Images and Demonstrations in the Occupied West Bank

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Abstract

This article addresses relationships between images and demonstrations in the occupied West Bank. The discussion begins with a semi-anecdotal account of a demonstration in the Palestinian village of Kafr Qaddum in 2013 that enables an initial consideration of different ways that images and image-making have a role within such a context. The discussion then addresses ideas articulated by Hans Belting (2011) in his book *An Anthropology of Images* as a means of further understanding these relations between images and demonstrations. This is followed by a discussion of Kevin DeLuca's conception of demonstrations as 'image events' in relation to Belting's suggestion that images are nomadic and travel from one medium and context to another. This concern with how images travel to and through demonstrations shifts the focus of discussion away from the documentary role of lens-based images in this context. Instead, emphasis is placed upon the reproduction of images across media and over time. The article concludes by addressing two demonstrations that occurred in 2010 in the village of Bil'in, which is well known for the creativeness and theatricality of its resistance to the construction of the West Bank Barrier on village land.

Contributor Note

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Introduction

This article is concerned with relation-ships between images and political demonstrations. In certain ways this subject seems straightforward. Political activists and those who study activism have recognised that it is necessary in the contemporary period for demonstrat-ions to be organized partly with the intention of gaining media attention. Protest movements have engaged in 'marketing' campaigns (Bob 2005) that are often 'visual-centric' (Cottle 2008: 866) and dependent on the image-making practices of the media. This has led commentators to identify an 'asymmetrical dependency' between activists and the media (Carroll and Hackett 2006: 87). However, this relationship can also be approached as a symbiosis between those seeking political visibility and the media who seek to produce saleable images of dissent and political conflict. These relationships knit together the immediate and the mediated reality of demonstrations (Routledge 1997: 362, 371) in the form of the pictorial images that result from them. These kinds of relationships have been around for some time. We might think of the use of the media by the Civil Rights movement in the United States in the mid-twentieth century (Berger 2011; Johnson 2007; McAdam 2000). Yet the significance of this symbiosis between protest and the media appears to have increased in recent decades to the extent that Simon Cottle has suggested that 'the co-present public at demonstrations no longer count the most' as compared to the 'mass audience watching and reading the media coverage at home' (2008: 854). Dissent seems to be more and more about the creation of a mediated political spectacle (Cottle 2006; Scalmer 2002) that is intended to affect distant

spectators who might then act in response to what they see. Thought about in these terms, the key relationship between demonstrations and images is through the presence of photojournalists at the scene and through the 'documentary aftermath' that results from this presence (Tyler 2013). This means that documentary images are made at the demonstrations themselves (in the sense of being digitally recorded), but only fulfil their potential in the aftermath of the demonstration through their subsequent distribution via mainstream and social media. Such an understanding of relationships between demonstrations and images also fits well with the long-standing notion of photographs as documents, the role of which is to attest to something having existed or happened in the past. This is the standard ontology of photography; Roland Barthes' 'That has been' (1993: 77).[1]

Yet, for all the significance of the documentary mediation of protest, there are additional ways that images have a role in relation to demonstrations that make this subject more complicated. Addressing this complexity of image-demonstration relations requires the consideration of a broader temporal frame than the demonstration and its aftermath. It also requires the consider-ation of the role of images from a perspective that departs from a focus on the documentary capacities of lens-based media. In what follows it will be emphasised that images also precede demonstrations. As such images function as visual materials, references, and

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[1] Although it is now possible to upload images of events to social media platforms almost immediately from networked camera-phones, this sense of immediacy is soon enough transformed into a condition of *that has been*.

exemplars for the actions that people engage in during demonstrations. This can occur in obvious ways, for example, when demonstrators carry images on banners and as signs, or when staged actions within demonstrations have a representational relationship to a pre-existing image or a prior event. But images also precede demonstrations in less obvious ways as mental or memory images in relation to which people perform particular actions during demonstrations. In this sense these images are carried into the demonstrations in the body. This also suggests that when it comes to demonstrations, images are not just representations of a pre-existing reality, but things that enable people to interpret and act within the world (Belting 2011: 144; Mitchell 2005). What this means is that images function as precursors to demonstrations, are carried over into demonstrations, are made as part of demonstrations – both in the sense that images are presented as elements of demonstrations and are made of them – and subsequently have an existence in the aftermath of demonstrations. All of this points to the need to examine the relationship between images and demonstrations in terms of a more extended and complex process of image-use and image-production. It also suggests a blurring of any easy dividing line between the imaged (demonstrators) and image-makers (the media). Demonstrators also partake in the making of images as well as using them.

In Kafr Qaddum

In May 2013, I attended one of the regular Friday demonstrations in the Palestinian village of Kafr Qaddum. These demonstrations are against the decade long closure by the Israeli army of one of the roads leading out of the village for 'security' reasons in relation to the nearby Jewish settlement of Qedumim. The effect of this closure has been the restriction of village access to some of its land and also the blockage of the direct route to the nearby city of Nablus. The longer travel time to Nablus enforced by the road closure resulted in the deaths of a number of villagers *en route* to hospital in the city, precipitating the demonstrations in 2011. I travelled to Kafr Qaddum with my artist and video activist friend David Reeb. In the car were also Oren Ziv and Yotam Ronen from the documentary/press photography collective ActiveStills and Sarit Michaeli, a spokesperson for the human rights NGO B'Tselem. All four of these people were going to document the demonstration using still and video cameras. I was simply going to see what the demonstration looked like and take a few non-professional photographs of my own.

The conversation in the car on the way to Kafr Qaddum touched on relationships between images and demonstrations in a number of ways. Oren and Yotam spoke about the changing relationship between photographers working in the occupied territories and picture agencies such as Reuters and Associated Press. They were negative about this relationship, emphasising that the agencies were de-professionalising the business by encouraging photographers with minimal experience to cover dangerous situations for little remuneration. Consequently more and more people were turning up with cameras to cover the Friday demonstrations in different places in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. In their view, this situation resulted in a confusion of the role of the photographer when it came to relationships between

the demonstrators, the media, and the Israeli army. This was because some photographers were presenting themselves both as members of the press and as demonstrators. For Oren this confusion was epitomised by a person he remembered at a recent demonstration carrying cameras and wearing a vest with the word 'PRESS' on it, but also holding a Palestinian flag.[2] Such situations left the army unable to work out whether photographers were witnesses or participants in demonstrations, compromising the observer/reporter status of the photographer. This discussion emphasised for me the existence of an unwritten agreement between the army and the press, that the former would not target their violence on the latter, reserving this in most instances for the demonstrators alone.[3] The existence of this agreement was also affirmed when Yotam told me that if the army charged the protestors during the demonstration, I should not remain with the photographers and instead run away with the other ordinary participants. What was apparent from

this was that different agents had clearly defined roles and relationships to each other within the protest situation. The demonstrators confronted the army and their defence of the road closure. Some did this by marching and others by throwing stones. The army blocked the movement of the demonstrators, either through their mere presence, or the use of tear gas and other kinds of violence. The photographers took pictures of both the demonstrators and the army and both of these parties, on the whole, treated the photographers as neutral.[4]

Considered in these terms, the demonstration involved a kind of script in which different actors played different parts. What happens on the demonstrations in Kafr Qaddum is far from staged in the sense of being just an act. The risks for participants are very real. Demonstrators from the village have been injured and imprisoned. The stakes involved in the demonstrations are also very real for the antagonists: the control of space, the maintenance of the power-relations of the occupation regime, justice in relation to the structural inequalities of this regime, and so on. The point of defining such demonstrations as scripted is therefore not aimed at belittling the significance and the seriousness of these events, but to suggest that there is a regular temporal and spatial order to them in which everyone knows their place. Image-makers and acts of image-making are a

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[2] This discussion can be linked to a set of documented conversations between myself, David Reeb, and Oren Ziv about ActiveStills that are part of a book project entitled *Between States* (Faulkner and Reeb forthcoming).

[3] I write 'in most instances', because under particular conditions the Israeli army has targeted photojournalists, for example, in 2011 in the small West Bank village of Nabi Saleh, where villagers and their supporters have been protesting since 2009 against encroachment on their land by the nearby settlement of Halamish. Up until July 2011 the army turned a blind eye to the presence of the media at these demonstrations even when they had declared the village a closed military zone. But in mid-2011 the army policy changed and they began directing violence at the press to discourage them from coming to the demonstrations. Here it was the army itself that was 'blurring the lines' between media personnel and the protestors (Milstein 2011).

[4] Treating photographers as neutral is not necessarily to view them as neutral. Israelis often assume that photojournalists are leftist and anti-occupation in viewpoint (Wigoder 2004). This is manifestly the case with ActiveStills, though certainly not true of all the photographers covering the West Bank demonstrations. Many Palestinian photographers photographing the demonstrations will probably be supportive of the causes involved, while at the same time sustaining professional outlooks.

recognised and regular part of this scripted order.

Ariella Azoulay has defined photography of people as 'resulting from an encounter between several protagonists', suggesting that: 'Even if one of these protagonists – usually the photographer – enjoys a privileged position and is the one responsible for setting the boundaries of the photograph, s/he alone does not determine what will be inscribed in the frame' (2010: 12). This suggests that the encounter between the photographer and the photographed person is one that involves some degree of shared authorship of the content of the resulting photographic image. Such shared authorship is necessarily premised upon a shared awareness between the photographer and the photographed person that a photograph is being made. This is obviously not always the case when people are photographed. But where such awareness exists on the part of the photographed person, it is not just that they are aware that a photograph is being taken of them, but also that others may well see the resulting image.

Azoulay (2008) suggests that where this sense of being visible to others through photography exists in a context of political conflict, the photographed person may also believe that they can communicate something of their situation or plaint to others through photographs.[5] This is certainly the case

for demonstrations like the one in Kafr Qaddum, which are occasions when the presence of cameras is expected. Participants in the demonstrations and in particular those who are part of the stone-throwing Palestinian *Shabab* (youth) who form the front-line or denouement of many protests in the West Bank, expect to be and are aware of being photographed.

In Kafr Qaddum the demonstrations involve a movement out of the village to where the road is blocked by the army. It is here that the confrontation with the soldiers occurs. The demonstration on the day when I was present began with stone-throwing by the village youth, followed by a march with chanting that involved the older men of the village, and then more stone-throwing. While the stone-throwing was happening, David, Oren, and Yotam positioned themselves at the front of the demonstration amongst other members of the press, many of whom were Palestinian. This resulted in a situation of mutual visibility between the demonstrators and the media in which the people with the cameras were close to and could photograph the stone-throwers and the stone-throwers could see that that they were being photographed and responded accordingly.

Stone-throwers at demonstrations in the West Bank often cover their faces to avoid identification by Israeli military personnel who also make images of them and are potentially amongst the spectators of images made by others, especially online images. Despite this anonymity, a key aim of participation in the act of stone-throwing is to give resistance a form and to make

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[5] Azoulay's position is that the relationship between the protagonists of the photographic encounter involves an element of ethical responsibility. She emphasises the responsibility of the spectator in particular, who is meant to respond to images of the plight of the *other* with empathy and action. For her, the relationship between the photographed person, the photographer/camera, and the spectator has the potential to define a 'civil contract of photography' involving the recognition of a form of civil connectedness via photography that

might cut through the dividing line between the occupied non-citizen and the citizen of the occupying state that exists within Israel/Palestine (2008).

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resistance visible. This visibility of resistance is aimed at both immediate and mediated spectators: at other participants and especially fellow villagers, at the soldiers as the representatives of the occupation regime, and most significantly for the current discussion, at future spectators of the photographs taken by photographers who are co-present at the demonstrations.

The Israeli journalist Amira Hass has described the throwing of stones as 'an action as well as a metaphor of resistance' (2013). Throwing stones is therefore as much symbolic of resistance as it is a physical means of confronting and provoking the army. When cameras are present, the act of throwing stones is performed in part with the desire that this symbol of resistance will be translated into photographs and that these photographs will make the resistance of the *Shabab* visible to others. Stone-throwing is therefore an image-making act along the lines

discussed by Azoulay. It is a means of projecting resistance beyond the immediate situation of those engaged in it and through this breaking the isolation imposed upon Palestinian communities by the occupation regime.

The role of photojournalists at demonstrations in the occupied territories has itself been the subject of visual representation. In 2011 the Italian photographer Ruben Salvadori took a series of photographs of photojournalists taking pictures of demonstrations in the Palestinian neighbourhood of Silwan in East Jerusalem under the project title of 'Photojournalism Behind the Scenes' (figure 1). His basic pictorial strategy for this project was to include demonstrators and photojournalists within the same photographic frame. According to Salvadori, these photographs were aimed at revealing the hidden effects that photographers have upon conflict situations.

Figure 1: Ruben Salvadori, photograph of photojournalists and Palestinian protestor in Silwan, Jerusalem, from the series *Photography Behind the Scenes*, 2012. Reproduced courtesy of Ruben Salvadori.

In a film of a public lecture he delivered on this subject, Salvadori observes that 'the massive attendance of the media makes the conflict become a show in which the photographer is an actor and has his [sic] own role'. This statement is congruent with the understanding of demonstrations in the occupied territories as scripted events involving different actors. However Salvadori also suggests that the presence of photojournalists has a distorting effect, encouraging action on the part of the demonstrators that is merely for the cameras and that would not happen otherwise. In his view, the market demand for pictures of conflict 'pushes many photojournalists to seek and create this drama even when the situation lacks of it'.[6]

To support his position, Salvadori shows how Palestinian youths in Silwan stage what he describes as 'Hollywood style effects' for the camera in the form of a burning Israeli flag and a burning barricade. Salvadori is certainly correct that there is a market for certain kinds of photojournalistic image and that both photographers and demonstrators in Silwan respond to this for different reasons. He is also correct that these responses involve an element of staging in terms of the co-authorship of images between the photographers and demonstrators, as has already been discussed.

Salvadori produces an arresting set of pictures of the relationship between photographer and photographed person that this involves. Yet the way that he describes these pictures in his lecture suggests that the results of this relationship entail a kind of fakery, a notion that has unfortunately been picked up by pro-Israeli bloggers and by the IDF[7] keen to emphasise the idea that images of Palestinian resistance and Israeli state oppression are the product of what has been termed 'Pallywood', implying a Hollywood-style manufacturing of news.

More generally, such responses assume that an opposition can be identified between staged-dishonest and un-staged-honest photographs of demonstrations, and that it is possible, not only to draw a line between authentic acts of resistance and the staging of protest, but also between demonstrators and the media. The preceding discussion of demonstrations in the West Bank as events that are in part set up to enable the making of images points to the naivety of such a view. These demonstrations are intrinsically about show and as such always involve staging of some sort. Showy displays of symbolic resistance before the cameras are not distortions of political reality, but the very embodiment of a reality of which the media is part. This means that the opposition between the staged and the un-staged photograph, articulated by Salvadori and by others in response to his project (Campbell 2011), does not match up with the actual relationships between demonstrators and photographers involved in the demonstrations under discussion.

If demonstrations are inherently about show, then Salvadori's remark concerning demonstrators staging 'Hollywood style effects' for the cameras, takes on different meanings to those he intended. But here staging is not just about constructing something to attract the

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[6] See: http://www.rubensalvadori.com/index.php/project/photojournalism-behind-the-scenes/. (Accessed 10 August 2013)

[7] 'Photojournalism: what's behind the image?', 21 May 2012: http://www.idfblog.com/2012/05/21/behind-the-image/. (Accessed 10 August 2013)

attention of the photographers and create the conditions for the making of a compelling photojournalistic image. It also relates to the way that the staged aspects of demonstrations are wrapped up with images before any pictures are made of them.

Figure 2: Simon Faulkner, photograph of demonstration in Kafr Qaddum, 17 May 2013: rock barricades.

Figure 3: Simon Faulkner, photograph of demonstration in Kafr Qaddum, 17 May 2013: burning tyres.

This recalls an observation made by Oren after we had left Kafr Qaddum, that the villagers organised their demonstrations as if they were constructing a film-set for a movie about the Intifada. His point was not that the villagers were literally approaching the demonstrations as if they were creating filmic fictions. Rather it was that they were organising their resistance around a codified set of props and actions in

such a way that it was a bit like making a contribution to a clichéd Hollywood genre.[8] It was almost as if the villagers had asked themselves 'what elements do we need to create an authentic Intifada-style demonstration?' The answer to this question was: lines of rocks across the road (figure 2), burning tyres (figure 3), a chanting crowd (figure 4), and youths throwing stones (figure 5).

Figure 4: Simon Faulkner, photograph of demonstration in Kafr Qaddum, 17 May 2013: chanting crowd.

These elements constituted the physical actuality of the demonstration. They were also based on the organisation of other demonstrations in Kafr Qaddum and elsewhere that preceded this particular protest. But in line with the suggestion made in the introduction to this article, these elements also had precursors in the form of images. These images define how an Intifada-style demonstration should appear and are in part what the villagers respond to when they engage in

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[8] These codified and symbolic props have recently been represented as such by the Israeli photographer Oded Balilty in a series of photographs he took of youths in a house in the village of Bil'in. These photos depict the masked youths posing against a black backdrop holding the accoutrements of resistance – stones, a slingshot, a tyre, and so on. See 'AP Photos: Palestinians display weapons of protest', 22 June 2012, http://bigstory.ap.org/article/ap-photos-palestinians-display-weapons-protest. (Accessed 15 September 2013)

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resistance. These precursor images might be described as mental or memory images that people hold within themselves. These images are based upon past experiences of demonstrations, but they can also be based upon the viewing of pictures.

Figure 5: Simon Faulkner, photograph of demonstration in Kafr Qaddum, 17 May 2013: stone-throwing youths (and photographers and IDF).

In early July 2013, just over a month after I visited Kafr Qaddum, a group of Palestinian press photographers organised an exhibition of photographs (including some by Yotam) that addressed the first two years of village struggle against the road closure. A photograph by Oren shows boys from the village looking at pictures in the exhibition that primarily depict youths throwing stones at Israeli army vehicles (figure 6).[9]

This photograph depicts a situation within which photographic images represent the villager's struggle back to them and appear to function as a visual means of reinforcing commitment to the demonstrations. Oren's photograph might also be read in terms of the more

general relationship between pre-existing images and subsequent acts of resistance discussed above.

Figure 6: Oren Ziv, photograph of Palestinian youths looking at photographs in an exhibition presenting the popular struggle against the Israeli occupation, Kafr Qaddum, July 8, 2013. Reproduced courtesy of Oren Ziv/ActiveStills.

This relationship between the photographs in the exhibition and the ongoing struggle in Kafr Qaddum is a microcosm of a larger set of relations between images and actions that has established the stone-thrower as an iconic figure of Palestinian resistance. As with the creation of most icons this has occurred cumulatively over an extended period of time.

We can identify the construction of this icon most clearly when we consider the Palestinian political murals and posters featuring stone-throwing that have been created since the 1970s. For example, the set of posters collected under the heading 'Stone/Al Hajjar' on the 'Palestinian Poster Project' website.[10] When viewing this collection we can see how the motif of the stone-thrower has been passed on from poster to poster. The replication of this motif within graphic art has occurred alongside the iteration of actual acts of stone-throwing and the photographing of these acts. The

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9   See http://972mag.com/from-settlement-protests-to-settlement-construction-a-week-in-photos-july-4-10/75645/006-21/. (Accessed 10 August 2013)

10   http://www.palestineposterproject.org/iconography/stoneal-hajjar. (Accessed 15 August 2013)

non-Palestinian photographers who take pictures of Palestinian stone-throwers are often understood within an international context to be reinforcing a visual cliché of the Israel-Palestinian conflict. Yet, from a different perspective we could also view these photographers as having been co-opted into the reproduction of an important symbol of Palestinian struggle by the very people they photograph.

Here Azoulay's (2010) notion of photography as a kind of encounter can be rethought to define more than the immediate relationship between the photographer and the photographed person. Such an encounter is not just between these two agents, but also between them and an iconic image that the demonstrator translates back into physical action and the photographer replicates through the picturing of this action. To understand this kind of encounter, photographs of stone-throwers need to be seen as one form of mediation of an image that is shared with other media and that has been reproduced over decades as part of the Palestinian struggle for national independence.

Nomadic images and image events

The fundamental point addressed in the preceding discussion is that images and acts of image-making are crucial elements of demonstrations in the occupied West Bank. One might even suggest that demonstrations of this kind are to a significant extent image-making events. It is also been suggested that photographers and other media personnel are not the only people involved in the production of images of demonstrations. Some photographs of demonstrations involve a degree of co-

authorship between the photographer and the demonstrator who is photographed. But more than this, it has been suggested that demonstrators also mobilize pre-existing images through their protest actions. Although these actions are not images in themselves, they are entwined with images that are both pictorial and mental.

This has been discussed in relation to the motif of the stone-throwing youth that has been reproduced, at least, since the 1970s through actual acts of stone-throwing and through the production of photographs and other kinds of pictures of these actions. Thinking about the example of the stone-thrower requires that images of this kind are understood as things that have a larger function than just representing something that happened and that this role exceeds any manifestation of an image through a specific medium. With this is mind it would be useful to consider ideas articulated by Hans Belting (2011) in his book *An Anthropology of Images*, where he emphasises a distinction between images and mediums. From this perspective, an image requires a medium to become visible, but the image should not be reduced to this medium. The medium functions as 'a support, host, and tool for the image' (Belting 2011: 5). But the image exceeds any specific host by being something that can be moved from medium to medium through reuse and reinterpret-ation.

In a sense an image exists both within and between its manifestations through particular media. Located between these different mediations is the human body, which Belting defines as 'the natural *locus*' and 'a living organ for images' (2011: 37). The spectator translates external/pictorial images into mental images that are internal to the body

through the application of their gaze. The spectator makes these external images his or her own. This internalisation of the image is what allows for that image to be subsequently remade in a new medial form.

The body is therefore the 'medium' that mediates between external technical mediations, enabling an image/motif to be reproduced from medium to medium and from iteration to iteration. But it is also the body that enables pictorial/ external images to function *as* images. This is why Belting states: 'The "image" … is defined not by its mere visibility but by its being invested, by the beholder, with a symbolic meaning and a kind of mental "frame"' (2011: 9). Moreover, the image 'is in fact *only* one when it is seen' (2011: 5). The gaze of the spectator imaginatively animates the external image, meaning that this image is effectively shared between the medium and the body of the spectator. Defined in this way an image is a much more elusive and mobile thing than if we identify images with their specific mediation as a photograph or a poster. An image can be within, shared by, and outside these forms all at the same time.

This approach to images provides us with a way of understanding the relationship between images and demonstrations when this relationship is framed by the extended temporality of the before, during, and after of a protest event. If an image is a motif that moves between external and internal manifest-ations, then we can understand how a pre-existing external picture of a particular act of resistance – stone-throwing – can be viewed prior to a demonstration and through this, internalised so that it can be carried over into the reiteration of this act within the demonstration itself. In turn this act can

be transformed into new pictures that can be viewed and internalised yet again.

Described in these terms we can see how an image can be moved from a picture to the body and then onto another possibly quite different picture. This also means that we can think about the image of the stone-thrower existing in multiple loci at the same time, as different pictures and as mental images held by different bodies. Such an understanding of relationships between external and internal images also helps us understand how the motif of the stone-thrower can function as a collectively shared icon or *imago* that exists between external images that are part of a political culture and internal images that respond to these external images as well as to the actual acts of stone-throwing.

Adopting Belting's (2011) approach also allows for a reframing of photojournalistic images of demon-strations, shifting our focus away from the documentary relation between the photograph and the pictured event towards thinking about the photographic image as part of a process through which a motif is moved from picture to picture. A photograph of a demonstration is a document of that event in terms of its denotative capacities and its indexical relationship to what is pictured. But such a photograph can also involve a continuation of the life of an image that exists both through and beyond this denotative/indexical relationship. What we are talking about here is not how an event became a photograph, but how an image came to be hosted by a photograph via an event.

Belting addresses something similar when he observes:

> When an image finds its way into this technological medium

[photography], it is a symbolic product of the imagination that has already come a long distance. To force the issue, one might say that what is at issue is the journey of the image to the photograph. (2011: 145)

The dominant way that photojournalistic and documentary images are discussed is in terms of a notion of veracity that is premised on the technical means through which light reflected from the thing pictured enters the camera. From this perspective the image can be understood to move from material reality to the camera/photograph under the control of the photographer who chooses and frames the scene. Whereas from a perspective informed by Belting's ideas the image is not something that makes a 'journey' from the real to the picture, rather the image travels from other pictures to bodies that perform acts that become new versions of this image.

This idea of the 'journey' of an image is very important for Belting's conception of the inherent intermediality of images (2011: 145). In fact, he defines images as basically nomadic, observing that 'images resemble nomads'; continuing: 'They migrate across the boundaries that separate one culture from another, taking up residence in the media of one historical place and time and then moving on to the next, like desert wanderers setting up temporary camps' (2011: 21).

This understanding of the image as nomadic is intentionally resonant with ideas of the 'image in motion' and the 'migration' of symbols articulated by mid-twentieth century iconographers such as Abe Warburg, Fritz Saxl, and Rudolf Wittkower (Michaud 2004; Saxl 1970; Wittkower 1977). It also resonates

with more recent notions of the 'life of images' articulated by Peter Mason and W. J. T. Mitchell (Mason 2001; Mitchell 2011). All of these approaches take a diachronic perspective on images, looking at how they travel across time and space.

The journeys taken by images studied by these scholars are often very long. For example, Wittkower's famous study of the symbol of the 'eagle and serpent' takes us from 3000 years BC to the early twentieth century (1977: 16-44). Although the motif of the Palestinian stone-thrower has been conjoined with the Biblical image of David and Goliath in some contexts, the journey of this motif, on its way to becoming an icon within the Palestinian culture of resistance, has been considerably shorter. Nevertheless the emphasis placed by these different iconographical approaches upon the nomadic nature of images remains relevant to historically more recent cases like the stone-throwing motif and other instances where pre-existing images are appropriated for use in demonstrations such as those considered in the next section of the article.

But before moving onto to these examples, I want to extend this discussion of the journeys taken by images in relation to the idea of demonstrations as 'image events'. This notion was introduced by Kevin DeLuca in the late 1990s in his book *Image Politics: The New Rhetoric of Environmental Activism* (1999), further addressed through articles with others (DeLuca and Peeples 2002; Delicath and DeLuca 2003), and taken up and debated in different disciplinary fields (Cottle 2006; Johnson 2007; Juris 2008).[11]

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[11] Also see the special issue on the subject of 'image events' in *Enculturation: a journal of*

The basic definition of image events is that they 'are staged acts of protest designed for media dissemination' (Delicath and DeLuca 2003: 315) that generate images that constitute resources for 'public argumentation and deliberation' (Delicath and DeLuca 2003: 322). In different writings Deluca and his colleagues are at pains to stress the difference between verbal and visual forms of rhetoric and that images constitute a particularly forceful means of interrupting the given sensible order. Thus he describes image events as 'crystallized philosophical fragments, mind bombs, that work to expand "the universe of thinkable thoughts"' (DeLuca 1999: 6; DeLuca and Peeples 2002: 144). This definition fits well with the understanding, articulated earlier, that demonstrations are in part image-making events.

The phrase 'image event' is in itself an interpretational frame that foregrounds the visual side of demonstrations to the detriment of other no less important aspects of such events. Yet despite all this emphasis upon images, there is little sense of clarity in this approach concerning what actually constitutes the images in image events. Are the 'staged acts of protest' themselves understood to constitute these images? If so, then it would be difficult to describe these acts as images in terms of any conventional notion of what an image is. One might define these acts as a kind of performative visual rhetoric, as Johnson does when he describes the protests in Birmingham, Alabama in 1963 as 'a carefully orchestrated rhetoric of bodies' (2007: 20). One might also suggest, as

rhetoric, writing, and, culture from 2009 and edited by Kevin DeLuca and Joe Wilferth, http://enculturation.gmu.edu/6.2/. (Accessed 22 August 2013)

was done earlier, that these staged actions involve images in that they are responses to and entwined with internal mental images. But in the end an embodied action cannot be an image in the sense that it cannot be an image of itself. This distinction between images and actions becomes less clear if for instance a staged act involves a representational relationship to some prior event or pre-existing image, but the action is only an image to the extent that it involves such a representational relationship to a pre-existing referent. Alternatively, are the images in image events the pictures that result from the mediation of these staged actions? In this case such images would fit more clearly with conventional notions of what images are.

DeLuca and other writers who have worked with the notion of the image event provide no clear answers to these questions. Nor do they present a clear understanding of when an image event might end. Such events are implicitly understood to begin with a staged action, but it is not clear if the image event is over with the terminus of this action or with the dissemination of the images that result from it. If the latter is the case, then when does this process of dissemination end? Where can one draw the temporal line here: at the point when an image of a theatrical protest event is first aired, or after it has been re-circulated through different media? Given that the potential for re-circulation is endless, then in the latter case the duration of the image event is potentially without limit.

This vagueness in terms of the image status of image events and in terms of their temporal limits could be viewed as a problem. However if we view DeLuca's conception of an image event from the perspective of Belting's understanding of

the image as something that undertakes a journey, then this vagueness also offers an interpretational opportunity. If the image-ness of image events is defined by the relationship between the staged action and the pictorial images of this action then we are dealing with an image-making event that is quite conventional in terms of the roles different agents have in the image-making process. But we are also dealing with an open-ended process in terms of what happens to the pictures that result from this event. We could think about this as a journey of an image from its point of production – via the encounter between those staging the action and those imaging it – to the locations where the dissemination of this image leaves it.

Given the potential endlessness of this dissemination, this journey could be a long and complex one. But why limit the application of Belting's metaphor of the journey to this? Why not also include the movement of an image or images *to* the staged event? We can then think of the journey of an image *through* an image event. And in a sense the open-ended image event can be seen as just one intermediary leg of a potentially much longer journey.

There are good reasons for adopting this approach. As Galia Yanoshevsky observes, 'image events are never a "degree zero"' (2009). The images that are generated by image events rarely, if ever, begin their life with the relationship between the protest action and the media. As has been suggested in relation to the figure of the stone-thrower, such images have their origin prior to this relationship. This is not just a matter of the conscious cultural appropriation noted by C. Richard King (2009), but also of the ways that images are reproduced and adapted through cultural practice as a matter of course.

Images and creative resistance in Bil'in

Bil'in is a Palestinian village of about 1800 people that is situated in the West Bank near Ramallah and close to the cease-fire line of 1949 (the Green Line). The village has suffered from the confiscation of lands for settlement construction since the 1980s, but in 2005 the Israeli state began the construction of a fenced section of the West Bank Barrier on village land. This development was immediately respond-ed to through popular resistance on the part of the villagers. Resistance continues to this day.

The key way that the villagers, helped by international and Israeli supporters, have developed their resistance to the barrier has been through weekly Friday demonstrations that involve a march from the village to the barrier. The Bil'in Committee of Popular Resistance Against the Wall and Settlements has attempted to enliven these demonstrations through the development of 'creative resistance' (Carter Hallward 2009; Roei 2009, 2012), involving the use of elaborate sculptural props and staged performances to draw media attention and generate compelling images of the village's political agency and plaint. As such these demonstrations fit well with the basic conception of an image event. They also present good examples of the idea of pre-existing images travelling to and *through* images events. This final part of the article will address two demonstrations in Bil'in from 2010 that involved relationships to pre-existing images and prior events.

The first demonstration occurred on Friday, 4 June 2010 in the same week as the violent boarding of the 'Free Gaza' flotilla out at sea by the Israeli military (31 May 2010). For this demonstration the villagers in Bil'in prepared a float that

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involved the construction of a mock ship on top of a car (figure 7).

Figure 7: Simon Faulkner, photograph of Mock Ship at demonstration in Bil'in, 4 June 2010.

The sides of this ship were made out of hardboard spray painted with a prow and a stern as well as portholes and waves. The ship had a mast and a sail, and was decorated with Palestinian and Turkish flags as well as the flags of various other nations. The spectacle of the ship was also enhanced by two village youths dressed as pirates wearing crude tunics emblazoned with the Star of David in red paint.

These elements of the demonstration were meant to have a referential relationship to the storming of the *Mavi Marmara*, the main Turkish ship in the Gaza flotilla. In this sense the staged action of the demonstration was an image of this prior event. In turn, this action was itself represented through the production and dissemination of photographs and video footage (figure 8). This allows for this particular image event to be interpreted in relation to an extended temporal frame that begins with the storming of the flotilla and ends at some point after the demonstration, when media attention given to this protest died down. We could therefore think about this in terms of the journey of an image of the storming of the *Mavi Marmara* to the demonstration and into

subsequent media coverage of this protest.

Figure 8: Simon Faulkner, photograph of Mock Ship and media at demonstration in Bil'in, 4 June 2010

But we do not necessarily need to leave our discussion of relationships between images and this particular demons-tration at this. We could ask whether there are other ways that pre-existing images might have been set in motion by this protest. Given that an image event is not a cultural degree zero and that all images exist within complex sets of inter-visual relations that are often unpredictable, one might suggest connections between the mock ship as a staged image of the storming of the flotilla and a broader ship related iconography that relates to the historical conflict within Israel/Palestine.

At the time of the storming of the flotilla, there was some discussion in Israel of an analogy between this event and the Jewish refugee ship *Exodus* that was stormed by British naval forces off the coast of Palestine in 1947. The latter ship became an icon of the Zionist project to establish the state of Israel and has featured in posters and other visual media. For example, there is an Israeli poster from 1949 that depicts a huge liner speeding towards the coast of what was then Israel (LeVitte and Zalmona 2005: 309). The ship flies a very large Israeli flag and is emblazoned with the

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name 'Exodus' on its prow. The poster depicts the *Exodus* as a historical ship, albeit in a rather glamorized way and at the same time presents the ship as symbolic of the Israeli state itself. This poster can be linked to others that represent the Israeli state/nation as a ship, playing upon the widespread metaphor of the ship-of-state.[12]

What these posters suggest is slippage between the ship as a motif of ingathering/refuge and the ship as a motif of the unity of the nation-state. These motifs involve a positive framing of both the Zionist project and the Israeli state that is effectively inverted in some representations produced in relation to the campaign to break the Israeli blockade of Gaza in the late 2000s and the 2010 flotilla in particular.

These inversions are not necessarily intended. For example, we might compare a 1947 Histadrut (General Federation of Workers of the Land of Israel) poster that depicts a Jewish refugee ship breaking through a barbed wire fence that represents the oppressiveness of the contemporary British blockage against Jewish immigration into Palestine[13] to a 2008 Free Gaza.org poster that depicts a sailing ship pushing through a barbed wire fence that represents the Israeli blockade of Gaza at this time.[14]

Although these two posters have a strong formal and symbolic similarity to

each other, the 2008 poster is not necessarily based on the 1947 one. Rather I would suggest that not only did the later poster respond to relatively similar political conditions as those that prompted the production of the earlier one, the later poster was also constructed from a reserve of cultural and iconic materials to which the earlier poster contributed. From this it can be speculatively suggested that the image of the Zionist refugee ship in the earlier poster – which was itself shared between different pictures produced in the late 1940s and after – somehow found its way, so to speak, to the Free Gaza poster sixty years later.

Some of the mid-twentieth century iconographers noted that it was more appropriate, when attempting to track the movement of an image, to assume the existence of unfound links between the use of the same motif in different places and times than to assume that the same motif had been invented independently in each context (Saxl 1970; Wittkower 1977: 24). There are risks that come with making the former assumption, but sometimes icono-graphical interpretations make this necessary if the movement of images within cultures is to be addressed.

Other inversions of meaning of Zionist ship-related imagery are more easily identified as intentional. Thus the Israeli designer Lahav Halevy created a poster in May 2010 immediately after the storming of the 'Free Gaza' flotilla (figure 9) that combines an image of the *Mavi Marmara* with the slogan 'Exodus 2'. The general point being made here is that the potential for such linkages between images and for the inversion of the established meanings of pre-existing imagery through these links is out there within the wider context of shared cultural memory.

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[12] For example, the Joint Israel Appeal produced a poster in 1974 that involves a folded paper ship topped with an Israeli flag and the English language slogan: 'We are all in the same boat': http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/we-are-all-in-the-same-boat. (Accessed 31 August 2013)
[13] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/ha039pala-ships. (Accessed 31 August 2013)
[14] http://www.palestineposterproject.org/poster/break-the-siege. (Accessed 31 August 2013)

Figure 9: Lahav Halevy, *Exodus 2*, poster/digital image, 2010. Reproduced courtesy of Lahav Halevy.

This same potential applies to the mock ship in Bil'in. As was discussed earlier in relation to Belting, when external images are viewed they become internal mental images that the spectator makes his or her own. Who is to say that the translation of the sight of the ship in Bil'in into an internal mental image, for some spectators, did not involve a conflation of this image with other images of ships that are part of cultural memory?

The second demonstration in Bil'in that I want to discuss occurred on Friday, 20 August 2010 and involved a reference to a media furore that had occurred at the beginning of that same week when an ex-Israeli soldier Eden Abergil uploaded two photographs of herself posing in front of blindfolded and handcuffed Palestinian detainees while on army service in Gaza on her publicly accessible Facebook wall.

These photographs were amongst a larger group of snaps and 'selfies' uploaded under the heading 'The Army - The Best Time of My Life'. Once noticed by others, the two photographs of Abergil with the detainees were relocated to blogs and online news sites, amongst other locations. The demonstration in Bil'in involved a march led by five activists who had been blindfolded and handcuffed in line with the Israeli army's standard operating procedure for dealing with the arrest of Palestinians. These activists walked up to a line of soldiers who were blocking the road to the barrier and sat down in front of them, creating a photo-opportunity for attendant members of the press who positioned themselves very close to this staged action (figures 10/11).

Figure 10: David Reeb, video-still of demonstration in Bil'in, 20 August 2010. Reproduced courtesy of David Reeb.

This performance did not look much like the Abergil photographs, though as already noted, it referred to and entailed a representation of these images. But more important for the current discussion is the way that this staged event can be seen as linked to the large number of press and documentary photographs taken since the first Intifada of blindfolded and handcuffed Palestinians.

Figure 11: David Reeb, video-still of demonstration in Bil'in, 20 August 2010. Reproduced courtesy of David Reeb.

As Azoulay has observed, photographs of this commonplace way of treating Palestinians who are designated 'suspect', or who do not submit to Israeli military authority 'have accumulated by the hundreds' (2008: 435). In this sense, it can be argued, again with Belting's ideas in mind, that the images that travelled to the demonstration in Bil'in and beyond were both those of Abergil posing and of the generic and largely taken for granted image of the arrested Palestinian.

This movement of images is perhaps more easily identified than the more speculative links between images that were suggested in relation to the demonstration involving the mock ship, however both examples involve situations where it is difficult to define limits for how images intersect with acts of protest. Both point to the complex ways that demonstrations can be related to the lives of images. Lives that are difficult to control and can lead to unpredictable results.

As Belting suggests, 'the common store-house' of cultural memory is a place where 'images lead their own lives, evading neat definitions and a rigid place in an ordered scheme of history' (2011: 39). This is why it is sometimes necessary to trust one's interpretative intuition when it comes to possible relationships between images when the exact link is not readily apparent.

This difficulty of identifying links between one use of an image and another is not just the result of doing historical work with particular images in relation to which a full or coherent archive is not available, but also a consequence of the elusive and uncontrollable nature of images in general. Such difficulties in tracking the journeys taken by images are apparent when it comes to relationships between images and demonstrations. The lineage of such images is sometimes obscure, but in a sense this is part of the nature of images as things that can exist and be adapted over time between multiple mediums and locations that are both external and mental. Considering images in this way in relation to political cultures of protest does not rule out looking at them as kinds of documents of political situations and events. The latter is important work that can exist alongside the manner of approach suggested by Belting's anthropology of images. But the picture that functions as a document of a specific situation or event from one perspective, can also be seen as a locus for an image that has travelled from other mediations in other places and at other times.

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