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Where the Rocks Bleed Ink: Images of Self in Palestinian Political Cartoons

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WHERE THE ROCKS BLEED INK: PALESTINIAN IMAGES OF SELF IN POLITICAL CARTOONS

A Capstone Experience/Thesis Project

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

the Degree Bachelor of Arts with

Honors College Graduate Distinction at Western Kentucky University

By:

Jonathon P. Wurth

Western Kentucky University 2015

CE/T Committee:	Approved by
Dr. David DiMeo, Advisor	Approved by
Dr. Juan Romero	
Dr. Melinda Grimsley-Smith	Advisor Department of Modern Languages

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2015

ABSTRACT

This graphic novel looks at symbols used by three prominent Palestinian political

cartoonists—Naji al Ali, Baha Boukhari, and Khalil Abu Arafeh—that represent the

Palestinian people. The goal, assuming that political cartoons accurately reflect the

opinions of the common people, is to discern what Palestinians think about themselves.

This study finds that while the cartoonists use a number of cultural and religious symbols

to represent Palestinians, the most regularly used images—and hypothetically the most

insightful—are representations of common Palestinian people themselves. They are

depicted as humble yet strong and pious. Al Ali's cartoons are taken from handala.org, a

website dedicated to al Ali, his most famous character Handala, and to the Palestinian

cause. Boukhari's and Abu Arafeh's cartoons come from their personal Facebook pages.

Keywords: Palestine, Political Cartoons, Middle East

ii

Dedicated to my lovely wife Audrey who married a very silly man.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for the numerous people who told me that this project was not such a bad idea after all. I am indebted to David DiMeo, my CE/T advisor, for revealing to me the wacky world of Arabic news media and for encouraging me every step of the way.

Many thanks to the members of my committee—Juan Romero and Melinda Grimsley-Smith—for their support and insight.

I would like to thank the Honors College for providing an environment that encourages creativity and scholarship.

I would also like to thank Western Kentucky University for its generous financial support of my CE/T project through a Faculty-Undergraduate Student Engagement (FUSE) Grant. Without this support I would not have been able to complete this project and present my research at the Kentucky Foreign Language Conference.

I would like to thank my mom, dad, and grandmother for believing in me. Thank you also for all of the pens, pencils, sketchpads, and art sets you bought me over the years.

Finally, I would like to thank my beautiful wife for putting up with all of the late nights. You are too good to me. Thanks also go to my daughter Evelyn for all of her hugs and giggles. You are like the sunshine to me.

VITA

May 19, 1984	Born – Bowling Green, Kentucky
2001-2002	Cartoonist for <i>The Purple Gem</i> Bowling Green High School Bowling Green, KY
2002	First Place – Editorial Cartoon – Class AA – Kentucky High School Journalism Association
2002	Bowling Green High School Bowling Green, KY
2013	Awarded Supplemental Benjamin A. Gilman International Scholarship
Summer 2013	Study Abroad – Jordan – The Dhiban Project, University of California, Berkeley, University of Liverpool, and Knox College
2014-2015	Awarded Faculty-Undergraduate Student Engagement (FUSE) Grant

PRESENTATIONS

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 Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, University of Kentucky, Lexington,

 KY. 25 April 2015. Conference Presentation.

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field 1: Anthropology

Major Field 2: Arabic

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A blank page is unimaginably exciting. It holds such possibility. This project is the product of a few blank pages and possibility.

I first got into cartoons as a little boy. Gary Larson's *Far Side* and Bill Watterson's *Calvin and Hobbes* were by far my favorites. As I hit my teenage years, comic books became my new obsession, and I even considered becoming a comic book artist. Then in my sophomore year of high school I went on a field trip to Washington DC, where I visited the Holocaust Museum. In the gift shop I caught a glimpse of Art Spiegelman's *Maus*, and it is the only souvenir from that trip that I still have. I still use the receipt as a bookmark. *Maus* was my first exposure to non-fiction graphic novels, and as I have hit my late twenties and thirties I have come to appreciate them even more. This is my first completed attempt at making something akin to a graphic novel.

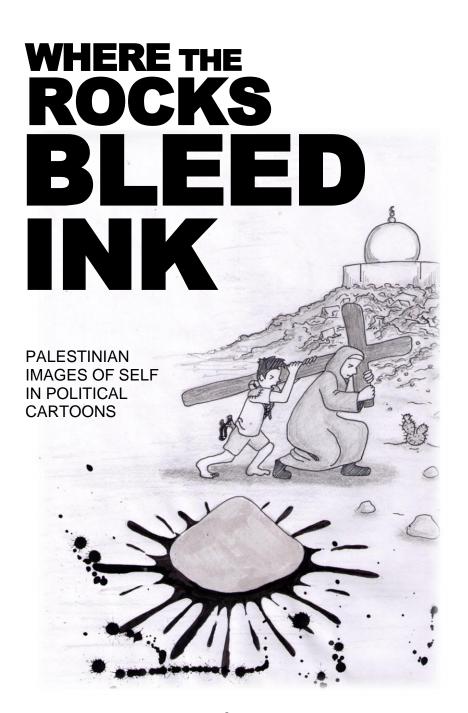
Cartoons and graphic novels tell stories through pictures and words. They are art and literature wrapped up into one genre. The image and the text have to work together to tell a coherent story, and the image has to lead the way. Otherwise, the work becomes unnecessarily wordy.

Well, stories are one thing and research is another. How does one draw a research paper?

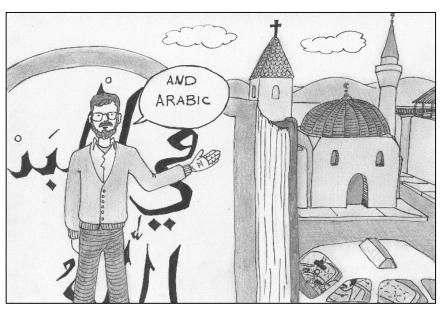
That question haunts me. I do not think I have perfected drawing research, but I know a lot more now than I did at the beginning. It takes more than raw talent and a few good ideas. It takes a lot of planning, reading, and time.

I also learned that there is a lot more research to be done on Palestinian political cartoons. I wish I had more time to dive into the works of younger artists like Mohammad Saba'aneh, a thirty-something who spent time in an Israeli jail, or Omayya Joha whose first husband died fighting for Hamas. They are the new generation who has never known anything but Israeli occupation.

My research presented in this graphic novel only scratches the surface of what could be done. I hope that others take a few sheets of blank paper and explore the possibilities.





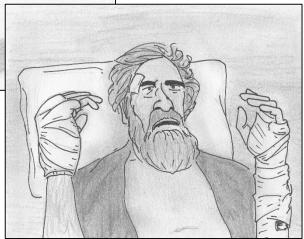


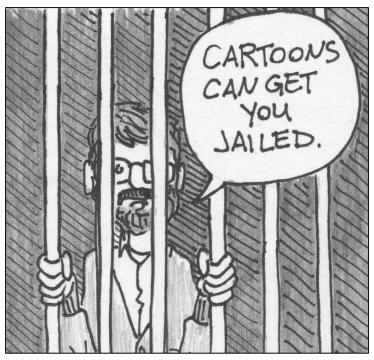




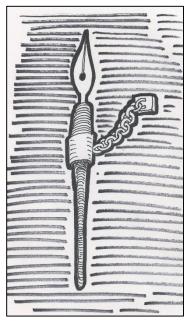
In 2011 Ali
Ferzat, the famous
Syrian cartoonist,
was beaten up by
the President
Assad's thugs for
criticizing the
regime.

They even broke his drawing hand—a serious offense to an artist (Ali).





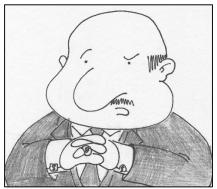
Cartoonists the world over were outraged when Mohammad Saba'aneh, a Palestinian cartoonist, was locked up without charge by Israeli Defense Forces in 2013 (Schachter).





On 7 January 2015 twelve people—including four cartoonists—were gunned down by Islamic extremists at the offices of *Charlie Hebdo*, a satirical French magazine known for printing irreverent cartoons of Muhammad ("Charlie Hebdo Attack: Three Days of Terror").





Political cartoons are powerful weapons-criticizing the rich

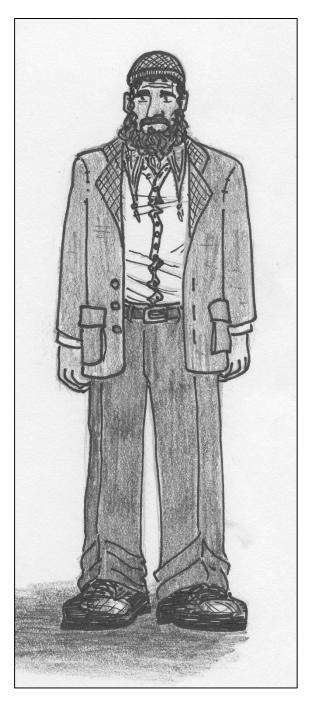


...demonizing the
"enemy"



...or desacralizing the sacred.

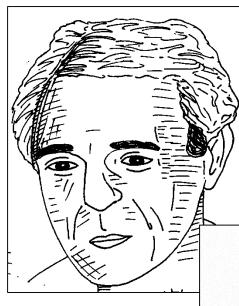
Political cartoons speak for the masses. They give voice to the underlying sentiments of the common people (Danjoux 11-12).



If this last statement is true, then what do political cartoons have to say about the very people they represent?

What do the people say about themselves?

To answer those questions I need a people who have been well represented in their own cartoons, and so I turn to a nation caught in the midst of tragedy, controversy, and history: the Palestinians.



In this study I looked at the works of three eminent Palestinian political cartoonists:

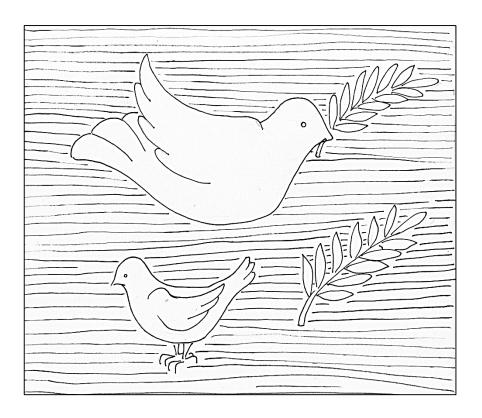
...Baha Boukhari

Naji al Ali



...and Khalil Abu Arafeh.

I took a sampling of each of their bodies of work from internet sources. Al Ali's cartoons came from handala.org, a website devoted to the artist, Handala—al Ali's most famous character—and the plight of the Palestinian people. Boukhari's and Arafeh's cartoons came from their own Facebook pages.



Political cartoons speak primarily through symbols: objects or people that represent something bigger than themselves. For instance, a dove holding an olive branch—or the two symbols individually—represents the larger notion of peace.

I had two questions in mind regarding symbols and the Palestinian people.

First, what symbols did these cartoonists use to represent Palestinians? Second, what did the symbols reveal about how Palestinians thought about themselves?

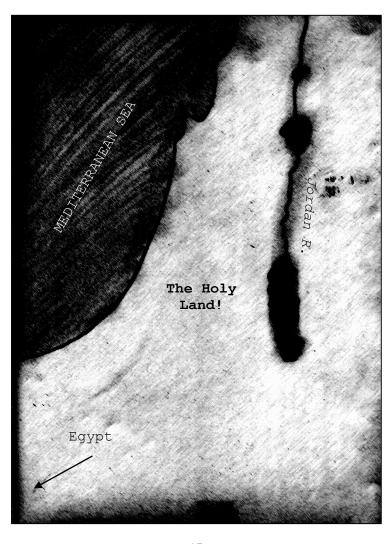
My hypothesis was that the symbols used most regularly were the most important and therefore gave the best insight into Palestinian self-perception.

While many fascinating symbols were used by the cartoonists, I only focused on the most regularly employed symbols.

I also decided to include Christian symbols used by al Ali since they are some of his most striking images.

Before I go into the research, I believe that a short history lesson would provide a little context for my discussion.

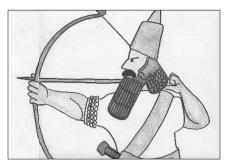
A (Very) Brief History ofPalestine The Holy Land. A little strip of land in the Levant that holds significance for the three major monotheistic faiths: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. This is the setting for our three political cartoonists and their cartoons.



To start with, the Israelites conquered Canaan around 1250 BC ("A History of Conflict").



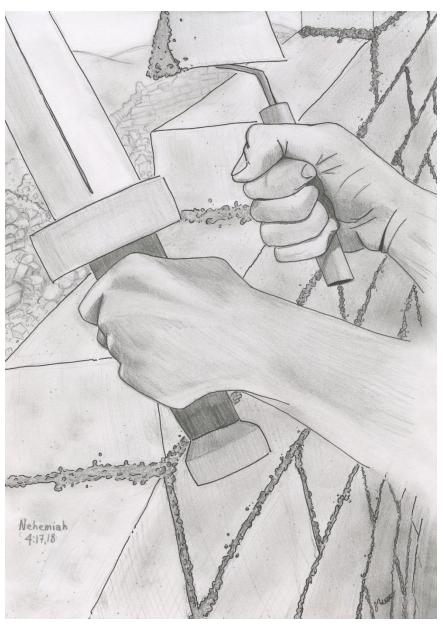
They eventually established a couple of kingdoms but both would be lost.



The northern kingdom of Israel was scattered to the four winds by the Assyrians in 721 BC ("History of Jerusalem")



...and the southern
kingdom of Judah was
exiled by the
Babylonians in 586 BC
("A History of
Conflict").



Some of the Jewish people returned 70 years later to rebuild a life for themselves.

They remained until 70 AD when the Romans destroyed their temple and kicked them out of the land.

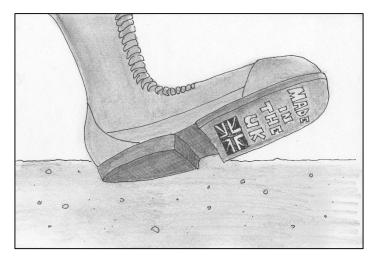




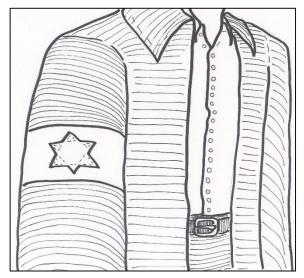
Then in 638 Omar, the second Caliph—leader of the Muslim community after Muhammad—brought the land under Arabic control ("A History of Conflict").



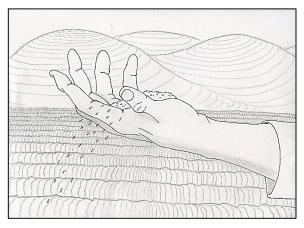
For the first few centuries of the second millennium the Holy Land changed hands between Muslims and Crusaders. Palestine would eventually fall to the Muslims ("History of Jerusalem").



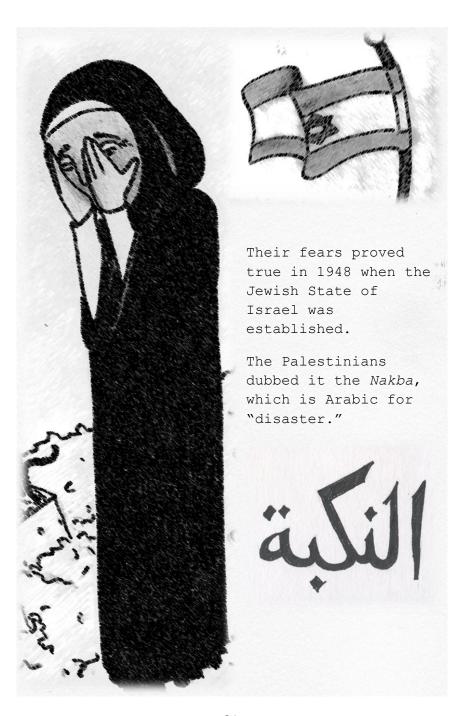
In WWI the British wrested control of the land from the Ottoman Empire.



Meanwhile, Jewish people had begun escaping persecution from Europe and Russia and setting up camp in Palestine.



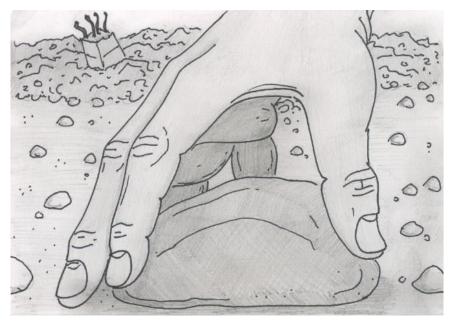
The Arab population feared that the land that they had lived in and farmed for centuries was being taken from under their very feet.



According to UN estimates, nearly a million Palestinians were displaced by the year 1950 (Faroush 107). They flocked to surrounding Arabic countries.



Many refugees still hold the keys to their homes in Palestine in hopes of returning.



The region has seen two intifadas—popular uprisings by the Palestinians against the Israeli government—and numerous failed peace deals.

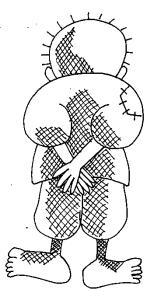


The Holy Land is perpetually in the world news and will probably remain so indefinitely.

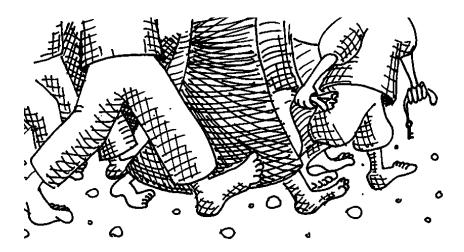


Political cartoons, introduced by Western colonial powers to the Middle East in the 1800s (Gocek 6), have remained one of the most powerful weapons against Israel, the West, and corrupt Middle Eastern governments.

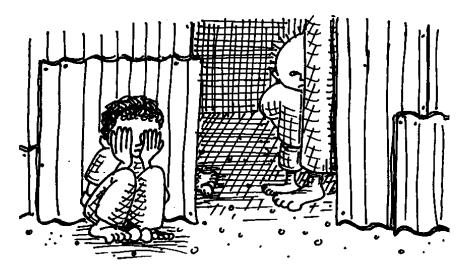








He personally witnessed the *Nakba* having been uprooted from his native Galilee when he was only ten years old



...and transplanted in $Ain\ al-Helweh\ refugee$ camp in southern Lebanon (Abid).



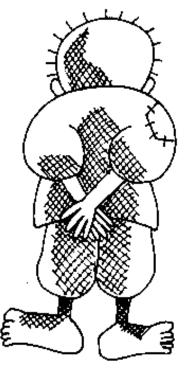


His most enduring character is Handala, a ten or eleven year old Palestinian refugee who goes about barefoot and in patched clothing.

He usually stands with his back to the audience, his hands crossed, looking on at the scene.

He is not handsome. His oversized head with its few bristly hairs sits on a hunched back.

Yet for all his unloveliness, he is the Palestinian people (al Ali vi).





handala.org

Handala represents an innocent and defenseless Palestine who can do little but watch forces more powerful than him—i.e. Israel, Arab elites, and the West—wreak havoc on the weak.



As I mentioned before, all of al-Ali's work that I analyzed comes from the website handala.org.

Though al Ali died before the popularization of the internet, the fact that his work is available to the public via the internet is important. Al Ali meant for Handala to be a public figure.

As the artist said: "At first he was a Palestinian child, but his consciousness developed to have a national then a global and human horizon" (al Ali handala.org).



handala.org

Downtrodden people the world over have embraced Handala as their own.

There are seventy-eight cartoons on handala.org, and all of them include Handala.

Al Ali employs a number of other images to represent the Palestinian people. They are as follows in order of frequency: the crescent moon, the common man, the keffiyeh, Fatima, plants, and the Crucifixion.

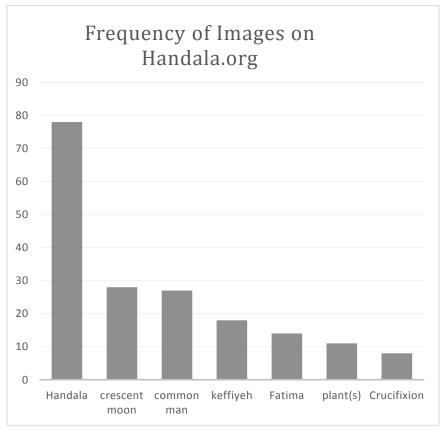
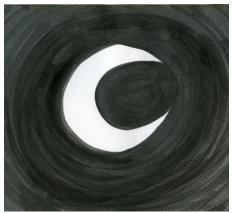


Figure 1

Some terms or names may be unfamiliar, but I will explain each in turn.

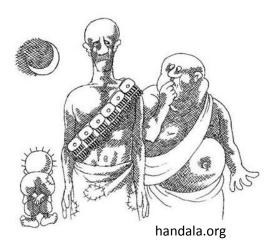


The crescent moon shows up most frequently: twenty-eight times. It is certainly used as a symbol of Islam, which makes sense since a majority of Palestinians are Muslim—more on this later.

The reason for my certainty of its religious significance is its use in contrast to—or in conjunction with—the Christian cross.



For instance, the above image employs a few religious images: the Crucifix, a Pieta, and the crescent moon. This cartoon shows that Palestine is made up of both Christians and Muslims.



Notice the moon in this cartoon with men in traditional garments worn by Muslims making pilgrimage to Mecca. The moon is an Islamic symbol here since it is used in an explicitly Muslim context.



I not only counted "natural" crescent moons but also man-made ones. For example, I counted the moon on top of the minaret above.

Obviously, the crescent moon is a religious representative of Palestine.

The second most frequently occurring image is the common Palestinian man. He appears twenty-seven times.

He is poor, going barefoot and in patched clothes. He is bald, mustachioed, and not particularly handsome.

Handala appears to be his son.



handala.org



handala.org

He is every Palestinian man: powerless, poor, and depressed, but he carries on, plowing and planting. He is a human representative of Palestine.



Number three on the list with eighteen appearances is the keffiyeh. The Keffiyeh is the black and white checkered scarf warn by the man above. The pattern can also be seen on the map of Palestine in the same cartoon. It is a cultural representative of Palestine



The keffiyeh can be used ironically as when a member of the Arab elite wears it as mere fashion.

At number four Fatima, as she is called, (Najjar 269) shows up fourteen times.



handala.org

In five cartoons she wears a patterned dress common to rural Palestinian women (Najjar 270). She is a woman of the land who is no stranger to hard work, and she is proud of her heritage. She represents a Palestine who is rooted in the land and who is tireless in her pursuits.



Though she is attractive, she is no hussy. Her chastity and faithfulness are apparent from her modest clothing.

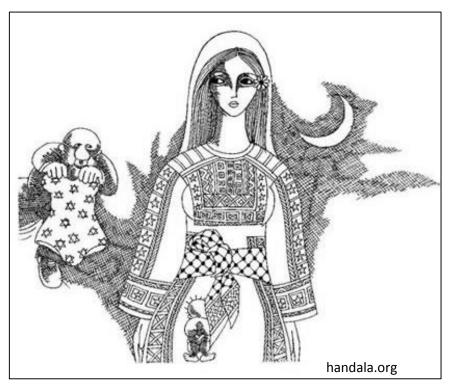
Well, there is one instance where she may play the whore. To the right a belly dancer gyrates for an Israeli soldier while balancing a freedom fighter's head on a platter. She may be the sellout version of Fatimah with her revealing keffiyeh and her bra patterned similarly to Fatimah's dress.



handala.org



This image alludes to the step-daughter/ niece of King Herod in the New Testament. Her provocative dance delighted the king and in exchange for the entertainment Herod gives her John the Baptist's head on a silver platter. Could the belly dancer be Fatimah?



Perhaps al Ali is showing Palestine as Israel sees her: an object to lust after.



Apart from this one aberrance Fatimah is often pictured mourning for her dead children and dying country.

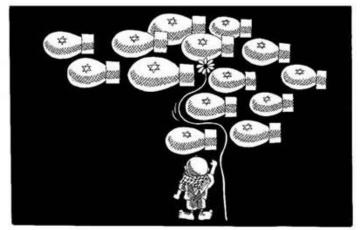


Yet for all her tears she is not weak. Here she knees an Israeli soldier in the groin.



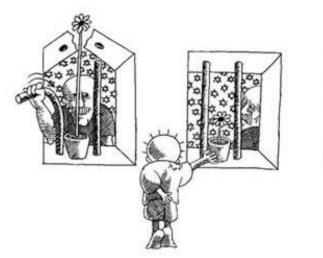
handala.org

Above, the man and the woman show up in the same cartoon. They represent Palestine individually and together. Palestine is homely, ragged and dogged like the man, but she is also beautiful, chaste, and sad but strong.



handala.org

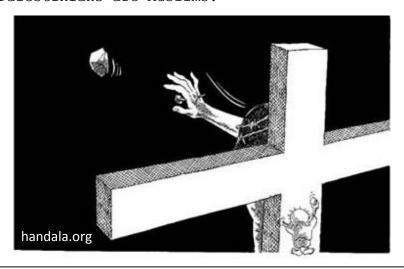
With eleven appearances, plants—particularly flowers—take fifth place. Flowers are beautiful and delicate. In arid places and in war zones they are miraculous, representing life among the dead. In al Ali's cartoons they seem to represent a fragile hope that will break the bars of oppression.





handala.org

Finally, with eight appearances, there is the symbol of the Crucifixion. It is one of the most intriguing symbols for the simple fact that it is a Christian one. As I mentioned earlier, an overwhelming majority of Palestinians are Muslims.



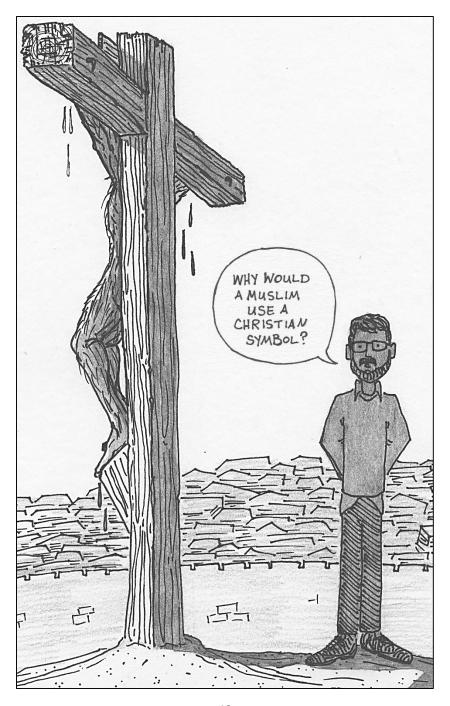
Percentages of Religious Affiliation in Palestine

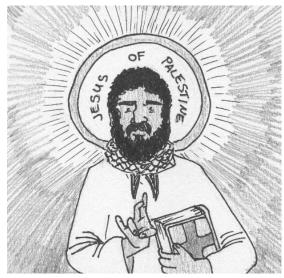
West Bank			
Muslim	Jewish	Christian	other
80-85%	12-14%	1-2.5%	<1%

Gaza			
Muslim	Christian	other	
98-99%	<1%	<1%	

Statistics from the Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook (cia.gov)

Figure 2



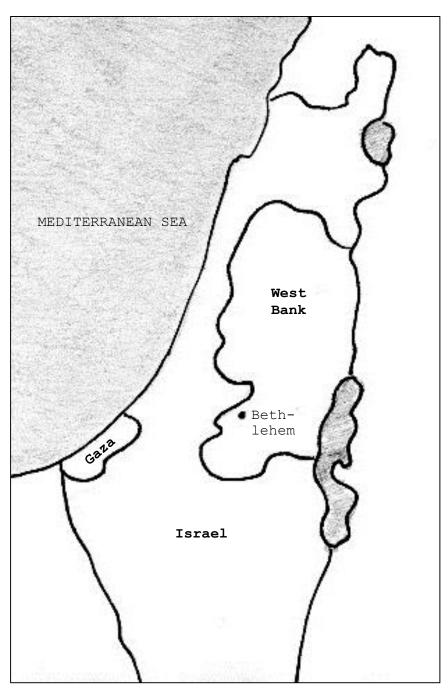


Well, there are a few reasons.

For one, Palestinians consider him to be one of their own.



After all, he was born in Bethlehem (Mt. 2.1, 5-6 and Lk. 2.4, 11-12, 15-16)...



...a city in the West Bank.

There are other similarities.



Jesus was not rich or privileged. He was the son of a working man.



Over 18% of people in the West Bank and 38% of people in Gaza live below the poverty line.



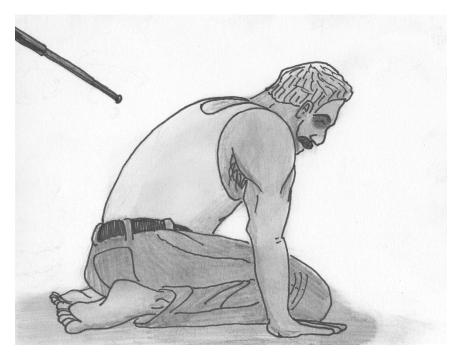
He lived under Roman occupation.



The West Bank and Gaza are occupied by Israel.



Jesus was wrongly arrested, beaten, humiliated, tortured, and murdered in an excruciating fashion.



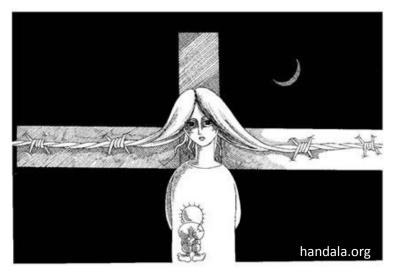
According to Amnesty International:

"Human rights violations by Israeli forces in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) have included, but are not limited to...punitive arrests, unfair trials, ill-treatment and torture of detainees...

"In areas under control of the Palestinian Authority, concerns include, but are not limited to, excessive use of force, arbitrary arrests, ill-treatment, torture and the use of administrative detention to jail individuals without charge or trial. Some detainees also do not receive adequate medical attention" (amnestyusa.org).

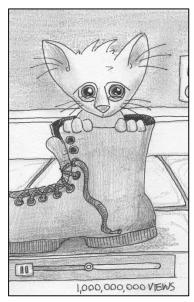


Jesus is the supreme example of the innocent and righteous suffering at the hands of the wicked.



These cartoons can be construed to say that the Palestinians see themselves as innocent and righteous people who are suffering at the hands of the wicked.

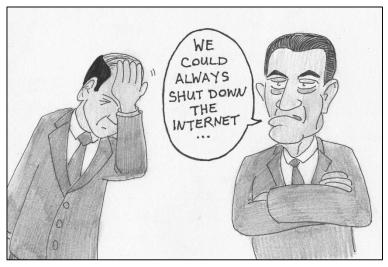
OUKHARI



Aside from all of the nonsense, social media can be pretty brilliant.



It is immediate



...and it is hard to censor.

All of the cartoons from the next two cartoonists—Baha Boukhari and Abu Arafeh—in this study come from their Facebook pages.



No dusty archives or microfilm for me



...just eye strain from the hours of staring at a computer screen.



The freedom of artists to post nearly anything is important. They choose what they want to say and how they want to say it.

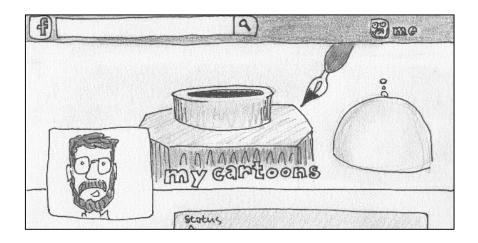
You know, when I started this project, I realized that I might run into a couple of problems.



One potential problem was that I would not find enough cartoons to analyze.

The other potential problem would be finding too many cartoons to possibly analyze.

Baha Boukhari and Khalil Abu Arafeh provided me with the second problem.



They have posted cartoons nearly every day for the past couple of years, which means they have a lot of material.

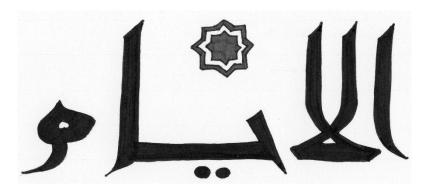
Because I started looking at Abu Arafeh's Facebook page around 18 February of this year, I began with that day and worked my way back until I had 200 cartoons.

I did the same with Boukhari starting with the nearest date of 21 February.

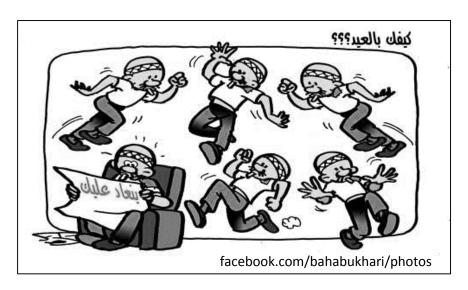
In the end, I have a very recent sampling of Palestinian cartoons.



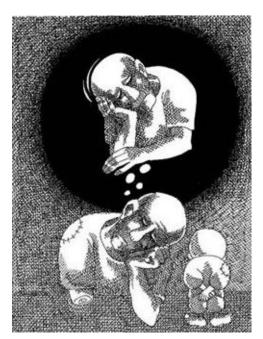
Boukhari was born in Jerusalem four years before the Nakba. Around the age of twenty he began working as a cartoonist in Kuwait for Al Rai Al Aam and has been cartooning up until this very day (baha-cartoon.net).



He currently works for *Al Ayyam*, a newspaper based in Ramallah that is "technically independent" but has been influenced by the Palestinian Authority (Danjoux 75).



Boukhari, like al Ali, has a signature character: Abu al Albed.



handala.com

Abu al Abed looks very similar to another character we have come across: al Ali's common man. Both are bald, mustachioed, and wear patched white t-shirts.



Abu al Abed, however, has a cigarette perpetually hanging from his mouth and a keffiyeh tied Rambo-style around his head, but they both are the face of the common Palestinian man.



handala.com

He is not as depressed as al Ali's man, though.



He usually tends to be angry



facebook.com/bahabukhari/photos ...shocked



...or smug.



Abu al Adeb shows up a little over 40% of the time. In over half of those cartoons he is accompanied by his wife Um al Adeb.



She may also look familiar. Notice her hijab and patterned dress.



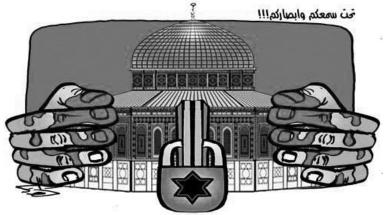
She looks a lot like al Ali's Fatima. They both represent the strong Palestinian woman.



facebook.com/bahabukhari/photos

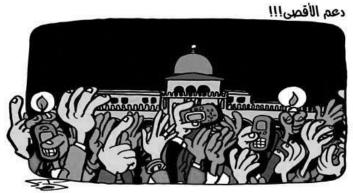
Their children, a son and a daughter, show up much less. Their son is in 18% of the cartoons and their daughter 7%. Together they represent a united Palestinian family.

In the course of research sometimes expectations are smashed. For instance, one of the symbols that I thought that would occur more frequently, turned up only just over 3% of the time.



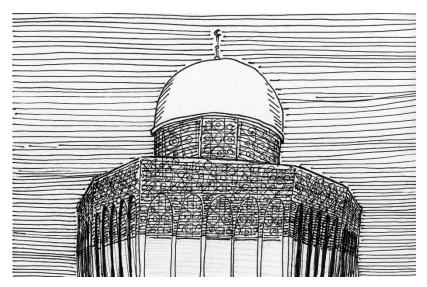
facebook.com/bahabukhari/photos

This particular symbol is the Dome of the Rock.

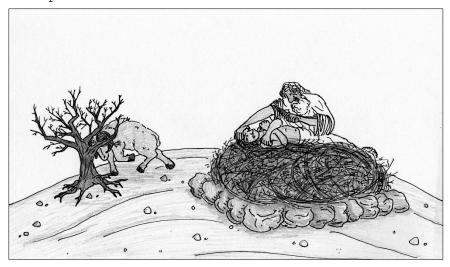


facebook.com/bahabukhari/photos

Even when including references to nearby al Aqsa Mosque the total only equaled 6% of the 200 cartoons.



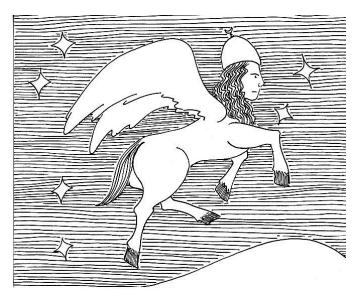
The Dome of the Rock is an important place for both Muslims and Jews. For one, it sits on the Temple Mount: the site of the two former Jewish temples.



It also houses the rock on which the father of the three faiths, Abraham, was commanded to sacrifice his son (Burgess 314).



Abraham's grandson wrestled the angel there and obtained the name Israel (Burgess 314).



It is also the place where Muhammad was supposed to have taken his Night Journey into heaven (Burgess 314).



facebook.com/bahabukhari/photos

Perhaps the Dome is an important symbol religiously and culturally, but it would quickly lose its effectiveness if it were used more often.

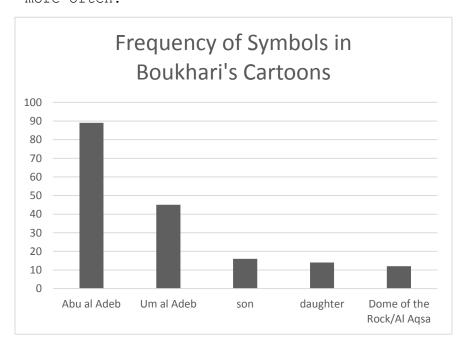
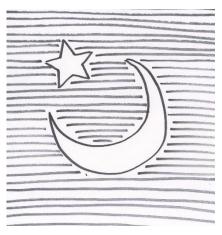


Figure 3

HALIL ABUArateh

Khalil Abu Arafeh was born in Palestinian
East Jerusalem about a decade after the Nakba. While he is from a religious background—his father was a part of the Muslim Brotherhood and his brother is Hamas' "minister of Jerusalem affairs"...





...he himself is a
Marxist (Wilson). His
critical cartoons tend
to get him in trouble
with his brother, as
well as with the rest
of Hamas. He has faced
other problems as
well.

He was once jailed for fourteen months by the Israelis for belonging to an illegal Communist organization (Wilson). He also receives death threats for criticizing Hamas.

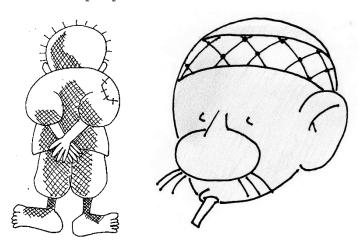


Abu Arafeh's cartoons were a bit more difficult to analyze than the other two cartoonists' for a couple of reasons. For one, his style is a bit messy. Sometimes it was hard to see or read what was going on.



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

The second difficulty is that Abu Arafeh has no regular characters like al Ali's Handala or Boukhar's Abu al-Adeb. Instead he uses nameless common Palestinian men and women to symbolize the people.



The common men do not all look alike.



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

Some wear beards.



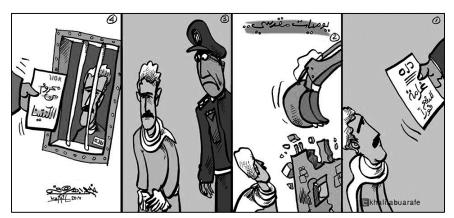
"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

Some wear mustaches.



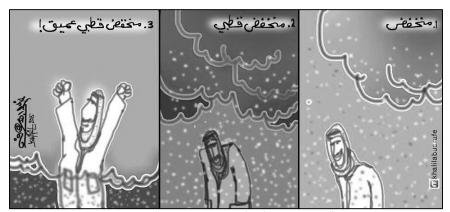
"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

Some are clean-shaven.



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

Some wear keffiyehs around their necks.



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

Some wear them on their heads.



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

Some do not wear them at all.



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page



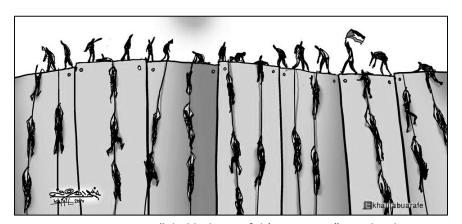
"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

...in a family



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

...or in a small group.



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

I would not count them in a large crowd where individuals were indistinguishable.

Also, I only counted one occurrence of a man per cartoon, even if two or more men showed up together. The fact that the image of a man was used to depict Palestinians was important, not the fact that two Palestinian men showed up in a single cartoon.



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

In all there were 28 cartoons (14%) with nameless Palestinian men in them.

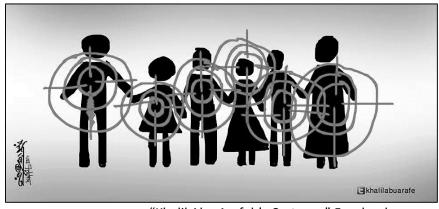
Perhaps Abu Arafeh is saying through his use of various types of men that there are many "common" men. No one individual can represent all Palestinians.

I took the same approach with the common women who appeared in 23 cartoons (11.5%).



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

Only once did a woman show up not wearing a hijab...



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

...twice if the generic females in the cartoon above are counted.

With the prevalence of the *hijab* perhaps Abu Arafeh is pointing to the overall piety of Muslim women in Palestine.

A woman wore a patterned dress similar to those worn by Fatima and Um al Abed 21.7% of the time.



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

The dress, of course, symbolizes Palestinian culture and a distinct tie to the land.



Conclusion

In all I analyzed 478 cartoons, a mere sampling of all that is out there, yet what I found was surprisingly simple.

How do Palestinians view themselves? As people-regular people.



Al Ali depicts a humble ten year old boy whose weapon is his conscience.



handala.org

He also employs the depressed but dogged common man and the bold, beautiful, and pious common woman: Fatimah.

بانتظار مهندسه الصون!

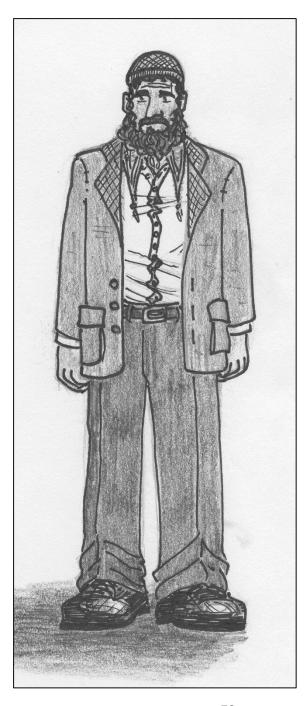
facebook.com/bahabukhari/photos

Boukhari uses the comic and feisty Abu al Adeb and the sweet and supportive Um al Adeb.



"Khalil Abu Arafeh's Cartoons" Facebook page

Abu Arafeh puts to use the common man in his many forms as well as the righteous common woman.



These cartoonists use other symbols as well, but their tried and true images are of simple, determined, and wounded people-people who constantly fight against the elite and against Israel.

Who are the Palestinians? They are as human as you get, and that is perhaps what makes them so beautiful.

The End

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