Subaltern Agency in the Cultural Industries:
Palestinian Creative Labor in the Israeli Series Fauda

AMAL JAMAL[1]
Tel Aviv University, Israel

NOA LAVIE
Academic College of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Israel

This article advances the theorization of creative labor in cultural production in conflict zones. It argues that exploring minority creative workers' behavior in media production in conflict zones helps to reveal patterns of othering of minorities and the coping strategies they develop to deal with being caught in the dominant narrative facilitated by the cultural industry. This venture is framed within postcolonial theorization, which contributes to revealing the unique impact of the interconnection between economic and symbolic factors on the behavior of creative labor. It also allows us to join other scholars in de-Westernizing creative labor studies and challenging the thesis of the silenced subaltern. To that end, we explore the meaning of "circumscribed agents" and "subaltern agency" through an analysis of ethnographic observations conducted during the production of the Israeli television series, *Fauda.* Examining the patterns of behavior of Palestinian–Israeli creative workers on the set of the series reveals three strategies of agency claiming—namely, authentication, self-orientalization, and mimicking.

Keywords: subaltern agency, Fauda, cultural industries, Israel, Palestinian, creative labor

Media production, which is characterized by low budgets, demands that the production workforce show more flexibility regarding work hours and conditions (Christopherson, 2008). This state of affairs has drawn attention to the behavior of creative workers, considering the interlocking relationship between the precariousness of the labor market and meaning making, representation, and identity formation in media production (Banks, 2017; Lee, 2017; McDonald, 2013; Saha, 2012). Despite the growing attention to creative workers, the coping strategies they develop to deal with the precariousness of the field and its symbolic ramifications have not been sufficiently explored (Draper, 2014; Gill & Pratt, 2008; Hesmondhalgh, 2007).

This is especially true when speaking of creative workers from ethnic, racial, and gender minorities in conflict zones and their coping with the economic ramifications of cultural production on meaning making, representation, and identity formation (Saha, 2017, 2018). Therefore, the study of the ways these minority creative workers face the economic and cultural challenges in the cultural industries deserves more

---

attention. This is even more demanding in conflict situations, such as in cases of national and indigenous minorities in ethnic states with colonial connotations (Castello, 2007; De Peuter, 2011; Gray, 2013, 2016; Shohat & Stam, 2014). Given that in such areas cultural production is central to the contestation over symbolic power and cultural domination (Cottle, 2006; Holby & Ottosen, 2017; Weidmann, 2015), paying attention to the place of minority creative workers in the hegemonic cultural industry and the strategies they develop to cope with identity formation and the construction of social hierarchies could shed new light on the complexities of cultural production.

Such an effort could challenge the "assumption that creative work unfolds more or less universally across cultures" (Alacovska & Gill, 2019, p. 208) and contribute to de-Westernizing creative labor studies. Furthermore, it might help clarify new forms by which minority creative labor resist dominant perceptions of cultural value (Belfiore, 2018) and revisit the thesis of the silenced subaltern in cultural production (Bhatt, 2006; Gingrich, 2004; Shandilya, 2014; Spivak, 1988). It could also enable us to verify whether subaltern creative workers submit to the economic and cultural conditions and conventions predominant in the field of cultural industries, or develop unique strategies to resist their othering and subordination (Doldor & Atewologun, 2020). The resulting analysis would also illuminate the contribution that postcolonial conceptualizations could have on enhancing our understanding of the complexities of cultural production in postcolonial contexts.

In the following, we argue that subaltern creative workers develop "infra-political" strategies to strike a balance between maintaining their place in the field and resisting submission to the predominant forms of meaning making, representation, and identity formation. Exploring these strategies and demonstrating the ways subaltern creative labor exhibit agency could benefit from existing theorizations of everyday resistance strategies (Jensen, 2011; Johansson & Vinthagen, 2016; Scott, 1985). Given that these theorizations have not been sufficiently explored in the cultural industries, doing so could lead to new insights on the embedded differentiations of the field on the one hand and clarify one of its least explored aspects—namely, the methods subaltern creative workers use to cope with their subordination, on the other.

To achieve this goal, we present an analysis of the ethnographic observations we conducted during the production process of the successful Israeli television series, *Fauda.*[2] We examine the patterns of behavior of Palestinian Israeli actors and other production workers on the set of the series and evaluate the extent to which their "voice" can be viewed as agency claiming, considering their marginalization in the Israeli cultural industry. The place of Palestinian Israeli actors in the Israeli cultural industries, especially in media texts that deal with the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, forms a very suitable case study to examine the analytical relevancy of the concept of agency claiming to conceptualizing subaltern subjects' aspiration to a voice, even when they are neither able to subvert the entire asymmetric power structures of identity formation in which they are located, nor have a serious impact on their representations in the final media text. Doing so helps not only to raise new theoretical insights regarding dilemmas of minority actors in the

---

[2] *Fauda* is an Israeli action series dealing with the Israeli occupation of the West Bank. It reflects an Israeli–Zionist narrative, focusing on an undercover Israeli army unit devoted to fighting against Palestinians who resist Israeli occupation. The Arabic term "fauda" means chaos.

cultural industries in conflict zones but also to clarify the contribution of postcolonial studies in enhancing our understanding of "everyday resistance" in this complex field.

Theorizing Subaltern Agency in the Creative Industries

It is well established in the literature that uncertainty and commercial pressures on creative labor in the cultural industries pose major ramifications on the diversity of opportunity in the field, especially for ethnic, racial, gender, and religious minorities (De Peuter, 2011; Gill & Pratt, 2008; Miller, 2009; Saha, 2012). This means that the treatment of symbolic and cultural production cannot and should not be color or gender blind (Weeds, 2012).

For these reasons, national, racial and gender diversity has been gaining growing attention in the literature on cultural industries (Collins, 2011; Saha, 2012, 2016). Although "there are probably more minorities working in the media [now] than at any point in history" (Saha, 2017, p. 169; see also Saha, 2012), it is argued that the quantity of representation does not necessarily equal "adequate" or fair representation, and minorities are still stereotypically represented (Campion, 2005; Shohat & Stam, 2014).

Furthermore, patterns of racialized governance exist in the politics of representation and they align with the "specific conditions of capitalistic, industrial cultural production" (Saha, 2012, p. 436). These patterns circumscribe the agency of minority creative workers and constrain their ability to challenge the promotion of certain types of content over others (Draper, 2014). Minority creative workers are compelled to face not only the contradictions between creativity and economic pressures but also their aspiration to integrate into the ethnically stratified job market, and the roles they are offered and the narratives into which they are subsumed. Given that the dilemmas and challenges of minority creative workers and the way they cope with them has won only little attention, mostly in Euro-American contexts (Alacovska & Gill, 2019), examining the patterns of behavior of minority creative labor "outside the Anglo-American orbit [using] an ex-centric perspective [can] challenge mainstream theory building" (Alacovska & Gill, 2019, p. 196; De Beukelaer & Spence, 2019; Waisbord & Mellado, 2014).

The multidimensional social process of identity formation in the creative industries touches upon several different forms of social differentiations, according to which minority creative labor are offered not only subject positions but also roles that construct them as others in media texts (Jensen, 2011). The process of othering is an interlocking system of oppression that is predominantly intersectional based on class, ethnicity, and gender (Spivak, 1988). It leads to what Havens and Lotz (2012) have named "circumscribed agency," which addresses institutional and economic limitations of creative labor in the media industries. This treatment invites further attention to the place of narratives, identity formation, and cultural values in circumscribing creative labor (Belfiore, 2018). The relationship between the hegemonic narrative and the spaces given to subaltern creative labor deserve further theorization, especially to better explore whether and how subaltern creative labor exhibit subversive conduct to their othering during production.

Shandilya (2014) has conceptualized subversion to othering by subordinate subjects as subaltern agency. She argued that the oxymoron nature of the concept emerges because "it is in the gaps, silences and caesuras of the elite narration of subalternity that we may find subaltern agency" (Shandilya, 2014, p. 2). Her

treatment of subaltern agency, addressed in the context of literature, could be constructive in substantiating the subversive behavior and voices of minority creative workers in a hegemonic cultural industry.

Subaltern resistance has been already theorized by Jensen (2011) based on two forms of agency. The first is capitalization, according to which agency

> relies not on refusing othering discourses per se, but by appropriating (elements of) them in an attempt to imbue the category of the young ethnic minority man with symbolic value . . . [it] takes the form of refusing to be devalued . . . [and] has a dimension of reproduction as it draws on stereotypical images. (Jensen, 2011, p. 66)

The second form is refusal, which "relies on articulating distance from the category of the ethnic minority young man, explicitly or through irony, and on refusing to occupy the position of the other" (Jensen, 2011, p. 66). These analytical categories, developed in different settings, are deeply tied to postcolonial epistemology (Go, 2016) and provide an adequate frame to explore subaltern agency in the television industry. They enable us to theorize the strategies of agency claiming by subaltern subjects and thereby contribute to undermining the domination of Eurocentric perspectives in media studies (Olesen, 2018). Conceptualizing subaltern subjects as aspiring to a voice in cultural production, even when they are unable to subvert the entire asymmetric power structures of identity formation in which they are located, contributes to overcoming limitations of studies of minority representation in media texts (Dervin, 2012; Gray, 2016). It renders subaltern agency ontologically present by revealing creative modes of agency claiming, manifested in modest forms and strategies of resistance. To verify these creative modes, we turn to exploring how Palestinian Israeli actors, playing in the Israeli series *Fauda*, cope with their subjugation and subordination.

The Israeli Television Industry and Arab Creative Agency

The Israeli television industry has undergone major transformations in the past few decades, leading to the development of a vibrant, but also precarious, field of cultural production (Cohen, 2008; Hagay & Davidson, 2014). Most Israeli television productions have become privatized, making profit motives central to modern productions (Cohen, 2008; Lavie, 2016).

Palestinian citizens have not been part of this process, as evidenced by their mere 2% representation on-screen in prime-time television and very low percentage in off-screen management positions (First & Inbar-Lankri, 2013; Mendelson-Maoz & Stier-Livni, 2011). Israeli television has traditionally portrayed Palestinian citizens as a threat to society (Harlap, 2017). They are often framed as outlaws, criminals, uneducated, or members of a backward, patriarchal society (Harlap, 2017).

Until recently, very little dramatic or comedic television content in Hebrew has dealt with or portrayed Palestinian Israeli citizens at all (Mendelson-Maoz & Stier-Livni, 2011; Shifman, 2008). However, some changes have taken place over the past few years (Harlap, 2017; Tsfati, 2007). Despite the low levels

of Palestinian representation and the stereotypical portrayals (*The 7th Eye*,[3] 2016), there is an increasing number of original Israeli dramas that have attempted to portray Arabs and Palestinians in a new light (Harlap, 2017).

Drama series such as *Arab Labor* (2007–13), *The Screen Writer* (2015),[4] *Ananda* (2012–15),[5] *Johnny and the Galilee Knights* (2016–present),[6] and *Mona* (2019)[7] have won critical acclaim. Palestinian Israeli creative workers now have more diverse paths to the Israeli television screen. Nevertheless, many assert that these changes have been insufficient in both quality and quantity because almost all Israeli television broadcasts are in Hebrew, and the only public channel in Arabic, until recently, had very few drama productions for the Arab audience (Gertz & Yosef, 2017; Ribke, 2019). The structural inferiority of Palestinian labor in the broader Israeli labor market (Yashiv & Kasir, 2013) still plagues the Israeli cultural industries, in which Palestinian Israeli creative workers must mostly act in Hebrew rather than in their mother tongue, Arabic.

The series *Fauda* introduced a new reality. First, many of the actors and the people working behind the scene are Palestinian Israelis. Second, the Jewish actors have had to learn Arabic and rely on the knowledge of the Palestinian Israeli actors and cast to enact their roles. Third, the first season of the series, which won critical acclaim in Israel and worldwide (Gertz & Yosef, 2017) and was declared the best international television drama of 2017 by *The New York Times*, sought to "humanize" its Palestinian characters and give them a voice (Jenner, 2017).

The second season of the series is a joint production of Yes, an Israeli satellite television company; Liat Ben-Asuli Productions, a private Israeli television production company; and Netflix (Jenner, 2017). This season was heavily criticized for portraying Palestinians as villains while the Israelis were singularly portrayed as heroes (Ribke, 2019; Rubinstein, 2018).

The series protagonist is Doron, who attempts to retire from his unit, but is pulled back in each season to hunt and kill the main antagonists—Abu Ahmed, in the first season, and Al-Maqdasi, in the second. These Palestinian characters are portrayed as fierce terrorists, according to the Zionist perspective, prevalent in the series, and freedom fighters, according to Palestinian narrative. Notwithstanding its commitment to Israeli narrative, this series produced a considerable amount of employment for Palestinian Israeli actors. The latter are needed to play the roles of Palestinians from the West Bank. Palestinians in the West Bank cannot be hired by Israeli producers because of the language barrier and the conflict. Because the series is filmed half in Hebrew and half in Arabic, it is also filmed partly in Arab villages throughout Israel. Several Palestinian Israeli creative workers were also employed behind the scenes.

---

[3] https://www.the7eye.org.il/196017

[4] Both series were created by Sayed Kashua, a Palestinian Israeli writing about his own life experiences.

[5] A series about a love affair between a Jewish Israeli woman and a Palestinian Israeli male citizen.

[6] A series about four men, one of them a Palestinian Israeli citizen, practicing male prostitution.

[7] A series on a Palestinian female citizen, who is a photographer chosen to represent Israel in an exhibition in Paris.

Given these conditions and given the growing focus on the narrative of the series in the literature (Gertz & Yosef, 2017; Jenner, 2017), how the Palestinian Israeli actors faced the challenges they experienced during the filming of the second season can be of great empirical and theoretical importance. We now turn to explore this avenue.

Methodology

The following study is based on observations conducted on the set of the second season of *Fauda*. Although some studies on the cultural industries have employed an ethnographic method (Chan, 2017; Mehta, 2017), this method is still not widely adopted because of issues of access (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Ethnography, as a methodology, extends beyond mere interviews; it is about observing people's daily behaviors in specific settings. It helps to illuminate questions about the subjects' "perceptions, thoughts, sentiments, and desires that constitute the basis of agency" (Ganti, 2014, p. 18). This has been the reasoning behind observing the behavior of Palestinian Israeli creative workers, seeking to shed light on patterns of intersectional othering taking place during the production of *Fauda*, and possible strategies to react to them.

From mid-July 2017 to mid-September 2017, we conducted 22 observations, lasting between two and five hours each, after having negotiated this option with the people in charge of the series. We were not fully satisfied with Marshall and Rossman's (1989) definition of observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study" (p. 79). We also saw it as "the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting" (Schensul & LeCompte, 1999, p. 91). Thus, we sought to describe existing situations to provide a "written photograph" of the situation under study (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). Our observations were not "pure," as we did not take part in the actual work done on set; however, we did take an active role in the creative workers' daily activities, such as lunch and breaks (Kawulich, 2005). During the latter, we conversed with the workers on set, who were made aware that we were conducting research, and asked them questions about their behavior.

Our observations were conducted by two main researchers (one female and Jewish Israeli, and the other male and Palestinian Israeli) and two research assistants (both female, one Palestinian Israeli and the other Jewish Israeli). This turned out to set a good balance that aligned with the languages spoken on set and the cultural and political hierarchies in Israel.

The data were first analyzed by all members of the research team. Thereafter, the research assistants were asked to review and identify recurrent themes and tropes according to the thematic analysis method (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The next phase was to review and refine the initial set of themes by the team who, it is important to note, did not always agree on the meanings and interpretations of the observations. On many occasions, we had to negotiate and agree upon the final meaning of the observed events, behaviors, and language use. Finally, the researchers carried out a detailed analysis of the main themes. The thematic analysis enabled us to observe three different but interrelated strategies of subaltern agency claiming. As clarified earlier, subaltern agency claiming is about the strategies used by subaltern creative workers to voice their resistance to hegemonic narratives in the cultural industries. Our insights

concerning these strategies emerged gradually during our observations and interactions on the set of *Fauda* and became apparent during the thematic analysis. The following differentiation reveals creative workers' negotiation between the capitalization and refusal models and demonstrates that these strategies are better conceived in nonbinary terms.[8]

Analysis

The following analysis is divided into three subsections based on the strategies we located in the thematic analysis. The examples given are illustrative and do not include all the available data for understandable reasons. To avoid preconceptualizations, we provided the best examples for each of the strategies. Therefore, their number is not necessarily equal in each of the subsections.

Strategy 1: The Discourse of Authentication

One of the first themes that came up in our analysis of the data is the politicization of authenticity, known from postcolonial contexts (Ahmad, 1992). It manifested itself through the emphasis Palestinian Israeli creative workers put on their knowledge of Arab culture and language. Being acquainted with Arab culture and language enabled them to employ creative approaches to balancing the asymmetry of power on the set, especially because they are a small minority providing services to a largely Jewish team.

Exposing authenticity was best manifested in Mustafa's behavior. Mustafa was a young man from one of the villages near Nazareth, brought on to monitor the language used by creative workers and ensure that the Arabic accent used was appropriate to the occupied Palestinian territories (oPts). Mustafa was fully aware of the importance of his position, which empowered him vis-à-vis the Jewish actors, who do not speak Arabic, but have to use it in the series. Mustafa was very engaged in his role, on many occasions clarifying that the language used daily in the oPts was different from that of the script and therefore required revision. He shared with us that his involvement extended beyond regulating the accents of non-Arabic-speaking actors, and also included modifying the script itself to meet the habits and cultural norms of Palestinian society. Sharing this information reflected the awareness of his authority on set, not only as a native Arabic speaker but also as a controller of Palestinian society's reflection in the media. Being aware of this power enabled him to balance his relationship with the script writers, who possessed real experience participating in operations against Palestinian society during their military service. Mustafa's control of the Arabic language and the ability to enforce the "correct" accent among nonspeakers appeared to compensate for his less central role in the series. This was also true for his role vis-à-vis the Palestinian Israeli actors. Mustafa shared with us that he maintained a close relationship with the director and the main actor, who also happened to be one of the script writers. Despite the fact that he was not officially hired as a cultural consultant, he made apparent that he manages to resist the asymmetric power structure on the set, claiming agency, by expanding his linguistic capacities to broader areas related to Palestinian norms, customs and habits.

---

[8] The names of the creative workers in our analysis are pseudonyms, used to keep their identities anonymous.

This pattern of self-authentication was also apparent in our observations of Salim, an older actor whose role is not very central, as a Bedouin informant for the Israeli military. Salim exhibited authority on set that was clearly beyond his limited screen time. He was very daring in that he intervened frequently in the main Jewish actor's performance, correcting his command of the language and his accent. It became noticeable that these interventions often blurred the line between his correction of the language and his judgment of the actor's performance. It seems that this type of intervention is related to several possible factors. First, Salim was the oldest person on set (he was in his 60s) and one of the most experienced actors. Second, being from Jerusalem, one of the most sensitive areas of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, made his knowledge of the Palestinian struggle against Israeli occupation most authentic, when compared with the rest of the Palestinian Israeli actors, who originate from the northern parts of the country, which are remote from the daily friction between Palestinians and the Israeli security forces. It gradually became apparent that these factors afforded him protection in asserting these criticisms. His authority was further demonstrated by the director's and main actor's frequent consultations with him. Interestingly, Salim's status off-screen was also reflected in his role in the series onscreen, where he plays the role of a Bedouin informant with great authority as an important source of information for the Israel Defense Forces.

Another example of this strategy was reflected in the complaints of Sabri, a location scout, who voiced his concern over the cast and crew's lack of sensitivity toward a village and its inhabitants. The setting in question was an Arab village within Israel called Kufar Qassem. Sabri expressed his dissatisfaction about the gap in hospitality he witnessed between the villagers and the crew. His complaints were directed mostly toward his Jewish colleagues' behavior, which was insensitive to the local inhabitants' customs, especially as they pertained to the village's conservativism and religion. As such, Sabri reflected a paternalistic position over those who were not familiar with Arab culture and society, seeking to influence the division of labor on set, locating himself as a central figure. He made clear that his responsibility over the location was derived not only from his professional expertise but also from his identity.

Tarek, the main Palestinian antagonist, similarly used his knowledge of Arabic as a source of power by employing it to negotiate his relationship with the environment around him. In one of the scenes in which Tarek was to torture the main Jewish protagonist, the latter requested his help in finding a strong Arab curse that he in turn, could use against Tarek, his kidnapper. The conversation between the two characters operated on several levels, most important of which was the relationship between the real and the figurative. In this scene, Tarek pauses for a few moments of dramatic contemplation in search for a suitable curse. In uttering the curse, Tarek expresses the repugnance he feels toward what is supposed to be an Israeli intelligence officer, blurring the gap between the real and the figurative. The fact that the Jewish protagonist needed the help of the Palestinian antagonist to achieve his aims mirrors the continuous inversion of roles, in which the Jewish crew was dependent on the linguistic and cultural knowledge of the Palestinian Israeli workers.

Strategy 2: Self-Orientalization as a Survival Strategy

Self-orientalization has been defined by Zia-Ebrahimi (2011) as the "unconditional espousal of oriental prejudices" (p. 468). More specifically, it means the identification of oneself with stereotypical misperceptions of one's culture and identity or behaving according to these misperceptions to express a

self-conscious critique or disgust through self-ridicule. The use of sarcasm to ridicule one's culture shows either unease with one's culture or the way it is stereotypically perceived by others. In either form, sarcasm and cynicism are used to avoid the traps of racist beliefs or self-hate, or being perceived as "problematic" in a context on which their professional future is dependent.

One example of self-orientalization we witnessed took place in Kufar Qassem during lunch in a yard beside the house in which the scene was shot. Here, the catering service set up a long buffet table, and around it, medium-sized tables with six chairs each. Each table was covered with red and white checkered tablecloths and bottles of water and soda. For a moment, the setting resembled a Middle Eastern resort, surrounded by palm trees. It was very hot and humid. The series' creators and director sat at the middle table with a Jewish and a French actress. Meanwhile, Suha and Tarek filled their plates at the buffet. They both appeared to us to be a bit helpless and embarrassed, looking for a place to sit. Tarek, searching for a seat, began walking around, playing the role of an Arab waiter in a restaurant. He exaggerated his Arab accent and offered everyone water and food, asking if anyone needed anything else. Eventually, noticing that no one was asking him to join, he ended up sitting at the table with the research team. Suha eventually sat across from us as well.

It was interesting that the Palestinian Israeli actors ended up sitting with strangers (us), further reflecting the separation between the "insiders" and the "outsiders" on the set, which was not the only time we witnessed. The actor's role-playing as a waiter revealed this discomfort. This experience exhibits Palestinian Israelis' unease with their identity, which they expressed by playing a stereotype common in Jewish society—of Arabs being waiters in Israeli restaurants. The role-playing of the main Arab actor was therefore aimed at mocking the Jewish crew, hinting at their racialization of Arabs. By imitating this stereotype metaphorically, Tarek placed a mirror in front of the Jewish crew who did not offer him a seat. This interpretation has become evident after our conversation with him in which he expressed his unease with playing the role of a terrorist. He said, "Next time, I would rather play the role of a snake from the reptile family than a terrorist." He also explained why he agreed to play in *Fauda*: "Because Palestinians and Jews are presented in complex forms." His explanation reflected his dilemma of seeking to integrate in the industry, on the one hand, and the roles he has to accept, which he does not conceive to be fair to him as an actor and as a Palestinian, on the other.

Another example took place at the same village, while shooting a scene in which the character Hanan, the landlady renting an apartment to the main antagonist, sneaks into his apartment to spy on him. Suddenly, Tarek returns home and opens the door. She flees, but not before finding his religious belongings and several cell phones. The Jewish female researcher sat behind the second monitor outside the apartment. Behind her sat Mustafa. The main antagonist joined him and joked with the researcher, "You are probably from the Shabak" (Israeli Security Service). The sarcasm was apparent in his tone, especially as he continued, "Write that they are treating us—the Palestinian actors and actresses—terribly."

This interaction could be interpreted several ways. One cannot but reiterate the actor's use of humor as a safe way to express the stereotypical thinking about Jewish-Palestinian relations and the deep distrust that characterizes their relationship. The Arab actor's utterances clearly referred to the Israeli stereotype about all Arabs being terrorists, while also referring to the counterstereotype common among

Arabs that Jewish strangers could be part of the Israeli surveillance apparatus, which is perceived to be constantly active in Arab villages and towns.

Another example of self-orientalization could be taken from the same scene shot in Kufar Qassem, mentioned earlier. Tarek was about to enter his flat, in which the suspicious landlady had searched for clues to incriminate him. In the scene, he was to return from the store carrying a plastic bag full of groceries. One of the prop crew members, a young Jewish woman, brought him the bag a second before the scene began. Tarek took the bag and asked sarcastically and rhetorically whether she wasn't bringing him "a suspicious object."

"A suspicious object" is a common concept in Israeli discourse. Taken literally, one could infer that the object was to be used to carry out an act of terrorism. Tarek's humor echoes the belief common in the Israeli collective memory that Palestinians are suspicious enemies, as reflected in the series narrative. The metaphor of the "suspicious object" is also part of the broader dichotomy between good and evil common in Israeli discourse. The rhetoric of "suspicious objects" therefore is not limited to ticking bombs in the literal sense, but is a metaphor for any Palestinian, who is conceived as a suspicious object.

The actor making such a sarcastic statement was obviously familiar with this discourse and knew very well that Arabs are usually the subjects of suspicion in these cases. The reversal of this stereotype by Tarek is a reminder of the mutual suspicion experienced by Palestinians and Israelis and the way it is depicted in the series. It echoes Palestinian Israelis' unease with the roles they play as terrorists and with the stereotype that they cannot be trusted and that it is common for them to betray one another when reporting on relatives and family members, as the series in which they act propagates.

The fact that this joke is expressed by an Arab actor toward a Jewish woman is also indicative of the stereotypes present in Israeli society toward women. Suspicious objects are usually identified with men and the inversion of gender roles is symbolic. This cynical joke not only reflects Tarek's implicit resistance to the hegemonic power structure and the Israeli series narrative; his resistance, directed toward an Israeli female, also entails a separate stereotypical understanding in Israeli society that men are perceived as tough and therefore resistance must be directed toward the weakest link—namely, women. Tarek seems to be indirectly leveraging his masculinity as a strength and demeaning her for being a woman, despite his being an Arab.

Another interesting instance that reflects self-orientalization involved Sami, a Palestinian Israeli playing a supporting role in the series. On one of the filming days the script instructor was sick and did not attend the shooting. Sami, playing a role of a terrorist followed by Israeli intelligence, was asked about his roommate, the script instructor. Sami responded that he was sick. He was then asked if they both lived in the Arab city of Jaffa, which had become part of the Jewish city of Tel Aviv after 1948. Sami responded that he had slept at the script advisor's flat in Jaffa. "He [referring to the script instructor] lives in Jaffa, I sleep over when we are shooting." Answering the question about where he lives, he answered, "I am a nomad," smiling, "I sleep in different places all the time."

The first interpretation that comes to mind when deciphering this comment is the cynical identification of Arabs with a nomadic lifestyle. In contrast to the reality of most Arabs in the Middle East, who are inhabitants of both cities and villages, Arabs have been stereotypically identified with nomadism, going back to the lives of the tribes in the Arab peninsula. Such a connotation may express rootedness and authenticity. It reflects the historical ties between Arabs of today and those of the original Arabs of the region, reiterating authenticity at a time when the Israeli national narrative depicts Palestinians as mostly immigrants (Jamal, 2011). Simultaneously, this comment, expressed in humoristic tone, could express the actor's awareness of the Israeli stereotype of Bedouin society as primitive. Identifying himself with nomadism could be an attempt to express his awareness and disapproval of the stereotype of nomadic Arabs.

Another connotation embedded in Sami's comment could be related to Palestinian nomadism resulting from the dispersal of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees during the 1948 war. In this context, Sami could have been alluding to Palestinian internal refugees, who live in Israel, but as a result of Israel's "present absentee" law, could not return to their homes after the war (Jamal, 2011). By referring to himself as a nomad, Sami was mirroring his ontological insecurity resulting from the policies of Israel, the state of his Jewish colleagues, on set.

A final possible interpretation of Sami's comment is his identification with the bohemian lifestyle (Heinich, 1996). Bohemian nomadism is often characterized as ambivalent, as it is not always clear for some whether it is a matter of choice or is imposed by the material and social conditions of the times. Hinting at a bohemian lifestyle could be interpreted as a form of elevating one's position of a subaltern subject to one who is a free agent.

Strategy 3: Mimicking Stereotypical "Western" Patterns of Conduct

Our observations have shown that Arab creative workers are fully aware of the tension between their identities and the roles they play in the Israeli series about the Israeli -Palestinian reality. One of the interesting sites of tension is the persistent gap between themselves and the Jewish cast and crew. This gap has to do with the common differentiation between the latter, whose cultural self-perception is modern Western and secular, and the former, who belong to a traditional oriental culture, notwithstanding the personal beliefs of the particular actors on the set. This common differentiation renders Palestinian Israeli actors' adoption of secular patterns of behavior as a form of Israeli mimicry. This behavior, which may be perceived as privileging the Israeli narrative in the series as well as in reality, could be also perceived as a way to guarantee preserving their place in the precarious job market. Arab actors therefore often identify Israeli culture, which is deeply ethnonationalist, with modern and secular Western patterns of behavior. Palestinian Israeli actors' adoption of secular patterns of behavior involves contradicting the stereotypical perception of Arab culture common in Israeli society and in the series in which they appear. Although it may also entail being seen as legitimizing the Zionist worldview common in Israeli society, it has a functional role—namely, facilitating their place in the precarious field. The complexity of the settings in which Palestinian Israeli actors find themselves manifests itself in patterns of behavior that we have conceptualized as subaltern agency.

One of the examples of Palestinian Israelis' Westernized behaviors we observed was of a central young Arab female actor in the series. Shahira gained a lot of respect on set despite her lack of formal study and previous experience in acting. Her awareness of the gap between herself and what is accepted in the field, which she made us aware of during our conversations with her, made her efforts to justify her place in the series and in the job market very apparent. Being a secular Muslim made her efforts even more striking. Aware that Muslim women are perceived to be traditional and conservative in Israel, her performance as a gifted actress reflected her attempts to overcome the disadvantage related to her lack of education and experience, to her identity as Palestinian and to her apparent efforts to guarantee her place in the job market. Being aware of the place of her beauty on the set played a role in her endeavors to overcome her disadvantages and make sure to positively integrate in the field. It was apparent that the crew and Shahira herself saw her beauty as an asset. Israeli Jewish crew members spoke about her respectfully on set. While this respect derived from her proven talent as an actress, we noticed the impact of her Westernized, open, and secular personal behavior on Jewish members of the set.

Shahira made extraordinary efforts to be accepted and liked. Her patterns of socializing demonstrated her efforts to befriend the Jewish cast and crew and thereby overcome the intersectionality embedded in the setting in which she had to operate. Her behavior and patterns of conduct, manifested in her discourse and clothing, seemed to mirror her efforts to balance between the role she played in the series, as a conservative Palestinian woman with headscarf, and her identity as a secular Muslim woman in real life. In contrast to the conservative, religious, and traditional identity making of Palestinian women on-screen, her behavior during breaks or after shooting reflected the opposite. Shahira acted and dressed as a liberal, secular, and "Westernized" woman. Her patterns of behavior highlighted her efforts to break through the common stereotype among Jewish Israelis about Muslim women. Her stereotypical role appeared to motivate her even more to ameliorate this stereotype off-screen.

This pattern of behavior was reflected in the way she chose to dress even while shooting in the very conservative village of Kufar Qassem. After she finished filming one day, she chose to wear a very thin white dress that showed the silhouette of her body. We clearly observed that her Arab as well as her female Jewish colleagues noticed the extravagant behavior, which she personally admitted as being uncommon among many Muslim women. It seems that her extreme behavior is a form of resisting the unique intersection of cultural, national, and patriarchal patterns of control, as manifested in reality as well as in the series. She seems to be challenging her reality and the role given to her in the series, as a conservative woman, using her erotic or physical capital to gain currency on the set (Hakim, 2011). Although this behavior is not unique and is well known in other settings in the cultural industries (O'Brien, 2015), Shahira's behavior is particularly interesting. She manifests much awareness of her location in the contradictory reality in which she claims agency. It seems that guaranteeing her future career has encouraged her to display her liberal and secular identity, represented through her body language, but it has also turned her into the embodiment of two stereotypes that should be made apparent. Shahira's role in the series and her behavior on set contrast the stereotype of Muslim women, as conservative and domesticated on the one hand and the stereotype of secular westernized woman as erotically extravagant on the other. Her mimicking of secular Western women seems to be a sophisticated coping strategy that is open to many possible interpretations. The various types of mimicry leave tacit tracks that mirror the complexities of Palestinian agency claiming

in the Israeli cultural industries, leaving the door open to a more complicated theorization of subaltern agency in media production in conflict zones.

Another interesting example of mimicking a foreign culture to gain authority was manifested several times by several actors through the use of the English language. Sami used to sing in English during breaks. His behavior mirrored his identity as a globalized young man, who is engaged with Western culture and lifestyle. His behavior appears to be a form of passing as Westernized. It could be seen as cynical mimicry that aims to challenge the Jewish monopoly over Western behavior. This type of cynicism was also apparent in Tarek's behavior, as he also sang in English before getting ready to shoot one of the most dramatic scenes in the series. Shahira also addressed the director in English, "I miss you, my love." These brief examples of using English articulate the globalized identity of Palestinian Israelis and allow them to meet their Jewish colleagues on the same ground and with equal footing. It could be seen as a creative strategy of infrapolitics that aims to subvert the asymmetry of power between Jews and Palestinians on set.

Discussion and Conclusions

The data presented on the behavior of Palestinian Israeli creative workers demonstrate the tensions inherent in creative industries in conflict zones. As we show, these tensions result not only from the contradictions between creative work and the precariousness of media production but also from the prevalent forms of structural ethnic subjugation in conflict zones. Minority creative workers who seek integration in the hegemonic cultural industries have to face not only the unstable nature of the field but also the ramifications of the dominant narrative on the roles devoted to them in the industry. Palestinian Israeli actors have to accept roles that stereotype them and depict their people either as terrorists or as traitors. Nonetheless, based on the observations introduced above, one can say that their creativity and subversion of the hegemonic power structure finds expression in ways that cannot be detected through traditional forms of representation analysis.

Our observations have enabled a thorough look at the infrapolitical resistance strategies that minority creative workers use to overcome their subalternity. They also demonstrate that the role of minority creative workers in conflictual contexts renders the tension between preserving their status in the job market and their agency claiming very apparent. Strategies of resistance vis-à-vis submission and othering during the production process of a cultural text which entails a hegemonic narrative, demonstrate that subaltern creative workers are not voiceless, thereby highlighting the theoretical and practical meaning of subaltern agency. The patterns of behavior and the discourse of the Palestinian Israeli creative workers on the set of *Fauda* demonstrate that, despite their limited ability to change the hegemonic narrative of the series, they claim agency by resisting their inferiority on the set and thereby express their unease with their place in the field. Although one may argue that the strategies of agency claiming could also be seen as forms of assimilation that do not contribute to the wider Palestinian struggle for cultural and political autonomy, it remains evident that Palestinian Israeli creative workers show active unease with the prevalent power structure. They exemplify for us unique forms of everyday resistance to subjugation and othering in a field with strong influence on shaping public imagination. As the data analyzed demonstrate, the everyday resistance strategies go beyond either capitalizing or refusal.

Our observations indicate that Palestinian Israeli creative workers use various strategies of agency claiming, three of which have been revealed in our thematic analysis, to overcome the dissonance they face when playing roles that portray them in a negative light. Our observations revealed that their patterns of behavior could be theorized as a form of subversive "passing" (Renfrow, 2004), or as a cultural performance, whereby they masquerade as another by mimicking roles related to either their culture or to the stereotypical perceptions of Israeli culture (Ahmed, 1999; Bhabha, 1984; Taussig, 1993). This theorization is especially important because their tendency to mimic their Israeli counterparts does not clarify whether they seek to identify with them and their culture or metaphorically ridicule it.

In this context, gender plays an important role, for the intersectionality of Palestinian women is especially apparent when playing roles that portray them in ways that do not match their own way of life or their perceptions of their femininity (Nash, 2008). This reveals the intersection of gender and ethnicity and how these factors collectively affect the performance of women in trying to overcome their positions of structural inferiority (O'Brien, 2015).

Furthermore, our ethnographic observations provide new insights that enable addressing subaltern creative labor beyond the dominant literature in creative labor studies. The use of postcolonial conceptualizations reveals the need to go not only beyond classical representation analysis but also to overcome dichotomous analysis of resistance and subversion. Despite the benefits of Jensen's (2011) model, it falls short of reflecting patterns of mimicry and passing that render resistance more creative. The use of the literature on everyday resistance (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2016; Scott, 1985) enables us to better capture the hybrid strategies of resistance used by subaltern agents. By appropriating elements of the Palestinian identity portrayed in the Israeli series, and infusing them with symbolic value during production, Palestinian Israeli actors construct their own subaltern agency. The strategies revealed above lend the concepts of subaltern agency and agency claiming great analytical importance in cultural production in conflict settings where a struggle on meaning making, representation and identity formation is taking place. Their importance also clarifies the contribution of ex-centric perspectives in revealing the complexities of cultural production in postcolonial contexts when subaltern resistance defies the hegemonic narrative and the prevailing representation patterns in media texts.

References

Ahmad, A. (1992). *In theory: Classes, nations, literatures*. London, UK: Verso.

Ahmed, S. (1999). She'll wake up one of these days and find she's turned into a nigger: Passing through hybridity. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 16(2), 87–106. doi:10.1177%2F02632769922050566

Alacovska, A., & Gill, R. (2019). De-Westernizing creative labour studies: The informality of creative work from an ex-centric perspective. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 22(2), 195–212. doi:10.1177%2F1367877918821231

Banks, M. (2017). *Creative justice: Cultural industries, work and inequality*. London, UK: Rowman & Littlefield.

Belfiore, E. (2018). Whose cultural value? Representation, power and creative industries. *International Journal of Cultural Policy,* 1–15. doi:10.1080/10286632.2018.1495713

Bhabha, H. (1984). Of mimicry and man: The ambivalence of colonial discourse. *October*, 28, 125–133. doi:10.2307/778467

Bhatt, C. (2006). The fetish of the margins: Religious absolutism, anti-racism and postcolonial silence. *New Formations, 59*, 95–115.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. *3*(2), 77–101. doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Campion, M. J. (2005). *Look who's talking: Cultural diversity, public service broadcasting and the national conversation*. Oxford, UK: Nuffield College Oxford.

Castello, E. (2007). The production of television fiction and nation building: The Catalan case. *European Journal of Communication, 22*(1), 49–68. doi:10.1177/0267323107073747

Chan, S. L. (2017). Cultivation and erosion of creative identity: A Hong Kong advertising agency as case study. *Continuum, 31*(2), 325–335. doi:10.1080/10304312.2016.1257696

Christopherson, S. (2008). Beyond the self-expressive creative worker: An industry perspective on entertainment media. *Theory Culture & Society, 25*(7/8), 73–95. doi:10.1177/0263276408097797

Cohen, J. (2008). What I watch and who I am: National pride and the viewing of local and foreign television in Israel. *Journal of Communication, 58*(1), 149–167. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00378.x

Collins, R. (2011). Content analysis of gender roles in media: Where are we now and where should we go? *Sex Roles, 64*, 290–298. doi:10.1007/s11199-010-9929-5

Cottle, S. (2006). *Mediatized conflict: Developments in media and conflict studies*. New York, NY: Open University Press.

De Beukelaer, C., & Spence, K. M. (2019). *Global cultural economy: Key ideas in media and cultural studies*. London, UK: Routledge.

De Peuter, G. (2011). Creative economy and labor precarity: A contested convergence*. Journal of Communication Inquiry, 35*(4), 417–425. doi:10.1177/0196859911416362

Dervin, F. (2012). Cultural identity, representation and othering. In J. Jackson (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of language and intercultural communication* (2nd ed., pp. 181–194). London, UK: Routledge.

DeWalt, K., & DeWalt, B. (2002). Informal interviewing in participant observation. In K. M. DeWalt (Ed.), *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers* (pp. 120–140). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.

Doldor, E., & Atewologun, D. (2020). "Why work it when you can dodge it?" Identity responses to ethnic stigma among professional. *Human Relations*, 1–30. doi:10.1177/0018726719895552

Draper, J. (2014). Theorizing creative agency through "discerned savvy": A tool for the critical study of media industries. *Media, Culture & Society, 36*(8), 1118–1133. doi:10.1177/0163443714545000

First, A., & Inbar-Lankri, H. (2013). *Absent and present during peak viewing: A follow up study*. Jerusalem, Israel: The Second Authority for Television and Radio.

Ganti, T. (2014). The value of ethnography. *Media Industries Journal*, *1*(1), 16–20. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/mij.15031809.0001.104

Gertz, N., & Yosef, R. (2017). Trauma, time and the "singular plural": The Israeli television series Fauda. *Israel Studies Review*, *32*(2), 1–20. doi:10.3167/isr.2017.320202

Gill, R., & Pratt, A. (2008). In the social factory? Immaterial labor, precariousness and cultural work. *Theory, Culture & Society, 25*(7/8), 1–30. doi:10.1177/0263276408097794

Gingrich, A. (2004). Conceptualizing identities: Anthropological alternatives to essentializing difference and moralizing about othering. In G. Baumann & A. Gingrich (Eds.), *Grammars of identity/alterity: A structural approach* (pp. 3–17). Oxford, UK: BergHahn.

Go, G. (2016). *Postcolonial thought and social theory*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Gray, H. (2013). Subject(ed) to recognition. *American Quarterly, 65*(4), 771–798.

Gray, H. (2016). Precarious diversity: Representation and demography. In M. Curtin & K. Sanson (Eds.), *Precarious creativity* (pp. 241–253). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hagay, H., & Davidson, R. (2014). It's difficult to dream: The career structure of screen writers in the Israeli film and television industry. *Media Frames, 13*, 63–84.

Hakim, C. (2011). *Erotic capital: The power of attraction in the boardroom and the bedroom*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. London, UK: Routledge.

Harlap, I. (2017). *The "after" television: New Israeli drama*. Tel-Aviv, Israel: Resling.

Havens, T., & Lotz, A. (2012). *Understanding media industries*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Heinich, R. (1996). *Instructional media and technologies for learning*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2007). *The cultural industries* (2nd ed.). London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Holby, M., & Ottosen, R. (2017). Journalism under pressure in conflict zones: A study of journalists and editors in seven countries. *Media, War & Conflict*, *19*, 69–86. doi:10.1177/1750635217728092

Jamal, A. (2011). *Arab minority nationalism in Israel: The politics of indigeneity*. London, UK: Routledge.

Jenner, M. (2017). Binge-watching: Video-on-demand, quality TV and mainstreaming fandom. *International Journal of Cultural Studies, 20*(3), 304–320. doi:10.1177/1367877915606485

Jensen, S. (2011). Othering, identity formation and agency. *Qualitative Studies, 2*(2), 63–78. doi:10.7146/qs.v2i2.5510

Johansson, A., & Vinthagen, S. (2016). Dimensions of everyday resistance: An analytical framework. *Critical Sociology, 42*(3), 417–435. doi:10.1177/0896920514524604

Kawulich, B. (2005). Participant observation as a data collection method. *Qualitative Social Research, 6*(2), Art. 43. Retrieved from http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/466/996

Lavie, N. (2016). "Reality" television critique in Israel: How quality became "morality." *Cultural Sociology, 10*(4), 502–522. doi:10.1177/1749975516650231

Lee, H. K. (2017). The political economy of the "creative industries." *Media, Culture & Society, 39*(7), 1078–1088. doi:10.1177/0163443717692739

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1989). *Designing qualitative research*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.

McDonald, P. (2013). Media industries studies: Introduction. *Cinema Journal, 52*(3), 145–149. doi:10.1353/cj.2013.0025

Mehta, R. (2017). "Hustling" in film school as socialization for early career work in media industries. *Poetics, 63*, 22–32. doi:10.1016/j.poetic.2017.05.002

Mendelson-Maoz, A., & Steir-Livni, L. (2011). Hybridity on Israeli television: Arab labor, the first Arab-Israeli sitcom. *Media Frames, 6,* 31–59.

Miller, P. W. (2009). The gender pay gap in the US: Does sector make a difference? *Journal of Labor Research, 30*(1), 52–74. doi:10.1007/s12122-008-9050-5

Nash, J. C. (2008). Re-thinking intersectionality. *Feminist Review, 89*(1), 1–15. doi:10.1057/fr.2008.4

O'Brien, A. (2015). Producing television and reproducing gender. *Television & New Media, 16*(3), 259–274. doi:10.1177/1527476414557952

Olesen, Th. (2018). Adaptation and self-celebration: The formation of injustice icons in a north-south perspective. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society, 31*, 313–328. doi:10.1007/s10767-017-9271-9

Renfrow, D. (2004). A cartography of passing in everyday life. *Symbolic Interaction, 27*(4), 485–506.

Ribke, N. (2019). Fauda television series and the turning of asymmetrical conflict into television entertainment. *Media, Culture & Society, 41*(8), 1245–1260. doi:10.1177/0163443718823142

Rubinstein, A. (2018, March 19). Fauda: Pornography American violence. *Israel Hayom*. Retrieved from https://www.israelhayom.co.il/article/543161

Saha, A. (2012). Beards, scarves, halal meat, terrorists, forced marriage: Television industries and the production of race. *Media, Culture & Society, 34*(4), 424–438. doi:10.1177/0163443711436356

Saha, A. (2016). The rationalizing/racializing logic of capital in cultural production. *Media Industries Journal, 3*(1), 1–16. doi:10.3998/mij.15031809.0003.101

Saha, A. (2017). The politics of race in cultural distribution: Addressing inequalities in British Asian theatre. *Cultural Sociology, 11*(3), 302–317. doi:10.1177/1749975517708899

Saha, A. (2018). *Race and the cultural industries*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Schensul, J., & LeCompte, M. (1999). *Essential ethnographic methods*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.

Scott, J. (1985). *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Shandilya, K. (2014). Writing/reading the subaltern woman: Narrative voice and subaltern agency in Upamanyu Chatterjee's *English, August. Postcolonial Text, 9*(3), 1–16. Retrieved from https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/bf66/c5cb92aab3f6af20811e18bacd6becfc7b62.pdf?_ga=2.138 647415.595329084.1584189956-1953581187.1582790745

Shifman, L. (2008). *The "Ars," the "Frecha" and the Polish mother: Social ruptures and TV humor in Israel 1968–2000*. Jerusalem, Israel: Magnes.

Shohat, E., & Stam, R. (2014). *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multicultural and the media*. London, UK: Routledge.

Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 271–313). Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Taussig, M. (1993). *Mimesis and alterity: A particular history of the senses*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Tsfati, Y. (2007). Hostile media perceptions, presumed media influence, and minority alienation: The case of Arabs in Israel. *Journal of Communication, 57*(4), 632–651. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00361.x

Waisbord, S., & Mellado, C. (2014). De-Westernizing communication studies: A reassessment. *Communication Theory, 24*(4), 361–372. doi:10.1111/comt.12044

Weeds, H. (2012). Superstars and the long tail: The impact of technology on market structure in media industries. *Information Economics and Policy, 24*(1), 60–68. doi:10.1016/j.infoecopol.2012.01.008

Weidmann, N. (2015). On the accuracy of media-based conflict event data. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *59*(6), 1129–1149. doi:10.1177/0022002714530431

Yashiv, E., & Kasir, N. (2013). Arab women in the Israeli labor market: Characteristics and policy proposals*. Israel Economic Review, 10*(2), 1–41.

Zia-Ebrahimi, R. (2011). Self-orientalization and dislocation: The uses and abuses of the "Aryan" discourse in Iran. *Iranian Studies, 44*(4), 445–472. doi:10.1080/00210862.2011.569326