States of Dependency

Infrastructures of the Common

by

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I hereby decalre that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

The thesis States of Dependency is concerned with exploring architectures relationship to socio-political and ethnographic conflict within Jerusalem. As a city of incredible political and national importance to both Israelis and Palestinians, its planning and urban development have become inseparably linked to the multi generational conflict that has gripped it; a conflict which is fuelled by issues of sovereignty, cultural identity, messianic mythology, and religious history. Within the context of post 1967 Jerusalem, architecture and urban planning have been delegated the task of both constructing national identity, and in solidifying the relationships, or lack thereof, between Israelis and Palestinians. Thus, the way in which the city is designed and constructed is essential to the management of the conflict at an urban scale; engendering an ideology of 'border making' between Jerusalem's ethnic communities. Given this the image of the city, and how it is understood, become essential components in furthering ethnically exclusionary practices. This thesis explores the connection between architectural expression, our perceptions of it, and the perpetuation of the ethnic conflict in Jerusalem. It challenges the definitively isolationist model of its ethnic communities by seeking to define the role of public space within this context, and speculates on the formation of a commons between two segregated communities; firmly entrenched in the idea that a scenario of political equality can only be engendered through an understanding of the other.

Specifically, the work examines the districts of west and east Musrara, sites just to the north of the Old City, and reimagines the civic function of the no-mans land that runs between them. The project works to literally bridge the Israeli western half and the Palestinian eastern half of this area, and explores the educational and civic role that a truly public space may provide in this context. It asks whether architecture, and public space, can operate as mediators within complex social systems, thereby becoming mechanisms of political criticism. In this way, the work does not seek to propose an architecture which offers a solution to the Jerusalem question, but rather one that recognizes and utilizes its urban reality to become the impetus for a solution to emerge. In essence, this work is grounded firmly in the notion that within conditions of instability and imbalance lie the potentials for new urban, architectural and social conditions to emerge; it proposes an infrastructure of the commons.

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A most special thanks is due to my friends and colleagues in Cambridge and elsewhere, for sharing this expereince with me and keeping me sane, without you this time in my life would truly not have been possible. Thank you for your advice, your presence and encouragement in matters both large and small. A special acknowledgement to my colleague and good friend Qinyu Lu who, on countless occasions, provided me with vital design criticism and thoughtful insight.

To my family, for your unwavering and unconditional support for me throughout my life, and this thesis. Without your presence I would have been unable to accomplish what I have here. I thank you for your patience with me, the arguments we had, the debates, and differences of opinion. You are my greatest teachers. Thank you.

For my grandfather, Bernard Zylberberg

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INTRODUCTION

"Now I am ready to tell how bodies are changed
Into different bodies.

I summon the supernatural beings
Who first contrived
The transmorgifications
In the stuff of life.
You did it for your own amusement.
Descend again, be pleased to reanimate
This revival of those marvels.
Reveal, now, exactly
How they were performed
From the beginning
Up to this moment.

Before sea or land, before even sky
Which contains all,
Nature wore only one mask —
Since called Chaos.
A huge agglomeration of upset.
A bolus of everything — but
As if aborted.
And the total arsenal of entropy
Already at war within it."

(Ovid, Metamorphosis)

Fig. 1.1 *East Jerusalem. View of the Dome of the Rock and the Kidron Valley looking north - east towards Mt. Scopus (top right) and the development of French Hill (top left). Photo taken by the author.*

It is important to understand the connotation behind the term 'dependency' in the title of this thesis. What is implied here is a way of understanding the current scenario in Israel - Palestine as being highly dependent on various conditions: historic, economic, political and otherwise. Moreover, the argument put forth in the following works tries to expose the interdependency that exists between Israelis and Palestinians, at several different scales. The future of viable Israeli and Palestinian States is unavoidably predicated on the acceptance, recognition, and support of the other. If an approach to issues of sovereignty, cultural, and national identity can emphasize this interdependent relationship then, it is this authors belief, that the deep seeded issues of this conflict can begin to be addressed productively. Moreover, the way in which this conflict is understood is directly related to ones personal circumstances and perceptions. Perceptions of a given social scenario are structured and governed by several important factors one of which, as this thesis argues, is a relationship to the built environment. *States of Dependency* positions the built environment, and urban development, as the mediums by which power is expressed, experienced and understood socially. This is to say that we understand our relationship to power structures through our built environments and urban settings.

The power of architecture lies in its ability to create certain affective relations, which in turn influence our perceptions which inform how we feel, think and act. Built space surrounds us, and while it can be inspiring, and potentially emancipating, it can also become repressive and integral to processes of subjectification. It is in this way that the work begins to engage with the concept of the social apparatus. How does architecture inform social constructs and, specifically, how has it worked to form certain damaging associations and social relationships within the Israeli - Palestinian conflict? The built environment is, in many ways, the front line of the conflict due to it being the site of urban warfare or acts of terror, but also through its ability to structure and mediate interactions between Israelis and Palestinians. This notion is explored through an in depth analysis of the border conditions that exist at a geopolitical level, between Israel and a would be Palestine, and how this methodology of 'border making' has explicitly influenced the urban experience of Jerusalem, rendering the most banal of urban objects or relationships into tools of division — urban space becomes the medium through which the conflict is expressed and experienced. Given this, is it possible for public and civic spaces to support cultural encounter instead of polarization and mistrust, in this context? More specifically is it possible to form a cultural commons between Israelis and Palestinians in Jerusalem, and if so, how will it manifest itself?

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FORCES OF DEPENDENCY
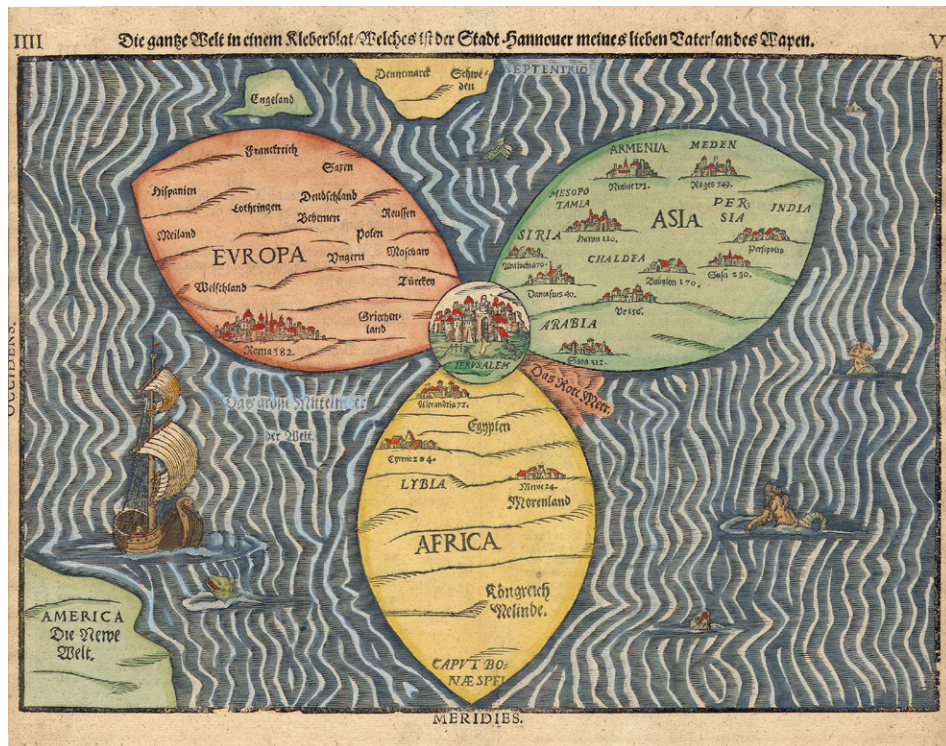
Fig. 1.2 *Büntings 'Clover Leaf' map depicting Jerusalem as the center of the known world, circa 1581.*

Jerusalem the Holy

      The goal of this section is to elucidate the critical role of borders within Jerusalem, and the occupied territories at large; exploring why borders, edge conditions and points of crossing are absolutely crucial in understanding the urban reality of Jerusalem and the conflict there. I am not concerned with documenting the exact historic events that have led to this condition, rather the focus here is predominantly understanding and exposing these conditions, and the role that architecture and urban planning have in shaping them. Broadly speaking, we can understand this section as the first scale of analysis exploring the macro - territorial reality of the conflict, its spatial implications, and their ultimate effects on Jerusalem.

Once Yahweh had been enthroned on Zion, tzedek [justice, righteousness] became his attribute too: he would see that justice was done in his kingdom, that the poor and vulnerable were protected, and that the strong did not oppress the weak. Only then would Zion become a city of shalom, a word that is usually translated as 'peace', but has its root meaning in 'wholeness', 'completeness' - that sense of wholeness and completeness which people sought in their holy places. Hence shalom includes all manner of well being: fertility, harmony, and success in war. The experience of shalom negated the anomie and alienation that is the case of so much human distress on earth. It was, as we have seen, also a sense of the peace, which is God. But Jerusalem could not be a holy city of shalom if there was no tzedek or 'righteousness' in the land. All too often, the people of Israel would forget this. They would concentrate on the holiness and integrity of Jerusalem; they would fight for its purity. But, as the prophets reminded them, if they neglected the pursuit of justice, this would inevitably entail the loss of shalom.[1]

      What Karen Armstrong so poignantly points out in the quote above is the paradoxical definition of Jerusalem's divinity — the source of its prominence in theological and secular debate. Throughout its history the city has embodied the hopes and virtues of three monotheistic faiths, each ascribing new divine credence to the 'holy city'. As Armstrong points out, in ancient Judea, attributes such as 'righteousness' and 'justice' would lead to completeness or shalom and thus a pursuit of social justice is at the very heart of divine pursuit. Thus, if Jerusalem was to be a holy site, these values must be upheld there. As such, it is an irony of the highest order that the city itself, its rocks, hills and buildings, have taken precedent over the devotion to social justice

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1 Karen Armstrong, *Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths.* 1st ed. ed. (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1996), 53.

that the city was meant to embody. If the city is not grounded in such virtues, where does its divinity stem from? What value do the stones of Jerusalem hold compared to the lives they condemn? The very fact that the city has seen so much strife, conflict and death in its history is a testament to the power that its mythology has over the minds of even the most secular members of society. It is a mythology that is deeply rooted in the imagination and obsessions of world powers, having come to embody redemption, empowerment, and divine struggle. Even so, it is a city that has come a long way from enforcing the ideals of tzedek, and shalom, on which it was founded — instead becoming an object of resentment and contention, tortured by issues of sovereignty. Due to this mythology, Jerusalem poses some of the most complex obstacles to the determination of geopolitical and ethnographic relationships within contemporary Israel and Palestine.

Throughout its history Jerusalem has taken on new identities, which directly related to the balance of power in the region. This was a process that determined the city's urban form and became central to influencing broad ethnic attachment to the city itself. It has been rebuilt, re-consecrated, reestablished, and redefined but through it all, to some degree, it remained a site of key importance in the collective psyche of those affected by it. As such, construction in the city has always been a politically motivated tool making Jerusalem's buildings the authors of their own, sometimes farcical, mythologies.[2] In recent history, the geopolitical tension that exists between Israelis and Palestinians in Jerusalem, and in the entirety of the occupied territories, are the result of a conflict that has spanned decades and crossed generations; one that has been fueled by war, violence, policies of cultural exclusion, and not surprisingly the physical development and delineation of the city itself. The conflicts between Israel and its Arab neighbors, since the countries founding in 1948, have turned Jerusalem's municipal boundaries, and Israel's borders at large, into a highly disputed, dynamic and chaotic terrain. The border does not simply denote a line of sovereignty, in this case, but acts as a tracing of the conflict that the country has seen in its short history; delineating the balance of power within the region. By enforcing the historic image and role of the city, construction and development became the tools by which geopolitical sovereignty and control were established post 1967.[3] This task would become central to the national agenda, and as we shall see, was vital in establishing a new mythology for Jerusalem and the civic role that it would hold for a modern Israeli state.

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2 Armstrong, *Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths.* 53.
3 Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land : Israel's Architecture of Occupation.* (London; New York: Verso, 2007), 25.

The quasi-military style of planning that gained ascendancy actually pursued the objective of dominion over urban space using methods similar to those of a military operation. The first political planning decision in the 'reunified' city concerned plans not for construction but for the geopolitical determination of borders. The decision regarding these borders had far-reaching urban planning implications, although those responsible for drawing them were not guided by such considerations…[4]

In this context architecture enabled political planning by overtly establishing physical 'facts' that would determine the placement of Jerusalem's municipal edges, a delineation that would come to define the cultural and demographic identity of the city and its future role in the conflict. This is epitomized by the development of suburban settlements on land east of the former Green Line [5] (acquired after the events of the Six Day War in 1967). These settlements would ensure that Israel's claims on its newfound territorial holdings would last through a literal use of civilian presence to legitimize sovereignty, and through the consequential fragmentation of Palestinian territory. Furthermore, this strategy would ensure spatial control over the existing populace thereby defining the West Bank, and East Jerusalem, Israeli territory and part of a redefined Israeli national identity. These processes of development were undoubtedly connected to new political and military strategies that would directly effect the character of Israel as a nation, and of Jerusalem as its capital.[6] The establishment of new borders in this way related to specific aspirations of territorial control, and would help define the 'validity' of these aspirations in the eyes of the public. However, the question of which public was never addressed; the only legitimate one, as far as the state was concerned, being Jewish Israelis. Thus we can begin to see that the logic behind the state's strategy draws on the idea that the delineation of a border, or a boundary, holds meaning as a result of its physical and tangible

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4 Meron Benvenisti, *City of Stone the Hidden History of Jerusalem,* (edited by net Library, Inc. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1996), 154.

5 The Green Line refers to the armistice line (and border) defined by the cease fire agreements held by Israel and Jordan after the events of Israels War of Independence in 1948, wherein Jordan controlled the West Bank and Jerusalem's Old City.

6 Weizman, *Hollow Land : Israel's Architecture of Occupation*. 25-27. What is referred to here is the process by which new settlement development, on Jerusalem's periphery, determined the redrawing and definition of the expanded municipal boundary. These settlements were not placed in accordance to urban planning logic, but rather were planned based on military logics of territorial control, in order to ensure that newly acquired territories in the West Bank (and East Jerusalem) were held onto. Moreover, the redrawing of the municipal boundary used these settlements, or 'facts on the ground' as they were referred to enable a certain demographic balance between Jews and Arabs within the city limits, ensuring a majority for the former.

Fig. 1.3 *East Jerusalem. Map depicting the relationship between Israeli suburban developments, Palestinian villages / neighbourhoods and the expanded Jerusalem municipal boundary. This boundary bisects certain, otherwise continuous communities in an attempt to minimize the amount of Palestinians included within the expanded boundary while conversely maximizing the amount of Israeli citizens included within it.*

manifestations — it is the physical translation of an abstraction that gives it real world power. Considering this, architecture and planning hold a vital role in establishing the demographic and geopolitical relationships between Israelis and Palestinians, at territorial and urban scales.

For the Palestinian inhabitants of Jerusalem, unlike the Jewish residents, hardly anything was ever planned but their departure. Within the municipal borders of the city, architects and planners were given the task not only of constructing homes and developing a new 'national style' but also of maintaining the 'demographic balance'... 'There is a government decision to maintain the proportion between the Arab and Jewish populations in the city at 28 per cent Arab and 72 percent Jew. The only way to cope with that ratio is through housing potential'. This policy of maintaining 'demographic balance' has informed the underlying logic of almost every master-plan prepared for the city's development... The massive overcrowding in Palestinian neighbourhoods, and the rapid increase in property prices that ensued, ultimately forced many Palestinian families to leave Jerusalem for nearby towns and villages in the West Bank, where housing is considerably cheaper. This was precisely what the government planners intended. [7]

Conversely, once a relationship is defined in this way it does not remain determinate or fixed, as it is dependent on the physical development and expression of the built environment which, in a democratic society, is almost always subject to modification and redefinition. However, this change is determined by those in power, or those who wish to subvert it, and often necessitates a change in social perspective. Interestingly, this change in perspective, as this thesis posits, is also influenced by the social conditions reinforced by our relationship to the built environment. Thus the very processes by which the borders of Jerusalem were established reveal the fallacy behind their conception. The determination of a border based on certain national aspirations, supported by demographic control, which ultimately utilizes urban planning as the mechanism to formalize theses conditions, reveals that the line of the border is in fact malleable and indeterminate in so far as the city can continuously develop. This is to say, that the site of border line can shift depending on the nature of the city and the civic consciousness that exists therein. However, this concept is not entirely subversive as Jerusalem's municipal boundary, after the Six Day War, has grown to be understood as a frontier — its territory contiguous with the urban development and settlement practices taking place deeper inside Palestinian territory. The edges of this frontier are constantly bending under the stresses and demands of the

7 Weizman, *Hollow Land : Israel's Architecture of Occupation, 47-50.*

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conflict, determined by tactical 'necessity', allowing the border to create an atmosphere of political and social uncertainty. This reality, in turn, enables practices of expropriation that allow neo - colonial and expansionist ideologies to take root and prosper. Thus, the borders ambiguity can be both subversive and equally repressive.

The pattern of any frontier's geographical expansion is irregular. It shifts with changing climate, geology, and technological possibilities. It pours across pastoral steppe grasslands in an attempt to grab and fence off sizable fields; it follows the narrow and splintering arteries of geological strata; it traces the ridges of metal and mineral deposits above ground in work camps, towns, cities, or occupies geographical 'islands' over isolated energy fields. The pattern of habitation across a frontier draws a diagram not only of the balance of power between colonizers and 'barbarians' but of the economic and technological level and social organization of the colonizers themselves. Pockets of control continuously expand or contract. Temporary lines of engagement and confrontation, marked by makeshift boundaries, are not limited to the edges of the occupiers space, but exist throughout the depth of its territory. [8]

What Eyal Weizman makes clear is that the border, a typically abstract concept, has a very visceral and territorial translation in this context, motivated by the control of resources, tactical advantages, economic development and spatial control. It is this understanding of the border as a territory that defines the unique challenges associated with disengagement, as frontier politics are so heavily entrenched in the minds of those in power, and in the collective consciousness of the Jewish diaspora — who quite perplexingly, hold a large role in defining the political landscape of Israel through immigration and international lobbying. The frontier exists as a dichotomy: on the one hand it is to be won, and controlled, to ensure security, and on the other it is territory to be conceded for peace. It is a concept that has brought questions of the indigenous to the fore, questions of who has claim to what and who belongs where. Who has the right to the Holy City, and to its biblical hinterland? This has expanded the notion of the border beyond its common role of delineating state sovereignty, allowing these jurisdictional lines to have significant effects on urban life and social relationships. This is accomplished through its capacity to create complete physical separation, to enforce socio - economic disparity, or through creating conditions

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8 Eyal Weizman, "Principles of Frontier Geography", in *City of Collision Jerusalem and the Principles of Conflict Urbanism,* ed. Philipp Misselwitz and Tim Rieniets, 84 - 93. (Basel ; Boston: Birkhäuser, 2006) 87.

of social and political inequity.[9] All of which have the further effect of supporting perceptions of a cultural incompatibility, and in extreme cases resentment, between Israelis and Palestinians. In turn this ultimately perpetuates the conditions that fuel the conflict in its current form. This is seen in the development of the separation wall and checkpoint infrastructures, and through the current pattern of suburban development in East Jerusalem (and throughout the West Bank) which exposes the inequitable distribution of resources to different ethnic communities, and attempts to determine the demographic balance of the city.[10] The border has this potential due to its capacity to operate as an infrastructural, and perceptive mechanism that allows for both physical and cultural separation, through its relationship to urban design, and the built environment. These conditions will be expanded upon in the following sections.

9 Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson, *Border as Method, Or, the Multiplication of Labor*, ed. Brett Neilson, (Durham:Duke University Press, 2013), 7-22.
10 Weizman, *Hollow Land : Israel's Architecture of Occupation, 26-52.*

Fig. 1.4 *Biblical Hinterland. Abu Tor and the Separation Wall with the West Bank fading into the horizon. Photo taken by the author.*
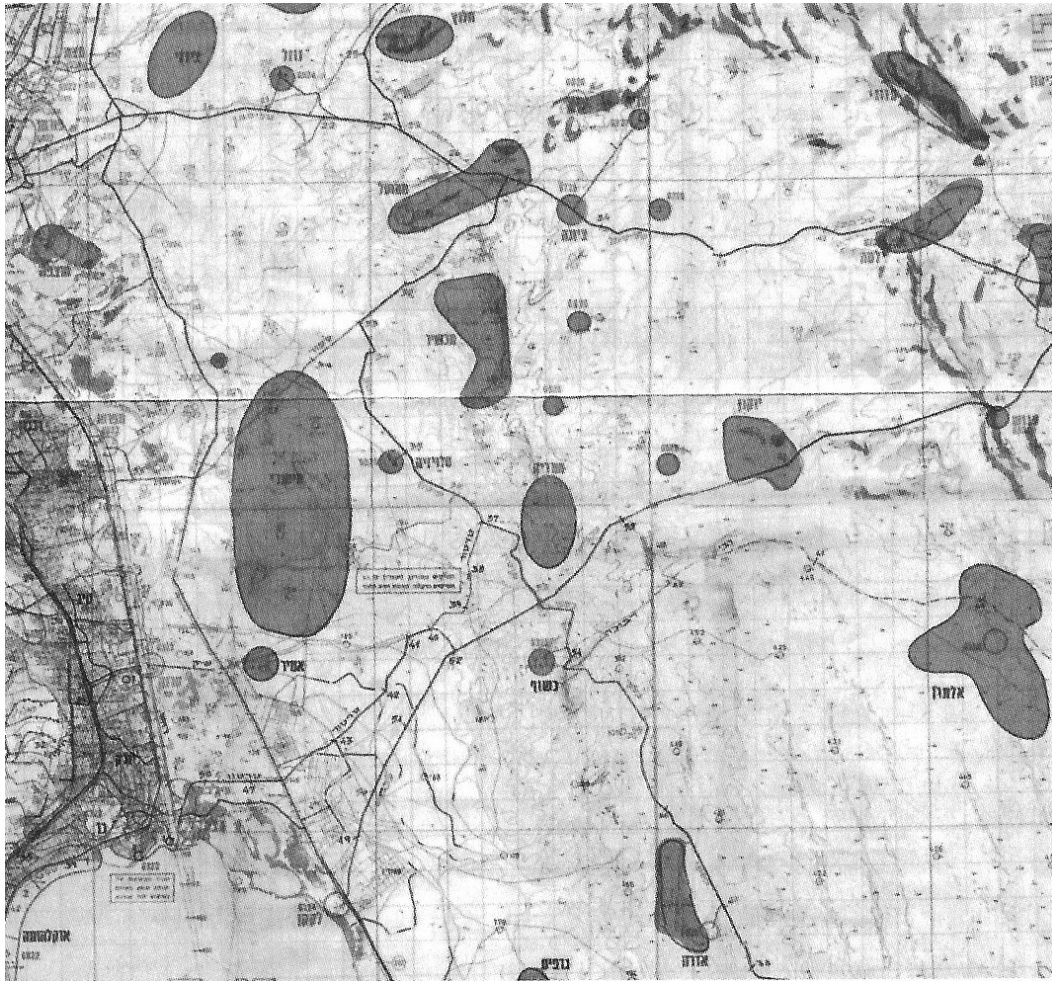
Fig. 1.5 *The Defensive Frontier utilized in the Sinai Desert in 1967. This Battle tactic deployed by Ariel Sharon during the Six Day War worked to ensure territory was defensible across its depth as opposed to along its edge. This strategy creates a matrix of defensible points across a territory, allowing for the loss of certain positions whilst maintaining continued control over the majority of the territory.*
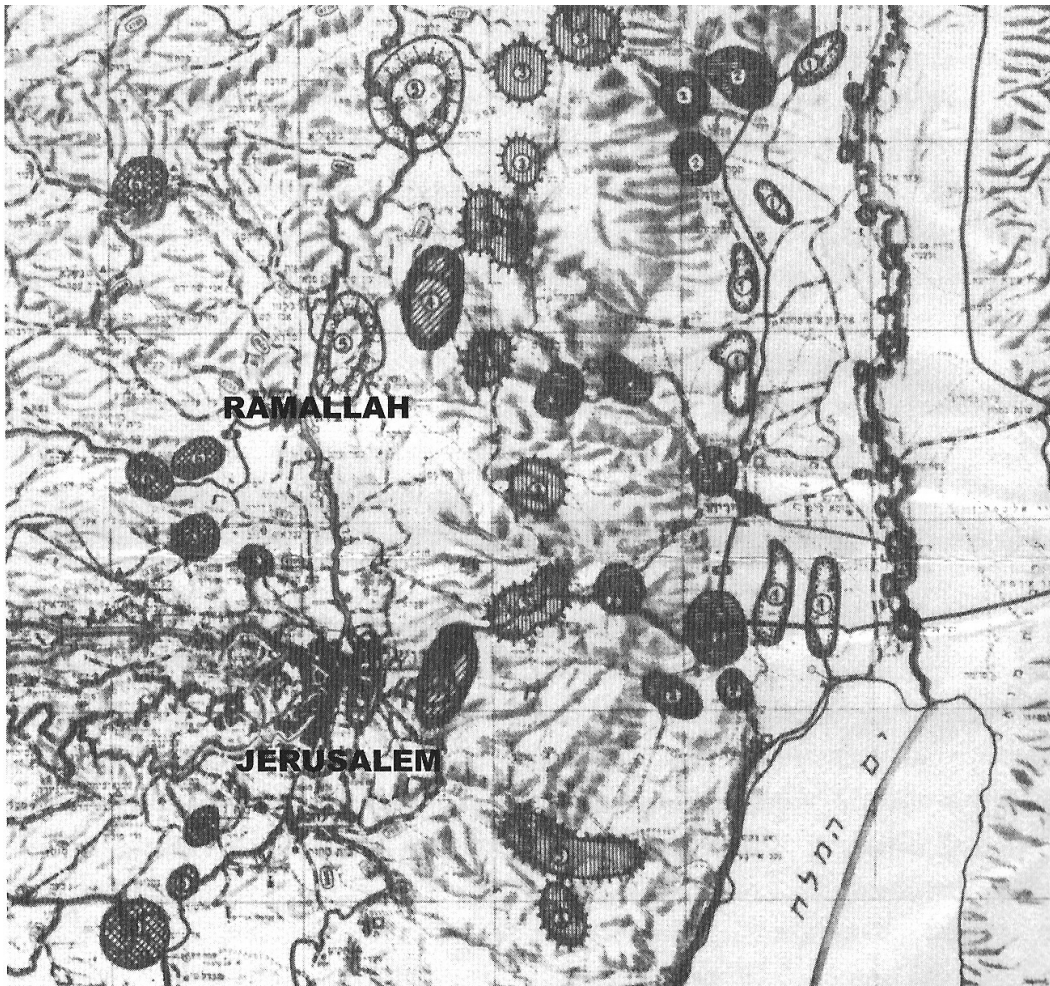
Fig. 1.6 *Settlement Map of the Jerusalem Region. A similar strategy was deployed after the war (also by Sharon) utilizing the construction of suburban developments surrounding the city as tools to ensure control over tactically advantageous positions throughout the West Bank.*
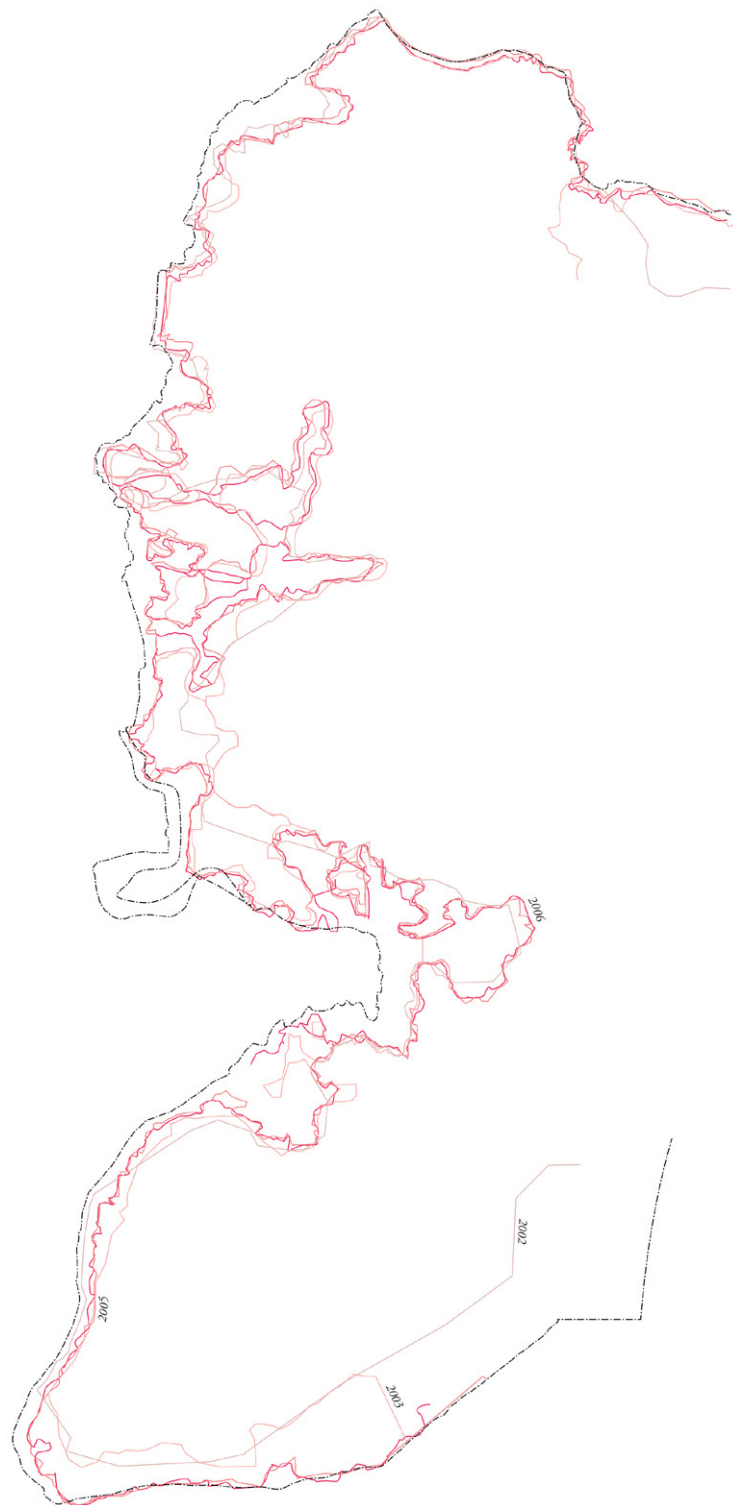
Fig. 1.7 *Proposed routes of the Separation Wall related to the Green Line, 2002 - 2006*

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Geopolitical Edges
The Shifting Line & Infrastructures of Separation

While Jerusalem has held a distinct place in the collective psyche of the major monotheistic religions, as a city of peace, being held up as both holy and eternal and possessing a value that transcends time and worldly conflict, it has never truly been one. Modern Jerusalem has been built to establish the city as the unarguable center of the Jewish people, to reinvigorate Zionist ideology by connecting the current reality of the city to an archaic past — establishing a link between our time and that of the city's biblical origins. The declaration of Jerusalem as the united and eternal capital of the Jewish State, after 1967, reinforced Jerusalem's biblical mythology as the tangible symbol of redemption for an ancient people.[1] However, this new image would allow for the emergence of a political consciousness that refused to recognize the urban and cultural reality that was already present there, prior to the return of the Jewish people to the Holy Land. This has turned Jerusalem, a center of the three monotheistic faiths, into a political gambling chip; exploiting, readapting and manipulating it to serve political rhetoric and ambition. Due to its importance to such a wide variety of ethnic groups, the city has more or less consistently been divided upon ethnic lines marking very explicit urban divisions within the old and new cities.[2] However, the Six Day War was a critical moment in Israel's history which took it from its condition as an underdog, underestimated by the Arab world, into a country that held a new-found position of power — now controlling newly conquered territories including Jerusalem in its entirety. Jerusalem would then represent this new power, and the redemption, and mythological return of a Jewish polity — Israel's capital had been 'liberated' and 're-united', brought into the fold, becoming the center of a redefined Israeli state.

Thus, with Jerusalem as the new capital of the Jewish State, long existing ethnic divisions were exacerbated through the proliferation of new state ideologies, that had far reaching implications to Israeli, and Palestinian, society at large. These ethnic and demographic divisions, as we have seen, would become instructive in how the new urban boundaries of the city were established, these edges being central to defining the way the city is occupied, experienced and understood — ultimately creating a condition wherein the importance of the city as the center of the Jewish world could not be doubted. It is this author's belief that if the issues surrounding Jerusalem cannot be resolved, there is

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1 Benvenisti, *City of Stone the Hidden History of Jerusalem.*

2 Armstrong, *Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths.*

little hope for broader policies of reconciliation to emerge in this conflict.

The Israeli Separation Wall, which snakes its way through the occupied territories of the West Bank, can be understood as an infrastructure of ethnic division; it does not run along any internationally agreed upon route, thus rendering it more than a simple border fence. Its emergence is tied to the violence of the Second Palestinian Intifada, and the resultant paranoia tht emerged from that period in history. Certain conditions within the Oslo Accords allowed security concerns to be used as a form of legitimizing the expropriation of land for the walls construction, and allowed for continued investment in settlements, as long as they could be proven relevant to matters of national security. Thus the wall and patterns of civilian occupation, and consequently the urban experience of East Jerusalem, are inextricably connected — the wall continuously attempting to formalize the territorial redefinitions that the settlements created and continue to develop. Not surprisingly, the presence of the wall ensures a continued military presence within the West Bank and East Jerusalem, ironically perpetuating the conflict there.[3] While the issues surrounding the Separation Wall have been talked about at length by other scholars an understanding of its effects are critical in an analysis of the spatial manifestations of this conflict and their role in defining Jerusalem's urban reality.

Interestingly, the larger issues surrounding the border and the occupied territories are epitomized within Jerusalem itself, the city representing some of the most contentious territory in the conflict. In many ways, the ethnically exclusive policies implemented by the Israeli government in the Jerusalem area are some of the most complex examples within the region — as expressed in the evolving route of the Separation Wall and the continued expansion of suburban neighborhoods deeper into occupied territory at the city's periphery. The critical importance of the separation wall around Jerusalem is to ensure the continued maintenance of Jerusalem's role as a singular capital, which is to say that it is not to be redivided politically, and in ensuring that the city develops to reflect this — ironically creating polarized and stark divisions within its urban fabric. The redefinition of Jerusalem's civic and political role, demanded new rigor to ensure that this role was maintained and enforced; the manifestation of this being an attempt to change the daily lives of individuals through tectonic and spatial operations. The wall, and the enclaves it produces, (covered in the next section) work towards shifting

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3 Weizman, *Hollow Land : Israel's Architecture of Occupation, 161-162.*

urban relationships, and connections, in order to ensure that the current power structure in both the city and the region do not change in a way that would damage Israeli interests, including those which do not exclusively relate to its national security.

The governments initial authorization of the project as a concept rather than as a precise, complete route allowed different interested parties to interfere with and influence the route of the as yet unbuilt sections. Although the very essence and presence of the Wall is the obvious solid, material embodiment of state ideologies and its conception of national security, the route should not be understood as the direct product of top-down government planning at all. Rather, the ongoing fluctuations of the Wall's route...Registers a multiplicity of technical, legal and political conflicts over issues of territory, demography, water, archaeology and real estate, as well as other political concepts such as sovereignty, security and identity. [4]

The goal of such an endeavor was to ultimately hold onto territorial claims, and create continuities between Jerusalem and its satellite settlements in occupied territory, developing a new urban reality in the process. The inclusion of other invested parties in the determination of the walls route, including those motivated by economic gain, would help to naturalize the role that the wall would have in redefining this new urban reality, and legitimize its implementation. This is done in the guise of 'security' by pursuing both economic superiority, through processes of uneven development, and military advantage. However, these practices lead to greater harm for both Israelis and Palestinians; feeding the 'illnesses' of the region by fostering polarization and mistrust within the city's differing ethnic communities, keeping the atmosphere of the city just below a flashpoint. In East Jerusalem the wall has been utilized to change the demographic and economic balance within the area — attempting to remove certain territories from a Palestinian civic identity through territorial fragmentation.[5] Interestingly the act of enforcing division, and controlling the movement of the Palestinian population within the city, has created a condition wherein Palestinians need to cross into Israeli territory more frequently. The primary reason for this being that more work, and educational opportunities exist on the Israeli side of the wall. What's more, is that the act of crossing has become one of common resistance, to simply continue living and accessing the city is an act of revolution despite its inconvenience and ability to enable certain forms of economic exploitation. As such, the

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4 Weizman, *Hollow Land : Israel's Architecture of Occupation, 162.*

5 Weizman, *Hollow Land : Israel's Architecture of Occupation, 170-171.*

Fig. 1.8 *Maps depicting the territorial fragmentation of the West Bank as per the Oslo Accords. From left to right: Area A (Palestinian civic and security control) Area B (Palestinian civic control, Israeli security control) and Area C (Israeli civic and security control).*
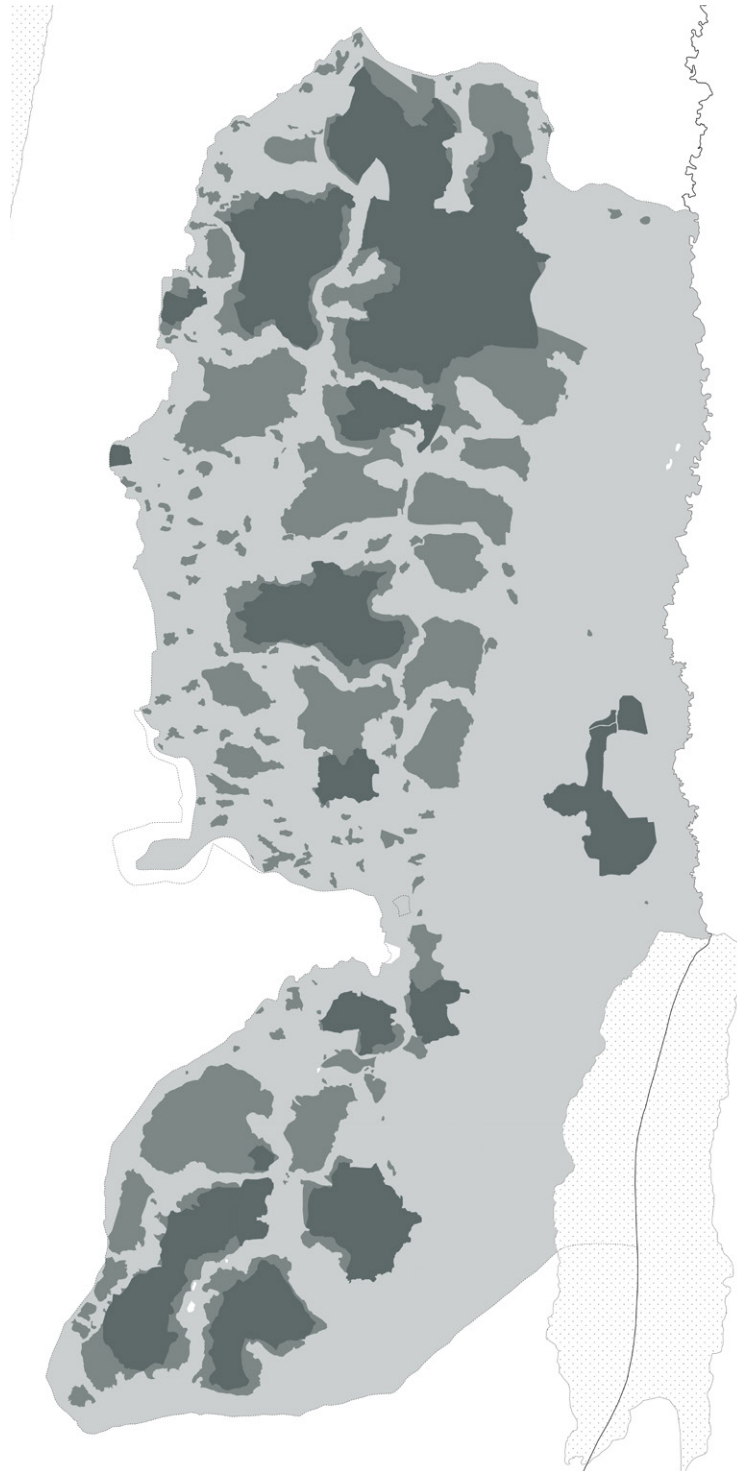
Fig. 1.9 *Compiled Map. What is seen here is the way in which Israeli controlled military territory (Area C) encircles both Palestinian sovereign space (Area A) and territories of shared Israeli - Palestinian jurisdiction (Area B), creating a discontinuous territorial phenomena referred to by Eyal Weizman as the Palestinian Archipelago.*

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Fig. 1.10 *Highway 60, on route to Qalandia Checkpoint. View of the Separation Wall and the eastern half of the community of ar - Ram behind it: one of the many neighbourhoods fragmented by the expanded municipal boundary whose division was formalized by the wall. Photo taken by the author.*

urban reality of Jerusalem is dictated by border policies that seek to define and maintain its expanded form, demographic balance, and new found identity. Territorial design and tactics inextricably influence urban development and relationships, through encounters with the physical elements of separation. These elements, while determined through a consideration of several distinct factors, whether they be economic, political, or military, ultimately work to develop a certain national assurance of control through the manipulation of space.

If borders are abstract lines which designate the edges of jurisdictions, barriers make those limits physical. Since the mechanization of warfare in the 19th and 20th centuries, and the relatively symmetrical power maintained across borders between more or less equally armed national armies and allied coalitions, is no longer conceptualized on a local or urban scale, but at the level of immense linear constructions along the edges of national space.[6]

However, while these constructions (the separation wall) seek to define national edges, these edge conditions have both physical and psychological ramifications as a result of their interfacing with urban and regional contexts. These ramifications being the perpetuation and development of distrust, and a lack of engagement between ethnic communities, rendering each 'invisible' to the other. This thesis speculates that it is the interfacing of territorial and tactical logics onto the scale of the city that produces an urban - territorial transduction[7]. This is to say that the tactical logic behind the control of territory, and the relationship that Jerusalem has to these processes, unavoidably impacts urban experiences that enforce certain social perceptions of the 'other' (Israeli vs Palestinian) as mediated by both the affective and physical qualities of the built environment. Moreover, this argument could be extended to the more mundane elements of the city, as is explored in later sections, concerning the interaction between Israelis and Palestinians in the city center, rather than at its periphery.

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6 Weizman, "Principles of Frontier Geography", 85.

7 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus Capitalism and Schizophrenia,* ed. Brian Massumi, (London : Continuum, 2008) 10. Here the term 'transduction' is used in reference to its biological definition which is: The process by which DNA is transferred from one bacterium to another by a virus, or the process whereby foreign DNA is introduced into another cell. The author is trying to describe a condition wherein the 'DNA' of territorial control / military logics have been transferred to the 'DNA' of Jerusalem's everyday urban experience, thereby creating a hybrid condition of territorial - urbanism.

Fig. 1.11 *View of the Separation Wall from a construction site in Neve Ya'akov, a suburban development in north - east Jerusalem, . The community of Ar - Ram can be seen behind the wall. Photo taken by the author.*

Fig. 1.12 *Highway 60. The division of ar - Ram can be seen along with one of the temporary access gates in the Separation Wall (center - right) used to vehicular passage in and out of the area. Photo taken by the author.*
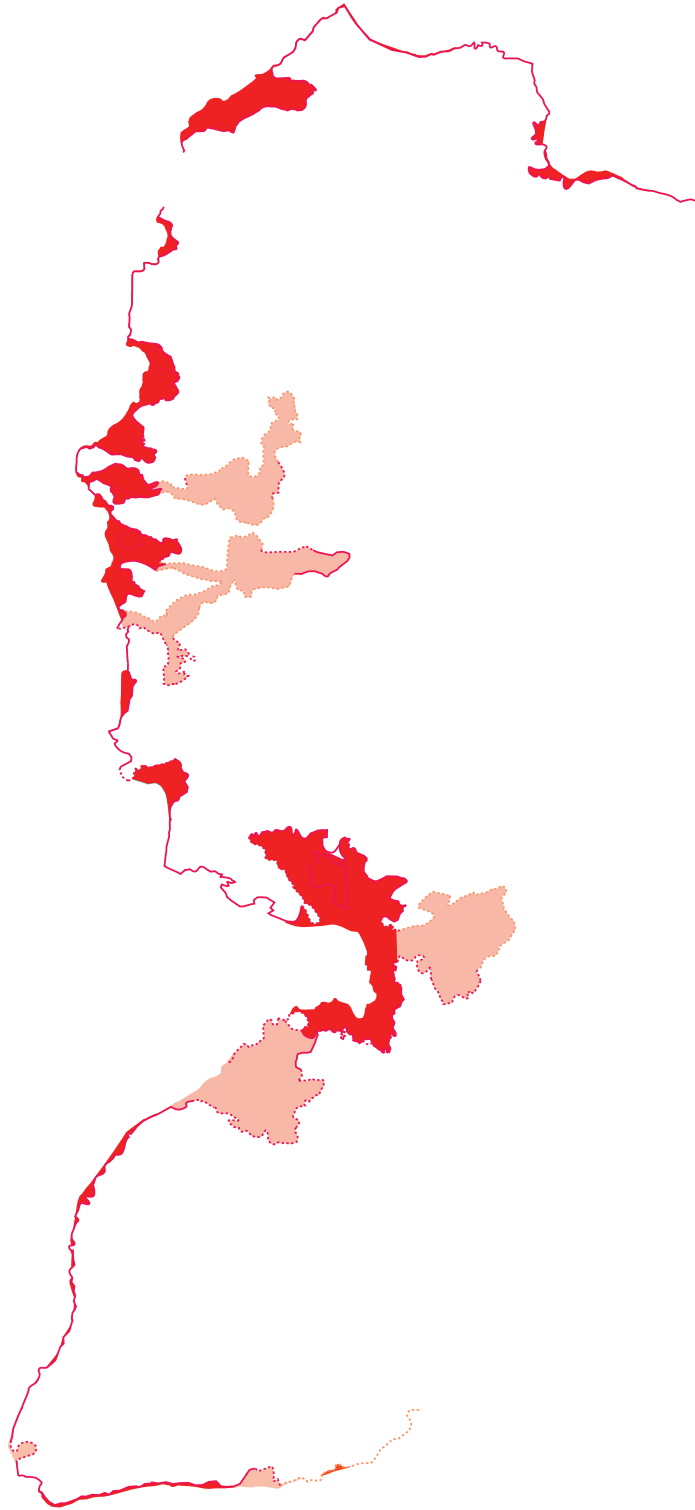
Fig. 1.13 *The Seam Zone. Territory in red already exists as a closed enclave, and territory in beige will become isolated with further construction of the Separation Wall. Red lines represent built sections of the wall and those in orange depict planned extensions .*

The Seam Zone
Territorial Isolation & Patterns of Division

The fortified edge of the separation wall creates unique states of exception within the West Bank (which can be understood as a larger state of exception in itself) and maintains the current border regime through its ability to control economic and social processes thorugh tectonic and spatial manipulation. However, its ramifications do not end at division, but extend to the creation of isolated spatial bodies. This territory 'caught between' the former Green Line and the expanding Separation Wall, is known as the 'Seam Zone'. This territory is the byproduct of the state's utilization of the Separation Wall to produce a particular model of territorial control; which resultantly causes political, economic and spatial isolation by bifurcating areas of formerly contiguous land and separating them from their regional and urban contexts. The scale of this phenomena can range from plots of arable land, to towns and entire cities.

The result of the Wall's fragmented route is a mutual extraterritoriality, a condition of double enclosure. Settlements in the 'special security zones', like the Palestinian communities in the 'closed military zones' are territorial 'islands' physically and legally estranged from their immediate surroundings. Under this arrangement, the traditional perception of political space as a contiguous territorial surface, delimited by contentious borderlines, is no longer relevant… By designating and constraining habitats, by physically marking out the limit of different legal jurisdictions, these barriers function mainly as administrative apparatuses of population control. More than merely a fortification system, they became bureaucratic-logisitcal devices for the creation and maintenance of a demographic separation.[1]

Ultimately the separation wall, and the territories it isolates, control the flow of resources and people in order to maintain a particular political, cultural and economic reality. Such a reality would allow for maximum Israeli control over territories acquired during the Six Day War ensuring Jerusalem, and its current boundaries, are maintained thus preventing future political division. However, the relevance of the Seam Zone, and the Separation Wall, lie in their ability to help us understand the broader effects of this form of geopolitical control, and in recognizing the patterns of division that begin to emerge. The spatial ramifications of these territorial strategies produce the uniquely hostile and unstable conditions at a regional scale, but also within the urban boundary of Jerusalem itself. Which is

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1 Weizman, *Hollow Land : Israel's Architecture of Occupation, 178.*
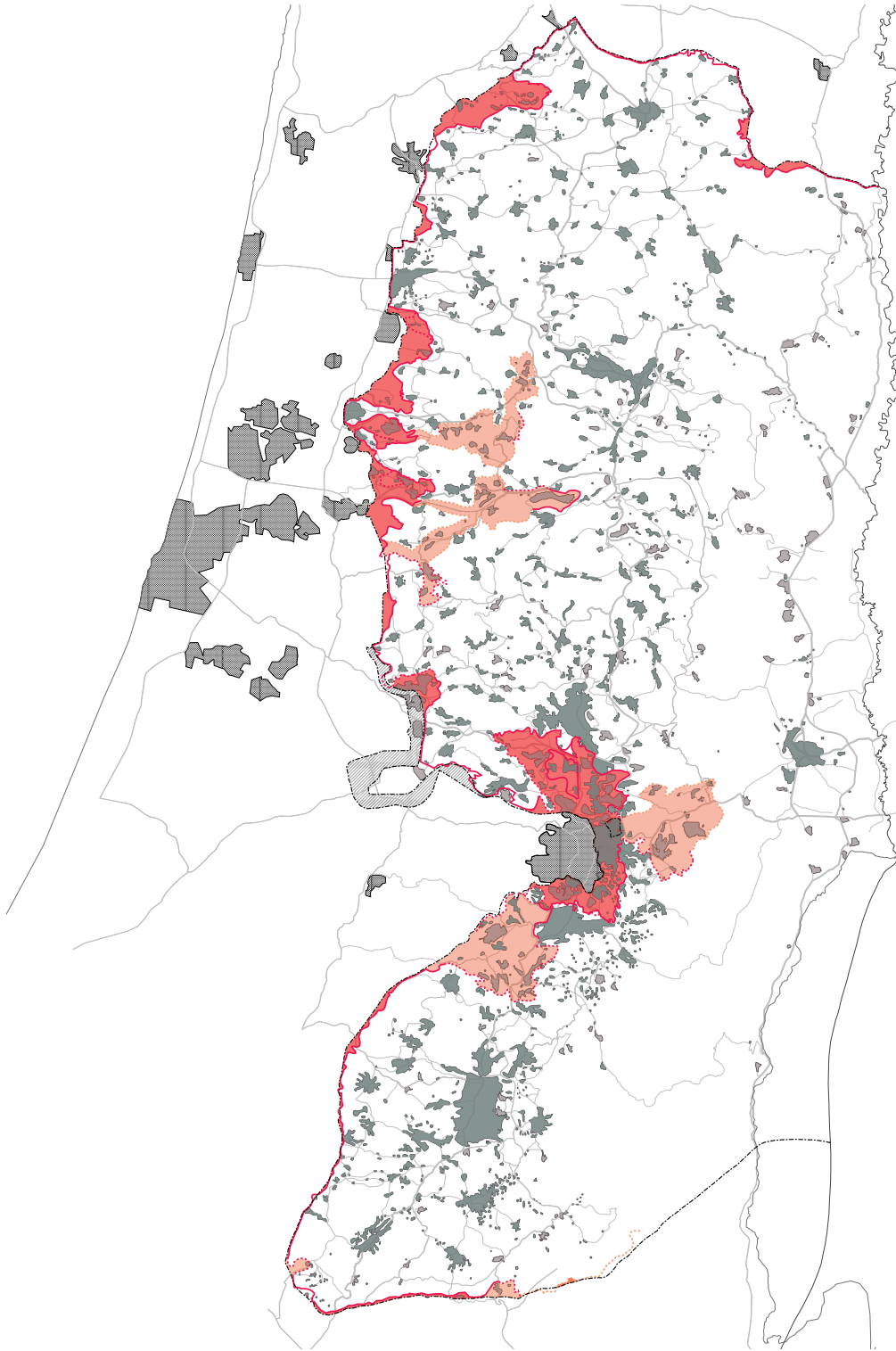
Fig. 1.14 *The Seam Zone overlayed on top of existing communities and road systems. Areas filled in grey are Palestinian while those in lighter brown are Israeli settlements east of the former Green Line.*

to say that there is an uncanny pattern of division at the urban scale, that mirrors that of the territorial. These logics are not separate from one another, and are simply part of the same strategy of conflict management — which provides 'security' but consequently produces volatility and isolationism.

Borders, on one hand, are becoming finely tuned instruments for managing, calibrating, and governing global passages of people, money, and things. On the other hand, they are spaces in which the transformations of sovereign power and the ambivalent nexus of politics and violence are never far from view...[2]

This thesis posits that the paranoia of this border regime, which emerged from decades of conflict and death, create oppositional and vastly differing spatial realities when the logics behind territorial control extend into the urban realm. This is due to the fact that when military and political infrastructures interface with the urban, utilized to establish new territorial relationships at the scale of the nation, they scar the landscapes of the city — inherently creating two different worlds. Neither reality is intended to mix, enforcing the illusion of two distinct populations, occupying two distinct territories. The Seam Zone, as an effect of the Separation Wall, exposes this illusion through the definition of a territory that exists between, and in neither of these distinct conditions — becoming its own territorial phenomena Resultantly, on the one hand, you have those who experience connection and continuity, and on the other those who experience division and isolation. It is one of the several arguments posed in this thesis that these patterns of experience, caused by these infrastructures of division, can be understood as a broader spatial diagram that may extend into the everyday urban experience of Jerusalem. The city, much like the Seam Zone, exists as its own distinct territory of engagement wherein territorial design has created new spatial relationships between the city's ethnic communities. When we view Jerusalem with this lens, the divisive models implemented at a geopolitical level can be seen in the opposing urban experiences of its neighbourhoods — rendering each distinct community an isolated enclave, divided based on ethnicity. This condition ultimately promotes violence towards and distrust of 'the other' and effectively transforms the lines between Jerusalem's neighbourhoods into territories of potential hostility, promoting further segregation. As such, the edges between these sites become critical spaces of engagement for the rest of the work.

2 Mezzadra and Neilson, *Border as Method, Or, the Multiplication of Labor*, 20.

Exit to Israel

Security Check

WC

Security Booth

Turnstile Cage

Waiting Area

4 m
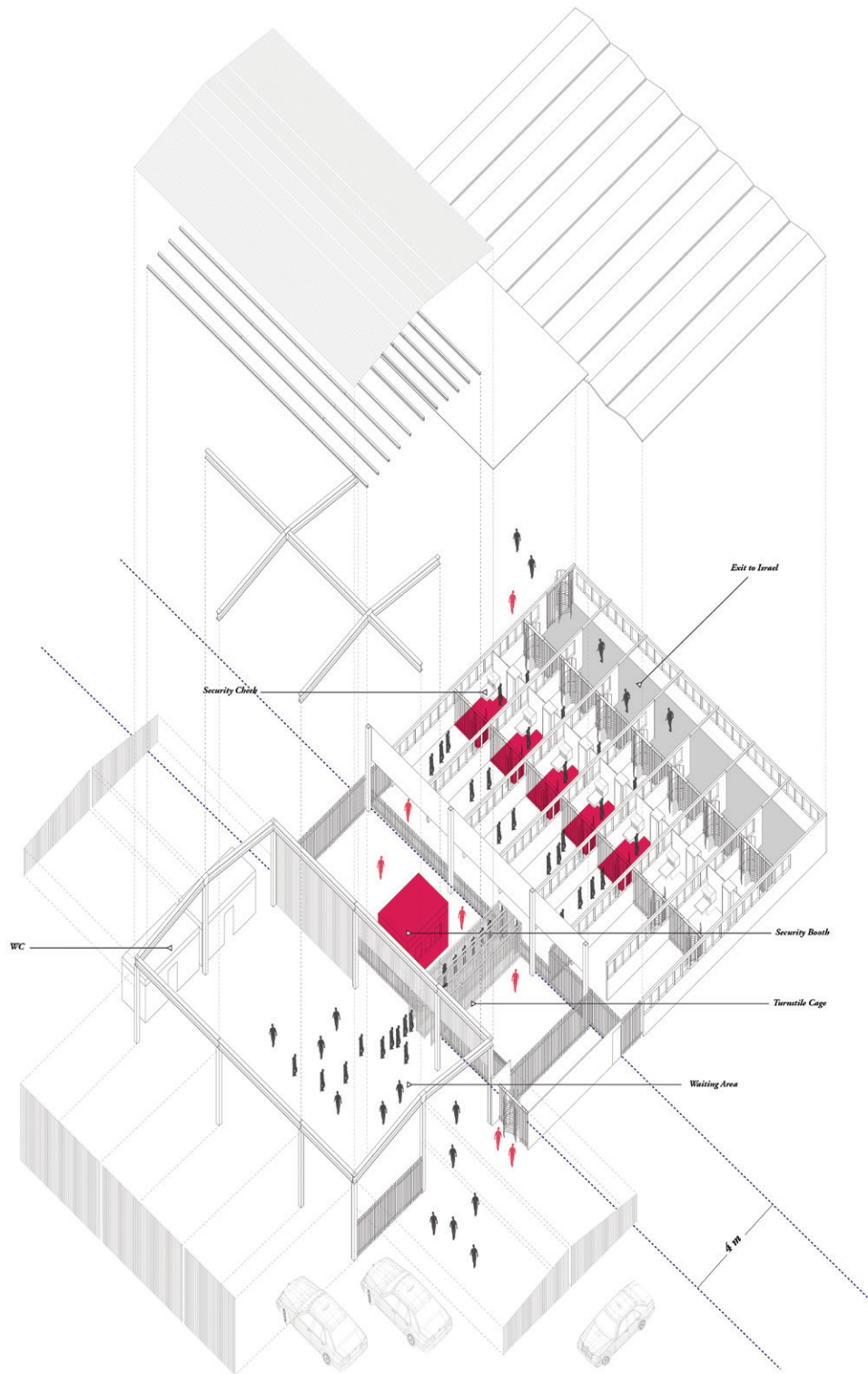
Fig. 1.15 *Qalandia Checkpoint. Diagram depicting the spatial and tectonic structuring of the terminal and points of interaction between Palestinians and Israeli Border Police (highlighted in red).*

<u>Qalandia: Demographic Filter</u>

Interestingly due to the issues posed by the Seam Zone, and the problematic route of the Separation Wall, absolute division is impossible. Complete separation would entail an elimination of any points of contiguity between divided territories. However, if this were the case other political enterprises, such as settlements or the shipment of goods produced in the West Bank, would suffer. Any territorial claims beyond the Separation Wall would effectively be lost, thus revealing some of the complexity behind its route. Considering this, a state of complete division is not entirely desired and points of crossing, in this case, become more than simple gates. Crossings hold a vital role in the maintenance of the spatial configurations and territorial relationships that emerge out of the implementation of the Separation Wall, and in supporting its effects on urban space. The checkpoint becomes the mechanism by which the border regime is controlled, and progressively implemented, attempting to alter the way in which Palestinians and Israelis interact and move through territory. This is accomplished by making movement across the Separation Wall as difficult as possible for Palestinians, and more or less seamless for Israeli settlers and military — turning the crossing into a demographic filter.

Since the beginning of the second Intifada in September 2000, Israeli attempts to isolate and fragment Palestinian resistance and limit the possibility of suicide bombers arriving in Israeli cities have further split the fragile internal matrix of Palestinian society and the geography of the Oslo Accords...This system relied upon an extensive network of barriers that included permanent and partially manned checkpoints...These barriers sustained the creation of a new geographic, social and economic reality. Although the checkpoint system gradually emerged as a series of local responses to what military officers saw as tactical necessities, it has gradually assumed a strategic layout, constituting a complete territorial system whose main aim isn't to dominate and manage the lives of the Palestinians ...While the ques of Palestinian passengers stretch on both sides of the checkpoints, Jewish settlers cruise unhindered through separate gates and down protected corridors that lead to segregated Jewish-only roads. [1]

While the checkpoints existence in the Jerusalem area is grounded in controlling the flow of Palestinians and settlers in and out of the city's urban limits, a walls weakest point is still its gate turning crossings into sites of potential subversion.

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1 Weizman, *Hollow Land : Israel's Architecture of Occupation, 146-147.*

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Fig. 1.16 *Entrance turnstile to Qalandia Checkpoint, Jerusalem side. Photo taken by the author.*

Due to their role in enforcing the maintenance of two distinct urban - territorial realities, crossings have the ability to render the visible invisible, although they consequently create different forms of visibility as well. This is to say that the manning and enforcement of a checkpoint system to control the movement of different demographic groups effectively limits the interaction between Palestinians and Israelis. Interestingly, checkpoints have the inverse effect of bringing a population together. They function as sites of resistance and the act of crossing is rendered a form of resistance in itself as it is done in direct defiance to broader systems of control. Despite this, Jerusalem is still a site of heightened xenophobia and fear, driven by forces of polarization, which are resultant of processes of cultural control and social exclusion. However, it is Jerusalem's cultural and religious importance that further prevents true division from being maintained, and cultural collisions are inevitable. These collisions involuntarily occur in their most repressive and extreme forms at checkpoints.

One of the most notorious sites of involuntary interaction is Qalandia checkpoint, which separates the Palestinian suburbs of Jerusalem and Ramallah... 'The Palestinians defy the brutality of the checkpoint with their very presence: passive in appearance, pacifist in practice, self-controlled and civil, as they traverse a threatening, humiliating obstacle.' Such patterns yield to a muddling of roles, unveiling the schizophrenic conditions of a city that is politically 'unified' but ethnically divided. [2]

Crossings are not only spaces of resistance, or of powers formalization, but they also act as sites of encounter. They are points, along the line of a border, which reveal the fallacy of a 'unified' Jerusalem. Jerusalem is fragmented and stitched together, its checkpoints the seams in the larger tapestry of conflict. However if we apply the role of the crossing, in its maintenance of a territorial condition, to Jerusalem's urban experience (much like we did for the Separation Wall and Seam Zone in previous sections) certain opportunities emerge. While the edges between Jerusalem's neighbourhoods and ethnic communities can be understood to act as a form of invisible boundary, under that logic, they are at the same time thresholds to be crossed. Thus the same phenomena of unintentional cultural encounter attributed to the checkpoint may also occur at the 'points of crossing' between Jerusalem's neighbourhoods. Can the same concept be applied to creating a space of encounter within the city itself, and not simply at its edges? Can these 'borders' and 'crossings' become spaces of socio-political confrontation holding an important urban role as mediators between communities in conflict?

2   Phillip Misselwitz and Tim Rieniets, "Cities of Collision", in *City of Collision Jerusalem and the Principles of Conflict Urbanism,* ed. Philipp Misselwitz and Tim Rieniets, 24-33. (Basel ; Boston: Birkhäuser, 2006) 31.
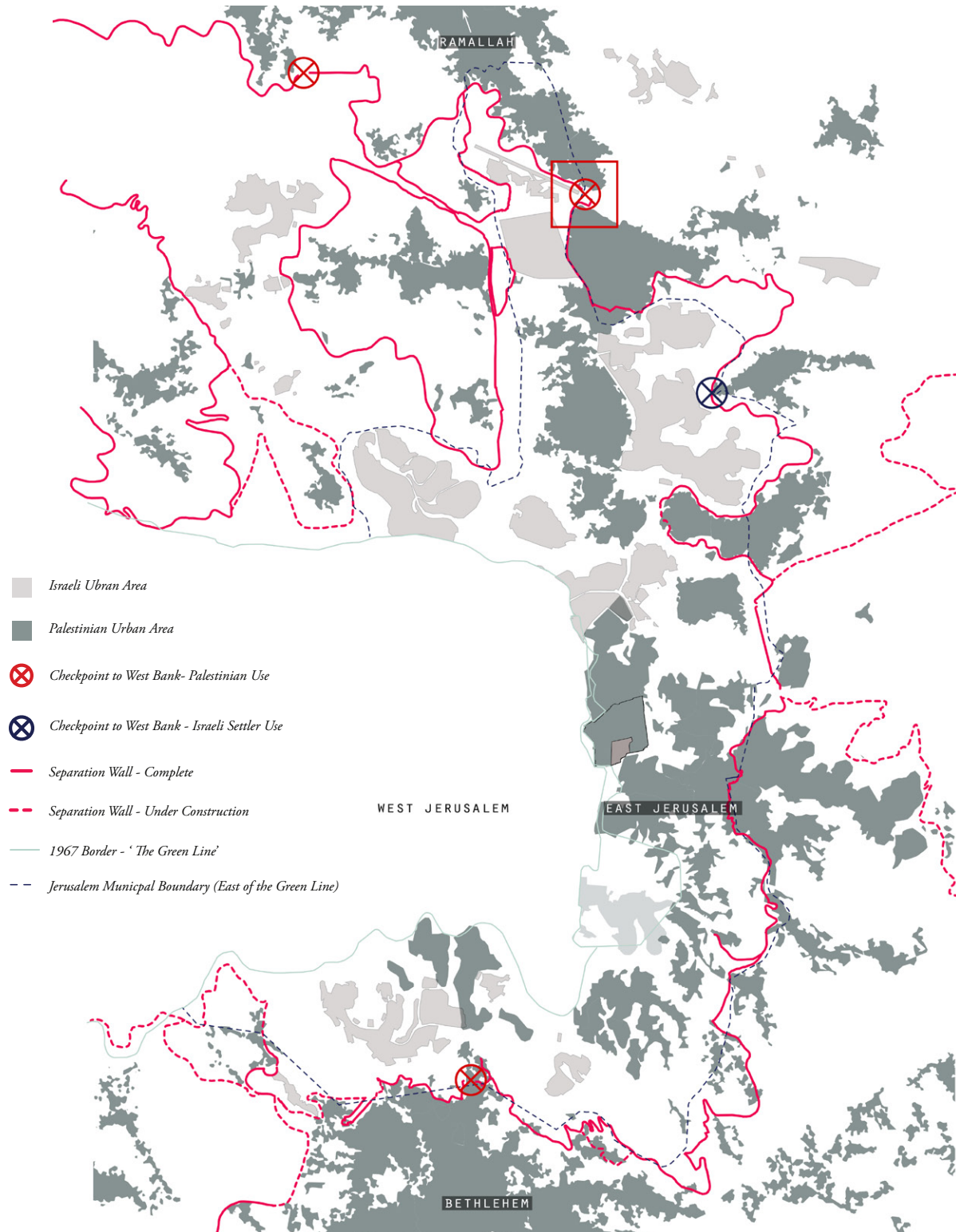
Fig. 1.17 *Map depicting East Jerusalem and the relationship between Palestinian urban areas, Israeli suburban developments (settlements), the Separation Wall and the checkpoint infrastructures. Qalandia checkpoint is boxed in red.*

Legend:

- Israeli Ubran Area
- Palestinian Urban Area
- ⊗ Checkpoint to West Bank- Palestinian Use
- ⊗ Checkpoint to West Bank - Israeli Settler Use
- —— Separation Wall - Complete
- – – – Separation Wall - Under Construction
- —— 1967 Border - 'The Green Line'
- – – Jerusalem Municpal Boundary (East of the Green Line)

RAMALLAH

WEST JERUSALEM

EAST JERUSALEM

BETHLEHEM

Fig. 1.18 *Aerial of the Qalandia checkpoint and surrounding region. The map depicts the relationship between the checkpoint and the territory it separates / connects. An attempt is also made to depict areas of restricted mobility through the use of the red gradient, exposing the ways in which movement through space is controlled and directed by the Separation Wall towards Qalandia.*

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Fig. 1.19 *Photo manipulations depicting the various informal / formal barriers (excluding the Separation Wall) encountered during crossing at the Qalandia checkpoint including concrete bollards, rubble, chain link fences, and steel cages / turnstiles in the terminal building (depicted on the next page)*

Fig. 1.20 *The Separation Wall at Qalandia checkpoint. Image depicting one of the temporary access gates into the community of Ar - Ram to the south. Photo taken by the author.*

Fig. 1.21 *The Separation Wall at Qalandia checkpoint. Image depicting the abandoned Atarot airfield and the community of Kafr Aqab behind the wall. Photo taken by the author.*

THE URBAN INTERFACE
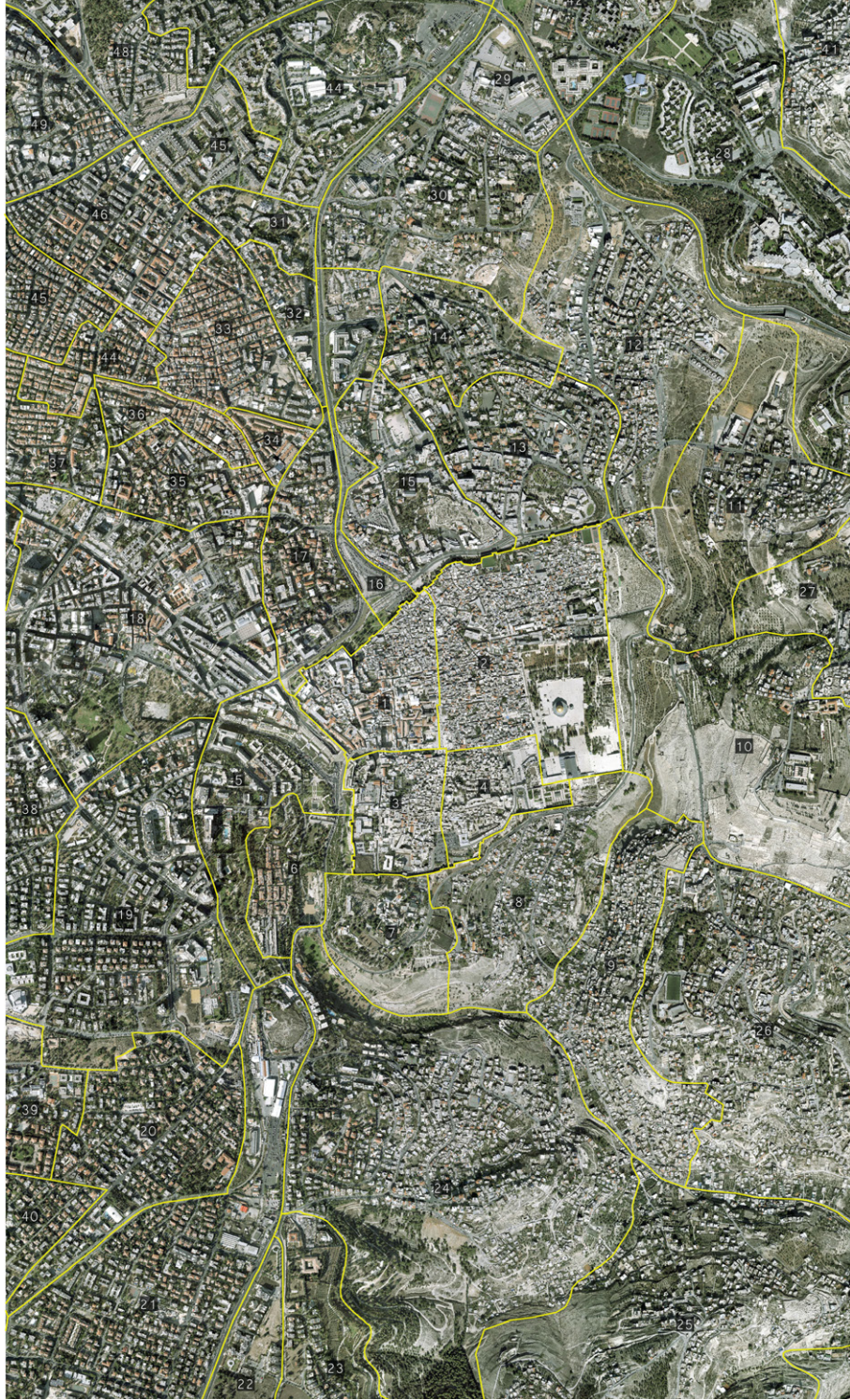
Fig. 2.20 *Aerial depicting all the neighbourhoods located around and within the Old City of Jerusalem. The edges of these areas are marked in yellow. (Numbers of districts relate to* **Fig 2.31***)*

Edges & Voids
The State Apparatus & The Insurgence of an Urban Assemblage

The city is a central stake, a battleground, an ineffable symbol, not just to those who live within it, but to peoples and powers around the world. The conflicts that consume it reverberate in Washington, Rome, and Jeddah. And conversely, even the smallest geopolitical shifts can shake its streets. The contest between these larger nations and religions shows itself in Jerusalem, not just as ideology, but as life, in the daily struggles between the city's neighbourhoods, which consider each other alien and dangerous zones. The city threatens always, everywhere, to crack into pieces or explode; yet it seems to grow inexorably, driven by the very forces that would tear it apart. [1]

        Integrated and unified are terms used to describe Jerusalem's urban condition, and have been since the events of the Six Day War in 1967. However this image simply exists in the sphere of political rhetoric, and is skillfully deployed to enforce Jerusalem's political identity within a redefined contemporary Israeli State. Contrary to this, its urban reality remains a negotiation of several divisive conditions, founded upon ethnic, and religious differences, which consequently deepen political and economic disparities. To discuss Jerusalem is, in effect, to discuss a multiplicity of realities and urban experiences that are each defined by their relationship, or lack thereof, to one another. The effects of this are quite explicit: where ethnographic rifts cannot be contained they are laid bare, festering in the heat of the Judean Desert, the city's pristine limestone facades a mere mask over a scarred and disfigured face.

Since the 1967 war, when Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza strip, a colossal project of strategic, territorial and architectural planning has lain at the heart of the Israeli- Palestinian conflict. The landscape and the built environment became the arena of conflict… 'First' and 'Third' Worlds spread out in a fragmented patchwork: a territorial ecosystem of externally alienated, internally homogenized enclaves located next to, within, above or below each other.[2]

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1 Roger Friedland, *To Rule Jerusalem,* ed. Richard D. Hecht (Cambridge, England Cambridge University Press, 1996)

2 Eyal Weizman. "The Politics of Verticality" openDemocracy (2002), Accessed December 9th, 2015, https://www.opendemocracy.net/ecology-politicsverticality/article_801.jsp

Fig. 2.21 *Invisible Borders. Composite view depicting differing conditions on Abu Tor st. East Jerusalem. The image on the top is taken at the top of the hill that comprises the neighbourhood and is home to Jewish Israelis. In contrast, the image on the bottom is taken, on the same street, closer to the bottom of the hill — which is a Palestinian community.*

What Eyal Weizman, elucidates here is the predominant spatial condition which exists at the macro - territorial scale of the conflict. However, this phenomena and its consequences, exist at multiple scales — especially the urban. The localized manifestations of this phenomena have come about through the translation of territorial logics onto the scale of the city, which I have deemed the transduction[3] of borders, have influenced the implementation of planning strategies that continue to scar Jerusalem and its urban reality. This is to say that urban space has been designed to sustain a particular form of Israeli sovereignty and control, ultimately influencing the cities composition and development. Abstractly, this is representative of the processes by which the Israeli State Apparatus has attempted to maintain Jerusalem as its capital, in its current form — the singular capital of the Jewish state. This process which, contrary to the rhetoric surrounding Jerusalem's political unification, has effectively created a condition of self supporting division along Jerusalem's ethnic strata, in order to promote the management of an ethnic conflict at an urban scale. This has turned the normative landscape of the city into a negotiation of several invisible border conditions, marking the territories between the cities ethnic communities. Conversely, while this division allows for increased control over ethnic groups and their interactions, it allows for the emergence of further conflict rooted in ethnographic inequity. As a result Jerusalem's ethnically included (primarily Jewish Israelis, although non-Palestinian citizens would fall into this category) and its excluded (Palestinian citizens, and other ethnic minorities such as the Bedouin or Druze), remain embroiled in a constant struggle, which threatens to tear the city apart at its seams. Conceptually, this reveals the inherent flaw of the state's strategy, whereby the attempts made by the Israeli State Apparatus to sustain its current form consequently allow for its own unraveling. To Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, the State Apparatus exists as a duality in singular form, a reactionary system defined by its dualistic nature.

George Dumezil, in his definitive analyses of Indo-European mythology, has shown that political sovereignty, or domination, has two heads: the magician - king and the jurist priest. Rex and flamen, raj and Brahman, Romulus and Numa, Varuna and Mitra, the despot and the legislator, the binder and the organizer. Undoubtedly, these two poles stand in opposition term by term, as the obscure and the clear, the violent and the calm…But their opposition is only relative; they function as a pair in alternation, as though they expressed a division of the One or constituted in themselves as a

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3 See Section 01, page 33, for a note on the use of this term.
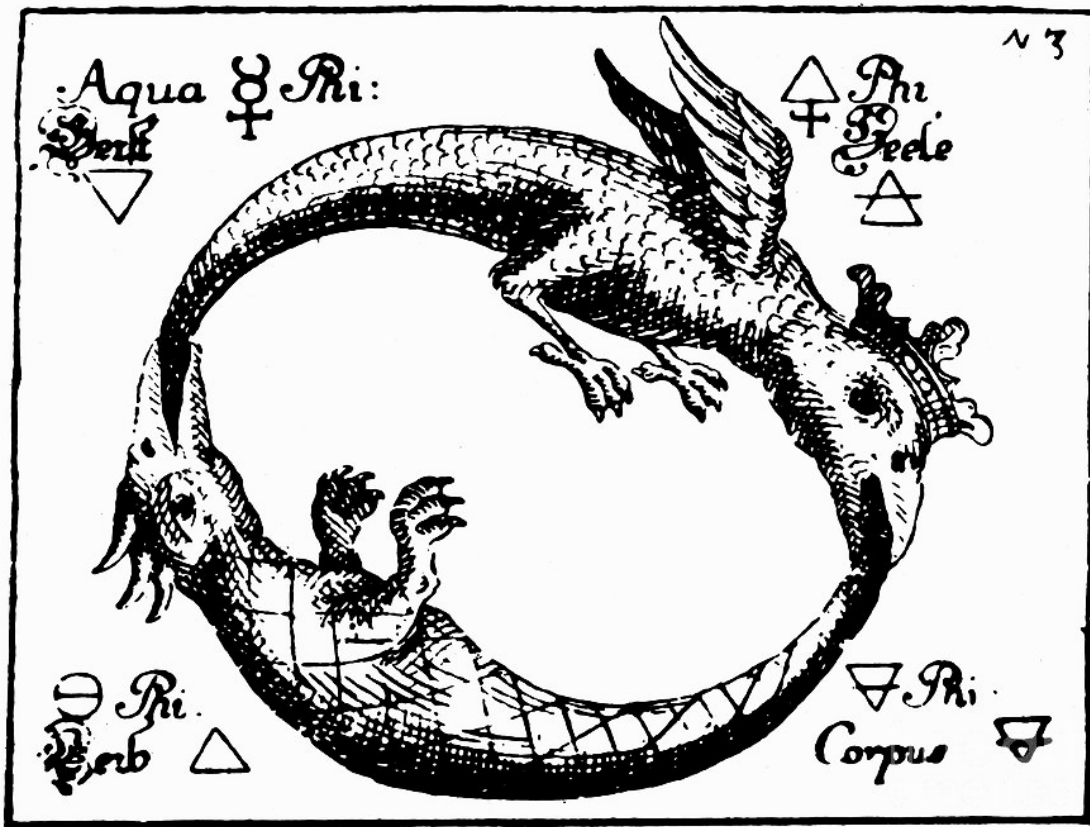
Fig. 2.22 *Two serpents seize each others tails to form an ouroboros, the self cannibalizing snake — a symbol of eternal recurrence and self perpetuation.*

sovereign unity. At once antithetical and complementary, necessary to one another and consequently without hostility, lacking a mythology of conflict: a specification on any one level automatically calls forth a homologous specification on another…[4]

What this passage reveals is the inherent nature of a State Apparatus, its existence being predicated on a system of cause and effect — two oppositional, yet complimentary, forces in constant negotiation. However, what happens when that dualism no longer exists? What happens when the legislator becomes the despot, when the two heads become one? Continued attempts to control the demographic balance of the city, and both the movement and interaction of its populations (through the development and implementation of settlements, the separation wall and checkpoint infrastructures) under the pretenses of national security, perpetuates the degeneracy of the State Apparatus. In effect, the state has created a condition wherein any strengthening of its security measures, through spatial manipulation and urban design, render it a repressive regime as opposed to a solely defensive one— irrespective of any real necessity of a 'security' increase. This is due to the fact that these measures seek to actively change social conditions, and relationships, as a form of defense — effectively classifying any Palestinian as a potential enemy regardless of their militant status. These 'spatialized' security measures are intended to directly manipulate and alter the daily lives and spatial freedoms of those who encounter them, based on a rationale grounded in ethnic exclusion. However, while some of these strategies can be understood to have emerged out of a paranoia drawn from past acts of violence, at the time of writing Jerusalem has experienced a renewed outbreak of violent acts against Israeli citizens in a relatively consistent stream of knife attacks, vehicular attacks, and acts of brutality. Thus, acts of violence continue to plague the Holy City (despite its 'preventative' infrastructures) and the tightening of the security regime has, frustratingly, instigated further acts of terror. Thus, as these infrastructures and urban practices take root, and strengthen, the credibility of the State as a democratic institution weakens, due its current form is predicated on the active suppression of an entire population. Therefore, in Jerusalem the State Apparatus has transformed into its own threat — becoming an ouroboros caught in the processes of self - cannibalization.

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4 Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus Capitalism and Schizophrenia,* 351.

Fig. 2.23 *Optical Borders. A view of an Orthodox Jew reading whilst facing the Mountain of Olives and the Palestinian neighbourhood of Silwan.*

Fig. 2.24   *View taken from the perspective of the man in prayer, looking down the hill into Silwan. Seen here is a Palestinian boy on his donkey, a horse trailing closely behind him along a dirt path. I call this an 'optical border' as the city's topography has been used to visually separate different ethnic communities from each other, and from anyone who views the city 'at a glance'. When one looks closer, radically different worlds exist at different topographical elevations.*

Fig. 2.25 *Aerial depicting the relationship between the route of 'Road 60', the former Green Line, the Separation Wall, and suburban developments. In addition a connection is made between Qalandia Checkpoint and Musrara (the site of the design). These two sites are literally connected along the route of Road 60, which, in itself, acts as a type of border; however, each of these sites also acts as a form of 'crossing' as well.*

Conversely, while this condition may seem to be self perpetuating, with little hope of a solution due to Israel's continued utilization of these strategies and resultant increases in Palestinian aggression, we must understand that the current scenario is inextricably related a lack of desire to modify the forms of Jerusalem's occupation and development; as this would equate to a relinquishment, or decrease, in state sovereignty. It is Jerusalem's urban experiences that enforce current forms of state control — the political and social relationships that exist, or don't exist, between the cities ethnic communities are mediated through architecture and urban infrastructure. The most banal elements of its urban composition, namely streets, freeways, rail lines and both parking and vacant lots, hold some of the most vital roles in maintaining Jerusalem's present condition. These elements, in any context, have the capacity to both connect and divide — their arrangement either mediating or enforcing boundaries between communities. However, after the Six Day War, the Israeli state attempted to create cohesion out of the 21 years of division that resulted from the events of 1948 — either known as the War of Independence to the Israelis or the 'Nakba' (simply translated as 'the disaster') to the Palestinians. However, what forms of cohesion did they aspire towards, and who was to be brought into the fold? The city strategically developed along major infrastructural corridors routing themselves initially along the path of the 'Green Line', the former border between Israeli and Jordanian controlled space delineated after the War of Independence. However, while the formal border may have been dissolved, its trace would remain, being replaced by a system of freeways, most notably 'Road 60', which would work to connect the string of outlying suburban Jewish neighbourhoods to the city centre.

Thus, with the removal of formal political borders came the proliferation of invisible ones, unseen lines in the urban fabric that marked the very real division of people. The articulation of these borders relies on the definition of edge conditions between communities, utilizing the capacity of urban infrastructure, and the liminal voids it creates. However, it is not the line of the edge, nor the space of the void that determines its effectiveness in this regard. Rather, the true translation of border logics onto the scale of the city relies on the subjective spatial experience of its edge conditions, and the moments of transition across them. Which is to say, that interactions with these edges and voids support subjective perceptions of the space of the 'other'[5], due to the capacity of the built environment to affectively influence our understanding of urban space. Such interactions with difference,

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5 'The Other' refers to either Palestinians or Israelis, and the constructed perceptions they build about themselves influenced by their lack of interaction.

Fig. 2.26 *Aerial depicting the new form of internal division caused by Road 60 (including its secondary connections to suburban developments), and the resultant territorial relationships created. The area shown extends from the Old City in the south to Qalandia in the north.*

Fig. 2.27 *Aerial depicting the territorial relationship created by the former 'Green Line', overlayed over a current image of the city as a comparison to Fig. 3.7. The area shown extends form the Old City in the south to Qalandia checkpoint in the north.*
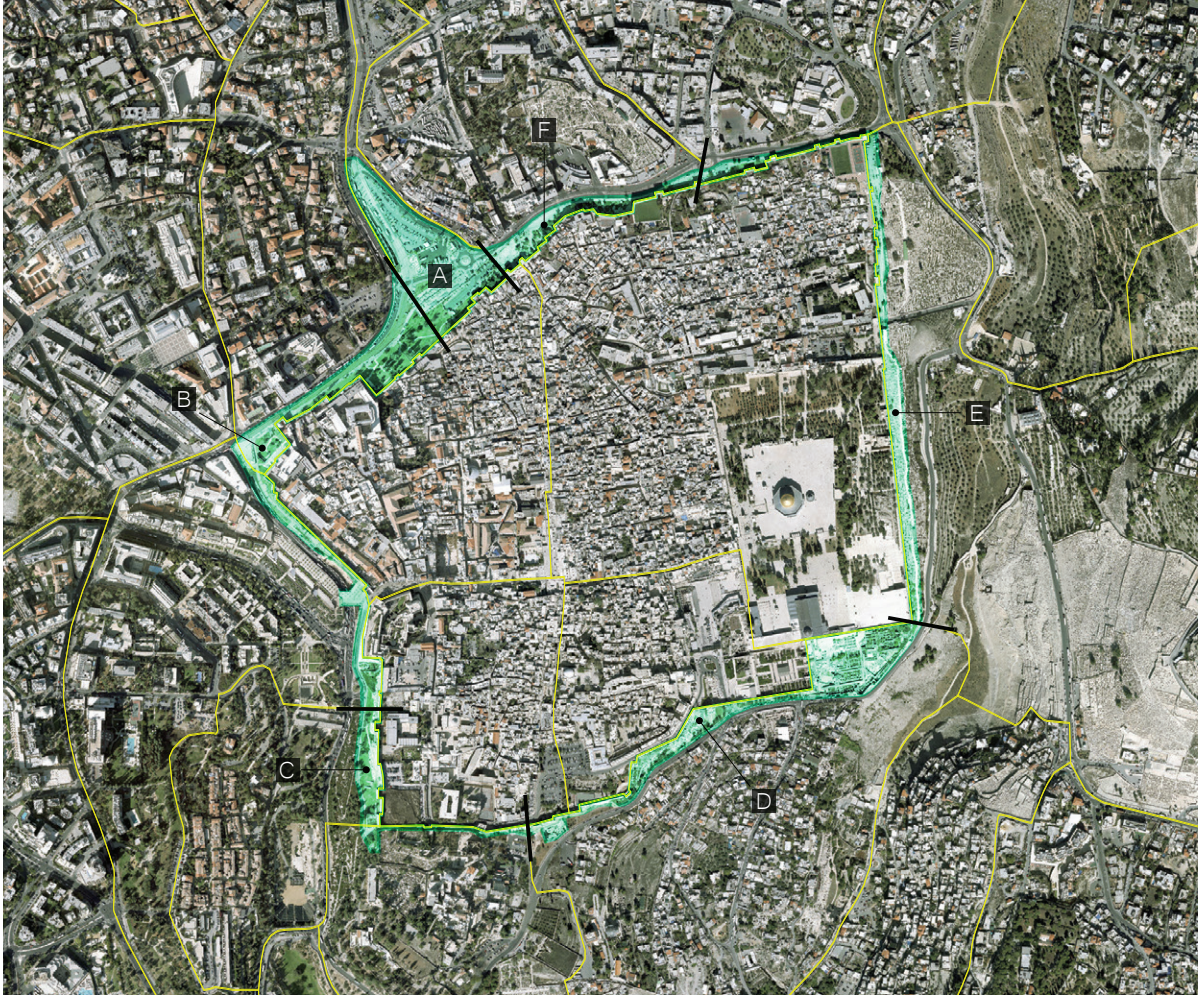
Zone **A :**   **Adjacencies:** Musrara West, Musrara East, Old City (Christian Quarter)
                 Edge Condition: Residential / Commerical   **Demographic:** Arab (Muslim, Christian), Jewish

Zone **B :**   **Adjacencies:** Musrara West, Mamilla, City Center, Old City (Christian Quarter)
                 Edge Condition: Residential / Commerical   **Demographic:** Arab (Christian), Jewish

Zone **C :**   **Adjacencies:** Yemin Moshe, Mount Zion, Old City (Armenian Quarter)
                 Edge Condition: Residential / Parkland   **Demographic:** Christian (Armenian), Jewish

Zone **D :**   **Adjacencies:** Ir David, Silwan, Old City (Jewish Quarter)
                 Edge Condition: Residential / Parkland   **Demographic:** Arab (Muslim), Jewish

Zone **E :**   **Adjacencies:** Mountain of Olives, Alsawana, Bab al Zahara Old City (Muslim Quarter)
                 Edge Condition: Residential / Commerical   **Demographic:** Arab (Muslim), Christian, Jewish

Zone **F :**   **Adjacencies:** Musrara East, Old City (Muslim Quarter)
                 Edge Condition: Residential / Commerical   **Demographic:** Arab (Muslim)

Fig. 2.28   *A study of the public space surrounding the Old City and its urban adjacencies. The edges of the different neighbourhoods surrounding it create six distinct zones out of this area. As each of these neighbourhoods terminates at the wall of the Old City. If we accept the argument that the edges of these communities operate as 'invisible borders' then this division of space surrounding the Old City reveals an interesting urban condition that roughly correlates to the use of this public environment, and interestingly the security presence there.*

Heavily Used, Not Maintained, Dirty, High Security

Moderate Use, Low Maintenance, Noticeable Security

Moderate Use, Average Maintenance, Average Security

Low Use, Well Maintained, Low Security

Light Use (Circulation), Clean, Highly Maintained (Image), No Security (Personnel)

1   City Hall

2   Notre Dame Monastery

3   Market / Small Shops / Cafes

4   Bus Terminal (Palestinian)

5   Temporary Market / Damascus Gate Amphitheatre

6   Shops / Commercial Edge

7   Police Station - Primary

8   Rockefeller Museum (Formerly Palestinian Archaeological Museum)

9   Muslim Cemetary

10 Archaeological Site

11 Ir David Entrance (Archaeological Site)

12 Mount Zion

13 Teddy Park / The Mitchell Parks & Gardens

14 Mamilla Mall (High End Commerical / Residential)

Fig. 2.29 *This diagram studies the quality and use of the public space surrounding the Old City, and the major points of attraction in each previously defined "zone". The analysis reveals an inverse relationship to the use and maintenance of these spaces. Which is to say that the higher the use the less it is maintained, and the higher the security presence is there. Interestingly, the higher used spaces correlate to areas where the demographic is primarily Arab (Muslim, Christian). This is due to the fact that these spaces represent some of the only public environments for these communities.*

57
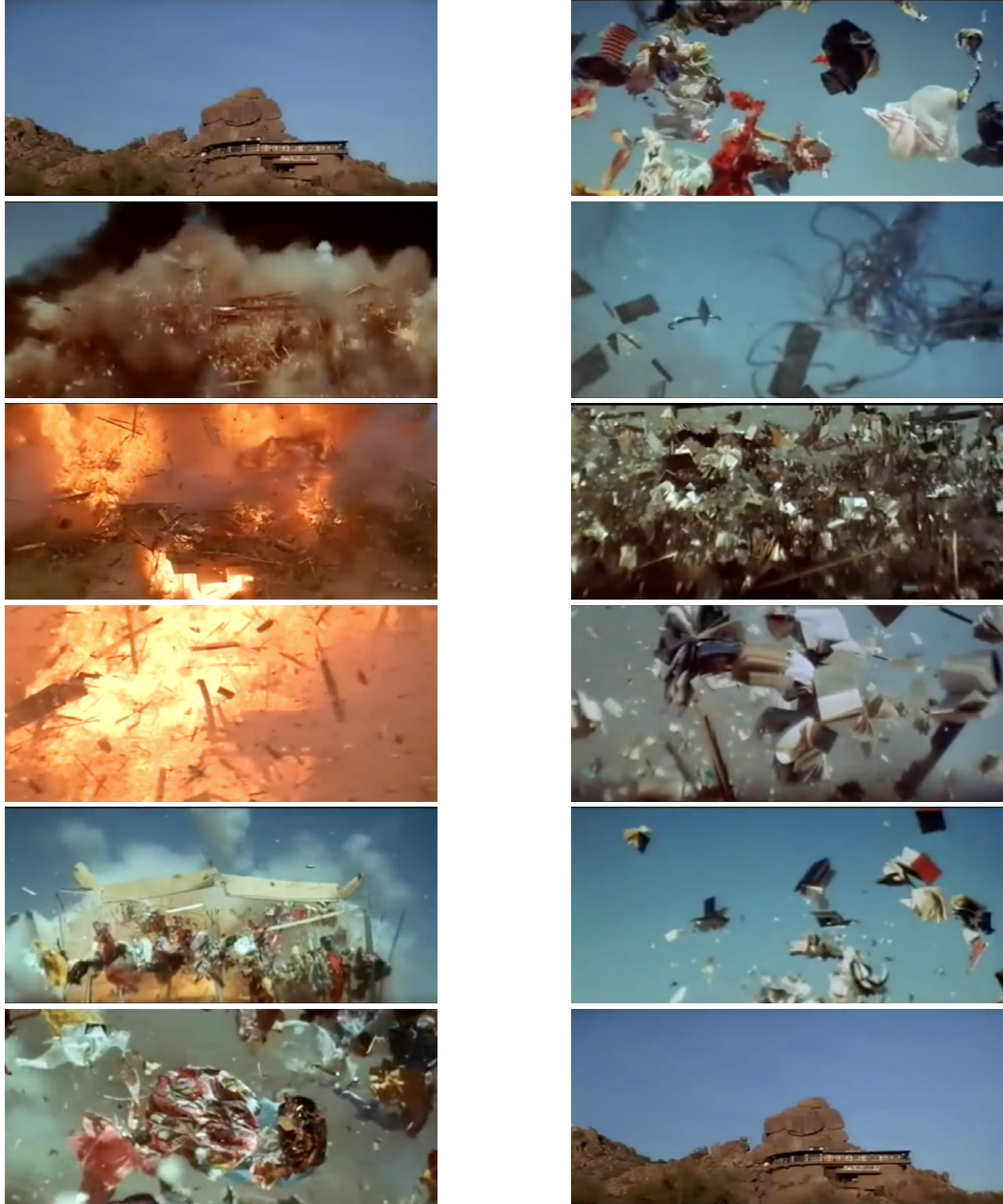
Fig. 2.30 *Stills taken from the final scene of Michelangelo Antonioni's, Zabriskie Point. To the author, these images are evocative of the processes by which the 'cohesive whole' of the city is, in reality, composed of several different elements and relationships. An understanding of the city as a composition and arrangement of these elements (as an assemblage) is conceptually critical to re-imagining the role of public space within Jerusalem.*

define the city's present urban experience, ultimately enforcing the disparity between East and West Jerusalem.

A study of the city's communities, both Arab and Jewish, reveals several distinct realities, some of connection and cohesion and others of fragmentation and isolation. Jerusalem, as a singular urban agglomeration, simply does not exist — Jerusalem is a city of edges, boundaries, fragmented realities, and oppositional narratives.

One should remember that the 'unified city' of Jerusalem is composed of: Jerusalem the sacred and Jerusalem the profane, heavenly Jerusalem and worldly Jerusalem, the Jerusalem of maps and the Jerusalem of neighbourhoods… Jerusalem without running water or sanitation and Jerusalem of exclusive housing compounds, Jerusalem of refugee camps and Jerusalem of expropriated lands, Jerusalem of fantasy and Jerusalem of harsh and sometimes bloody reality, Jerusalem of the secular and Jerusalem of the ultra- Orthodox, Jerusalem of the Jewish settlers and Jerusalem of the Palestinians…[6]

Thus in order to understand Jerusalem, and design for it, we must view the city as an assemblage. Philosophically, the assemblage is a multiplicity of connections, relationships and relativities. Nothing is cohesive, and yet nothing is individual. It represents a system of infinite variability and metamorphic possibility. Nothing is determinate in this understanding of reality, given that the assemblage, and its character, can be modified through new connections and relationships to other bodies which,in turn, are a part of their own assemblages. Interestingly, this offers a conceptualization of society that allows us to circumvent the mire of a seemingly monolithic political body, and its manipulations of physical space. Claire Colebrook in her book, Understanding Deleuze, describes the assemblage as follows:

'All life is a process of connection and interaction. Any body or thing is the outcome of a process of connections. A human body is an assemblage of genetic material, ideas, powers of acting and a relation to other bodies. A tribe is an assemblage of bodies. Deleuze and Guattari refer to 'machinic' assemblages, rather than organisms or mechanisms, in order to get away from the idea that wholes pre-exist connections' (Deleuze & Guattari 1987, p. 73). There is no finality, end or order that would govern the assemblage as a whole; the law of any assemblage is created from its connections. So the political State, for example, does not create social order and individual identities; the State is the effect of the assembling of bodies. There is no evolutionary idea or goal of the human which governs the genetic production of human bodies; the human is the effect of a series of assemblages:

6 Ariella Azoulay, "The Spectre of Jerusalem", in *The Next Jerusalem : Sharing the Divided City,* ed. Michael Sorkin and Ghiora Aharoni, 320-337 (New York, N.Y.: New York, Monacelli Press, 2002) 320.

Name: Sheik Jarra
Area: 0.4 km2
Demographic: Arab

Name: Maalot Dafna
Area: 0.38 km2
Demographic: Jewish (Israeli) Haredi (North American)

Name: Arzei Habira
Area: 0.08 km2
Demographic: Haredi

Name: Shmuel Hanavi
Area: 0.12 km2
Demographic: Haredi

Name: Bukharim Quarter
Area: 0.24 km2
Demographic: Jewish (Uzbekistan)

Name: Beit Yisrael
Area: 0.21 km2
Demographic: Haredi

Name: Shomrei Rachomot
Area: 0.04 km2
Demographic: Haredi

Name: Christian Quarter
Area: 0.18 km2
Demographic: Christian (Arab, Eastern, Western)

Name: Geula
Area: 0.1 km2
Demographic: Haredi

Name: Zichron Moshe
Area: 0.16 km2
Demographic: Haredi (continues to the west)

Name: Musrara (West)
Area: 0.21 km2
Demographic: Jewish

Name: Mea Shearim
Area: 0.07 km2
Demographic: Jewish (Orthodox)

Name: City Center (East)
Area: 0.14 km2
Demographic: Jewish

Name: Armenian Quarter
Area: 0.13 km2
Demographic: Christian (Armenian Orthodox)

Name: City Center
Area: 0.76 km2
Demographic: Jewish (Secular, Haredi) (continues to the west)

Name: Shaconat Hachavshim
Area: 0.14 km2
Demographic: Jewish

Name: Mamilla
Area: 0.26 km2
Demographic: Jewish

Name: German Colony
Area: 0.34 km2
Demographic: Jewish (Formerly: Templer, Christian Arab)

Name: Baka
Area: 0.75 km2
Demographic: Jewish (Formerly: Christian Arab)

Name: Mount Zion
Area: 0.17 km2
Demographic: N/A (Christian, Muslim, Jewish)

Name: Talpiyot
Area: 0.73 km2
Demographic: Jewish (continues to the south)

Name: Talbiya / Komemiyut
Area: 0.66 km2
Demographic: Jewish (Formerly: Christian Arab) (continues to the west)

Name: Yemin Moshe
Area: 0.13 km2
Demographic: Jewish

Name: North Talpiyot
Area: 0.27 km2
Demographic: Jewish (continues to the south)

Fig. 2.31 *Diagram depicting the neighbourhoods surrounding the Old City as they are actually experienced — as individual fragmented urban islands as opposed to the cohesive whole described in the political rhetoric concerning Jerusalem. Each page is laid out as 'East' (left page) and 'West' (right page).*

Name: Wadi al - Joz
Area: 0.53 km2
Demographic: Arab
(Muslim)

Name: American Colony
Area: 0.18 km2
Demographic: Christian

Name: Alsawana
Area: 0.44 km2
Demographic: Arab
(Muslim)

Name: Kiryat HamemShala
Area: 0.11 km2
Demographic: Jewish
(government district)

Name: Musrara East
Area: 0.24 km2
Demographic: Arab (Muslim)

Name: Bab al Zahara
Area: 0.3 km2
Demographic: Arab (Muslim)

Name: Mount Scopus
Area: 1.53 km2
Demographic: N/A - University
(continues to the south east)

Name: Muslim Quarter
Area: 0.44 km2
Demographic: Arab (Muslim)

Name: Silwan
Area: 0.36 km2
Demographic: Arab (Muslim)

Name: Mountain of Olives
Area: 0.64 km2
Demographic: Jewish
(continues to the east)

Name: Jewish Quarter
Area: 0.12 km2
Demographic: Jewish (Secular/Orthodox)

Name: Abu Tor
Area: 0.36 km2
Demographic: Jewish / Arab (Muslim)

Name: Ras el Ahmud
Area: 1.42 km2
Demographic: Arab (Muslim)
(continues to the east)

Name: Jabel Mukaber
Area: 1.11 km2
Demographic: Arab (Muslim)
(continues to the south - east)

Name: Ir David
Area: 0.34 km2
Demographic: Arab (Muslim)

Fig. 2.32 *Musrara. Liminal void formed by Road 60, which acts as a form of 'urban crossing' separating the Palestinian half of the community, from the Israeli one. This space becomes one of the critical sites of engagement in culminating design of this thesis.*

genetic, social and historical.[7]

As Deleuze and Guattari suggest society, and the political state, are the result of a particular assemblage — a social and historic one, an assemblage of bodies. This implies that all political states can be reorganized or reimagined based on new configurations of these bodies, in their forms of interaction and ultimate occupation of space. In this light, what types of spaces afford the formation of new assemblages? Interestingly, it could be argued that the Israeli State Apparatus has taken advantage of this principle through its attempts to use spatial manipulation and urban design to control populations and their interactions, as we have discussed. If we accept the argument that these attempts to maintain certain forms of state control have led to the degeneration of Israels democracy then, can the social effects of urban design and architecture be taken advantage of in the creation of spaces that enforce a renewed democratic consciousness? There has always been a connection between the civic spaces of the city and the character of the society that exists therein — a relationship that has become estranged in Jerusalem.

In his short text, *The Spaces of Democracy,* Richard Sennett explores the role that architecture, and urban design, have in the formation of democracy, and in influencing political processes (interestingly Jerusalem is also his sight of investigation). In the text, Sennett discusses the physical spaces of democracy in Athenian society, the Pnyx (theatre) and the Agora (square / market), which interestingly form a dialectical relationship with one another; each providing something that the other does not, much like the 'two - headed sovereign' mentioned earlier.

Athens from roughly 600 to 350 BC, located its democratic practices in two places in the city, the town square and the theater. Two very different kinds of democracy were practiced in the square and the theatre. The square stimulated citizens to step outside their own concerns and take note of the presence and needs of other people in the city. The architecture of the theater helped citizens to focus their attention and concentrated when engaged in decision - making. [8]

This isn't to say that this thesis, or Richard Sennett, advocate for the development of democratic space utilizing ancient guidelines. However, what is revealed in this study is the physical relationships these spaces have with a civic body and the role they hold in promoting a tangible encounter with social *difference.* Sennett and countless urban planners, ascribe to the principles

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7 Claire Colebrook,*Understanding Deleuze* (Crows Nest, N.S.W. : Allen & Unwin, 2002).

8 Richard Sennett, *The Spaces of Democracy* (Ann Arbor, Mich. University of Michigan, College of Architecture & Urban Planning, 1998) 15.

of difference, in the Aristotelian sense, as being central to the health of a democracy, although it would seem that it must be experienced in a specific way to achieve this.

A democracy supposes people can consider views other than their own. This was Aristotle's notion in the Politics. He thought the awareness of difference occurs only in cities, since the very city is formed by syboikismos, a drawing together of different families and tribes... 'Difference' today seems to be about identity — we think of race, gender or class. Aristotle meant something more by difference; he included also the experience of doing different things, of acting in divergent ways which do not neatly fit together. The mixture in a city of action as well as identity is the foundation of its distinctive politics...But if in the same space different persons or activities are merely concentrated, but each remains isolated and segregated, diversity loses its force. Differences have to interact. [9]

Thus in a city such as Jerusalem, where its modern development has been closely connected to the suppression and control of its differences, Sennett's observations seem to have profound implications. While Jerusalem is teeming with difference, these differences to do not interact. The state expends huge amounts of effort to sustain current conditions of separation, at a great cost. Although, while Jerusalem has a variety of 'agoras' from squares to markets (particularly in the Old City) they do not operate as spaces that bring differences together, but rather as those that help to distinguish one from the other — the Arab suuk, the Jewish market, The Western Wall plaza, or the Haram - al Sharif. Even though these spaces exist, they exist for specific ethnic groups (often due to religious conflicts) which, as has been argued, are not encouraged to interact. Thus, each of these differences are easily distinguishable and read in the daily experience of the city as a strategy of conflict management, as these differences are often the root cause of violence. The *syboikismos* of Aristotle evokes a condition of difference that is not easily compartmentalized, being inherently riddled with conflicting opinions and views. This was the point of public space, and of civic space — it was to act as a medium by which conflict was raised and discussed, forming the foundations of democratic society. However, a critical point that Sennett raises later in the text is the seeming disappearance of the Pnyx, or theatre, from the civic experience. He argues that these spaces not only facilitate encounter but they are designed around the idea of being heard — of engaging and educating the public about the condition of the city's democracy.

Jerusalem, however, is hardly at peace. The spirit of the agora permeated Sarajevo before the civil war, or in a more moderate fashion exits in post-communist Berlin. All of these places have known

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9 Sennett, *The Spaces of Democracy.* 19 - 20.

daily and painful encounters with difference, yet the encounters alone have not bred civic bonds. If these cities have various modern versions of the agora, they lack any effective equivalent of a Pnyx. I do not mean to suggest I suddenly stopped believing in the value of living in difference, but that psychological virtue requires something else to be realized as politics. [10]

The Pnyx, therefore, becomes a critical conceptual point of departure in discussing models of democratic space, as it is an environment of public assembly and engagement — one that works in conjunction with spaces of difference and encounter (the agora). The discursive and educational capacity of the Pnyx seems to be an important aspect of its civic role, rendering it a site of active democracy. This capacity firmly defines one of the qualities of public space as being connected to the active process of society building. It is in this way that public spaces become those of socio-cultural critique and reformation. This educational capacity of public space can be understood as the mechanism by which new societal assemblages can be conceived. It is the opinion of the author, that a condition of political equity in this context, cannot be achieved without first establishing a condition of cultural and ethnic commonality. Moreover, this condition cannot be achieved without the capacity to critique and re-imagine pre-established societal conditions and foster new forms of social imagination. This thesis engages with the notion that there is a form of democratic involvement that must be 'learned' through experience, through the educational capacity of public space. Moreover, the proliferation and access to this knowledge must be understood as a resource to be held in common. In this way, the work imagines a condition of otherness, a plane of possibility wherein these processes can be explored, a collisive space where new social relations and urban interactions can develop. This ultimately positions this work as a polemic, acting as a subversive mechanism against a condition of desperation and inequity, positioning the work to act in opposition to its context — against any pre-established conditions of societal control wherein new possibilities may emerge. In this light, the work attempts to negate the invisible borders of Jerusalem, through a subversion of the liminal voids they create — re-imagining these spaces as sites for the proliferation of an infrastructure of the common, a space of democracy.

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10 Sennett, *The Spaces of Democracy.* 26.

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Fig. 2.33 *Musrara. An analysis of the site conditions, and its surroundings, in attempt to discover how the relationships between high speed roads, rail lines, physical barriers (police fence, stone walls etc.) and urban voids form an 'invisible border' on this site. Photos taken by the author.*

66
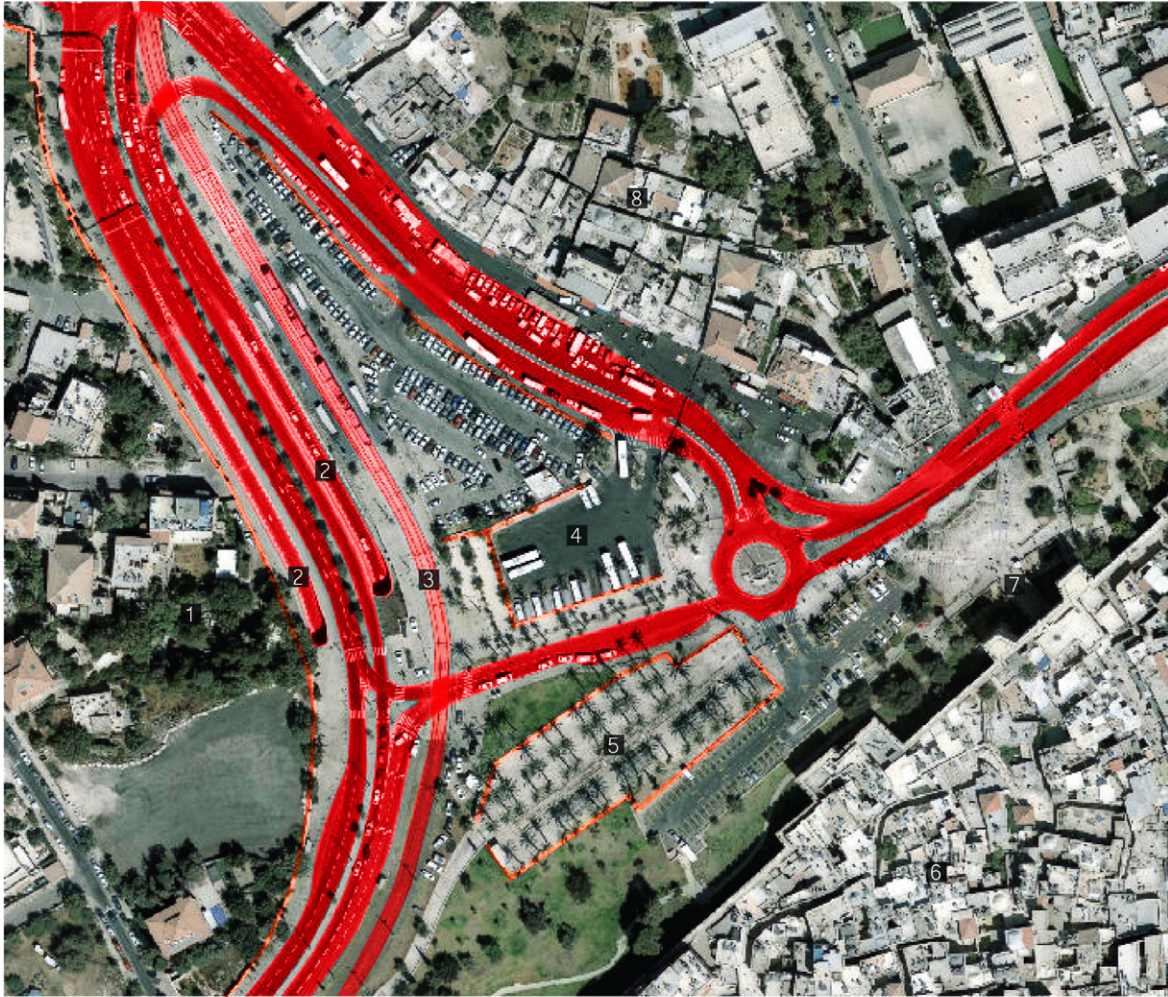
Zone A

1   Musrara West (Jewish Residential)

2   Highway 60 – National Highway / Continues through West Bank

3   Light Rail (Connection to Jewish Suburbs)

4   Bus Terminal (Buses to East Jerusalem – Palestinian)

5   Existing Public Square (Low Use, High Security)

6   Old City (Christian Quarter)

7   Damascus Gate – Primary Entrance to the Muslim Quarter

8   Musrara East – Palestinain Commerical Center

Fig. 2.34 *Site conditions. Existing public square at the south end of the site. This space, while close to the Palestinian downtown and the Damascus gate, is rarely used due to higher levels of police presence. Photo taken by the author.*

Fig. 2.35 *Site conditions. Depicted here is the Palestinian commercial downtown and its porous relationship to the streetscape and traffic. This space is highly congested, active and chaotic. Photo taken by the author.*

TOWARDS THE UNIVERSITY OF THE COMMON

Fig. 3.36 *Representation of the Eruv adjacent to the Damascus gate. Photo taken by the author.*

The Eruv and the Holy Datum

With the proliferation of urban design as a mechanism of control in Jerusalem, new spatial opportunities have to be explored in order to allow a different urban condition to take root. In many ways a 'new ground' must be established to accommodate the emergence of a new assemblage (as was explored in the previous section), one unhindered by the effects of any pre-established urban strategy. In his essay, *The Subversion of Jerusalem's Sacred Vernaculars*, Eyal Weizman reveals such an opportunity in the study of the city's religious boundaries, namely the Jewish Eruv. Simply put, the Eruv represents a mechanism by which religious law can reinterpret urban space, and ascribe it with alternate meaning. In brief the Eruv, for religious Jews, is a boundary that redefines the public space it circumscribes, converting it into 'domestic' or private space under Talmudic law. Due to this redefinition, religious laws that govern domestic space, which largely differ from those that regulate the public domain, apply to public space in order to facilitate certain forms of 'work' otherwise prohibited on the Sabbath (such as carrying objects, or walking certain distances). The importance of this lies in the Eruv's capacity to instigate a transformation of the public domain that operates through ones perception of that space and the redefinition of its use — consequently effecting its physical inhabitation.

According to the approach promoted by the Eruv, the potential to generate urban change lies in particularities that are already embedded in the urban status quo. This mode of intervention is revolutionary, but transgressive. If a revolutionary act implies the replacement of one set of laws with another, a transgressive act seeks in the existing legal order its potentials, contradictions, and loopholes. It challenges and manipulates this very stuff to create a new urban reality through the rereading of an existing vocabulary. [1]

Spatial transgression thus becomes a tactical model to bring about urban transformation. Utilizing this logic, in the context of this thesis, the spaces of division embedded in the city, are redefined to promote interaction. Additionally the voids that these spaces leave behind are modified to promote encounter, much like the Agora, thereby ascribing new meaning to these spaces through a redefinition of their use. Conceptually, the Eruv is firmly grounded in the city's section and interestingly, due to a varied

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1 Eyal Weizman, "The Subversion of Jerusalem's Sacred Vernaculars", in *The Next Jerusalem : Sharing the Divided City,* ed. Michael Sorkin and Ghiora Aharoni, 120 - 145 (New York, N.Y.: New York, Monacelli Press, 2002) 125.

Fig. 3.37 *Representation of the Eruv over Musrara. Photo taken by the author.*

occupation of the city based on its topography, the city's section is also a diagram of its division. This is due to the almost exclusive Palestinian inhabitation of valley systems and hillsides, versus an Israeli suburban inhabitation of hilltops. Notwithstanding this condition, the Eruv's sectional engagement with the city becomes essential to its processes of urban transgression by allowing it to bypass any planimetrically expressed conventions of division. The logic of the Eruv, as Weizman discusses, has the potential to conceptually redefine a spatial understanding of Jerusalem, as one of datums.

The location of the heavenly datum line - "the roof of Jerusalem" — the limit above which earthly Jerusalem stops and the heavenly city begins, has been the subject of obsessive theological debates throughout the centuries and between the different religious groups that have inhabited and worshiped in Jerusalem. Defining the heavenly ±00.00 was not purely a theoretical or theological question; indeed, this limit bore a strong planning implication, for it was to become the cap on height that would define the city's vertical growth. Christians found the datum height in the line that follows the horizontal pole of the original wooden cross… Muslims, on the other hand, conceived of the line as the point on the rock from which Muhammad leapt into his nighttime journey to heaven… For the Jews this line, defined by the Eruv, followed the natural topography of the city. The Eruv defines a roof by constituting a boundary. The boundary, which encircles the city, extends one meter above the ground, but signifies a roof twelve meters over that. A complex geometrical shape, stretched like a tent from poles following the height of the topography, defines the roof of the earthly city and ground topography of heaven. The debate of the datum remains one of the most bizarre recordings of religious masterplanning, but when speaking about the section in terms of planning contemporary Jerusalem, the idea of the heavenly datum becomes a serious matter for consideration. [2]

What is made clear in the discussion of Jerusalem, a city steeped in religious history, is that an investigation of these religious vernaculars become matters of serious secular consideration. This is to say that if an elevation of + 12.00 m, according to laws of the Eruv, can be understood as the edge of heavenly space then who gains jurisdiction over the space above that datum line? In a context where religious authorities have an exceedingly large amount of control over the planning and construction of the city, these kinds of questions possess real world potentials in addition to theological importance. In short, such religious datums influence the physical space of the city, and as is described in

2 Weizman, "The Subversion of Jerusalem's Sacred Vernaculars", 139.

Fig. 3.38 *Jerusalem's Old City. An orthodox Jewish man is seen traversing the roofscape above the Armenian Quarter. Photo taken by the author.*

the quote above, represent serious methods by which we can expand our tactics of mediation within the spatial particularities of Jerusalem. To this end, an investigation of 'the roof of Jerusalem', as Weizman describes it, offers an expanded territory of engagement in considering the democratic spaces of the city.

Interestingly the roofscape of Jerusalem, particularly in the Old City, is a highly utilized and accessed urban condition. The use of these spaces emerge out of the extreme density of the Old City, and offer convenient routes of passage across the chaotic terrain below. In this way these roofscapes are in fact separate, distinct environments which act as public spaces in their own right — existing directly over-top private domestic or commercial environments. Whats more, is that the qualities of removal that these spaces evoke, allow them to negate the political and ethnic divisions that are otherwise read in the urban environment below. From the roofs of Jerusalem (exclusive of settlement roofs which are distinctively red and unoccupiable, against the vernacular of the region) lines of division seem to become imperceptible. Interestingly, in certain cases, one may actually be occupying 'heavenly terrain' as they pass over the 12 meter datum line, as described by Weizman earlier. Considering this, such an individual would not be present within the jurisdictional bounds of the 'earthly city', according to Talmudic law. Since Jerusalem is the 'unified capital' of the *Jewish* State (and the Talmud is a Jewish legal/relgious text), where religious authorities play a large role in determining public policy, this phenomena becomes a subversive opportunity in a landscape marked by division. Ironically, it is Jerusalem's religious laws, typically associated as being instigators of conflict[3], that pose a possibility of urban adaptation against that very condition. Thus by utilizing the datum of the Eruv (and its jurisdictional loopholes) and the roof, as a typology of public space, new potentials seem to arise. As such, it is a subversion of the city's holy datums, and the construction of new ones, that offer the potential for new spatial models of active democracy to take root in Jerusalem — it is on this plane (the roof) that a new social assemblage may emerge.

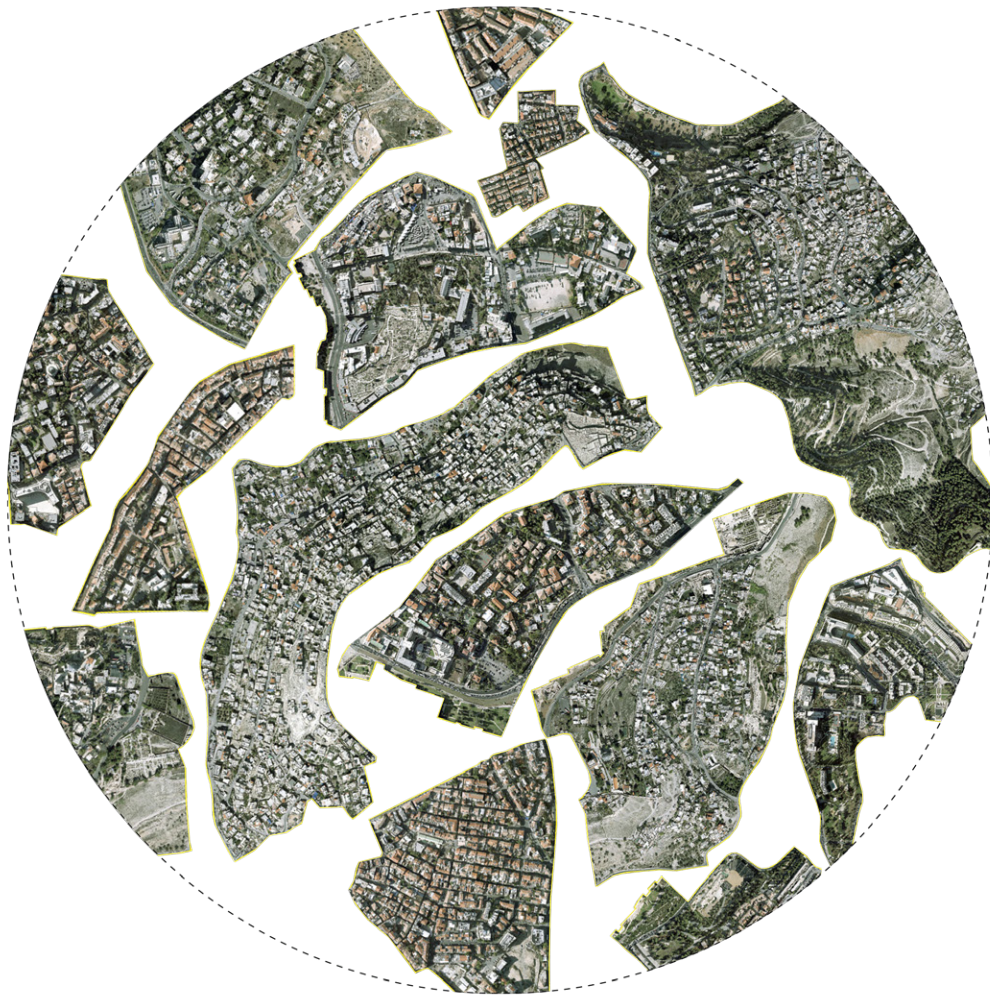3 Armstrong, J*erusalem: One City, Three Faiths.*

Fig. 3.39 *Diagram of a new assemblage. The rearrangement and merging of disparate and isolated communities into a new cohesive form.*

A New Assemblage

The Collage & Fragmented Identity

How can we begin to imagine the formation of this new space of emancipation, societal criticism and redefinition? A vision of utopia to be sure, but one grounded in a contentious reality. This is nothing short of a pursuit of an ideal, and the definition of a space of possibility. For this space to emerge one must cast off the shackles of the political, even though the work is directly grounded in it. It is necessary to disconnect oneself from the violence, distrust, skepticism and hatred that permeates the context in order to remain hopeful. This design can remain an intellectual being, a space of imagination, and it will still serve its purpose. Its reality is what we project into it, its formalization is not a solution but the beginning of a conversation. Abstractly this plane can be understood as the deterritorialization and consequent reterritorialisation[1] of the divided communities of Jerusalem into a new assemblage. A space where society can be disrupted, and reimagined. It is a space that allows for the emergence of new forms of social interaction, which challenge the preconceptions of existence in the Holy City.

The routines of daily life in Jerusalem continually threaten to explode into partisan conflict, into demonstrations and rock throwing, into the deployment of troops and waves of terror…in Jerusalem, there is little common reality upon which citizens can stand and adjudicate their differences. Ordinary lives are suffused with extraordinary significance, radiating the power of collective purposes, irreconcilable and endlessly in conflict. The city is not just a profane backdrop to the daily round, a public instrument for the pursuit of private happiness. It is a symbol of each community's collective identity. [2]

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1 Here the term 'reterritorialization' refers to the term used by Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus.* This term is used in connection with the concepts of 'territorialization' and 'deterritorialization. These processes conceptually define the ways in which everything in life (from biological forces to social ones) can be understood as a series of connections or 'territories'. Whereas deterritorializations are those processes that alter processes of territorialization (sometimes deriving from them) to form something that the original was not. In her book *Understanding Deleuze,* Claire Colebrook uses the example of a tribe (an assemblage of human bodies that form a collective) and its deterritorialization under the rule of a chief or despot (where the act of assembling has led to a condition of dis-empowerment for the collective). Processes of 'reterritorialization' refer to the capacity of any form of life to consequently change or revert itself back to different states and connections. Using the example of the tribe, Colebrook makes this clear by explaining how the tribe can 'reterritorialize' itself by removing the chieftain thereby returning to a condition of equal empowerment in a collective.

2 Roger Friedland, *To Rule Jerusalem,* ed. Richard D. Hecht (Cambridge, England Cambridge University Press, 1996) 3.
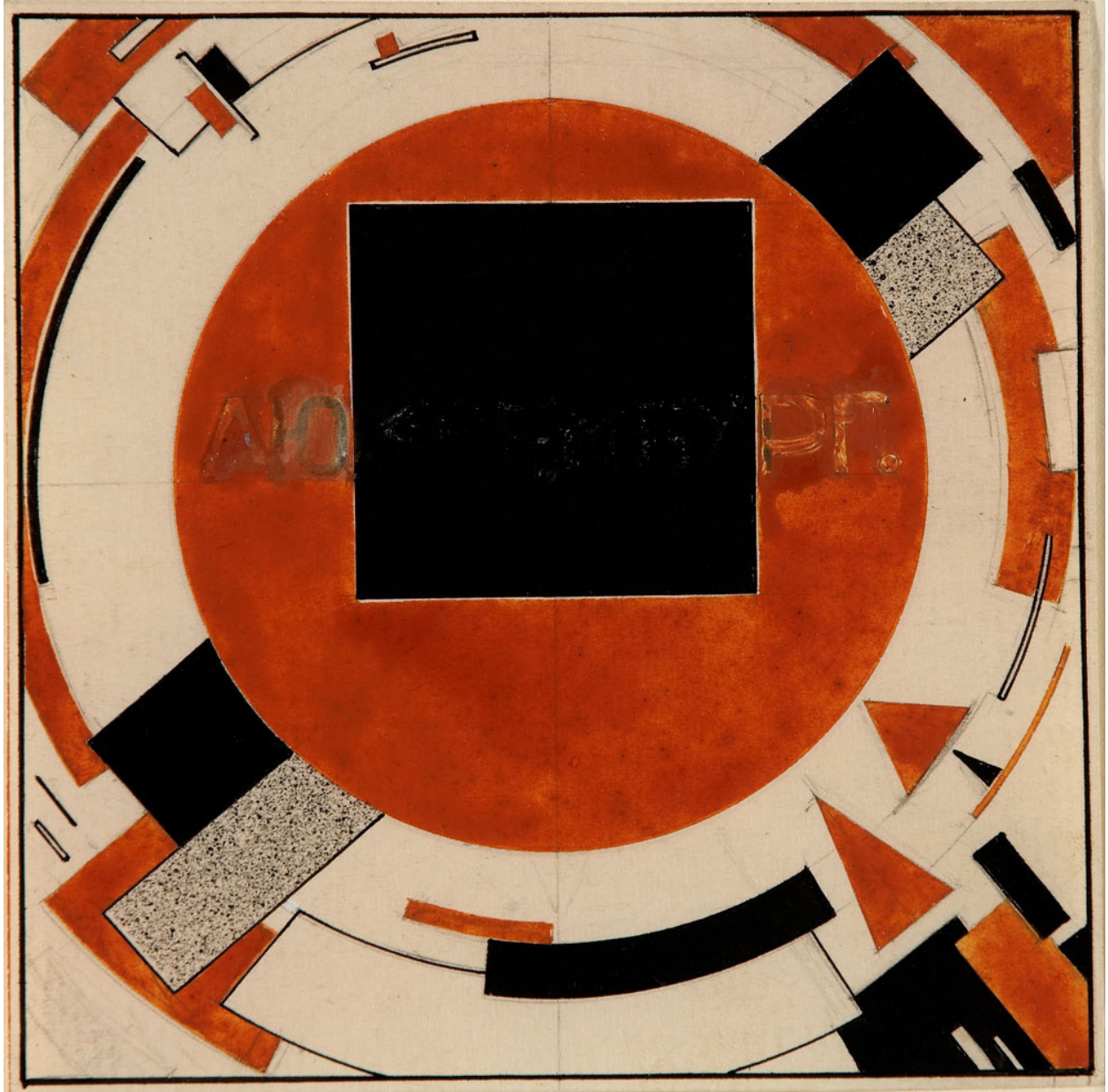
Fig. 3.40 *El Lissitzky, suprematist composition. Monument to Rosa Luxemburg. 1919-21*

Considering the previous quote, a singular collective identity cannot be constructed. Rather, the reality of the city is one that demands a multiplicity of identities. Jerusalem is a place that resists definition, and objectification. Its roots run too deep, and it has witnessed too much. It is a place with deep cultural memory, a city embedded with generations of knowledge, and experience that cannot be denied or simplified into a singular narrative. Thus the democratic consciousness of Jerusalem should reflect this fact, becoming decentralized and variable, and its public spaces should be able to accommodate and express the multitude of conditions that comprise the city.

Belief in local, decentralized democracy has radical political implications. Taken to the limit, such a belief rejects a single description of the good state, or it refuses to define citizenship in terms of rights and obligations applicable to each and every citizen in just the same way. Instead, it argues that differences and divergences will develop in practice. The national global polity will resemble a collage difficult to resolve into a single image... The word 'decentralization' suggests the effort to break up an existing, comprehensive power, or to limit its disciplinary authority, But as de Tocqueville well understood, the process of attacking that central power, breaking it down to ever more local levels, can spin out of control so that ultimately there is no polity left at all… the sheer arousals of the centre are not enough to create an urban polity; the polity requires further a place for discipline, focus and duration. Decentralized polities particularly need such places where people can concentrate [3]

However, as we have seen, Jerusalem already exists as a fragmented city, with multiple urban realities that are forced apart. Richard Sennett, through a reference to Alexis de Tocqueville, describes the potential threats of pure decentralization in the quote above. A decentralized polity, such as Jerusalem already possess multiple 'centers' as defined by the local realities of the neighbourhood. However, there is no place in the city where all ethnic groups come together under equal terms. There is no focus to the public space of Jerusalem, however one singular focus does not represent its reality. Thus a paradox presents itself wherein the pure decentralization (to break down the existing systems of social control that currently influence the city's development and public environments) of public space is not the desired condition, but neither is an all encompassing singularizing public realm. Rather a condition of 'fragmented- cohesion' should be pursued, a space that brings together Jerusalem's multiplicity of realities under a single form wherein each of its differences can be exposed, understood and represented.

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3 Sennett, *The Spaces of Democracy,* 41-42.

Fig. 3.41 *(Above) Arab market in front of the Damascus gate, a center for the Palestinian community and the primary entrance to the Arab quarter of the Old City. (Below) The Western Wall plaza, the centre of Jewish religious and cultural activity in the city. This space is highly secured and access to the square is regulated. Photos taken by the author.*

This logic is related to the notion that current models of isolation and distrust in the Holy City can only be challenged if they are confronted. Jerusalem's public spaces must be able to withstand the unsettling realities that its citizens face on a daily basis, and provide them with the means to interpret them. Which is to say that they must provide the mechanism by which the city's different ethnic groups can develop an understanding of each other, and in a way be 'taught' how to exist together. This, it would seem, is the 'educational' role of public space. In this light the public realm is inherently one of collision, confrontation and instability. It cannot speak to one singular defining narrative, thereby challenging certain practices that interpret the city's history, and cultural importance, from a singularly Jewish stand point. Jerusalem's public spaces must become just that, public — which isn't to say that they are privately owned, but rather that they have lost their ability to be spaces that are held in common amongst all ethnicities and social groups. As such the public spaces of Jerusalem have lost their capacity to be environments that uphold commonalities between people, as the majority of spatial and physical development undergone in the city defines absolute lines of difference that cannot be traversed.

The term "public" signifies the world itself, in so far as it is common to all of us and distinguished from our privately owned place in it... To live together in the world means essentially that a world of things is between those who have it in common, as a table is located between those who sit around it; the world, like every in-between, relates and separates men at the same time. The public realm, as the common world, gathers us together and yet prevents our falling over each other, so to speak. What makes mass society so difficult to bear is not the number of people involved, or at least not primarily, but the fact that the world between them has lost its power to gather them together, to relate and to separate them.[4]

The frustrating reality of Jerusalem is that any confrontation with the city's differences becomes the impetus for more segregation, which is a means of managing ethnic conflict by controlling the interaction of various publics. In contrast to this, a viable public environment must speak to the variety of forces that shape a society — to the assemblages that construct it. In this light public space must allow for radical social criticism in order for it to fulfill its role as a 'society builder'. This space is about relinquishing control, not maintaining it. These are spaces of interaction wherein boundaries are torn down and the other is not only

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4 Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition 2nd ed. (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 51-52.

Fig. 3.42 *Bus terminal and security checkpoint outside of the Western Wall Plaza. This image displays the compartmentalization and control of ethnically specific public environments in the city, due to their ability to instigate non-desired (violent) interactions between publics. This is especially true for the sites of the Wester Wall plaza and the Haram - al Sharif (temple mount) adjacent to it, which is a centre of Muslim religious and cultural activity in the city. The contention emerges wherein this site is also considered sacred to Jewish people, yet all Jews are denied access to the temple mount due to several episodes of violence by my extreme parties (on both sides) when the status quo of these ethnic relationships are challenged, as has been the case for most of Jerusalem's history (as is elucidated in Karen Armstrong book: Jerusalem, One City Three Faiths).*

revealed but also confronted, and hopefully understood. The closest spatial analogue for this would be that of the collage— a singular space composed of individual episodes, each contributing to the experience of the whole.[5] However, what form does it take? Does the Athenian dialectical relationship between the 'Pnyx' and the 'Agora' still hold relevance? Due to the paradoxical conditions of Jerusalem's public spaces (referring to the inability of a singular public environment to express the multiplicity of realities that the city encompasses, but also the necessity of a democratic space to centralize the isolated fragments of the city) a hybridization of these spatial models through the merging of the spaces of active democracy (Pnyx) and those of an encounter with difference (Agora), creates new spatial opportunities. With this understood, if this new form builds upon the spatially transgressive potentials of the roof, as defined by the datum of the Eruv, then the Pnyx and the Agora can come together in a sectionally defined urban form. As an architectural element the roof has the inherent capacity to both create a platform for a variety of public experiences and, at the same time, redefine the landscape underneath it through the provision of fundamental affordances including shade, and protection from the elements. In this way, the presence and function of the roof works to mediate and redefine the conditions of the existing context, allowing for reimagined forms of public interaction to take shape. These spatial strategies are firmly grounded in the notion that public space, in this context, becomes the mechanism by which oppositional communities in conflict can begin to find commonalities through an expression of differences. Thus, a fragmented urbanism emerges, one of varying and relational intensities; becoming a geometric arrangement on a canvas, a suprematist composition — *the University of the Common.*

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5 It should be noted that while the collage is an effective spatial analogue, this only applies to the experience of this new environment. The physical cohesiveness and material uniformity of the space become central in its capacity to both become a center and accommodate the differences transposed upon it.

The University of the Common

When one considers the importance of the datum, and the role of the roof, in this new spatial arrangement an understanding of this space as one of layers emerges. It becomes both a collage of elements in two-dimensional space, and a layering of distinct elements and spatial relationships in sectional, or volumetric space. A layering of points, lines and planes. Points of access, and points of focus. Lines of movement, lines of territorialisation, and lines of flight. Planes of structure, and planes of event, or possibility. The nature of this space is not solely one of higher education, as defined by the title of University. In fact, it can hardly be called an institution. Rather it promotes the education of the city's ethnic communities, not only in matters of the mind but in those of spatial cohabitation. It is a space that affords the questioning of society, but also provides an engagement with it. Here, one must learn how to forget, one must learn how to look beyond the conflict. This is a place that confronts all who enter with a simple fact — that conflict effects people, all of whom share a sense of common tragedy, and reminds them of the inequities created by it. Architecture cannot be the sole remedy to this, but it can allow for alternative possibilities and social trajectories. It can certainly anticipate a new condition, a condition that must be prepared for. If architecture has the capacity to support division its capacity to enforce cohesion and alternate forms of social interaction can be explored.

Interestingly, the project is sited parallel to the wall of the Old City and finds itself adjacent to the Damascus Gate. The Damascus Gate is noteworthy as it acts as a major center for the Palestinian community in Jerusalem, operating as a market place, meeting area, tourist destination, and the primary access point to the Muslim quarter of the Old City (which, as opposed to other areas in the Old City, still very much operates as a densely populated residential environment as opposed to a primarily touristic one). Additionally the Damascus Gate has held a position of importance since its construction by the Suleiman the Magnificent in 1537, on the northern route towards Nablus and then to the Muslim center of Damascus[1] (hence its name). Thus it is the most elaborately ornamented gate in the Old City and has always been a major point of public importance. The wall itself also acts as major tourist attraction and supports a relatively consistent flow of people along its edge (both on its armament and in the park that runs adjacent to it). Moreover, the project interfaces with a series of infrastructural

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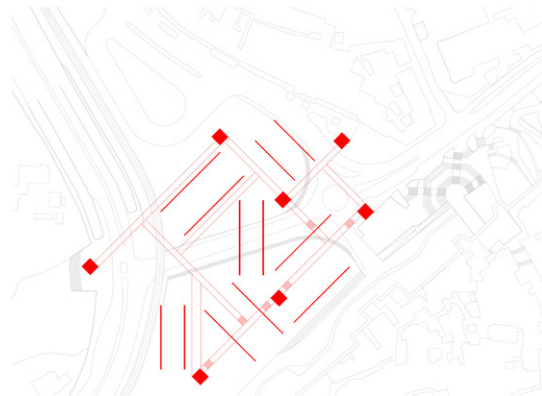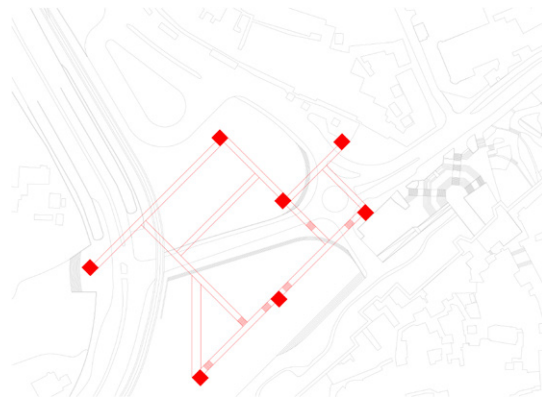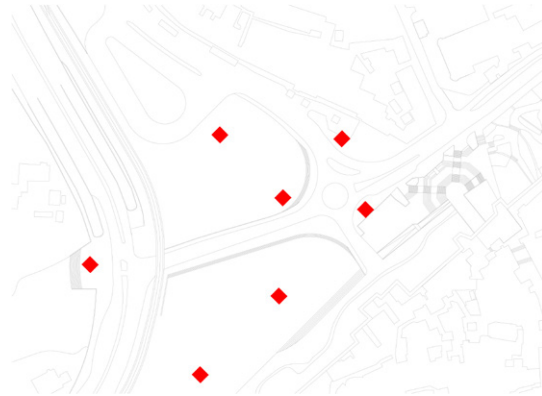1 Armstrong, *Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths.*

Fig. 3.43   *Compositional Diagrams. (From top to bottom) Points (access), Lines (elevated circulation over roads and between cores) Planes (structural piers). In each diagram the subsequent element is added to the composition.*
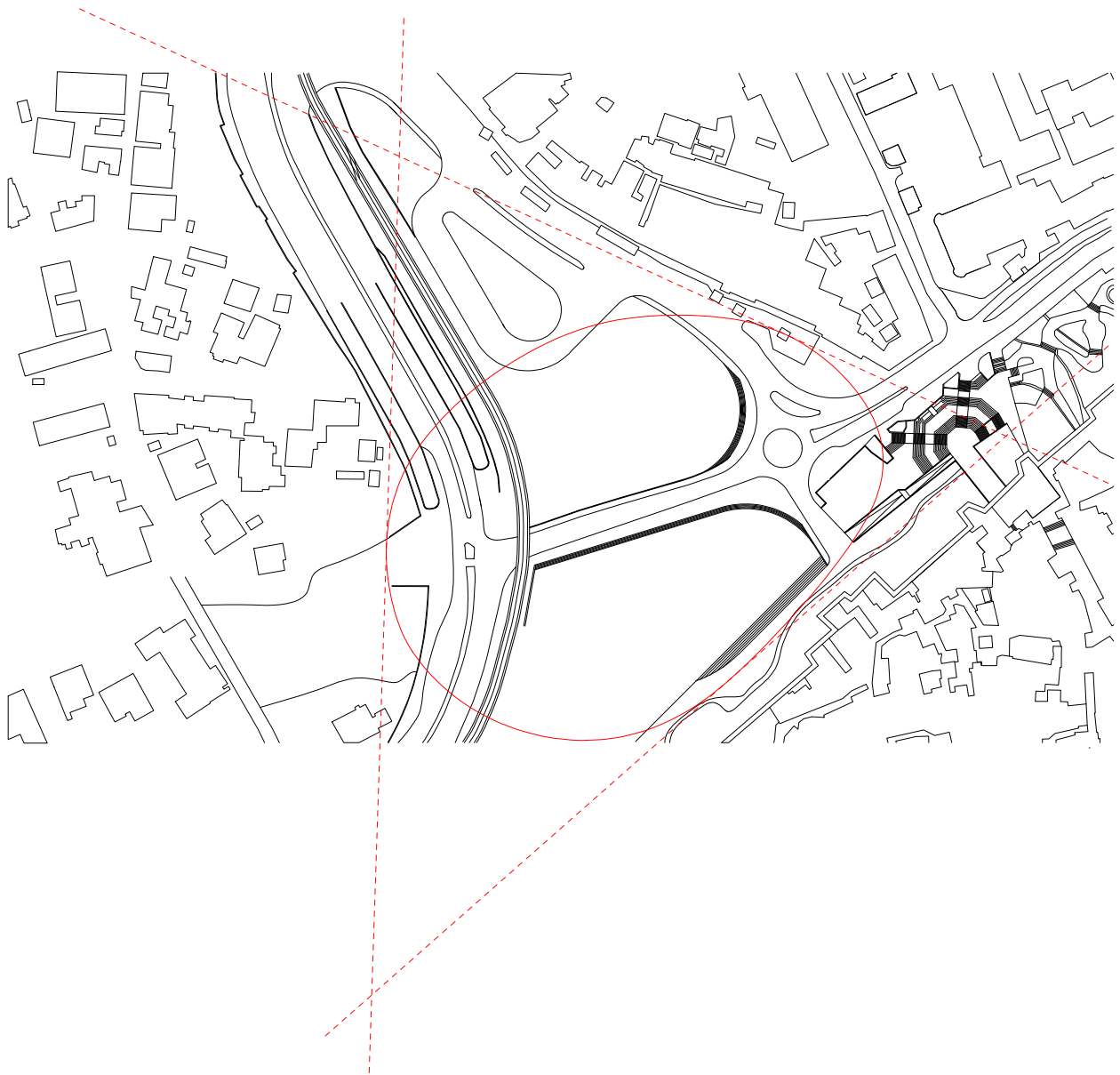
Fig. 3.44 *Diagram depicting the tangential constraints, determined by site conditions used to develop the roofs form.*
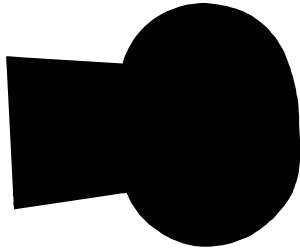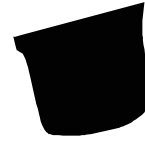
1　　　　　　2　　　　　　3　　　　　　4
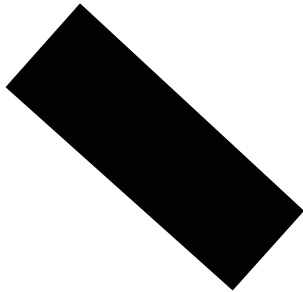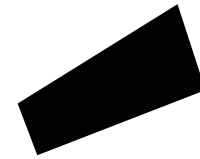
5　　　　　　6　　　　　　7　　　　　　8
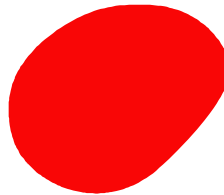
9

1 - St. Peters Square, Rome　　　　　　　　　　　*Religious Assembly*
2 - Yonge & Dundas Square, Toronto　　　　　　*Commercial / Assembly for public entertainment*
3 - Tahrir Square, Cairo　　　　　　　　　　　　*Infrastructural / Site revolutionary assembly*
4- Trafalgar Square, London　　　　　　　　　　*Cultural Assembly (use tied to a cultural institutions)*
5 - Red Square, Moscow　　　　　　　　　　　　*Cultural Assembly / State Spectacle*
6 - Place Pompideau, Paris　　　　　　　　　　　*Cultural Assembly*
7 - Rabin Square, Tel Aviv　　　　　　　　　　　*Political Assembly / Public Forum*
8 - St. Marks Square, Venice　　　　　　　　　　*Commercial / Religious Assembly*
9 - The University of the Common, Jerusalem　　*Political Assembly / Cultural Assembly*

Fig. 3.45 *Mahane Yehuda Market on Shabbat (Friday). Throngs of people buy what they need before the city wide closure for Shabbat later that evening. Stores will not open again until Sunday morning. This market is a 35 minute walk from the site, and almost exclusively serves Jewish shoppers and the Ultra Orthodox communities. All the signage here is in Hebrew, with the exception being English. (Right) The street market approaching the Damascus Gate in the Muslim Quarter. This market serves its adjacent Muslim communities, Hebrew is not spoken here and all signage is in Arabic.*

elements which include: Road 60, a major light rail line which primarily serves Israeli suburban settlements, and a bus station which serves Palestinian communities in East Jerusalem. Lastly, the space spans between two communities, one being a Jewish Israeli residential neighborhood named Musrara, which in the past existed as a 'border community' when it sat on the former Green Line, and the Palestinian commercial downtown otherwise known as Musrara East. Each of these communities exist in quite close proximity but that does not mean they exist cohesively. Musrara East thrives on its connections to the Damascus Gate, and the Muslim neighborhoods adjacent to it, and thus primarily relates itself to these conditions. Conversely, Musrara (West), has stronger ethnic connections to the Jewish Israeli districts adjacent to it, and operates primarily as a residential community, thus giving it little need to interact with its eastern neighbour. This isolation is supported by a segregated transit system, the placement of the highway (Road 60) that runs between them, and the obstacle of a massive parking lot that occupies the space of a 'No - Mans Land' in the former Green Line (see map on page 75). As such the project rests at the convergence of several different conditions existing on the line of the former border, and now on the line of an invisible one rendering it one of the most contentious sites in the city center. Due to its adjacencies and infrastructural connections the site becomes a nexus of activity for several ethnic and social groups ranging from tourists, to settlers and everything in between.

Considering its site conditions, the *University of the Commons* works to mediate these opposing urban experiences by actively traversing, and thereby negating, any pre - established forms of division imposed on the site by the former border and the infrastructural systems that have taken its place. On a programmatic level, the ground plane is re-imagined as a large market space intended to establish a ground connection between the opposing communities by infilling the parking lot and adapting an existing public square parallel to the city wall. The market positions itself in a way that allows it to draw from the high degree of circulation on the site, supported by the shaded environment provided by the roof. Moreover, a library acts as a cultural grounding program, which also occupies the former parking lot, and allows for circulation onto the roof level through its use.[2] While markets do exist in Jerusalem, they do not exist as culturally collisive or inclusive environments, which a market typically offers. This is to say that the city's markets almost

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2 The combination of the market and the civic program of the library is reminiscent of the Athenian agora, and represents an attempt to create a civic environment grounded in an experience of difference and cultural exchange.

exclusively exist to serve either tourist populations, or specific ethnic communities. There is no singular market, or civic space, that brings together all adjacent communities, of varying ethnicity, as a truly engaging one could. Thus the market space attempts, in its layout and scale, to become such an attractor by relating itself to preexisting patterns of informal market conditions that occur in front of the Damascus Gate, and the series of restaurants and cafes that are found along the edge of Musrara East. Lastly the bus station is redesigned to be adjacent to the light rail waiting area, which allows for interaction between the different groups who access these infrastructures (spaces of transit being a typically ethnically collisive environment).

In contrast to the ground plane, which mediates relationships between several complex site conditions the roof offers a space of removal from the chaotic environment underneath, acting as a form of urban sanctuary, occupying the space above the heavenly datum. In addition to its capacity to act as a bridge over the existing site conditions (this is also allowed for through the provision of elevated walkways), the roofscape draws on characteristics of both the Pnyx and the Agora by being composed of lecture theaters (of varying capacities and configurations), a public square, pool, and stadium as well as access to the library which establishes one of several connections to the ground. Additionally large light wells are carved out of the roof slab which not only illuminate the ground below, but are shaped to influence the flow of people around them. Moreover, these distinct episodes are connected by groves of trees, which in some ways act as hypostyle halls, that blend the experience of each programmatic element rendering them one cohesive environment. The arrangement of these elements work to subdivide the overall surface of the roof and create smaller subspaces along its surface, which are further defined by the edges and adjacencies of each compositional element.

The dialectical relationship that exists between the roofscape and the ground plane is reminiscent (metaphorically) of the two headed sovereign and the classical relationship of Athenian spaces of democracy. However this environment distinguishes itself from these concepts in its attempt to influence social reformation, through transgressive urban practices — becoming a plane of possibility wherein new social assemblages may form. This thesis posits that the interaction and blending of these different environments is critical to the transformation of Jerusalem's urban condition, and to the pursuit of a common ground between Israelis and Palestinians.
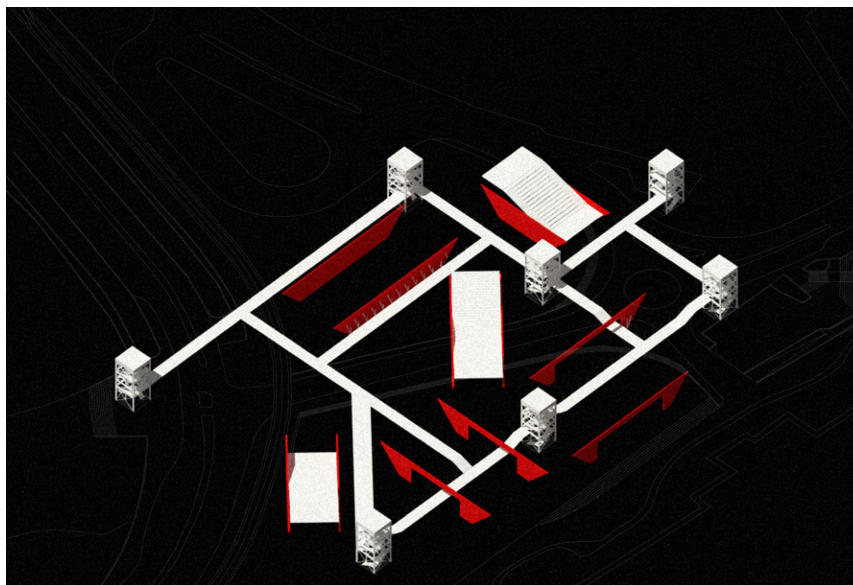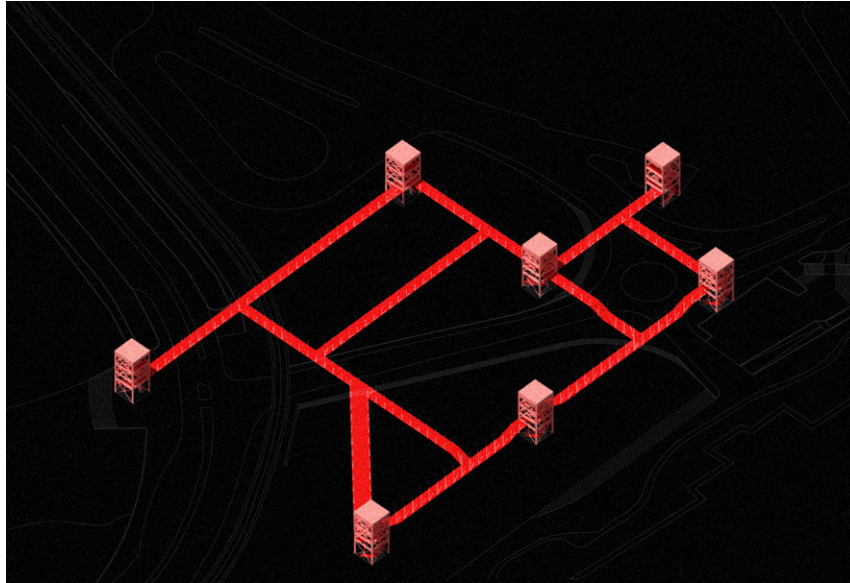
Fig. 3.46 *Isometric diagrams depicting th relationship and placement of each major design element. All new elements are highlighted in red. (From pages 104-107)*
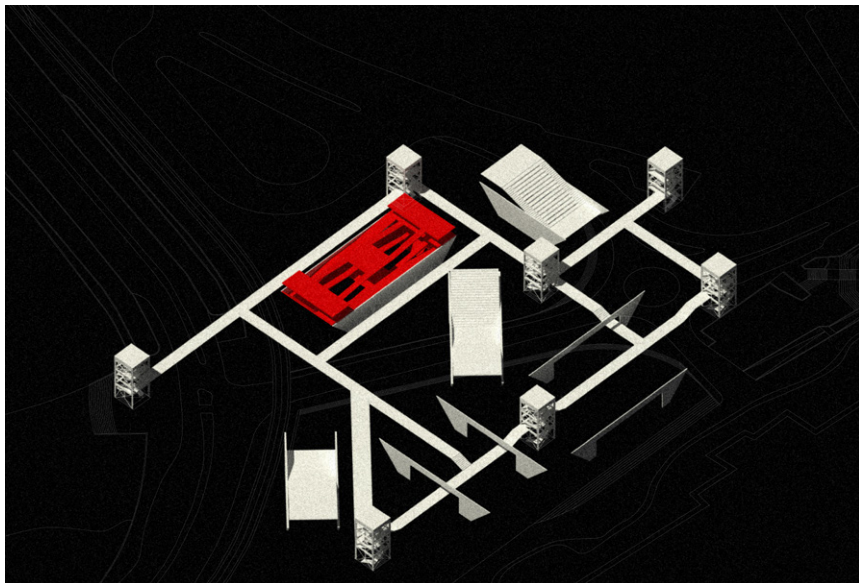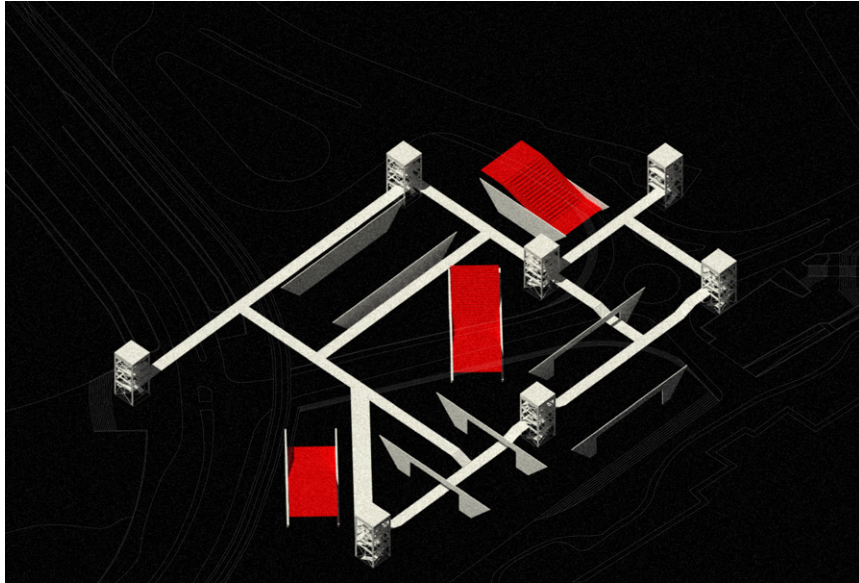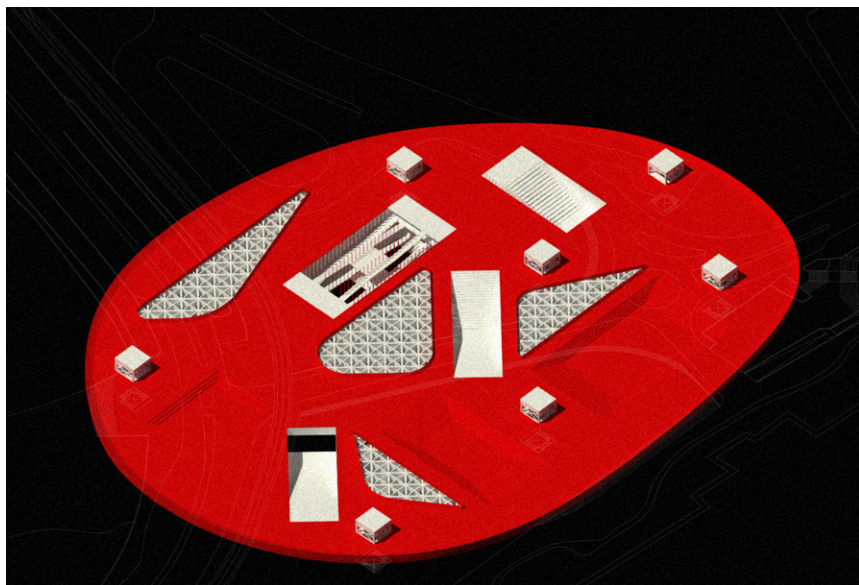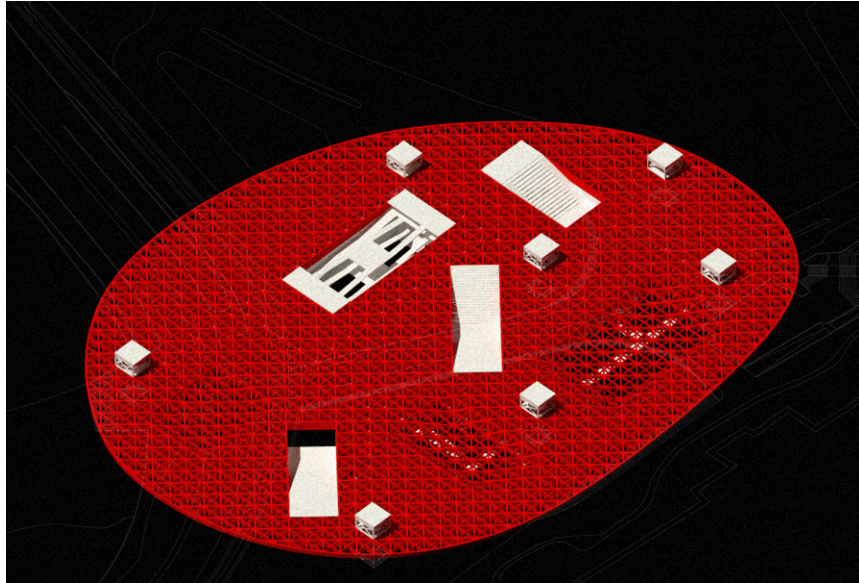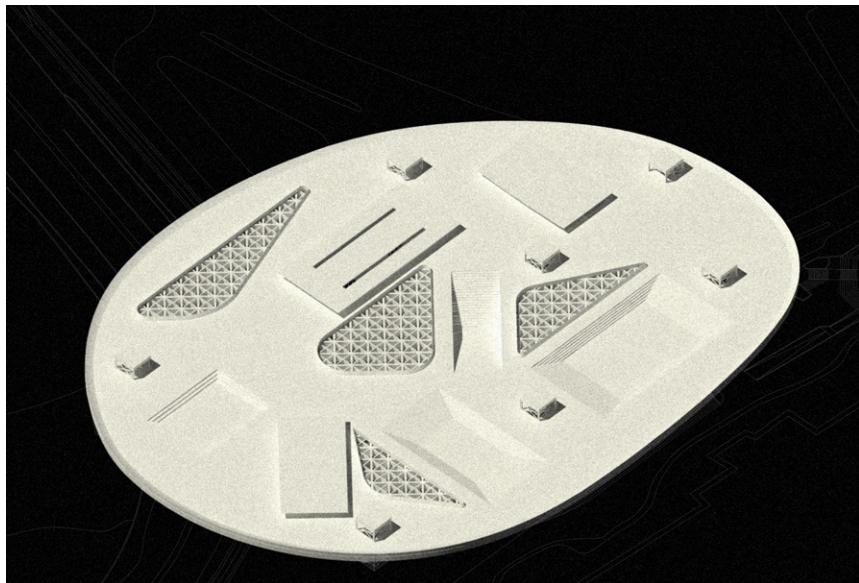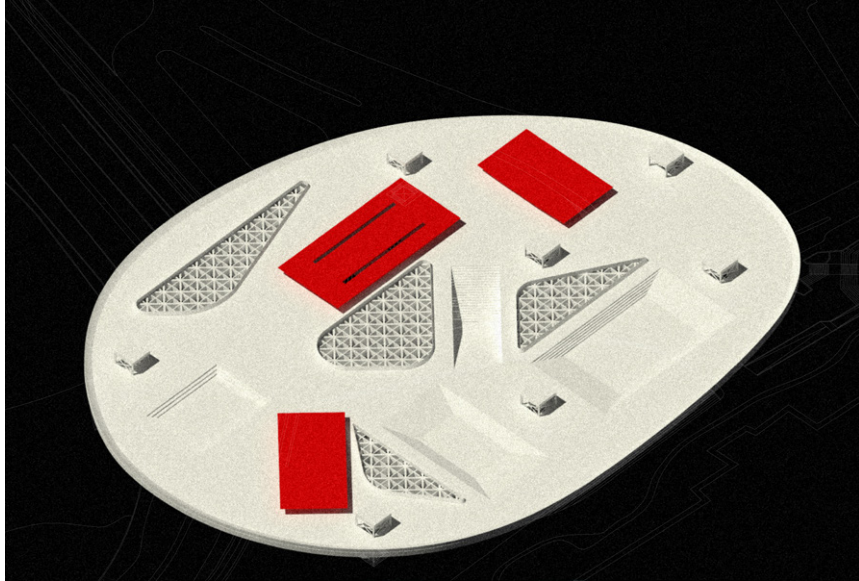
Fig. 3.47 *Ground Conditions. Diagram 01 - Adjacent urban conditions. (1) Musrara East, (2) Musrara West, (3) Old City, (4) Damascus Gate*
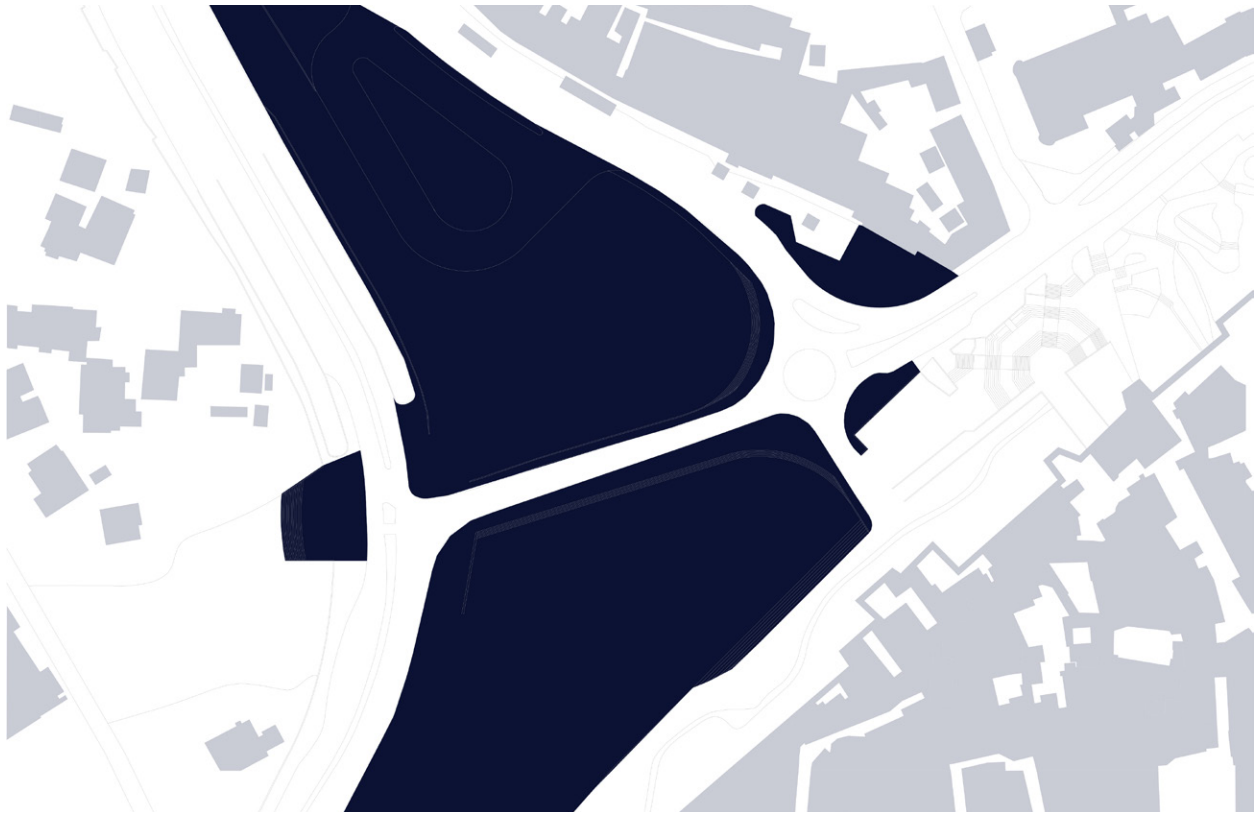
Fig. 3.48 *Ground Conditions. Diagram 02 - Surfaces*

Fig. 3.49 *Ground Conditions. Diagram 03 - Zones (subdivision of surfaces)*
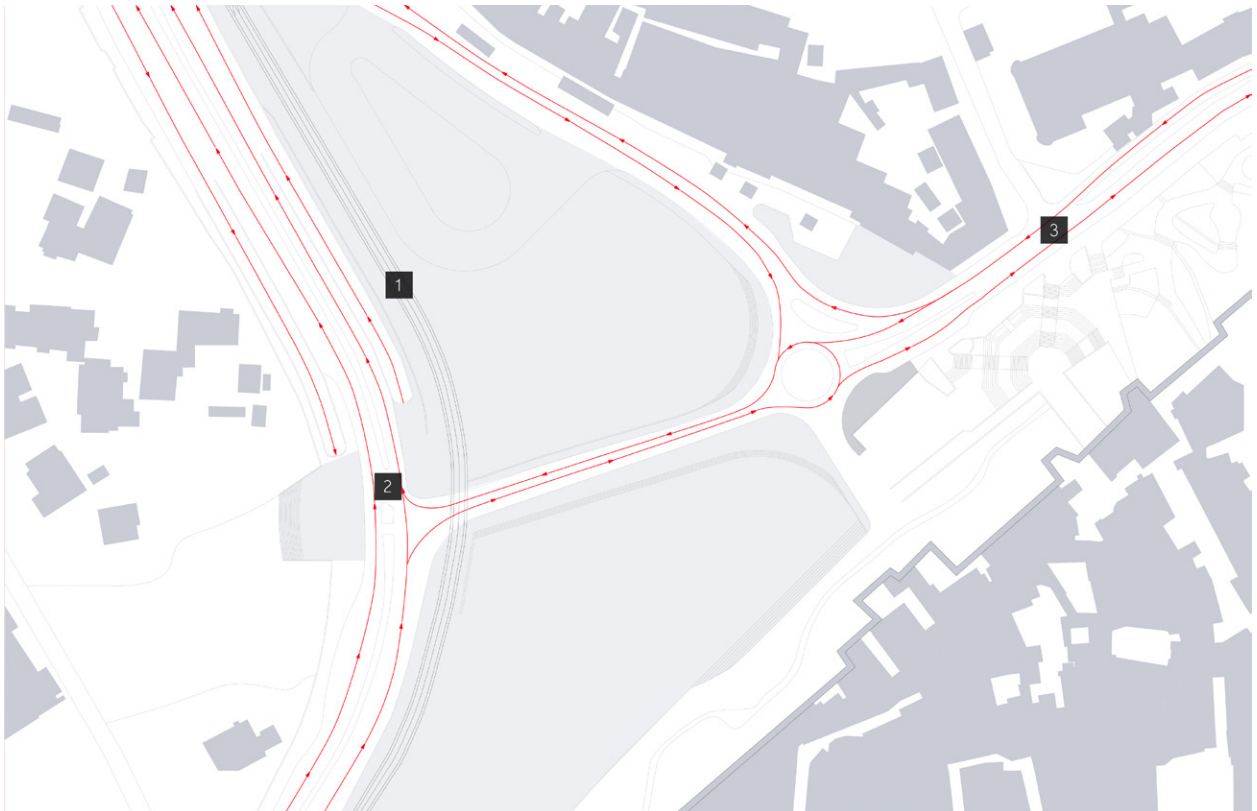
Fig. 3.50 *Ground Conditions. Diagram 04 - Primary Routes (1) Light Rail (connection to suburban developments), (2) Road 60 (highway), (3) Sultan Suleiman St. (fast moving traffic)*
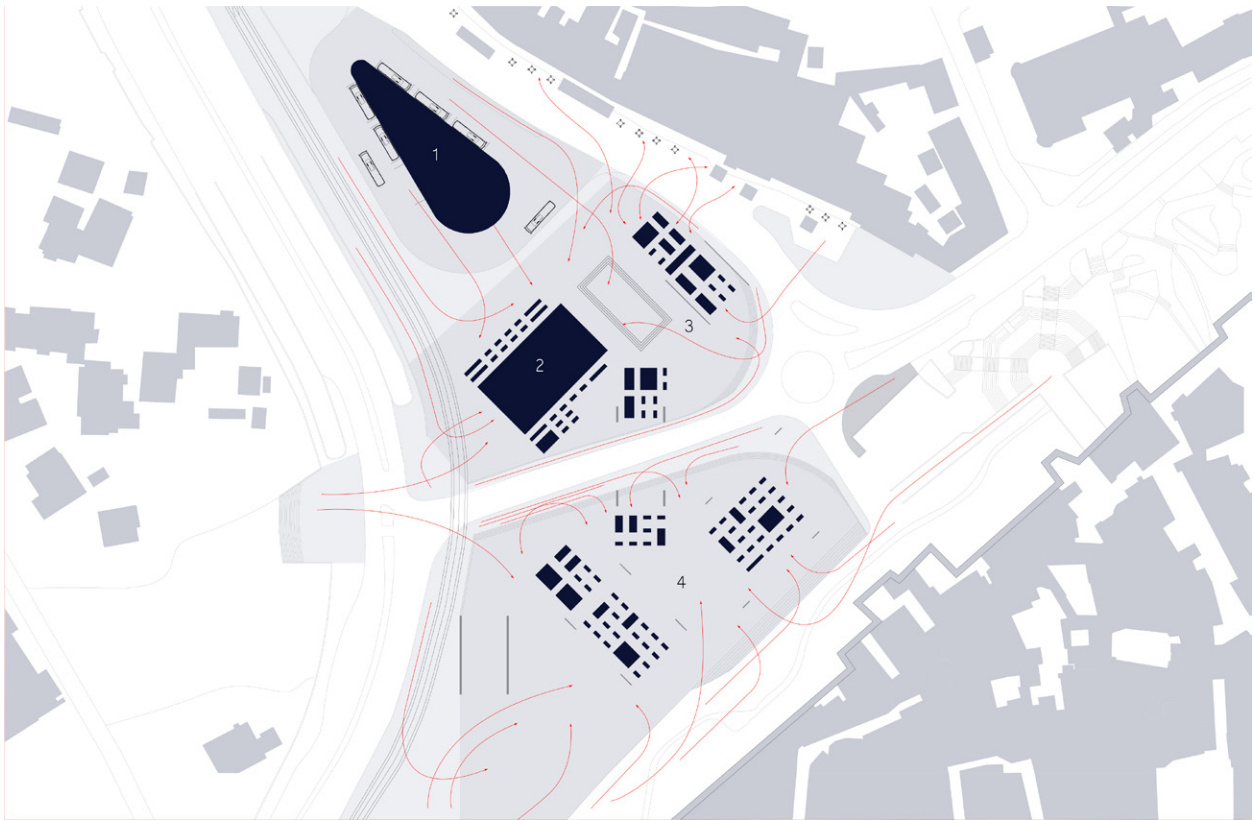
Fig. 3.51 *Ground Conditions. Diagram 05 - Attractors (1) New Bus Terminal (access to East Jerusalem), (2) Library, (3) Market A, (4) Market B. Red arrows depict access to these spaces from various points on /around the site. Additionally they represent connections that these spaces have to existing adjacent site conditions such as the restaurants along the edge of Musrara East, the Damascus Gate, and the park parallel to the Old City wall.*

Fig. 3.52 *Ground Conditions. Diagram 06 - Traffic / Site Circulation. Lines in darker red represent vehicular traffic and those in beige represent human circulation. The density, and composite thickness, of the lines correlates to the speed and consistency of movement along that given route. As the final layer of the composition the access cores,roof line and overhead conditions are overlayed on the ground condition.*

Fig. 3.53 *Aerial depicting the roofs placement on the site, and its relationships to its surrounding urban conditions.*

Fig. 3.54 *Diagram depicting the area covered by the roof (light blue) and the solid grounding point of the library (black).*

Fig. 3.55 *Image depicting the roof passing over Road 60, and the system of overhead walkways suspended from it.*

Fig. 3.56 *Ground Level Plan*

The sound of footsteps reverberates off the concrete walls. Soft light gently filters down to the floor below. The library is a space of gathering — a space to question and to learn. It is a bridge between communities, a repository of knowledge. The stories of Jerusalem, both past and present, line its walls. Its fictions, and its realities. It contains its mythologies and forges new ones. The library is a space, caught between the past and the present; a space where futures may be imagined.

Fig. 3.57 *Image depicting the main atrium of the library.*

Fig. 3.58 *Aerial depicting the University of the Common as it sits on the site.*
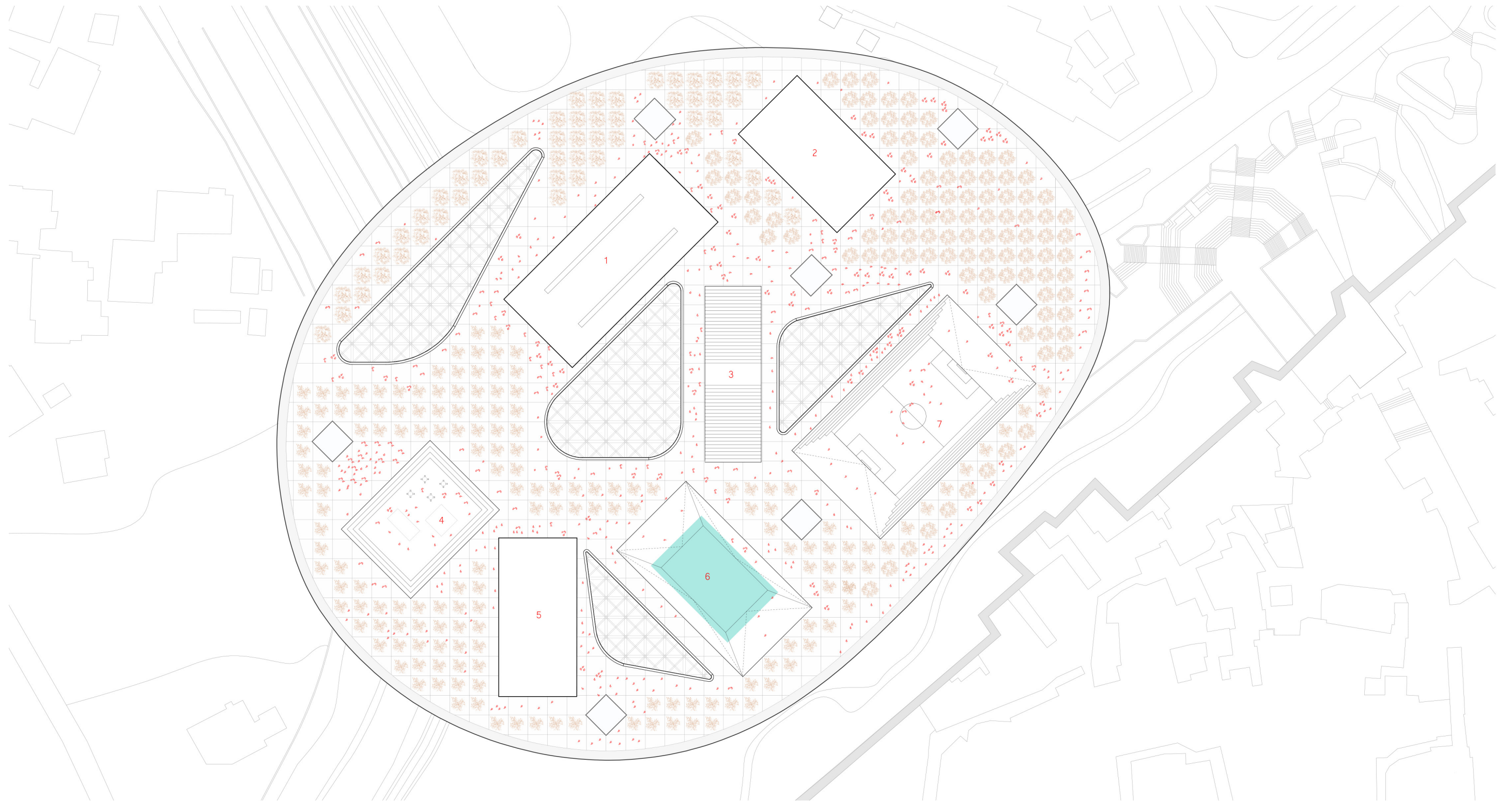
Fig. 3.59 *Roof Plan. (1) Library, (2) Theatre A, (3) Theatre B, (4) The Square, (5) Theatre C, (6) The Pool, (7) The Stadium*

Fig. 3.60 *Approach. Image depicting the University of the Commons as seen traveling north on Road 60.*
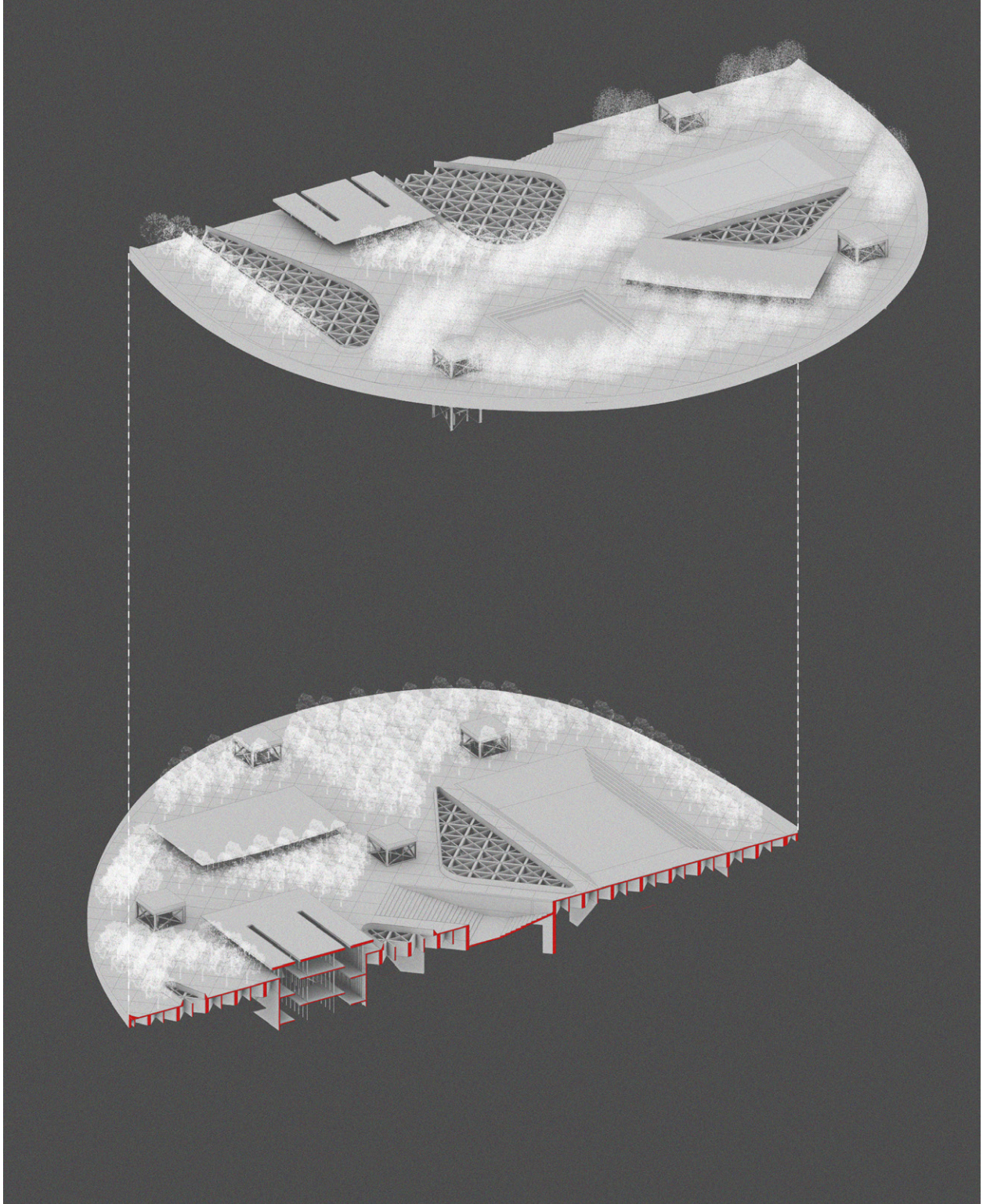
Fig. 3.61 *Sectional Axonometric cut through the library, forum and stadium spaces.*

Fig. 3.62 *Image depicting the entrance to the library from the roof.*
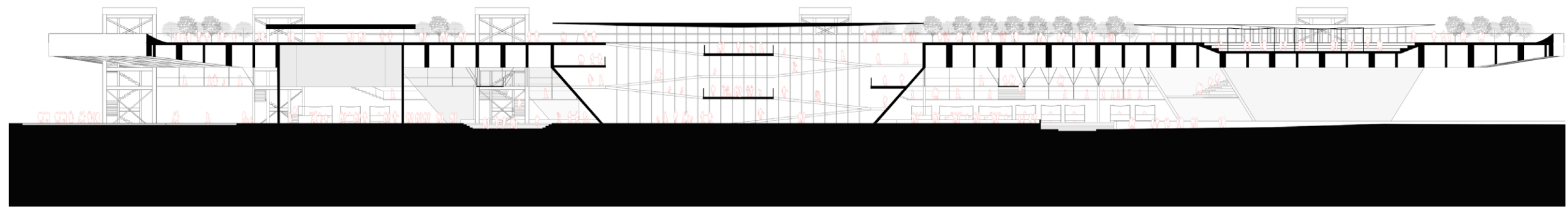
Fig. 3.63 *Overall section cut longitudinally across the library, public square and theatre spaces.*

Fig. 3.64 *Image depicting the elevated walkway adjacent to the library and the light cast through the structure from the light-wells above*
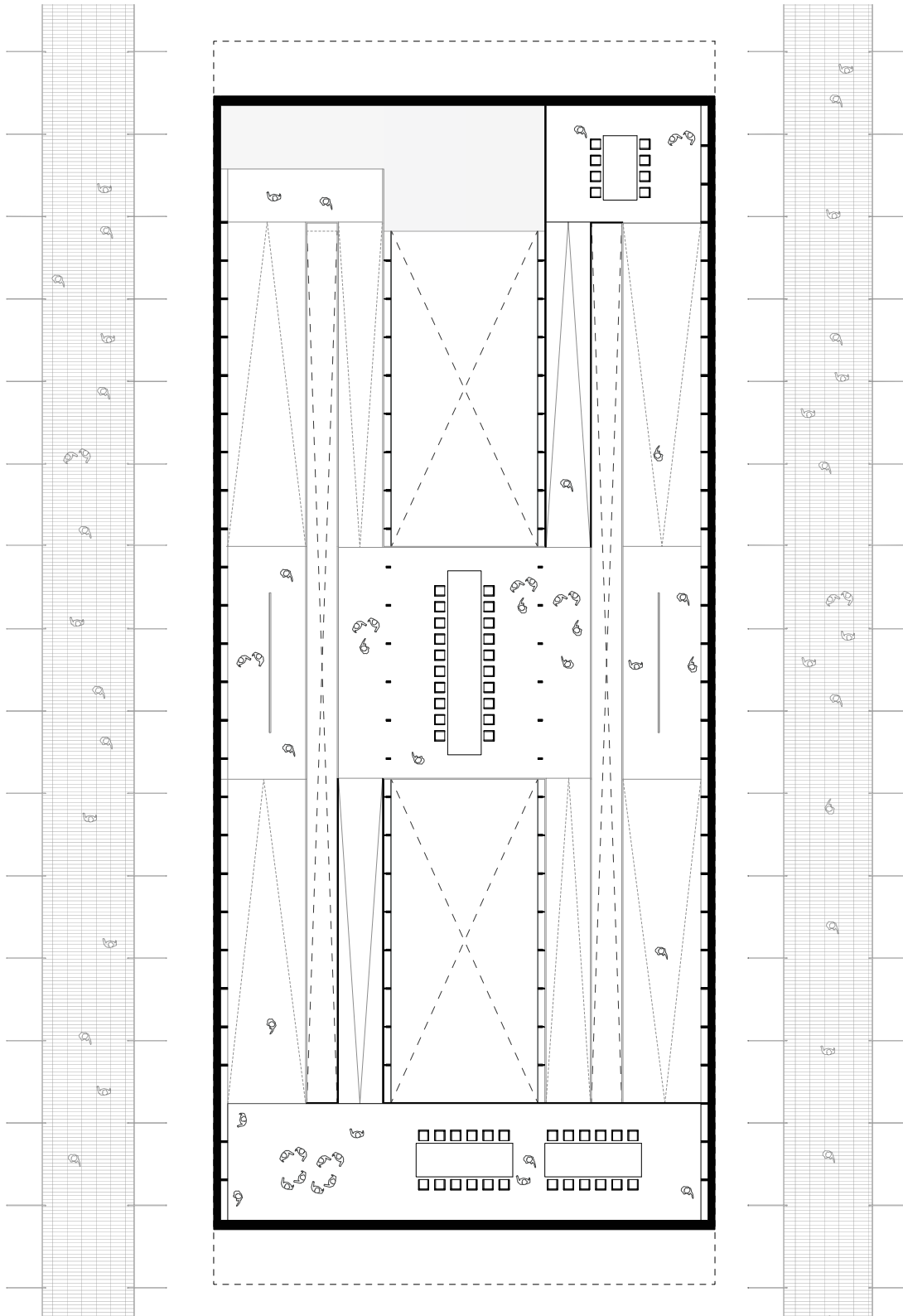
Fig. 3.65 *Library plan. Bookshelves are built in between the piers along the walls. Areas to sit, read or study are laid out on mezzanines and extended ramp landings. The library becomes a space that is both about movement (access to the roof) and stasis (the act of studying / reading).*

Fig. 3.66 *View showing the light rail line and Road 60 as they approach the site. Their route ultimately bifurcates the site and becomes an obstacle that separates its adjacent communities. Photo taken by the author.*

+12 m

+ 6 m
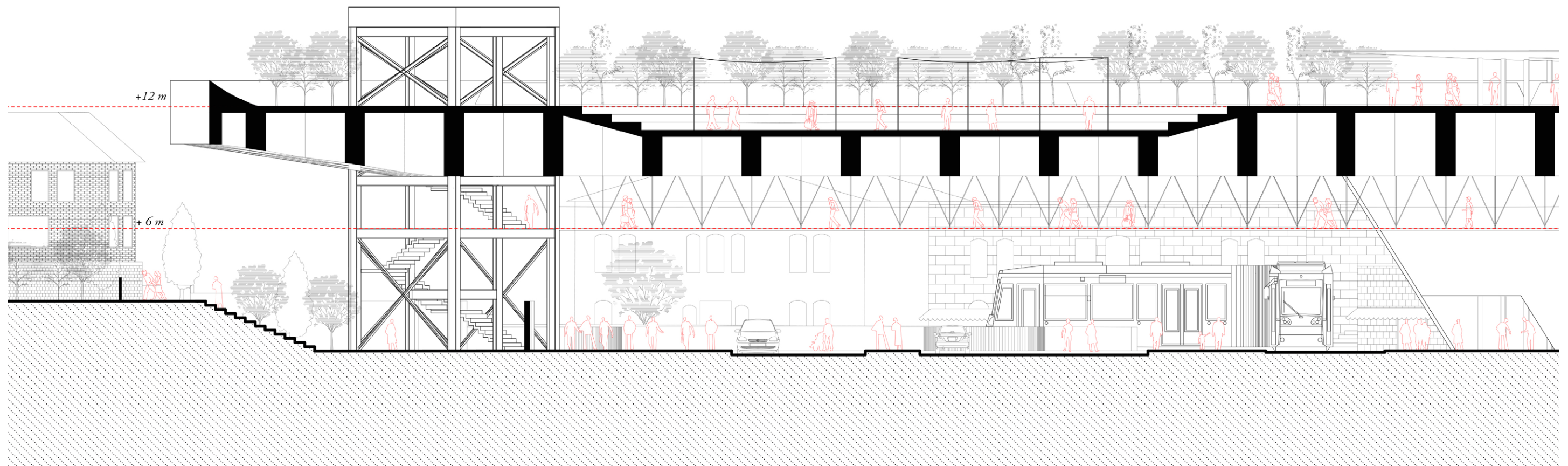
Fig. 3.67   *Detailed section cut through the public square. This drawing depicts the relationship the roof has to Musrara (West) and both the highway and light rail infrastructures that pass underneath it.   Scale - 1: 200*

Episode 02 - The Square

A place to sit, a spot to rest. Somewhere to meet your friends. A place to talk. A simple space. A place for the children to play, where grandparents can impart their wisdom. A space to share recipes, household secrets, and news. Grandmothers teach patience to their grandchildren, mothers and fathers stroll by enjoying the garden. This is a human space, a space of encounter. A space of sanctuary, of safety. A space of community, and empowerment. Jewish and Arabic women gather at noon to discuss the events of the week. The scent of citrus fills the air as the day slowly warms. A boy plucks an orange from a nearby tree, quickly rushing back to his friends to share the sweet fruit.
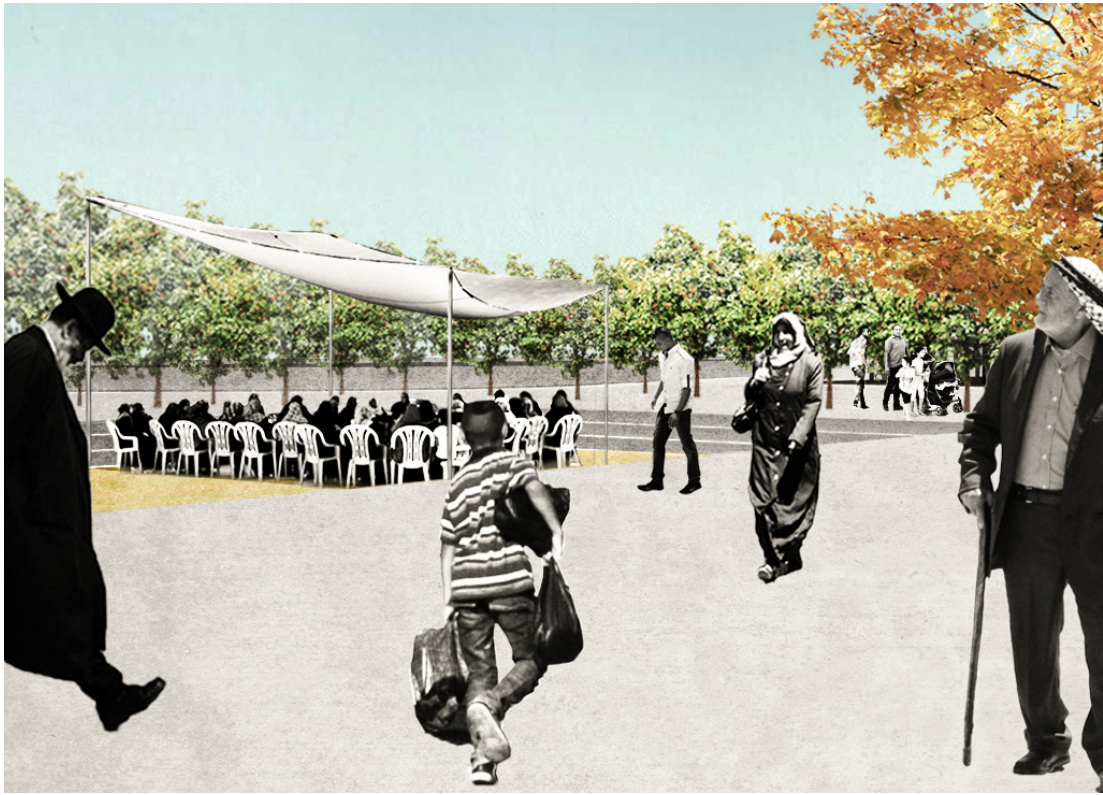
Fig. 3.68   *Image depicting the public square and its location amongst a grove of orange trees.*

Fig. 3.69 *Existing public square at the south end of the site. Its fenced off condition prevents it from being accessed from the sidewalk, limiting its use and effectiveness as a public space. What remains is a space wherein any lingering presence is uncommon. Photo taken by the author.*
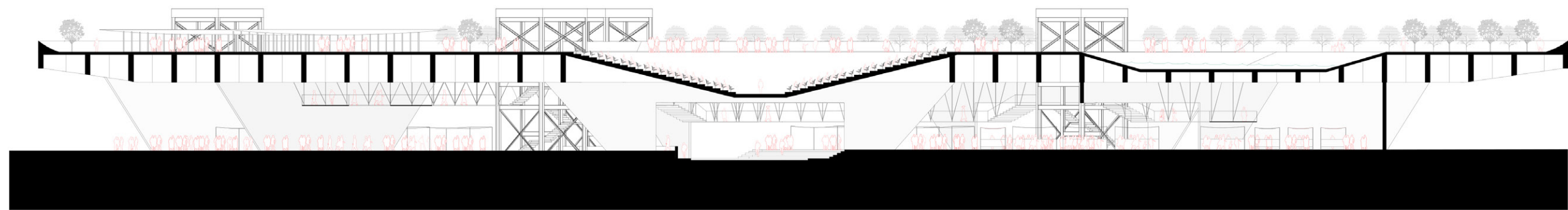
Fig. 3.70 *Overall section cut through the central theatre, displaying the relationship of the structure to the market and street below.*

Episode 03 - The Theatre

The sun sets into the Judean mountains, the sky aglow with a golden hue. Jerusalem of gold. The people gather around the theatre, to here the speech. People of all creeds, and colours. They gather in the golden light of sunset, to hear the words being spoken. They sit, surrounded by the garden, the din of individual voices growing into a cacophony. The people seldom agree. Mothers embrace their children, the elderly sit in silence. This is a conversation of youth, of passions. The conversation of a new generation, of the future, not the past. A conversation that emboldens and terrifies. The voices rise in the cool night air, the trees sway under its influence. Harmony in discord, beauty in chaos — embedded in one.
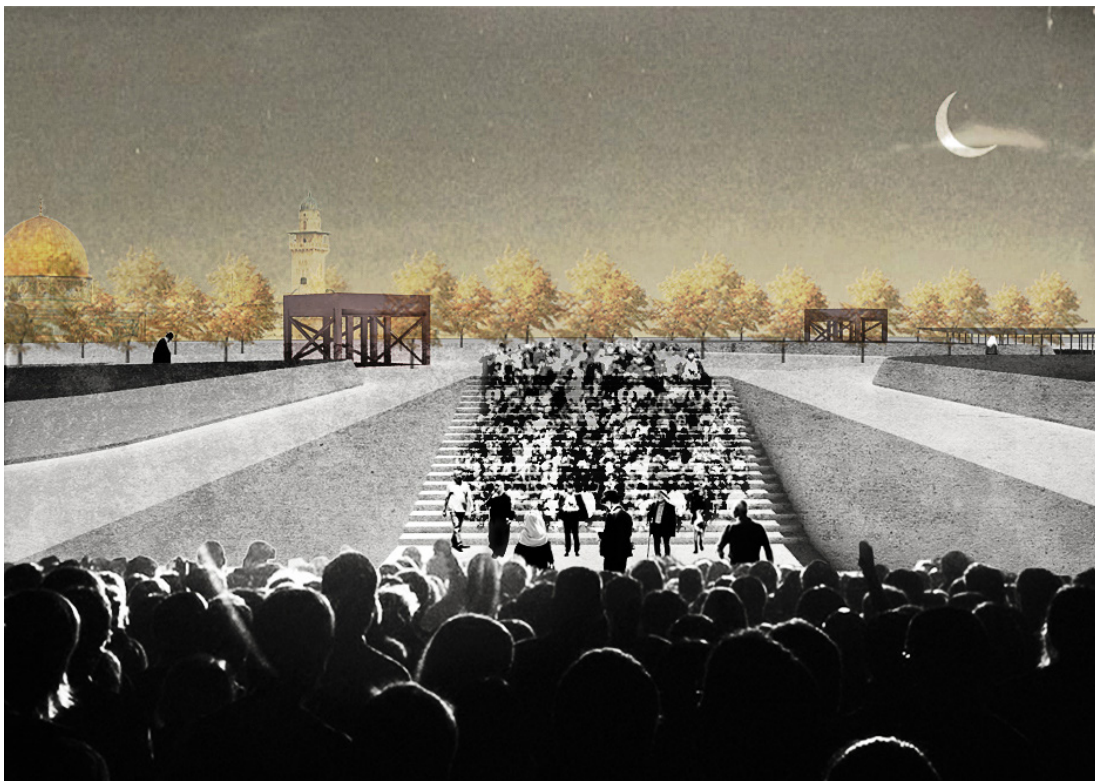
Fig. 3.71 *Image depicting the use of the central theatre at dusk, acting as a space of public discourse / debate.*
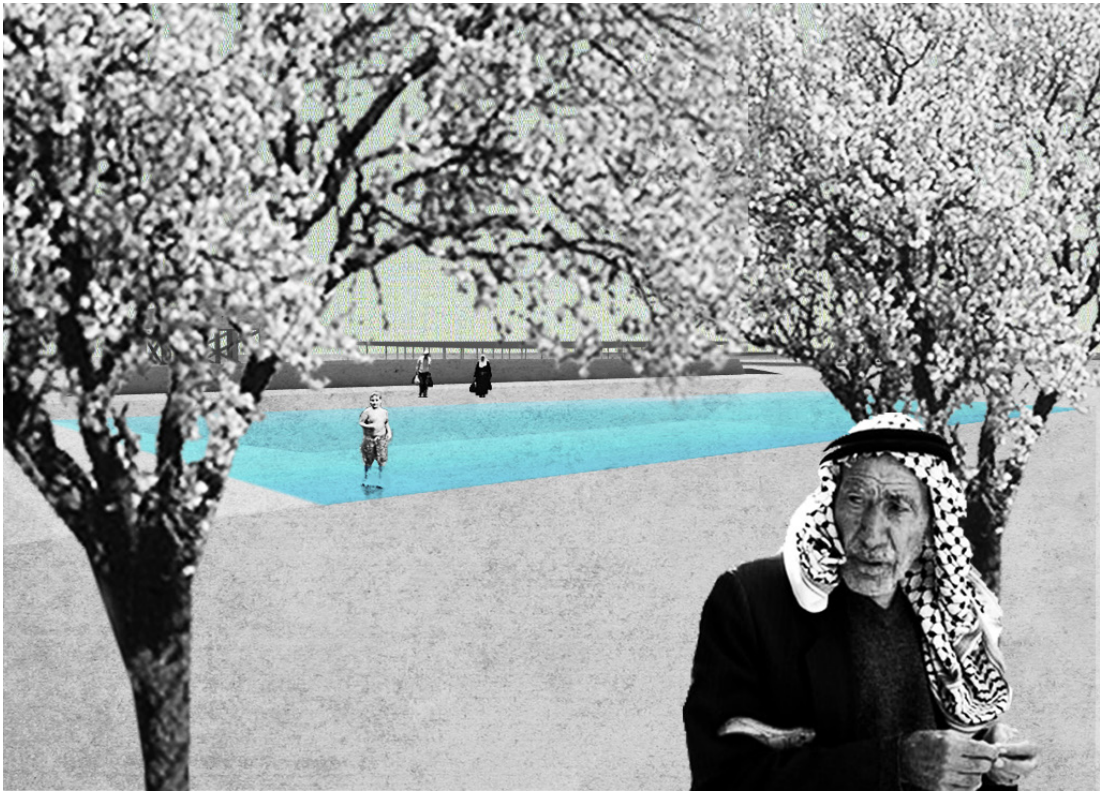
Fig. 3.72 Image depicting the use of the pool as seen from behind a row of almond trees.

<u>Episode 04 - The Pool</u>

A moment of pause, a cooling breeze, water gently ebbing against smooth concrete. The wind rustles the trees their leaves gently falling onto the surface of the pool. Children wade in its depths, frolicking and playing. Elderly women sit around its edge discussing the day, sharing local gossip. A moment of respite in the unforgiving heat. A change of pace, and a chance to reflect. Orthodox and secular, Muslim and Jewish, meet around its edge to escape the chaos of the city below.

Fig. 3.73 *View towards the Damascus gate from the southern edge of the site. The roof hovers over head, defining a shifting line of shade.*
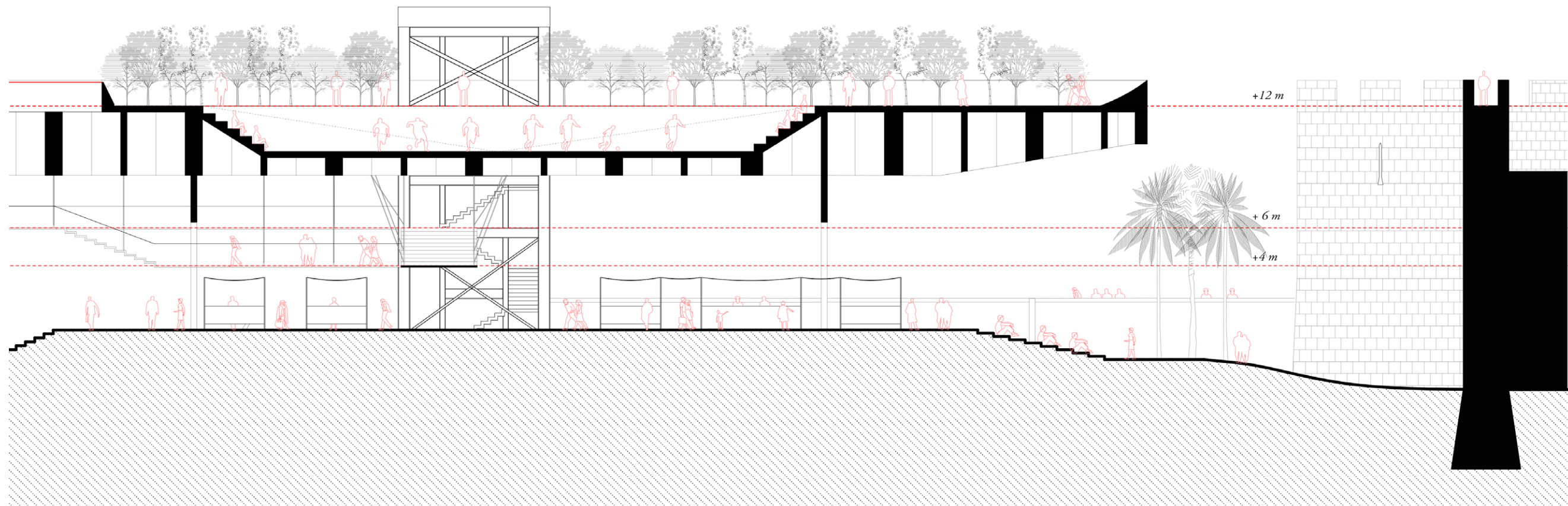
Fig. 3.74 *Detailed section cut at the closest point between the structure and the Old City wall. The section passes through the stadium, and depicts the relationship of the structure to the market below. Scale - 1:200*

Episode 05 - The Stadium

Sweat falls from the brows of those at play. The heat of the afternoon sun bearing down on the field, family and friends gathering to watch the friendly match. Elderly men and women walk along the stands, getting their daily exercise. A group of Palestinian boys challenge a group of Israelis to a match. Everyone pauses, and a new game commences, wagers are placed and teams are decided. Tensions flare, the intense heat doing little to abate this. One of the Palestinians is tripped, surely a foul. A fight breaks out, fists fly finding their nearest mark. Blood waters the field as spectators rush to pull the boys off of one another. Anger is overtaken by exhaustion, the boys embarrassed, continue their game. Life continues.

Fig. 3.75 *View of the stadium. A soccer match is underway.*

Fig. 3.76 *View of the Garden, looking south towards the Old City and the Dome of the Rock.*
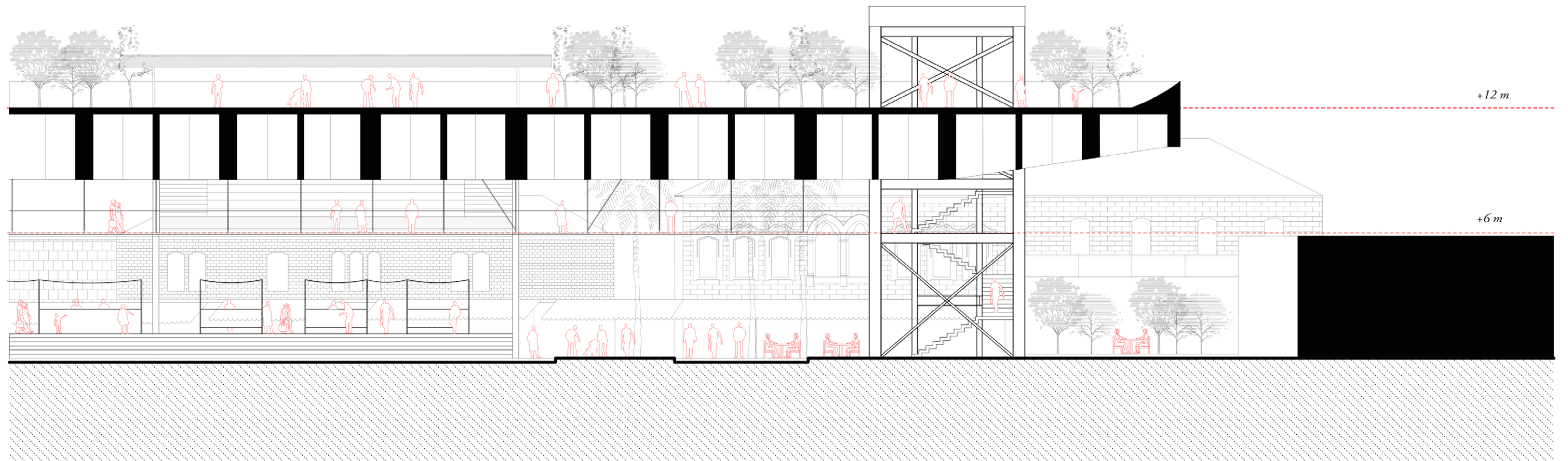
Fig. 3.77 *Detailed section depicting the market and streetscape as well as the edge relationship between Musrara East and the roof. Scale - 1:200*

+12 m

+6 m

<u>Episode 06 - The Market</u>

The market exists below and in-between. Underneath the roof, the heat of the sun ceases its harassment. Here one finds shade, an especially valuable resource, protection from the elements, and a place to linger. Light filters gently through the slab above, enlivening a space of exchange. An exchange of culture, an exchange of ideas, values and stories. Arabic women barter over the cost of a carpet, the voice of a spice vendor rises above the clamor as he tries to sell his wares. Tourists peruse the stalls, overwhelmed by the sounds and smells, unused to this kind of space. They travel in droves, clutching their belongings — always wary of pickpockets. The locals have other things on their mind, avoiding their cameras, making their way to where they have to be. A grandsons concert, a daughters recital, a brothers birthday. The market contains life, and expresses it.

Fig. 3.78 *View of the market, covered by the roof.*

Fig. 3.79 *View of the roof from atop the Old City Wall.*
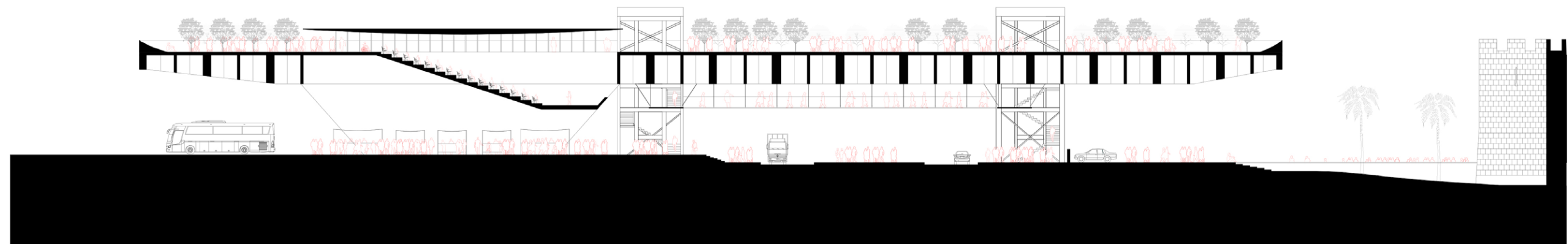
Fig. 3.80 *Overall section cut through Theatre A, depicting the structures relationship to the street, market and Damascus Gate (behind).*

Fig. 3.81 *View from inside Theatre A. A speaker prepares as the audience begins to gather.*
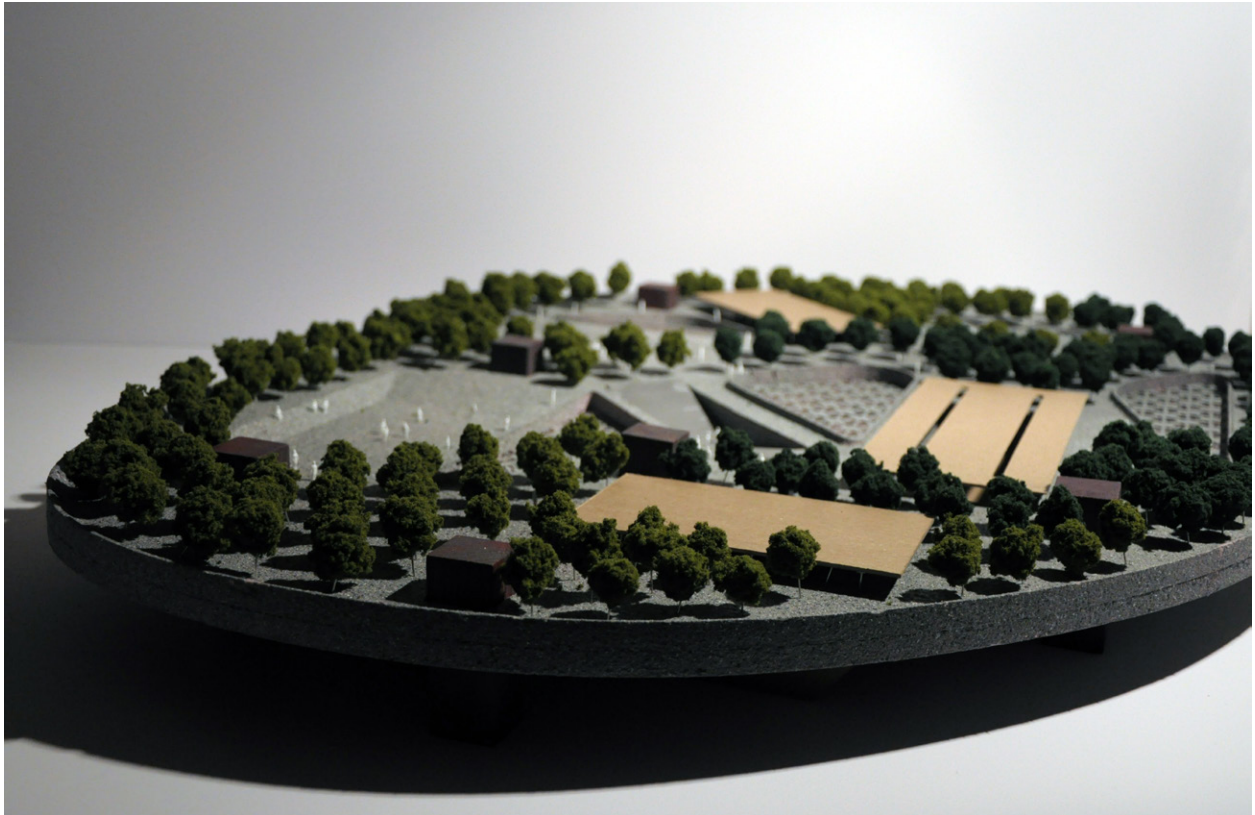
Fig. 3.82 *Physical Model. Overview of roofscape.*
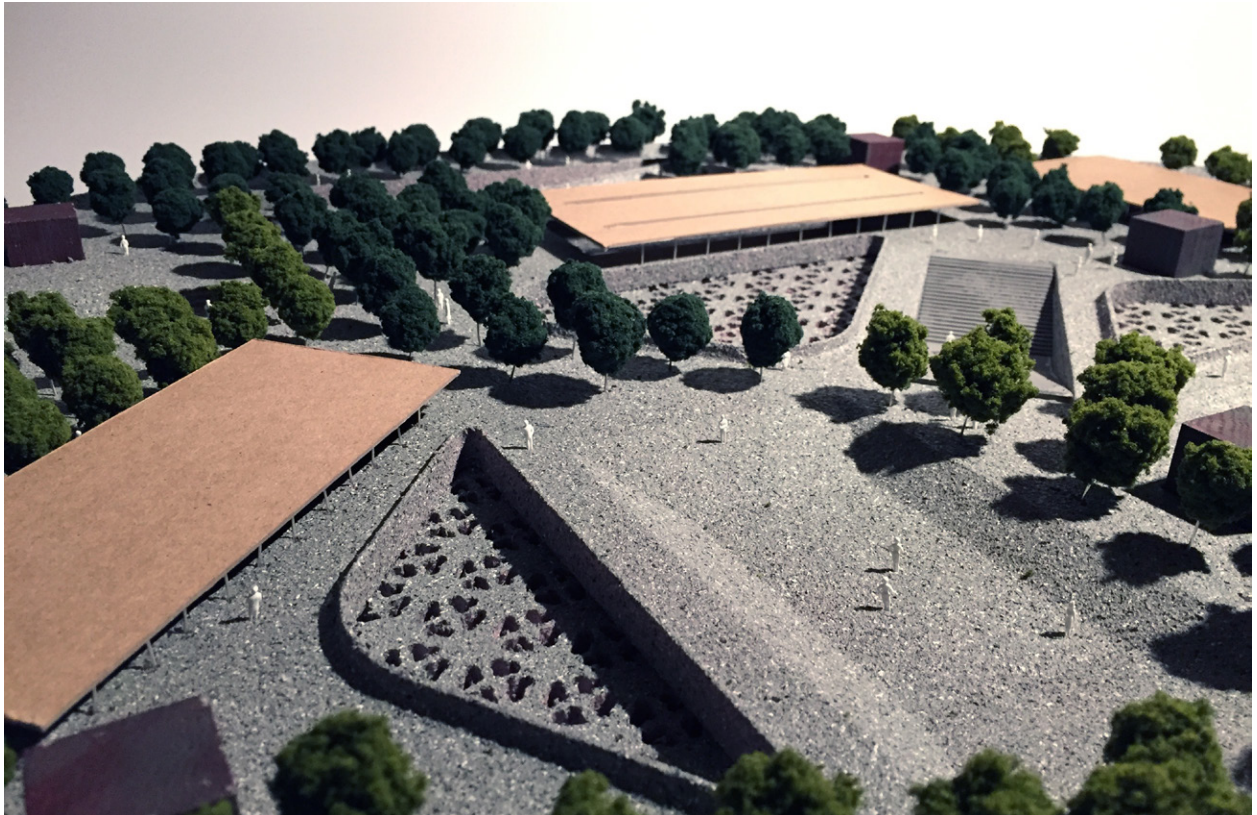
Fig. 3.83 *Physical Model. Close-up of roofscape.*
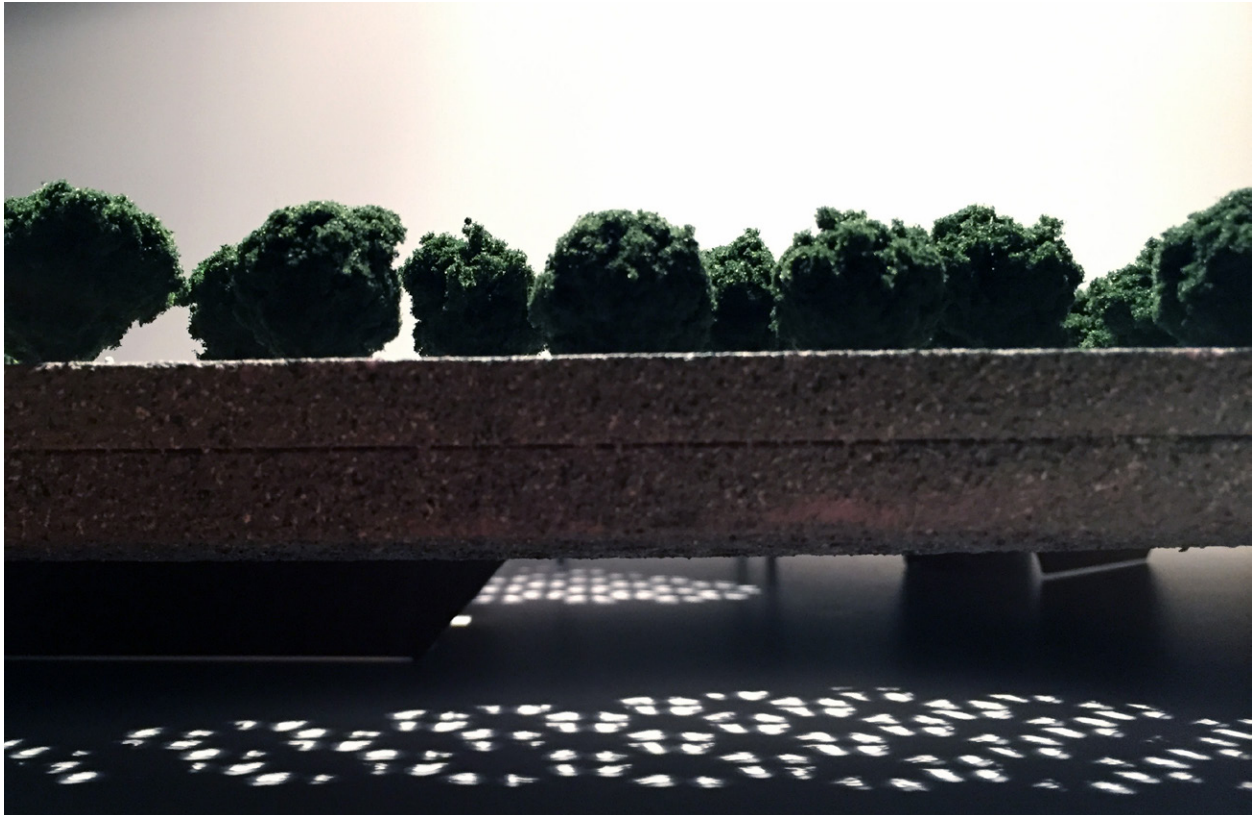
Fig. 3.84 *Physical Model. Close-up of slab edge, and light effects on ground plane.*

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Fig. 1.2 < http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-UvCN5FC-6WM/UtbHqwhThGI/AAAAAAAAF7Q/GLlTOpH_PFo/s1600/hereford_03_nature_maps_history_ancient_hd-wallpaper-1367797.jpg>, accessed 20. Jan. 2015.

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THE HUMAN RIFT

Fig. 4.1 *Pisgat Ze'ev, northeast Jerusalem. View looking out over the expanding neighbourhood and the West Bank.*

The following section is, in many ways, an oddity in an architectural thesis, being a compilation of short stories written during and shortly after a research trip to Jerusalem. During that time it became increasingly difficult to understand how to respond to the complex geopolitical, ethnographic and cultural questions that the work engaged in, using architectural methods alone. The overwhelming reality of the context necessitated a reevaluation of the initial research, and preconceptions, made abroad. The importance of this, is to say that when architecture engages in the political it is, quite logically, tied to the people that such politics effect. In this light, it is absolutely vital for the architect to understand the context in which they work, to experience it first hand if possible, and to be forced to deal with its inherent challenges; thus affording the finding of hidden opportunities. Without a deeper engagement in a contextual reality, architecture finds itself threatened by the self-referential. Thus, it is important to keep such work in the realm of 'plausible fictions', rendering them polemical as opposed to purely utopian. Interestingly, this would define such work as heterotopian, being primarily engaged in a space of otherness that is at once familiar and impossible.

"First there are the utopias... They are sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society... There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society - which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted... I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias. I believe that between utopias and these quite other sites, these heterotopias, there might be a sort of mixed, joint experience, which would be the mirror. The mirror is, after all, a utopia, since it is a placeless place. In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space... such is the utopia of the mirror. But it is also a heterotopia in so far as the mirror does exist in reality, where it exerts a sort of counteraction on the position that I occupy. From the standpoint of the mirror I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there."
(Foucault, Of Other Spaces,1967)

Thus, the following is an attempt to evoke Michel Foucaults concept of the mirror; an exercise in projecting myself into a space which I am not, thus forcing myself to recognize my own biases within the thesis. The stories follow the lives and trials of a Palestinian Child, an Israeli Solider both caught in the chaos of the Holy Land.

The Crucible of Entropy

Disorder, chaos, hatred, violence, and rage - all bound within a landscape. Vulnerability, fear, death, loss, and sorrow, these too are bound within the hills. Blame, pain and suffering are bound within these walls. Shame, desperation, mistrust and hope - all bound within the minds of fathers, daughters, mothers and sons. There are many walls, and many bricks, many gates and innumerable crossings. Lives divided, yet intimately connected, each tied to the fate of the other.

How many lives does it take to build a nation? How many tears, how much sweat, and how much blood? Who has claim to the land, those who have lived there for generations or those who have returned to it after countless more? Where is the line of ownership, the sacred trench, the divine threshold? Who must be sacrificed to sanctify the city, the border and the nation? We hide behind our differences and take shelter in our pride. We fight for our ideals, for our history and for our future. We fight, and we die. We fight for freedom, and
we fight for peace. We are blinded by our rage and by our fear. We sow disorder, and believe we can reap balance. We are the citizens of the Crucible of Entropy.

The crucible is scarred, stained and cracked. Brought to its limit by the flames of conflict, fueled by suspicion, religious fervor, doubt, and political libel. We are suffocated, constricted and restrained. We put up many walls, and fly many flags. We walk many paths, and wear many masks. We speak different languages, and believe in different gods. We have families, and we have goals. We have hope. We are the citizens of the Crucible of Entropy. We are tested, and we are tortured. We are consumed and we are scarred. We live and we love, we dream and we cry. How many children must we turn into soldiers, how many homes must we destroy? And how many lives must we condemn to remain the citizens of the Crucible of Entropy?

A constricting vice, the echo of gun shots in the night. A constricting vice, the sound of sirens at dawn. A constricting vice, the blast of rocket fire at noon. A constricting vice, the sound of a mothers cries at dusk. This is a life lived under the shadow of perpetual destruction, a life dictated by the flows of conflict. This is a life determined by a constant decent into chaos, and the struggle to emerge from it - to fight a constant tide of destruction and indeterminacy. Fear fuels the crucible, it seeps into our thoughts and into our beliefs. It transcends logic and undermines reason. Fear of difference, fear of change, fear of

Fig. 4.2 *Relationship of the Central police station to the street. Bab Alzahra (Palestinian neighbourhood). Photo taken by the author.*

contact. Mistrust, anger and resentment all stem from such fear. We are quick to judge and quick to condemn, we do not listen to the words of our neighbour, we do not console them.

We sympathize but we cannot act - we are restricted. We cannot say what we believe for fear of rejection and cultural shame - we are restricted. We cannot express what we wish to say, for fear of being misunderstood - we are restricted. The forces of conflict continuously degrade and eat away at the fabric of society, no one can emerge unscarred. Conflict is entropy. It is disorder, and it is chaos. Consider for a moment the final definition of entropy. It refers to creative potential, to the ability to render something new out of a collision of forces. Cultural collision, while entropic, can lead to equilibrium.

More energy must be spent keeping cultures apart, distinct and separated. More energy must be spent to ensure that a child will never grow up understanding or knowing about the other, about the faceless one behind the wall. More energy must be spent believing that the fate of one people is not directly linked to that of the other. Order and control can lead to chaos and the disfigurement of nations. Contact and cultural collision can lead to the emergence of a new reality, one forged in the flames of disorder.

We are tortured, we look through the veil of chaos, of disgust and of anger. We scream but no one hears our cries. We smile, but no one sees our joy. We are held down, and constricted. We cannot move but no one loosens our bonds, we are hidden behind the tortured veil. We dream, but nothing comes to pass for we have no voice. We can resist, but we have lost our will. We hope. We are the citizens of the Crucible of Entropy.

The Child

I live in a valley, at the bottom of the hill. My name is Kadin, my parents tell me that it means "friend", although I don't think I have many. I don't think my parents do either. I am ten years old. Our house is very small, with very small windows, but we have a nice garden out front by our gate. It doesn't get too hot inside during the day, but I'd like to be able to see more out of my bedroom window. We live in Abu Tor, which means "Father of the Bull" I think. I like looking for the meaning of things, it makes life more interesting. I spend most of my time down here in the village, there isn't really much of a reason to go anywhere else. Although there isn't much to do here either, especially during the summer when there is no school. There is a lot of garbage here, scraps, and odd things, food and waste scattered around the streets. I think I've gotten used to it, but you don't see so much of it when you go to other parts of the city, or even to the top of the hill. I don't like the smell outside so much, it smells like urine.

Sometimes I feel forgotten down here, I usually see the same people in the village most days. No one new usually comes down here, unless it is a solider. Sometimes a tourist comes down, but they don't stay long. My older brother writes graffiti on the walls. He seems more angry than he used to be, always out of the house for long periods of time and talking about very serious things. We used to play a lot together, but not anymore. I miss him. There were new toys at the grocer today! They were toy guns, they had all different kinds. There were pistols, rifles, and even machine guns! They look so real. My friend Ahmad got a pistol, and it even comes with little rubber bullets. I'm going to get the rifle version tomorrow, and Ahmad and I are going to walk around the village. Maybe well shoot some pigeons! I guess I'll have to learn how to use a real gun someday, if what my brother says is true. He says that the Israelis want to get rid of us, that they don't think we deserve to be here. I don't quite understand it, but I trust my older brother. There has to be a reason why our part of the street is so dirty and the Israeli part is so clean. There has to be a reason why teachers keep leaving our schools, and why there are no parks, or places to play in the summer time. My brother says that these toy guns are not simply toys and that I'll come to appreciate them in time.

It is my eleventh birthday today. I would normally be excited but my father has lost his job at the factory and my brother is in prison. My family seems to be falling apart, we are not sure what is going to happen in the coming months. Earlier this week there was a patrol of soldiers that came down from the

Fig. 4.3 *Abu Tor. View looking south towards the Separation Wall. Photo taken by the author.*

top of the hill. They said they were doing a routine patrol through our village as they headed towards Silwan. They asked me where I lived and why I was wandering the street alone. I pointed them in the direction of our house. I wish I hadn't done that. The soldiers walked up to my house and knocked on our door, asking to see my father. When my father answered the door, my brother was obviously distressed at the kind of questions they were asking him. "Why do you leave your son unattended?" "Why did you lose your job?" "Where have you been in the past 48 hours?" Hamza, always had a problem with his temper. He demanded that the soldiers leave our house, and shoved one of them away from my father. That only aggravated them, and soon they had my brother on the ground in handcuffs, with a knee on the small of his back keeping his face in the dirt. When they searched the house they found 'evidence' of my brothers alleged involvement with terrorists. He has been in prison ever since. It has been four days — I hear my mother cry every night. I feel like I am responsible but I don't know how to make things right. I feel angry, and scared.

Hateful words surround me on the walls of these houses. Angry words. Words of hopeless people without a voice. I've never wanted to hurt anyone before, but perhaps I could if I needed to. I've never wanted to kill but I think I could if I felt threatened. I never paid attention to the graffiti before, but now it seems to speak to me more. The forgotten ones, the ones at the bottom of the hill. My mother seemed fine for most of my birthday, until tea was finished and my aunts and uncles left the garden. Her tears could be heard over the noise from the streets and the top of the hill. It is Friday evening, the Israelis are heading home for Shabbat. I think thats what it is called. Do they know I am down here? Do they know what my family has just been through? I am faceless. They are faceless. I wonder what their lives are like up there. Do they wonder about me as I wonder about them? Would they also send my brother to prison? I don't know who they are, or what they are like. I have no Israeli friends, I want no Israeli friends. Their soldiers are the reason my family is falling apart. Their factory moving is the reason why my father has no work. Why do they allow such things? Do we not also live in this city? In this country? I don't understand, I feel lost and confused.

I carry my toy rifle around with pride. The other kids in the village are jealous. I'm older than most of the boys in the village now since most of our family friends have been evicted. I walk around in the heat of the summer, with nothing much to do, my rifle slung over my shoulder. It is my companion. A few of the boys wanted to pretend to be in a firefight today. I told them that those kinds of games are stupid, unless you take them

Fig. 4.4 *View of graffiti, Abu Tor. Photo taken by the author.*

seriously. Who knows when we will need to use the skills that such games can teach us. I've been thinking about my brother a lot lately. What he would want me to do, and what he would want me to believe in. I've had to take on a larger role in my family, and I can feel myself growing older. I feel tired. I find myself not seeing the fun in our games anymore. I find myself becoming more aware, more present, yet more confused. The other children seem oblivious to what is happening around them. This is all they know. The garbage, the violence, the graffiti, the uprooting. They have never known permanence or surety. This is normal. What else could life be like? How else does one live? I used to envy the Israelis, I used to wonder about them. Now it seems, more than ever, that they don't wonder about me. That they don't consider me their equal. How else can someone grow up here? Surrounded by so much hate, by so much mistrust. How else was I to turn out? Those I look up to put a gun in my hand, even though it is a toy, and tell us to play. I read the hateful messages on the walls. I see the violence, I live it and I breath it. I feel the division between us, and I am just a child. Am I supposed to be part of the generation that finds a solution? There is no solution, there is no problem. This is simply life.

I got into a fight today. His name is Caleb, and apparently that means brave. He didn't seem so brave to me. His family just moved here, apparently they moved into his uncles home. They originally had a house in Silwan, until the Israelis evicted and demolished their house because it was built without the proper permits. Caleb is an angry child, younger than me by a year but obviously confused. I don't think he understands what is happening to him or his family yet. In any case, he simply walked up to my friends and I and took my toy rifle, promptly telling me that it was now his. I simply couldn't let that happen. What gave him the right to take something from me? After so much has already been taken. I stood up to him, fists clenched and my back tensed. I was furious. He seemed arrogant, after all he was taller than me. I couldn't help but think of how ugly he was, with his red hair. He even looks different from us. How could he come into our village, looking the way he does, and take what is mine. What a dog. He is probably Christian. He spat on the ground in front of me, and began to walk away. Before I knew what was happening I was bearing down on top of him, my fists bludgeoning his face into the dirt. My friends pulled me off of him, and before they could separate us he threw a rogue punch at my face hitting me square in the eye. It took all of my friends and eventually my father to pull us apart. Thinking back on it, as Caleb was pinned beneath me in the dirt, I could hear the Muezzin calling all the faithful to prayer. I felt nothing.

Fig. 4.5 *Kadins View. Abu Tor. Looking across the Kidron Valley from the Palestinian village towards the Old City. Photo taken by the author.*

I sat alone today, the sun bearing down on me. Everyone else was inside, escaping the heat. I sat alone at the edge of the street, overlooking the valley below, and the Old City in the distance. I can't help but think about what all of this anger is for. Why it has to be this way. I don't think I'll ever know for sure. All I can know is what has happened to me. What continues to happen to those I know and care about. What I can know is how I feel. Anger, hopelessness, fatigue. There is a desperation in all the people I meet. I see it in my fathers eyes, and hear it in my mothers tears. Maybe thats what Hamza was always so angry about. Maybe thats what drove him to do what he did. Perhaps he was tired of feeling desperate, of seeing our father that way. I think he wanted to feel strong, he wanted to feel like he could be the master of his own life. It seems as though he was wrong. They still managed to control him, despite his actions. Violence is rarely the answer I think, even though it feels like it is your only option. Even though sometimes that is all you think you can do. It will change nothing. No matter how loud you scream, and how hard you hit nothing will change for those who are forgotten. We live in the valleys, and cling to the hills. We are the ones Israelis cannot talk about. I am a child, but I cannot truly be one. I haven't felt like a child for quite some time and I doubt I am the only one who feels this way. I still cannot understand why they call this place the Holy City. Some important things have apparently happened here. Some important people have died here. It is the city that God chose, that the prophet was brought to in his night vision. It is the home of the Noble Sanctuary. Have I found sanctuary here? Has my family? As I walked home I heard sirens at the bottom of the valley, and the call to prayer echoing through the hills. I wonder if something can remain holy without something being sacrificed for it. I wonder how many more childhoods must be robbed, and how many more families must be torn apart. How many more lives will be condemned for the Holy City?

Fig. 4.6 *The main street in Silwan. Photo taken by the author.*

The Soldier

Part One

I am 18, unknown and naive.
I am 18, forced to understand.
I am 18, not ready to be a man — not ready to fight.
I have heard the stories,
So remote,
Is there no one else who can patrol Silwan?

I am 19 and tired.
I wait for the bus in uniform; rifle on my back, phone in hand.
At least the bus is free,
Although I pay for it with my youth,
And I pay for it with my sweat.
It is paid for with my mothers restless nights.

I am 20.
Do the tourists understand?
Can I say that I understand my daily life?
Is this just a job?
I think I want to go to Thailand.

What are the cost of these stones, and these streets?
Who pays for the City of David, and the Mountain of Olives?
What is the price of these relics,
Or of the Wailing Wall?
Are they not simply stones?
Will they not, like me, return to dust?

I am 21.
Where is my religious zeal, my divine inspiration?
I need it to defend Jerusalem.
What truly makes this the Holy City?

Who holds the truth?
The Muslims, Christians or Jews?
People have died for these stones
Must I?

All I feel is fatigue.
I do not feel zeal,
I possess no divine inspiration.
I am simply a boy forced to be a man,
All of this is simply ordinary.
I must have determination,

Fig. 4.7 *Alley in Silwan. Photo taken by the author.*

And I must persevere.
I am tired of justifying myself, and defending myself.
I am tired of hate, and of conflict.

What is the cost of this city?
Who manages the status quo?
Who pays for the 'rights' of the diaspora?
Who pays for Jerusalem?

It is paid for with my youth, and with my dreams.
But not just me — countless others cast their lot.
And the cost?
All those who sleep in beds of stone, amongst the pines,
On Mount Herzl.

Part Two

My name is Dror, previously a soldier. I am 22 years old. Today I celebrate the completion of my service in the Israeli Defence Forces. Many of those closest to me did not survive to see this day. People tell me that they are here in spirit — that they would be happy to see me happy. What did my service accomplish? What is to be celebrated? The robbing of three years? Did I make this country, and this city, a safer place? Does our service lay the groundwork for peace? Can I say that I have made a friend in a Palestinian; that they have grown to trust and accept my country, or myself? Can I say that I trust them? Do I know that the angry and the forgotten will not lash out again in the years to come? I have no answers. Only questions. Do I look back on my service with pride? I cannot say. I am empty.

Can I ever stop being a soldier? Does that experience fade away with time? Given what I have seen, and what I have experienced — I doubt it can be forgotten. To endure hatred and mistrust simply for being who you are does not allow for peace of mind. I suppose the same thing can be said for the Palestinians. Do I hate them? Regardless of the answer, as long as I remain here I will be defensive. To understand the futility of life here and these feelings are not topics talked about lightly. To believe that what we fight towards is unachievable, is not good for morale. We must remain vigilant, we must always be prepared. For what? I am tired of feeling like I must assert dominance over another in order for my life to remain secure. I cannot speak to a Palestinian as a cohabitant of this city. I cannot befriend them. The relationship we share does not foster a discussion amongst equals. To be equal necessitates us stepping down from our current position, a

tactical nightmare. We are afraid of what might come next. Who will make the first move? Those who have everything, or those who have nothing to lose?

No one wishes to concede, no one wishes to fail. We are a society of soldiers, a society of order takers. Do we have the collective consciousness capable of questioning those orders? I believe our fears guide us, our experiences of death and our collective trauma determine our actions. How can I trust the man who has tried to kill me? Who has killed those closest to me. How can I trust their intentions? One must be oblivious to the realities of this place to have faith. Faith. Perhaps that is what the Holy City needs, faith in itself. Should this place not inspire such actions? I cannot be that naive. I cannot surrender myself to the notion that, 'everything will be alright'. I believe we are headed for worse, that we will plunge farther into the abyss. The holy land, and its holy city, can doubtfully be redeemed. Those who tout divine justification to the propagation of hatred and mistrust should be the first to be judged. The holy lands holy leaders have forsaken it; its priests, its rabbis, muftis and imams. Even the politicians believe themselves to be part of a journey through religious history. Who will triumph? The faithful or the heathen?

The Holy City is full of both. It crawls with heathens, non - believers, blasphemes, and heretics. It all depends on who you ask. To the Haredi, I am not a Jew. To the Shiites the Sunnis are not true followers of the faith. Do not get me started about the Christians. We are all sinners in a land of saints, brought here by the winds of history and a twist of fate. We are here, spiraling out of control, lost in our fears, paranoia, and anger. We all fight. We scream, point fingers and fire our guns. Although, seldom do we think about who the bullet hits and whose life it took. We do it because we must. They also want us dead do they not? The faceless other. Imagine what they would do to us if our roles were reversed. I cannot bear the thought. We walk amongst each other in this overwhelming farce. Believing that they can be better than those who came before them. Perhaps the next generation will understand, perhaps I will come to understand. Although, I doubt I will.

This city is held together by a thread, and by a misguided belief of what it truly is. It is fragile, it is vulnerable. Jerusalem is crumbling. It is decomposing under the weight of its own faithful venerators. It does not matter who came before whom, or who has the right to that rock or that mountain. We fight over who has claim, and who belongs where; over this city amongst the hills.

In all of our fighting we fail to acknowledge that we are both in the same place. In our misguided rage, we deem this city of stone more valuable than the lives of the thousands it has condemned to its 'defence'. This city deserves something different, a time without fear and without hatred. It will not get that. It is destined for more bombs, bullets and death. I want to go to Thailand, maybe I will get over all of this with time.
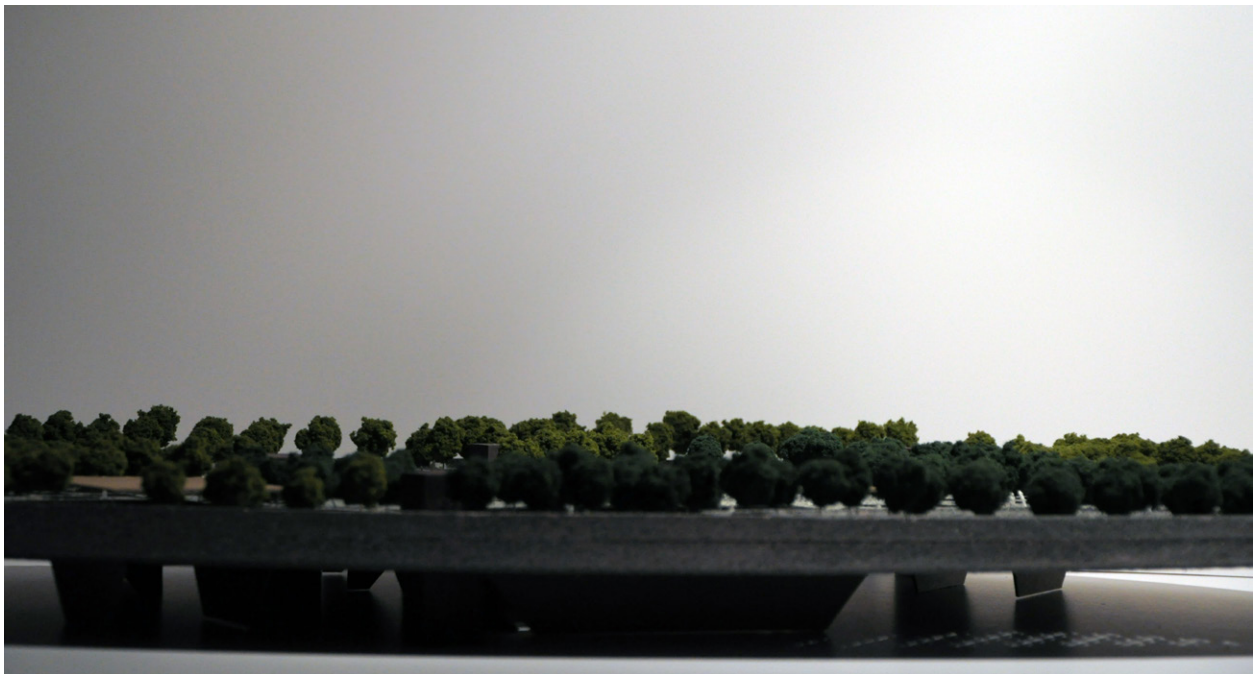

Fig. 4.8 *Traffic at Qalandia Checkpoint. Photo taken by the author.*

Fig. 4.9 *Physical Model. North Elevation.*
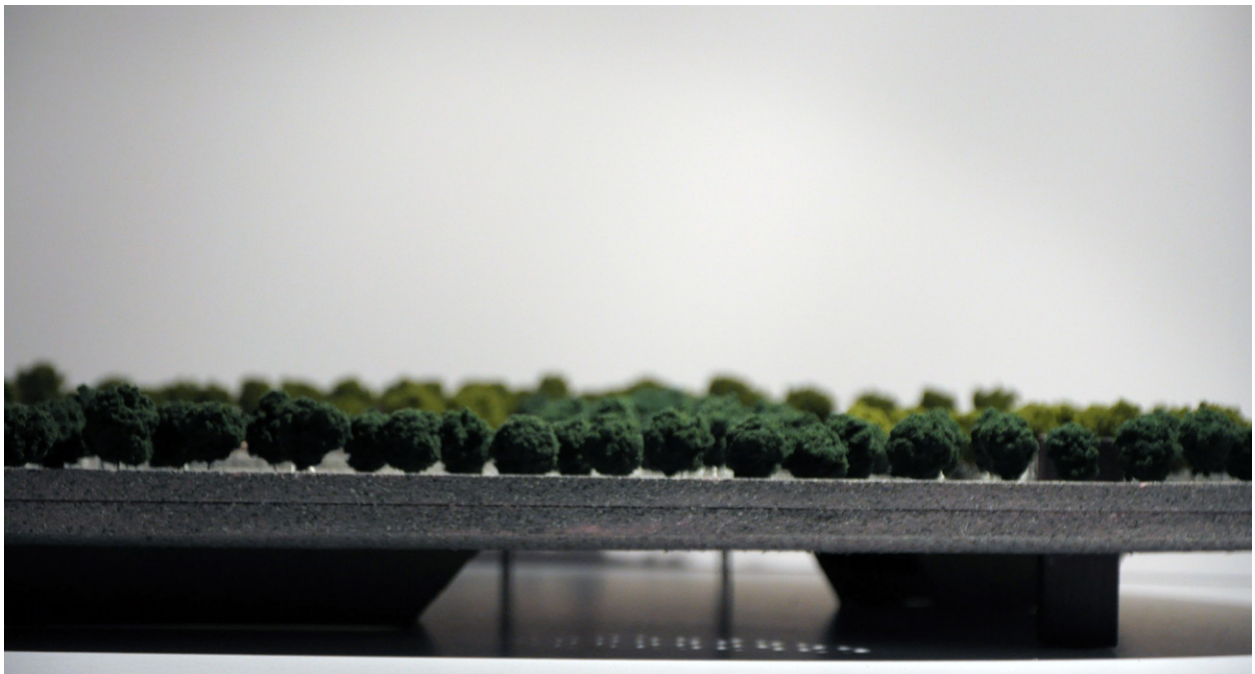
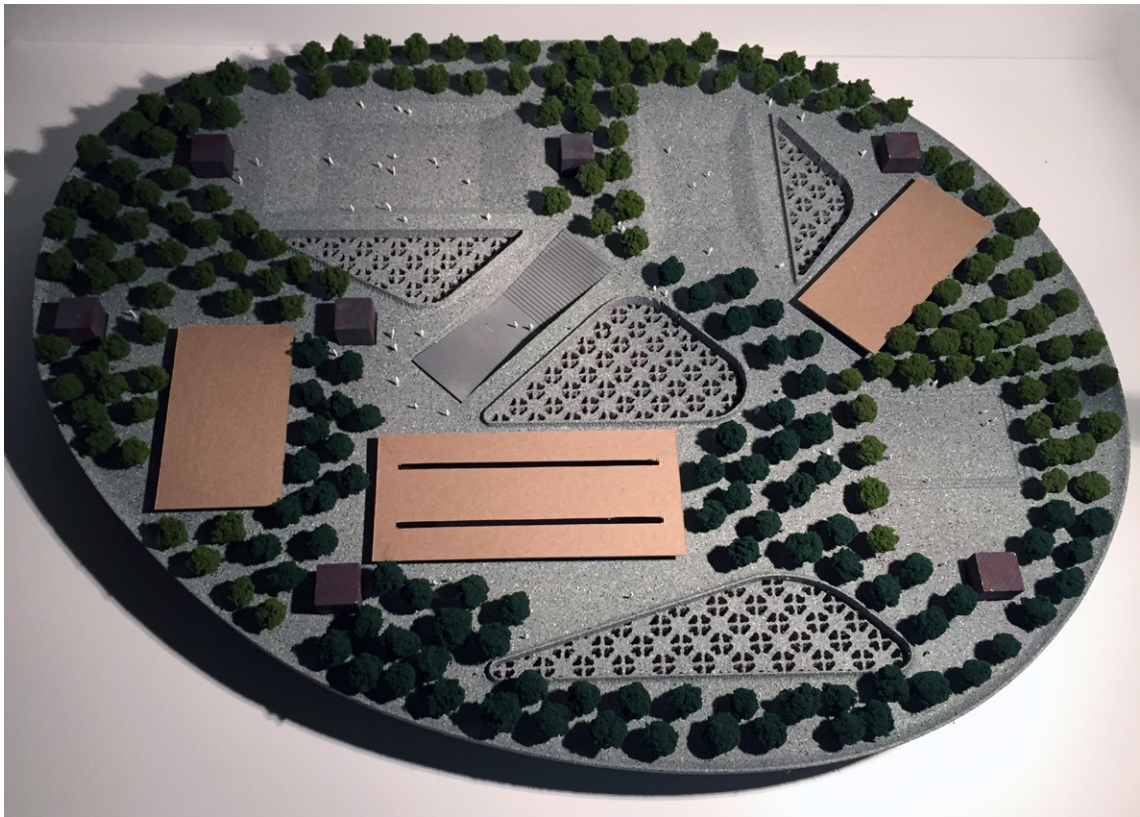*Fig. 4.10* *Physical Model. Elevation Details. (pages 175 - 179)*
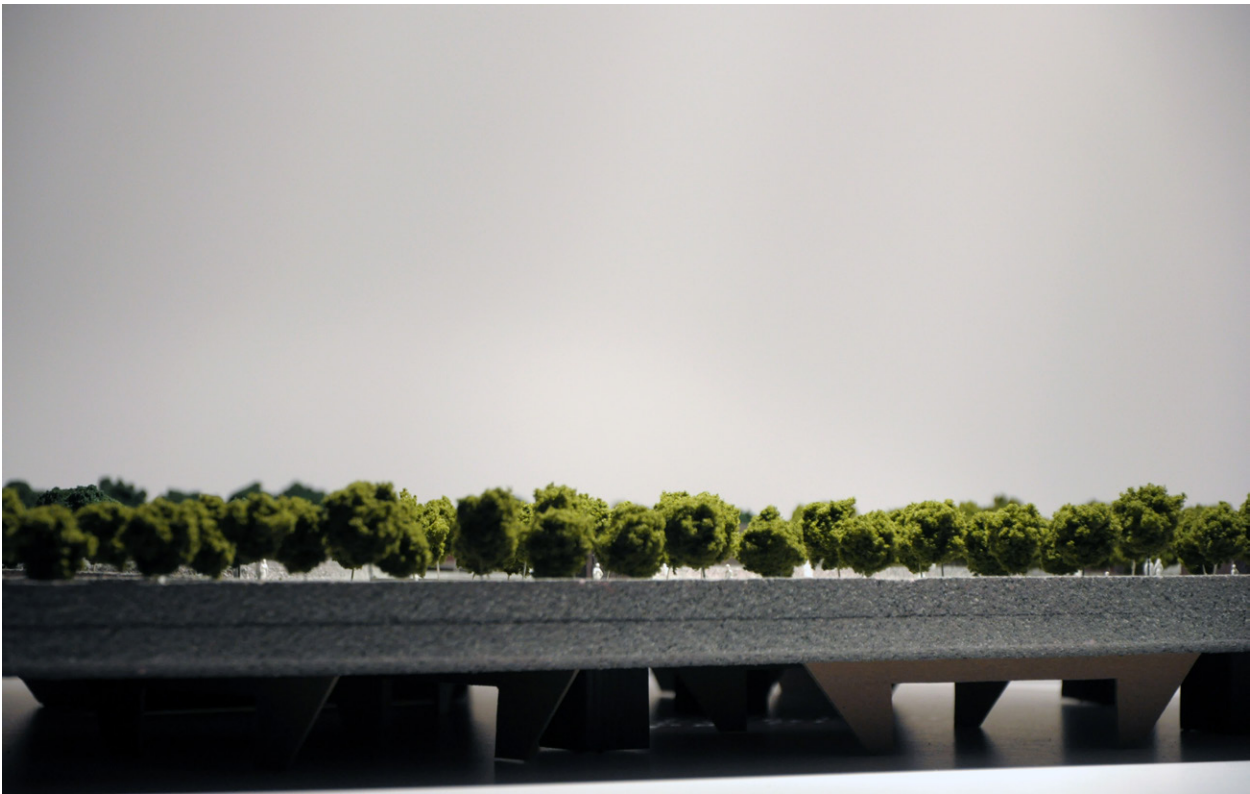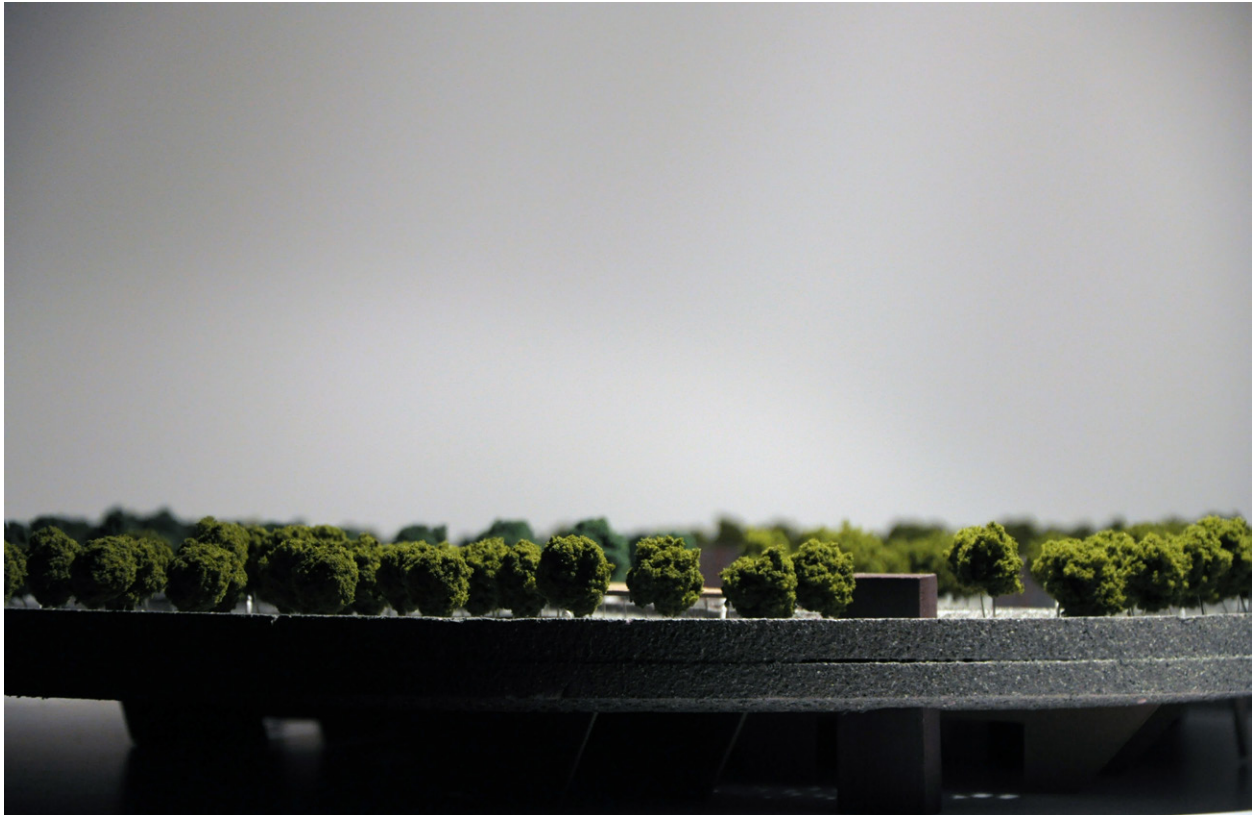
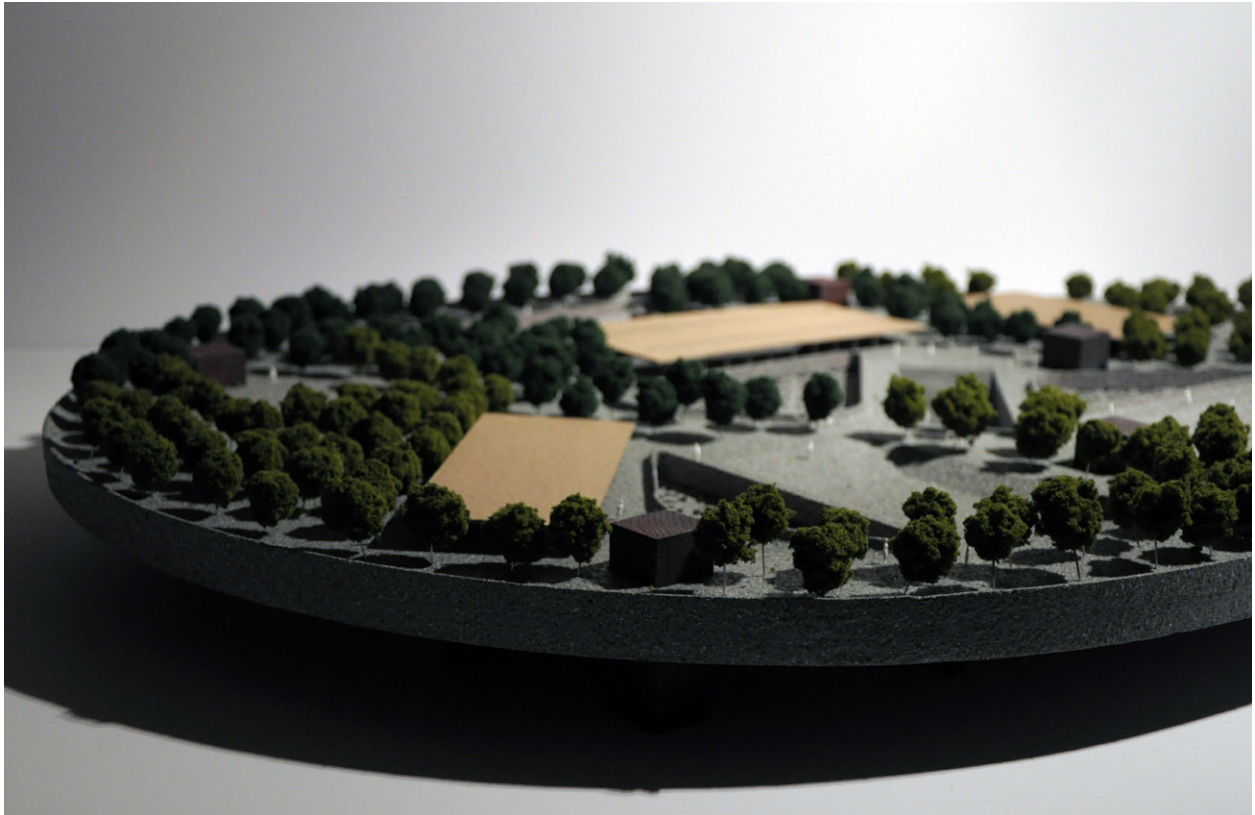**Fig. 4.11** *Physical Model. Plan View.*

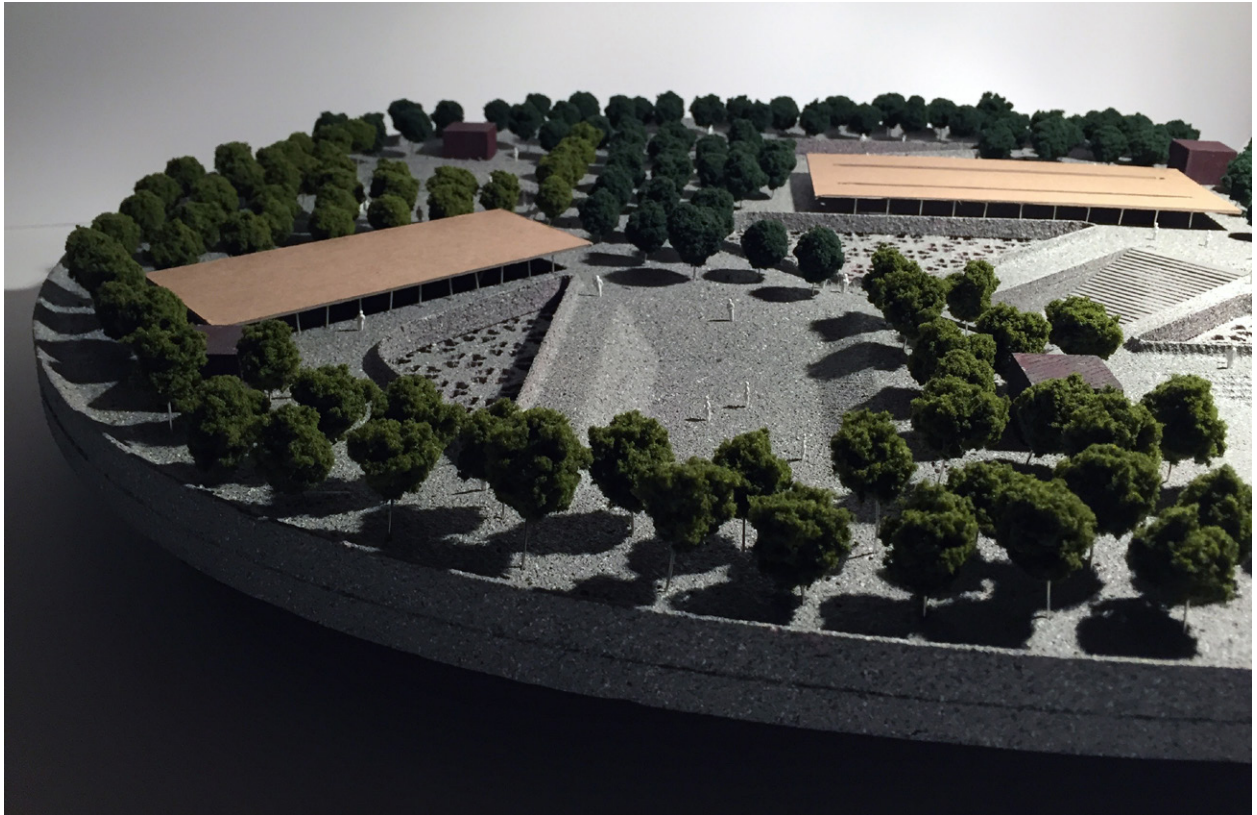**Fig. 4.12** *Physical Model. View across roofscape.*
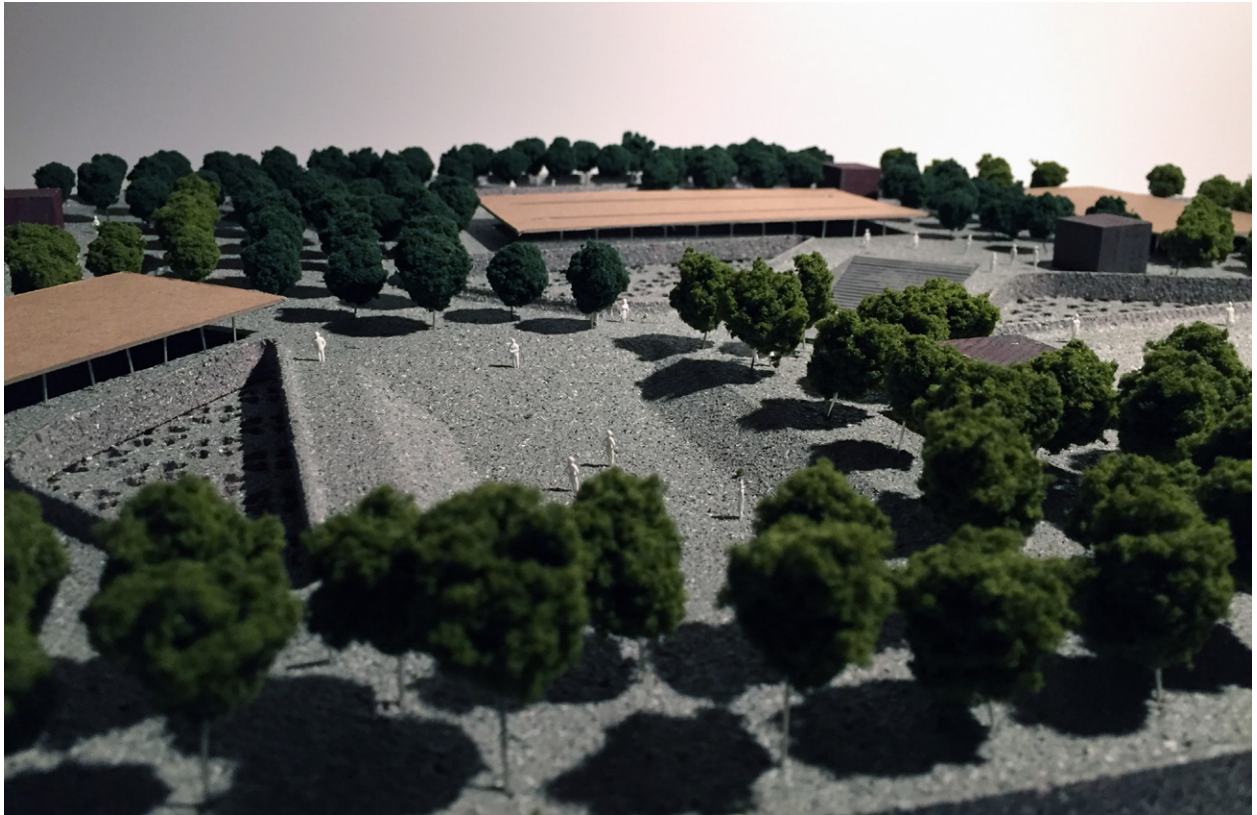
Fig. 4.13 *Physical Model. View across roofscape.*

Fig. 4.14 *Physical Model. Close-up of roofscape.*