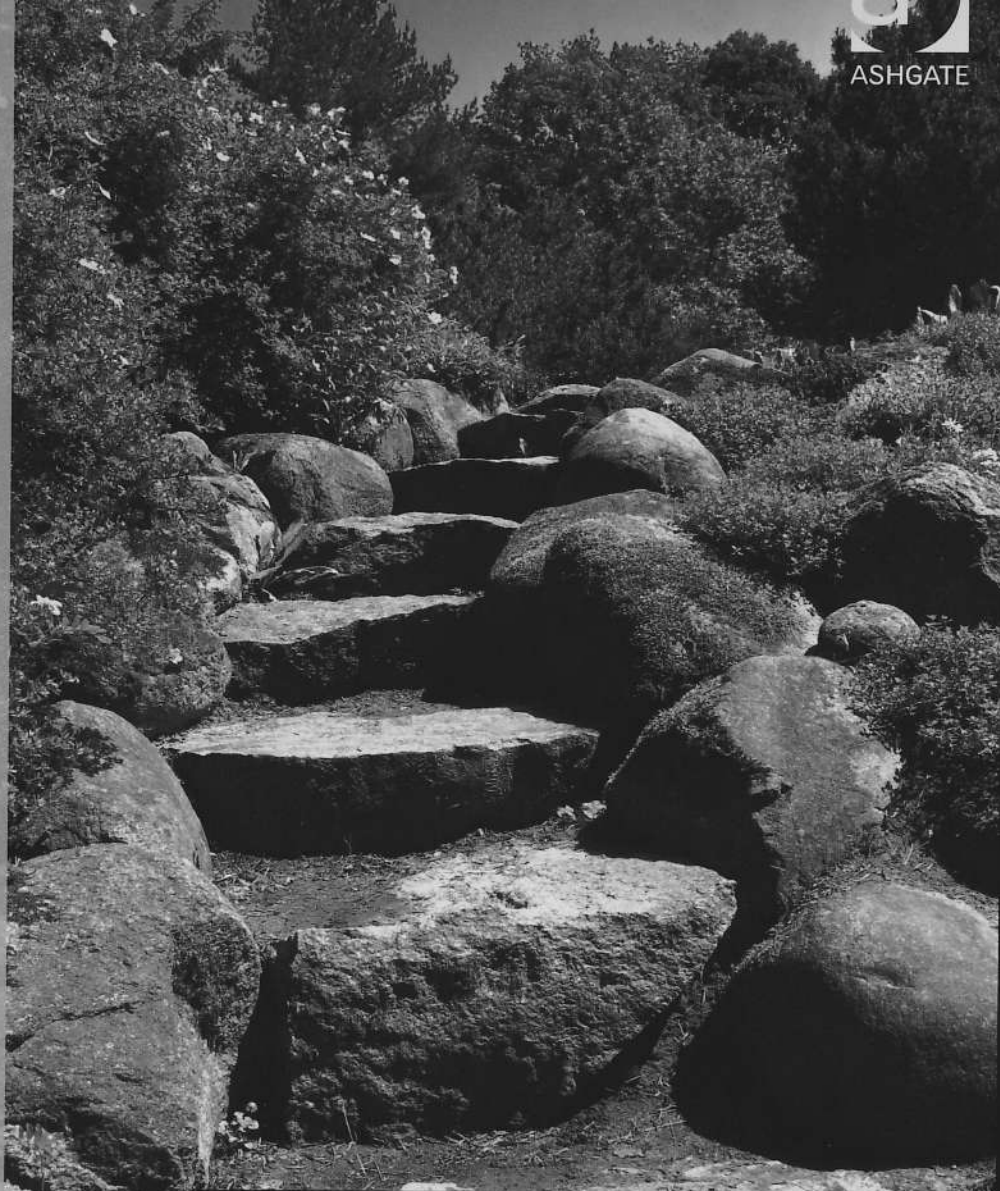


CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GEOGRAPHIES OF LEISURE AND TOUR



ASHGATE



Narratives of Travel and Tourism

Edited by **Jacqueline Tivers**
and **Tijana Rakić**

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Chapter 11

Narratives and Counter-narratives: Contesting a Tourist Site in Jerusalem

Chaim Noy

Introduction: The (Critical) Narrative Study of Tourism

In recent years there has been a vibrant and growing body of research in tourism studies that may be described as the 'Narrative Study of Tourism', approaching the study of contemporary forms and practices of tourism from the perspective of narrative scholarship. The close relations that exist between the two are not surprising, since in many ways contemporary forms of tourism rest on the wide shoulders of the Romantic and modern travel narrative – the experience, accounts, and literature of travel – which are both representative and constitutive of the western-colonial mind. To put it differently, contemporary travel is very much about narratives; about consuming and producing them, about narrative identity and narrative entitlement.

The narrative approach in tourism studies encompasses a variety of issues and topics, including the construction of images of collective identities, of destinations, sites, and places. It also examines the charged personal narratives of tourists, through which individual and collective experiences of travel are conveyed and tourists' identities are performed. Structural approaches have always highlighted a 'correlation' between *stories*, which evolve progressively (or at least seem to do so), and *travel*, which likewise progresses through time as it progresses through space. From this perspective, the narrative form is ideal for the organisation and representation of experiences, since it blends temporality, events and perspective/subjectivity. While works, such as the many inspired by Labov's (1972) original study, have tended to emphasise temporal sequences, Bakhtin (1981), specifically through the notion of chronotope, de Certeau (1984) and others have highlighted the spatial dimensions of narrative and the interconnection between temporal and spatial dimensions.

It would be wrong, however, to view the Narrative Study of Tourism merely in terms of structures of social organisation and activity, for this might restrict our comprehension of how narratives are employed politically and manipulatively by agents working in, and shaping, the spheres of tourism. The critical Narrative Study of Tourism emphasises how stories, above and beyond their functions of describing and organising the social world, are also power structures; vehicles for the implementation and performance of social hierarchies, exclusions and

Otherness. A critical perspective brings to the fore the immense performative (or enunciatory) power of narratives in the tourism industry and raises a set of questions regarding the constitution of social agency. The shift from structural and functional centred approaches to more critical approaches involves not only a change in the interpretation and analysis of narrative contents and themes, but also a shift in focus towards the question of who has the rights and resources to recount narratives publicly, and who or what is implicated by them; who has a well-ordered and aesthetic narrative to tell and who has a traumatic (non-)narrative, punctuated by silences and stuttering.

In this chapter I present findings of a research project that addresses innovative and subversive narratives in tourism. The research does not merely seek to analyse counter or non-hegemonic narratives, but crucially to examine the 'narrative-tellers'; the individuals, or organisations and institutions (usually small-scale), that project these subversive narratives in, and into, the spheres of contemporary tourism. I employ the terms 'hegemonic' and 'counter-hegemonic', borrowed from Gramsci's (1971) well-known conceptualisation, to examine and illuminate the ideological role that narratives play at a specific tourist site, arguing that tourism should be construed as a highly ideological social sphere where political narratives, and the voices or meanings that they evoke and perform, are constantly in conflict (Noy 2008a, 2011). My main interest lies in identifying *and* amplifying subversive stories and in recognising the social agents that project them provocatively on to the public stages of tourism. The most influential players on the stages of international tourism are, of course, normally global conglomerates, rather than local, subversive actors but, when subversive agents act within tourism, employing methods from the domain of tourism (guided tours, maps, souvenirs, and so on) to destabilise hegemony, they become interesting and relevant subjects for study, illuminating and rewarding the researcher both ethically and intellectually.

Experimental Art(ists) in Ein Karem

Sala-Manca is a Jerusalem-based group of experimental artists founded in 2000 by Lea Mauas and Diego Rotman. The group creates in various fields, including performance, video, installation and new media. In its own words, the group examines the 'poetics of translation, with textual, urban and net contexts and with the tensions between low-tech and high-tech aesthetics, as well as social and political issues' (Sala-Manca Group 2010). Thanks to a personal acquaintance with Lea Mauas and Diego Rotman, I have been able to follow the group's activities and evolution almost from its inception. I have attended many of the group's projects, exhibitions, and experimental presentations in Jerusalem, and have been inspired and affected by their sometimes provocative and often thought-provoking artistic productions, usually performed in public urban spaces around the city, even though at times I have felt at a loss to understand the artistic message of particular avant-garde activities and performances. I have been attracted to, and even fascinated

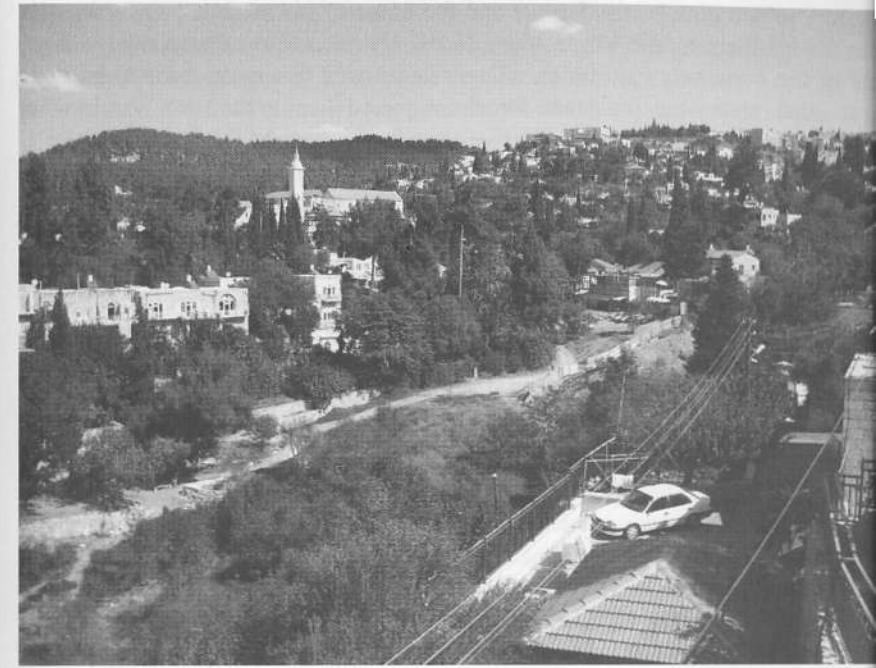


Figure 11.1 Ein Karem from the southwest (Source: author's own photograph)

by, Sala-Manca's activities, precisely because they felt avant-garde, and thus not very coherent. As I regard myself as an intellectual, I have found this particularly challenging. As a Jerusalemite, I have deeply appreciated Mauas' and Rotman's efforts to revive art and creativity in this city, which has several large museums but is nearly devoid of fringe-type artistic activity. The Group's activities involve interactions between art and everyday life and spaces, and between the seemingly coherent and apolitical nature of everyday life routines and the challenge posed to these routines by experimental art.

The narratives examined below, and the social agents that enacted them, were part of an artistic activity organised by the Sala-Manca Group over the course of three intense days (15–17 October 2009). The activity took place in the neighbourhood of Ein Karem (lit. Vineyard Spring), which is located in southwest Jerusalem, near but outside the densely built-up area of the city. Ein Karem (see Figure 11.1) is a beautifully picturesque area with a spring, surrounded by churches, monasteries and residences that were built over the centuries. The following passage, taken from one of many websites catering to tourists, is typical of tourist brochures that describe it: 'In a peaceful valley between mountains and hills, surrounded by the beauty of natural groves, nestles one of Jerusalem's most picturesque neighbourhoods' (Go Israel 2010). According to some Christian traditions, it was

the birth-place of John the Baptist and the home of his mother, Elizabeth, who was visited there by the Virgin Mary. Ein Karem was also a Palestinian village, one of the numerous Palestinian villages and towns that were deserted by their Arab inhabitants when the Israeli forces conquered them in the 1948 War, in what became known in Palestinian collective consciousness as the 'Nakba' ('Disaster'). Hence this 'most picturesque neighbourhood' is also a politically contested site, which embodies two very different sets of historical facts and events, memories and narratives. It is at the same time an object and subject of remembering but also of the denying of memories and words.

From the perspective of research into the politics of tourism in Israel and Palestine, Ein Karem raises interesting questions regarding the roles that tourism agents and narratives play in the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These have received some scholarly attention in studies examining the phenomenon of politically aware tourism in Hebron, in the Old City of Jerusalem, around the separation barrier and elsewhere (Bowman 1996, Brin 2006, Clark 2000, Feldman 2008, Noy 2011). This body of research concentrates on the conflict's hotspots. However, less attention has been paid to sites where the conflict has already been relegated to the status of recent history. These are mainly sites that were occupied by the Israeli forces not during the 1967 war, but earlier, in 1948–49. Brin and Noy (2010) term such sites 'non-flashpoints' sites, and suggest that 'if these places are remembered by Palestinians and are a focus of longing, more often than not their transformation into Jewish locales is regarded as *fait accompli*' (p. 21).

The Sala-Manca Group's three-day project in Ein Karem, appropriately titled 'What's Hidden behind the Pastoral?', sought to examine, expose and challenge hegemonic and accepted narratives of the neighbourhood/village. It involved over 30 artists and a large number of activities, exhibitions, and workshops that took place at and near the Group's workshop in Ein Karem, attended by more than 700 visitors. Many of the activities took place at the centre of the neighbourhood, near its main tourist attractions (for more information on Sala-Manca's project see Mamuta 2010). In what follows I shall focus on only one aspect of the project, namely the audio-tours of the neighbourhood. Throughout the three days, Sala-Manca invited visitors to tour the area with a map and a small MP3 player on which two guided tours of the area were recorded, which were delivered by two different guides, presenting different perspectives relating to Ein Karem. The tours offered a (re-)narrativisation of this popular tourist site, which did not duplicate hegemonic depictions and knowledge and were not presented from the perspective of the all-knowing narrator. Rather, the stories were situated, following the physical paths and routes in and of the site, evoking memories, concerns and emotions, and pursuing distinct ideological agendas and interests. By emplacing the stories and by mobilising them, both literally and metaphorically (that is, by supplying the visitors with mobile listening devices), the creators turned the stories into embodied and situated performances. They were not so much stories *about* places, events and histories, that is, narratives serving a referential function, but stories that took place *in* an emplaced and embodied sense, that is, situated performances.

By attending Sala-Manca's Pastoral project, and by participating in the recorded tours, visitors too were transformed into agents of social change, publicly pursuing contested paths, images and narratives.

'What's Hidden Behind the Pastoral?'

The MP3 players were handed out by two college students who sat at a small table near the road leading up to the famous Ein Karem spring. This was actually my first stop at Ein Karem and the first activity in which I took part during the days of the art project. The college students requested my ID card as a deposit, and gave me an MP3 player and earphones and a hand-drawn map of the neighbourhood, showing more than 20 listening stations and the routes of the tours.

It is significant that the two recorded tours were delivered by different institutional agents. The first tour I followed was given by Omar Agbaria, a Palestinian who works at a non-profit organisation called Zochrot (lit. 'Remembering'). This organisation is dedicated to remembering Palestinian life before 1948 and to raising awareness of the Nakba: the catastrophe suffered by the Palestinian people in the 1948 war (see Zochrot 2010). The second narration was given by Pnina Ein Mor, a Jewish-Israeli resident of Ein Karem, who has led the neighbourhood's struggles against the municipality and the real estate developers who repeatedly attempt to build large projects in the area.

Within the scope of this chapter, I will present two segments from each of the tours. It is notable that the two tours do not follow the same route, nor do they refer to the same attractions (buildings, landscapes, etc.). For instance, Agbaria's tour stops at and elaborates about the main cemetery, a Muslim site that is not mentioned in Ein Mor's tour; conversely, Ein Mor's tour pauses at the monastery of Les Soeurs de Notre-Dame de Sion for a scenic stop that is not included in the Zochrot tour. This discrepancy suggests, even prior to a textual-narrative analysis, that the diverging narratives in and of a given place are told about and by means of different physical resources and geographical points of reference.

Setting the Narrative

Neither of the audio narratives I followed began immediately with descriptions of houses, streets, and so on; that is, with the 'itinerary' itself. Instead, they started with introductory segments providing the narrative setting, with background information about both Ein Karem and the narrators. Thus, rather than offering an authoritative voice, telling the story of Ein Karem from a purportedly 'neutral' perspective (like the guided tours produced by the Jerusalem municipality, for example), the tours offered a personal perspective; 'personal' not so much in the romantic sense of providing an encounter with an individual, but in the sense that the narrators explicitly elaborated on who they were and what their goals were in

conducting the tour. The opening segments of the two audio tours are reproduced below.¹

Omar Agbaria's Introduction

Welcome. We will [now] begin the tour of the village of Ein Karem. Naturally, the tour will also tell of the Palestinian village of Ein Karem, which was abandoned in 1948. We will see some of its magnificent houses and beautiful neighborhoods. Ein Karem is the largest of the [Arab] villages in the Jerusalem area that were occupied in 1948.

Hello. We will shortly begin a tour of the village of Ein Karem – a Palestinian village until 1948. We will appreciate the splendid houses and beautiful neighborhoods of this village, which was the largest [Arabic] village in the Jerusalem area until the Nakba in 1948.

My name is Omar, Omar Agbaria. I work for the non-profit organization Zochrot as a coordinator of tours in Palestinian villages that were occupied in [nineteen] forty-eight. One of the villages that we have researched and produced a tour for is the village of Ein Karem. The aim of this tour is to inform the general audience, and particularly the Israeli audience, about life in the village before it was occupied in nineteen forty-eight. We also publish a booklet that includes information about the village: documents, pictures and of course testimonies by refugees who tell their story. The village was occupied in the middle of July ... [by Israeli forces that] evacuated all the inhabitants. The Palestinian inhabitants were obviously not allowed to return, and [Ein Karem] became an Israeli village and part of the city of Jerusalem. What is special, also in the eyes of the Palestinians, is that the village of Ein Karem has been left intact – as it was when it was [first] conquered in nineteen forty-eight – and today you can see it in almost the same condition. The houses are all inhabited by new residents. All of them Israeli Jews.

Pnina Ein Mor's Introduction

Hello. My name is Pnina Ein Mor. I have been living here since nineteen seventy-five. You could say that [living here] is really a dream I had as a girl in Bat Yam. This **forest**. I so envied the Jerusalemites. I didn't know the city; I knew it [only] from reading books, but even then I already decided that once I complete my obligatory [military] service, I'd come here. And indeed I came to

1 In the transcriptions, bold text indicates words that were stressed; italics indicate words that were spoken and/or pronounced in Arabic; three dots indicate an ellipsis; square brackets indicate words or comments added for clarification. I thank Michael Komem for his help with the translation from the Arabic.

Jerusalem, and later to Ein Kerem.² Every morning I thank God that I live here. These beautiful orchards; the changing seasons, each with its fruits and colors; the paths between the houses.

However, I'm very very sad that the village is neglected, and I'm sorry for those pilgrims who come here, enjoy the natural beauty, but the neglect is unmistakable. And what I am most concerned with is the issue of conservation. That's why I was recruited in the past to act as chair of the [neighborhood] council, and I led a move, which was a national precedent back then, to draw an urban building plan initiated by the residents – which means that the residents can say what they want and not just resist other's plans. I hope you enjoy your trip today in the village, and that you will join us in the struggle to conserve it.

As mentioned earlier, these introductory segments convey the perspective from which the tours unfold; an embodied viewpoint rather than a 'neutral' one, told 'from above', as it were, which aims to share knowledge, recollections and experiences, as well as concerns about possible future threats that have not been admitted in hegemonic accounts. Though very different in content and themes, these introductory segments serve similar functions in both narratives. As self-presentation segments (Goffman 1959), they introduce the identities of the narrators, and lend authenticity and validity to the(ir) stories. In the case of Omar Agbaria's narration, this is evinced immediately by the language of his opening sentences. These are spoken in Arabic, even though, as Agbaria himself acknowledges, the tour is intended mainly for Hebrew-speaking Israelis who know little or no Arabic. Hence, the opening remarks in Arabic (which are, in fact, immediately repeated in Hebrew) serve an ideological goal; they evoke issues of linguistic ideology and the perceived indexical relations between the language spoken and the identity of the speaker (Noy 2008b). Starting the narration in Arabic establishes the identity and authority of the narrator and presents the entire text as a translation, an adaptation to Hebrew from Arabic, which is the authentic language, the 'language of the place'. It will be noted that Arabic is present not only in the opening lines, but in the numerous names of places and persons throughout the narrative. Further into the introductory segment Agbaria gives his institutional affiliation (Zochrot), and describes the organisation's ideological goals and the means by which they are pursued. Here, terms such as 'research', 'testimony by refugees', and 'documents and pictures' serve to establish discursively the authority of both the Zochrot organisation and of Agbaria himself as legitimate narrators of the Palestinian Nakba and of pre-Nakba Ein Karem.

2 Ein Mor sometimes pronounces the name of the neighborhood 'Ein Kerem', which is the official Israeli Hebrew name, and sometimes 'Ein Karem', which is the Arabic pronunciation and also the more common pronunciation, which I use throughout this chapter.

Establishing identity and authority is also one of the main concerns in the introductory segment narrated by Pnina Ein Mor. Immediately after giving her name, Ein Mor indicates that she is, and has been for a number of decades, a resident of the neighborhood ('I have been living here since 1975'). Her narrative, then, is presented as a story told not by an impersonal institutional agent but by a local resident, reflecting a first-hand experience of living in Ein Karem. It should be mentioned that Pnina Ein Mor is both a long-time activist *and* the owner of a local business that organises tours, workshops and events in Ein Karem. It is noteworthy that Ein Mor's story includes some conspicuous gaps. Noticeably, she states that her arrival in Ein Karem was a 'dream come true', but does not explain how her move from Bat Yam (then a relatively poor suburb, south of Tel-Aviv, with a rather poor reputation) to the up-market artist colony of Ein Karem was actually accomplished. Ein Mor's introductory segment establishes her identity as a local activist and presents her concerns about the conservation of the neighbourhood, or the 'village', as she sometimes calls it (a description that lends it an attractive air of a pastoral rural location rather than an urban one). In fact, conservation is a major motif of her narration and recurs throughout it; for example, her introductory segment ends with a direct appeal to the audience: 'I hope that you'll ... join us in the struggle for its conservation'. By stressing this theme, Ein Mor accomplishes two goals simultaneously; she attempts to recruit support for the preservation of Ein Karem and at the same time further establishes her authority, not merely as a local resident but as a local agent who is committed to the place and well acquainted with its treasures and features. Finally, in terms of language, if Agbaria's name indexes his identity as an Arab and helps establish his authority over the Zochrot narrative, Ein Mor's Hebrew name clearly does something comparable through its similarity to the name of the neighborhood (Ein Karem); both personal and district names include the word 'ein', which means 'spring' in both Hebrew and Arabic.

The introductory segments by Agbaria and Ein Mor serve not only the Goffmanesque function of self-presentation but also the function of narrative orientation sections (in the sense of Labov's [1972] classical typology of narrative functions-structure), by outlining the context within which the subsequent tour-narrative will evolve. Orientation sections are normally located in the beginning of narrative sequences, where they supply the setting of stories, presenting the time, the place and the characters involved. They are clearly functional, in the sense that they supply the informative baseline from which later events unfold, but it is illuminating to examine them also in terms of what information is *deemed relevant* by particular narrators on particular narrative occasions. In this sense they do not simply provide information so much as reflect selectivity and subjective perspective.

In Omar Agbaria's introduction the historically constitutive events, characters, and time-line are those that form part of the situated performance of the Palestinian Nakba narrative. As the expressed aim of the tour is 'to inform ... about life in the village before it was occupied in nineteen forty-eight', the narrative's time-

frame is *not* primarily concerned with the present but rather with the *past*. Indeed, Agbaria's initial narrative clauses (for example, 'The village was occupied in the middle of July') describe what is actually the (traumatic) chronologic *end-point* of the story of Ein Karem as a Palestinian village. This kind of 'reverse' temporal structure, or chronotope, serves to establish the drama/trauma of the Nakba, and the fact that the site being toured is at the same time a reality and a place that no longer exists. The characters involved in the 1948 drama are the Palestinian inhabitants on the one hand and the Israeli forces on the other. Later, as the tour's narrative turns to pre-1948 village life, only everyday Palestinian life is described. But before this unfolds, the introduction ends quite dramatically with a statement about the present day condition: 'The houses are all inhabited by new residents, all of them Israeli Jews'. Listeners are normally aware that most of the present residents of Ein Karem are Jewish Israelis, yet by describing them as 'new residents' Agbaria and Zochrot achieve one of the goals (and express one of the axioms) of the Nakba narrative; the physical and symbolic (narrative) displacement of Palestinians by Israelis.

Read as an orientation section, Pnina Ein Mor's introduction establishes a different context of and for the tour's narrative, in terms of characters, events, and time-frame. In her introduction, and consistently throughout her tour, the time-frame with which she is concerned is that of the *future* and the drama spans the present and the (potentially negative) developments to come. Near the beginning of the section, when she explains what she yearned for as an adolescent in the town of Bat Yam, she mentions 'this **forest**'. Shortly after, she gives a more orderly and elaborate description of the 'natural beauty' of Ein Karem: 'These beautiful orchards; the changing seasons ... the paths between the houses'. For Ein Mor, the key issue is the exceptional natural beauty of Ein Karem, which includes Palestinian houses and paths. It is important to note that this *naturalisation* of the remains of Palestinian life and (material) culture is typical of Israeli narrative; such remains are de-politicised and to some extent also de-historicised by being treated as part of 'natural' landscape, along with the local flora and fauna. Both at this point and later in the narrative, Ein Mor indicates that the beauty and unique attractions of the neighbourhood are being neglected by the various municipal and national agents. More disturbingly and dramatically, they are threatened by large-scale development projects, such as planned hotels, restaurants, recreation areas and parking lots. The drama in Ein Mor's narration thus concerns the fragility of the neighbourhood (the endangered 'village') at the present time as well as the possibility of harmful events in the future.

Next stop: Mary's Spring

As mentioned earlier, most of the stops in the Zochrot tour are not part of Ein Mor's tour, and vice versa. Yet there were a few stops, which particularly piqued my curiosity as ethnographer-cum-visitor-cum-tourist, where both recorded tours



Figure 11.2 Mary's Spring at Ein Karem (Source: author's own photograph)

paused and provided explanations. Most of these were at the neighbourhood's prominent tourist attractions, such as Mary's Spring, where, according to tradition, the Virgin Mary met Elizabeth, the mother of the Baptist (see Figure 11.2).

Agbaria's 'Mary's Spring'

This is the spring called Miryam Spring [in Hebrew], *Maryam* in Arabic, referring to the Holy [Virgin] Mary. On top of the spring was built a mosque.. This combination of a spring that is holy to the Christians, and a mosque, which is a Muslim house of prayer, reflects the composition of the village's population, which consisted of both Christians and Muslims. At least according to the story told by the inhabitants, the mosque was built in this location because they believed that the famous Muslim *Khalif* Umar ibn al-Khattab came here and prayed near the spring. Today, of course, the mosque is **sealed** and entry is prohibited to Muslims and others, as we can see. We also know that above the mosque there used to be another floor, which housed the boys' school of Ein Karem village. That floor still stood when the village was occupied in nineteen forty-eight, and it lasted for several years after that. However, it seems that [sometime] in the sixties, after [nineteen] sixty-seven, the floor was demolished.

Ein Mor's 'Mary's Spring'

Hello. We've reached Ein Karem Spring, or Miryam Spring, by its other name. And like in **any other** place in Ein Karem, here too there are **plenty** of stories. Once, this spring was considered at its time to be **the best** of the Jerusalem springs, and today you see the sign: drinking the water is forbidden. I regret [to say] that sewage from a cesspit located above the spring seeps into it, and the water of the best of the Jerusalem springs mingles with the sewage. In the past, [the spring] watered **the entire** amazing wadi beneath it. But even though sewage seeps into the spring, it can still be holy. Hence, to the many Christian pilgrims that come here, this is the water that Mary – Maria – blessed, and the pilgrims fill plastic bottles with the holy water. And if someone at home is ill, they let him drink it, and believe it or not, he recovers – for such is the power of faith. On the other hand, ten days before [the Jewish festival of] Passover, instead of the flocks of storks [that pass through Israel in that season] we see flocks of *hassidim*³ who sing and dance and fill containers with this water, so that [during the Passover meal] we can have a *matza shmura* on our table.⁴ So it doesn't really matter to whom it is holy.

Today the spring is threatened by the [planned] construction of a multistory hotel, with no parking space, near the spring and the spring's tunnel. And one of the things that we are **most** afraid of is that the Spring's aqueduct will be blocked by the construction work for the new hotel. That's it.

As I stood near Spring Road in front of Mary's Spring, and listened to the voices and stories being played into my ears, I found the experience to be rather disorienting, not to say schizophrenic. If I thought that, because both narrators agreed on the importance of the spring and therefore made a stop there, their stories would be similar, I could not have been further from the truth. The reason for the discrepancy is, of course ideological, having to do with the different goals of the two tours. From the perspective of narrative analysis, the significant divergence emerges, or may emerge, from the fact that neither narrative actually involves a straightforward description of the site (Mary's Spring), which is to say a description of the events and attributions that have made the small spring into a popular destination for Christian pilgrims. Instead, both narratives assume, quite correctly, that the site is familiar and therefore refer to it briefly, using it primarily as a trigger or anchor for other stories and accounts. In the case of Agbaria these

3 The *Hassidim* are members of Ultra-Orthodox Jewish sects. The narrator makes a play on words here, because the word 'Hassidim' is similar in sound to the Hebrew word for storks ('hasidot').

4 *Matza shmura* (lit. guarded matza) refers to unleavened bread, made of special wheat and under particularly strict supervision to ensure it is kosher for Passover.

are historical narratives while in the case of Ein Mor these narratives concern future prospects.

For Agbaria, the presence of a mosque above Mary's Spring is significant because it attests to the coexistence of Christians and Muslims in Ein Karem across the centuries. From a general perspective, it is a story of inter-faith tolerance; specifically, it illuminates the relationship between Christians and Muslims, against the background of the relationship between Christianity and Judaism on the one hand and between Islam and Judaism on the other. Zionism exalts the relations between Israel and various Christian sects and communities, mostly in the United States. These relations are also enacted in the ideological and political narratives of conventional tourism. Feldman (2008) recently showed that, when giving joint tours to Christian pilgrims in the Old City of Jerusalem, the pastor and the (Jewish) Israeli guide collaborate in describing the local Palestinian merchants and population in negative terms. In Agbaria's narrative, the present neglected state of the mosque (which is closed and sealed), and the destruction of the top floor, are contrasted with how things used to be when Muslims and Christians lived in the neighbourhood before 1948. The story's end, that is, how things are today, is epitomised by the sorry state of the mosque.

Consistent with her own narrative goals, Ein Mor too laments the neglected state of Ein Karem. Here, at Mary's Spring, this motif is manifested in the spring's contaminated water; she emphasises that the spring was once known as 'the best of the Jerusalem springs', whereas today it is forbidden to drink the water. Thus, her narrative too contrasts how things were and how they are in the present. However, for her it is an *escalating narrative*; it does not stop at the present, but projects alarmingly into the future, warning, in the segment's coda, of what Ein Mor and the residents are 'most afraid' of, namely future construction work. It is notable that Ein Mor is highly selective in choosing which *past* events to focus on. She does not elaborate on, or even mention, that the Spring was once part of the ebb and flow of Palestinian life (here the wording is opaque and schematic: 'at its time'). This omission is particularly interesting here, because above and beyond the general avoidance of the Palestinian past and the Nakba in Zionist narrative, an *escalating narrative* could easily have been told by Agbaria, with the escalation including the Israeli occupation and its impact on the character of the Palestinian village. In fact, one of the few things that both narratives do converge on is the once-acclaimed quality of the water at Mary's Spring! Ein Mor then turns to a description of the pilgrims who consume the holy water, thereby offering us a unique perspective; that of the *host's gaze* on her guests. In an unmistakably cynical tone, she says that faith, whether that of the Ultra-Orthodox Hassidic Jews or that of evangelical Christian pilgrims, is oblivious to the quality of the water and, by extension, to the quality of the Spring or the site as a whole ('Such is the power of faith', she ruminates). Her message, it seems, is twofold. In the first place, she implicitly differentiates the audience of her recorded tour (who can be assumed to be secular Israelis) from the religious and ignorant crowds of pilgrims. The subtext here is that the latter are blind believers who will not be of any help

in efforts to conserve the Spring and the neighbourhood, whereas her audience (that is, the rational tourists and visitors) may be. Secondly, she asserts that if the tunnel of Mary's Spring is blocked no water will flow, no bottles will be filled and no rituals, Christian or Hassidic, will be performed. From this perspective, the concern for the maintenance of the Spring, and therefore the neighbourhood, should actually be everyone's, but the responsibility for enlightenment obviously rests on the shoulders of Ein Mor.

Conclusions

As the Sala-Manca Group realised when preparing the 'What Lies behind the Pastoral' project, narratives in tourism are immensely powerful in their ability to maintain, eradicate and transform the meanings of places; their histories, memories, feelings and so on. For this reason, one of the many situated activities that took place as part of the three-day project was the tours described in this chapter, which served to probe and examine the neighbourhood of Ein Karem (where Sala-Manca's work space is presently located). During these tours, the everyday tourist life of Ein Karem was seemingly uninterrupted. Crowds of visitors to an experimental art exhibition seamlessly intermingled with mass pilgrims and other visitors who poured out of huge air-conditioned buses. For a moment, a touristic mixture or even hybrid was sustained (performed), where essential questions were raised about the nature of tourism, about who has access to and authority over truth in tourism, about how artistic, touristic and pilgrim aesthetics co-relate, about how one site may be so many different things to different groups of people, and so on. All this was possible because Sala-Manca's experimental art is performative; it gets people to engage, to move around, to carry and create meanings in public spaces. The visitors, myself included, were embodying and thus performing what de Certeau (1984) called 'everyday tactics', which are subversive routes and paths.

The Sala-Manca group attempted to destabilise common hegemonic versions of Ein Karem by choosing the specific narrators that they did; by giving the microphone, metaphorically, but also quite literally, to past and present inhabitants. The spatial and mobile narratives of Agbaria and Ein Mor are both clearly counter-hegemonic. There is a substantial difference between the two place-narratives produced, in terms of the opposition they offer to hegemonic ideology and the difficulties they experience in narrating against hegemonic perceptions, but Sala-Manca did not state a preference for one narrative over the other. At the Pastoral project the narrators talked and the visitors walked, thereby allowing new meanings to evolve, be embodied and negotiated.

Acknowledgement

I am indebted to Lea Mauas, Diego Rotman, and Noa Guez of the Sala-Manca Collective for their time and assistance.

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