The vagabonds lived off the bodies of Arabs. They ate the flesh of their children driven by hunger and fanaticism. They raped the children and the women’

By spotting the brutalities committed against her female body, the character makes visible the impact of the colonial project’s imposition based on the premise of cultural superiority. However, she counters that colonial narrative by defining the land as ‘intellectually and culturally superior’, which in my opinion triggers a complicated dialectic reproach. The ghost of Saint Jill appears on stage in the name of the Crusaders and states:

‘Truth is for those who deserve it and can afford to pay its dowry. If we were as you describe us, then how come we existed for two centuries? When Arabs saw our justice and how well we managed the country we established, they discovered the luxuries of living in our western society. (...) When we got bored and went back to our countries, we took with us the language and the sciences we digested, and we surpassed them, while

⁶⁰ The translation of the play to English was provided by Ashtar Theatre.

you refused to open up to the new ideas. You did not risk identity like we did to lead modernity and progress.'

The character of the ghost only appears as a shape projected on stage speaking as a voice-over. He is marking the division between 'knowledge', defined as truth, and 'ignorance', which indicates a Eurocentric vision of the West vs. East division. In his last sentence, '*You did not risk identity like we did to lead modernity and progress*', the ghost is making a parallelism between the preservation of identity and backwardness. In other words, those who 'risk identity' are those who are entitled to progress. Modernity was defined as a European feature, only available for those who 'risked their identity' and opened up to other cultures. The play is uncovering an orientalist approach of the western newcomers based on a 'set of structures inherited from the past, secularized, redisposed and re-formed (...) which in turn were naturalized, modernized and laicized substitutes for (or versions of) Christian supernaturalism' (Said 1979, 122). These structures promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them'), inherited from Christianity.

The female character responds to that narrative not from the position of a postcolonial subject, but as a colonial subject herself. As stated by Azoulay, Jerusalem does not exist in 'one ethnic, religious or national space' but it responds to a multiplicity of '(hi)stories' (Azoulay 2008, 167). *I am Jerusalem* challenges the limitations of a single narrative by presenting all the different voices. All these voices represent different regimes of truth that were imposed through colonial power, and that operated in a binary division between what they defined 'inferior and superior', always locating the 'other' as inferior. These multiple voices are articulated through both present and past, revealing that, even though Eurocentric visions of the East are backwards and ignorant, they are still present and dominant. To counter that Eurocentric vision, as she stated in the first scene of the play, the actress is trying to bring 'a new and a different text', a new definition of knowledge. In fact, in the last scene of the play, she speaks to the audience, pointing a gun at them:

'Do we become silent? (...) why are we afraid that the price of knowledge is expulsion? Adam and Eve were expelled from Heaven because their knowledge was associated with doing and disobeying'.

She was excluded - both as woman and as Palestine - from the definition of knowledge; her strategy of resistance is thus based on a redefinition of knowledge as a form of disobedience. Disobedience is both driven by knowledge and castigated with expulsion. Jerusalem was punished because of its knowledge and so was the woman as well. Insofar

as truth and knowledge are gendered, gender often limits subjects' ability to tell their story' (Kennedy 2014, 111). *I am Jerusalem* is challenging that limitation and it offers an opportunity for the main character to speak up and challenge the different conquerors' regimes of power; her autobiographical narrative is her way of articulating a new truth. This new truth challenges the Israeli settler occupation and carries the risk of retaliation and further oppression from the occupying forces.

By looking at the audience and referring to them as 'we', she is trying to re-establish the sense of community by breaking the fourth wall. She therefore extends to the audience the otherness that has been imposed on her by means of the colonization of her body and, more broadly, to Jerusalem and the Palestinian community. She is trying to overcome her exclusion as 'a specifically *female* tragedy' and she rather wants to include the whole audience in that 'struggle for representational, territorial and political power in which both men and women are implicated - though not always in equal ways' (Ball 2012a, 21). In fact, even though the participation of women in Palestinian political movements is widespread and recognized, they suffer not only the effects of the Israeli occupation, but also the 'autocratic and patriarchal tendencies of the Palestinian Authority, which has done little to promote able women or women's rights' (Keddie 2012, 132).

That inequality needs to be kept in mind when understanding the actual role of the female body as Jerusalem in *I am Jerusalem*. Even though the last scene of the play presents her as an active agent in the mobilization of her community, she has been portrayed as a helpless victim during most of the play. As a woman, she is strong, cynical and disillusioned, but these are not characteristics that grant her with any more power. In this last scene she is clearly angry and this anger is moving her to resist dominant narratives that have managed to control her life choices. When considering the development of her anger, we need to return to the beginning of the play. In the second scene of the play, a young Jerusalem longs for love and tries to dignify herself and be granted freedom by beautifying her body:

'Oh, how I love my empty, postponed city. It is just like my life and my dreams, postponed. (...) I dreamt of finding a real man, who opens his house for me. Who makes a bed for me and shelters it. How sweet and comforting to drift to sleep with my hand in his! (...) A real man, I lock myself up in my house for him, and desire him (...). He is the car driver, the source of joy, the provider of abundance. The honey man who will make my life sweet forever'.

This scene portrays how the imperative to fit into the cultural codes that will make her a 'proper woman' - and confine her to the domestic realm: '*A real man, I lock myself up in my house for him*' - leads to her self-objectification and confinement to an inferior power position (Yuval-Davis 1997, 47). She believed that beautifying and changing her body in order to comply with the requirements of the 'real man' would grant her freedom but it was not the case and she was not granted freedom.

Later on in that scene, she is raped and abandoned. This rape is only the first of the multiple sexual assaults she will suffer during the play. The occurrence of rape here is relevant since the Israeli occupation is usually considered masculine and its actions against Palestine 'is considered metaphorically to be of a violent sexual nature' (Massad 1995, 470). This idea is not exclusive to the Palestinian case, for instance, Frantz Fanon talked about the 'Western penetration into the native society' (Fanon 1965, 42). After being raped for the first time, the character says:

'My life plans became illusions...my body is not my means to freedom. The beauty of my city did not protect her from invaders, they were all strong and famous and pretending to be noble'

She is angry because of the disruption of her life plans, which were in line with the normative idea of what a woman's life should be like. Her beautifying practices indeed did not make her free and, after being raped, she ended up being married to '*the first man who knocked the door*'. In her book 'Beauty and Misogyny', Sheila Jeffreys analyses how different beauty practices contribute to perpetuating women's subordinate status (Jeffreys 2014, xi). Even though her analysis is limited to 'the West', we can see similar patterns of subordination through beauty practices in *I am Jerusalem*. Rhoda Ann Kanaaneh gives an account of the strategies of Palestinian women in Israel for 'birthing the nation': 'The new body care and consumption are ideally for the sake and upkeep of a happy couple-centered marriage (...) These same transformations are criticized as vain, materialistic and dangerous if they are not family directed' (Kanaaneh 2002, 176). For the main character of *I am Jerusalem*, the long for normality is attached to an ideal romance and a normative marriage.

When the actress declares her longing for 'locking herself up' for the sake of love, she is actively imposing immobility upon herself. She, as a woman, is consciously looking for confinement within the home as her ultimate demonstration of love towards a potential husband. This longing for domesticity is a reproduction of the public-private divide, which according to Kennedy (Kennedy 2014, 2) is inscribed in the same kind of

categorization as other binary divisions - woman vs. male, emotion vs. reason, domesticity vs. politics, etc. The reproduction of that division in artistic representation also entails a symbolic reproduction of those binary structures beyond the walls of the theatre. Theatre and gender 'take shape as critical images of one another, as mimetic - though not identical - twins' (Solomon 2003, 5) and therefore, by reasserting the gendered division between public and private sphere, *I am Jerusalem* operates within the walls of the theatre reproducing cultural traits that can be observed beyond these walls.

The whole scene suggests that the patriarchal system is not deconstructed in the play. The character speaks from the position of a woman who longs for a normal 'normative' life within the boundaries of the patriarchal structure. Similarly to what Anna Ball described in connection to Michel Khleifi's film *Wedding in Galilee*, in *I am Jerusalem*: 'Her experience of this as a source of trauma, however, ultimately serves to normalize the patriarchal structures of Palestinian nationhood' (2008, 9). At the same time, the choice of the female character to confine herself indicates the constitution of her subjectivity: 'gendered identities, including aspirations and desires, are fully embedded in and indeed inconceivable apart from place (...) different gender identities are shaped through different places' (Hanson and Pratt 1995, 16). Her identity as a woman and her life plans are therefore connected with the domesticity of her house. The immobility of the character is linked to the space in which she is confined, not only as the woman but also as the city. The play is in this way also portraying the city of Jerusalem as some kind of contained space, following colonial discourses that are often based upon fixity (Blunt and Rose 1994, 12), which overlooks the different identity layers and reinforces the construction of 'otherness'. Both the woman and the city are fated to be defined only by one dominant narrative that places them in the position of the 'other'. The confinement of the woman, even if only the desire for it, to the domestic realm perpetuates certain subject positionalities and emphasizes the division 'us vs. them' by placing the woman in a static position deprived of agency.

Her desire for domesticity also reproduces the belief in women's domesticity as part of the preservation of the nation (Yuval-Davis 1997; Davidson and Hatcher 2002). In Palestine, women understood their position within the struggle as Palestinians before than as women. Therefore, the focus of women's movement was on nation-state building strategies rather than on women's rights. Even though Palestinian women claimed a new relationship to public space, they 'maintained in general form the norms of segregation' (Peteeet 2013, 42). Therefore, even if we understand home as a 'social location' (Kennedy

2014, 4-7) and therefore such domesticity as her desire to help her own community, this is indeed a non-emancipatory position as it still implies a passive position from which action is excluded. In fact, domesticity implies an inhibited mobility that defines the woman as an object rather than a subject. The connection of women with the domestic realm also perpetuates nationalist ideas that sharply divide public and private space. Women are constrained into the private space and seen as being in need of protection. The way to protect women and, by extension, the nation is to ensure the reinforcement of patriarchal structures that regulate the role of women in the public sphere.

The reclusion of women to the private realm is connected to the idea of protecting them from sexual impurity. However, the play emphasizes the process of 'othering' of the woman by representing sexual violence on stage. These episodes of sexual violence are represented with a choreography in which the male dancer attacks the female dancer from behind. As stated by Khalili, the land is perceived as a 'fertile female body that can be subjected to rape by invaders and occupiers' (2007, 22). The colonial 'penetration' reinforces the process of distancing of the collective from the female subject. Sexual violence invades woman's private sphere and transforms her body into shared shame and the line that divides the 'us vs. them' becomes 'violently enacted' (McGuff Skinner 2007, 43). An enactment of such violence is portrayed in the last scene of *I am Jerusalem* - just before she screams at the audience - the character is raped and left pregnant by the Israeli occupier:

'Everyone who came left, but for them. They came to stay. And without us noticing they took us, like he took me as I was falling asleep (...). My enemy is inside of me'.

Up until that moment, as we have seen, she was presented as the bearer of a mythical Palestinian past; her body was presented as the 'true nation' that evaded colonial influence, 'the authentic, inner country, whose purity, sexuality, and traditional roles must be secured' (Domosh and Seager 2001, 164). Within a context of dispossession, the association of reproduction with nationalism becomes an instrument of liberation for the colonial population (Kanaaneh 2002, 63). However, the scene of the rape by Israel changes her role within the community and reproduces representations of the Israeli occupation of Palestine as a rape that have been present in Palestinian nationalist rhetoric⁶¹.

⁶¹ See the introduction of The Palestine Liberation Organization, "Al-Mithaq al-Qawmi al-Filastini" (Palestinian Nationalist Charter), quoted in Massad 1995, 470.

As exposed by Massad, Article 5 of the Palestinian National Charter defines Palestinians as ‘those Arab citizens who used to reside (...) in Palestine until 1947 (...) and everyone who is born of an Arab Palestinian father after this date - whether inside Palestine or outside it - is a Palestinian’ (Palestine National Council 1968, n.p.). This means that after the ‘rape’ of the Palestinian land by the Israel occupier in 1947, the responsibility of the reproduction of the nation was transferred to the fathers, excluding the women from it. Massad recognizes though that ‘the disqualification of the land as mother in her national reproductive role, in the Charter, does not deny that the land, as mother, can produce children, but rather that, since the rape, it can no longer be relied upon to reproduce legitimate Palestinian children’ (Massad 1995, 472).

In this last scene, not only the undesired pregnancy links the physical penetration of her body with the occupation of Palestinian land, but it also breaks the sacredness of her body and excludes her from the collective as she recognizes:

“When I woke up and realized what happened to me, I remembered his words: “When you give birth to my son, the enemy will decrease by one.”

Wherever the female's body was traditionally linked to her role as biological and social reproducer of the community (Spike Peterson 1998, 43; Kanaaneh 2002, 65), she now carries the burden of not having been able to secure the reproduction of her community. As stated by Baron, ‘once the nation was envisioned as a family, the concept of family honour could easily be appropriated as the basis for national honour (Baron 2005, 7). In this case, the dishonour of the rape excludes her from the collective. The unborn represents the enemy and he/she is the force that takes Jerusalem’s agency away. She bears the fruit of the colonizer and this confers to her the ‘otherness’ that excludes her from her community and from any narrative of resistance, as she is portrayed as a passive recipient of the colonial violence. In *I am Jerusalem*, the main character loses the legitimacy as mother of the nation since she is pregnant with the Israeli seed.

However, she still appropriates the whole space of the stage and her voice is actually heard on stage as opposed to all the voice-over recordings of the male characters. In this regard, the play challenges the Eurocentric historiography of Jerusalem by placing the historical narration in the words of a woman. Besides, she is a woman who challenges the imperialist structures that oppressed her/the city by offering a new truth, ‘her’ truth as the embodiment of the city. Her helplessness becomes a mobilizing strategy with which she acts as an agent for social cohesion. It could be argued that this spatial appropriation also challenges patriarchal spatial arrangements. Her critique against imperialism is

articulated in terms of both her dialogue with the different ghosts of the conquerors and the use she makes of the stage. The fact that they are all represented as ghosts represents the idea that they belong to the past; the same past that Jerusalem is trying to reconstruct through her story. In general terms, she is responding to the hegemonic colonial structures by articulating an alternative narration of the history of the city, which is legitimized by the biographical structure of the play.

Yet, even though one can say that she is able to speak out and take control of her body on stage, some aspects of the female representation in the play remain problematic. When it comes to the analysis of the relation between this representation and the nationalist-patriarchal rhetoric, we need to take into account how *I am Jerusalem* constructs the image of the woman as a metaphor for the mythical city of Jerusalem. This mythification reasserts the idea of an immutability that does not fully consider the fluidity of narrative constructions around the land and the multi-layered dimension of the power structures that are at stake in the Palestinian context. The question is if it is possible to articulate an anti-colonial struggle that rejects other power structures like patriarchy, when patriarchy is still one of the founding pillars of the anti-colonial struggle. In this sense, it is relevant that *I am Jerusalem* allows a space for the woman to speak out, which has to be valued in the context of Palestine. It needs to be considered within a patriarchal system that only allows a restricted and controlled space for women to speak out. I suggest that within the patriarchal system in Palestine, the articulation of new gendered identities needs to ‘work with these categories, recognizing that they are constructed ones’ (Hanson and Pratt 1995, 22). This would be an explanation for the lack of direct challenge of the patriarchal categories presented in the play. Theatre might give carte blanche for the articulation of a ‘subversive otherness’ (Gilbert and Gubar 1980, n.p.) but the actual articulation of that otherness can still be inscribed in certain codes and meanings that reproduce existing gender patterns.

V. Concluding Remarks

The current chapter has reflected on the representation of the Palestinian land as a woman and the meaning of such representation in theatre. Patriarchal culture has traditionally represented women as ‘artificial, malleable and changeable’ (Solomon 2003, 3) in order to portray them as the opposite in the binary division in which men represent the normal and the source of knowledge. In the plays analysed above, the role of the female in this binary opposition is described as a source of ‘otherness’ that is then transposed into the

land. Women have been traditionally described as ‘mothers of the nation’ while at the same time being excluded from that same collective and limited to a symbolic role of ‘boundary guards’ (Yuval-Davis and Stoetzler 2002, 334). This representation has fostered a process in which women are considered as ‘others’ and therefore, inferior, unknowable, enigmatic and disquieting (King 2013, 31). Women are both symbols for the nation and ‘non-identical element(s) within the nation’ (Yuval-Davis 1997, 47). I have argued that this assimilation of the Palestinian land with the female body triggers different processes of othering. The present chapter has questioned to what extent that exclusion has permeated the contemporary dramatic scene and what are the symbolic implications of the representation of that otherness on stage. More importantly, one of the main questions throughout this chapter has been if that position of otherness can indeed help the female characters to articulate narratives that challenge not only the Israeli occupation but also patriarchal structures within Palestinian society.

We have seen how *I am Jerusalem* articulates an alternative narrative of Palestinian history, which seeks to be legitimized by means of its presentation as a biographical account. The play points out how different ‘regimes of truth’ have been elaborating a narrative about the Palestinian land that has worked to exclude Palestinians. By connecting the land to her own life, she is trying to propose a new truth that would counter the already mentioned ‘occupation of representations’ (Azoulay 2008, 166). At the same time, she is positioning herself as the keeper of a ‘mythical past’ that does not deconstruct patriarchal structures, which as we saw, can remain a problematic point in the narrative of the play. However, I argued that it is within these structures that she is managing to speak out for herself and the collective. In *Suicide Note from Palestine*, we can identify a similar process when the characters representing the different international actors try to delegitimize Palestine’s decision of committing suicide by medicalizing her body and declaring her ‘mad’. Again, all these actors are imposing a certain truth that invalidates the woman’s decision. The difference here is that the female character in *Suicide Note* makes an explicit critique against the formal politics of Palestine since the Oslo Accords. In this sense, the play challenges the Palestinian nationalist rhetoric and ridicules the Palestinian political elites and the international system. Palestine, as both the land and a character, has a different role within the national collective. She shows the disconnection with the actual political project and her political action, not being a national symbol anymore. From a dystopian reality, *Suicide Note* criticizes the political system and the

role it imposes on her. Both plays try to claim the validity of their own narrative, a narrative articulated from a position of 'otherness' both for Palestine and the female body. In both *I am Jerusalem* and *Suicide Note from Palestine*, the identification of their female bodies with the land of Palestine confers a collective meaning to their physicality, within which different images of a common 'we' can be constructed. As we have seen, both Iman/Jerusalem and Amal/Palestine confront the audience throughout both plays in order to involve them in their struggles. They become the interlocutor with the audience by invoking a collective memory of which they have become symbols. In relation to this dynamic, Baron questions: 'Do women become symbols because they have already been excluded, or are they excluded because they are symbols? How do women, by crafting memoirs and commemorating certain events, seek to reshape history and memory?' (Baron 2005, 3). At the same time, it is that symbolic role which allows the two characters to be considered 'equal contributor(s) to the collective narrative' (Yuval-Davis 2010, 271) and they are represented as subjects who are able to speak rather than passive symbols of the collective. Moreover, they do not fulfil the pre-established passive roles as the suffering mother or loyal wife, but are considered as community mobilizers. They assume an active role on the deconstruction of the different power structures in order to defy a complex set of narratives that try to define Palestinian discursive boundaries.

Therefore, one can state that theatre practitioners in Palestine engage in a calculated process of 'self-othering' of the female character. Portraying that position of 'otherness' constitutes a conscious decision made by the creative team of both theatre groups when writing and/or devising both plays. I argue that both plays construct female identity as 'others' who are not excluded from the collective, on the contrary, they are granted a central and active role in the political mobilization of the Palestinian collective. I argue that both plays work as if resistance to dominant narratives could only be possible from that position as an 'other'. Being the 'other' becomes a way to access channels of expression that would not be available otherwise. In this regard, theatre becomes a representational space in Lefebvrian terms (Lefebvre 1991) that allows alternative visions within the complex process of reception and consumption (Hallam and Street 2000, 7) on the part of the audience. Both plays try to deal with the fact that their representations of the female body might have fostered an image of female identity as fixed and unchangeable, and therefore, have contributed to their essentialization. I find this more clear in the case of *I am Jerusalem*, where the female character becomes actively resistant

against the different systems of oppression because of these systems not allowing her to comply with the duties and roles imposed on her by the patriarchal structures of her own society. Whereas Amal in *Suicide Note* presents a young woman who is highly critical of the internal dynamics of the Palestinian society as well as the Israeli occupation, *I am Jerusalem* does not question what are considered to be the inherent characteristics of the woman, still proposing a fixed gender identity on stage.

In any case, this chapter has illustrated the connection between the female body and space in Palestinian contemporary theatre, questioning the different roles and power dynamics that come into play. The representation of the Palestinian space as gendered can actually be a reiteration of certain patriarchal narratives that locate women in a marginal symbolic space. Besides, different strategies are used to transform the message that is sent from that symbolic position, allowing alternative narratives, new truths that challenge hegemonic patriarchal structures from within. The embodied character of the land bridges the individual and collective narratives, opening a space for discussion inside the theatre. Women are allowed to take political action and speak to their community, which reflects the mobilizing interest of the different theatre groups. They become agents inside of their communities, sometimes accepting their traditional role as a point of departure to be able to challenge immobility through their political action.

Chapter Four. Palestinian Theatre on the International Stage: Globalization, International Aid and the Burden of Representation

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I. Introduction

The present chapter will locate Palestinian contemporary theatre in the broader context of postcolonial and global encounters in which Palestinian theatre is currently inserted. While the previous chapters have talked about how the mobility regime operates on a local-national/ individual-collective level, the last chapter of this thesis wants to offer a more expansive analysis of the Palestinian theatre scene and its new location within the context of globalization’s ‘mobility regime’ (Shamir 2005). Globalization is epitomized by the emergence of ‘a global order, a new logic and structure of rule – in short, a new form of sovereignty’ (Hardt and Negri 2001, xi). The first part of the chapter will engage with a definition of ‘globalization’ as a system ‘consisting of systemic processes of closure and containment’ (Shamir 2005, 197), which connects it with the notion of immobility that I have used throughout this thesis. Therefore, the last chapter of this thesis will revise the geographical scope of the thesis, inscribing the dynamics of the Palestinian contemporary theatre production in a broader international scene.

The first section will look into the implications of that global mobility regime, which only grants mobility to a restricted number of individuals. This gap determines the relationship of bodies with space and contributes to a global process of othering that has an impact on cultural expression. From that definition of globalization as a structure of unequal mobilities, this chapter offers a theoretical approach to the impact on theatre and, more concretely, on Palestinian theatre production.

I will expose below the difficult position of Palestinian theatre, being increasingly present in international circuits while still speaking from a position that does not confer it full legitimacy. The study of the play *Keffiyeh/Made in China* (2012) will illustrate this theoretical framework by presenting the complexities that globalization implies for Palestine while also showing how the play itself illustrates the increasing presence of Palestinian plays and productions in international circuits. I argue that the play is criticizing the commodification of the symbols of resistance, like the keffiyeh, in global economic circles.

The second part of this chapter will inscribe Palestinian theatre in the system of international aid. In Palestine, NGO intervention has increased since the Oslo Accords and NGOs have become new agents in the Palestinian social fabric. The intervention of international organizations in the functioning of social movements has had an impact on local organizations, which have often accepted international donors' agendas and have been separated from their social base. The play *The House of Yasmine* (2011) articulates a harsh critique of the system of international aid, stressing the negative effect that the development logic has had on the possibilities of Palestinian society to decide on its own development. *The House of Yasmine* offers a possibility for an open and honest discussion through the use of the participatory techniques of Forum Theatre. It allows an open conversation about the different options, which supports the idea of theatre's efficacy in terms of political critique. I argue that theatre can become an open forum to question different social dynamics that affect Palestinian society, although, these same dynamics also affect theatre production, as it is the case with international funding.

In fact, international aid is also involved in theatre production and, since the Oslo Accords, there has been a 'proliferation of foreign-funded theatre and drama workshops in the OPT which, according to Jawad, 'offers insight into the 'NGO-ization' of cultural production and how artistic and performance practices are read in globalized circuits' (Jawad 2012, 29). As we will see, the increase in the possibilities of access to funding have contributed to creating more dynamic productions, while at the same time, the shadow of economic and conceptual dependence hangs over theatre practitioners. The dependence on external funding can be considered a new form of 'immobility' in an increasingly international dramatic scene as it risks curtailing theatre's efficacy in conveying resistant discourses through drama. What is more, it could even unconsciously reproduce censorship schemes as the troupes could fall into self-censorship in order to secure access to funding.

I argue that there is an increasing ‘burden of representation’ that would force theatre practitioners to convey a certain message or idea of an ‘authentic’ Palestinian experience to satisfy both the Western gaze and the donors’ agendas. I question to what extent Palestinian theatre, within a context of permanent tension and instability in an economic, social and political sense, might be losing part of its potential to speak truth to power. The intricate dynamics of power in a globalized panorama might make power dynamics multidimensional and not easily recognizable. However, ‘theatre’s effects will always be complex, historically variable, politically contested, undecidable’ (Colleran and Spencer 1998, 3), which makes it even more relevant to analyse the different responses that have been arising. The study of the production *Richard II* (2012) by Ashtar Theatre at the Globe Theatre of London will explore possible responses to this burden of always having to comply with a certain image of what being Palestinian means.

In the last section of the present chapter, I will explore Palestinian theatre’s efficacy for conveying politically dissenting messages. Palestinian theatre’s dependence on international funding might reduce the possibilities to present plays that offer a critical view of the Palestinian situation. Borrowing a framework formulated by Staeheli, Attoh and Mitchell (2013) to understand the politics of youth engagement in Lebanon, I argue that theatre’s agency and performance can be understood as interrelated yet independent. In this sense, theatre groups’ activities might be economically dependent and circumscribed to external funding, but still, when it comes to their actual performance both in terms of content of the plays and conditions of the production, they might present a dissenting position, challenging pre-established narratives or openly criticizing the political situation. In my opinion, by referring to agency and performance as two independent categories, we can acknowledge theatre’s potential for articulating resistance whenever their voices are still conditioned by external limitations, like the Israeli occupation or the dependence on international funding.

II. Performing Immobility on the Global Stage

The term ‘globalization’ has been broadly defined and discussed with respect to its different dimensions – political, economic, social, cultural, etc. (Robertson 1992, Featherstone, Lash, and Robertson 1995; Appadurai 1996; Drainville 2004). For the purpose of the present thesis, we need to engage with a definition of globalization related to mobility; globalization can be defined as ‘an era of growing restrictions on movement’

(Shamir 2005, 197) which have an impact on the conditions of cultural production. To counter the idea of a 'mobility turn', enunciated by other mobility scholars (Urry 2003, Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006, 1; Fraser 2011, 34), Shamir points towards a 'mobility gap' that has become a 'major stratifying force in the global social hierarchy' (2005, 200). This gap reflects the emergence of a new hierarchy that operates in terms of inclusion-exclusion put in place by nation-states, supranational bodies and multinational companies. The global mobility regime needs to ensure mechanisms to implement that mobility gap; therefore it ensures 'a whole network of surveillance to monitor, access, and exclude these undesirables who become the 'immobiles' (Turner 2010, 247). Immobility becomes a defining pattern of global dynamics, which is then performed and reproduced globally.

We need to insert our analysis into a critical discourse devoid of 'apolitical celebrations of mobility, flow, and easy border crossings' (Conquergood 2002, 145) and focus on the actual power structures that perpetuate the profound mobility inequality among people and goods. This will work to highlight the inequalities that are inherent in the current system of globalization. This approach is necessary because even though globalization is arguably the basis for the scholarly 'mobility turn' (Aouragh 2011, 381), globalization's increase of mobility is unequally distributed and mostly applicable to a certain group of individuals, defined as 'cosmocrats' by Micklethwait and Wooldridge (2003, 233). In connection to this, the notion of global apartheid was coined in the 1990s, alluding to the South African system, mainly to refer to the inequalities within the international economic system and to challenge them (Alexander 1996; Köhler 1995; Bond 2003). These economic scholars argue that globalization has shaped a global system of oppression in which 'exclusions and disenfranchisement no longer begin or stop at national borders, but are more pervasively global in scope' (Dayan 2009, 284). The new global hierarchy operates on an inclusion-exclusion basis, defining an unequal system of access to global mobility. This unequal access to mobility generates an array of related tensions that these transitive circuits of power are steadily sustaining. Within this new and exclusionary global order, a certain stratum of the population is excluded from the patterns of mobility, shifted 'from exploitation to structural irrelevance' (Castells 2004, 140). This means that there is a global process of global exclusion that pushes certain population groups to the periphery and challenges the relationship of bodies with space. Palestine and Israel are an example of a neo-colonial form of domination that works through partition, segregation, control of a population's movements and the control of the

area's resources. Palestinians have a special position within this system of global mobility, being both deprived of their freedom of movement by the occupying forces and excluded from broader global economic circuits. Palestinian citizens are doubly unprivileged within the global system. In economic terms, for instance, Palestinian workforce in the West Bank had been traditionally employed in Israel as cheap labour until 1993 (Bartram 1998, 308) which made Palestinian economy highly dependent on the Israeli labour market. After the Oslo Accords, Israel started importing foreign labour from other Asian countries as a 'means for advancing other state interests, in addition to facilitating capital accumulation' (Bartram 1998, 323) and the process of segregation of the OPT was reinforced. The presence of a new community of overseas workers in Israel has given rise to a new array of problems, since these workers are not granted with citizen's rights and they are 'placed at the bottom of the labour market and the social order' (Raijman and Semyonov 2004, 782). In parallel, the Palestinian economy and employment rates were severely damaged by the Israeli policy of dispensing with Palestinian labour (Miaari and Sauer 2011, 130). The Palestinian social economy was based on the position of Palestine in the global economy, putting the Palestinian population at the mercy of the neoliberal and neo-colonial politics of Israel.

Global inequalities have led, according to Zygmunt Bauman, to a 'polarization of human experience' (Bauman 1998, 4), a division between tourists and vagabonds, between the mobile elite and the immobile masses. Bauman talks about 'two spaces, two times' (Bauman 2000, 19); two different approaches to mobility – which he defines as the 'ability to use time to annul the limitations of space' (2000, 21). Indeed, the use of time and space is different for a Palestinian who needs to cross a checkpoint every day to go to work and an Israeli settler whose freedom of movement is not curtailed. Similarly, the use of time and space differs for a Palestinian who lives in Gaza and cannot leave the strip to a Palestinian with a Jerusalem identity card, who can travel around the West Bank and Jerusalem. The immobility imposed on the Palestinians has spatial and temporal dimensions that have an impact on their experience and therefore on their understanding of their own positionality. Besides, this polarization of experience has an undoubtable impact on culture due to the generated structural instability, based on 'a host of related tensions between global networks and local nationalisms, virtual power and physical power, private appropriation and open sourcing, secrecy and transparency, territorialisation and deterritorialisation' (Brown 2010, 8). Throughout this thesis, we

have seen examples of this kind of instability in contemporary Palestinian theatre, which is always fluctuating between the local, the national and the global.

The collective narratives originated at a local level are then interconnected in an extended network of synergies with other narratives that operate in different global arenas. Within that local-global tension, national affiliations acquire specific political relevance while, at the same time, they are mediated by the immediacy of the local response. It is actually within this immediacy that breaches in the political discourse at a national and global level appear. One example of these would be the different synergies that are established among local theatre groups of the so-called 'global south'. These connections refer to 'an entire history of colonialism, neo-imperialism, and differential economic and social change through which large inequalities in living standards, life expectancy, and access to resources are maintained' (Dados and Connell 2012, 13). For instance, the Freedom Theatre from Jenin developed the 'Freedom Jatha' project⁶², collaborating with different Indian theatre practitioners and bringing the students from Jenin to perform across India. The project highlights different levels of international solidarity and collaboration, united by the common narrative of a colonial past and a non-privileged location in the current global system. Besides, this collaboration has a strong communal and local sense, oriented to target these communities that are excluded from the global circuits of mobility. It is indeed an example of the multilayered and multidimensional character of theatre synergies, bringing together similar struggles and bridging different languages of resistance inscribed in the global order.

Globalization has had an impact on theatre production as discussed in Dan Rebellato's book *Theatre and Globalization*, where he raises some of the main issues and challenges that globalization presents for contemporary theatre. He states the impact that economic globalization has had on theatre (Rebellato 2009, 9) and in contrast points out the performing character of globalization and the 'quasi-theatrical' character of consumer society, embodying the fiction of the different brands as a site for performance (Wickstrom 2006, 2). When it comes to theatre production, the term 'global stage' has been connected with the idea of theatre becoming worldwide, reflecting what Robertson defined as an 'intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole' applied to the theatre stage (Robertson 1992, 8). That consciousness can foster interaction and indeed positive cultural exchange. This exchange is carried through simultaneously at an

⁶² For more information, check the Freedom Theatre's webpage: <http://www.thefreedomtheatre.org/news/the-freedom-jatha-tours-india/> (Last accessed June 2017).

international, national, local and individual level, which in many cases eases the tensions between global networks and local nationalisms (Brown 2010, 8). We will see this kind of dynamic throughout the present chapter, since Palestinian theatre is nowadays located at, and is to a large extent the result of, the interaction between those levels.

The way Palestinian theatre is placed on the global stage has three different dimensions. Firstly, since the Nakba, the Palestinian population has been scattered around the world; theatre practitioners have also emerged in different contexts, while they have also become voices of the Palestinian collective in exile, creating theatre ‘despite their imposed fracturedness’ (Handal 2015, xxix). A recent example of these voices can be seen in the book *Inside/Outside: Six Plays from Palestine and the Diaspora*, edited by Naomi Wallace and Ismail Khalidi, which includes different examples of theatre pieces written by Palestinians inside of the OPT and in the diaspora. Secondly, Palestinian theatre has strived to survive inside of Israel, benefitting from an active Israeli theatre scene. It has done so by borrowing and adapting “models, ideas, and methods from world drama, including Israeli theatre⁶³, in an ongoing process (...) of liberation and healing’ in the context of Palestine (Nassar 2006, 16-17). Thirdly, inside the OPT, there has been a lasting and ongoing interaction and collaboration between international artists and Palestinian groups, as revealed in the interviews I conducted during my fieldwork in the West Bank in 2014. All these interactions have reconfigured the position of Palestinian theatre on the international stage, establishing a bridge between the international, national and individual, resulting from an intensified consciousness of both the world and their own presence in it as Palestinians. From this consciousness arise initiatives like Alrowwad Cultural and Theatre Society, founded in 1998 in Aida Refugee Camp. Directed by Abdelfattah Abusrour, the theatre focuses on children’s theatre and has produced some internationally touring plays like *We are the Children of the Camp* (1999), which portrays different stories from the children of the refugee camp. It is an example of a grassroots community-based organization that works with the population of the refugee camp and supports ‘the national liberation struggle’ (Balfour and Hazou 2012, 132), while at the same time having a presence in international circuits that support the Palestinian struggle. Example of such support are networks like ‘Friends of Alrowwad’ in the US and the UK. They label their theatre work as ‘beautiful resistance against the

⁶³ Many examples can be found of theatre production, especially by Palestinians with Israeli citizenship, in which Palestinian theatre production has been tightly connected to Israel. For more information see ‘The Arab in Israeli Drama and Theatre’ (Urian 1997) and ‘Palestinians and Israelis in the Theatre: A Special Issue of the Journal Contemporary Theatre Review’ (Urian 1995); and ‘Interview with Bushra Karaman’ (Daoud 1995).

ugliness of occupation' (Dance 2012, n.p.) and work to counter misrepresentations of Palestine within the international community (Wiles 2009, 26), by presenting peaceful resistance to occupation as the solution. Their work is an example of the synergies between the international, the national and the local spheres in which the individual voices of the refugee camp inhabitants can be heard. In this case, theatre draws upon the social-political reality of the camp and operates as some kind of self-reliant space for metaphor and encounter.

This loosening of the boundaries between the international, national and individual can also bring forward conflicting relations of power. The above-mentioned 'mobility gap' operates as well within the international stage and, as stated by Rebellato, the consciousness of others 'can be the grounds for fear and resentment' (2009, 4-5). The tensions in the global arena emerge when the awareness of postcolonial positions and interactions reveal the actuality of global inequality. Besides, we need to acknowledge that these postcolonial dynamics in Palestine need to be understood in relation to the neo-colonial Israeli system. As we will see in the coming sections, most of the theatre collaborations between Palestinian and international groups are inscribed in the dynamics of the international aid system which indeed brings forward structural tensions due to inherent power dynamics. These tensions have an impact on theatre both in terms of production and representation. In both production and representation, Palestinian theatre has to deal with the tension between increasing immobility in their daily life and their growing presence at international theatre events and on international stages like, for instance, the *Globe to Globe Festival*, part of the World Shakespeare Festival (WSF), of which *Richard II* by Ashtar Theatre (2012) was part. We will also see how, in terms of representation, the global presence of Palestinian theatre entails increasing complications. In this global arena, a constructed idea of Palestinian authenticity appears. By authenticity I am referring to a set of assumptions and expectations that underlie the active gaze of non-Palestinian audiences. This gaze anticipates certain characteristics that are necessary to define what is 'Palestinian' and reveals a jeopardous focus on the local that disguises power dynamics at a broader level. This focus on local authenticity increases an interest in simulation and creates a 'burden of representation', due to the audience's expectation of a stable representation of identity and authenticity. All these tensions emerge from certain power structures put in place in a globalized world and are challenged on stage, as we will see later.

Within these structural tensions, I argue that new forms of sensitiveness have emerged from the practice of theatre. The fusion of the local and the global does not always imply an unequal distribution of power and it can also be a ‘source of political strength’ (Rebellato 2009, 52). Darwish said that poetry ‘can help us to understand the self by liberating it of what could hinder its flight in a limitless space’ (Darwish 2007, 33-34); similarly, theatre represents a mythical and limitless space, in which the impact of global power structures can be challenged. Insofar as each theatrical performance is unique and committed to a particular place, theatre lives in the here and in the now. Besides, the global stage has the potential to reproduce that limitless space and bridge different human experiences and narratives. From that ephemeral position, it can counter the negative impact of global dynamics or, at least present an alternative narrative. In a context of complex immobility, theatre provides a new space that allows individuals to create alternative views from their own position and standpoint. In fact, there is a wide proliferation of critical responses to the place of Palestinian theatre within the new global order. This also means analysing the responses these productions have provoked, not only challenging the ‘transitive circuits of power’ (Conquergood 2002, 145) that lie at the core of globalization, but also offering an alternative to hegemonic discourses.

The next case study, *Keffiyeh/Made in China* (2012) is a good example of this new critical stance that offers a new vision of the position of Palestine and Palestinian theatre in the global arena. It is a daring proposal ready to challenge preconceived ideas about Palestine and it mocks contentious assumptions about the Palestinian reality. The play does indeed bridge the individual, local and international realms by portraying human encounters as a valid platform to present national and international incongruences. I argue that *Keffiyeh/Made in China* exemplifies a new sensitivity that rejects former narratives that were compliant with both national and international narratives. To do so, the play focuses on the everyday visible effects of the global system, spotting the emerging inequalities and conflicting discourses. My analysis of *Keffiyeh/Made in China* focuses on the written text, acknowledging also the relevance of the conditions of production. Although this analysis cannot rely on stage arrangements or aesthetic resources due to the lack of access to the material, it takes into consideration the different nuances and rhetorical devices that shape the play’s own complexities.

*Keffiyeh*⁶⁴/*Made in China* (2012)

In 2012, the play *Keffiyeh/Made in China* was presented as a co-production of the Royal Flemish Theatre of Belgium and the A.M. Qattan Foundation of Palestine, written by Dalia Taha⁶⁵ and directed by Bart Danckaert. It premiered in Brussels before touring the West Bank. The play was created within the PASS (the Performing Arts Summer School) project, which was conceived as an exchange between Ramallah/Palestine and Brussels/Belgium since 2007. The play was based on the experiences of the participants of the PASS project during the summer of 2011 in Palestine and performed by ten actors and actresses, five Palestinians and five Belgians. Already from its title, we can infer that the play portrays the complexities of the global panorama, relating them to the intricate circuits of theatre production within the above-mentioned ‘global stage’.

The use of the keffiyeh⁶⁶ is a starting point to explore prejudices and clichés about Palestine and the Palestinians from the point of view of Belgians, as stated in the Royal Flemish Theatre webpage (KVS & A.M. Qattan Foundation 2012, n.p.). Dalia Taha uses the keffiyeh, a material cultural resource, setting in motion its highly symbolic meaning in order to dismantle some of the established clichés around it. Indeed, the keffiyeh has a strong political relevance that dates back to the 1936-1939 revolt against British colonial rule (Swedenburg 2003, 33), where it became a ‘symbol of Arab national resistance’ (Sufian 2008, 34). Its prominence rose in the 1960s, when the Palestine Liberation Organization’s (PLO) chairman Yasser Arafat adopted the keffiyeh in an effort to generate Palestinian nationalism after the rise of the Fedayeen (Schwartz-DuPre and Scott 2015, 341). At least since the first intifada, the keffiyeh has become not only a symbol of sympathy with the Palestinian cause (Swedenburg 2007, n.p.), but also an emblem of the European youth struggle against conservatism and for social justice: ‘especially in Italy and France, the keffiyeh became part of a specific identity, as much as the parka, military boots and the Che Guevara beret’ (Ferrero-Regis 2011, 4).

⁶⁴ I will be using the play’s transcription of the Arabic word ‘keffiyeh’ for consistency, although the exact transcription would be ‘kūfiyyah’. Authors like Swedenburg (2007) or Schwartz-DuPre and Scott (2015) use the transcription ‘kuffiya’. In quotations of these authors, I will leave the text’s original transcription ‘kuffiya’.

⁶⁵ Palestinian playwright and poet, born in Berlin and raised in Ramallah.

⁶⁶ Traditional white cotton scarf in all-over checkered pattern, generally used on the head by Arab men, that became an important political symbol since the thirties – more specifically to the 1936-1939 rebellion in Palestine - (Swedenburg 2007, *More on the Kufiya from the Daily Star (Beirut)*), when it became a symbol of Palestinian nationalism.

This embracement of the keffiyeh as a global symbol ‘unhinges it from its Palestinian roots and repositions the *kuffiya* as a cosmopolitan artefact’ (Schwartz-DuPre and Scott 2015, 344). The historically political meaning of the keffiyeh is therefore disconnected from its actual relevance in the contemporary global scene; its cultural signification is no longer present in the process of market reproduction and mass production. Therefore, the keffiyeh has been de-politicized by its inclusion and exploitation in the global market, becoming an object of consumption. The title of the play ‘*Made in China*’ actually points at the position of the Palestinian scarf in the global market: whereas in the 1960s the keffiyeh was predominantly produced in traditional local hand looms, the production has been moved to China, where materials and production are cheaper (Ferrero-Regis 2011, 4). The play presents China as a space of production, inscribed onto a wider picture of mass production linked to neo-liberalism. Within that neo-liberal space, the play puts emphasis on the keffiyeh and links it to different narratives about it in the West. As stated on the Royal Flemish Theatre webpage (KVS & A.M.Qattan Foundation 2012, n.p.), this strategy reclaims a basic humanity: ‘there is no alternative other than to laugh out loud at the small human endeavours set against the backdrop of the Great History’. The play does not deny the social, political or symbolic relevance of the keffiyeh, but wants to highlight the complex dynamics that emanate from its subsumption in the complexities of globalization.

In my opinion, the zenith of the play’s critique is the fifth scene, entitled ‘Business’. It narrates an encounter between a young Belgian girl who wants to buy a keffiyeh and a man at a shop. The shop could be anywhere but it is made clear to the spectators that it is set in a place where there is a secret keffiyeh factory, which does not import cheap scarfs from China. The seemingly simple exchange rapidly unfolds into a bitter and absurd dialogue in which they exchange short and sharp sentences charged by double entendre and misunderstandings. The merchant emphasizes how his shop is the best shop to buy a keffiyeh, not ‘*cheap imports from China*’. However, he points out the economic hardship since ‘*nobody wants a keffiyeh just now. Nobody’s buying. We have an economic crisis*⁶⁷’. He then explains:

Man: Oh yes, are you familiar with the law of supply and demand?

Girl: Why?

⁶⁷ The play’s text was published in English in the book ‘Inside/Outside: Six Plays from Palestine and the Diaspora’ edited by Naomi Wallace and Ismail Khalidi (2015).

M: There's no demand for keffiyehs.

G: Why?

M: That's all I know...Do you like my country?'

(Taha 2015, 96)

When, later on, the girl states that she doesn't understand the role of China in the whole equation, the man offers to explain, which again triggers another confusing dialogue. He explains that the lack of demand for keffiyeh is due to the export of China-made kuffiyat, much cheaper than the Palestinian ones. This story recalls the true story of the Hirbawi factory in Hebron, the last keffiyeh factory in Palestine. The factory has been struggling to survive since the mid-nineties due to the impossibility of competing against Chinese exports (Boarini 2015, n.p.). The play draws upon that real experience:

'M: The goods are local but they come from China.

G: And your goods, where do they come from?

M: You know...

G: What?

M: Every time I try to explain it, I never manage....

Do you know Karl Marx?

G: I'm not a communist.

M: Of course, who is? I'm half and half.

G: What do you mean by half and half?

M: And you, what are you?

G: Vegan

M: Vegan, what's that? A new party?

G: I don't do politics.

M: That's normal, in Germany, where you come from, everything's calm.

G: I'm not German.

M: I meant Bulgaria.

G: Belgium'

(Taha 2015, 98)

By directing the audience's attention to different and seemingly unconnected topics, Taha is actually linking and mocking the connections among different political unconnected terms, yet interrelated in the global arena: communism, veganism, and nationalism. In this sense, the playwright points at how theatre demonstrates 'the limits of power. It ridicules power and renders it impotent' (Taha 2015, 69). These different political affiliations and sentiments are placed at the same level. Therefore, the play portrays a 'process of encounter and negotiation between different cultural sensibilities' (Lo and Gilbert 2002, 31) and ultimately, spots the nonsense that the preconceived ideas of each of these sensibilities might bring about. Her strategy is to generate an estrangement that will de-politicize those terms, unveiling the instability of these categories and the impossibility of setting a fixed political meaning to them that cannot be deconstructed in human encounter.

Later in the scene, the seller offers the Belgian girl a blue bra instead of a keffiyeh; at first, she is offended by his reference to a piece of female underwear and states:

'G: They were right, the people who warned me for the Arabs when traveling alone.'

This sentence offers a reversed-gaze to the Western audiences: Taha is ridiculing the girl's disproportionate reaction and the extension of her generalization to what seems to be a stable category: 'Arabs'. The depiction of the Arab man as dangerous is represented on stage as the revival of an orientalist gaze that presupposes certain features in Arab men. These stereotypes are largely present in Western media and popular culture, usually representing Arab men as degenerated, sex-crazed, rapists, religious fundamentalists and/or terrorists (Shaheen 2003; Al-Tae 2010; Semmerling 2010). Throughout the present thesis we have witnessed theatre practitioners' efforts to challenge this representation, mostly by highlighting individual stories and avoiding any metanarrative of masculinity. In *Keffiyeh/Made in China*, the character is interpreting the behaviour of the seller through an orientalist reading, according to which his behaviour conforms to common knowledge about Arab men. They warned her about that 'other' that has a 'backward, barbaric and uncontrolled masculinity' (Khalid 2011, 16) and she is inevitably considering his actions through those lenses.

However, it then becomes clear that the reason why he is trying to sell her a blue bra goes back to December 2011 when, during one of the protests in Tahrir Square (Cairo), one seemingly unconscious female protester was brutally beaten by the Egyptian military

police. The images of her stripped down body being assaulted by a soldier went viral on Egyptian and Western media (Hafez 2014, 20). ‘The girl in the blue bra’ quickly became an anonymous symbol of the Egyptian resistance, and her body coming to public light became central in the discussions between protesters and authorities. The SCAF (Supreme Council of the Armed Forces) tried to defile ‘revolutionary women’s honour (...) painting them as immoral and loose - as women who are not entitled to social respect’ (Hafez 2014, 25). The link between national values and the body of the woman recalls what I have already demonstrated in chapter three about the implications of the representation of the female body as the land and/or the nation (Kandiyoti 1991; Badran 1995; Baron 2005). In *Keffiyeh/Made in China*, that symbolism is included within the globalization dynamics and the blue bra becomes a national symbol discussed in global circuits. The ‘blue bra girl’ became a symbol not only of the Egyptian struggle, but also of global media that used it to ‘motivate and unify global and local actors in response to the democratic protest movements, as well as highlighting the strong national allegiance of the protestors’ (Shelley 2001, 164). According to Shelley, this international broadcasting might set the agenda, create mass public opinion on a global stage, and influence the actors’ and even ‘serve a democratizing function’ (171).

However, what the seller in *Keffiyeh/Made in China* is trying to highlight is that the keffiyeh is no longer the symbol of revolution but the ‘blue bra girl’ is – ‘*she is a symbol*’, he says. This parallelism suggests that the symbolism of the different struggles have been commodified by Western consumer culture and, therefore, they have been deprived of their original political meaning. Deeper implications of the different struggles of both the Egyptian and the Palestinian people are erased or enveloped by a broader narrative of ‘struggle’ that seems to lose its contextual implications. On the one hand, it might look like Dalia Taha is suggesting that ‘wearing the scarf without a clear understanding of its cultural significance is a violent form of cultural co-optation’ (Schwartz-DuPre and Scott 2015, 341). In fact, the girl repeatedly states that she ‘doesn’t do politics’ and that the keffiyeh is just a gift, just a fashion element; which, in view of the Palestinian protection of ‘the memory of those same symbols’ against Israeli attempts to disintegrate all Palestinian cultural forms (Swedenburg 1989, 268), might indeed seem to be a sign of insensitiveness.

On the other hand, the attempts of the girl to depoliticize her choice of the keffiyeh are portrayed in this scene as pointless and even ridiculous, emphasizing that global politics undeniably permeate our daily lives. However, the seller keeps forgetting her nationality

during the whole scene, as if it were not really important, while the girl keeps asserting her national identity as if forgetting that she is Belgian would be an insult from the seller. In this sense, the national divisions within Europe seem to be very important in terms of the construction of her identity, while at the same time, she is dismissing the identity symbolism that these same national divisions can represent for Palestinians. She speaks about veganism or her own nationalism as if they were part of a non-political global utopia that dismisses the actual struggles of those who, within the global context, are located in the unprivileged position of colonial subjects.

By deconstructing the symbolism of the keffiyeh in modern times, *Keffiyeh/Made in China* faces its audience with a broader discussion about the meaning of symbols in the global context and how the commodification of those symbols not only distances them from their original transgressive meaning, but ultimately relies on the ‘exploitation of Otherness’ (Hooks 2014, 28). The production of *Keffiyeh/Made in China* is part of the broader global scene, with both Belgian and Palestinian participation while at the same time, the play tries to spot the paradoxes of these global dynamics. This paradox helps us to bridge the discussion towards the next topic that concerns us in the present chapter. The position of Palestine in the global arena is determined by factors such as the Israeli occupation and the internal political situation after the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority. After Oslo, the strong presence of the system of international development has also emerged as a global dynamic with strong relevance in Palestine. The coming sections will delve into the different implications of the logic of international development when applied to the Palestinian context. I argue that international funding needs to be seen in terms of both the possibilities it creates for a more dynamic theatre scene and the risks that it entails of fostering dependence. These issues will be analysed in depth along with the play *The House of Yasmine* (2011), which presents a critical stance to the whole system of international aid in Palestine through theatre. We will also see more concretely how that system affects theatre production, with what has been called an ‘NGO-ization’ of theatre production in Palestine. We will look at a two-sided phenomenon in which theatre groups not only become materially reliant on international donors in order to function, but also articulate their theatrical message according to a certain notion of Palestinian identity that complies with the donors’ requirements. It is indeed a complex and tangled phenomenon that will be unfolded in the coming sections.

III. International Funding and Theatre: Material dependence and the Burden of Representation

The current position of Palestinian theatre within the above-mentioned global scene needs to be inserted into the framework of the system of international aid. Since 1993, year of the signature of the Oslo Accords between Israel and Palestine, more than 24 billion dollars have been invested in ‘peace and development’ in the OPT through both governmental institutions and NGOs. The substantial proliferation of NGOs in Palestine has prompted a wide and intense debate among both academics and development workers (Brynen 2000; Le More 2005; Roy 1999; Said 2001; Lasensky 2004). This phenomenon has been defined as an ‘NGO-ization’ and it is not exclusive to Palestine; it responds to an international trend of ‘institutionalization, professionalization, de-politicization and demobilization of movements for social and environmental change’ (Choudry and Kapoor 2013, 1). The proliferation of NGOs worldwide reveals a renewed interest from Western governments, institutions like the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations and some multinational corporations in influencing internal politics to comply with their geopolitical interests, appropriating and conditioning social movements and their agendas. These interventions are broadly inserted into the global mobility regime that we described earlier, without presenting a clear alternative to global inequalities. As a consequence, ‘they defuse political anger and dole out as aid or benevolence what people ought to have by right’ (Roy 2011, 43). It has been argued that NGOs replace the role of the state (Yacobi 2007; Roy 2011), taking ownership of the provision of basic services for a population ‘that are themselves often the products of neoliberal policies expressed in privatization and decentralization of state institutions’ (Yacobi 2007, 745). The system of international and local NGOs would therefore establish a bridge between the local and the global, within which the inequalities on the global level are not addressed and national institutions are often obviated.

The massive intervention of International NGOs and agencies in the OPT is connected to the political situation, the Israeli occupation and the lack of a functioning Palestinian state. This incursion in the Palestinian social landscape has had an impact on Palestinian institutions and local and grassroots organizations, shaping a new social reality beyond the already complicated dynamics of international aid. By extension, as we will see in this chapter, the new relevance of international institutions has an influence on theatre groups and companies, which adopt the structure of charities and local NGOs. However, foreign aid is not a new phenomenon in Palestine, but before the Oslo Accords’ decade it

was based on a stronger framework of Palestinian grassroots organisations. Foreign funding at that time aimed at helping remove ‘NGO leaders from financial dependence on their (political) factions, thus enabling them to develop a degree of programmatic autonomy and institutional security’ (Hammami 2000, 17), focusing on a ‘bottom-up state building’ (Salem 2013, 24).

The 1993-1995 Oslo Accords shifted the aim of international aid in Palestine, focusing from then on state-building through both the direct funding of the Palestinian National Authority and its technocratic institutions and the reinforcing of civil society. Despite all the efforts to support Palestinian economy, institution-building, agriculture, health education and/or human rights; it has been broadly admitted among researchers and activists such as Sara Roy (1999, 2002) or Khalil Nakhleh (2004), that aid has failed in its purpose to generate economic development in Palestine or, more importantly, to improve living conditions for Palestinians. The peace process has ‘led to a paradigm shift from a struggle of an oppressed people against occupiers and colonizers, to a dispute between two national groups with conflicting but symmetric rights and moral claims’ (Barghouti 2007). In this regard, Israeli and Palestinian nationalism have been placed at the same level in terms of their negotiating capacity, overlooking Israeli settler-colonialist policies over the West Bank and Gaza and the impossibility of a fully sovereign Palestine caused by these policies. Negotiating on equal terms in this framework has meant a huge disadvantage for the Palestinian side and brought about economic recession, social discontent and violence (Wildeman and Tartir 2014, 433).

Besides, the peace process had an impact on local organizations that reflects the paradigm shift Barghouti talks about. Aid organisations have distanced their work from the local context and the grassroots movements that characterized the first Intifada, and it has contributed to the emergence of a new elite within Palestinian society. The organizational structure of NGOs requires ‘professionalization; paid, full time staff’ (O’Dwyer 2016, 121) as opposed to the volunteerism which is a prevailing feature of grassroots organizations. This professionalization demands the recruitment of skilled and educated individuals to insert them into the bureaucratic machinery of aid work. The result is what Hanafi calls a ‘globalized Palestinian elite’ that distance themselves from activism and follow donors’ ideas and guidelines while they support nationalist agendas for state-based resistance against the Israeli occupation (Hanafi 2005, 354). The recruitment of educated individuals by NGOs is done usually at the expense of other social sectors and activities. Hanafi and Tabar point to a disruption of ‘the embeddedness of local organizations within

social local and international networks, concomitant with the rise of the neo-liberal paradigm' (2003, 210). This disruption separates individuals and their social base, with an increasing ideological support for the donor agenda.

These agendas are articulated and promoted by donors and international bodies, who can choose 'the elements of narratives that would fit with the overarching explanation(s) required' (Challand 2008, 119). In some cases, local organizations accept and incorporate these agendas 'not only as global but also as universal and self-evident' (Hanafi 2005, 356). This position overlooks the real power dynamics that the system of international aid might be fostering. In some other cases, NGOs decide to challenge these values and they become engaged in reshaping and contesting international practices and ideas (2005, 2). These tensions characterize the status of aid in Palestine, full of contradictions and ambiguity. In fact, Hanafi and Tabar stated how the outbreak of the second Intifada, as a direct anticolonial struggle, pointed out the contradictions of the NGO proliferation in West Bank and Gaza (Hanafi and Tabar 2005, 13). Seventeen years later, the situation is still a complex and intricate one. Donors are still restricting the political content of NGO interventions in Palestine, favouring 'peacebuilding strategies' as an euphemism for avoiding handling political issues related with the end of occupation (Gawerc and Lazarus 2016, 392). Another kind of 'peacebuilding strategy' engages in direct dialogue and cooperation with Israeli NGOs and other organizations. These have been criticized as 'normalizing' the situation of occupation of Palestine (Barakat and Goldenblatt 2012, 90). This is due to the fact that such initiatives do not question the Israeli status quo, as a prerequisite for working with both Palestinian and Israelis. In fact, during my fieldwork, some of the interviewees refused to be part of my research if I were to include any Israeli theatre or joint Palestinian-Israeli 'peace' theatre initiative. This comes from the Palestinian groups' rejection of being treated in equal terms to Israeli groups, without acknowledging the pressures and limitations that stem from the occupation and that have a specific and hurtful effect on the Palestinian theatre scene.

The connection between theatre and international aid comes from the efforts of the latter to promote art and culture as integrated in development policies. Within the development logic, there has been an increasing interest in the last fifteen years in the promotion of art and culture as part of broader development strategies by different international bodies. This new interest can be framed within the broad recognition of the 'failures' of development and the proposal of an 'alternative development' (Pieterse 2009, 85). An alternative development would recognize that economic development is not enough and

that we 'are not just acquiring animals, but also cultural and spiritual ones' (Clammer 2014, 3). The concept of 'Human Development'⁶⁸, promoted by the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) and Amartya Sen (1999), has included education and cultural liberty as key factors for improving human lives. In fact, the right to 'freely participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits' had been already recognized in the article 27 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

This focus on culture and art is indeed very extensive, usually involving 'a large, heterogeneous set of individuals and organizations engaged in creating, producing and presenting arts activities, as well as distributing, preserving, and educating about cultural products' (Toepler and Wyszomirski 2012, 229). Usually these initiatives focus on heritage, entertainment and artistic production, which is a pattern we can see in Palestine, which, since the mid-1990s, has seen a sustained increase in artistic and cultural activities (Handal 2015, xxiv). However, culture-promoting development initiatives have frequently been considered 'more concerned with the promotion of arts and the protection of cultural heritage than with the promotion of cultural liberty' (*Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World* 2004). In the Palestinian case, that means that the promotion of Palestinian culture is not accompanied by a critical stance on the political situation of Palestine within the broader global system. We witness how the promotion of culture in Palestine avoids engaging in a political definition of Palestinian culture that would highlight the obstacles imposed by the Israeli occupation. The promotion of Palestinian culture is then articulated through actions that focus on the aesthetic imagery and the promotion of an apolitical agenda to secure the international donors' grants. We can see how the promotion of culture avoids, but more importantly, focuses on its expressive forms rather than dealing with culture as a social structure. The 2009-2012 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Millennium Development Goals Fund (MDG-F) Culture and Development Joint Programme focused on cultural heritage, crafts, cultural and creative industries, without recognizing the political implications that the Israeli occupation has for the development of the cultural and artistic sector (MDG-F Culture and Development and UNESCO 2009, n.p.). This approach, however, does not stop the Palestinian artistic production, whether for visual

⁶⁸ As stated by the UNDP (United Nations Development Program), the idea of 'Human Development' 'introduced a new approach for advancing human wellbeing. Human development – or the human development approach - is about expanding the richness of human life, rather than simply the richness of the economy in which human beings live. It is an approach that is focused on people and their opportunities and choices' (UNDP, 'About Human Development').

(González 2009, 214) or performing art, from integrating strong political topics, as we have seen throughout the present thesis. In this politically charged landscape, it is necessary to uncover the role of the donor's intervention and the power dynamics that underline such interventions.

Since the Oslo Accords (1993-1995), there has also been a 'proliferation of foreign-funded theatre and drama workshops' (Jawad 2012, 29), which has come hand in hand with an increasing number of collaborative projects between Europe-based and Palestinian playwrights and theatres. One of the effects that this 'NGO-ization' has had on Palestinian theatre is that it has increased the possibilities for access to funding for the troupes and therefore, the possibility of having a more dynamic dramatic and artistic production. It is undeniable that the access to external funding and artistic partnership present an opportunity for Palestinian practitioners to counter both the lack of resources inside Palestine and the restrictions imposed by the Israeli occupation (Hazou 2015, 140). At the same time, through these initiatives, Palestinian theatre is allowed a place within the above-described globalized scene. The increasing amount of collaborative projects have paved the way for Palestinian theatre to be presented on international stages, allowing its voice to be heard internationally. Palestinian practitioners have been able to travel and collaborate with different international groups and international artists and practitioners have been invited to work with local groups inside Palestine.

However, the development of Palestinian theatre intimately linked to international organisations involves an array of complexities that need to be analysed. Firstly, the relevance of international funding in Palestine has not lessened the hardship over theatre production's conditions. The post-Oslo worsening of movement restrictions adds to the historical lack of means. The military occupation, the Israeli neo-colonial rule and the restriction of everyday mobility have caused and reinforced the internal difficulties that Palestinian theatre practitioners have to face in their work (Handal 2015, xxvii). The complexities of theatre production in Palestine under occupation has, according to Nassar, forced Palestinian practitioners to 'turn to Western donors' (2006, 37) in order to survive. At the same time, the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, responsible for culture in the Palestinian territories, has not resulted in an improvement of national institutional support for theatre groups. Although a Palestinian Ministry of Culture was created to promote and support Palestinian theatre production, the PNA's allocation for cultural activities is extremely low. In 2013, the Minister of Culture, Anwar Abu Aishah

stated that the budget allocated to the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Tourism was only 0.003% of the Palestinian Authority's budget (Schneider 2013, 7).

Secondly, theatre groups have to face the issue of material dependence on foreign funding, which is a current debate within the Palestinian cultural scene (Jawad 2008, 2012; Nassar 2006). A 2012 report commissioned by the A.M. Qattan Foundation about the funding situation of performing arts institutions revealed how theatre groups function similarly to NGOs, with the issue of fundraising becoming one of the greatest challenges (DeVoor and Boo Jespersen 2012, 19). The report also stated how theatre groups had to respond to certain managerial requirements, 'bureaucratic rigor and regimentation required to operate an organization that is almost wholly funded by external donors' (DeVoor and Boo Jespersen 2012, 21). At the same time, the amount of funding available for Palestinian performing arts institutions and indeed for Palestinian cultural organizations in general, has been affected by the global economic crisis and the regional developments after the 'Arab Spring' and the war in Syria; these crises have shifted the donors' priorities towards emergency relief, at the expense of cultural projects, which are 'seen as a luxury under these crises' (Khalaf 2016, n.p.). The dependence of Palestinian theatre groups and practitioners on international funding is a current concern that is not confined solely to Palestinian theatre groups but to Palestinian non-governmental organizations in general. As we will see, theatre has responded to the general concern about the system of foreign aid, as in the play *The House of Yasmine* (2011), which criticizes the general framework of development narratives.

Thirdly, this dependence means that theatre-makers are not only subjected to international donors' guidelines in terms of their funding procedures, but also the content and message of the plays might be subject to conditioning. International funding is therefore presumably positing conditions not only in terms of the materiality of theatre production but also in terms of the theatre's message. Theatre performances involve a complex process of meaning creation, which has strong potential as a platform for social dialogue and as a political tool. Theatre takes advantage of the illusionary world it creates on stage to construct meaning and subtly represent the political discourses that take place offstage. International donors seize the potential of theatrical activities to convey their own message and implement their development programs. Theatre can foster the political unconscious, democratic dialogue and collective reflection, especially in a context of on-going occupation and dispossession like Palestine. International donors are aware of that potential and that is why 'there is an "adding on" of cultural components to larger

programs' (DeVoor and Boo Jespersen 2012, 6), which makes the guidelines of these programs a priority for cultural organizations. For instance, theatres have focused on activities to promote women and children's rights, following different UN resolutions⁶⁹ in the last 17 years. This pattern can be seen in many different groups in Palestine that will focus pre-eminently on these areas, like Yes Theatre in Hebron or Theatre Day Productions in Gaza, which started as professional theatres and in the last years have shifted their work to a more educational approach.

We need to be aware of how the donors' agendas might be reinforcing a cultural hierarchy within which 'certain values have to be 'exported'' (Challand 2008, 412). As we said, Palestinian organizations might have accepted these agendas as 'universal and self-evident' (Hanafi 2005, 356), but we need to acknowledge that these agendas are inscribed in the 'civilising' mission which encourages different international agencies to co-opt grassroots theatre to assist in their development agendas (Riccio 2007, 168). In this sense, international donors establish a dialogue with Palestinian institutions and organizations with a pre-established agenda that dictates the kind of projects they would support. In 2003, the UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund) launched a UN HIV/AIDS Theme Group in the Palestinian territories, collaborating with the Palestinian National Authority and creating a National AIDS Committee in charge of HIV/AIDS prevention services among other tasks. In 2010, the play *Why?* was produced and presented by Al-Harah theatre in Beit Jala. The play was funded by the UNFPA and supervised and supported by the Palestinian Ministry of Health. *Why?* tells the story of Ahmed, a Palestinian man who becomes infected with AIDS during his studies abroad. According to the play description in Al-Harah's webpage: 'Ahmed lives an internal conflict, in attempt to accept his sickness, live with it, and confront his family, friends and the society. Will he be able to do that?'. The play's production raises questions of the relevance of the topic for Palestinian society. Even though the importance of sexual-health education in general and HIV/AIDS prevention in particular is undeniable, the actual prevalence of AIDS in Palestine is low – according to UNFPA in its last country programme document for 2015-2017, only 72 HIV/AIDS cases have been reported in the national registry reports (UNFPA 2014, 3). Of course the objective of such policies and programmes is to maintain the low incidence of AIDS in the Occupied Territories, however, it could be questioned: to what extent could other social issues be considered more pressing for the theatre group

⁶⁹ For example the 2000 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, the 2010 United Nations General Assembly Resolution 64/146 on the Rights of the Child, or the 2000 Millennium Development Goals particularly to promote gender equality and empower women.

to address? It is clear that the production of *Why?* might have had a positive impact in Palestinian society's awareness about a major worldwide problem, but the lack of contextual relevance and the theatre's interest in following the donor's agenda holds the key to the complex dynamics of international funding.

At the same time, it is not only about the message following the donors' agenda, but the kind of representation of Palestine and the Palestinians that is promoted within that agenda. In this post-Oslo 'Palestine of donors' (Sbeih 2014, 41), external funding has contributed to fostering discourses which 'criticize and discourage behaviour patterns deemed to be incompatible with desired social values and objectives' (Conteh-Morgan 1994, 81). The so-defined 'universal' values (e.g. peace, human rights or democracy) take over the action of civil society in the cultural sector (Slitine 2016, 332). Samer Al-Saber stated that 'Western cultural ventures in Palestine have often implied that a project's success could be measured in the redirection of Palestinian youth from 'throwing stones' to more productive stage activities' (Saber 2014b as quoted in Hazou 2015, 141). The Palestinian subject then becomes the object of this logic of development, oriented towards having to comply with these universal values. Moreover, the increasing presence of Palestinian theatre within international theatre circles, the representation of the Palestinian identity and experience in theatre has been processed to comply with certain expectations. Palestinian playwright Dalia Taha, resident playwright at the Royal Court's International Residency between 2013 and 2015 and writer of *Keffiyeh/Made in China* that was analysed earlier, in an interview by Stephen Moss for The Guardian stated:

*'It's always like this for artists or writers who come from places with conflicts and wars. People, especially in the west, have specific expectations. **You expect us to make a political statement, to tell the story of our suffering** [emphasis added]'* (Moss 2015, n.p.)

Taha's critique of "the west" refers here to those countries which actually fund and direct the narrative of Palestinian drama on the world stage, i.e. mainly European and North American countries. These countries benefit from the power structures that the global system helps to perpetuate. In Taha's definition of 'the West' are included those countries that fund artistic collaborative projects for both the promotion of their own national culture and the support of different cultural development strategies. Taha's statement is relevant because it points at a kind of global cultural hierarchy that echoes colonial and post-colonial narratives which not only promote certain values, but also support essentializing views of, in this case, Palestine. The expectations she talks about correspond to what Lo and Gilbert have described as 'Western fascination with non-

Western performing arts' (2002, 32). The external gaze that is contributing to making Palestine visible worldwide is, at the same time, contributing to recreating unbalanced power structures, inside which the position of Palestine is always determined by pre-established narratives and expectations.

The Palestinian subject is increasingly visible on the international stage, but that does not necessarily mean that his/her voice is more audible. In fact, I argue that there are different mechanisms by which Palestinian theatre productions have made sure that their voices were heard in recent years, and all of them are irretrievably somehow conditioned by the international system of funding. In that sense, the presence of the Palestinian subject on stage sometimes complies with a certain narrative which 'might fulfil our colonial fantasy of unwrapping the masked 'other' (Schwartz-DuPre and Scott 2015, 350). In this regard, the expectations that Dalia Taha mentioned refer to the 'burden of representation' which compels Palestinian performance artists not only to represent a stable image of Palestinian identity, but also to introduce a certain Palestinian authentic self. The 'burden of representation' is on most occasions an unconscious imposition; most of the time there is an underlying interest in fostering theatre productions which 'transcends particular cultures on behalf of a universality of the human condition (Pavis 1996, 6). The idea behind most of the collaborative theatre projects is what Christopher B. Balme calls 'syncretic theatrical experiments' (1999, 2), which is a term that refers to the way in which practitioners from different places around the world have tried to merge indigenous theatrical traditions with Western dramatic forms. Through this syncretism, the stage is decolonized and any 'Western tendency to homogenize, to exclude, to strive for a state of 'purity', whether it be racial or stylistic' is challenged (Balme 1999, 8). These projects aim to present a universal human experience and 'to transcend culture-specific codification' (Lo and Gilbert 2002, 37). The resulting theatre needs to redefine the staged language, capturing the essence of Palestinian experience while at the same time extracting the universal features of that experience, in order to speak to the European audiences' consciousness.

One example of these dynamics is *Badke* (2013), a Palestinian-Belgian dance production by les ballets C de la B (Ghent), KVS (Brussels) and the A.M. Qattan Foundation (Ramallah). The title comes from the reversal of 'Dabke', the Palestinian traditional folk dance. Three European choreographers - Koen Augustijnen, Rosalba Torres Guerrero (les ballets C de la B) and Hildegard De Vuyst (KVS) – worked with ten Palestinian performers to create a contemporary version of the traditional dance. In the description

of the performance, the Qattan Foundation highlights the performance's collective work and solidarity, and 'an affirmation of belonging' (KVS & A.M. Qattan Foundation 2012, n.p.). *Badke* draws upon the popular Palestinian dance while at the same time tries to adapt it to new dance and performance forms. For the choreographers, dance tradition is connected to the Palestinian sense of belonging, while at the same time, the performance becomes an attempt to connect with a broader audience. The choreographers mixed traditional dabke with other popular forms like capoeira, hip-hop and circus arts. Even though *Badke* is not a search for 'a long-lost authenticity' (A.M. Quattan Foundation 2013) that would praise Palestinian tradition, the performance reflects a trend in Europe-Palestine collaborative productions and projects of expressing their solidarity with Palestine through collaborations that ultimately intend to represent some dimensions of the Palestinian experience. These experiments have indeed had great advantages in terms of educational and artistic opportunities for artists and students with restricted mobility due to the Israeli occupation.

However, the idea of 'universality' in theatre has generated mistrust and controversy (Rebellato 2009, 64) and, when it comes to Palestine, the idea of universalizing Palestinian experience in order to appeal to different audiences 'threaten(s) to transcend (and ultimately ignore) the realities of Palestinian life and struggle' (Hazou 2015, 146). The theatrical representation of the Palestinian subject does not necessarily 'retrieve the lost subaltern subject as a recovered authentic voice who can be made to speak once more out of the imposed silence of history' (Young 2004, 207). This means that giving voice to the Palestinian subject does not automatically eliminate the history of oppression and the current situation of occupation and domination. Since these theatre projects aim at extracting the essence of Palestinian experience, they obviate the complexities of such a fluid notion. Within the above-described global order, there is a power unbalance that, in my opinion, keeps locating Palestine in the position of an 'Other' for western audiences. As we have already mentioned, the Palestinian subject's visibility has increased, but this visibility can still be problematic. It would seem that Palestine is always re-located within a (neo)colonial discourse that 'produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible' (Bhabha 1994, 101). The Palestinian experience needs to be codified in an understandable language for foreign audiences, conveying a stable identity that always locates the Palestinian self as an 'other' to respond to what Taha defined as 'western expectations'. Tawil-Souri raised the question: 'was there something intrinsic in the Palestinian (political) condition that made only a specific

kind of cultural expression and hermeneutics possible?' (2012b, 138). This question opens the discussion about the representation of Palestinian experience in theatre that although involves Palestinian practitioners, it is directed to comply with certain expectations and pre-conceived idea of both the donors and the audiences outside of Palestine. This burden of representing of a stable Palestinian identity, which complies with Western expectations, highlights the uneven power distribution within the above-mentioned international stage.

At the same time, there are still frictions that arise from these encounters and the collaborations between Palestinian and international artists and practitioners are far from problem free. As it happens, Nabil Al-Raei, director of the Freedom Theatre, was denied a visa to enter the United Kingdom in 2014 to participate in a speaking tour. The UK Foreign Office argued that they did not have enough evidence that Al-Raei was not intending to remain in the UK after the tour (Irving 2014, n.p.). This statement from a UK governmental body illustrates again the fragile position of Palestinian artists and practitioners in the global context. Their marginal position is not only related to the Israeli occupation, but is also inscribed in a wider process of immobilization that works excluding and rendering Palestinian invisible. At the same time, Palestinian colonial reality and Western complicity with it make Palestinian voices potentially contentious. As stated by Al-Raei: 'I was rejected because of who I am, and this rejection is also part of why we are struggling for our rights and our freedom' (Irving 2014, n.p.). This highlights an 'inherently racist logic that works to silence (Palestinian artists and cultural practitioners') voices' (Fadda 2014, n.p.); especially when these voices challenge the status quo of national and international elites.

What has been stated until now does not fail to recognize, however, the positive aspects of the increasing interest in Palestinian theatre by international groups and institutions. We must not infer that theatre groups remain powerless in the face of the power imbalance presented above. Indeed, theatre production and reception are fluid, which allows practitioners to enunciate a language through which they can convey their message with agency. Simultaneously, the 'burden of representation' represents nothing but a metanarrative that can be challenged when it comes to the daily work of both Palestinian and international theatre practitioners. The shift towards a more favourable approach to Palestinian arts in general, and Palestinian theatre in particular, is indeed positive. According to Bernard, both metropolitan and Palestinian theatre practitioners understand theatre as a 'medium that can generate a sense of immediate and visceral engagement

among its audience, making it particularly suited to the representation of an intolerable present' (Bernard 2014b, 164). This approach explains the increasing interest for both Palestinian theatre productions internationally and joint collaborative projects, like some of the case studies in the present thesis. The proliferation of internationally funded productions, workshops and projects has contributed to both making Palestinian voices more visible in international circuits and to creating a certain kind of mobility that is highly beneficial for the Palestinian theatre scene. At the same time, this new position might have a positive impact in terms of visibility and advocacy for Palestinian issues.

To illustrate the complex panorama described above and analyse the responses that have been articulated from the side of the Palestinian practitioners, the following sections will focus on two different productions: *The House of Yasmine* (2011) and *Richard II* (2012). The first case study, *The House of Yasmine*, presents a sharp critique of the system of international funding in general, without focusing on its effects on theatre. This play was produced to use the theatrical language to openly criticize the above-described reality of aid in Palestine. The production uses the participatory techniques of Forum Theatre⁷⁰ to foster the audience's participation in the play, creating an open forum where different ideas and concerns can be phrased. As we will see, with limited aesthetic resources, *The House of Yasmine* intends to be a practical and devoid of rhetorical ornaments directed to provoke the discussion among the audience. Theatre is in this case just a tool to facilitate a necessary debate about an issue that concerns the whole Palestinian society. Funded by an independent German institution, *The House of Yasmine* was only performed in the West Bank, focusing on fostering critical thinking among a local audience.

The second case study, *Richard II* is an adaptation of Shakespeare's classic that was devised by the Palestinian group Ashtar theatre to be part of the 2012 *Globe to Globe Festival* in London. This case study will illustrate the possibilities of handling the above mentioned 'burden of representation', talking about the expectations that the organizers and audiences of the festival had of a Palestinian performance of Shakespeare. The relevance of this adaptation of Shakespeare is how the Palestinian group managed the festival's interest in both representing the 'universality' of Shakespeare's plays and, at the same time, linking it with the context of Palestine. We will see how the Palestinian

⁷⁰ Forum Theatre is a type of social and participatory theatre created by Augusto Boal, Brazilian practitioner, in the seventies. It is part of what he defined as his 'Theatre of the Oppressed' (TO), a series of theatre techniques and practices to promote social dialogue and change. Influenced by Paulo Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed', Boal developed different strategies to give voice and allow audience's action. For more information see Boal 2008.

Richard II focuses on a performance without specific location and speaks to the audience without responding to the expectations of any given *authenticity*.

The House of Yasmine (2011)

In 2010, the group Ashtar Theatre, based in Ramallah, produced the play *The Gaza Monologues*. It was a production based on the stories of a group of kids from Gaza who participated in a drama therapy workshop in the aftermaths of the attacks in 2008. The play was simultaneously premiered in 17 different countries in October 2010. However, a funding partner organization, whose name has not been disclosed, requested the omission of the word ‘martyr’ from the script as a condition of continuing to fund the project. Iman Aoun, founder and director of Ashtar theatre, refused. In 2011, Ashtar Theatre and Al Harah Theatre, based in BeitJala, coproduced the Forum play *Beit Yāsmīne* (translated by the group as *The House of Yasmine*), directed by Iman Aoun. As stated in the Ashtar Theatre’s Annual Report, *The House of Yasmine* wanted to start:

‘a debate on the role of international donor funding and the private sector in the development of the Palestinian society, the importance of having a national vision for development and coordination between the different organizations (governmental and nongovernmental), and the importance of redirecting donor funding in accordance with national developmental needs and priorities’

The play toured different cities in the West Bank during the period from 17 to 30 June 2012, being ‘welcomed enthusiastically from the participating audiences and local community organizations in the regions’ (Ashtar Theatre 2012b, 8).

The beginning of the play shows Yasmine, a Palestinian human rights activist performed by Riham Isaac, conducting a television debate which deals with the issue of dependence on international aid for the construction of the Palestinian State. Different speakers intervene in the discussion, presenting different positions about the topic. After these interventions, the audience got involved in the discussion in a meta-theatrical arrangement that make them the audience of both the TV show and the theatre play. The theatrical illusion is broken therefore by the simulation of a televised reality in which the audience become participants. The audience of the theatre play was directly asked about their opinion on the role that foreign money plays in the Palestinian political, social and economic situation, creating a meta-narrative according to which they become at the same time audience and part of the play. The play is setting the terms of the discussion from

the very beginning, avoiding the fictionalization of the actions and discussions on stage. The black box stage is set as a TV studio, creating an immersive atmosphere for the audience.

After the show, Yasmine's friends and family throw a surprise birthday party for her, during which she gets shot by an unknown attacker. She lays on her back without moving while her family tries desperately to save her. The family seeks the advice of an international health expert, named Kate. Her diagnosis is that they need to keep Yasmine 'stable' and asks the family to write a proposal, describing everything they need. Even though Yasmine's family emphasizes the critical situation she is in, Kate insists that she cannot help unless they write a proposal. One of the characters asks her if she would save Yasmine to which she responds 'I will do my best'. Yasmine's son enquires about the responsibility of the attack, to which she says that she is only a 'health expert' and recommends him to contact a French lawyer who can help him with Yasmine's case. This externalization of knowledge reflects a patronizing and condescending attitude of what Hammami calls 'the new professionals' who view the social basis 'as social groups in need of instruction, rather than as constituencies from which they take their direction and legitimacy' (2000, 27).

One of the characters carries a videocamera the whole time, recording everything that happens on stage. This reflects the growing relevance of communication and information exchange in Palestine; as stated by Sbeih, who explains how donor-funded activities are



Figure 4.1. Scene from The House of Yasmine.

always monitored and photos of the events are always published with the name of the organizing NGO and the funding donor (Sbeih 2014, 251). In the play, the witnesses seem more concerned about the media coverage of the situation than about Yasmine's situation itself. For instance, Kate agrees to give him an interview but only when the medicines and equipment have arrived and he has written a media report about it. Again, the visibility of the assistance provided to Yasmine is given more relevance than the fact that Yasmine's situation is deteriorating by the minute. When the equipment arrives, Kate and the representative of the government take the opportunity to be photographed by the photographer while Yasmine is covered with a new blanket.

The health expert brings 'the green medicine' that can save Yasmine's life and, as a condition to giving her the drug, she asks Yasmine's family to sign a document in which they declare that the assistance given will not be directed to fund 'terrorist actions'. This scene is a parody of a frequently encountered conditionality of international aid which applies also to theatre funding. For instance, Nabeel Al Raei, director of the Freedom Theatre, recognized⁷¹ how it was common for the theatre to be compelled to sign agreements with the donors according to which they would not be involved in actions that support 'terrorism'. This 'Anti-Terrorism Certification' is a common practice that reproduces the rhetoric of terror in Palestine and extends the definition of terror to all Palestinian resistance against the Israeli occupation, becoming a 'collective punishment' for Palestinian social movements (Joplin 2004, n.p.). Yasmine's son expresses his opposition to this practice, giving all the equipment back to Kate and inviting her to leave. The play reflects his internal dilemma of rebelling against the system or joining it in exchange for saving his mother's life. Kate refuses to give them the equipment for Yasmine if they do not sign the 'Anti-Terrorism Certification', stating: 'How can I invest in Yasmine's health, environment and development if everything around is completely insecure and chaotic?'. The representative of the Palestinian Authority says that Yasmine's security and stability is one of their priorities, to which Kate responds: 'Your priorities are my priorities'. He then signs the 'Anti-terrorism Certification' for her, disregarding the will of Yasmine's family.

The play is here presenting a critique of the political system in Palestine; on the one hand, they are criticizing the focus of international institutions on economic policies for Palestinian 'stability' in order to foster investment and economic development. Economic

⁷¹ Extracted from interview conducted by the author to Nabil Al Raei. Refugee Camp of Jenin. 01 September 2012. See Appendix IV.

and political development are included in the neoliberal agenda of certain institutions that believe that ‘promoting economic development will secure support for the peace process, as well as ensure stability and legitimacy for the new Palestinian National Authority’ (Giacaman, Jad, and Johnson 1996, 12). At the same time, the play is highlighting the attitude of Palestinian ruling elites that have adopted the rhetoric of ‘security’ and ‘stability’ which responds to the Israeli rhetoric (Carcasson 2010, 225) and overlooks the restrictions that occupation imposes over Palestine. The Palestinian national elites who have emerged after the establishment of the PNA have allowed ‘neocolonial relations of production and exchange to bolster their own power and secure privileges for the national bourgeoisie and the ‘international investor’ (Khalidi and Samour 2011, 6), which has indeed compromised the terms of the liberation and anticolonial struggle.

At this point, the play stops and the discussion among the audience is opened up. The play was presented using the techniques of Forum theatre, seeking the intervention of the audience to try to find a solution to the problem set on stage. The use of the Forum Theatre aims at fostering change by challenging traditional ideas of the audience as a ‘passive recipient’ and creating a dramatic space in which both actors and spectators become ‘spect-actors’. A problem is posed on stage and subsequently the audience is invited to suggest different solutions for it. In that way, the initial script becomes a new collaboratively constructed project. Boal’s theatre was a non-elitist one, appealing to working classes and creating an egalitarian space in which the participants can freely express themselves. In Palestine, Ashtar Theatre ‘defines itself as the centre for Forum Theatre training in the West Bank’ (Jawad 2008, 121) and it organizes a biannual International Theatre of the Oppressed Festival. In *The House of Yasmine* the methodology was changed and the play was interrupted throughout the action to interrogate the audience about their opinion. In this case, the idea was not to try to modify the actions that were being presented on stage but to foster collective reflection on the role of international funding in the Palestinian political, social and economic situation. The ‘joker⁷²’, who was played by Mohammed Eid, the same character who works as the cameraman, interrogated the audience several times and asked them their opinion about what was happening in the play.

After the first open discussion, the play continues presenting how Yasmine’s family presents their proposal to the donor, who repeatedly rejects the proposal, imposing

⁷² The ‘joker’ is a figure of the Theatre Forum that mediates between the audience and the presented narrative in order to foster the intervention and participation of the audience.

ridiculous bureaucratic conditions. The health expert comes back to the stage and she shows herself very impressed when she learns that Yasmine's son studies 'Business Administration'. She offers him a job to become 'part of the system'. It becomes evident that she is offering him to be part of the development industry. On stage, he faces the dilemma of rebelling against the system or joining it in exchange for personal rewards. This reflects the current situation in which 'students increasingly abandon their studies in humanities, Arabic or Palestinian history, and prioritise technical degrees in NGO management and English translation' (Ava Leone in Merz 2012, 63).

To be part of the system means to keep silent in matters of resistance, revolution and liberation and to comply with the official narrative. This situation presents how the system can result in the silencing of critical voices by subsuming them into the whole system which obstructs the road towards open discussion and uncensored criticism. Yasmine's son embodies the reality of different organizations and theatre groups which face the dilemma of trying to be an autonomous agent and dissenting, while being inscribed in the landscape of international funding. This situation raises the question of whether theatre can ever resist the constraints of funding and, if so, what ways does it have to articulate its own political voice. I argue that it is indeed possible to find new and innovative ways of avoiding the restrictions that are imposed by the system of international funding, as we will see in the last section of the present chapter.

When Yasmine finally gets the 'green medicine', it is revealed that it causes addiction. Drugs will keep Yasmine stable and alive, but will not improve her situation. The truth is revealed, there is an interest in maintaining Yasmine in the same situation as they have found a way to make profit out of it. Both the representative of the PNA and the international expert receive a benefit from Yasmine's situation. Yasmine's house becomes 'Yasmine's Hospital' as both of them hang a sign over the stage. Yasmine's son recovers his dissident voice and screams from the audience against the transformation of his house in a hospital. The objective of the play is not merely presenting and criticizing Yasmine's situation, it is creating a metaphor of Palestine by representing Yasmine's dying body. Similarly to what we saw in chapter 3, Yasmine's body becomes a representation of Palestine and the play criticizes the fact that international development agencies have found a way to use that body and its critical condition to make a profit, to an extent in which they are not interested anymore in 'saving' her. Her body becomes a metaphor for a whole system which has clearly sustained occupation, 'which would have

been much trickier and more onerous to maintain had the international community not footed the bills' (Le More 2005, 993).

At the same time, the play criticizes how the dependence on external resources 'reduce(s) the need for regimes to rely on domestic taxation, political elites are less reliant on and more autonomous from the society they govern and hence less vulnerable to domestic pressures' (Brynen 2000, 28), creating a breeding ground for corruption and harmful practices. This is represented in the above-described scene in which the governmental representative takes decisions about Yasmine without consulting her family or without being held accountable for it. All the characters in the play are interested in maintaining Yasmine in the same situation as they have found a way to make profit out of it. *The House of Yasmine* proves the potential of theatre to channel dissenting voices to address broader political and social issues, like the NGOization of Palestinian civil society and the pernicious effects of international funding dependence. In Jawad's words, against the risk of donors' influence in the selection of texts and the political content of the plays, 'Palestinian theatre artists struggle on' (Jawad 2008, 127-128). *The House of Yasmine* uses theatre to present the problem of foreign funding, opening the ground for an open discussion and an uncensored criticism that has no room in real life.

In the last scene of the play, Kate praises the representative of the Palestinian Authority for his transparency. He responds 'transparency is all we have', which made the audience laugh out loud as can be seen in the recording of the play that Ashtar and Al-Harah made available on internet. This responds to the problems of corruption and weak democracy in the PNA (Khan 2004, 3), which are widely criticized. He then asked what happened with the person who shot Yasmine and whether he will be taken to court. Kate responds that it is too soon to bring him to court and that 'negotiations' should be done first in order to be stronger in court. This mockery of negotiations recall the failure of the Oslo negotiations and subsequent attempts to reach an agreement with Israel. There is no interest according to her in going to the root of the problem and asking for responsibilities. The play finishes with a hug between the representative of the Palestinian National Authority and the international expert, who thank each other warmly.

This highly critical production was supported by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, a German institution that, according to its webpage: 'is committed to the legacy of the revolutionary left and works within the tradition of workers' and women's movements' ('Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung / Regional Office Palestine' 2017, n.p.). In their strategy in Palestine they support partners in 'analyzing and speaking out against the occupation, but

also in taking a critical stance towards social, economic, and political developments within Palestinian society' ('Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung / Regional Office Palestine' 2017, n.p.). The *House of Yasmine* was indeed a politically charged play that actively sought to promote a critical stance towards the system of international aid. In its efforts to have a discussion as open and objective as possible, the group invited representatives of governmental and nongovernmental organizations and the donor community. However, most of them declined the invitation without specific reasons and the discussion was restricted to an exchange between Palestinians and individual aid workers who did attend the performance. The kind of discussion that was generated did respond successfully to the group's interest of recognizing the challenges that the Palestinian society has to face regarding international donor funding. This discussion is extremely relevant and shows how theatre can present critical voices and allow a platform for dialogue, questioning the status quo of both development actors and governmental institutions.

In the next case study, we will focus on the possibilities of theatre practitioners not only to criticise the current social dynamics, but also to respond to the burden of representing a stable image of Palestinian identity. Within the aid framework that was directly criticised as a whole in *The House of Yasmine*, *Richard II* copes with a complex situation in which that same structure of funding might be conditioning the kind of image that the donors want to be represented. The presence of a Palestinian theatre group on one of the most important metropolitan stages, the Globe Theatre in London, is significant and recalls the strong historical ties between Britain and Palestine from the time of the British Mandate in Palestine. Partly due to the authoritative voice of Shakespeare, the play could not escape deep-rooted expectations of the portrayal of a certain narrative on stage. The following analysis questions the possibilities for theatre to convey a genuine message which would challenge the meaning of authenticity beyond power structures. Through the analysis of the play's production, the next section aims at unravelling the symbolic meanings that are brought about by this kind of theatrical collaboration, questioning whether theatre can blur the meaning of authenticity and convey a genuine message beyond power structures.

Richard II (2012)

The London's Globe Theatre celebrated in 2012 the *Globe to Globe Festival*, part of the World Shakespeare Festival (WSF). The "Globe to Globe Festival" brought together 37 theatre groups from different parts of the world to perform Shakespeare's plays in London

over six weeks. It had a significant impact and coverage in academic and media circles due, partly, to its connection to the Olympic Games, which gave it even more international projection. The Ramallah-based group Ashtar Theatre performed *Richard II*⁷³, which was directed by Irish director Conall Morrison and cast thirteen Palestinian actors and actresses. The relevance of this production lies partly in the strong significance of Shakespeare's authority in English literature and his role as a national symbol, while at the same time being the most performed playwright worldwide.

The play was performed in Arabic with English subtitles for the London audiences and, although advertised as being performed in Palestinian Arabic, it was in fact translated into modern classical Arabic by Palestinian poet Ghassan Zaqtan. Translating Shakespeare's drama, which has been recognized as an integral element of British national identity, is in itself an act that 'subverts the authority of Shakespeare's text' (Bulman 1996, 7) by locating it in a postcolonial context thereby re-interpreting it. In my opinion, translation grants a renewed room for aesthetical and semiotic manoeuvre in which, for instance, a stylized use of classical Arabic to re-narrate Richard II's story represents an empowering appropriation not only of a British national symbol but also of the underlying universal human dilemmas posed by the play. The Globe Theatre's efforts to explore new meanings that can only be achieved by translation can be inscribed in a broader interest to reach 'new levels of intercultural understanding' (Hoeselaars 2012, x). This idea of an 'intercultural understanding' through the adaptation and translation of Shakespeare needs to be seen from the point of view of Shakespeare's Anglo-centred symbolic authority.

The Globe Theatre's interest in achieving an intercultural theatre event lies on the overarching universality of Shakespeare. As stated on the Festival's webpage, the organizers were looking for the 'inspirational stories' of people working in difficult conditions (Shakespeare's Globe 2012, n.p.). This interest in their hardship recalls Taha's statement about artists in zone of conflict and the burden of representing their suffering.

At the same time, Dominic Dromgoole and Tom Bird – Artistic and Festival Directors respectively – added in the description of the festival that Shakespeare plays 'have midwifed new theatre cultures, spread light and laughter, and helped nations, new and old, to define themselves' (Shakespeare's Globe 2012, n.p.). This statement emphasizes not only the constitutional authority of Shakespeare who, as stated by Dobson, 'was

⁷³ Ashtar Theatre has also co-produced "This Flesh is Mine" (2014) and "When Nobody Returns" (2016) with London-based theatre company Border Crossings and the Central School of Speech and Drama, with the support of the Arts Council England, British Council, Nour Festival and Rose Bruford College.

declared to rule world literature at the same time that Britannia was declared to rule the waves' (Dobson 1992, 7), but it also locates Shakespeare in an authoritative position, linking his work with a certain development in world theatre cultures. There is a structural background that locates Shakespeare in a canonical position which allows the festival organizers to openly maintain the assumption of the Palestinian group's need for help 'to define themselves' via Shakespeare. On the other hand, the significance of a Palestinian translation of Shakespeare is different when performed in Palestine for a Palestinian audience than when presented to an audience at the London Globe, 'a site dominated by concepts of Shakespearean authenticity and originality' (Ng 2014, 429). In this sense, the audience's expectations in London were articulated in a two-way process in which the burden of the authenticity of Shakespeare's texts clashed with the intercultural interests of the organization. The audience, more or less consciously, expected a certain level of authenticity in the Palestinian performance of Shakespeare, which should stay in tune with the original text. As stated by Ng, the audience needed to locate an authentic point of reference, 'a set of stable signs and significations' (2014, 429) to understand the performance; therefore, Shakespeare becomes a point of reference from which the performance is understood. And here comes into play the festival pressure to represent a certain kind of authenticity which is connected with the previously defined 'burden of representation'. At the same time, this burden of representation does not only apply to the authenticity of Shakespeare's play, but also to the degree of 'Palestinianness' that was expected by the London audience. Moreover, back in 2012, Ashtar Theatre had to deal with a reception background highly influenced by the situation in many Arab countries where the so-called 'Arab Spring' was challenging the long-established political systems. The political situation preceded the play's reception in a context in which organizers and audience expected a certain reflection of the political situation. These expectations are closely connected with the above mentioned 'burden of representation' as well; in fact, there was within the WSF a 'sheer symbolic pressure (...) to somehow 'represent' a whole nation, culture and language in a two- to three-hour show by a long dead English playwright' (Edmondson, Prescott, and Sullivan 2013, 24). Therefore, Ashtar had to cope with the tension between the intercultural aim of the festival organizers and the expectations of an inherent authenticity of Shakespeare's work.

The play starts with the killing of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, by two hooded men. His throat is cut with a razor and blood is poured over his head to represent his death. The entrance of King Richard II is then announced and the audience get to

know the main character of the play, represented as an affected and prim man, which makes the audience laugh. We need to emphasize that Shakespeare's original names were kept, with a non-specific staging that facilitated the audience's understanding and connection with the original text. Ashtar's de-contextualization of *Richard II* was a conscious move that uncovered broader themes that were present in Shakespeare's original text. As stated by Haddad, this detachment from the representation of Palestine made broader underlying themes 'easily accessible to an audience perhaps unaware of the nuances of Palestinian politics or culture that would have been present in a more nationalistic performance' (Haddad 2013, 128). *Richard II*'s text alone proposes a basic political message which is independent from the external context and the personal background (Audebert 1984, 76). Ashtar assumed an anti-essentialist strategy by detaching their production from the actual Palestinian context. The Ramallah-based group created a version which was not explicitly tied to the Palestinian political and/or social reality. This emphasis on a non-specific locality shifted the play's political resonance towards more general topics that would more easily emerge for a London audience's political consciousness.

After being requested to mediate in a dispute between Henry Bolingbroke and Thomas Mowbray, who was accused of murdering the Duke of Gloucester, Richard II condemns both men to exile. Mowbray is condemned to a life in exile while Bolingbroke is condemned to ten years of displacement, which is then reduced by the king to six years. This scene marks the beginning of the fall of Richard II, who will be overthrown by Henry Bolingbroke, future King Henry IV. The arbitrariness of his sentence against Bolingbroke and Mowbray shows his lack of sense of justice and fairness. Besides, Richard is also suspect of the murder of his uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, but he never offers any explanation to exculpate himself or mentions the possibility of a fair trial for the other suspect, Mowbray. Throughout the play he shows similar patterns of abuse of power and high-handed rule, which angers the court and precipitates his fall. Similar critiques have been directed to the PNA not only in its role during the Oslo Accords but also up until now; corruption, clientelism and weak legal codes and practices have been identified and have caused discontent and division among the Palestinian population (Amundsen and Ezbidid 2002, 28). In fact, a similar critique of the PNA was seen in *The House of Yasmine*, where the government representative was deliberately making decisions without the consent of the other characters. However, when asked about the connection of *Richard II* to the Palestinian context during a special discussion with the cast entitled 'Theatre

under Occupation: What does Shakespeare have to say to the Palestinians?’ (Ashtar Theatre 2012, n.p.), Iman Aoun explained that the Palestinian situation goes beyond *Richard II* and it wants to talk about anywhere there is a ‘dictatorship or tyrant’. She mentioned how she had tried to see that connection starting from the end of the play⁷⁴, when Henry Bolingbroke announces his trip to Jerusalem after killing King Richard II to clean his bloody hands, ‘and dirtying our lands with it’, she adds. They questioned the intricacies of the game of power and the seemingly unavoidable corruption of power, without falling into the trap of positioning themselves as critical voices of the authentic Palestinian experience. Moreover, they extend the play’s critique against authoritarianism beyond Palestine and focus on a simple representation of Shakespeare’s themes: kingship and power struggles.

In spite of Ashtar’s efforts to de-contextualize the play, some of the situations in *Richard II* necessarily resonate with the Palestinian context. For instance, in the above mentioned trip of Henry Bolingbroke to Palestine, the London audience laughed as the irony of the current lack of mobility of the Palestinian group was spotted. Later on, in the above-mentioned special discussion with the cast, Nicola Zreineh, actor interpreting Bolingbroke in *Richard II*, exposed the absurdity of not being able, as a Palestinian living in Bethlehem, to visit Jerusalem while his character, five centuries ago, could travel over 2000 miles from London to Jerusalem (West 2012, n.p.). Besides, in the fourth scene of the third act, the gardeners of the royal gardens appear, wearing a traditional Palestinian dress and a keffiyeh. In this scene, they talk about the political situation and give the audience an update of what is happening in the play, foreseeing the king’s downfall. However, Ashtar managed to talk to the audience with a theatrical language that is autonomous from the burden of explicating current events and separated completely their narration from Palestine.

The production of *Richard II* within the Globe to Globe festival was a project conceived to be exposed to the Western gaze. At the same time, Ashtar theatre wanted to assert their creative agency by challenging any pre-conceived idea of what Palestinian theatre should look like. Moreover, they wanted to distance themselves from the formal politics of Palestinian nationalism and their inscription in the broader narratives of Middle Eastern politics. *Richard II* rejects the idea of complying with any of the pre-established narratives that would transpose the experiences of Shakespearian drama to the Palestinian context. Before the postcolonial dilemma that Shakespeare’s translation posed within the WSF,

⁷⁴ Timepoint 30:53

Ashtar decided not to represent nationalist ideas of Palestine while, at the same time, they rejected any idea of a homogeneous Arab world. As stated by Litvin, Walkling and Cormack, Ashtar refused to comply with the festival organizers and audiences' attempts to homogenize 'Arab experience for easy consumption' (2015, 11).

On the contrary, the group made the audience focus on the actions on stage, and, instead of constructing any idea of Palestine through the play, they allowed the production in itself, its conditions and restrictions to speak about the hardships that they face in their work. I argue that the delocalization of *Richard II* did not help to reinforce the universality of Shakespeare's themes, since this ignores dynamics of power ruling human experience. However, it did focus the attention of the audience on the group that was behind the production and the challenges they had to face in order to be on that stage. Ashtar's production refuses to portray a homogenized human experience as a way to raise the audience's awareness about the complexities of their own experience. The audience's reaction in London was indeed positive and, according to Litvin, Walkling and Cormack, the play managed to talk to different audiences; they managed to offer a production of good quality, while at the same time 'their deft manoeuvres were designed to show that art can be more than simplistic national allegory' (2015, 11-12). The presence of the Palestinian artistic team in London and the interest that the production had captured reinforces the idea of theatre as a tool to raise awareness of the Palestinian situation. Ashtar theatre seized the opportunity to present their own voice on an international stage, without having to comply with the donors and organizers' expectations.

Throughout this chapter we have asserted the need to engage critically with a view of theatre collaborations not only within the system of aid but also within the cultural logic of globalization. Besides, we have focused on uncovering different strategies that Palestinian theatre groups have adopted in order to cope with their new position within the global stage and with the restrictions that might arise from that complex situation. Insofar as theatre's potential to foster reflection is undeniable, 'agency hinges on the degree to which cultural forms resist dilution and/or co-option' (Lo and Gilbert 2002, 45-46). In this sense, Palestinian theatre has proven to foster a critical theatre that challenges the constraints of both its position on the global stage and within the system of international funding. In the coming section, I propose a framework to understand Palestinian theatre groups' performance as independent from their actual economic agency. I argue that Palestinian theatre can and actually does have a dynamic scene in

which practitioners assert their right to create and communicate, finding breaches that allow them to survive regardless of their economic difficulties.

IV. Circumscribed but Dissenting: Palestinian Theatre's Political Efficacy

There is a current tension between the local and global scene in Palestinian theatre. Located at an intersection between cultural exchange, international funding and internal pressures, Palestinian theatre strives to find its own language, avoiding the essentialism of its voices. In this context, it becomes inevitable to raise the issue of theatre's efficacy in terms of its political message and agency. This debate is necessary for two reasons: firstly, because of the global tensions that locate Palestinian theatre in a position of disadvantage within the global mobility regime. Secondly, because that disadvantage is handled by incorporating Palestine and its social fabric in the system of international development, which implies another array of complexities. In terms of the inclusion of cultural production in this equation, we might as well ask the question: 'are foreign sponsorships of cultural productions directed at alleviating trauma or subduing Palestinian resistance?' (Al-Saber 2014a, 11). This question reflects the fine line between the positive effects of international exchange and collaboration, fostered by foreign funding of artistic activities in Palestine, and the imposition of limitations and conditions for these activities, based on the power structure that stems from that economic support.

The main underlying issue at point is whether theatre's potential for radical intervention in the socio-political context might have become compromised by theatre companies becoming dependent on external support. Moreover, the idea of a 'radical' intervention might be in itself rejected by the practitioners who would chose to position themselves away from that notion which aimed at promoting radical socio-political changes. This terminological choice responds to the risk of facing rejection not only by donors but also from audiences if labelled as 'radicals'. In any case, it is useful to consider that performance efficacy relies on the connection with the actual social context and how it challenges the pre-established order. Palestinian theatre has functioned both 'as a cultural construct and as a means of cultural productions' (Kershaw 2002, 5). This means that it is a form of art tied and intimately linked to its cultural context, while at the same time it contributes to the production of culture itself. It is therefore both an object and a subject of culture. Cultural production in Palestine presents itself as agent and able to speak independently, as in the aforementioned case studies. In terms of the audiences that are

targeted by Palestinian theatre practitioners, the new position of Palestinian performance within the global stage broadens the possible audiences. Even though Palestinian theatre inside Palestine is still an urban activity, with performances and events mostly limited to Ramallah and Jerusalem (DeVoor and Boo Jaspersen 2012, 26) and audiences being mostly urban⁷⁵, we have seen throughout this thesis that the geographical horizons of theatre practitioners have expanded and Palestinian theatre productions are increasingly present in international circuits.

There are many reasons that arise in this complex panorama: how can a theatre group articulate their own political messages while at the same time responding to international donors' requirements? Is it possible for theatre practitioners to be political agents while being inscribed in the panorama of international funding? Can theatre present political stances that would dissent from broader discourses promoted by development agencies? Can theatre create new and innovative ways of avoiding the economic restrictions of funding? Is there a way to be economic dependent, appealing to international donors and still manage to articulate their own messages? In a 2013 article, Staeheli, Attoh and Mitchell proposed a new approach to the politics of youth engagement and the politics of citizenship in Lebanon. They wanted to explore the agency of youth and how that agency was translated in terms of real political performance. They demonstrated how institutions 'attempt to mould youth as 'active' citizens, who are engaged in their communities and in civil society, but who will not fundamentally challenge the state or the normative social order' (2013, 89). This means that these institutions were trying to control youth activity, directing them to what it are considered desirable actions for the community. In their article, they investigate the options for these youth to dissent and engage in a performance of their own agency that would challenge institutional expectations.

The three authors propose to locate youth agency and performance in two perpendicular axis (see figure 4.1.). On the one hand, the youth agency is represented in a vertical line in which those empowered are located at the top and those circumscribed are located at the bottom. For the authors, youth agency is defined by their engagement in acts 'that break with the everyday and make new political forms' (Staeheli, Attoh, and Mitchell 2013, 93). Those with a circumscribed agency are those whose room for manoeuvre is

⁷⁵ Theatre activities have been expanded to rural areas in the West Bank and Gaza in the last years. An example of this is Ashtar Theatre's project 'vulnerable stories' in collaboration with the Jordan Valley Solidarity movement (more information available online: <https://actfordiversity.org/activities/street-theatre/jordan-valley-vulnerable-stories/>). The project trained youth from the Jordan Valley on theatre techniques aiming at empowering them and creating a theatre play that would raise awareness about the problems of everyday life in the Jordan Valley.

strictly restricted by national institutions. As we will see later, this definition can be transposed to Palestinian theatre in its relationship with international donors. On the other hand, the authors consider necessary to talk about the intentions and implications of youth action, acknowledging that the potential for subversive acts always exists. The horizontal axis reflects the differences in political performance which fluctuates between compliant and dissenting. In terms of the politics of engagement, this axis indicates youth positionality as ‘compliance with or dissent from the dominant social norms, expectations and orders’ (Staehele, Attouh, and Mitchell 2013, 94). The extremes of each axis are not opposed to each other in a binary and opposite division. There are different degrees of agency between empowered and circumscribed and similarly, performance can be more or less compliant or dissenting.

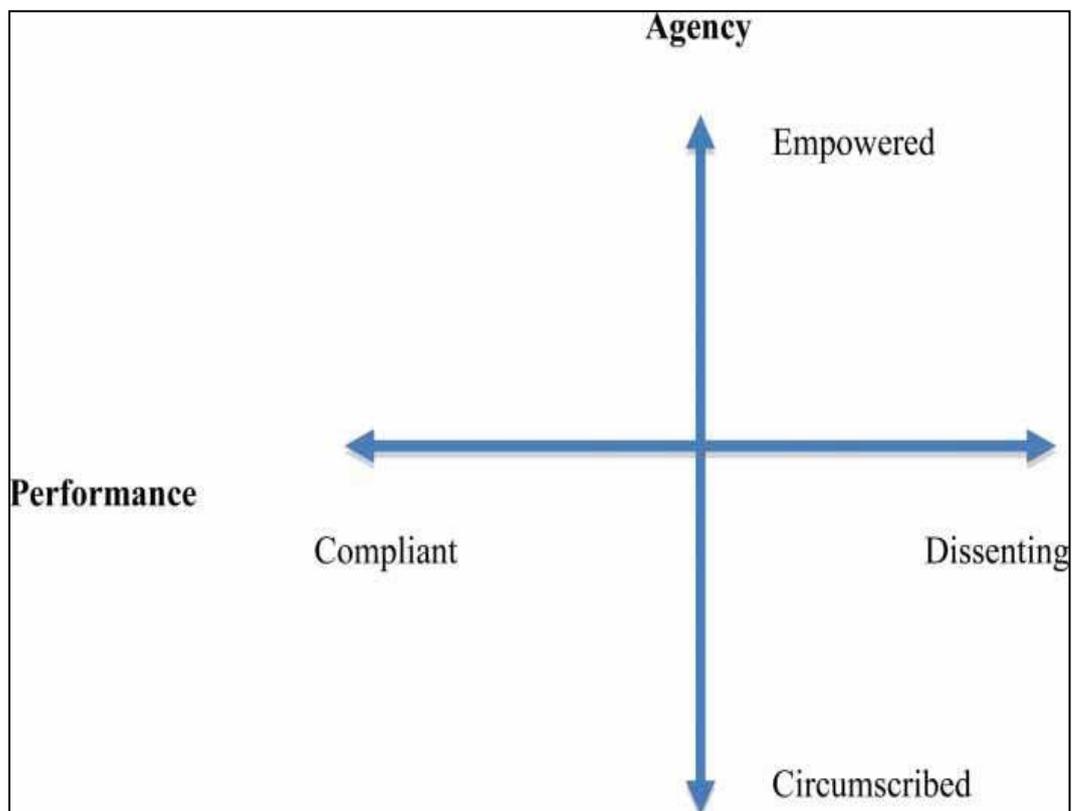


Figure 4.2. Agency and performance of citizenship. Staehele, Attouh and Mitchell (2013, 95).

I argue that we can apply this same axis to theatre production; similarly, practitioners’ agency can be more or less circumscribed or empowered. The more able the troupes are to produce plays with less external support and greater levels of control over their content, the nearer to the pole of ‘empowered’ they can be located. The more the theatre groups rely on external funding and have to comply with different agents’ guidelines, the closer they are to the pole of ‘circumscribed’ (see Figure 4.2). Theatre practitioners often find themselves being sponsored by NGOs that advise ‘people how to improve their lives

within fairly narrow sectoral domains' (Kerr 1999 85-86). This might result in a theatre's work being circumscribed by this sectoral priorities, as we mentioned earlier in the case of the production of *Why?* (2010). The above-described axis of agency allows us to expand the idea of theatre's agency and understand it as a fluid, changeable and fluctuating notion, depending on different elements. In fact, theatre groups' agency can vary from production to production; for instance, Al-Harah was involved in the production of both *The House of Yasmine* and *Why?*, showing two different positions in terms of its agency.

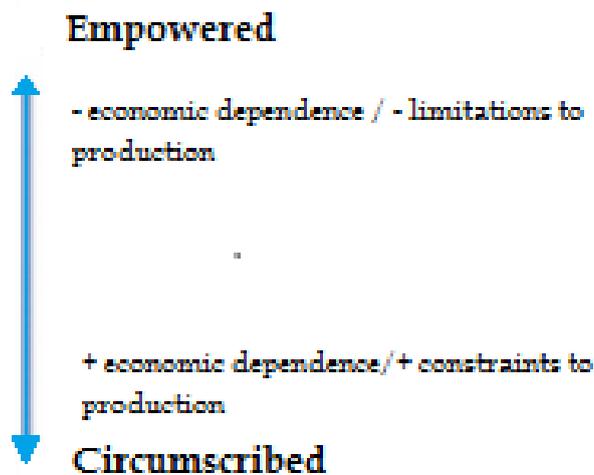


Figure 4.3. Agency in Palestinian Theatre Production. Author's interpretation of Staeheli, Attoh and Mitchell 2013.

However, in order to get a more complete understanding of the Palestinian situation, we need to acknowledge, as stated by Staeheli, Attoh and Mitchell, that only looking at theatre's agency in terms of its dependence on international funding 'does not offer a means to read either the political intentions or political implications of an act' (Staeheli, Attoh, and Mitchell 2013, 94). Therefore, we need to take into consideration the actual performance of Palestinian theatre companies, which again can be more or less compliant or dissenting with the imposed narratives (see Figure 4.3.). Theatre's political engagement can be observed in their position towards the dominant discourses within Palestinian society. Again, theatre makers' position within this axis is highly mobile and varies from one production to the other. Besides, within one single production, from a meta-performative point of view, Palestinian theatre's political performance can be observed both in terms of both the content and the intention. For instance, *Richard II* presented an adaptation of Shakespeare's original play that did follow conventional representations of it and that did not address the political situation of Palestine. However,

the broader intention of the production was to bring Palestinian voices to British stages, opening the space to discuss the constraints that these practitioners have to face due to both the Israeli occupation and Palestinian internal politics. Palestinian theatre groups' performance both on stage and off stage has a political meaning and it can become independent from their actual agency in the process of the production. In this sense, performances need to be understood in the wider political context, one that looks towards spreading its message abroad but also to fostering social and political change at the national and local level.



Figure 4. 4. Performance of Palestinian Theatre Groups. Author's interpretation of Staeheli, Attoh and Mitchell 2013.

In my opinion, the intersection of agency and performance allows us to formulate a critical framework to understand theatre's efficacy. It helps us to understand whether the lack of agency of the groups to produce their plays without the support of international donors would necessarily mean that political dissent in theatre is not possible. By locating performance in a position of being both circumscribed and dissenting, we can understand how the lack of economic agency of a theatre group would not necessarily lead to a complete compliancy with the aid conditionality, restricting their political message. Therefore we find many different productions in which, to some extent, the economic dependence on external funding has not restricted the politically critical messages (see Figure 4.4.). Palestinian theatre has still maintained a certain level of creative freedom to convey the desired messages and find different spaces of resistance. Staeheli, Attoh and Mitchell's framework allows to reflect these complexities by putting the two axes into a relationship without collapsing them. When translating this chart into theatre's analysis, it can be interpreted as the possibility of having theatrical performance 'circumscribed' in terms of agency, due for instance to the economic and creative restrictions imposed by

the funding institutions, but that does not mean that groups cannot express dissent towards the dominating structures both in their plays and in their functioning.

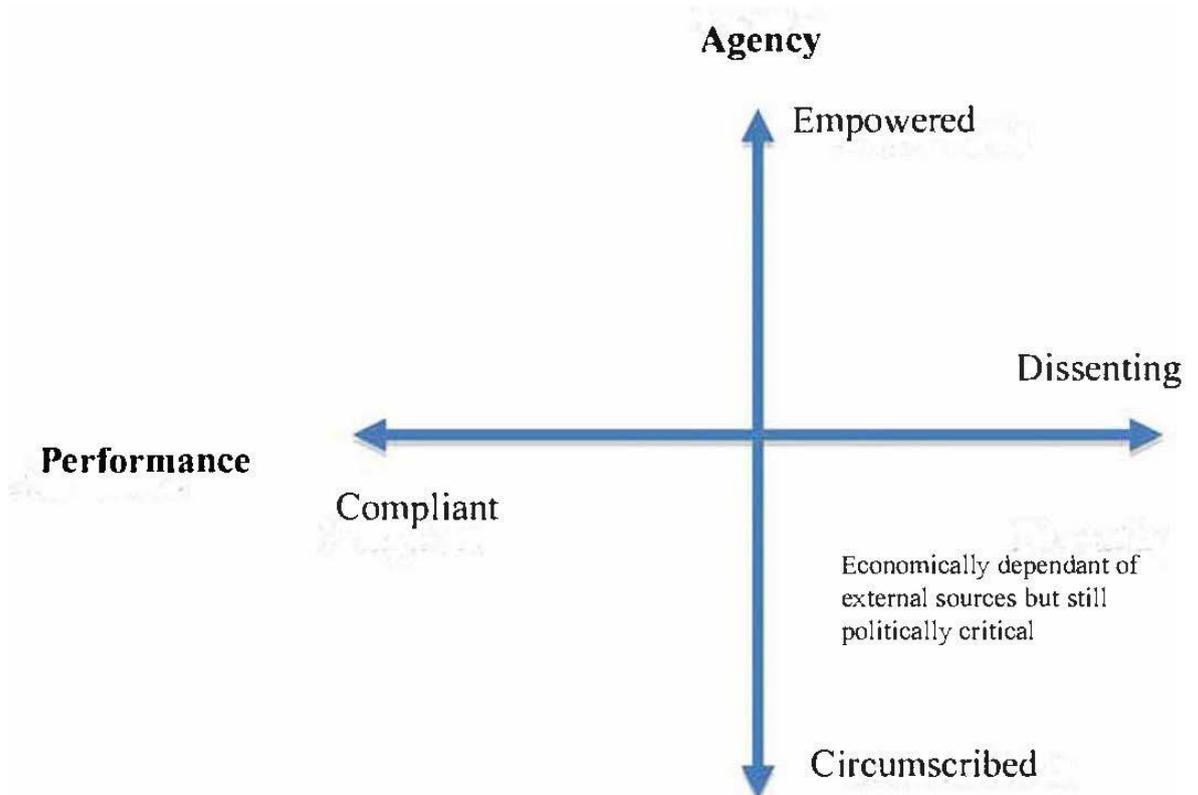


Figure 4.5. Agency and performance in Palestinian theatre. Author's interpretation of Staeheli, Attoh and Mitchell 2013.

As we have seen throughout this chapter, Palestinian groups and practitioners try to find their own ways of expressing their dissent with the existing power structures. The same institutions that are promoting the independence of these groups might be at the same time conditioning their functioning; this paradox, also pinpointed by Staeheli, Attoh, and Mitchell (2013, 90), fosters a new theatrical language that adapts to the circumstances. There are different strategies to show dissenting voices on stage; *The House of Yasmine* is clearly critical in terms both of its techniques, fostering audience's direct participation, and because of the direct critique of the system of international development in Palestine. On the other hand, *Richard II* was produced with the financial and technical support of international bodies and specifically commissioned to Ashtar Theatre by the organizers of the WSF; however, it managed to convey a fairly critical and independent performance through the de-contextualization of the play. Therefore, the potential of theatre to foster reflection and social change is not entirely questioned by the constraints of international funding. In the Palestinian case, the historical events and the difficult political situation

enhance the existence of a critical theatre that concedes an important space for the audience to interact with the performers.

On the one hand, this trend reflects a new wave of dramatic influences and exchanges, directed to give voice to the oppressed across boundaries. These kind of techniques that enhance an audience's participation allow theatre production to position itself nearer to the 'dissenting' end of the performance axis insofar as they focus on the immediacy of the theatrical event and the instantaneous interaction with the audience to convey their message and create their meaning, which allows critical ideas to find their way. On the other hand, within the system of international funding, many of the dissenting voices are not only directed to Palestinian audiences, but they also aim to challenge preconceived ideas within Western audiences. The presence of those voices on stage alone challenges a discourse that is full of 'misrepresentations of the history, geography and identity of the Palestinian people' (Hilal 2013, n.p.) and over which Palestinians have no control. Palestinian practitioners have engaged in a collective movement which 'demands a renewed sense of self-recognition that disturbs the language of self and Other, of individual and group' (Bhabha 2003, 172), asserting their own right to 'explore and endure, to survive and savour a complex revision in the community of meaning and being' (179-180) which dissents against stagnated representations of both collective and individual identity.

V. Concluding Remarks

The last chapter of the present thesis has inscribed the notion of 'immobility' in the broader global scene, exploring the multi-layered tensions that arise from the friction between the local, national and global scenes. I argue that there is a global 'mobility regime' (Shamir 2005) that deepens the inequalities in the access to mobility. We have seen how the existence of a mobility gap fosters a global process of othering; a structural tension that has a strong impact in cultural expression. The new global order tries to foster a 'global stage' in which transcultural exchange can be presented, which often obviates the underlying structures of power. At the same time, this 'global stage' offers new possibilities for different voices to find their way and new synergies and collaborations to occur, creating a still enriching panorama of collaborations. However, there are tensions that can emerge from that 'global stage' especially because of unequal positions within it. The analysis of the play *Keffiyeh/Made in China* has highlighted the critique that can be articulated through theatre against the dynamics of globalization and neo-liberal policies that deepen tensions in the global context. In that sense, the play criticizes

the commodification of Palestinian symbols for western consumption, which leads to the de-politicization of these symbols, like the keffiyeh, and the appropriation of the struggle in international circuits.

In this chapter, I have also analysed the impact of international aid in Palestine, with a focus on the dynamics that emerge from the connections between international aid and theatre in Palestine. We have seen how *The House of Yasmine* openly criticizes that system, fostering an open discussion within Palestinian society to reflect upon the options and alternatives to a system of aid that works to perpetuate the Palestinian situation. On the other hand, when it comes to the connection between Palestinian theatre and international funding, there are many different and complex dynamics at play. Firstly, international funding has promoted an active theatrical scene in Palestine, as well as an increasing number of collaborations and synergies with international theatre groups (mostly from Europe and the US, but also from other countries of the ‘global South’ like Brazil or India). This dynamic has made Palestinian voices available for international audiences, which is indeed a positive development in terms of advocacy and raising awareness of the Palestinian situation. Secondly, theatre practitioners and groups in Palestine have become dependent on international funding to survive, due partly to the lack of national institutions. This dependence is translated into both economic and conceptual dependence; which means that theatre groups find their possibilities to produce politically critical plays limited. At the same time, the reliance on external support means that there might be some expectations about not only the messages that these plays are constructing, but also about a certain representation of Palestinian identity. In fact, donors might be imposing a ‘burden of representation’ that imposes a certain language which conveys an ‘authentic’ representation of Palestinian reality.

The responses to this situation vary; even though the system of international aid in which Palestinian theatre production is inscribed posits different restrictions to its agency, the groups find different ways to counter any limitations in terms of their political and artistic performance. *Richard II* has illustrated a response to these ‘western’ expectations, through a de-contextualization of the play on stage. While at the same time, they showed their dissenting voices off-stage, making their only presence on an international festival a political statement of the relevance of Palestinian voices. Staeheli, Attouh, and Mitchell’s matrix has allowed me to represent in a graphic way the idea of a dissenting performance being possible even if the system of funding restricts the groups’ agency. In this sense, the enunciation of this matrix at the end of this thesis also allows us to think about the

other case studies exposed throughout this work under those lenses. In terms of analysing theatre's efficacy to convey a political message, and how, through the representation of immobility as inscribed in personal experiences, these experiences have the potential to speak to the collective and subvert hegemonic narratives.

CONCLUSIONS

The present research has analysed post-Oslo Palestinian theatre production, engaging with a wide range of topics that are strongly connected with the spatial reality of Palestine. From the efforts to assert Palestinian cultural identity separated from nationalist rhetoric to the response to the influence of international donors, theatrical production in Palestine has engaged in a re-invention of dramatic expression. In the words of Samer Al-Saber, Palestinian practitioners 'have successfully managed to find a fine balance' (Al-Saber and Taylor 2014, 97). I have argued that in this context of increasing immobility, theatre makers have found a language that speaks from the individual to the collective, including local, national and global influences without forgetting their focus on the bounded body on stage.

In this thesis, I have given an overview of Palestinian theatre production, bridging the fragmentation caused by the Israeli occupation and Palestinian internal divisions. Therefore, I have connected Palestinian productions inside of the Palestinian Occupied Territories and Israel. This connection has reflected a solid network of Palestinian practitioners in Israel and Palestine with a long trajectory of collaboration, which permeates the theatrical language. In fact, this constant connection defies the idea of an inside-outside, as we saw in the first chapter: Israel has control over all the Palestinians, both citizens and non-citizens of Israel. Israel's power to control Palestinian space and movement is internalized and visible on stage, with these practitioners always enunciating a narrative of immobility. It is obvious that life experiences are different for Palestinians in Israel and those in the OPT, but theatre manages to find common points in which both can raise their voices against the different manifestations of oppression of the Israeli system.

In the first two chapters, I analysed the representation on stage of the mechanisms of movement restriction imposed by the Israeli state on the Palestinian population. Chapter one reflected on the impact of that structure or 'matrix of control' (Halper 2009) on the construction of the characters in the theatre plays. I considered two different plays: *Confinement* (2010) from Al-Harah in Beit Jala (West Bank) and *Exit* (2013) from Khashabi Ensemble in Haifa (Israel). The parallelisms between them demonstrated the commonalities in their experiences and how both represented these commonalities on stage. One interesting issue that these plays raised was the internalization of Israeli disciplinary control, and how some characters put up resistance against it. In the case of *Confinement* and *Exit*, we saw how both plays presented daily gestures becoming

increasingly distorted. I argued that this distortion reflects the estrangement of the individuals who live in that confined reality. Their everyday immobility permeates their own understanding of the self, pushing them towards alienation. Although both plays showed similar patterns in their relationship with their surroundings; we saw how the play produced in Israel made reference to Palestinian symbols, like the ‘Dabke’, the typical Arab folk dance, which was deformed and became a source of pain and distress for the characters. I argue that this reflects the double estrangement of the Palestinians living inside of Israel. On the one hand, they are treated as second-class citizens inside of Israel. On the other hand, they are also considered strangers inside of the Palestinian community, due to their Israeli citizenship.

These plays also offered a critique of the social dynamics inside Palestinian society. For instance, in *Confinement*, within the broader restrictions that were imposed on the characters confined inside a bottle, they expressed their frustration for the limitations imposed by their social context. This frustration reflects the development of an increasingly repressive society inside of Palestine. The situation of oppression articulated by the Israeli occupation is intensified by conservative positions inside Palestinian society that try to preserve the community’s purity and traditions. In that sense, it is against the homogenizing nationalist rhetoric that individual stories are represented on stage, reclaiming their legitimate position within the collective. In *Confinement*, there was as well a strong gender component, since the female character’s behaviour appeared to be more tightly controlled, which corresponds with a more strict definition of gender roles and norms, as we saw in more depth in chapter three.

In the second part of the first chapter we talked about the ‘technologies of occupation’ as different technologies that operate on the ground directed towards controlling the population. We explored the location of these technologies in cultural production, focusing on the Wall and how it has a preeminent position as a cultural artifact. Despite how problematic this Wall and its geographical layout is, it has become a permanent element of the landscape and has permeated the everyday lives of the Palestinian population. In the play *The Wall* (2004), this meant that an actual wall was placed on stage and it became part of the different stories that were narrated by the play’s characters. The Wall was a background element of the play but it also gained agency in some parts of it, moving and increasing the characters’ immobility throughout the play.

In *The Wall*, we also saw a similar representation of the internalization of the presence of the Wall, to a point in which individuals consider gestures like handing in a permit to an

Israeli soldier totally normal and part of their everyday life. Besides, the Wall worked as a tool on stage to deny sense of sight and different characters could not see each other throughout the play, reflecting how it increases the fragmentation of the Palestinian community. At the same time, this play put on stage characters that would have been rendered invisible by the Wall, being confined on the other side of it, therefore making available their stories for Palestinian and International audiences. The sense of sight was not only relevant in relation to the Wall, but was also significant for the prisoners that were represented in chapter two, as I will explain below.

Throughout this thesis I have analysed different connections between individual and collective narratives, arguing that contemporary Palestinian theatre has favoured the narration of individual experience as a way of articulating dissenting voices. In chapter two the individual and collective dimensions of imprisonment intertwined in theatrical representation. On the one hand, imprisonment has a collective character in Palestine, due to both the large scale of imprisonment in the Palestinian community and the symbolism that imprisonment has for the community. On the other hand, imprisonment cuts the links between individuals and their community in order to impose disciplinary control. Traditionally, the community would express a strong sense of solidarity with prisoners and their families. However, this solidarity has diminished in recent years with a 'weakening of social support' (Giacaman and Johnson 2013, 68) within the Palestinian community. The two plays that were analysed in the second chapter, *The Island* (2013) from the Freedom Theatre in Jenin (West Bank) and *A Parallel Timeline* (2014) from Al-Midan Theatre in Haifa (Israel) presented the individual voices of the inmates on stage.

In both cases, theatre became a common space where the community could gather to share the experience. Theatre offered a response against the prison system, working to avoid the prisoners becoming invisible. It also reaffirmed the prisoners' presence by redirecting the audience's gaze towards the inside of the prison and reasserting the collective meaning of imprisonment and the individual agency of these prisoners. Both the plays were based on real stories of prisoners, in South Africa and Palestine respectively, and both of them focused on an apparently banal day-to-day routine. This approach directed the attention towards the experience of imprisonment as an almost epidemic social phenomena which has, however, a more existential effect on the inmates. Both plays presented the anxiety of the imprisoned subjects, their disconnection from reality and the relevance of memory and dreams for them. Time acquires a different character for the prisoners, linked to the arrangement of space in the case of *Parallel Timeline*. Besides, imprisonment blurs the

line between memory and forgetfulness. In this sense, imprisonment makes them invisible to their communities, and those who are invisible might be forgotten: theatre then works to re-humanize and make them visible for their community, representing on stage that fear of forgetfulness.

The plays analysed also recognize the relevance of the community of inmates that arises inside the prison. In both *The Island* and *A Parallel Timeline*, strong human connections are established among the prisoners. However, these ties of solidarity and friendship do not reproduce the dynamic that has been described about real prisons. We saw how communities of Palestinian prisoners are often described in terms of their political affiliation and they reproduce political and social relations on a reduced scale. By contrast, in theatre none of these political positions are represented, avoiding any essentialization in the representation of the characters and focusing mainly in their internal struggles and everyday experiences. Besides, the construction of gender identities related to imprisonment was also an important element of the second chapter. First, we saw the influence of imprisonment on the conformation of masculinity. In this sense, prison works in a two-fold manner; on the one hand, imprisonment can be masculinizing for the subjects, who perceived imprisonment as a rite of passage. On the other hand, carceral techniques, ill-treatment and torture, can have an emasculating effect on the prisoners, who need to reassert then their gender identity. Secondly, the chapter tackled the issue of women and imprisonment in Palestine. Narratives of imprisonment usually do not pay attention to the situation of the female relatives who stay outside and who are subject to a ‘triple captivity: from the Israeli colonial system of separation, inside the Israeli prison system of incarceration, and through the isolating and constricting effects of the post-Oslo Palestinian political and social landscape’ (Giacaman and Johnson 2013, 75). In *A Parallel Timeline*, this captivity is represented by the movements of the only female character, Fida, the fiancé of Wadih, the main character. She moves turning around the stage, just waiting for a letter from prison or a visit, which represents her life as always subject to what is happening inside of the prison.

Chapter three expands on the issue of gender and focuses on the connections between women and the land; identifying how immobility was inscribed in both women’s use of space and their bodies, and in the practices of representation. We analysed two theatre plays in which the main characters were women and were both described as the land, as Palestine in *Suicide Note from Palestine* (2013), produced by the Freedom Theatre in Jenin (West Bank) and as Jerusalem in *I am Jerusalem* (2009), produced by Ashtar

Theatre in Ramallah (West Bank). Both plays focused on the experiences of the two female characters. The identification of the woman with the land recalls the nationalist rhetoric that sees women as symbols of the nation, with both a reproductive role and a role of protection of the boundaries. Women are therefore connected to the land in a way that confers them an immutable and symbolic character and that, at the same time, does not include them in the collective. This would suggest that the plays were representing these women as fixed subjects, without challenging power relations based on gender divisions. However, I argued that in the case of the two analysed plays, the narrative was more complex, since this identification of the woman with the land was situating both of them in a position of 'otherness'. This position suggests more agency for the subject; since being the 'other' offers a non-stable position from which alternative narratives can be articulated.

In the case of *Suicide Note*, the body of the main character was manipulated and medicalized in order to avoid her suicide. The suicide was presented as a political action in the play, not related to martyrdom, but to political agency for the community. Her body had therefore become collectivized and she was claiming for its ownership. At the same time, throughout the play she takes on the task of mobilizing and waking up a new generation; in this sense, she is openly criticizing Palestinian politics since the Oslo Accords. The play challenges the Palestinian nationalist rhetoric and ridicules the Palestinian political elites and the international system. From what is presented as a dream, *Suicide Note* is actually showing the reasons of youth political disengagement and is looking for new narratives that would serve as mobilizers for Palestinian society. A similar critique of Palestinian politics is *House of Yasmine* (2011), co-produced by Al-Harah Theatre in Beit Jala and Ashtar Theatre in Ramallah, which engaged in an open discussion with the audience about the implications of the system of international aid in Palestine, as analysed in chapter four.

I am Jerusalem referred to a mythical past of the city of Jerusalem, presenting the history of the city as the biography of the main character. This biography served as an anti-colonial criticism of past conquerors of Jerusalem, while at the same time, was a strategy to claim the legitimacy of Palestinian belonging to the land. In fact, she makes reference to certain 'regimes of truth' being imposed by the colonizers; her biography and account of the history of the city work to configure a 'new truth' to challenge the effects of that colonization and, therefore, she also locates herself in a mobilizing role. However, differently to *Suicide Note*, she is presented as a helpless character who did not defy the

patriarchal structures and longed for domesticity to ensure the preservation of the nation. It is only because in the play she is raped by the Israeli colonizer and left pregnant that she decides to act and mobilize the audience. She then adopts a central and active role in the political mobilization of the Palestinian collective, similar to *Suicide Note*.

Therefore, although the representation of the Palestinian space as gendered can actually be a reiteration of certain patriarchal narratives and represent the woman as a passive subject, the two case studies illustrated the possibilities of challenging hegemonic patriarchal narratives from within that position. The embodied character of the land bridges the individual and collective narratives, opening a space for discussion inside the theatre. Women become active political agents in the Palestinian community, negotiating their traditional roles as they try to challenge immobility and represent a critical voice against Israeli occupation and internal national politics.

The last chapter explored the frictions between the local and global spheres in Palestinian theatre. We defined a global ‘mobility regime’ (Shamir 2005), in which there is an unequal access to mobility at a global level. We analysed how Palestine fits into that regime, being both excluded from internal movement due to Israel neo-colonial occupation and located in a complex position of increasing international synergies from a still disadvantaged position. In that sense, chapter four encompasses the different dynamics and tensions between the individual and the collective that we have seen throughout the rest of the thesis. These tensions were, for instance, illustrated in *Keffiyeh/Made in China* (2012) during the encounter between the Belgian girl and the Palestinian seller. There, political categories and national affiliations were devoid of meaning, focusing on the exchange between the two characters. That particular scene illustrated the criticism against the commodification of the Palestinian traditional scarf and its inscription in global capitalist circuits. The play *Keffiyeh/Made in China* was co-produced by the Royal Flemish Theatre of Belgium and the A.M. Qattan Foundation of Palestine, written by Palestinian playwright Dalia Taha and performed by five Belgians and five Palestinians. In this sense, the conditions of production illustrate the above-mentioned synergies between the local, national and global context.

I have agreed with Rebellato that the global can be a ‘source of political strength’ (Rebellato 2009, 52) when it comes to theatre. Theatre can challenge circuits of power and offer alternative discourses or, what is more important, it can connect individuals that would otherwise be strangers to each other. Nowadays, when we talk about the place of Palestinian theatre within the global scene, we need to mention the system of international

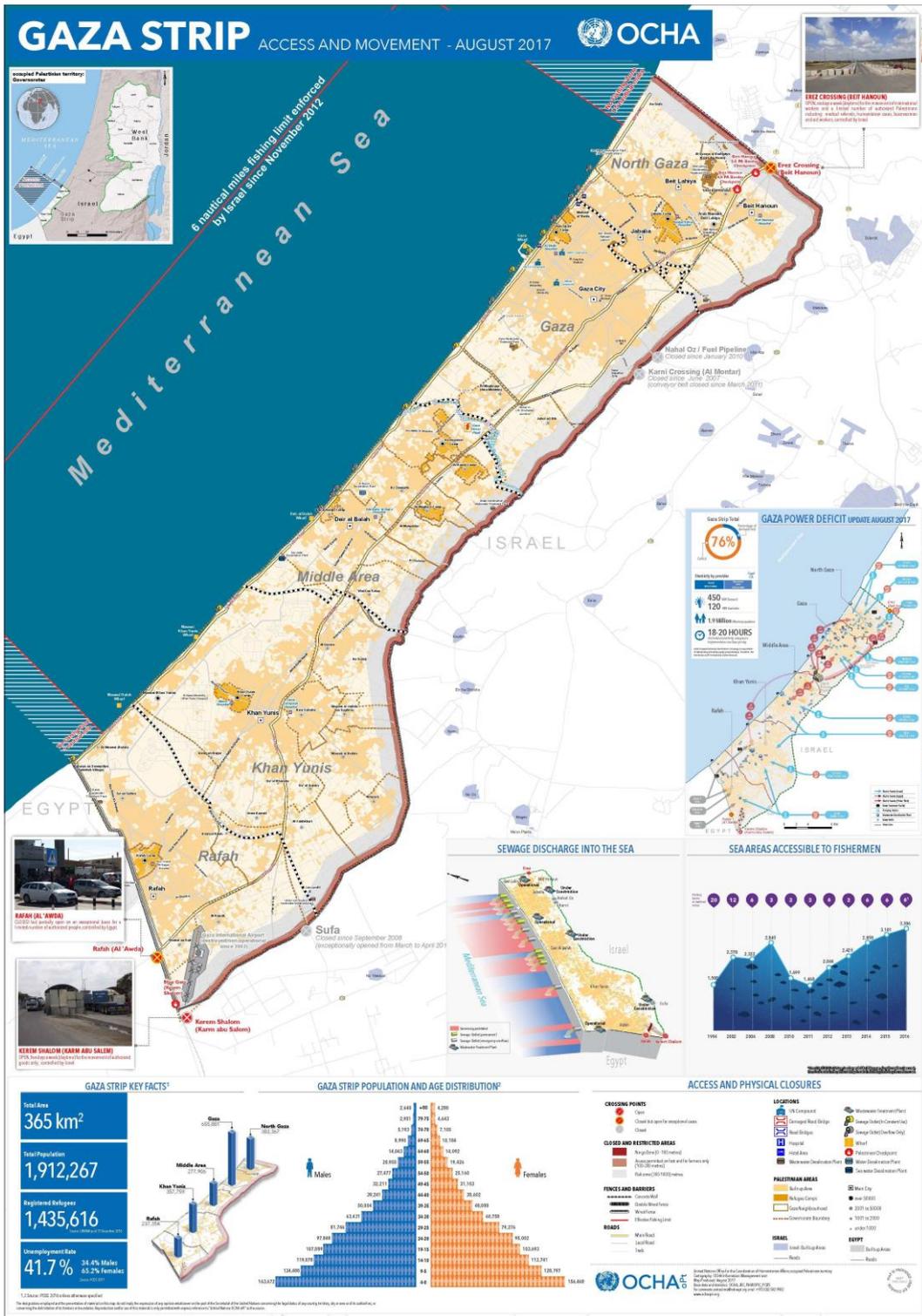
aid. Chapter four looked at that system from two perspectives: first, from its general connection with Palestinian social structure and the NGOization of Palestinian social movements. This phenomenon was criticized in the play *House of Yasmine* (2011), which represented the negative effects of the logic and procedures of the international development system.

Second, we analysed the actual NGOization of Palestinian theatre, which has become increasingly dependent on international funding. On the one hand, this has had some positive effects like an increase in the possibilities for both funding for Palestinian theatre groups and collaborative projects with other theatre makers from around the world. On the other hand, dependence on external funding can have an impact on the content of the plays, which might have to comply with the donors' agendas. We talked about the 'burden of representation' that some theatre practitioners might face, which responds to an interest from Western audiences and donors to be offered a representation of an 'authentic' Palestine. This is, a representation that captures an 'essence' that works to convey a certain image of Palestine, promote certain values and perpetuate a global cultural hierarchy. We saw the case of the production of *Richard II* (2012) by Ashtar Theatre in Ramallah for the World Shakespeare Festival in London. The organizers of the festival and the audiences had specific expectations about the kind of representation of Shakespeare they expected from a Palestinian group: there was indeed a tension between the interest in Shakespeare's authenticity and the expectations to see an intercultural understanding of Shakespeare. Ashtar theatre's production worked by de-contextualizing the production, avoiding every connection with the Palestinian context. The political potential of the play for the Palestinians was mainly their presence in Europe, where they could speak out and present their work; rather than focusing on a highly contextualized production which would have responded to the stereotypes of Palestine that might have prevailed in Western audiences.

In the last part of chapter four, I presented a framework proposed by Staeheli, Mitchell and Attoh (2013) to understand youth agency and performance in Lebanon. I applied this framework to the Palestinian situation, trying to understand the possibilities for theatre to be politically critical while simultaneously being dependent on external funding. In this sense, by presenting agency and performance as two axes that can interact but not collapse, theatre can be located in a position in which it is possible for practitioners to be dissenting in their performance while having their agency constrained by the funding system. This matrix helps us to analyse the position of the different plays discussed here

through these lenses and engage in a broader analysis of theatre's efficacy for political meaning and action. The representation of different realities of immobility shows an effort to challenge it by focusing on individual experience, talking to the collective from that position and building new narratives that deconstruct hegemonic positions that stem from the Israeli occupation, Palestinian nationalism or the global regime of mobility.

Appendix II.



Appendix III. List of Primary Texts

Confinement (Al-ḥashra) by Al-Harah Theatre. Dir. Raeda Ghazaleh. Perf. Nicola Zreineh, Riham Isaac & Atta Nasser. Al-Harah Theatre, Beit Jala. 2010. Recording and Arabic text of the play provided by the group.

Exit (Khurūj) by Khashabi Ensemble. Dir. Bashar Murkus. Perf. Samaa Wakeem, Khulood Tannous, Terez Sliman, Shaden Kanboura, Yazan Ibraheem & Henry Andrawes. Khashabi Ensemble, Haifa. 2013. Recording of the play available online. <https://www.youtube.com/user/khashabi2011/featured>.

The Wall – Stories Under Occupation II (Al-Jidār - Qaṣaṣ taḥta al- iḥtilāl II) by Al-Kasaba Theatre. Dir. George Ibrahim. Perf. Ahmad Abu Saloum, Dorin Munir, Hussam Abu Eisheh, Imad Farajin, Ismail Dabagh, Manal Awad. Al-Kasaba Theatre, Ramallah. 2004. Recording and Arabic text of the play provided by the group.

The Island (Al-Jazīra) by Athol Fugard Dir. Gary M. English. Perf. Faisal Abo AlHeja, Ahmad Rokh. The Freedom Theatre, Jenin. 2013. Recording and English text of the play provided by the group. <http://www.thefreedomtheatre.org/the-island/>

A Parallel Timeline (Al-Zaman Al-Muwāzī) by Al-Midan Theatre. Dir. Bashar Murkus. Perf. Henry Andrawes, Shaden Kanboura, Murad Ḥasan, Khawla Ibrahim, Ayman Nahas, Shadi Fajrudin, Duraid Dawei. Al-Midan Theatre, Haifa. 2014. Performance seen in Haifa, April 2014. Arabic text of the play provided by the group

Suicide Note from Palestine (Risāla āintiḥār min Filastīn) by The Freedom Theatre. Dir. Nabil Al-Rae & Micaela Miranda. Perf. Alaa Shehada, Anas Arqawi, Christine El Hodali, Milad Qunebe, Motaz Malhees, Saber Shreim. The Freedom Theatre, Jenin. 2013. Recording and English text of the play provided by the group. Scene breakdown available online: <http://www.thefreedomtheatre.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Suicide-Note-scene-breakdown.pdf>

I am Jerusalem ('Ana AlQuds) by Ashtar Theatre. Dir. Nasser Omar. Perf. Iman Aoun, Rasha Jahshan and Mohammad Eid. Ashtar Theatre, Ramallah. 2009. Recording of the play in Arabic available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YpMhC5-y3jw> . English text of the play provided by the group.

Keffiyeh/Made in China by Dalia Taha. Published in “Inside/Outside: Six Plays from Palestine and the Diaspora”, edited by Ismail Khalidi and Naomi Wallace. New York: Theatre Communications Group.

The House of Yasmine (Beīt Yāsmīne) by Ashtar Theatre and Al-Harah Theatre. Dir. Iman Aoun. Perf. Nicola Zreineh, Bian Shbeib, Mohammad Eid, Riham Isaac, Iyad Hourani, Hanin Tarabay and Atta Nasser. Ashtar Theatre and Al-Harah Theatre (Ramallah/Beit Jala). 2011. Recording of the play available online.

Richard II by William Shakespeare. Dir. Conall Morison. Perf. Sami Metwasi, George Ibrahim, Hussein Nakhleh, Edward Muallem, Nicola Zreineh, Bayan Schbib, Mohammad Eid, Amer Khalil, Raed Ayasa, Ihab Zahdeh, Firas Farah, Iyad Hurani, Iman Aoun. Ashtar Theatre with the Globe Theatre (Ramallah/London). 2012. Recording of the play available online.

Appendix IV. List of Interviews

- Ghazaleh, Raeda. Interview by the author. Video-conference. 21 August 2014.
- Ibrahim, George. Personal Interview by the author. Al-Kasaba Theatre, Ramallah. 2 April 2014.
- Murkus, Bashar. Personal Interview by the author. AL-Midan Theatre, Haifa. 5 April 2014.
- Al Raei, Nabil. Personal Interview conducted by the author. The Freedom Theatre, Jenin. 1 September 2012
- Miranda, Micaela. Personal Interview conducted by the author. The Freedom Theatre, Jenin. 30 March 2014.

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