NO OTHER LANDERS: Filming and screening against oppression and silence

Liat Savin Ben Shoshan & Sigal Barnir, Bezalel academy of Arts and Design, Jerusalem

Abstract

This article examines *No Other Land* (2024)—a collaborative documentary film—as a creative act of resistance against the rise of far-right nationalist politics in Israel. The film documented the struggle against the displacement of Masafer Yatta communities while building a new politics of witnessing, grounded in shared vulnerability and radical friendships. Through informal screenings organised by "Standing Together", the Jewish–Arab movement, *No Other Land* became a catalyst for grassroots mobilization. This study argues that aesthetics, ethics, and circulation of the film constitute a performative challenge against the silencing of voices opposing war, occupation, and Israel's right-wing governance.

Keywords: documentary film, Masafer Yatta, No Other Land, protective presence, Israel-Palestine

Introduction

Recently, the rise of far-right political parties worldwide has dramatically reshaped the landscape of public discourse, political visibility, and cultural production. In Israel, this shift intersects with the long-standing Israel–Palestine conflict and forced regime of oppression, segregation, and settler colonialism in the West Bank. This article had been written almost two years into the war that began with the Hamas-led attack on October 7, 2023. The retaliation against the Hamas-led attack has led to the ongoing war in Gaza, which, apparently, manifests the highest climax of violence in the century-long history of this conflict between the two nations, and currently Israel's aggressive campaign in Gaza and ethnic cleansing in the West Bank is still going on. The war further radicalised an intense wave of nationalist extremism within Israel. The trauma of the attack led by Hamas has been instrumentalised by the state of Israel and right-wing political actors to amplify nationalist sentiments and suppress dissent. This includes silencing the voices of critics, blacklisting academics and human rights activists, and growing delegitimization of joint Palestinian–Jewish initiatives.[1]

Against this backdrop, this article will relate the documentary, *No Other Land*, to its reception in Israel and to the attempts to screen it, despite the rise of nationalist sentiments and call for forced "national unity" in the post October 7, 2023 period. *No Other Land* was created by a Palestinian–Israeli group of activist filmmakers—Basel Adra, Hamdan Ballal, Yuval Abraham, and Rachel Szor—between 2019 and 2023. The film consists of personal footage, which dates back to the 1980s, and aims to highlight the historical and ongoing struggles of indigenous rural communities in Masafer Yatta, West Bank, a region in the South Hebron Hills classified as Area C under the Oslo Accords.[2] Since 1967, Israel continues with its occupation of the West Bank, which has entailed military control over population living in the area, the establishment of illegal Jewish settlements under international law, and construction of a complex regime of checkpoints, administrative restrictions, and land appropriations. Palestinians in the occupied territories, including Masafer Yatta, who are not Israeli citizens are subject to martial law. In contrast, Jewish settlers in the same area enjoy full rights under Israeli civil law. Within Israel proper, Palestinians who remained after 1948 and their descendants were provided with Israeli citizenship.[3]

Figure 1: Masafer Yatta homes.

Masafer Yatta, occupied by Israel following the 1967 war, has been inhabited by agro-pastoral communities for more than a century. People of these communities have lived inside mountain caves and buildings made of stone and makeshift materials. Israel

1 See Patrick Kingsley, "Israelis Turn on Peace Activists amid Trauma of War," *Financial Times,* November 3, 2023, https://www.ft.com/content/b9626124-168e-436f-9d53-cc17e8775140. Anshel Pfeffer, "Thursday Briefing: How the War in Gaza Is Making Life Harder for Israel's Palestinian Citizens," *The Guardian*, November 21, 2023, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/nov/21/first-edition-palestinian-israelis. Ken Silverstein, "Inside the Israeli Crackdown on Speech," *The New Yorker*, February 12, 2024, https://www.newyorker.com/news/annals-of-human-rights/inside-the-israeli-crackdown-on-speech. Breaking the Silence and B'Tselem, "The Delegitimization of Joint Israeli–Palestinian Solidarity," *+ 972 Magazine*, March 2024, https://www.972mag.com/israel-delegitimizes-joint-initiatives/.

2 Norwegian Refugee Council, *Area C is Everything*, March 2023, https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/reports/area-c-is-everything/area-c-is-everything-v2.pdf.

3 B'Tselem, *A Regime of Jewish Supremacy from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea: This is Apartheid*, January 2021, https://www.btselem.org/publications/fulltext/202101_this_is_apartheid.

designated the region as a military training zone in 1981, a strategy, which later unravelled as an instrument to remove Palestinian residents and open the land for Jewish settlements.[4] Although international law prohibits forced displacement of populations in occupied territories, the designation of Masafer Yatta as a military training zone was upheld by the Israeli High Court in 2000 based on the claim that residents lived there only seasonally, thereby dismissing pre-occupation political geography and ignoring traditional agro-pastoral lifestyles. Decades (and according to certain sources more than a century) before the Israeli occupation started, the communities of Masafer Yatta lived most of the year on the countryside, in mountain caves and makeshift homes, and the rest of the year in the town of Yatta (Figure 2). Although the court temporarily delayed the full evacuation, the ruling in 2000 effectively stripped these residents of their historical land rights and rendered them illegal. Hundreds of people were displaced over the subsequent two decades. Despite a two-decade legal battle led by residents and human rights organizations, in May 2022 the Israeli Supreme Court ruled in favour of the military, authorising the eviction of approximately 1,000 residents from more than 12 villages.[5] The ruling was condemned by international legal experts and United Nations (UN) officials as a violation of the international humanitarian law and a form of forcible transfer .[6] As of June 2025, with the war in Gaza and another war with Iran continuing, the Israeli army has declared that it will resume training in Firing Zone 918, suggesting forced displacement of the remaining population in Masafer Yatta is imminent.[7] Although no formal steps have yet been taken to carry out this policy, escalating violence by Jewish settlers and the almost absolute impunity granted to them is the reality on the ground. On July 28, 2025, this was demonstrated in the form of the murder of Awdah Hathaleen, a teacher and an activist who was involved in the making of *No Other Land*.[8]

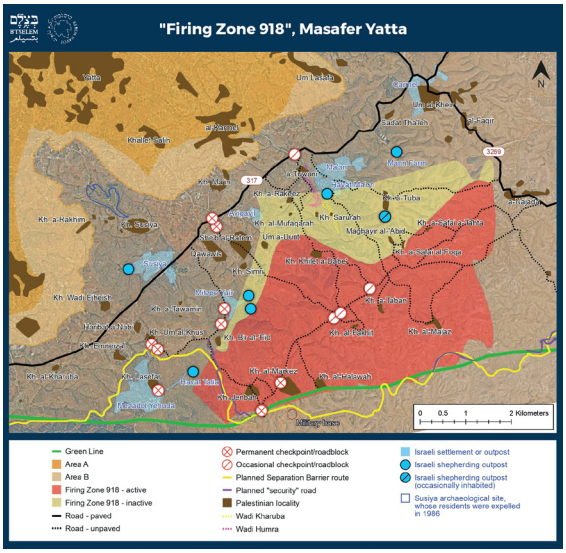

Figure 2: Masafer Yatta map. Credit: Betzelem

The film *No Other Land* depicts the harsh and violent reality of Israeli occupation, which several other Israeli and Palestinian films have done over the

4 Ariel (Arik) Sharon, when serving as Israel's Agricultural (and later Defense) Minister, spoke candidly in the late 1970s and early 1980s about the purpose of military firing zones in the occupied West Bank, particularly in areas, such as Masafer Yatta. In a classified 1979 meeting, Sharon explained that immediately after the Six-Day War, he designated certain West Bank areas as military firing zones to reserve land for future Jewish settlements. About Firing Zone 918 (Masafer Yatta), specifically, Sharon asserted in another meeting (circa 1981), "...to stop the spread of the Arab villagers on the mountainside toward the desert". Yuval Avraham, "Classified document reveals IDF firing zones built to give land to settlers," *972 and Local Call*, July 11, 2022, https://www.972mag.com/firing-zones-sharon-settlements. Kerem Navot Report, "A Locked Garden: Declaration of Closed Areas in the West Bank," March 2015, https://www.keremnavot.org/_files/ugd/a76eb4_e5f6e246e5424b0895f3b67147fbcc17.pdf.

5 B'Tselem, "Demolitions and confiscations in communities facing expulsion," 2022, https://www.btselem.org/facing_expulsion_blog.

6 Notably, Masafer Yatta is not unique. Approximately 18% of the Area C has been designated as closed military zones, affecting dozens of Palestinian communities (Hauser 2021). These zones suspend civilian rights under the guise of military necessity, turning spaces of life into zones of lawlessness. United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), "Fact Sheet: Masafer Yatta Communities at Risk of Forcible Transfer." July 6, 2022. https://www.ochaopt.org/content/masafer-yatta-communities-risk-forcible-transfer-june-2022.

7 Nir Hasson. "IDF: Firing Zone in West Bank's Masafer Yatta Vital for Training, Buildings Must Be Cleared," *Haaretz*, June 25, 2025, https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2025-06-25/ty-article/.premium/idf-firing-zone-in-west-banks-masafer-yatta-vital-for-drills-buildings-must-be-cleared/00000197-a832-df21-a1df-fdfa95530000.

8 William Christou and Quique Kierszenbaum, "Wave of condemnation after killing of Palestinian activist in West Bank," *The Guardian*, July 29, 2025, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/jul/29/palestinian-awdah-hathaleen-oscar-winning-no-other-land-killed-in-west-bank.

past decades. We have demonstrated this later in the article. However, compared with other films, *No Other Land* is based on a unique Israeli–Palestinian partnership. The relationship is based on a practice called "protective presence", in which human rights activists (both international and Israeli) have come to protect Palestinians at friction points with settlers and the army. The protective presence gradually transforms into a friendship between Yuval and Basel, on more equal terms, with private humour and a common language. At the Oscar winning ceremony, the filmmakers issued a statement highlighting their shared yet unequal realities—some living under military occupation without rights, whereas others enjoying full citizenship rights: "There is no symmetry between us," they wrote. "We made this film—Israelis and Palestinians—because our voices are stronger together," said Yuval Abraham. "There is another way...a political solution without ethnic supremacy, with national rights for both our peoples. ...Our paths are intertwined. My people can only be truly safe when Basel's people are free and safe. There is another way! It is not too late. There is no other land."[9] Later in the article, it will be shown how these words inspired our reading of the politically transformative potential of the film (Figure 3: Oscar ceremony).

Figure 3: Oscar Ceremony.

In Israel, the film was received with anger. Its debut in February 2024, five months after the attack on October 7, provoked strong reactions. Owing to the war, the nationalistic processes, which had already intensified with the rise of the far-right government in December 2022, had accelerated.[10] Although the film gained acclaim worldwide, it provoked outrage in Israel.[11] The film's focus on the suffering of Palestinians was perceived as disruptive to the dominant narratives involving Jewish victimhood and national unity. Based on the argument that the film presented a one-sided narrative, it was labelled as "anti-Israeli" and "antisemitic."[12] The Minister of Culture, a member of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud Party, called the Oscar win for *No Other Land* "a sad moment for the world of cinema," claiming that the film "echoed narratives that distort Israel's image in the world." A public statement was issued urging government-funded cultural institutions not to screen the film, asserting that public funds should

9 Basel Adra and Yuval Abraham, "Acceptance Speech at the 96th Academy Awards," March 10, 2025**,** Quoted in *Haaretz* and *Mako*. https://www.mako.co.il/news-entertainment/2025_q1/Article-abc12345678.html *(In Hebrew).*

10 For example, the once fringe "Kahanism"—an extremist ultranationalist ethos advocating Jewish supremacy and even expulsion of Palestinians—has become increasingly embedded in the ruling coalition. Figures, such as Itamar BenGvir, brought such ideas into government roles, relegating dissent to the margins and normalising exclusionary politics. Joshua Leifer, "Kahane's Ghost: how a long dead extremist rabbi continues to haunt Israel's politics," *The Guardian,* March 20, 2025, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2025/mar/20/meir-kahane-israel-kach-ben-gvir-long-dead-extremist?

11 Philip Oltermann, "Israeli Director Receives Death Threats after Officials Call Berlin Film Festival 'Antisemitic'." *The Guardian*, February 27, 2024, https://www.theguardian.com/film/2024/feb/27/israeli-director-receives-death-threats-after-officials-call-berlinale-antisemitic.

12 Antonella Gambotto-Burke, "Israeli & Palestinian Filmmakers Accused of AntiSemitism at Berlinale," *Markaz*, February 2024, https://themarkaz.org/israeli-palestinian-filmmakers-accused-of-anti-semitism-at-berlinale/. The film was also boycotted by the BDS movement, as the collaboration between Palestinians and Israelis was seen as a "normalization" of the occupation. The following statement outlines concerns of Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) regarding the film's compliance with its anti-normalization guidelines, emphasising the importance of Palestinian self-representation without reliance on Israeli validation. Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI), "PACBI's Position on *No Other Land," BDS Movement,* March 5, 2025, https://www.bdsmovement.net/no-other-land.

not support content that "serves our enemies."[13] Consequently, not only commercial cinematheques but also publicly funded ones avoided screening the film in Israel.

However, despite such restrictions and non-cooperations, alternative channels had emerged for distributing the film, including free online access, informal circulation, and community screenings. These channels manifested to viewers the existence of a collaborative struggle against all odds in a climate of political persecution and delegitimization of joint Palestinian–Israeli initiatives. Methodologically, drawing on film analysis and critical theory (Laclau 2005, Mouffe 2008, 2018), our study analyses the significance of *No Other Land* from several perspectives. First, we relate to the film's reconfiguration of visual and ethical politics of witnessing, proposing a distinct model of collaboration shaped by co-presence, uneven friendship, and mutual vulnerability between Palestinians and Israelis. We argue that in the political reality of occupation, war, and far-right extremism, such friendships have become increasingly radical.

Second, we relate the film's free online access and informal screenings at homes, community centres, and universities organised by "Standing Together", a grassroots social movement, which unites Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel around shared campaigns for peace, equality, social justice, and opposition, to the occupation and far-right extremism. We argue that screenings of the film are counter-hegemonic interventions that enact political community through shared spectatorship.

Third, we relate it to the notion of *NoOtherlander*, a novel political intersubjectivity that arises from the film and its activist setting. This intersubjectivity has "no other land," as it rejects the use of land as a tool of exclusion. The *NoOtherlander* is deeply anti-sovereign, as it does not seek to find a new polity, but rather imagines a space for co-resistance.[14]

1. The Intersubjective Gaze and Radical Friendship

In the first section, we examine the way *No Other Land* reconfigures the documentary visual and ethical politics of witnessing, arguing that it proposes a distinct model of Palestinian–Israeli partnership, one that is shaped by co-presence, uneven friendship, and mutual vulnerability. The visual and ethical politics of viewing documentary films refer to a set of aesthetic strategies and moral responsibilities through which films represent suffering, violence, and resistance, positioning both subjects and audiences in relation to visibility and accountability. It is "visual" because it involves choices about framing, editing, and cinematic forms that shape what can be seen and recognised; it is "ethical" because these choices are never neutral, but rather implicate filmmakers and viewers through questions of responsibility, complicity, and solidarity. Witnessing, in this sense, is about creating conditions for subjects—often marginalised or silenced—to appear politically and for audiences to respond. Thus, the politics of witnessing lie at the intersection of aesthetics, ethics, and politics—the way violence and suffering are visualised, subjects whose voices are heard, and the way spectators are called into an ethical relationship with what they see.[15]

No Other Land introduces a distinct model of witnessing through an intersubjective gaze, which departs not only from the ethics of documentary films,

13 "It is not appropriate for public funds to support or screen a work that defames the State of Israel. I appeal to you to show public responsibility and solidarity, and not to provide a public stage in Israel for a film that serves our enemies." Miki Zohar, "Culture Minister Zohar Responds to *No Other Land* Oscar Win: 'A Sad Moment for Cinema.'" *Mako*, March 3, 2025, https://www.mako.co.il/news-entertainment/2025_q1/Article-abc12345678.htm. *(In Hebrew)*

14 We credit our colleague Dr. David Alvarez for the idea of "NoOtherlanders" and its conceptual development following a presentation of this paper in Portugal on May 23, 2025.

15 For discussions of documentary ethics see Michael Renov, "Toward a poetics of documentary," in *Theorizing documentary,* ed. Michael Renov (Routledge, 1993), 12–36. Bill Nichols, *Representing reality: Issues and concepts in documentary* (Indiana University Press, 1991).

such as *5 Broken Cameras* (Emad Burnat and Guy Davidi, 2011), but also from documentary ethics developed by B'Tselem, an Israeli human rights organization that documents human rights violations. In contrast to these models, the *No Other Land* model foregrounds asymmetry as a condition for shared struggle, political intimacy, or an agency, proposing political subjectivity grounded in relational solidarity.

The B'Tselem Camera Project, which was launched in 2007, marked an important shift in the practice of documenting human rights violations in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. By equipping Palestinians living in occupied territories with high-definition cameras, B'Tselem expanded its monitoring capabilities and exposed routine violations that escaped external scrutiny frequently. This initiative relocated the act of filming from international or Israeli staff to Palestinians, offering a more embedded view of their daily lives under occupation.[16] However, this effort neither did alter the frameworks through which the images were circulated nor did it allow for the articulation of a self-determined narrative.[17] Ginzburg noted that this redistribution of the camera did not fully resolve power asymmetries embedded in the human rights discourse.[18] The documentation was primarily intended for external legal and media frameworks. Although some Palestinian participants developed new modes of self-representation, the logic of evidence collection and NGO advocacy remained dominant. Moreover, the visibility offered to Palestinians was often filtered through Israeli or international narratives that tended to emphasise Palestinian victimhood over political agencies. In this context, the gaze was transformed, but only partially.

The documentary *5 Broken Cameras* pushed this trajectory further. Shot primarily by a Palestinian farmer Emad Burnat over several years in the village of Bil'in, the film documented both personal and political dimensions of resistance to the Israeli separation barrier. Unlike the B'Tselem model, Burnat's project began as a self-driven act of storytelling and explored Palestinian self-narration referred to by Hammad (2025).[19] Burnat's footage was deeply embedded in the rhythms of village life, comprising demonstrations, home life, family milestones, and repeated confrontations with Israeli military forces. However, the final form of the film was shaped significantly owing to the co-direction with Israeli filmmaker Guy Davidi and the development in the "Greenhouse" documentary incubator. Yael Friedman has shown that this transnational production context complicates the film's claims of authorship and narrative control,[20] as seen in the film's dialogue:

> Guy Davidi: .... For Palestinian , speaking about his personal life is very difficult. They talk about the community, the nation, and Palestine. This film presents a new way of speaking about these delicate issues with no judgmental wars. For me, it is a film about how suffering can grow something. Sometimes in their language, they speak about suffering... look how much we suffer, but actually in their lives and their decisions they are inspiring, and I wanted to bring that to the discussion.
>
> Imad Burnat: I approached him to work with me because it was not a political decision. It was very clear to us and him that this was my film. I have been working on it many years before, and you come here to support and help... This is a Palestinian film. This was my experience from both my perspective and my point of view. We began with this to work on the film.[21]

16 B'Tselem, "Annual Activity Report 2007," 2008, https://www.btselem.org/download/2007_activity_report_eng.pdf.
17 Ibid.
18 Ruthie Ginsburg, "Emancipation and Collaboration: A Critical Examination of Human Rights Video Advocacy," *Theory, Culture & Society*, 38, no. 3 (2019): 51–70, https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276419861681.
19 Hammad explores the concept of "anagnorisis"—a moment of critical discovery in narratives—and applies it to the Palestinian experience. She critiques narratives that centre on non-Palestinian realisations of Palestinian humanity, advocating instead for narratives that foreground Palestinian perspectives. The lecture was delivered at the Columbia University during the Edward W. Said Memorial Lecture on September 28, 2023, just days before the events of October 7. An afterword, written in early 2024, reflects on the subsequent developments and the ongoing struggle for Palestinian freedom. Isabella Hammad, "Recognizing the Stranger: On Palestine and Narrative," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 54, no. 3 (2025): 112–117.
20 Yael Friedman, "Guises of Transnationalism in Israel/Palestine: A Few Notes on 5 Broken Cameras," *Transnational Cinemas*, 6, no. 1 (2015): 19–34.
21 5 Broken Cameras, directed by Emad Burnat and Guy Davidi (Burnat Films [Palestine], Guy DVD Films [Israel], and

While Burnat appears to be the film's central figure, Davidi's role as a co-director is nearly absent. This absence has been read not only as an ethical decision, designating the film as Palestinian, but also as disguising the involvement of an Israeli partner in shaping its narrative. Friedman argues that such collaborations may risk reproducing neo-Orientalist dynamics, positioning Palestinians as the "Other," as subjects of suffering, and Israelis as mediators of legibility for international audiences.[22] Ya'ara Ozeri notes, "...the significant struggle of docu-activism is a struggle over the viewer's position, especially one that alters the reality of the 'Other' while turning the viewer's gaze back onto themselves and the society they live in". She further argues:

> only a dynamic position, one that challenges and exposes the embedded (and reproduced) power relations between the documenter and the documented, and acknowledges the limitations of docu-activist cinema, can allow the viewer to respect both the distance and the proximity between themselves and the Other, and to shift from a dichotomous moral judgment to a more complex stance.[23]

No Other Land departed significantly from the prior models. Created by a team of Palestinian and Israeli activists, the collaboration was not based on oversight or advocacy. Unlike *5 Broken Cameras*, it did not rely on the distinction between a Palestinian narrator and an Israeli external filmmaker, or that between visible and invisible collaborators. Instead, the film emerged from a shared but asymmetrical political experience.

One of the practices depicted in *No Other Land* is "protective presence"—a practice not at all unique to the West Bank. It is a form of embodied solidarity through which activists physically place themselves alongside communities under threat—often in zones with heightened military and settler violence—as observers of human rights violations. This practice draws on the long history of non-violent interventionist solidarity.[24] However, *No Other Land* went further. The presence of Yuval Abraham was not only as an activist; rather, he had become a cohabitant of Masafer Yatta both physically and cinematically. His fluency in Arabic was significant, allowing for a deeper mutual understanding on and off screen.

> Yuval Abraham: You are Basel. I am Yuval.
>
> Basel Adra: Yuval please be sensitive with the people here
>
> YA: they asked if I am an Israeli journalist?
>
> BA: I don't know...
>
> YA: I speak Arabic
>
> Hamdan Billal: I speak English don't talk to me Arabic
>
> BA: he is a journalist
>
> HB: where are you from?
>
> YA: Beer Sheba.
>
> HB: so you are Palestinian...
>
> YA: No I am Israeli.
>
> HB: you are Israeli? seriously? Are you Israeli human rights? something like this. What do you think your country is doing to us?
>
> YA: I think it's a crime...

Alegria Productions [France], 2011). Cinematography was done by Burnat himself, while editing was undertaken by Véronique Lagoarde–Ségot and Guy Davidi.

22 Friedman, ibid.

23 Ya'ara Ozeri, "Change Reality, Look at Ourselves: Docu-Activism and the Gaze at the Other in '52/50' and 'Dear Life'," *Takriv*, November 2015, https://takriv.net/article/%d7%9c%d7%a9%d7%a0%d7%95%d7%aa-%d7%90%d7%aa-%d7%94%d7%9e%d7%a6%d7%99%d7%90%d7%95%d7%aa-%d7%9c%d7%94%d7%a2%d7%99%d7%93-%d7%a2%d7%9c-%d7%a2-%d7%a6%d7%9e%d7%a0%d7%95/.

24 On the practice of "protective presence" as a type of Third Party Nonviolent Intervention (TPNI) see for instance, Rachel Julian and Christine Schweitzer, "The Origins and Development of Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping," *Peace Review* 27, no. 1 (2015): 1–8, https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2015.1000181. Karen Ridd and Craig Kauffman, "Protective accompaniment," *Peace Review* 9, no. 2 (2007): 215–219, https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659708426053.

Figure 4: Basel and Yuval.

Over the course of last five years, Israeli filmmakers lived, filmed, and resisted alongside their Palestinian counterparts, producing a deeply interwoven narrative of shared vulnerability (Figure 4). The camera in *No Other Land* was not only an instrument of observation but also a part of the Palestinian–Israeli relationship. The protagonists not only documented but also spoke with each other through the lens.

While Basel and Yuval were the protagonists, Hamdan appeared on the screen only a few times, and Rachel stayed behind the camera. Although all were subjects and observers, they were never on equal terms. For instance, Basel and Hamdan lived under military rule, whereas Yuval and Rachel were Israeli citizens with full legal rights. However, the presence of Yuval and Rachel in the village was also fragile and vulnerable to settler attacks, arrests by the army for violating military orders, and administrative detention. Despite these different circumstances and their friendship, the film did not attempt to hide the asymmetry in their respective existence. For instance, Yuval's life outside the struggle remains largely unexamined.

> BA: I feel you're enthusiastic
>
> YA: What do you mean?
>
> BA: You want everything to happen quickly, as if you came to solve everything in 10 days and then go back home. This [occupation] continued for several decades.
>
> YA: You really feel I want to go home in 10 days?
>
> BA: No...but you are enthusiastic... like you want to end the occupation in 10 days....you want it all fast."
>
> YA: I do not think it will end in 10 days. What am I stupid?
>
> BA: You are enthusiastic..
>
> YA: So what's the problem?
>
> BA: There is no problem, but you will not succeed. It requires patience. Get used to failing...
>
> You come here from the outside, you can move freely, and you have a job..!
>
> YA: Basel, honestly, I do not know how I would be if I were you. How would I have so much hope and power like you?
>
> BA: Yes, but sometimes I think too hard about it all, and I feel this huge depression.

These dialogues manifest in a shared space—Yuval, the Israeli, is a partner in a political struggle, which victimises Palestinians; however, he is also a part of the frame, where he is gazed upon, criticised, and exposed to his own weaknesses. He is also a guest and is received by his hosts on their troubled land (Figure 4). However, neither does the film present an

idyllic friendship nor does it "normalise" the situation. Rather, it renders tensions, gaps, and moments of doubt visible, insisting that the political power of this relationship lies within its fragility. On the one hand, this approach challenges dominant models of advocacy and filmmaking, whereas on the other, it opens a fragile, partial, and contingent space capturing the vulnerability of shared struggle.

Figure 5: Basel and Yuval. Credit: Dogwoof Films

2. Standing Together and Grassroots Reclamation of Public Space

Another tangible political effect of *No Other Land* relates to the strategies adopted for screening of the film in Israel. After condemning the film in media, Israel's Culture Minister issued an appeal to publicly funded venues to refrain from screening it.[25] Although the screening of the film could not be banned legally, it was clear that government funding would be withheld if theatres did not comply with the appeal. In this context, providing free and open access to, and grassroot-level screenings of, the film became crucial as a means of reappropriating public spaces. The journalism platform "Local Call" created an open-access link to make the film available in Israel. Public screenings were organised by the Israeli–Palestinian activist movement group "Standing Together" (*Omdim Beyachad*). Some of the screenings took place in "purple homes," local community-based organizing hubs that acted as physical and symbolic spaces for grassroots activism, dialogue, and solidarity-building between Israeli and Palestinian citizens.[26] Other screenings were initiated by individuals, community leaders, and student cells in colleges and universities and were assisted by activists involved with the movement across the country. The map in Figure 6 shows the screenings for a variety of cities (Figure 6. Screening map).

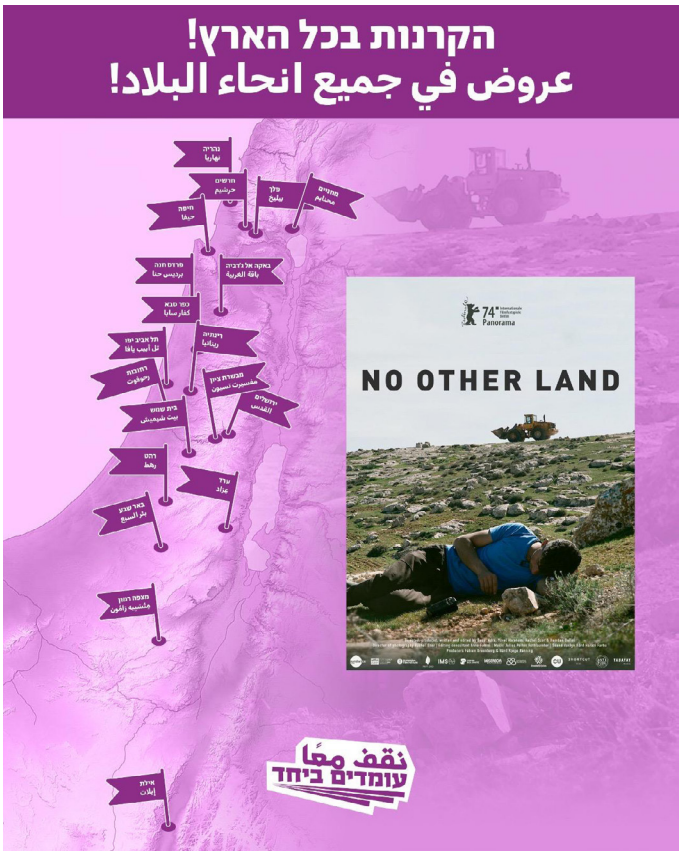

Figure 6. Screenings map (Credit: Standing Together)

The title of the map states screenings of *No Other Land* throughout the country. Some the cities that are marked by names on the map are Arab majority (Rahat and Bak'a Al-Gharbiya), whereas others are Jewish majority (Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Beit Shemesh, etc.).

25 Ben Sales, "Israeli officials are criticizing Oscar-winner "No Other Land." So are Palestinian activists," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, March 6, 2025, https://www.jta.org/2025/03/06/culture/israeli-officials-are-criticizing-oscar-winner-no-other-land-so-are-palestinian-activists.

26 The term *"purple"* represents the movement's signature colour, symbolising a blend of red (socialist/leftist politics) and blue (peace-oriented politics)—a visual representation of solidarity across national, ethnic, and class lines. Standing Together's official website: https://www.standing-together.org.

Cities, such as Jerusalem, Haifa, and the southern Metropole of Be'er-Sheba, have a mixed population. This movement began with the dissemination of a "call to those interested in screening the film", a protocol through which the film became part of the recruitment activity. Organisers received instructions for the screening, followed tips for conducting discussions on techniques used during the filming process, and conducted post-screening exchange of opinions among the audience. The screening was not only significant in itself but also set the stage for mobilizing more activists into the movement.[27]

After an incident at the Sapir College in Sderot, next to the border with Gaza, where extremist right-wing activists disrupted a screening, an activist involved in organizing screenings of the film said, "For us [at Standing Together] it doesn't matter. As long as there is discussion and people's awareness of the film and our activity is raised, that is what counts. Even if a screening is broken into, or cancelled, for us, it is worth it".[28]

"Standing Together" describes itself as a movement for peace, equality, and social justice, uniting Israeli and Palestinian citizens of Israel around shared struggles. The movement enacts (knowingly), a leftist populist practice, according to Chantal Mouffe, and creates "chains of equivalence" among diverse struggles—against occupation, racism, and economic inequality—by drawing them into a common political horizon.[29]

> The path towards change requires a new majority – a broad coalition of diverse communities – Jewish and Arab; Mizrachi and Ashkenazi; Women, Men, and all other genders; secular and religious; rural and urban. To build this coalition, we will identify alternative solutions that serve the majority, correct strategic failures that impede mass political mobilization, and cultivate solidarity among diverse groups. This is the strategy of the People's Left – a Left that expresses the interests of everyone living here. A Left that does not discuss abstract principles of justice or in the name of others' interests. The joint Jewish-Arab Left reflects the full diversity of Israel. A Left that encourages political involvement among all social classes and fights the elites' monopoly on political activity...We set small goals to achieve small victories. Such victories reinforce the feeling that we can enact change. Finally, the existence of a unified, political, and forward-looking community will generate hope.[30]

By organising community-based screenings of *No Other Land,* the film becomes not only a cultural nodal point but also a site of political articulation. The physical space where the screenings take place—private or public—becomes a political stage; the act of viewing becomes an act of public witnessing; and the discussion afterward becomes a rehearsal for collective action. The mode of distribution of the film is different from that of other independent films. It is grassroots and bottom-up, and screenings are initiated by individuals or local groups who reach out to "Standing Together" for support. This organic mobilisation resonates with Jonathan Smucker's call for "new political homes"—affective and material infrastructures, which support long-term collective identification and action, building shared spaces of belonging that are impure, but porous, dynamic, and open to newcomers.[31]

The open-access release and bottom-up screenings of *No Other Land* via "Local Call" reflect a global turn toward decentralised, activist-led media distribution, echoing "Brave New Films" in the US, or "Shasha" and "Aflamuna" in the Arab world, which contribute to models of documentary activism, digital-first releases, and community viewings.[32] Patricia Zimmerman and Sasha Welland relate to these as

27 We publish this protocol with the authorization of Standing Together, Israel.
28 Omri Yekutieli, conversation with authors, April 2025.
29 Chantal Mouffe, *For a Left Populism,* (Verso, 2018).
30 "Change Together: Standing Together's Theory of Change." About Us, Standing Together. April 2019, accessed June 28, 2025. https://www.standing-together.org/en/about.
31 Jonathan Smucker, *Hegemony How-To: A Roadmap for Radicals* (AK Press, 2017).
32 Sherry B. Ortner, *Screening Social Justice: Brave New Films and Documentary Activism* (Duke University Press, 2023). Zina Saro-Wiwa, "Decolonizing Distribution: Notes on Streaming and African/Arab Cinemas," *Film Quarterly* 75, no. 3 (2022): 45–58. Róisín Tapponi, "Shasha: The World's First Independent Streaming Service for SWANA Cinema," *TIME*, February 25, 2021. https://time.com/5943142/shasha-streaming-movies-middle-east-north-africa/. The Culturist, "Aflamuna: A Space for

"microcinemas", arguing that these screenings function as anti-authoritarian media circulation when institutional venues exclude dissenting voices.[33]

In June 2025, a screening was conducted at the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design in Jerusalem. It was initiated by the Bezalel student cell of "Standing Together", who not only planned to screen the film but also held a panel discussion comprising speakers from the Bezalel faculty and students, followed by a Q&A session (Figure 7-8). The screening was announced on the academy's digital platforms in an attempt to refrain from drawing external "visitors" who might disrupt the event. Before the screening began, a group of students carrying Israeli flags sat on the top seats of the auditorium, and some of them remained standing throughout the screening with flags raised. They were a part of another student cell, which described itself as the "Zionist" cell.[34] They came prepared not only to supervise the screening process but also to protest. During the Q&A session, these protesting students asked several questions, which involved the film not presenting "both sides of the story" and putting lives of Israeli soldiers in danger internationally (several students were and had been in active military service throughout the war). However, one of these students mentioned that the film was very good and that although she thought differently, it had touched her. After the event ended, students from different cells and others continued to discuss the film in the hallway for a long time. The event was concluded by the initiators who described it a phenomenal success. These two examples demonstrate that the film may lead to different responses by raising questions, encouraging thoughts, and expressing doubts, as well as evoking violent responses. However, it was important that these different responses occurred and raised conflicts.

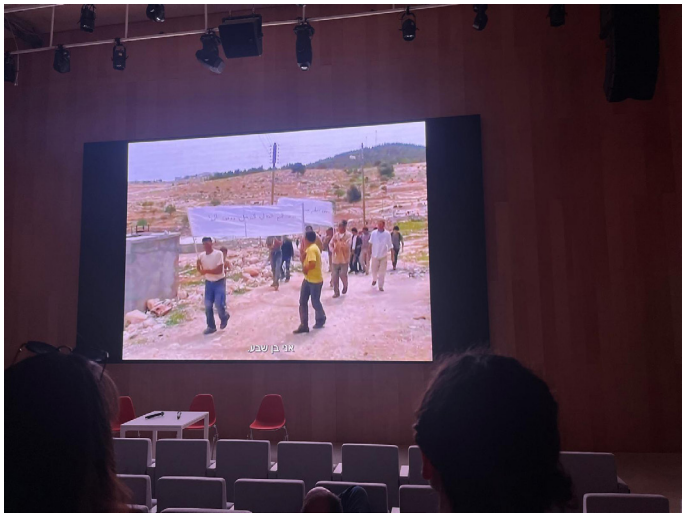

Figure 7: Screening in Bezalel. Credit: Authors

The circulation of *No Other Land* within "microcinemas" and via community screenings across Israel could be regarded as highly fragile or uneven in their dispersal and unexpected in their outcome. However, these efforts not only illustrate a method of circumventing censorship but also a broader reimagining of what political participation can look like in a fractured public sphere. These screenings, which are often quiet and improvised, operate at the intersection of media, space, and activism. They expose society's contradictions during the time of a severe conflict. As such, the film's decentralised screenings show the way collective witnessing, partial or ambivalent, leads to fleeting yet potent moments of shared reflection and dissent, opening cracks for political solidarity beyond official narratives, false unification, and institutional barriers.

Socio-Political and Critical Thought Around Independent Arab Cinema," https://www.theculturist.com/home/aflamuna-a-space-for-socio-political-and-critical-thought-around-independent-arab-cinema.

33 Patricia R. Zimmerman and Helen De Michiel, *Open Space New Media Documentary: A Toolkit for Theory and Practice* (Routledge, 2017). Sasha Su-Ling Welland, "Screening Feminism: Portable Cinemas and Radical Audiences," *Camera Obscura* 36, no. 3 (2021): 55–79.

34 "Hat Zvi is a Zionist student group founded at the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design in Jerusalem, aiming to promote Jewish–Zionist artistic expression and cultivate national discourse within the campus environment. The group emerged in response to a sense of exclusion and ideological imbalance in Bezalel's academic and cultural atmosphere, particularly following incidents where some students expressed solidarity with attackers, and the administration remained silent. Hat Zvi organizes exhibitions, screenings, and discussions that reflect Zionist values and seeks to give voice to students who feel their identity is underrepresented in the institutional arts space." October 2022. https://www.instagram.com/p/Cj-UqSKtJww/

3. "NoOtherlanders": Empty Signifiers and the Politics of Transversal Belonging

The film *No Other Land* clearly refers to a well-known Israeli song, "I Have No Other Land" (*Ein Li Eretz Acheret*) by Ehud Manor. The song was considered to be written as a belated response to the death of his younger brother in war: "I have no other country. Although my land is burning, my veins and soul are. With an aching body and with a hungry heart, here is my home...I will not be silent, for my country has changed her face". Upon its release in 1986, the song was perceived as a veiled protest against the Lebanon War in 1982, encouraging anti-war voices. However, adopted by various—often opposing—groups within Israeli society, the song quickly evolved into a multifaceted anthem. For example, during the 2005 Disengagement from Gaza, the song was invoked by right-wing groups and residents of Gush Katif (the Jewish settlement region in the Gaza Strip), symbolising their connection to Israel's land and acting as an expression of resistance against the withdrawal and evacuation of settlements.[35] This attribute of resistance in the lyrics became especially evident when the U.S. Speaker of the House, Nancy Pelosi, invoked the song on two high-profile occasions—once following the January 2021 Capitol riot and again in response to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision to overturn the constitutional right to abortion. In both cases, the lyrics were recontextualised to express democratic struggles in the American sphere.[36]

In this sense, the song functioned as an empty signifier, a term drawn from the theory of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, the meaning of which is not defined and is shaped by shifting political and social contexts. For Laclau and Mouffe, empty signifiers are crucial because they gather diverse demands and voices under one banner, even if they do not agree with everything. Mouffe explains, "Every hegemonic order is susceptible to challenge, for it is always based on the temporary fixation of meaning. This is why the role of empty signifiers is crucial for understanding how political identities are constructed".[37]

In the film's title, the word "I" has been deliberately omitted (transforming *"I Have No Other Land"* to simply *No Other Land*). This omission shifts emphasis from framing the phrase around a singular, personal, or exclusively national claim, to multiple interpretations. Both Israelis and Palestinians yearn for the same land, yet in the nationalist discourse, this longing often excludes the other side. The omission of the "I" destabilises the meaning of the original song. In doing so, the title reframes the symbolic structure of the song, turning it into a statement of exclusive belonging to a shared and contested space. Reworking this phrase suggests the possibility of transforming this contested territory into an inclusive one in which different identities and political subjectivities can coexist and be heard.

The *NoOtherlander*—an imaginary figure, proposed in a discussion, by David Alvarez Gracia - from Universidad de Vigo, Spain, emerges from the destabilised meaning of the signifier "land" described above. In this sense, the figure of *NoOtherlander* represents a way of belonging that resists the binary division of Israeli/Palestinian and instead gestures toward a common, although contested, horizon. Following Laclau and Mouffe, the *NoOtherlander* can be understood as an empty signifier mentioned above. Although the term does not have a single, stable, or predetermined meaning, it represents an openness that allows it to function as a site of collective identi-

35 Ben Shalev, "When Corinne Alal and Gali Atari went up on stage, The protest against the judicial revolution found its anthem," March 7, 2023, https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/music/2023-03-07/ty-article-magazine/.premium/00000186-bbc1-db81-afc6-bbc3a83d0000?utm.

36 Nur Ayoubi, "'Tone Deaf': Nancy Pelosi Recites Israeli Poem in Response to Roe v Wade Decision," *Middle East Eye,* June 2022, https://www.middleeasteye.net/users/nur-ayoubi?page=1&utm_.

37 Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox* (Verso, 2000), 36. As Laclau explains, empty signifiers are crucial to political articulation because they hold together heterogeneous demands by providing a flexible and contested space around which a coalition can cohere. Ernesto Laclau, *On Populist Reason* (Verso, 2005), 70.

fication. The power of an empty signifier lies in its indeterminacy—it can have multiple meanings, which can be unified through a shared antagonism against exclusion. In this light, the *NoOtherlander* signifies not any individual as such but a political possibility—a new kind of collective subjectivity built on openness, contestation, and the refusal of closure. In the case of the film and its political articulation, *NoOtherlander* becomes a uniting point of those who oppose the machinery of partition, be it settler colonialism, state racism, or ethno-nationalism. It names a subject who has "no other land," not because of nationalist attachment, but because they reject the use of land as a tool of exclusion. In this sense, the term is deeply anti-sovereign, as it does not seek a new polity but exposes the violence of existing territorial claims and imagines a space for co-resistance. This reframing constitutes a Mouffean populist articulation par excellence—it forges a new "people" by binding them into a collective antagonism. The antagonism here is not between nations but between those who are invested in the regime of silencing and partitioning and those who seek to disrupt the regime by creating new coordinates for political belonging, solidarity, and language for people who have no place on the dominant map.[38]

The film contributes to this articulation by refusing the logic of "balance" or "dialogue" that often accompanies Israeli–Palestinian collaborations. *No Other Land* was unapologetically focused on the Palestinian struggle while opening space for a shared fight against oppression. The relationship between Basel and Yuval, the two protagonists whose lives were shaped by radically different systems of privilege and control, became the narrative site for political subjectivity to take form. Their relationship, shared risks, and cinematic labour enacted the possibility of *NoOtherlander* politics. It refused the identity traps imposed by the regime of separation, where Palestinians performed victimhood and Israelis performed liberal remorse, and instead crafted a political imagination rooted in joint refusal, mutual care, and the radical ethics of co-presence, expanding the familiar human rights practice of protective presence mentioned earlier into a form of existence of being together.

To declare oneself a *NoOtherlander* is to reject inherited antagonisms and challenge both states and armed forces to reposition themselves, and declare the current us–them division illegitimate. To declare oneself a *NoOtherlander* is to propose a new conflictual relationship—not between Israelis and Palestinians but between warmongers and those who refuse war. The antagonistic line is WARMONGERS versus NOOTHERLANDERS. This reframing creates a powerful space for transverse solidarity. It neither does demand the erasure of identity nor does it resolve all contradictions. Instead, it provides a common political horizon, a position of shared refusal and possibilities. As such, the figure of a *NoOther-*

38 The grammar of populist politics depends on social mobilization, and this, in turn, is made possible through common identification with a common banner, despite the internal pluralism. This banner must be maximally shareable among all potential allies and therefore be ideally devoid of divisive particular content—an "empty signifier." The way to articulate a collective is by drawing an antagonistic line in the sand that defines the conflict between us and them. In populist politics, the "us" is "the people" as opposed to "the elites". Everyone who sides with the "popular" will redefine their identity and claim to fit with the populist movement. Equally, we might see this in formations, such as "feminists" versus "patriarchy," "green" versus "polluters," or "workers" versus "rentiers". Politics here is the art of drawing the line in such a way that it articulates the maximum number of possible allies while minimizing internal alienation. This means that parties in a coalition must reframe their particular identities to become compatible while maintaining their distinct demands—what Laclau and Mouffe describe as a "chain of equivalence". Each demand remains particular, but becomes part of a broader articulation of "the people". In the case of "Standing Together", the traditional position of a peace movement is structurally weak within the grammar of populist politics because it accepts the antagonistic line imposed by the conflict—a line separating two fixed, existential identities. Thus, such movements are often depicted as perversely positioned—"traitors" by the state sacrificing its youth, or "collaborators" by a population under siege. Both sides benefit from the permanence of the conflict. The only viable alternative for a movement, such as "Standing Together" is to redraw the antagonistic line itself—to propose a new collective identity that refuses the existing binary. That new articulation is precisely what the *NoOtherlander* offers. As an empty signifier, the term applies equally to Israelis and Palestinians who feel they have no other homeland, not in the sense of ethno-national destiny, but because they are rooted in the land and committed to co-resistance.

lander may be among the most important contributions of *No Other Land* to the resistance landscape. Its resonance extends beyond Israel–Palestine conflict into a world that is increasingly marked by militarised borders, ethno-national enclosures, forced displacements, and collapsing political imaginaries. The *NoOtherlander* names a global subjectivity of resistance. It gestures toward alliances between struggles—from Gaza to Ukraine, from migrant camps in Europe to Indigenous land rights movements in the Americas—where communities confront exclusionary sovereignties and imagine living otherwise.

Conclusion

This study explored *No Other Land* as a collaborative political intervention that challenged the dominant paradigms of separation, representation, and control. From its ethics of co-filmmaking and intersubjective gaze to its informal, grassroots modes of circulation, and finally to the emergence of the *NoOtherlander* as a shared political subject, the film enacts a multidimensional practice of resistance. At the time of writing this article, the war in Gaza, starvation and killing, and the deaths of soldiers and hostages continues. In Masafer Yatta, approximately 1,150 residents resist the forced displacement. The reality surrounding the film is harsh, and the processes of repression, displacement, and militarisation that it documents are ongoing and even deteriorating; it may appear that non-violent struggle, activism, and filmmaking are weak forms of protest, as they face silencing, violence, and the unstoppable war and war-profit machine. However, even under these conditions, we believe in continuing to work for shared spaces, mutual recognition, and transversal solidarity to create cracks in a reality in which co-resistance is still thinkable and, at times, even visible.

Bibliography

Adra, Basel, and Yuval Abraham. "Acceptance Speech at the 96th Academy Awards." *Haaretz and Mako*, March 10, 2025. https://www.mako.co.il/news-entertainment/2025_q1/Article-abc12345678.html (In Hebrew).

Avraham, Yuval. "Classified document reveals IDF firing zones built to give land to settlers." *972 and Local Call,* July 11, 2022. https://www.972mag.com/firing-zones-sharon-settlements.

Ayoubi, Nur. "'Tone Deaf': Nancy Pelosi Recites Israeli Poem in Response to Roe v Wade Decision." *Middle East Eye*, June 2022. https://www.middleeasteye.net/users/nur-ayoubi?page=1&utm_.

B'Tselem. "A Regime of Jewish Supremacy from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea: This is Apartheid." January 2021. https://www.btselem.org/publications/fulltext/202101_this_is_apartheid.

B'Tselem. "Demolitions and confiscations in communities facing expulsion." 2022. https://www.btselem.org/facing_expulsion_blog.

B'Tselem. "Annual Activity Report 2007." 2008. https://www.btselem.org/download/2007_activity_report_eng.pdf.

Breaking the Silence and B'Tselem. "The Delegitimization of Joint Israeli–Palestinian Solidarity." *+972 Magazine*, March 2024. https://www.972mag.com/israel-delegitimizes-joint-initiatives/.

Christou, William, and Quique Kierszenbaum. "Wave of condemnation after killing of Palestinian activist in West Bank." *The Guardian*, July 29, 2025. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/jul/29/palestinian-awdah-hathaleen-oscar-winning-no-other-land-killed-in-west-bank.

Friedman, Yael. "Guises of Transnationalism in Israel/Palestine: A Few Notes on 5 Broken Cameras." *Transnational Cinemas* 6, no. 1 (2015): 19–34.

Gambotto-Burke, Antonella. "Israeli & Palestinian Filmmakers Accused of AntiSemitism at Berlinale." *Markaz*, February 2024. https://themarkaz.org/israeli-palestinian-filmmakers-accused-of-anti-semitism-at-berlinale/.

Ginsburg, Ruthie. "Emancipation and Collaboration: A Critical Examination of Human Rights Video Advocacy." *Theory, Culture & Society* 38, no. 3 (2019): 51–70, https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276419861681.

Hammad, Isabella. "Recognizing the Stranger: On Palestine and Narrative." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 54, no. 3 (2025): 112–17.

Hasson, Nir. "IDF: Firing Zone in West Bank's Masafer Yatta Vital for Training, Buildings Must Be Cleared." *Haaretz*, June 25, 2025. https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2025-06-25/ty-article/.premium/idf-firing-zone-in-west-banks-masafer-yatta-vital-for-drills-buildings-must-be-cleared/00000197-a832-df21-a1df-fdfa95530000.

Julian, Rachel, and Christine Schweitzer. "The Origins and Development of Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping." *Peace Review* 27, no. 1 (2015): 1–8, https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2015.1000181.

Kerem Navot Report. "A Locked Garden: Declaration of Closed Areas in the West Bank." March 2015. https://www.keremnavot.org/_files/ugd/a76eb4_e5f6e246e5424b0895f3b67147fbcc17.pdf.

Kingsley, Patrick. "Israelis Turn on Peace Activists amid Trauma of War." *Financial Times*, November 3, 2023. https://www.ft.com/content/b9626124-168e-436f-9d53-cc17e8775140.

Laclau, Ernesto. *On Populist Reason.* Verso, 2005.

Leifer, Joshua. "Kahane's Ghost: how a long dead extremist rabbi continues to haunt Israel's politics." *The Guardian,* March 20, 2025. https://www.theguardian.com/news/2025/mar/20/meir-kahane-israel-kach-ben-gvir-long-dead-extremist?

Mouffe, Chantal. *For a Left Populism.* Verso, 2018.

Mouffe, Chantal. *The Democratic Paradox.* Verso, 2000.

Nichols, Bill. *Representing reality: Issues and concepts in documentary.* Indiana University Press, 1991.

Norwegian Refugee Council. *Area C is Everything*. March 2023. https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/reports/area-c-is-everything/area-c-is-everything-v2.pdf.

Oltermann, Philip. "Israeli Director Receives Death Threats after Officials Call Berlin Film Festival 'Antisemitic'." *The Guardian*, February 27, 2024. https://www.theguardian.com/film/2024/feb/27/israeli-director-receives-death-threats-after-officials-call-berlinale-antisemitic.

Ortner, Sherry B. *Screening Social Justice: Brave New Films and Documentary Activism.* Duke University Press, 2023.

Ozeri, Ya'ara. "Change Reality, Look at Ourselves: Docu-Activism and the Gaze at the Other in '52/50' and 'Dear Life'." *Takriv*, November 2015. https://takriv.net/article/%d7%9c%d7%a9%d7%a0%d7%95%d7%aa-%d7%90%d7%aa-%d7%94%d7%9e%d7%a6%d7%99%d7%90%d7%95%d7%aa-%d7%9c%d7%94%d7%a2%d7%99%d7%93-%d7%a2%d7%9c-%d7%a2-%d7%a6%d7%9e%d7%a0%d7%95/.

Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI). "PACBI's Position on *No Other Land." BDS Movement*, March 2025. https://www.bdsmovement.net/no-other-land.

Pfeffer, Anshel. "Thursday Briefing: How the War in Gaza Is Making Life Harder for Israel's Palestinian Citizens." *The Guardian,* November 21, 2023. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/nov/21/first-edition-palestinian-israelis.

Renov, Michael. "Toward a poetics of documentary." In *Theorizing documentary,* Edited by Michael Renov. Routledge, 1993.

Ridd, Karen, and Craig Kauffman. "Protective accompaniment." *Peace Review* 9, no. 2 (2007): 215–19, https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659708426053.

Sales, Ben. "Israeli officials are criticizing Oscar-winner "No Other Land." So are Palestinian activists." *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, March 6, 2025. https://www.jta.org/2025/03/06/culture/israeli-officials-are-criticizing-oscar-winner-no-other-land-so-are-palestinian-activists.

Shalev, Ben. "When Corinne Alal and Gali Atari went up on stage, The protest against the judicial revolution found its anthem." March 7, 2023. https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/music/2023-03-07/ty-article-magazine/.premium/00000186-bbc1-db81-afc6-bbc3a83d0000?utm.

Silverstein, Ken. "Inside the Israeli Crackdown on Speech." *The New Yorker,* February 12, 2024. https://www.newyorker.com/news/annals-of-human-rights/inside-the-israeli-crackdown-on-speech.

Smucker, Jonathan. *Hegemony How-To: A Roadmap for Radicals.* AK Press, 2017.

Standing Together. "Change Together: Standing Together's Theory of Change." About Us. Accessed June 28, 2025. https://www.standing-together.org/en/about.

The Culturist. "Aflamuna: A Space for Socio-Political and Critical Thought Around Independent Arab Cinema." Accessed June 30, 2025. https://www.theculturist.com/home/aflamuna-a-space-for-socio-political-and-critical-thought-around-independent-arab-cinema.

Tapponi, Róisín. "Shasha: The World's First Independent Streaming Service for SWANA Cinema." *TIME*, February 25, 2021. https://time.com/5943142/shasha-streaming-movies-middle-east-north-africa/.

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). "Fact Sheet: Masafer Yatta Communities at Risk of Forcible Transfer." July 6, 2022. https://www.ochaopt.org/content/masafer-yatta-communities-risk-forcible-transfer-june-2022.

Welland, Sasha Su-Ling. "Screening Feminism: Portable Cinemas and Radical Audiences." *Camera Obscura* 36, no. 3 (2021): 55–79.

Zimmerman, Patricia R., and Helen De Michiel. *Open Space New Media Documentary: A Toolkit for Theory and Practice.* Routledge, 2017.

Saro-Wiwa, Zina. "Decolonizing Distribution: Notes on Streaming and African/Arab Cinemas." *Film Quarterly* 75, no. 3 (2022): 45–58.

Zohar, Miki. "Culture Minister Zohar Responds to *No Other Land* Oscar Win: 'A Sad Moment for Cinema.'" *Mako*, March 3, 2025. https://www.mako.co.il/news-entertainment/2025_q1/Article-abc12345678.htm. *(In Hebrew)*

Burnat, Emad, and Guy Davidi, dir. 5 Broken Cameras. Palestine: Burnat Films, Israel: Guy DVD Films, France: Alegria Productions, 2011.