On Political Conflict and Architecture: Evaluation of the Architectural Context of Jerusalem's Conflict

Yara Saifi

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Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

_____
Prof. Dr. Elvan Yılmaz
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture

_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Özgür Dinçyürek
Chair, Department of Architecture

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture.

_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yonca Hürol
Supervisor

Examining Committee
_____

1. Prof. Dr. Kutsal Öztürk   _____

2. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın   _____

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ABSTRACT

As a result of the economical boom in the 90's, the architecture of the recent age is increasingly charged with the task of creating sites of attraction through extravagant aesthetical qualities. Such architecture extends its role into creating a discourse to peace in conflict zones, one example is Jerusalem. This thesis evaluates such intentions in respect to a general aim that discusses architecture in relation to politics in the context of conflict zones. The discussion is built in reference to two recent architectural/structural works in Jerusalem: the Bridge of Strings and the proposal to a Museum of Tolerance. Both works' aesthetical qualities simultaneously address the conflict in Jerusalem in a diverse manner by ignoring the reality of the city's mythical unification between the Arabs and Israeli groups, who are in conflict over claims of ownership. To establish an evaluation to both the Museum and the Bridge relation with the conflict, the role of context comes into play. Therefore, the context is categorized into both Foreground and Background buildings, where a discussion revolves around their relation to the political conflict and the empirical reality, the context so to speak. The Museum and the Bridge represent foreground buildings and Background Buildings are represented with a set of twenty buildings traced around the environs of the Old City of Jerusalem with an aesthetical appearance linked to the conflict, outlined and recorded for the purpose of this research study. The literature review on context and conflict presents three different categories of conflicted context; A Determined, A Vague and An Ongoing Conflicted Contexts. Whilst Jerusalem represents Ongoing conflicted context, the first and the second conflicted contexts are further elaborated and examined by a building each that symbolizes the conflict it represents, The Jewish Museum in Berlin and both Lefkoşa and Nicosia

Museum of National Struggle. These two symbolic buildings are both specific memorial museums in which they establish a link between architecture and politically past events by considering the conflicted contexts. Therefore, investigating into these symbolic buildings will serve as an extended literature review in form of analysing architectural buildings on the issue of foreground and their relation to political conflict.

Based on observation and critical evaluation of the cases, the study argues that works of international reference need not only to consider the physical coherence of the city but the conflicted reality. An original discussion is presented in terms of the larger literature of architecture in relation to power within contextual issues, which suggests that context is rather a juxtaposition of different layers mainly political in conflict zones. Ultimately this argument will offer a critical account to Jerusalem's contemporary architecture discourse to peace in periods of conflict.

Keywords: Conflict, Context, Starchitecture, Jerusalem, Architecture and Politics.

ÖZ

1990'lı yıllarda gerçekleşen ekonomik patlamanın bir sonucu olarak, günümüz mimarisi, abartılı estetik nitelikleriyle çekim merkezleri yaratma görevi üstlenmek durumunda kalmıştır. Bu tür bir mimari, çatışma bölgelerinde, özellikle Kudüs'te, barış söylemi oluşturma rolünü de üstlenir. Bu tez, yukarda bahsedilen konuları, çatışma bölgelerinde mimarlık ve siyaset ilişkileri genel başlığı altında incelemektedir. Çatışma bölgelerindeki barış söylemleriyle ilgili olarak, fiziksel ve sosyal bağlamın rolünü vurgulayan çalışma, iki ana mimari/strüktürel yapı üzerinden kurgulanır: Kudüs'te yer alan 'the Bridge of Strings' (Sicimler Köprüsü) ve 'Museum of Tolerance' (Hoşgörü Müzesi) projesi. Her iki proje de, Kudüs'ün Arap ve İsrail grupları arasında mülkiyet sorunları yaşanırken birleşmesinin ancak bir hayal olabileceği gerçeğini görmezden gelerek, aslında Kudüs sorununu işaret etmektedirler. Hem Müze yapısının hem de Köprü yapısının bu çatışma ortamında değerlendirilebilmesini sağlamak için, mimaride bağlamın (context) rolü yadsınamaz. Bağlam, Ön-plan ve Arka-plan yapıları olarak kategorize edilirken, tartışma bu yapıların politik çatışma ve gözlemsel gerçeklikle kurdukları ilişkiler etrafında şekillenmektedir. Müze ve Köprü projeleri Ön-plan yapılarını temsil ederken, Arka-plan yapıları Tarihi Kudüs Şehri'nin çevresinden seçilen yirmi tane yapı ile anlatılmış ve bu çalışma için kaydedilmiştir. Bağlam ve çatışma konularındaki literatür taraması bu konuda üç farklı kategori olduğunu ortaya koyar; Kesin (Determined), Belirsiz (Vague) ve Süregelen (Ongoing) çatışma ortamları. Kudüs, Süregelen bir çatışma ortamı olarak tanımlanırken, birinci ve ikinci kategori de bu tür çatışma durumlarını temsil edecek birer yapı ile detaylı olarak incelenmiştir. Bu iki sembolik yapı, mimarlığın çatışma ortamlarında, politik

geçmişle nasıl bağlantılı olduğunu gösterir. Böylece, bu sembolik yapıların Ön-plan yapıları olarak ve politik çatışma bağlamında incelenmesi, genişletilmiş bir literatür taraması görevi görecektir.

Gözlemlere dayanarak, eleştirel tartışma ve örneklerin analizi ile temellendirilen bu tez, uluslararası referans taşıyan eserlerin, kentin sadece fiziksel tutarlığını değil, ayni zamanda mevcut çatışma gerçeklerini de göz önünde bulundurması gerektiğini savunur. Çalışma mimari ve güç ilişkisini konu alan geniş literatüre özgün bir tartışma ile katkı koymakta, ve böylece bağlamın, çatışma ortamlarında farklı, esasen politik katmanların yan yana gelişinden oluştuğunu önermektedir. Son olarak, bu çalışma Kudüs'ün çatışma döneminde barışa yönelik çağdaş mimari söylemine ilk eleştirel bakış açısını oluşturacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çatışma, Bağlam, Yıldız Mimarisi (Starchitecture), Savaş Mimarisi (Warchitecture), Kudüs, Mimarlık ve Siyaset.

To My Parents

Hassan and Nabila

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BACKGROUND

Hannah Arendt, rare among political theorists for her interest in the built environment, called architecture "the space of appearances" and argued plausibly that, because it provided the canvas for all social life, it was essentially political. Certainly no other fact of everyday life is as inescapable. You can turn off a television or a computer, avoid cash transactions, even stifle advertising's constant blare; but you cannot avoid being in the fabric of your place (Kingwell, 2007).

Mark Kingwell, a theoretician of politics and culture, questions: whom should architecture serve? Recognizing the important role of politics to space, to the architectural form and the general authority it implies, as well as emphasizing architecture's role to politics. Architecture is not politics in itself but it is political, Kingwell reads through Arendt's approach to the grammar of politics as an "invisible space" to individuals that separates and relates. On the other hand, Leon Krier (1998) suggests that architecture is not political but an instrument in politics. Whether political, in itself or an instrument to it, amongst such debates, architecture is debated to be dynamically related to politics, which is still argued by those who believe architecture is related to political apparatus and those who do not see any relation at all. Political, I argue, in the understanding of creating and facilitating the formation of meanings, creating order and shaping lives visibly and invisibly. The relation of Architecture to political practice is the starting point of this study, and much contained within the reading of the chapters of this dissertation. Yet, the content of this study is not mainly about establishing an argument on whether architecture is political or not, since it is impossible to form a direct relationship between certain forms and the politics that informs it.

However, in perusing how political power might be achieved by and related to architecture, it will become clear that this relationship varies by supporting, implying and demanding a certain approach to meanings according to their context. This link to politics can as well vary since architecture, which is a product as well as a practice in itself. This relationship can be directly visible, instrumental and portrayed in the traditional sense that politics manifests itself into architecture. This Background chapter as such, shall be more of an organizational piece to the terms, ideas and a theoretical approach to the topic from related fields rather than an extensive literature survey. The emphasis of this thesis afterwards is towards an emerging critical and growing literature and theorization of the less obvious and instrumental way architecture, indirectly portrayed in its form and space, relates to politics. A link that can be furthered into a more significant and revealing in its context, propose and connection, to conflicts is considered. This less inherent link to conflicted context complicates, the way architecture enacts to all social forms, especially to politics. This relationship is discussed in detail later in the study, but at this early stage, discussion revolves around how politics is central to architecture, meanwhile examining that relationship, which reveals in turn the different implications at hand. Moving on from this, I focus on the question: how is architecture related to political power?

With a range of critical accounts available on the link between politics and architecture, a general study of this might be not only an excessive task but also irrelevant. There are many different ways in which political conflict and conflicts are generally linked to architecture in theory, some of which will be discussed. At this point, the gathering of critical accounts, has a twofold intention: first, to maintain a critical position from the existing literature, and second, to introduce and define the

understanding of major links amongst terms and terminologies that will later be referred to in the dissertation. Yet, it will act as an opening stage to the rest of the arguments that will continue throughout the study.

POLITICS AND ARCHITECTURE- INSTRUMENTAL POWER

1. Albert Speer's Architecture and Politics

Other than focusing on the history of architecture's involvement with politics, or even the other way around. There is a range of possibilities to start with, where each representation is associated with certain implications. The play of power within architectural discourse at the early beginnings of the last century had been much articulated with the work of Hitler's architect, Albert Speer. Utilizing the classical style to employ a distinct benefit to the Nazi party to manifest a totalitarian unity, obedience and order like no other during the Weimar Republic, Speer's works bracket the period of explicit commitment of architecture to politics. Although most, if not all, of Speer's works were characterized within classical architecture, something he and Hitler adored not for its sort of favoured style, but its ability to utilize the ancient, creating a symbolic image of a long imagined history to the purity of the Arian race. Speers' infamous Ruin Theory, which I do not intend to explore in details, does not only discuss how the Neo-classical[1] serves the purpose of projecting into history, but also refers to the "romantic aesthetics of decay" of manipulating the inherit of materials in order to have a building appear older than it actually is, projecting it as a ruin. To produce such an effect, which is politically charged with nationalism through subordinating the individuals to a totalized mass, Speer utilized

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[1] Although classical in its appearance, Neo-classical is the reinventing of the classical style in reaction and during the early stages of the modern architecture. A sort of nostalgia, romanticism, and large impact on impressing. Speer practiced in the period where modern architecture was inventing itself, however, as a style he and Hitler refused. Although his works are inscribed as classical, they are referred to as neo-classical for utilizing modern means in classical forms and orders. Many buildings had been designed in the neo-classical style, famously the White House in Washington, which implies an image of democracy inspired by the styles used in ancient Greek polis.

materials and construction techniques that would decay in a short time when exposed to environmental circumstances:

The iron reinforcements protruded from concrete debris and had already begun to rust. One could easily visualize their further decay. This dreary sight led me to some thoughts I later propounded to Hitler under the pretentious heading of "A Theory of Ruin Value". The idea was that buildings of modern construction were not suited to form that "bridge of tradition" to future generations that Hitler was calling for. It was hard to imagine that rusting heaps of rubble could communicate these heroic inspirations which Hitler admired in the monuments of the past. My "theory" was intended to deal with the dilemma. By using special materials and by applying certain principles of statics, we should be able to build structures which even in a state of decay, after hundreds or (such were our reckonings) thousands of years would more or less resemble Roman models (Speer, 1970, p. 97).

Speer mentions the way he explained to Hitler how a building would look as a ruin in a romantic sense, through overgrowing ivy leaves, fallen columns, the here and there crumbled walls, where the total outline of the building would still be present and clearly distinguished. Although many of these approaches were considered to be offensive by Hitler's entourage, they were still used in accordance with Hitler's order to have future works follow the same principle (Speer, 1970).

By having the fake ruin appear natural through composing, eroding and degeneration, Speer created a new understanding to aesthetics, which utilizes the environment as a tool to build on a political paradigm through a continuous ideology that transcends time for the present and future generations.

However, the universality of the classical order as an ideal model, through, proportion, symmetry and meticulousness applied by totalitarian regimes, including not only Hitler, but also many regimes, was considered to have the capacity to

transform the social and political aspects in the same way it implied democracy and justice in other places.

Following the modern practice,[2] which thought to have defeated such explicit politicization of architecture by socially transforming architecture into a rationale relying on mathematics and science, the example by the Bauhaus,[3] was embraced. However, it could not be dismissed totally and conclusively not then, but regained a new political stance vis-à-vis in the post-modern, which sought that buildings were of "interventions in social constellations" since the rise of that movement (Heynen, 2005).

Such social interventions suggested that all buildings, even the smallest in scale, could not be thought only as "neutral backgrounds", because they were the backgrounds that architects created and as such they had a political dimension. Hilde Heynen, in her long influenced reading of the thoughts in the Cultural Theory of the Frankfurt School, believed that buildings codify, reinforce and embody the status quo. This was stated as: "Architecture can question or challenging or criticizing the status quo … It is a difficult job to do, it is not because you mean to do it, you intend to do it that the building indeed ends up doing it" (Heynen, 2005). However, the most basic model of how architecture apparatus can be an instrument to the play of

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[2] Although many believe that modernity within the architectural sphere had a political dimension in reaction to the previous political form. The Frankfurt School, including Theodor Adorno and Walter Benjamin, argues such political dimension as the architecture came in reaction to the classical bourgeois through the modern mean of dwelling, which in itself is a reaction to capitalist system that existed. A sort of refusal to erase all sorts of class difference (Zuidervaart, & Huhn, 1998).

[3] The Bauhaus that was firstly directed by Hannes Meyer resisted any alignment with the modern movement to politics, and saw architecture to be built on scientific research that is precedent to human needs (Baird, 2003). One of the reasons that much of Speer's theories is not enrolled with the theories of architecture believed to be cannoned with materials, and to some who refuses to see Speers as an architect but someone who failed architecture and succeeded as a minister instead by planning the war with Hitler.

power whether in the classical sense or not, is perhaps argued by Michael Foucault.

2. Michael Foucault's Architecture and Political Power

To Foucault, knowledge is power; where modern society exercises a control system of power and knowledge; knowledge of human beings and power that acts on human beings. To Foucault, knowledge is employed as an instrument of power tied to systems of social control, such as prisons, hospitals, and schools. Space is an important factor in the mechanism of knowledge-power relationship (Foucault, 1980) and as a result architecture became political by the end of the 18th century through the rationality of the government in expression and practice (Rainbow, 1984). Cities were established with order and efficient control, where city planning played a major role in displacing spatial facilities that were collective in types within territories, such as industrial areas, residential architecture, hygienic and public areas.

On a building scale, in *Discipline and Punish* the Panopticon, an explicit prison example designed by Jeremy Bentham, invoked Foucault's "disciplinary society" of observation and control was presented, stating that all postures of hierarchical structures resemble the mechanism of the prison (Foucault, 1995, pp. 195-228). Stimulated by Jeremy Bentham's "panopticon" on reforming prisoners, Foucault identifies an "architectural apparatus" possessed with the principle of a tower at a centre of a circular prison in order to observe and watch the others "prisoners" locked up in cells around its perimeter. The significance of this mechanism is not only allowing the guard in the tower to monitor prisoners but the prisoners feeling the gaze of the guard whom he may or may not be there. The feeling of being watched imply the instrument of discipline by forcing the bodies to obey and follow the rules (Figure 1) (Foucault, 1995, pp. 169-170). Such articulation of spaces can be

implemented not only in architectural works that are informed with control in their type like prisons, but in spaces that demand a mechanism of order.
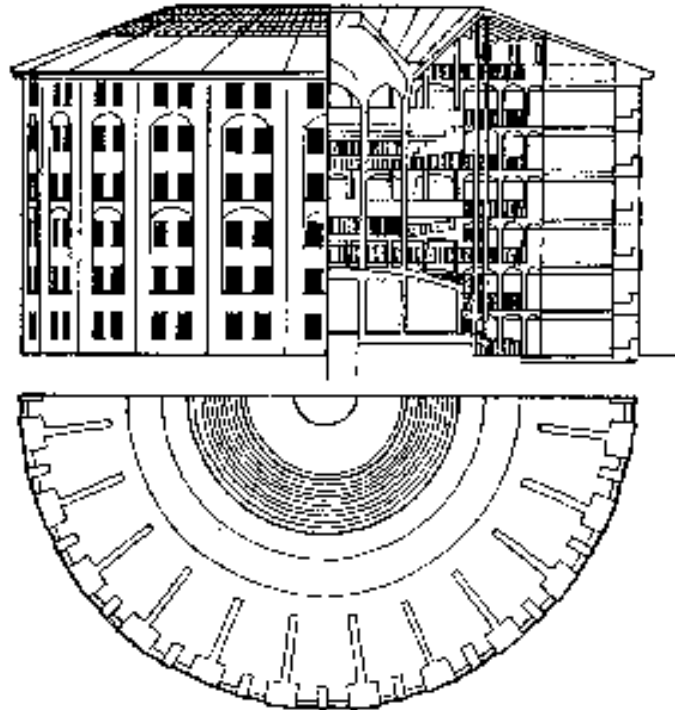
Figure 1. J. Bentham, The Panopticon. Above: Section and elevation of the prison. Below: Half of the plan of the circular prison (Foucault, 1975: 171).

3. George Bataille's Architecture and Political Power

When Foucault denounces architecture relation to instrumental power in his analysis to institutions and spatial organization like the prison, Georges Bataille denounces architecture as being a prison in itself because of its complex relation to authorities and the hierarchical orders. At this point the architecture's reflecting social order would refer to a certain level of authority. To Bataille the origin of architecture is the prison, and not the house or the temple as architecture history discusses. Referring to the taking of the Bastille prison during the French Revolution, Bataille writes: "architecture is the expression of every society's very being … It is, in fact, obvious that monuments inspire social prudence and often real fear. The storming of the Bastille is symbolic of this state affairs: it is hard to explain this mass movement

other than through the people's animosity (animus) against the monuments that are its real master" (Bataille, 1997, p. 20). But Bataille's prison is an architecture that can be seen, which can impress and attract notice, by being transparent, imposing, and externally expressive. This is different to that of Foucault's in the way he reflects architecture as introverted, internal, containing and a restricting disciplinary order. The embodiment of architecture to Bataille is the representation of authority that brings and draws attention to itself, yet, demands expression from people to act and speak in its face, as opposed to that of Foucault's which imposes silence because it is hidden and repressing, creating and producing madness. The Bastille, which Bataille saw in its revealing image of repression, inspires people and behaviors that are socially transformative into the good and a revolution against monuments. In a short text entitled *Architecture*, Bataille refers to architectural order as the bonding form of human from the beginning; where development is only taking place within architecture. So if one attacks architecture one attacks people and similarly repression is practiced upon man through his architecture. Moving on from the point that this basic form was the prison, it could be concluded that a person's first form is the prison, and that taking and the revolution over the prison (referring to Bastille) is a form of a revolt against man (Bataille, 1997). In other words, and in Bataille's words the revolt against monumental works that imposes order on humans is a reaction against the meanings it creates, maybe the way modernity had revolted against the classical and the living conditions that existed before it.

Regardless of the different opinions explaining the relationship between architecture and politics in history, there are still allegations that this relationship still exists in our era. As mentioned previously, it is hard to position a direct relationship between the model of architecture and the way political dimension interplays. It can be

discussed that it is even hard if not impossible to present on the different models of that relationship, since it is vital and essential, yet, associated with the context it intends to appear in. It that had been argued by Frederic Jameson (1997) that the different interface between political power and architecture is distinct to the large context it exists in. And such context in this respect is not influenced by the physical location of an architectural work, but may vary between obvious circumstances that make that relation appear through recognized symbols of power (in conflict and struggle areas), or context of political status quo (in the hand of the ruling power) or even representational (that embodies on social matters of a certain period) and sometimes ambiguous and less transparent in situ of its existence informed by the intention of its architect and its designer (that is circumstantial).

4. Segregation Theory

So how is that context or the political content projected for a certain architectural work can be related to politics? How is that relationship interpreted and how does it reside in the architecture practice within the domain of politics in the contemporary means? How does such a designation - aggressive in the understating of Bataille and a madness factory in Foucault's instrumentality, produce architecture that is related to political power? And how do others relate to that relationship?

Foucault's critique of disciplinary societies and spatial control mechanism is lately inaugurated by what might be called the study of aesthetics within critical and terrorism measures and had seen a new approach to the process and practices of urban/city planning as well as architecture after the attack of 9/11. This critical approach has been described and identified as a new movement in the treatment of public-urban places of cities that are visual symbols of defence from the war on

terror (Coaffee, O'Hare, & Hawkesworth, 2009). Crowded city spaces and symbols of visible security affected the way the built environment is being read, or mostly miss translated as to the awareness of surveillance it brings. Leaving more public spaces abandoned and undesired, symbolizes high protection and safety as well as a high visual impact and attraction to terror threat. As a result, the critical approach by both theorists/ architects as well as the government including urban and city planning made it obvious that architecture involved with security/surveillance evolving around major metropolitans should have a new turn in policy. By giving major aesthetical importance to walls, fences, and all the other security elements through design, it was believed that once those elements were an eyesore in a city, they attracted more attention to threats of terror: "Despite pronouncements that the main task of the state is to protect its population, devices and designs for safety can achieve quite the opposite effect – fearfulness, suspicion, paranoia, exclusion and ultimately insecurity" (Coaffee, O'Hare, & Hawkesworth, 2009, p. 506). Yet, as they disappear through an aesthetical appearance that is surrounded with the rest of the built environment around them, they might reflect and transmit safety without creating panic amongst the users (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Left: Security Balustrade along Whitehall, London. Right: ARSENAL, Ornamental security facade for the Emirates Stadium (Coaffee, O'hare, & Hawkesworth, 2009).

This is valid for not only on the larger scale that was affected (urban and city scale) but on the building scale as well. Studies and the Research of Panic addresses that buildings should be easily exited during any emergency or panic time. Existing in such situations became an essential element to consider as much as the entrance to the buildings (Truby, 2008).

Architecture of terror and the shift between the visible to the invisible in ordering people's lives by a considerable literature on the analysis of architecture involved with political conflicts and terror turns back to Foucault's original discussion: "Discipline is an art of rank, a technique for the transformation of arrangements" (Foucault, 1995, p. 146) "invisibility is a guarantee of order" (Foucault, 1995, p. 200). Foucault's control mechanism was a hidden one, yet originating in a range of disciplines, from urban sociology to cultural studies. Involving analyses of social class and the disciplines of art and criticism, this discourse has been marked as an interdisciplinary among art, humanities, social theories and regional studies.

For instance, Mike Davis post-liberal Los Angeles as he calls it, is a reflection on security efforts and tendencies of urban design, architecture and the police. For social relations the built environment is an image of repression in space and movement. To secure the city against violence, increased crime rates and the war on drugs, the police seal and barricade the poor neighbourhoods in Los Angeles. As a result, the central parts gradually become self-contained within the ethnic and class boundaries against Latinos, black and homeless whites in enclaves and are restricted to certain areas. This is a defence of the luxurious life that destroys public spaces, as Davis claims. Similarly, mega structures, celebrity architects, developers and investors buildings are located centrally within the city (Davis, 2006a, p. 19).

Although the relationship may vary between visible and invisible, it is always there. But then what really remarks such opposition, or what made such opposition valid? What makes such practice valid in today's era, an era known for its media, enlightenment, individuality agaist the mass and liberal[4] form of living?

Two premises are of particular interest to justify the reasons behind how such practices of imposing power (political) on people still manage to find (creatively, one can say) their way to camouflage the reality of the invisible politics. Whilst the first is argued from an architectural perspective or more from a building scale approach, the other is territorial and larger in terms of a form of colonization, expressed in Neil Leach's Anaesthetics of Architecture and Mark Neocleous Peace and War delusion. Leach justifies the necessity as well as the relevance of his text within architectural culture, as not only open to the liberal but also collapsing into compliance with its standards, rules and laws. The premise of the notion on Liberalism coincides with the same liberal myth of the disjunction between peace and war discussed by Neocleous. Whilst their arguments both stem from similar roots, the first sees the role of the image in the domain of architecture as a narcotic effect that diminishes the awareness of the political and the social. And the other discusses it from law and international laws perspective as the image between war and peace is becoming vague. This work aims to present this perspective without the intention on getting into the details of or debates on Liberalism itself.

THE IMAGE

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[4] I refer to the notion of the term here that is commonly thought with the introduction of liberal approaches, democracy is definitely attained in the social life. Referring to the *end of history*, a term that had been used first by Francis Fukuyama in the essay "the end of history?", where he found history ending with the invasion of the western liberal democracy, as the last form of human government to the rest of the world. Though, he had been criticized intensively and the term had been refused and seen as a false interpretation of Marx's notion on the end of pre-history (Fukuyama, 2007).

The image and the obsession with it, was seen by Leach (1999) as an outcome of the contemporary world's communication systems, information societies. Moving on from the point that as the amount of information increases the meaning is lost, the world of signs is of particular interest, even though signs are no more visible and do not carry any meanings. Baudrillard (1995) falsifies this situation in terms of simulation-simulacra and hyperreality of the image. To him the virtual image is a new reality or "hypereal", sealed and enveloped in its own world and out of reference to the real world, yet, claiming its authenticity to the real. In contrast to the real, this imaginary world, which has no more place to exist, replicates values through its myth to make-believe. Disneyland and the Coca-Cola products are examples here. Coca-Colas claims using healthy materials in its industrially manufactured products, whereas Disneyland's great success in the make believe world is created in a contrast with the real world outside.

The main source of this problem is the introduction of art into everything in the modern culture, where everything is becoming aestheticized and everything became appropriated as art. This is similar to the way architecture is utilized by politics. Baudrillard extends to say that everything is aestheticized, even the political and the sexual. This "obesity", lead by the saturation of aesthetics to everything, which results in a loss of meanings, forces art to disappear. Dominating the image, says Baudrillard, aesthetics now dominates other domains: "Everything aestheticizes itself: politics aestheticizes itself into the spectacle, sex into advertising and pornography, and the whole gamut of activities into what is held to be called culture, which is something totally different from art; this culture is an advertising and media semiologizing process which invades everything" (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 79).

Such aesthetical images lacking and emptied of contents and meanings, affect the measurement of art, the paradox as Leach sees it is the liberation of the notion of the work of art. As standard good works to measure against and appreciate disappear, it is instead replaced with a type of art that is saturated and fascinated with excess. Everything, even the insignificant is aestheticized including the industrial machinery, under the process of aesthticization with the condition of hyperreality and the operations of communication and information (Leach, 1999, p. 7). Examples on this argument are endless, including the military aesthetics within the civilian streets.

Walter Benjamin, one of the leading figures of the Frankfurt school, had coined the theory of the aestheticization of politics and its effects first in the Theories of German Fascism, and then redeveloped that in his essay, The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction. His concern in the second one was the replacement of ethical concerns with aesthetical ones mainly in the political agenda, in which he detected a theory of war: "all efforts to render politics aesthetic culminate in one thing: war" (Benjamin, 2007, p. 241). Benjamin offers a critique of the relationship between politics and aesthetics; two entities that are traditionally thought to have little in common although they contradict each other. He considered them when joined together as the face of Fascism. Fascism, in his understanding is not the social phenomena that came to rise in the post WWI period and had caused him his life. For him, fascism is the extreme moment that will reappears whenever politics is asetheticized. Benjamin's material to illustrate the exploiting of the aestheticization of politics is analyzed through the Futurists, especially in the work of the poet Filippo T. Marinetti. Reflecting how Benjamin sees the sin side of manifesting war and its experience as an aesthetical one.

Benjamin's original discussion argues that modernity and its continuous increase in the technological production is constrained with the "existing property structure" and therefore cannot be utilized in the natural manner as such: *"Fiat ars-pereat mundus" (create art- destroy the world)* says Fascism, and, as Marinetti admits, "expects war to supply the artistic gratification of a sense perception that has been changed by technology" (Benjamin, 2007 , p. 234). Benjamin would blame this upon the movement that saw art for the sake of art (L'art pour l'art). The slogan originally supported the inherent true value of art separated from any moral, ethical, social or utilitarian function, resulting in an independent and stand-alone version. To Benjamin, the idealism that abstracts art from its political and social context is "consummated" in Fascism:

This is evidently the consummation of "L'art pour l'art". Mankind, which in Homer's time was an object of contemplation for the Olympian gods, now is one for itself. Its self-alienation has reached such a degree that it can experience its own destruction as an aesthetic pleasure of the first order. This is the situation of politics which Fascism is rendering aesthetic. Communism responds by politicizing art (Benjamin, 2007 , p. 242).

Leach, although agreeing that Benjamin's comments appear to be true for the world of aesthetics, does not consider them to be quiet contradictory. He claims that the effect of the aestheticization of politics is clear enough when exploited in the process of realizing their potential. With no coincidence it is up to again one architect, Speer, who had masterminded that in the 1934 Zeppelin Field in Nuremburg, Leach claims. The Nazi's political spectacular rally was turned into a work of art by involving the mass not only as witnesses but with participation as well. Speer's "Cathedral of Light" consisted of 130 arranged battery anti-craft searchlights around the fields and projected towards the sky at intervals of 40 feet. Speer used the advantage of dramatizing the spectacle by using the giant like columns searchlights whilst

masking the unattractive march of the party's bureaucrats. That sublime in which art aligns itself to war and its intensity, along the aesthetic celebration of violence, fascism exploited the aestheticization of politics (Leach, 1999, p. 21).
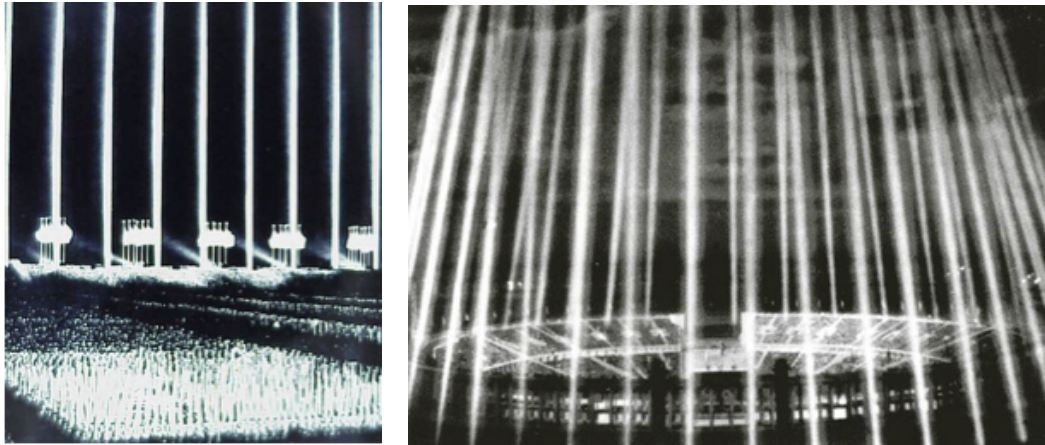
Figure 3. Albert Speer, "Cathedral of Light" (Leach, 1999).

The appropriation of aesthetics to mask, change and/or veil reality is more dangerous in manipulating the mass more than the adoption of an architectural image in a formal model. What is addressed in the formal model here is the ideological approach to adapt a certain form that marches with the party's aesthetical ground, an example that is Hitler's adoration of the classical approach in Germany's architecture. This in the historical perspective is rather an architectural form that adheres to a certain system and is recognized with the political ramification in the traditional sense.

This remains the issue today, although humanity had suffered from the event of Auschwitz, architecture and architects of today are still involved in producing an architecture that is engaged in a way or another with instrumental politics, through the imposition of meanings that manipulate the mass. Yet, at some points architecture through the "culture industry" according to Adorno did not escape what

Speer and the Nazi's were once producing. The reasons behind this and the way architecture is seen from such a perspective are still being questioned today.

Adorno's famous quote *"writing poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric"* (Adorno T. W., 1995, p. 34) has been puzzling much of the scholars in pursuing answers to the possibility for art's continuation after this event (see Gillian Rose, Architecture after Auschwitz, 1993). On the other hand, in the case to Adorno, the changes in art after Auschwitz were questioned (Hürol, 2009) whilst pointing out the possibility of art's presence in the "cultural industry" as well. The main threat he had seen as affecting high art, was the manipulation of the mass through consumption and continuous creation of needs which were to be satisfied with capitalism; in other words, the standardized production of the culture into a popular culture. The inherence of the two accounts becomes even clearer in the second half of the twenty-first century during modernist orthodoxy. In perusing the trends and fashions of the century that was immensely linked with the market, alongside the production of an ideology not different to that of Speer, this was turning into a "religion" which became impossible for architects to abandon as it served to benefit a power elite and ideology at the expense of other ethical matters. Seeing that most of the architects' designs of their buildings were nothing but a satisfaction to other architects only, Robert Goodman addressed this arrogant approach of architects. Accordingly, a "good design" produced in such practice is usually treated as and is dependent on its visual sense as an ART on the account of meeting users needs: "The more architecture can be described in the morally neutral currency of aesthetics, devoid of political content, for the people affected, the more elite and the more removed from the political review of ordinary people become the experts (architects) who use this currency" (Goodman, 1971, p. 113). The implications of the arts' notion and architects

ideology are far-reaching, but the important thing to keep in mind here is that both notions are entirely compatible and are indeed important for the discussion of politics relationship to power, as we shall see later.

WAR AT PEACE- PEACE AT WAR
Although war and peace, provoke extreme opposites, the discussion will show that they coincide with one another. Moving on from the related literature, it can be stated that the discussions of war cannot happen without discussions of peace, or when we are talking about peace we are originally talking about war and vice versa.

In a recent article by Mark Neocleous (2010) entitled *War as peace, peace as pacification*, it is argued that international laws, national laws of the States and the ideology of security is a liberal myth and that the liberal order has been constructed upon the slogan that "peace comes through law". Through Hans Kelsen, Neocleous constructs his argument by stating that with the use of force to monopolize communities, law insures peace and security. Although, Necoleous interests argue that "the Left had cut itself off from developing concepts of war outside the disciplines of International Relations and strategic studies" (Neocleous, 2010, p. 9) what makes this argument interesting is that war and peace are not presented as two distinguishable concepts, yet, their differences had been blurred and misconnected in history. This can be supported by one of the quotes that Neocleous himself refers to at the start of his article:

To stress one's own love of peace is always the close concern of those who have instigated war. But he who wants peace should speak of war. He should speak of the past one … and, above all, he should speak of the coming one (Benjamin, 2007, pp. 56-57).

The continuity of war is slowly established, whereas in the past declaring war would, to the contrary, have expressed the present of a discontinuity. Already, this continuity has rendered war and peace indistinguishable … In the end, these American wars … are not really distinguishable from the continuity of peace (Badiou, 2003, p. 39).

We no longer have wars in the old sense of a regulated conflict between sovereign states … but struggles between groups of Homo sacer … which violates the rules of universal human rights (Zizek, 2002, pp. 93-94).

According to the Liberal systems, peace and security are expected to come together, where peace is a focal aim within civil societies and the state exists to ensure that peace is provided through law and international laws which are there to ensure peace among other states (Neocleous, 2010). When peace was expressed as an ideology within a political context in order to maintain the good of the whole world, it was brought through war. Neocleous believes that this coincide between war and peace and the idea that peace can only come through war is not new, but had been rooted prior to the rise of the Spanish colonial power before the 15th century: "Spanish age of International law" in the 15th century. I shall go through this example, as it shows how the war justified violence, terror and slaughter against humanity for the sake of peace in history and how much of this conception is still valid and continuous within the recent "war on terror".

The American Indian problem became an important issue in discussions of human rights within one universal world of all humankind consisting of culturally different sovereign states. According to Neocleous, the Spanish positioned colonial domination at the heart of international laws, where issues of war and peace can be questioned through "free trade". The Spanish natural rights and duties of the law of nations, which should be maintained, includes trading and commerce. These concepts are seen as an essential human communication in which development and

knowledge is brought through exchange. The refusal by the Indians to trade is a refusal to these laws and seen as a barbaric act to prohibit the Spanish from sharing. The Spanish consider it their right to defend themselves against the offenders, by going to war: "If the barbarians … persist in their wickedness and strive to destroy the Spaniards, they may then treat them no longer as innocent enemies, but as treacherous foes against whom all right of war can be exercised" says Francisco Vitoria, whose work is crucial in the "universalist" and "humanitarian" of international law (Neocleous, 2010, p. 9). In addition to brining new rights, it engaged with war as a means of securing commerce rights. The Spanish seeing their loss and injuries, confirmed that the pagans could never sufficiently pay, which was seen as a reason for a permanent war, insuring peace and security through destruction: "War is waged to produce peace, but sometimes security cannot be obtained without wholesale destruction of the enemy. This is particularly the case in wars against the infidel, from whom peace can never be hoped for on any terms; therefore the only remedy is to eliminate all of them who are capable of bearing arms, given that they are already guilty" (Neocleous, 2010, p. 11). The whole approach gave rights to the Western thoughts on colonizing, following the steps of the Spanish and justifying war through those law rights.

The "no hope for peace" became the justification of today's' warfare cult, some examples of which are war in Iraq, Afghanistan and Gaza; as well as justification to the new military developments in the recent decade. The real Cold War only took place in people's minds, which was seen as a threat even in the most remote areas, as noted by Stephan Truby "the atomic bomb posed a deadly threat" (Truby, 2008 , p. 77). Jean Baudrillard would agree on the same issues *in The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*, that Gulf War through the media and the television is treated like a basketball

match (Baudrillard, 1995). Neil Leach, states that the incapacity to grasp the reality of war as it is *"(Gulf War) rinsed of its ontological reality as a war to become "hyprereal" form of entertainment"* (Leach, 1999, p. 26).

On an architectural level, the collision between peace and war cannot be more sarcastic as it is in the case of re-building the Iraq after the recent war. As a matter of fact, this war is more of a war of construction rather than a war of destruction, since more efforts and large budgets are pouring into the country to help build it instead of avoiding or stopping the war. Therefore, considering that a great deal of (re) construction takes place during the periods following wars, does this correspond to the creation of more peaceful relationships among inhabitants in the future? Or more necessarily does it even bring peace?

The quest to answer these questions brings the discussion to Adorno's dictum "to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric". While the main aim here is not getting into long discussions regarding the possibility of art, including architecture, to really replace what had been destroyed and its ability to continue after the political disasters. It is still important to question changes in art including architecture before and after the disasters. Specifically, how far can the contemporary architectural culture go in establishing new platforms to veneer the disasters as much as to draw on political and social awareness through aesthetical practice? Or in other words, being able to bring in change and create a difference between the war, post-war and peaceful periods and conditions.

Especially, in a world obsessed with aestheticization of the world and the aestheticization of politics where war and peace conditions became delusional;

architecture is seen weaker in content and its value is reduced to the level of *the image*.

As we unpack the folds of power playing a role within the architectural apparatus, the intention is to work through a general overview of recent conflict/power-architecture literature. This power could be defined using the terms politics and conflicts, which describe the theory and practice of architecture's political ethics. While it would be a mistake to make a rigid distinction between these terms (power and politics/conflict), this thesis is more concerned with the literature of war disasters theories and social-ethnical group conflicts, and particularly with architectures' critical approach. It is to this literature that the thesis will now focus on more depth, through identifying trends, naming significant theories, and pointing out concepts in this discourse. This research study includes general observations on the changing nature of the understanding of peace in opposition to war, the way in which it has been affected and changed by the discourse of critical war/conflict-architecture theories.

WARCHITECTURE, ARCHITECTURE INVOLVED WITH POLITICS WITHIN CONFLICTS, STRUGGLES AND WARS.
Andrew Herscher (2008) questions the distinctions between war and architecture, which he believes will open up new ways of examining and understanding "wartime violence against architecture, and connect violence against architecture to emergent discussions of war, violence, and modernity in and across other disciplines". The term "warchitecture" is used to describe catastrophic physical destruction to architectural pieces of cities at war. His reflection emerges with images of the destructed buildings of Sarajevo during the 1992-1996 siege.

This theory is invoked by a fundamental distinction between the irrational/rational, un/intentional destruction of cultural artefacts-architecture, which is to him most of the time "barbaric and senseless". Quoting from a Serbian architect, Bogdan Bogdanovic in Herscher's essay:

The civilized world . . . will never forget the way we destroyed our cities. We Serbs shall be remembered as despoilers of cities. The horror felt by the West is understandable: for centuries it has linked the concepts 'city' and 'civilization', associating them even on an etymological level. It therefore has no choice but to view the destruction of cities as flagrant, wanton opposition to the highest values of civilization (Herscher, 2008 , pp. 39-40).

Although Herscher's theory, related to visible and invisibility, might be directed to a power that is not instrumental in Foucault's terms, it is considered as a symbolic cultural artefact in the general injustice of architecture. At the same time, Bevan (2006) had seen that the architectural works that continue to represent the original owners are the most commonly targeted for destruction during and following wars. However, this research includes the reflection of this notion on the brutal practice of political power through architecture and the landscape, which is not symbolized as a war machine. Although architecture's aesthetics is not part of the military politics in manipulating the mass any more, since the nature of the war had changed, the army had to learn to adapt to cities and its systems to manipulate it in a different sense. Evidently today's cities are technically and socially more complex, due to the layering of several systems, which manipulate and control the infrastructure, a factor considered to be vital for military success, according to Stephan Graham (2004). Urban planning and architecture became a tool for controlling this effect by involving architecture and architects as a political instrument of knowledge used for military purposes. Eyal Weizman represents the relationship of urban landscape and

architecture within the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians as a tool to political powers throughout different examples.

On an interview with Aviv Kokhavi, the commander of the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) paratrooper brigade with Eyal Weizman he declared that: "We know how to build and destroy and sometimes kill" (Weizman, 2006, p. 8). Weizman was after the reflection of armed conflicts on the built environment through walls, which as a physical architectural element redefines the relation between space and urban warfare tactics (Weizman, 2006, p. 8). Within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, he realized that the military had been developing new tactics based on post-modern theories including Deleuze and Guattari, Bataille and Tschumi. During the attack on the Kasbah (Old City of Nablus in the Northern West Bank) April 2002, led by Aviv Kokhavi, the operation was conceived as such:

We decided … to simply look at the space architecturally different… it contains buildings and alleys (referring to the city). The question is how do you interpret the alley? Do you interpret the alley as a place, like every architect and every town planner does, to walk through, or do you interpret the alley as a place forbidden to walk through? This depends only on interpretation. We interpreted the alley as a place forbidden to walk through…….because a weapon awaits us in the alley…. This is because the enemy interprets space in a traditional classical manner, and I do not wish to obey this interpretation and fall into his trap. Not only do I not want to fall into his trap, I want to surprise him! This is the essence of war. I need to win…. We opted for the method of moving through walls…. Like a worm that eats its way forwards- appearing outside and then disappearing (Weizman, 2006, p. 8).

The army did really move unexpectedly form the interior of the homes to their exteriors surprising the Palestinian resistance, forcing them to run into the alleys. Learning how to adjust to the urban space and adjusting it in a way, which would fit to their needs, by following the tactic of *moving through walls,* they were able to interpret the space differently. The movement that became constitutive of the camp

space cut through the walls, roofs or ceilings of the families' homes where soldiers would open their way through bombarded holes, large enough for them to pass. The family members were then assembled in a room for days with no water, toilets, food or medicine till the end of the battle. The army would then continue to move by penetrating into the adjacent neighbour's homes through the same method. The attack led to the destruction of many inhabited buildings as well as major historical buildings (Weizman, 2006).

This three-dimensional movement recomposes architectural and urban syntax, also noted by Weizman as "cuts across rather than submits to the authority of walls, borders and laws". Eyal Weizman, (2000) refers to the destruction through architectural planning in different models and different faces in the Palestinian-Israel conflict, as a system only appropriated by the army that informs the way cities are planned, just like the military is informed with education about architecture and planning.

The interesting thing in this case is how military architecture is much more responsive and adaptive in comparison to its civilian counterpart through continuous adaption. The body of criticism, which has accused war for being an extension of architecture, yet, through other means, can be brought under the general critical question of: can we still consider architecture as a human science like other sciences which are based on activities and informed by their own discourse? And what is the role of the architects within the relationship of architecture to politics? Or to put it in Lebbeus Woods's words, do architects who refrain from confronting with politics under the name of "professionalism" still believe to be creators of orders that are social and physical?

His answer to this would be: "Architects are and have always been committed to supporting the existing structure of authority and the political system behind it … It goes even beyond, in many examples in the past, but also in present times, architects have become perfect strategists in the organization of war and the machinery behind it. Architecture becomes an instrument for controlling space and has always been an apparatus for establishing boundaries, physically and mentally (Lebbeus, 1993).

But to respond to the real cause of his answer and from which the reference of argument for the study stems in terms of human value within the context of politics, architects still insist to see it as non-political. However, some may still find it hard to establish a link to politics even when it stems its reference to a status quo that is obviously political and refer to architecture as a merely professional practice.

Various accounts as Lebbeus Woods, generally set out to demonstrate that in their nature, war and architecture are similar. That is through the use of cultural context to exercise control over territories and applying strategic considerations.

However, this view might be a naïve reduction to the whole history of architectural discourse and an insult to self-respectful, sensitive architects. Yet, one thing within the modern architectural practice that does not endure this critique and which in most of the cases, is centred upon neglect and ignorance as it is always the case in wars, is the *human equation*. The fact that architecture within the modern has not only reduced the human/user value to abstraction. This is done by stripping its reference to human values with the production of abstract space (into spaces where all social values are erased into a Cartesian, mathematical and calculative reduction) (Lefebvre, 1991). In that case, it is then possible to see the practice of architecture as guilty as war genocides and speaking of the same language as the military. The army usually sees cities as territories aimed for attack whereas buildings are considered as architectural pieces in the background of terrains that are stripped of its users.

Architecture, through practices of self indulgent and centralized artistic approaches became vulnerable in its values. This increases the attack on it and liquated theories to abusive uses. For instance, a reason behind the blaming of the whole school of Bauhaus for its graduates was the designer of the Auschwitz concentration camp (Mayo, 1984).

James Mayo writes: "Buildings are part of historical processes which are embedded in a political world that architects face but often ignore. Buildings are built, but architects' theoretical concepts are often only a bridge between a theory of form and generalized users' needs, an apparently value neutral set of timeless conditions" (Mayo, 1984, p. 20).

His argument blames the education process, as the youngsters are developing values that are antagonistic to them, however, through ignorance of values, tastes as well as perception and the competence to their future users, sometimes, it is given a secondary importance. Coming to the main point, he adds: "students now often emulate current star architects who attempt to treat architecture solely as an art with little concern for social issues" (Mayo, 1984, p. 21).

Mayo's main argument of the integration of practice and theory into the sphere of architecture was by questioning technical reasoning, through addressing cultural, moral and mainly political content avoidance in the educational system. By increasing political awareness he stresses on the economical and capitalist issues especially in the U.S., sensitivities amongst students will continue to grow. To him architectural theory and history are typically treated as an analysis and technical study of forms away from the political content. To stress this point, he further

questions political incidents in the world of architecture itself to inspect the awareness of the students. An example of this are the architects in the Amsterdam School who attempted to provide worker housing as a challenge to capitalism. Moving on from Frank Lloyd Wright's political principles and the political aims of Bauhaus, it is obvious to Mayo that these questions do not have any direct answers and therefore awareness by the students.

Mayo aimed to argue how architects dismiss attention to moral and ethical issues through "selective attention". He gives the example of the architect Paul Spreiregen who suggested that an area within the city that was too grey and depressing whilst its presence is frequently visible for routes to be redirected in order to avoid and to bypass that spot through concealing it: "Could we not conceal, or at least play down, that which distorts the image of our central city's better self?" (Mayo, 1984, p. 22). Mayo argues that those areas are usually where the slums are traced. The contradiction, as Mayo sees it, exists in contradictions that architects cannot see and which exist because of the failure of the economical-political system of the governments that cannot provide proper support to all their residents.

Such realities, which mostly exist in every city, can be a reason for revolutions or demands for change. But it is with this attempt for difference that this manipulation becomes more manifested and manipulates people without the recognition that they are being cheated. This coincides with Adorno's concern when he "consider the continued existence of National Socialism within democracy potentially more threatening than the continued existence of fascist tendencies against democracy" (Adorno T. W., 1986, p. 115). What is meant by difference here is the new highly organization of aesthetics (specifically in the Star-Cult work of architecture) that has

the illusion and fantasy to appear as something or represent a certain experience when it means something else. Susan Buck-Morss's article *Aesthetics and Anaesthetics* argues that manipulation of the mass has a narcotic effect on the modern man. This is made out of reality itself however, and not by drugs and the like but with sensory addiction to appearances that tricks the senses (Buck-Morss, 1992, pp. 21-22). She sees the effect of experiencing things collectively and not individually as the new general state to create an illusion of total control. Nevertheless, the fact that art in such circumstances is ambivalent because of its definition as a sensual experience that distinguishes itself by a separation from reality is difficult to sustain (Buck-Morss, 1992).

What I want to emphasize with Moss's argument here is the Hyle effect that those differences create. Although *Hyle* would stand to mean in the phenomenological uses of the term, the description to which is perceived and not intended, this in the content of this thesis is utilized to mean that the creation of differences in aesthetical appearances would play the same role as the rest of the indifference (the creation of the difference becomes the indifference). Architecturally speaking, the immense amounts of highly aesthetical works do not create the same shock effect as they once did when their numbers increase. The over creation of highly aesthetical buildings had narcotized people, who could no longer see the messages behind that art, which was aimed to either stimulate or manipulate them into change. This repetition in a world where everything is highly aesthetical lead the perception of people becoming vague, where no one can tell which works of art provoke change and which ones are just works of art that stand for an aesthetical purposes. I would agree with Buck-Moss when she recognizes the "Crisis of Experience", which makes humanity view its destruction with enjoyment, caused by the alienation of the senses. However, I

would add that it is not only the alienation of the people from what they experience but the over repetition of what they experience that makes the senses ignore the differences. There is nothing more alien than the alien that became familiar through its over repetition and appearance in every spot of the world, even the unexpected ones. And that is to be blamed on architects at most, before any other parties can be held responsible.

Within this context, it reminds Foucault's revisiting of the Panopticon and the mechanism of the architectural apparatus to exercise power in *Space, Knowledge, Power* indicates the relationship not in the mechanism of architecture that we limit freedom but with freedom itself. Yet, the architectural apparatus in its form can only help manifest that mechanism. "I think that it can never be inherent in the structure of things to guarantee the exercise of freedom. The guarantee of freedom is freedom" (Foucault, 1997, p. 330). By reconsidering his own text, Foucault shakes the myth of the belief that the introduction of a beautifully and well-designed spaces can reduce vandalism, violence and can lead to a better world, yet turning that myth into a very enthusiastic never-land reality. But that argument does not mean that aesthetics are considered as only an experience once again and that the meanings carried with it are reduced, also expressed as purposelessness as once set by Kantian aesthetics in the *Critique of Judgment* (Kant, 2007). Agreeing with Buck-Moss in "the problem is that a great deal of what passes for "aesthetic" experience veils material reality rather than opening it up for our critical perception" (Buck-Morss, 1992), the real concern here is to emphasize that when ethical concerns are replaced with aesthetical ones, turning back to Benjamin is what this thesis focuses on. Susan Buck-Moss would definitely agree with Leach where he sees the naiveté in Lebbeus Woods' book War and Architecture –originally part of his ongoing proposal to experimental

architecture- that the destructed city of Sarajevo provokes an aesthetical experience to promote liberal politics through free spaces. Lebbeus Woods sees the destruction in Sarajevo's physical fabric as a provision for new forms of architecture in the construction/destruction incorporation. Seeing war as a form of architecture, Woods introduce three terms of architectural solutions that accept destructed buildings condition and incorporate it to an aesthetical experience ignoring the reality of the life in Sarajevo itself, Lebbeus Woods states:

Architecture and war are not incompatible. Architecture is war. War is architecture. I am at war with my time, with history, with all authority that resides in fixed and frightened forms. I am one of millions who do not fit in, who have no home, no family, no doctrine, no firm place to call my own, no known beginning or end, no "sacred and primordial site." I declare war on all icons and finalities, on all histories that would chain me with my own falseness, my own pitiful fears. I know only moments, and lifetimes that are as moments, and forms that appear with infinite strength, then "melt into air." I am an architect, a constructor of worlds, a sensualist who worships the flesh, the melody, a silhouette against the darkening sky. I cannot know your name. Nor you can know mine. Tomorrow, we begin together the construction of a city (Woods, 1993, p. 1).

The terms are introduced as the; *Injection* into spaces that are void and leave a gap between the new and old due to destruction; the *Scab*, "that shields an exposed interior space or void, protecting it during its subsequent transformations". The *Scar*, is a "deeper level of construction that fusses the new and the old, reconciling, coalescing them, without compromising either one in the name of contextual or other form of unity". They are a response to an aesthetic celebration of destructed buildings. Agreeing with Foucault's revisit of his own text, Leach, sees Woods expectation to promote liberal politics through his "free spaces" as an aestheticization of the world that fails in the architectural agenda: "architectural forms cannot determine any particular politics of use. All that architecture can do is offer spaces that might-at best –"invite" certain spatial practices. Yet Woods has not

investigated the spatial practices of a Liberal society, nor what architectural forms might best accommodate those practices" (Leach, 1999, p. 32).

A last notion to keep a window of hope to this literature, is that the relationship between architecture and politics is presented within the preface of the study for the following reasons: Although this part might appear as the literature and the background to the dissertation, it is in fact not, but it is rather a general informing ground to the literature that will be explained in later chapters. Where the issues of politics in relation to architecture, will be discussed from the perspective of architectural context. Argued in stand against the perspective that sees it limited on physicality and immediacy that is determined selectively and superficially to the adjacent landscape.

However, many question remains unanswered; would it be more crucial to illustrate who and how politics is practiced in the architectural arena per se, or is it possible for architecture to work against politics in a progressive sense and undo the political powers plugged to it? Although that might not be part of the scopes of this study to peruse such question, or even to try to limit the way that can form a model to revolt against political power, this study highlights the point that it would be political, and subjectively informed and materially justified. As such, this study aims to emphasize on the following example. Due to the fact that it can undermine any political circumstances that may be informed by it, it can be self-presenting as apolitical and claim to be informed with critical reading of the previous figures that discusses architecture relationship with politics.

Bernard Tschumi, who intends to utilize both Bataille and Foucault to develop a complicated theory argues: "Architecture only survives where it negates the form that society expects of it. Where it negates itself by transgressing the limits that history has set for it" (Tschumi, 1999, p. 34). Insisting on the role of politics in architecture, his method of developing that theory is difficult to come to its terms, this is because of the fact that he merges both the theories of Foucault and Bataille to develop his own line of thought. Projecting the possibility of architecture's role to oppose its instrumental nature of power, and the ways that it can challenge that relation by being transgressive. It is trangressive in the sense that architecture's culpability to liberate oppressed people and the rules and orders that defines by negating "the limits that history has set for it" (Tschumi, 1999, p. 34). Something more of Adornion approach to art than it is to Bataille's.

To do so, in his design "the parc de La Villette" in Paris he identifies what architecture can be by negating its essence of being a functional foremost and more artistic. To be précised, the project highlights the presence of some sort of nostalgia to the mid centuries work architecture rather than a reform of a reform, I would say, to the rational. In his claimed "deconstructive" style of transgression, he allocates small red buildings that have no function organized over a grid system. The little empty buildings had no practical need but call for functions to infill their purpose by the users of the park. What was subversive in Tschumi's terms is the specific park itself, which is located in the east of Paris, in a neighbourhood that is surrounded by multicultural and different groups of ethnicity. Yet, it is as well due to a different "how" regarding the fitting of the park with the users, and also "how" the responsible authorities control it by allocating a set of rules regarding the way buildings can be utilized. (See figure 4).

Figure 4. The parc de La Villette in Paris, Bernard Tschumi, (Bernard Tschumi Architects, (URL 4).

Of course such intention may be due to a response to a certain belief, but this can never present an answer whether or not this is the appropriate way for architecture to undermine political power. That is considering Tschumi had a certain political aim in mind that may not be responded accordingly in the project. However, it can still raise different questions regarding whether or not it is really the function that determines the link between political power and architecture. Or can we reduce the relationship between these two components to its function *only*? Can it really liberate oppressed people, and if so how and to what extend? By imposing such proposal to a critical question of how architecture can set an example to escape power, the points relevant in his work, might be irrelevant somewhere else. With this Tschumi provide a ground to project the main key question of this thesis, which is;

How is the context for the architectural matter (political in this case) can be evaluated and considered as conflicted? How do architectural works that are political in general relate to their context in the case of conflict? Can architects consider contexts as physical, immediate and related to the built-environment only?

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Political conflicts change from one context to another. They can be motivated by religious, ethnical basis as a result of a disagreement between at least two sides that have incompatible aims. Conflicts can be over values, status or resources, however, causes that trigger conflicts changes according to the context. Conflicts can produce injustice and damages in the social, cultural, psychological, and the well-being of people as they affect the built environment by damaging and destructing. On the other hand, the architecture of conflicted contexts can be shaped in/directly or negatively or positively by being influenced. People and architects usually intervene with conflicts through their architecture, they may express, serve or contribute to change to the conflict. That is since architecture has always been considered more than a production of shelter and is seen as a social product that can establish a relation to the social norms and reality. Therefore, realizing and understanding conflicts can be undertaken by identifying the architecture of its context. This thesis intends to discuss the relation of ongoing conflicts with architecture, which makes architecture political in a certain context. The focus is on Jerusalem that is marked with an ongoing conflict for more than 60 years. Yet, the intention is to define the conflict history and its context through an architectural perspective at this introductory chapter. Introducing the architecture affected by the conflict in the city will help establish a comprehensive problem definition of this study. Accordingly, it is appropriate to start with the conflict of Jerusalem and briefly introduce how

architecture has been involved. Then specifically introduce a certain architectural attitude towards the relation with the conflict that derives the problem of this thesis.

1.1 The Conflict of Jerusalem in Architectural Terms.

The conflict of Jerusalem dates back to the year 1948, when Palestine under the British Mandate rule at the time, was given to Jews suffering and fleeing Hitler's ruling in Europe. The state of Palestine, where both Arabs and Jews lived together, was divided into two parts: the West Bank and East Jerusalem were held by the Jordanians, and the rest were held by Israel except for Gaza, which came under the Egyptian rule. Other refugees flee to settle in refugee camps such as Jordan, Lebanon and Syria waiting to return and are, as of today, still waiting.

The Old City of Jerusalem, including its quarters, was on the dividing line between the two states; separated with barbed wire, mine fields and military posts around what was known as the green line (Figure 5). In 1967, the Syrians, Jordanians and Egyptians lost Jerusalem against Israel after the Six-Day war. Jerusalem, which came under the rule of Israel, was united and its Arabic citizens inhabiting the East part of the city became citizens of Israel. They were regarded as different to the Jewish Israelis and even though they were granted "permanent citizenships" which allowed them all kinds of rights, they still were not allowed to take part in the governmental and constitutional voting and election processes. In other words similar to Palestinian refugees in various Arabic countries, Jerusalem's Arabs became refugees in their own hometown.
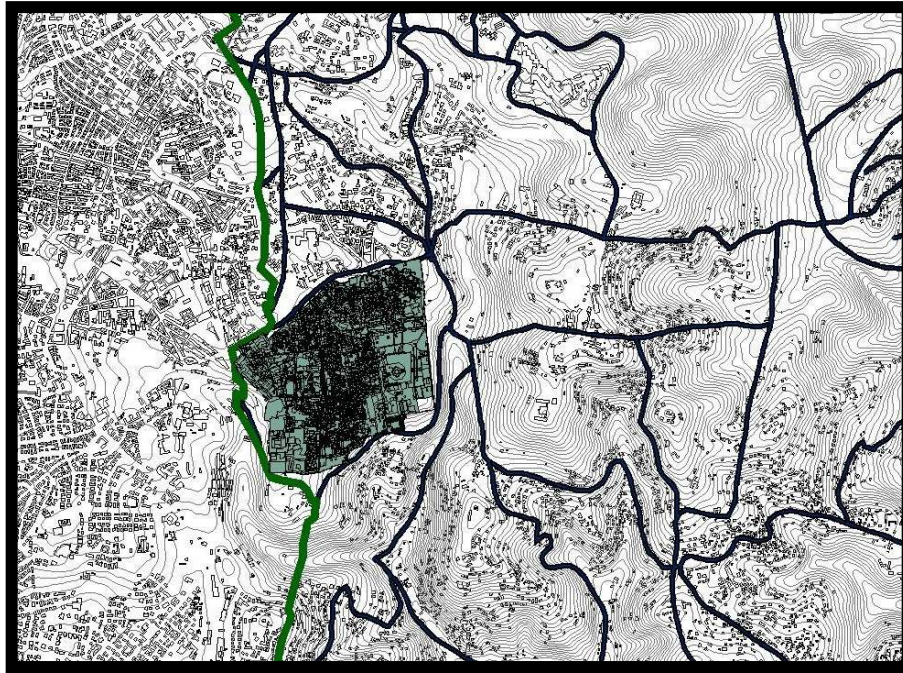
Figure 5. Map of Jerusalem during the period of 1948 and 1967, at the centre is the old city to its left is West Jerusalem, and to the right is East Jerusalem with a thick line dividing them known as the Green line.

Architecture as a result became involved with the ever-lasting conflict, changing its role and relation to political power over the period of time according to different facts: To start with, the conflict in Jerusalem is over territories, sovereignty and land claims, and architecture was present to enforce such claims. Secondly, the claims regarding ownership of the land were justified with existing architectural holy sites. The third important issue is that the relatively large demographic population would support claims to who should get to keep Jerusalem and have it under its administration. In order to enforce such a large number of populations, Jewish inhabitants were granted housing facilities that could be realized through architecture and buildings.

Therefore, architecture became involved with the conflict and politics in different matters, yet it in certain time and place it became a tool of power. In Jerusalem, architecture divides, permits, allows, controls and imposes new facts and realities

concerning the conflict and its solution. Beginning from annexing east Jerusalem in 1967, architecture became the tool to build nationhood to the new founding state of Israel. Architects at the time were also politicians representing governmental and political backgrounds aiming to create a new nation through architecture. The main goal was to find a solution that could be a "home" to Jews coming from different countries, through architecture, which would represent the new nation. Modern architecture due to techniques and technological characteristics would speed the process of expansion (Mattar, 1983; Nitzan-Shiftan, 2002 ; Schleifer, 1971 ; Weizman, 2007).

As a result, the emerging architecture recognized as Israeli settlements (Figure 6), managed to provide different political aims. Its alien appearance in the city in terms of size, order, style and organization would not only guarantee home to the large number of Jewish migrants, whose number increased largely to become the majority of the city. The change in the city into an Israelized Jerusalem was managed well, as Israelis occupied the hilltops that surrounded the city, squeezing the Arabic inhabitants to the valleys and preventing their further expansion. Such policy was not only guaranteed through the architecture created by modern means, but also the rules and regulations, which were valid for the Arabs in respect to building permits. Whilst allowing continuous expansion to Jewish settlements on the hilltops, the Arabs were and are still faced with a continuous restriction to build in their own lands, due to the long waiting procedures, high fees, distribution of the "land use" which makes Arabic lands unusable and unsuitable for building by laws. Adding to that, the changing rules and regulations, high construction costs, lack of suitable and appropriate infrastructure on the East side all resulted in illegal buildings, which in turn were faced with forced demolitions. Another policy, which had been adopted

lately, was the restriction to Arabic Israeli citizens to live in areas around the suburbs of Jerusalem or in the West Bank, justified as being outside the coverage of the municipality border. People who would not abide by these rules faced the risk of losing their citizenship. Such a risk meant that Arabs would not be allowed to benefit from services like health, work or financial support, enforcing a living situation in a compact manner to what was left of the existing buildings. This resulted in a ratio of 3-4 persons occupying one room, due to the limits in expansion (Kaminker, 1997 ; Mattar, 1983 ; Nimrod, 2008 ; Ben-Ze'ev & Aburaiya, 2004).

Figure 6. A view of the city of Jerusalem with the Temple Mount at the centre surrounded with the architecture where the Arabs dwell. At the backdrop of the figure are the mass-produced settlements where the Israeli's dwell (Source: URL8).

A later approach to control and impose order is the latest separation wall, initiated after the second uprising as a response to attacks on Israel. It was found out that this wall dividing the West Bank from the rest of Israel resulted in a 600-kilometer barrier that in some sections reaches heights of 10-meter concrete wall. The impact

of the wall results in splitting neighborhoods, fracturing the urban fabrics, separates landowners from their lands and vitiates in the commercial and social life (Brooks, Nasrallah, Khamaisi, & Abu Ghazaleh, 2005).

Overall, the relation of architecture in Jerusalem with the conflict in general, shows that architecture and political power relation and the means that hold them together through the practice of modernity, intense the conflict in the city. Where each (Arab and Israeli) on his side acts as an input to the construction of a national identity through the manner in which their spaces both serve as sites of geographical struggle. It as well demonstrates the influence of ideologies and their influence with the means of the modern aesthetical characteristics and planning that reshapes the image of Jerusalem according to national statehood goal.

1.2 Unified Jerusalem? The Tourjeman Post Museum

A relevant example, which reveals the history of Jerusalem's conflict as a much larger problem in the attempt to see the city united, and would serve to expand some of the broader questions that this dissertation intends to address in terms of the conflict.

During a very important period of the conflict, both Palestinians and Israeli signed a peace agreement – the Oslo record in 1993[5]. The outcome was a peaceful period with fewer clashes, and the establishment of a Palestinian state that could undertake

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[5] The Oslo record aimed to solve the Palestinian -Israeli conflict, led by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasser Arafat and the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1993. After 49 years of conflict in 1948, the agreement approved the establishment of a Palestinian National Authority in the West Bank and Gaza, granting more of that land in different phases, where Palestinian would be responsible to administrate themselves. The agreement meant to establish the start of a framework of negotiation between both sides on different issues; the Jerusalem problem to whether share or divide, borders, Settlements and the problem of the Palestinian refugees. The agreement was broke in 2000 at the start of the second intifada (Uprising) when Ariel Sharon entered the temple mount with a group of armed police to the mosque (Mattar, 2005).

decisions for the Arabs on certain matters. The efforts to stress on peace were part of the agenda in every aspect of life; especially the educational systems as subjects aimed to teach students about peace were introduced in the curriculums. Although the agreement promised peace and suspended other issues till later negotiations, Jerusalem's problem was not solved in reality and neither was the rest of the conflict over. A wide range of publicity efforts about peace were in action, however, movement and entry to Jerusalem became more controlled and restricted to some citizens only. This was followed with problems of the settlements that were still being built on annexed land in the Arabic east part of the city and discrimination against the Arabs living in Jerusalem and presenting them with a limitation to expansion in terms of building permits. During the search to establish grounds for the so called "peace" by both Israelis and Arabs, a decision was taken to devote an old building to establish a museum of common ground and coexistence. Accordingly, a committee was established including representatives from Israeli and informal Palestinians, aiming to renew a pre 1948 mansion. The building of interest, built in 1923, belonged to an Arabic architect, Andoni Baramki, who purchased it from Hassan Bei Tourjeman. Known as Beit Tourjeman, it is a distinctive three story red and white stone building, with Greek Corinthian columns and oriental style arches and balconies on the façade[6]. What is distinct about the building is its location and use during the periods between 1948 and 1967. The building is located along the dividing line between the West-Israel and East- Arabic Jerusalem during the war in 1948. In the long years of the division, the building, being at the frontier line, was utilized as an army post by Israel, acting as the only gate between the two parts of the city across the No Man's Land of mines and barbed wire (Abowd, 2004) (Figure 7).

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[6] Such a style is a common characteristic of the architecture outside the old city in the early years of rural expansion at the beginning of the 20th century.

Figure 7. The Beit Tourjeman, on the left, the Mandelbaum Gate, the building overlooking the only gate between the East and the West of the city 1948-1967 (Ben-Ze'ev & Ben-Ari, 1996). On the right, The destruction of the building utilized by the military, 1967 (Abowd, 2004, p. 55).

Actually, after 1967 when Jerusalem was unified under the rule of Israel, the building was turned into a museum -The Tourjeman Post Museum, with traces of the broken balconies, barbed wire and bullet traces. Today, the same line that separated the city became the road that connects the northern parts of Jerusalem to the old city. This was constructed in front of the building, where in today's Jerusalem the line is virtually believed to be the separating line between the East and the West of the city.

During the renewal program in 1993, the Tourjeman building that was coined with the division of the city would act as a symbol of unification. The aim behind the proposed museum was to create a place where the contemporary history of Jerusalem can be represented by both groups as well as to act as a meeting point. Although there was an agreement for the need of a place where different opinions could be expressed, to conduct that in reality created different opinions and conflict amongst the Palestinian and the Israeli members. The informal committee representatives were not entirely independent in expressing their political views about what a

common ground could be since they had no political or governmental role but belonged to organizations, which obliged their actions. The main difficulty was raised in regards to the way in which the conflict and the struggle were to be defined under common acceptable ground and understanding for both inhabitants. It was necessary to find a way, which would make it possible to accept the unification and the "wholeness" of the city as a concept equally recognized by both sides. The committee faced the fact that unified Jerusalem is rather a formula of "living together separately" as directed by Romann and Weingrod (1991). The conflict between both groups over territorial claims had led to a spatial division and separation in all terms, where both nations live together under in a detached manner.

Although there was a consensus on the issues of peace and the image of a unified city, or if Jerusalem would be divided again in the future. However, there was a disagreement as well as contradictions in regard to how the unification could be reflected within the rooms of the museum, as well as the variety of suggestions about how the conflict could be represented. In this case, a proposal was initially made to emphasize the holy character of the city, represented by the three religions, and suggestions to exhibits that show the Pope's visit to Jerusalem as well to images of the holy sites. This included suggestions that express the city's character through the images of children from both sides. In addition to this, ideas were developed to have the museum as a place where artists from both side could use as a ground to exhibit, which would emphasize coexistence within the museum in contrast to the reality outside. Other suggestions included exhibiting artistic and cultural products created by Palestinian and Jewish; creating an ideal unified city by pictures representing the character of different neighbourhoods and stressing on multicultural issues. Overall, such approaches could not touch on the conflict, and detaches the goal of the

museum from exhibiting and expressing it. Therefore, such suggestions would mean that the museum would turn into a boring place, emphasizing on its deadliness and its tendency of being more of a temple, reinforcing its sacredness by utilizing such symbols and discursive musicology (Ben-Ze'ev & Ben-Ari, 1996).

On the other hand, efforts to transform the museum into a forum in order to attract Palestinian visitors into the building were agreed on. However, to represent them within the exhibits presented a problem. A Palestinian representative who would add the voice of the Arabs in the museum was not officially assigned, since the initiative involving setting the establishment of the museum and its agenda belonged to the Israeli authority. Since such a multicultural place needed to be presented from both perspectives, the voices of one group should be processed by the interpretation and mediation of the other: an adviser stated that "the Palestinians will come [to the museum] if they feel that they have been portrayed truthfully" (Ben-Ze'ev & Ben-Ari, 1996, p. 11).

Arabic figures that had the chance to contribute only in discussions saw that the approach in the museum should demonstrate the reality of such coexistence, which was the main goal of the museum. The problem outside the museum's walls was not only a matter of division but also an issue of control by one side over the other. Although this did not have to be politically translated within the museum, as they demanded, the reality still had to be accurate and truthful. This demanded representing the 1967 event from the perspective of the Palestinians, allowing their heroes to appear in the museum. Seeing that such agendas would allow the conflict to become the main principle around the central organization, the Israeli committee declined such demands.

Although these attempts failed to become reality and the museum is not a place of coexistence, today it is still open to visitors and is focused on "Jerusalem - A Divided City Reunited". It is turned into a museum by the Israelis only and shows the different neighbourhoods in Jerusalem in terms of architectural styles, panoramic views the city and also exhibitions of the war 1947-1948 including historic pictures and maps of the neighbourhood. Also shown in Figure 8, today signs such as " a museum on the contact line" and "only the olive trees will be our borders" appear in front of the museum, however, there is no contribution by the Arabs.

Figure 8. The Tourjeman Post Museum recent condition (Photo: Author, 2011).

What is distinct about the approach in the museum in this study is the inability to form a common ground even in a dream of unification, which is not only architecturally planned to convey such dreams, but an appropriation to an old building where both narrative could juxtaposition over each other. What is even more striking in this study is the issue of the unification of Jerusalem, a myth that is

recently overtaking every conceptual approach of architectural works, intending to address peace.

1.3. A Diverse Relation to Political Power, the New Architectural Appearances in Jerusalem

1.3.1 Problem Definition

The relation of architecture with political power in Jerusalem does not necessarily yield to historic monuments that are already manifested by politics or to religious buildings where politics had been projected to, but to means of self-representation of opposing contemplate between Arabs and Israel as briefly introduced in the previous section. That is throughout participation in an architectural aesthetic within the questioned conflict that is unable to account itself. Therefore, the architectural aesthetics becomes a tool to think about the charged conflicts formed by political power and puts Jerusalem's unification myth under a question.

It is inspected that the context of Jerusalem comprises hierarchies amongst the contemporary architecture that relates to the conflict. The hierarchy is commanded by the nature of the architecture, which makes the context of the city: Background and Foreground buildings. The common and the frequent architecture that makes the backdrop of the context- background architecture- relates more directly to the conflict. Whilst other architectural works that represent the foreground buildings of the city, demonstrate a diverse relation to the conflict.

The Museum of Tolerance designed by Frank O. Gehry and The Bridge of Strings designed by the Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava in the heart of the city represent the foreground buildings. The two contemporary architectural works have aesthetical appearances that are not reminiscent of architecture in a conflict zone, yet they are

still political as they address the conflict in their purpose, architects statement, and representation. Both the Museum and the Bridge convey a relation with the conflict, for instance, the bridge was inaugurated on the 40th anniversary of Jerusalem's unification and the Museum is built upon issues of tolerance amongst multicultural and ethnical concerns, yet, built on a Muslim cemetery. The two cases are diverse and contradicting in the context of Jerusalem known for its conflict, that is due to their aesthetics that reminds the architectural approach at the beginning of the 90's which aimed to promote cities around the globe. On the other hand, both the Museum and the Bridge's aesthetics appear as replica of their original architects works outside Jerusalem and originating from a popular culture aim to derive attraction and attention to its extravagant aesthetical appearance and complex technology, both on the local and international scale. Such facts make these two architectural works to appear as arbitrarily latching (political) meanings to an end product such as labels in conflict zones. Mainly both the museum and the bridge as architectural works appear uncommon to the rest of the architecture of the city, which relates to the conflict more directly. That is since the everyday architecture (background architecture) projects more common and frequent images that informs about the conflict in the context of the city, which makes both the museum and the bridge to appear as unusual and rare in their relation to the conflict.

However, the architect's political intentions behind the projects may not be directly known, but their verbal statements declared in association with their works are critical along their appearances. Such issues demands evaluation in their relation to the political conflict as well as their aesthetics qualities in relation with the context that is conflicted.

Therefore, being the only two architectural works in Jerusalem that aesthetically relate to political power in a diverse manner- as not directly reflecting images that reminds the conflict- the objective is to critically evaluate the Museum and the Bridge relation to the conflicted context of Jerusalem by addressing the following questions:

1. How do both architects see their work contributing to the conflict according to their written statements?

2. How are these statements and intentions reflected in the representation of forms, symbols and actual dynamics (both in a physical and political sense)?

1.3.2 Aims and Objectives

The main objective is to critically evaluate architectural works related to political power in conflict zones, which pursues a larger aim that matter to the general architectural discourse, Context so to speak. That is since contextual issues will form the ground to evaluate the relation of architecture to political power through their relation to the conflict. The Museum and the Bridge relation to the political conflict will be evaluated according to the following criteria: Formal continuity with the existing environment (as new interventions in conflicted city); Ontological continuity with the political reality (as a contribution to conflicts); Also to their architectural characteristics to create meaningful mediums equally common to all inhabitants and recognized according to the conflicted reality.

Consequently, the context of Jerusalem will be architecturally discussed in terms of the political power steered by the conflict to act as a backdrop to evaluate the Museum and the Bridge. This signifies that two keywords are to be majorly discussed in the literature review, the first is context and the second is conflict.

Context, which usually means the setting environment that guides architectural designs and which demands considering what is "already there" and this will be discussed later in chapter two. Conflict, specifically political conflicts in the case of this thesis, which means disagreement between minimum two groups/sides at either ends on political issues, and it can be whether on-going, determined or vague (exists in a less visible way than on-going conflicts). However, considering context in terms of the conflict, then context cannot only be seen as physical (as climatical, topographical, architectural … etc.) or merely as a mean to consider the environmental surroundings, especially for political works in conflict zones. Contexts of conflict zones need to be interpreted and considered to be composed of different layers that coincidence on the physical, social after being political. Consequently, it is physically and socially untenable to separate contextual and the political reality when architecture intends to relate to conflicts and as a result the status of architectural works that ignores the reality becomes critical. This is particularly dependent on the tension between architecture as a product and architecture as a creation, in order to transcend itself artistically and socially. Accordingly, this thesis is concerned with exactly how architecture can create a meaningful link to conflicted context? Such issue is peculiarly under-examined within the discipline itself, due to the rare approaches of extravagant architectural works particularly in conflict zones. This necessitates revisiting and revising the status of contextual issues and their position to architecture, especially in conflict zones.

Accordingly, the research questions of this study can cluster around the discussion of the followings: How is the context for the architectural matter (political in this case) can be evaluated and considered as conflicted? How do architectural works that are

political in general relate to their context in the case of conflict? Can architects consider contexts as physical, immediate and related to the built-environment only? If not how does the conflict play a role to consider the context for architectural works that are political in other conflict areas?

With an objective to answer the above questions that derives this study, it is necessary to introduce the research strategy, clarifying the methodology and illustrate the reasons and the selection behind the cases.

1.3.3 Methodology and Case Selection

East Jerusalem specifically is the part of the city that creates the conflict between both Arabs and Israel. Being the side where Arabs of Jerusalem mainly inhabit since 1984, and surrounding the Old City at a closer distance. Although Jews where not allowed into East Jerusalem till 1967, today this part houses a large number of Israeli inhabitants and other Israeli institutions. The mixing of both Arabs and Israeli in this part of the city (which is not similar in the West) can be reflected in the difference of their architecture whether in mixed neighbourhoods or separate enclaves. In order to trace the architecture that tends to reflect the lack of coexistence or in other words the architecture that informs the conflict, an observation visit around the streets of the city was undertaken. To carry out the research, the intention was towards identifying/recording the architecture of the city that has a relation to political power symbolically or in appearance, as a tool to think about the charged conflict. The initial step was to record the architectural examples following these criteria:

- The contemporary buildings that reflect the conflict are recorded as this architecture represents the recent conflict between the Arabs and Israel (following the unification in 1967).

- The buildings could vary between being publicly or privately owned, regardless to their type and purpose.

- The separation wall was excluded.

- The locations of the buildings are at the crossroads for both Arabs and Israeli in their everyday routine. This excludes the west of the city which is only limited to Israeli inhabitants.

The observation tour takes Jerusalem's Old City as a starting reference, however by excluding it as it lacks contemporary examples. Then circulating around its streets in rings that enlarge towards the hilltops, this route is guided by the nature of the city, as the 'city space' of Jerusalem is located on a central plateau, surrounded by valleys and hills. The old city sits on a raised part of this plateau and the space is defined by the presence of steep edges, which form shallow valleys. The valley basin is ringed by hills on three sides, the North, the East and the West, where the Eastern/Arabic inhabitants live. The hills have a visual line to the Temple Mount (Dome of the Rock and Al Aqsa Mosque) of the old city in the Mount Scopus, the Mount of Olives, Abu Dis Hill, the Mount of Evil and Abu-tor. However, the visual axis is less powerful towards the South of the city (known as the West/Israeli Jerusalem) in view of Mount Moriah and Mount Zion (Kutcher, 1975).

Twenty-two buildings that are reminiscent/reflective of the conflict were traced in the environs around Jerusalem following the established criteria pointed above. However, the cases varied in their nature as background or foreground. Amongst the cases are the Museum of Tolerance and the Bridge of Strings. These two iconic

works have a symbolic relation with the political context of Jerusalem; however, they do not remind conflicts in their aesthetical or physical appearance. The twenty-two cases including the museum and the bridge are representative of the context of Jerusalem, however, the conflicted side of it and not the general trend in the city. Twenty cases representing the background buildings are analyzed as well as the two diverse cases of the Museum and the Bridge from Jerusalem will be evaluated according to the conflicted context in chapter four. The distinction between foreground and background buildings is guided according to the following categorization:

1. Foreground Buildings

They are iconic buildings that stand for the public and are purposely built to address the conflict, in the case of Jerusalem they are represented by the Museum of Tolerance and the Bridge of Strings. They reflect images that are directly recognized within the conflict of Jerusalem, yet they contribute to it in a diverse manner. Both the Museum and the Bridge are linked to events that are important to the history of the conflict, therefore they interplay with issues that address both ethnic groups more peacefully; The Museum of Tolerance as museum of common ground to multicultural and multiethnic inhabitants of the city to acts of tolerance. The Bridge of Strings as a symbol to the unification of Jerusalem in 1967 and a symbol of the bridging activity between the different ethnic groups that is absent at the time being.

2. Background Buildings

Are privately owned buildings and are less iconic, they represent the civic architecture and are usually modest in their scale and size. They represent a common and frequent relation to the conflict in Jerusalem. The twenty cases from the

observation tour are represented as background buildings since they are shaped by individuals and express a relation with the conflict in a direct manner revealing a self-reflecting image as dominant structures, incorporated and engaged that is different to the Museum and the Bridge. However, within this categories the twenty buildings for the sake of discussion and analysis are grouped in accordance with their similarity to and correspondence with; whether Arabic or Israeli; secondly as more frequent expressions of power, which deepen the social conflict through the built environment; and third as extreme cases, which show that there is a problem in the social system and its reflection in architecture. The expression of power in the three different categories are; The Defence Tower, The Israeli expression of Power, and The Arabic expression of political power.

In order to establish the ground for the evaluation of the traced buildings in Jerusalem in relation to their conflicted context, the thesis will first investigate into a literature on Contextual issues in the architectural theory. The literature is commanded with the question of how can architecture create meaningful mediums that contribute to contexts that are conflicted? However, there is a gap in the existing literature on issues of context and conflicts, especially on extravagant architectural works contributing to a conflict that is still ongoing like Jerusalem. This verdict directs the evaluating of the relation between architecture and political power in different conflicted contexts outside Jerusalem, and throughout real architectural cases. Dealing with real architectural cases in conflicted context outside Jerusalem dictates that the nature of the conflict is different, where every conflict is specific to its context. Therefore, different categories of conflicted contexts according to the conflict nature are put forward as; determined conflicted contexts, and vague conflicted contexts. Both the determined and the vague conflicted context will be

presented by an iconic and symbolic building each that address the conflict, which will be evaluated through examining the architecture relation to the conflicted context. To exemplify that, the Jewish Museum in Berlin, will represent a case to evaluate a determined conflicted context, that is since a conflict between the Jews and the Germans that the building represent is no more continuous as it was during the First and Second World Wars. Yet, both Lefkoşa Turkish Cypriot and Nicosia's Greek Cypriot Museum of National Struggle will represent the vague conflicted context of Cyprus. The conflict is vague in Cyprus as no physical struggles take place today as in 1974; however, an unresolved conflict still takes places concerning the division of the island. The selection of the two cases is due to the fact that both works represent a political event museum with a critical role in relation to their conflicted contexts. The nature of their conflicts is different, this emphasizes that the relation to conflict is specific to its context. The two symbolic buildings also address and participate in a political discourse at the same level as architecture, yet they are both foreground buildings in their settings. On the other hand, they are engaged with historically political events through aesthetical characteristics that bear on spatial and meaningful presentation in relation to the conflict. These buildings are examined in architectural terms, respectfully to their conflicted context in chapter two and three. However, they do not act as the main case study of this thesis, yet Jerusalem does.

1.3.4 Contribution and Limitation

The broad field of the dissertation is, the theory of architecture but the main focus is on architecture and politics, and its interaction with conflicts, context and criticism of architecture. On a secondary level, discussion is also based on museology, narratives, theory and practice of war and catastrophic events narrating museums. The focus of the study is on architectural works which posses impossible links to social and

political issues through their figurative and rhetorical level to histories and past events, which makes this point even more complex. That is since political events are part of the past and do not stand on their own, which challenging architecture's role to relate to the un-presentable in time and space.

The base of this thesis is its original research to the general problem of extravagant aesthetical architectural works that relates to political conflicts whilst considering the context as only physical, especially in ongoing conflicts. Therefore, the cases selected will be observed, analyzed and interpreted in order to evaluate the relation of architecture to political power. The analysis includes both the primary literature of architecture and politics in relation to contextual matters also of actual architectural works that had been neglected from the architectural circles in depth, principally in Jerusalem's case. By approaching the conflict of Jerusalem from an architectural point of view and base, this work examines the architecture of the city and analyses the implications of built form on the conflict as an apparatus to political power.

Therefore, what makes this thesis original in reframing such contextual relation to conflict in architecture is that it addresses new and under-examined approach in Jerusalem, and approaches extravagant iconic architectural works by observing their background setting (context). This observation is done through architecture and the analysis of the built form, which is politically charged. Accordingly, the thesis will form a ground to discuss aesthetics relation to politics in an original manner. That is since the aesthetical approach of the architectural cases in relation to political power is diverse and does not reveal much of its relation to the conflict.

In total the thesis will shed light on issues of conflicts in general, and will formulate a larger theoretical framework to define different types of conflicts, which would form the background to all the architectural examples discussed in this thesis including Jerusalem. Such categorization of context in relation to conflicts bears on the argument that every context already has its own conflict, based on Walter Benjamin's discussions on the impossibility of the end of conflicts (Benjamin, 1999). This is also reflected in the Jerusalem case, originating the argument that *conflict is the context and the context is the conflict.*

At this outset, it is also worth mentioning the significance, contributions and the limitations of this thesis: in reformulating and reforming basic conceptual issues in respect to context, particularly within the relationship between architecture and politics. This in turn bears upon the understanding of the recent approach in architecture and an account of its relationship to politics, and the critical issues of conflicts that need to be examined. An emphasis is placed on the conflict, which in relation to architecture is an overlap between social and physical particularly political contextual and empirical reality, which is a disciplinary distinction between architecture, politics and the historical past events that enter into its spatial, symbolic and allegorical representation and discourse to peace.

The study is an extended contribution to *Warchitecture Theory* in its aim, because it does not see the guilt through demolished and destroyed pieces of architecture, instead focusing on the aesthetically standing pieces that undermine the conflict. Nevertheless this phenomenon is neither discussed, nor developed but is still in its early stages of examination, which precisely entails a contribution to the larger literature of architecture and politics: "in sites of symbolically political meaning

created by architectural works, the context is the issue for such works to legitimately contribute to their political conflict".

This qualitative study has certain limitations, which should be noted. Firstly, architecture's relationship to politics in conflict zones, and examples that are related to political events within their settings and discourse are utilized. Also, Jerusalem, which is a city of conflict, is not similar to other cities of conflict around the world since the division between its different parts is not physical. It is thus a unified city, where both parts can freely move around with no restrictions, share a common administration, municipal facilities and are subjected to same laws. At the same time, unification of the city does not necessarily mean that a peaceful and a truthful coexistence take place within its terrain. It is a unified city that is at the risk to be divided, if a two-state solution between the Palestinian and Israeli becomes reality in the future. For this reason, Jerusalem is considered as a unique case in terms of its conflict, where its architecture is a result of involvement with such reality.

The selected cases from Jerusalem are at the immediate surrounding of the Old City, they are at a close proximity to and within the vicinity to where Arabs utilize as the base for their everyday activities along Israelis, such as in the case of the MOT-J or within the skyline that surrounds them. It should also be mentioned, those other similar examples exist within the city, but their immediacy is far and their purpose is different. For instance, Daniel Libeskind's Oriya Jerusalem at the Eden center complex has more of a retail purpose in terms of the shops, offices and residential towers it includes.

The thesis does not study any of the architectural cases in respect to their style or the architectural classifications such as the Deconstructive, Postmodern and Modern. However, it utilizes such terms to indicate a wider status of the architectural spectrum in relation to the century and history, which affected architecture and the way it was perceived. Moving from the modern, which describes architecture as more functional, purpose and technologically oriented, the Postmodern as a response to that has seen the return to architecture as a cultural object that can contain and infuse meanings to the social aspects, through its architectonic qualities. Nevertheless, this thesis does not intend to make any specific preferences in terms of one style, but rather questions the cases individually in accordance to their architectural qualities and characteristics, through architecture's critical approach.

It is worth to point out that most of the discussed buildings had been visited and were readily present during my observation visits except for the Jewish Museum, about which a large amount of references existed, making it easier to visualize it architecturally. On the other hand, the Museum of Tolerance is still under construction and has not been finalized yet, but during the observation visit to the city, its construction site had been blocked to the public, surrounded with slogans and demonstrations of both Arabs and Israelis, enforced with a pile of soldiers who protected the workers and the site from the angry civilians. This was an important architectural event in the history of the city, where the reasons mentioned above qualifies it to be a part of the discussion on the relationship between architecture and politics. For this reason, an effort was made to prepare and collect the supplementary materials that would enable its understanding and inclusion within the discussion.

1.4 Summary of the Chapters

The thesis is divided into five chapters with a background chapter that introduces a literature on architecture's relation to politics and power. This background acts as a brief explanation on the relationship of architecture and politics within the architecture theory, work of architects and the philosophy that addresses architecture and its link to power, one example of which is the work of Michel Foucault. Acting as the first literature of this study, it takes a stand to show that architecture can be related to politics whether it chooses to be political or adopts a role to serve politics, which is usually the case in the arguments of those who do not agree on the existence of any link to political power. Architecture and politics cannot come together to influence the mass, present on a certain ideology or shape the life of by itself; however, architecture is political through the meanings that are projected into it and that is changeable according to the context it stands. Accordingly, the introduction chapter introduces the relation to politics in the city of Jerusalem through its architecture. That is influenced itself by the conflict and accordingly affected the life of Jerusalem's inhabitants for more than 60 years, directly or indirectly. Twenty two different cases that relates to the conflicted context are inspected. Yet, two majorly contradicting contemporary works that are political but offer a discourse that is unrelated to the conflicted context of Jerusalem, The Museum of Tolerance proposed by Frank O. Gehry and the Bridge of Strings designed by Santiago Calatrava, indicate a diverse relation to the conflict in the city.

The findings of the chapter reveal that the relationship of the architecture to political power can be changeable in its appearance. The context plays an important role in arguing how the collected cases tend to do change. Therefore, opening a ground to

understand its meaning, the philosophy behind and the way it is understood and utilized in the architectural theory in the second chapter. The purpose of the second chapter, is to lay out, identify and pursue some of the key themes of context and contextual understanding. The first half deals with the origin of the word "context" and its utilization, guided by the early architectural theories of the 20th century and their definition of the term. It hinges around the thoughts and writing of Martin Heidegger, a philosopher that argues the difference between the act of building and the poetic meaning of dwelling, which informs architecture. The intention here is to place Heidegger's thoughts parallel to the theories developed on context in the theory of some architects, drawn upon the work of Kenneth Frampton, Alberto Pérez-Gómez, and Christian Norberg-Schulz. This part of the thesis also examines the works of others, whose theories established a well fit definition to contextual architecture and had a significant role in understanding Heidegger's work. The second of the chapter shifts the focus on different conflicted contexts. It aims to categorize the different types of conflicted context possible, which would open the platform to questions the role of context when architecture is involved with politics in conflict zones. This aim is further discussed in chapter three.

Chapter three acts as an extended literature review on the relation between architecture (specifically foreground buildings) and the types of conflicted context in form of real architectural analysis. In general, this chapter aims to investigate the way architecture can create meaningful sites by relating to its conflicted context. This is carried through an in-depth reading and analysis of museums presenting catastrophic events, explaining how a certain past event can be architecturally presented in two different symbolic buildings: the National Museum of Struggle of both Greek and Turkish Cypriot in Nicosia, Cyprus, where conflict still plays a major

role, but is still less appealing than the case of Jerusalem and the Jewish Museum in Berlin designed by Daniel Libeskind represents the symbolic building to a conflict that is less charged than Cyprus and Jerusalem in terms of its context. The symbolic buildings (memorial museums) shed in particular on the meaning that architecture can create in relation to the aimed political message. This is followed by an examination of the thoughts of Walter Benjamin on storytelling and narrating historic and memorial events to see how memorial museums of past events can create meaning according to their conflict and symbolic aim. Overall, the main goal of this chapter is to establish an understanding between Foreground building and the way they relate to the conflicted context.

The purpose of the fourth chapter is to identify through a group of selected architectural cases collected for the purpose of the study, the reality of the context of Jerusalem, which is conflicted. By arguing that the myth, which sees Jerusalem united amongst its two ethnical groups the Arabs and the Jews is unreal on its the grounds and is revealed through the architectural examples. This chapter is divided to four parts, where, the first two generally shows the role of the political power in the architecture of conflicted Jerusalem in general. It indicates how the architectural cases were collected from around the environs of the Old City, and grouping them into two major categories. The chapter finds that the cases presented in this chapter reveals a distinct relation to political power according to the context of Jerusalem, some representing the Background buildings and some representing the Foreground buildings that makes up the context of the city. Therefore, in both the third and fourth parts of the chapter and under the headings of Background and their reading and Foreground and their reading, the analysis and evaluation of the cases according to their appearances, architectural quality and the political relation in according to the

conflicted context takes place. On the other hand, the cases presented, offer an understanding of the physical as well as the social context that has an important implication on architecture's relationship to political power in conflicted Jerusalem.

Finally, the fifth and concluding chapter would include a further detailed discussion on architecture's relationship to politics according to contextual issues in terms of conflict. The relation can be crucial in terms of the critical role and meaning that architecture takes. At the end, it is concluded that the value of the context – physically and socially – should have a significant impact/role in architecture's relation to politics in conflict zones.

Chapter 2

ON CONTEXT AND CONFLICTED CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

It cannot be said that a large account is presently available on "context" in the architectural theory, which makes it hard to study. Therefore this chapter intends to act as a device to present ideas, theories and themes drawn from that limited literature on context and related fields that suggest a theoretical approach to its understanding. Through a survey of literature in the field of architecture and philosophy, the thesis will introduce texts and ideas on contextual issues. The discussion represents the opening stage of the argument that continues throughout the study on a larger scale, providing the base that the rest of the arguments are constructed upon. The argument as it will be represent in chapter four, will discuss that the architectural contexts contains hierarchy between the buildings that forms it in the first place, and they are Foreground Buildings and Background Buildings. The aim behind such distinction is that they both represent and stand for the conflict specifically in Jerusalem in a different manner. Where a contradiction in their relation to the political conflict as architectural works exist and these shall be evaluated in depth in the forth chapter.

However, in this chapter it is important to establish an understanding between contextual issues and the conflict. Such understanding is essential to architectural works that are political in conflict zones, especially for Foreground buildings that are

usually formed to establish a meaningful and symbolic link to its context. However, political conflicts themselves vary and they affect the built environment according to their nature. In order to investigate such relation between the natures of conflicts that inform the context, three different types of conflicted context are established according to the following:

1. The nature of the conflict as political, however, it can be less physical and tangible in some contexts than the other.

2. The status of the well-being of people and expression in the built form, where the built form express the context of different conflicts.

2.1.1 Aims and Structure of the Chapter

The chapter is structured into two parts, starting with the definition of "context". The discussion is guided with the question of whether the meaning of the word "context" within the architecture discourse should only be considered as matter of physicality and is conditioned with immediacy of the surrounding vicinity that shapes and effects architectural decisions. This is explored through the thoughts of Martin Heidegger, whose writing is not specifically directed to studies of "context" but still serves to enlighten some of the broader architectural theory and the way architecture theories interpret Heidegger's view on architecture. However, the critical discourse in this literature is concerned to open further discussions to explore architectural context and the political complicities in conflicted zones.

The second section discusses conflicts in general, however, it emphasizes on conflicts with political motive. It emphasizes on conflicts and discussions around it supported with Walter Benjamin's view on the way conflicts are still present in the

social systems, even if physical clashes are over (like wars). The well-being of human conditions to Benjamin as it is to this thesis are indicators of conflicts and its nature. Nevertheless, to Benjamin art has the ability to express such gaps in the social system; similarly, this thesis sees architecture to have the ability to identify on conflicts according to their context. Such indicators are embedded within the architectural context that express a relation to political power and conflicts. It as well hinges on Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, which informs the different needs and the hierarchy among them.

On that base, it defines three different types of politically conflicted context, that are informed by the well-being of people affected by political power and reflected through their architecture. The three types are put forward as; Ongoing, Determined and Vague conflicted contexts. They represent majorly the nature of political conflicts on three different scales. This chapter concludes that context is essential to architectural practice, followed by the third and forth chapter, which demonstrates this thoroughly.

2.2 Context in Architectural Literature and Theories

The word "context" was introduced into the vocabulary of architecture in the 60's as a form of criticism to the course of modern practice. It was firstly argued by Ernesto Rogers, who criticizes the work of the modern generations for being abstract in schemes, indifferent to their locations as well as beholding desires to hold exceptional qualities outside the course of the common. His call was towards works that hold dialogues with the surrounding in the physical immediacy as well as historical scale. However, his term *le preesistenze ambientali* or *ambiente* in Italian meant the "surrounding pre-existence" and was translated to "context" in English.

On the other hand, it should be noted that Rogers never used the word context or its Italian equivalent *contesto*, which distinguishes the importance of historical continuity in the city and within the minds of its occupants, for whom considering *ambiente* would mean considering the history. His emphasis on the understanding of history is essential information to architects, "since he must be able to insert his own work into the *preesistenze ambientali* and to take it, dialectically, into account" (Forty, 2000, p. 132).

Rarely, in terms of vocabulary of architecture, the word *ambiente* is heard instead "contextualism", "contextual" and "context" are generally the ideas that are utilized. Also, as a response to the *ambientali*, that dialectic account understood, interpreted and extended to the theories of architecture as *context*. This is a dilemma that needs to be answered.

Forty (2000) investigates into the traces of such differences not only in terms of translation, but suggests that there has been some confusion in the original understanding of *ambientali* and its translation into *context*. This is also argued in Aldo Rossi's arguments, who amongst others was interested in the term and produced significant writings about it in his book "Architecture of the City". In his text, Rossi extends the argument of the concept *ambiente* to object that the word concept is an illusion and represent a paradox, which is a result of translation between languages (Rossi, 1984). But the word "context" made a significant usage in Colin Rowe's urban design studio, with little relation to its original usage in criticisms of modern architecture. His work is rather less interested with the dialect account of history, yet, there is a concern towards formal aspects of the works of architecture and the relationship between objects and the spaces they occupy.

Particularly within the "figure-ground' relationship, contextualism is the way architectural forms and geometries adjust and fit to their context, a synonym for environment. This is a system and a design tool used to relate to abstract geometries, which was in Roger's understanding the way an environment, including cultural variables, can be formed by buildings (Forty, 2000).

Then, it is then possible to speak of the context of the architectural medium by referring to the way in which meaning and values are located and structured. Equally it is possible to speak of the context of architecture in a way that refers to both the environment of the architectural work and the system it exists in. This section seeks to unfold some of the broad implications of the term.

In the pursue of an answer to the question of how the context and the contextual might be perceived in architectural terms, it soon becomes clear that the cultural, social, religious, moral and the political can support, imply, or even demand a particular mode of interrelated conditions within the architectural discourse for them to occur. Context is increasingly intertwined with the architectural frame – the link between the two has never been so close, than it was in the period after the Post-modern, during which the relationship between both is seen as one form and the division is no longer that simple. Even on the formal level, the architectural form has a content of its own, and that the "content" exercises certain "formal" ideas as well (Nesbitt, 1996).

The term context came to mean different things; one of which was the fitting with the existing conditions of the surrounding. This did not only stand for the physical aspects but extended to social (including the political), moral and ethical issues.

However, this was usually limited within the immediate surroundings of where a building was located. The other utilization of the term attached itself to stylistic manifestation as new ideas in architecture and criticized the first one as referring "to red brick buildings built in red brick neighbourhoods and gingerbread matching gingerbread" (Ingersoll, 1989, p. 54).

Contextual architecture represents designing in particular contexts and environments, whether it is the historical, vernacular, and stylistic or even climatical context. Mostly referred to as contextually compatible architecture, it widely ranges in different applications, from infill projects to new designs in particular settings.

Contextual architecture is usually opposed by approaches that base architecture on appropriate technology, that of instrumental technology. While both differ in their aims and approaches, contextual architecture is dependent on particular customs and practices emphasized through continuation and the order between the past and present, whilst moving into the future, dependent on the understanding of a certain context (Brolin, 1980; Abada, 1999).

In short, a contextualist theorist would argue that an indigenous architecture is different than creating objects that are "isolated and arbitrary abstracted like sculptures" as put by Merrill Gaines in his observation on teaching contextual architecture in design studios (Gaines, 1980, p. 21). Gaines states that contextual works relating the buildings to the locale demands identifying certain characteristics within the settings, environments and site. Such architecture one could argue effectively and expressively possesses self-evident meanings different to its opposing abstract non-representational one. Therefore, it relates through communicating the

social, cultural and political of the status quo of which it intends to be part of. Yet, relatively influenced by such circumstances. Michael Mitias (1994) considers with the notion of the contextual as an account on the architectural work emerging organically from the context it is situated within, that as far as the context pre-exists the work and is independent of it, stating:

To be truly expressive, a building should grow out of its natural, social, and civilizational context. It should reflect not only the personal values, needs, and interests of its dwellers but also its relation to its natural and architectural site. Thus the formal organization of a building cannot be imposed on a people from outside; it should originate from the context of a human life in a given region. In this origination the process of spatial articulation results from a thoughtful grasp of the dynamic interaction between the material elements of the architectural work and the human vision which guides this activity (Mitias, 1994, p. 103).

Another figure advocating the contextual is John Silber, arguing that architects in the public realm are artists on their secondary task, however, and foremost they are practical builders. Practical that is not ought to be experimental, resemble what already exist and insure the architect's professional obligations have been met:

The client—not the architect—is the emperor; it is he who is mocked when architects forget their function as practical artists in partnership with clients whose views are worthy of respect and whose economic resources are not to be exceeded. The patrons, the clients—the ones who pay—should not forfeit their dignity as persons and allow themselves, through vanity, gullibility, or timidity, to be seduced. Clients should not be flummoxed by architects who overstep the practical limitations of their profession. Theory speak, celebrity, and self proclaimed Genius cannot cover the naked absurdity of much contemporary architecture (Siber, 2007, p. 91).[7]

As such it can be understood that contextual is critical no matter whether realist or ideal, insofar as, it holds the role of architecture in a way it is expected to fit in,

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[7] John Silber credits his practicality in questioning whether Daniel Libeskind's proposal to the World Trade Center is buildable calling it the "un-buildable" Freedom Tower. Silber remarks of the proposal that it is "an exotic and enticing jumble of novelties … that expresses hubris and a penchant for absurdity" (Silber, J. 2007, 59). Emphasizing on practicality: "Libeskind's fanciful design was eventually dismissed by men and women who put practical concerns ahead of the desire to make an extravagant architectural gesture" (Siber, 2007, p. 63).

adapt, negate. In this case, even abstraction is dependent on several factors, where one may interpret it as what is "already there". Overall, it relies on either interpretive ideals (that may sometimes go all the way out of context) or ontological approaches that are grounded in the existence of the social, cultural and political milieu.

Ontology apprehends architecture as a prerequisite to meaning. This presents contextual issues and an interest in the term, which divided architectural theorists, who still base their works on phenomenology. This split was in a way where one group was demanding the metaphysical dimension on one side whereas the others distanced themselves from it. The first group demanded to reveal the Being[8] by presenting the invisible in the everyday, this dictates that for architecture to do so, the invisible should be signified with symbols that requires representation to achieve it (Pérez-Gómez & Pelletier, 1992). Highlighted and argued by many architects like Norberg-Schulz, Tadao Ando and the references included in their theories and/or works. The interest arose from the thoughts of the phenomenologists, exclusively Martin Heidegger who shed on the long-standing philosophical issue of the relation between man and the Being. Martin Heidegger's "Building Dwelling Thinking" suggests the relationship of man to place, inspiring an essence to the way dwelling can be achieved and understood. This was a work that received several responses from a large group of architectural audience and was translated into significant elements such as place making and Genuis Loci (Sharr, 2007; Nesbitt, 1996). What interests the study through Heidegger's work is its relationship to discussions of

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[8] Referring to the usage of the term by Martin Heidegger. Heidegger introduces two major fundamentals; The *Being* (with a capital B) that stands as a ground and allows everything to come into existence, which is opposed to nothing (non-existence). The *being* (with a small b) that stands for "entities" that exist and is simply everything else than Being, like human, sea, earth. etc. The claims were that, philosophers before him went on searching of the being and overlooked the "Being". (Heidegger, 1962).

context. Although no reference is given to the word "context" in a firm literal and direct use of the term (the word context may not even appear in Heidegger's text), yet, it is linked through constructed thoughts that define a wider meaning and multiple attitudes to place, locations, sites, the revealing and the utilizing of the landscape. These references illustrate on the act of "fitting" a piece of architecture into the physical settings and the wider embracing to its definition. Therefore, it is worth asking how did Heidegger define the relation of man to the built-environment, and what he considered essential to dwelling and building?

As introduced by Martin Heidegger and influenced by various architects, art in the essay "the Origin of the Work of Art" is a way of appreciating the relationship among beings that technology ignores, since art does not treat beings in a "standing reserve" manner waiting for use. Here, the author gives an example of peasant shoes of Van Gogh's painting "A pair of shoes 1886". Heidegger, in search of the origin of the work, emphasizes that the meaning of the shoe is experienced by being in the world. The shoe is being made to fit a certain foot size, made out of a certain material and a certain way of putting different materials together. On the other hand, the pair of shoes (the art in the painting) puts the shoe within its context by being something useful to someone; it represents someone's life and the appreciation of his/her world, a peasant who appreciated his/her shoe. So the "truth of Being" is at work in which art care for the thing in terms of its context and the significance of living authentically. This is opposing to technology that denies Being through "standing reserve"[9] (Heidegger, 1977, p. 32).

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[9] Technology or argued by Heidegger as the essence of modern technology described as the Gestell or "enframing" converts the world of beings into an undifferentiated "standing reserve" (Bestand). As a

Figure 9. The painting of the peasant shoes by Van Gogh 1886, (URL 5).

To Heidegger, attaining a relationship with the world and its creation on earth is to avoid technological attitudes (of Enframing), and to exist as a Dasein[10] instead of a "thing" (human only at the center of the world) and through a social practice that a relation to Being is recognized[11] (Heidegger, 1977).

The means for humans to live in regard to Being is through dwelling, in a setting where dwelling upon earth is poetical as an attendant to Being. To Heidegger, the act of dwelling is not the act of shelter or building, but is more poetical than constructing. Throughout his essays, Heidegger emphasizes once more how the being or being-to-being relationship should be, that is human relation to earth should

sort of resource available for anyone who chooses to use it, locate it or reserve it. Condemned by Heidegger because it contains dangers for human beings relation to being.

[10] The phenomenological experience of human's "average-everydayness" guarantees; the experience, the awareness of something and understanding the being as a human being. The significance of existence to human being (type of being) had been given the term "Dasein". Dasein simply assures that we exist therefore we are there "being there", in which it should be the way we see ourselves.

[11] This social practice to Heidegger is language. Language attains an experience that is "original to existence", as it is the extended memory for being throughout their existence; this is explained through words of the language. Words are symbols of a historical appearance of the Beings, so in tracing the origin of a word we recall a historical event that had been symbolized. However, he argues that the words we use at our time do not carry the same experience once it did, since it goes through a process in where each generation adds different layers to it. As such language of Dasein is a living memory of beings coming into existence to what he states; "language is the house of Being" (Heidegger, 2001).

be of "care"[12] and looked after. He also emphasizes that human as mortals do not stay on earth, but they dwell due to their relation to other things (Heidegger, 2001, p. 149)[13].

Buildings in their nature consist of structuring locations, which join spaces - the joining of location and spaces brings spaces into the "thing"[14] of the building (the being of building). As such, the building should not be understood as the shaper of spaces or locations since it actually makes an environment for spaces and a site for other beings to come into existence such as earth, sky, divine and mortals (the fourfold)[15] as explained by Heidegger: "The oneness (fourfold) belong together and make place for a building to receive direction to erect locations by taking standards for measurement of spaces provided by the location founded" (Heidegger, 2001, p. 156)[16].

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[12] As "the one" defines the way of life and a Dasein becomes aware of that with no other possibility except facing the nothing (death) as being-toward-death, his relation to the world transforms into care. With such realization, Dasein exists in an "authentic mode of existence" (Heidegger, 1962 p. 223-224).

[13] Dwelling, claimed by Heidegger, is an act that humans perform according to other existing things, in other words, it is the form that beings inhabit within the Being. On the previous basis which states that beings are entities related to each other and within the case of dwelling, Heidegger relates human beings to position, space, and location in response to their characteristics. Their relation to the nature of space and not to mere geometrical or mathematical relations is what matters.

[14] Heidegger on the "thing" is after the relatedness between who are in the relation and the way that relation is thought. The thing is neither the object nor the substance, thus it is the reference to looking at that particular thing, by being near the thing brings itself to happening and by bringing the fourfold together and their worlds into play (Heidegger, 2001).

[15] The fourfold are a reminder of the everyday life, which our world consists of in opposition to scientific abstract understanding of the world.

[16] The act of preserving the fourfold is the presence of dwelling. Within the understanding of dwelling, Heidegger states that we can consider the nature of building. Accordingly, if this is understood as a production of a process, then a result is expected in a form of structure (as bringing something forward or concealing). This approach would not get us close to the nature of building. On the other hand, he indicates that the nature of building cannot be understood in terms of architecture or engineering nor in the Greek word "techne" (letting appear), since it is the nature of building that is letting, whereas dwell is accomplished by the joining of spaces of raised locations: *"Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then we can build"* (Heidegger, 2001, p. 158). The self-sufficiency of the fourfold, entering the oneness into things, is how a building can be ordered.

Space and spatiality are different since the first denotes mathematical sense and the latter has to "set truth into work", which makes the world visible. A work of architecture makes a world visible as a thing and what it gathers is consistently presented into a world it brings: "man is capable of such building only if he already builds in the sense of the poetic taking of measure. Authentic buildings occur so far as there are poets, such poets as take the measure for architecture, the structure of dwelling" (Heidegger, 2001, p. 225).

Heidegger, as such had elevated architecture through dwelling above the practice of building[17]. Accordingly, in theories of place and spatial experience specifically some theoreticians argued about the relationship between the built-environment and human as in the works of Norberg-Schulz, where the production of meaning is akin to structures referring to nature. The problem as seen by theorists like Norberg-Schulz is the embracing of the machine technology within modern architecture instead of the analogy of the organic. The analogy of the machine as a formal model to the modern prevented all references to nature. Inspired from Heidegger's thoughts, architects emphasized the rediscovery of the Genius loci (a primal act of place-making) through an act to modify and turn place into architecture. This was a form of reconciliation with nature that manifests the ontology of architecture (Bachelard, 1969; Norberg-Schulz, 1983; Norberg-Schulz , 1976 ; Gregotti, 1983; Ando, 1996).

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[17] Heidegger illuminates the nature of the work of Art through an architectural example of a Greek temple (referring to the Pantheon, a temple dedicated to all gods). The temple brings "something to presence" in the way that it "preserves truth". This is the case since the temple 1- Makes god present, 2- Shapes human destiny and 3- Makes all earthy things visible, like the rocks, air, sea, light etc. According to those facts, the temple sets the truth as it "opens up a world and at the same time sets this world back again on earth" (Heidegger, 2001).Heidegger's temple holds meanings that are not represented in images but revealed through the temple which he describes as "standing there". This indicates that the building is not arbitrarily located, but in a particular place (location), also meaning that building the place gets extensions and limitation of boundaries, adding to that the figure of god is formed as well.

Another leading figure that bases his theories on partial phenomenological attributes still calling for an architecture that is responsive to fitting into particular place is lead by the theorist and historian Kenneth Fampton. Frampton recognizes that the modern gave value to technicality by replacing the centrality of the human value in favour of the rational and scientific function as content, following Louis Sullivan's famous statement; *form follows function*. He also recognized that the post-modern movement had given higher values to form in terms of meaning rather than function.

Frampton saw that the return to the pre modern underlies the return to attitudes towards site, place and the making in particular -the tectonically. Influenced by the thoughts of Mies Van de Rohe's "god is in the details" (an architect of the early stages of modern architecture), Frampton's Critical Regionalism recognizes the regional, vernacular's sensitivity to climate and the locality of materials along the original assembly of elements through a construction based on craftsmanship rather than the mechanical, hence leading into an aesthetical richness (Frampton, 2001; 1983). Accentuating the relationship with the proximate circumstances, contextual architecture has common grounds with Frampton's Critical Regionalism, since it involves an attitude of engaging with the universality of architecture, yet, through informed relation to the regional context history, culture and society.

Frampton's asserts with Heidegger's phenomenology on the aspect of the particularity of place against that of the universality. Resisting mass-produced buildings and products, his poetical understanding based originally on the reference to the Platonic *poises*, is based on the frame and the wall (the load bearing one). According to Frampton, this juncture manifests itself through difference inherited by its assembly. This return dictates detailing instead of representational images in

comparison to others who seems to hold a phenomenological position; however, it refuses the modern for its style: "classicism is more aesthetically correct than modernism" (Scruton, 1994, p. 16).

Stein and Mcmodie (2002) argue that the shift between contextual to its opposite isolation/ abstraction in arts is similar to the shift between beauty removed from aesthetical appreciation. Taking a position in defence against the contextual and aesthetical appearances, Clive Bell states: " a work of art must be understood purely in its own terms without reference to any context … The representational element in a work of art may or may no be harmful always, it is irrelevant" (Bell, C. in McMordie & Stein, 2002, p. 185).

Those in opposition are in defence of the formal approach, relying on the conceptual approaches to architecture rather than contextual references within not only in attitudes towards aesthetical appearances, but in all integral references to its essence. There has been once an aim to rediscover the sublime by revitalizing architecture and uncovering its repressed aspects, such as the deconstructionist models (Nesbitt, 1996, p. 31). Stein & Mcmodie put it as "the idea of that the sublime could be an object of the aesthetic appreciation, widened the scope of aesthetic appreciation beyond that of the beautiful" (McMordie & Stein, 2002, p. 184).

Peter Eisenman in Visions Unfolding: Architecture in the Age of the Electronic Media advocates the challenge of architecture in terms of media to define reality through "valuing appearances rather than existence" (Eisenman, 1992, p. 15). This proposes a change in the definitions of reality through the "essence" of architecture

that to Eisenamn, a building sits on earth and under the sky in opposition to Heidegger 's suggestion of being between the sky and earth.

Before this discussion proceeds to represent the claim is in locating Eisenman within the text on phenomenology, the second paradigm, *the aesthetic of the sublime*, shall be discussed beforehand.

Aesthetic qualities are not objective properties of a certain work of art or even a subjective one when it comes to the observer. But they reside in a particular relation between the observer, the object and the creator which in all revolve around interpretation (McMordie & Stein, 2002, p. 185).

As can be seen from the statement above, both McMordie and Stein see in that relation the sense to speak about meanings and significance of a work of art. That relation to McMordie and Stein is "internal and not external, essential and not accidental, conceptual and not casual" (McMordie & Stein, 2002, p. 185). The aesthetical experience and its object is dependent on the conception of that object. This awareness needs imagination as much as understanding of the forms of life that surrounds it since both are essential features (McMordie & Stein, 2002).

To Stein & Mcmodie who argue that we need to read buildings metaphorically and not in the literal interpretation of language, the problem is with the nature of experience. However, their conception unlike those on the side of Eisenman, arises from the understanding of the work in its cultural and historical contexts which requires participation with that context. Thus, it is as well a myth to consider that this understanding implies universal ability to see beauty or significance of forms: "the fact is, understanding and consequently appreciation requires deep familiarity with a

time, a culture and the context. But that does not imply a sort of vicious relativism" (McMordie & Stein, 2002, p. 188).

However, formal approaches, whose aesthetic is usually abstracted and universal, have no reference to context or forms of life. In such a case the question of "what reference does universalism incline its reference to?" needs to be answered. Mostly when proclaimed at the heart of their works that meanings are structured why then context is identified as an interdependent property?

On the formal approaches proclaim that their architectural works become significant by creating difference, (that is by being independent for the context) then that difference creates no difference as "the cathedral does not invent religion" (Colin St. John Wilsom). The main issue being investigated here is the ideology of creating forms of life that not only doesn't consider context in terms of its social and cultural aspects but also doesn't refer to the context of the human well-being. In an attempt to relate architectural form to meaning haphazardly and part of an on-going experimental approach, there is an intention to test the architectural discourse which gears up without knowing where to stop. Constructing a relationship between the architectural form and its meaning involves two views: One where the formal features should govern the meaning and the other which is not formal but sees psychology and background awareness as the appropriate grounds for meaning. Nowhere within the first view can be as manifested as in the work of Peter Eisenman. Through experimental approaches, a radical different approach can be traced in his series of the un-built/built House I - VI project.

Trying to analyse geometry by presenting a hollowed cube that is rotated and inverted through algorithms in order to elaborate and transform it: Eisenman states: "it is an attempt to alienate the individual from the unknown way in which he perceives and understands his environment" (Eisenman, 1987, p. 40). The house is part of a series of six houses, all designed similarly with an abstract approach of the 60's and the 70's. Aiming to uncover the essence of architecture, Eisenman states: "the essence of the act of architecture is the dislocation of an ever-reconstituting metaphysic of architecture" (Eisenman, 1987, p. 41). Fond of the metaphysical aspects of architecture he extends it to the metaphysic of the house and the metaphysic of the dinning even. His spatial experience is a rhetorical one. As Roger Kimball claims " architecture is not itself a verbal medium, as Mr. Eisenman sometimes pretends, but his own architectural efforts are incomplete without the accompanying text" (Kimball, 2002). On the metaphysical of the dinning, Eisenman states: "an alternative process of making occupiable form, … a process specifically developed to operate as freely as possible from functional considerations. From a traditional point of view, several columns "intrude on" and 'disrupts the living and the dinning areas as a result of this process … nonetheless, these dislocations have, according to the occupants of the house, changed the dinning experience in a real and, more importantly, unpredictable fashion" (Eisenman, 1987). Although sounding very modern (in the same sense as Le Corbusier's Domino structure of one open living plan) the occupants' experience of the living and dinning have been provocatively changed through the placing of the columns, which is not a pleasant experience. Eisenman's architecture seeks no claims to comfort and comprehension, however, he negate the traditional metaphysic of the physical and the psychological form of the house. Instead of a design that fits with the occupants' lives (responsive

to the surroundings or the stylistic traditions of the community), he creates polemical works that rely only on their own internal syntax difficulty (Fox, 2009, p.101): "in order to initiate a search for those possibilities of dwelling that may have been repressed by that metaphysic" (Eisenman, 1987, p. 19). Additionally, to expose the repressed possibility of dwellings he left a whole in the second floor of one of the houses, where the occupants described it as a repress fitted metal grates over the holes.

The rise among architects to challenge the essence of architecture allowed the shift in an unusual direction based on the sentimentality of those involved. As Alberti had once warned: "Never let greed for glory" (Alberti, 1988, p. 318). The initiation with finding an essence itself had led architecture to be a playground in the erected buildings resembling hamburgers within a hamburger stand, or even an building similar to oranges at fruit juice bars. On the other hand, stairs leading to nowhere, as in the case of the Wexner Arts Center in Ohio that's no one acknowledge it as more than a waste of money or a technical mistake until the architect explains in his/her own words what is meant by the proposed structured.

In summary, those approaches although do not escape context even if they are willing to. Their advocacy to negate nature, the local and the customs even when establishing traditions to meaning, is still ground to context through the factor of time, whether the past, present, future or the utopian they address. A particular time already encompasses contextual issues, which are as already defined as a particular adjustment to a certain practice and place at a certain time. One cannot simply escape context, even at the heart of the debates on works that intend to contradict, since their origin stems from negating that specific context. And in that they use as reference

through contradiction. At this ponit, Adorno's criticism of Adolf loos in *Functionalism Today*, where the refusal of a certain style, for the sake of functional and rationalist solutions in Loos case, is a style (Adorno T. W., 1997b), can be considered. Stressing on references here, the research work presented within this thesis still questions, architects initiating sketches or drafts of a given design problem. Even when negating references to context for the sake of a formalistic style what starting reference do they take? There always should be a link somewhere to start with and refer to?

The fantasy of experimental architecture involves many works that cannot be realized or built due to their mostly costly and unrealistic aspects. It reflects a view of the profession that is originally built to remind Kimball (2002) of the vacuum activity in the ethnology where animals like dogs or cats are taken into the indoors and away from their normal surroundings, their natural habitats in which they carry on activities that are typical to their species. This is seen in the case of animals that instinctively pretend to burry a bone in the corner of a room, resembling it to the dirt. However, by time this behaviour discharges itself and disappears, changing the inner nature of the living species as well.

This work does not intend to criticize reason, science and rationality in general, but the continuous "pudding tests" as Kimball calls it: "architecture must be not only looked at but lived with, indeed lived in, and so what works marvellously on paper may fail utterly on the street. The proof of architecture is concrete, not abstract. Seductive theories do not necessarily produce gratifying buildings" (Kimball, 2002). According to Kimball, whether the rejection of the modern of the style is a rejection of the modern reality can be questioned. However, the issue is not modern, non-

modern or post-modern, but the ability to distinguish between good and bad architecture that address the well-being of humanity. This can be better answered by considering the pioneers of architecture, Alberti and Vitruvius, who both had opinions on good architecture but not on architecture that manifests and promotes ideology, even if that ideology assumes to serve the discourse.

The architect's responsibility is notably different from that of other artists. Paintings hang in museums; people can choose whether or not they want to see them. Architecture intrudes, without invitation, everyone's daily life. The simple, if admittedly naive solution to this conflict between respectful design and personal expression is to change the definition of a "creative architectural statement" to mean a building which, among other things, also fits gracefully into its context. De-emphasize the cruder variety of creativity-originality through novelty-and stress refinement within the aesthetic confines of the given visual context, whether it is modern or traditional (Brolin, 1980, p. 139).

In conclusion, context as the thesis will argue is still seen as a responsibility to inquire about human values that exist within a certain setting and shapes the buildings and architecture. It is true to claim that cities are hardly defined and simply understood within the contemporary, for the multiple systems that overlap to shape it. But still, it is each and every architect's responsibility to explore such systems and understand it, not only for the reason to explore the essences of the discourse but to be able to attribute honestly to the existing values. Difficulties arise when it comes to defining what is meant by context and "in-context"; it is equally hard to define what is considered for an architectural work to be "out of context". Through eliminating different factors that need to be considered, when a new building is to be introduced to an old setting, pre-defined and pre-set categories are aligned to the physical aspects. These are usually listed as spacing setbacks of the building in relation to neighboring buildings and streets, the massing of a building as a composed volume, heights, proportions, and shapes. The way a building is perceived by humans is only

through its size and scale, façades and approximate positioning and proportions of openings as in doors and windows, as well as material selection, color preference and technological and technical detailing. This is something that is usually referred to and pointed in works that intend to define and argue what it means to deal with context. In addition to this, as it shall be seen, reading about the relation of a building to its context cannot be subsided to rules and regulations that authorities set for practicing architects. As it shall also be argued in the following sections of this chapter that if it is relatively that naive to relate context in terms of shape, size and directionality, for not only it inscribes such attributes as raw and abstract but also as a matter of fact, it relates a city and its values to matters of physicality. This can in return reduce its multiple value systems to feedbacks as a design tool, and limit the reading of it to an account of a challenging physical object at the background of that which will be newly placed.

What is at stake here is the essential conceptualization of the definition and purpose of architectural work, which embraces the inherence of social values and articulate them in accordance to whether they are metaphoric, literal or representational, rather than rejecting and intending to reinvent such values into what serves certain goals. This is defined within the understanding of the thesis, where the term architecture is used in relation to context.

2.3 Political Contexts

The term context as discussed above indicates on many interpretations where the contextual varies from continuity with the pre-existence to adjusting and fitting into environments by the act of revealing how meanings and values are structured in a certain system. However, political architecture is dependent on its context. Fredric Jameson had realized the mistake to view works of art as inherently politicized. It is for him that works of arts are dependent on the allegory within the context of the political content: "Symbolic meaning is as volatile as the arbitrariness of the sign: in other words, as in dreams, the spatial unconscious can associate anything with anything else … a thing can mean itself or its own opposite … 'depending on the context'. What is arbitrary then is that old and time-honoured mechanism called the association of ideas" (Jamson, 1997 , p. 244). The dependent on the context to Jameson is dependent on the allegorical system a work exist in and the reason to perceive meaning in the artistic form. So the political content is rather projected into that form than residing in it, yet, it can be rewritten as much as erased subsequently. Therefore, meanings are projected into works, which are determined by factors like context, to which Leach refers to as "social ground" of an artwork. Stressing the abstraction of art from its original context and treating it in the manner of de-contextualising and re-contextualizing (invest it) with other meanings approach, will change the meaning (Leach, 1999, p. 9). Accordingly a key question that commands the argument of this chapter, which will help to discuss context of political architecture; what is the allegorical system of a context specifically in conflict zones?

Projecting meanings in a politically engaged architecture can be affected according to different factors some of which are the building's purpose, type, architect and

location. However, this thesis observes that projecting symbolic expressions in a politically engaged architecture differs amongst the components of the context: the Background and Foreground buildings. Together they represent the context and are interrelated to each other, however, a hierarchy between them exists. This hierarchy as it will be elaborated in length is based on two issues; one in conflict zones both Foreground and Background buildings express a political relation in a different manner and through a system of meanings that are totally different from each other. Secondly, their physical nature as architectural works in terms of size, location, attitude and aesthetics are different. Foreground buildings are usually expected to be strikingly different in apperance in order to transcend themselves. However, the difference behind apperances especially in Foreground buildings cannot be sufficeint to create a contribution to conflicted contexts. In other words, a piece of architecture should also demonstrate continuity with its physical, human and political environment in order to have an ontological relationship with its context. Therefore, we need to examine and understand its connections with its physical and political environment. Investigating both Foreground and Background buildings expression to the conflict by evaluating their architectural aesthetics will take place in the forth chapter. This discussion will ultimately lead to the evaluation and interpretation of the architectural aesthetics in relation to conflicted context.

To be able to establish an evaluation ground for Foreground buildings that are intentionally related with political conflicts, then conflicted contexts need to be discussed for the following reasons:

1. Conflicts are not the same in every context; they vary according to their political condition and people well-being in that context.

2.   Politically informed architectural works and structures usually establish a symbolic and meaningful relation to a specific conflicted context and not conflicts in general.

3. Meanings and symbolic representations in Foreground buildings are interpretations of an architect/s understanding of the differently politically informed conflicted contexts.

4. In order to evaluate Foreground relation linked to political conflicts, then the nature of that conflict becomes the platform to investigate against how foreground buildings architecturally create meaningful mediums in relation to such conflicted context.

The context of different conflicts varies according to the nature of the conflict; three types are introduced for the sake of this study; ongoing, determined and vague conflicted context. The establishing ground to such categorization follows two criteria: one Walter Benjamin's statement that conflict's do not end even in places where physical wars are not evident and two the Hierarchy of Need that informs about the human well being, and to a degree informs about conflicted context. Introducing these three types follows a similar hierarchy to Maslow.

After setting the three types of conflicted context, the link between architecture (specifically Foreground buildings) and conflicted context makes it necessary to investigate further into this relation. However the lack or the rather the existence of a thin literature on these matter inquires evaluating this relation through real architectural cases that relates to their conflicted contexts. Therefore, defining the

different types of conflicted contexts briefly in this section, would establish the ground to:

1. Investigate into the relation between different Foreground buildings and their relation with both (determined and vague) conflicted contexts in chapter three.

2. Evaluate the relation between Foreground buildings and (ongoing) conflicted context in Jerusalem in chapter four.

Accordingly the following represent a brief introduction of the types of conflicted contexts that will be evaluated in relation to foreground buildings that are purposely selected to symbolize that relation.

2.4.1 Conflicted Contexts

The word *conflict* is defined as a disagreement between two or more opinions, principles, interests or groups or a prolonged armed struggle. It can also be personal and psychological and would mean confusion or inconsistency regarding a certain feeling where a person may experience a clash of opposing wishes or needs (Barakat, 2005). As such, there is more to the understanding of conflicts than being mere struggles and wars. It basically requires opposing views on certain issues to create conflicts, like relationships, territories, politics, principles or even commodities.

Walter Benjamin wrote: "As long as there is still one beggar, there still exists myth" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 400).[18] Although Benjamin was writing about conditions of war

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[18] The Arcades Project which was Walter Benjamin's unfinished philosophical work on the covered Arcades of Paris, which in the 19th century made of glass and steel. Where Passage in French means the covered arcades. Although in his unfinished work on *The Arcades Project* in Paris, the statement appears to have no explanation, but many believes that in 1936 Benjamin proposed an essay to Horkheimer which aimed "to develop further the methodological considerations of the Passagen-

and the battle against the Nazis, he did not see the determination of the war or wars in general equivalent for conflicts to end. Benjamin considered human conditions as a motive to involve and cause conflicts. The reason behind that is because the beggar for Benjamin is a historical figure and a sign of the myth of the social reality despite the changes on the surface (Buck-Morss, 1983). Meaning that capitalism creates unemployment (reflected with people's need to beg for money in streets) and blames them for being there and gradually increasing in number with the rise and fall of the economic situation. Their appearance around the cities, in the arcades of Paris as Benjamin discusses is akin to capitalism and the systems that "fail to see the permanence of the social order which needs to create a myth about them in order to conceal the reason why, in an affluent and "free" society, such poverty exists" (Buck-Morss, 1986, pp. 113-4). Therefore, there is no need for conflicts like war to create such a social image of the repressed well-being of humans (which the beggar is a sign of it). Since the system (capitalist) even in peaceful societies can create gaps and fail to satisfy the needs of the people and therefore creates conflicts that never end. Consequently and following the same belief as Benjamin, it can be said that conflicts are endless almost in every system that disturbs the condition of people's well-being. Yet, the struggles projected towards improving such conditions indicate on the existence of conflicts. However, how can that be interpreted and understood in relation to political conflicts, which disturbs the well-being of people politically? It is possible to define different types of conflicts in a human environment according to their well-being in relation to the political reality. Abraham Maslow's theory of

Werk, confronting the concept of the dialectical image - the central epistemological category of the Passagen" Buck-Morss, S. (1983). Benjamin's Passagen-Werk: Redeeming Mass Culture for the Revolution. *New German Critique , 29* (The Origins of Mass Culture: The Case of Imperial Germany (1871-1918)), 211-240.. And that the reappearance and repetition of the utopian image as "successful return" is an indication of a continued social repression that prevents the achievement of "utopian desires" Buck-Morss, S. (1983). Benjamin's Passagen-Werk: Redeeming Mass Culture for the Revolution. *New German Critique , 29* (The Origins of Mass Culture: The Case of Imperial Germany (1871-1918)), 211-240..

Hierarchy of Needs can shed help to carry the understanding towards the conflicts that politically disturb human well-being during political struggles.

The understanding of human conditions can usually shed some light on the general living conditions and the struggles for achieving survival. In areas of political struggle and especially during wars, humans tend to focus on their basic needs such as food, water and mainly shelter. Which are essentially proponents of all needs, even in peaceful societies according to Abraham Maslow. By reverting back to the theory of Human Motivation discussed by Maslow in 1942. It will help define the different types of conflicts that can be traced in accordance to the state of human well-being. This relationship depend on establishing a material and derives to the architectural context, which would outline the way architectural works can be identified and read politically. That is since the behaviour towards certain needs serves as a channel to all sorts of other needs as well.

Maslow's behavioral pyramid suggests views on human motivation in hierarchical orders according to their needs. However, with some extension to conflict situations, the theory can take on a new significance when combined with the understanding of architecture to define different contexts according to conflict. By not changing any of the hierarchical orders that had been adapted and reordered according to criticisms since the emergence of the theory in 1943, the original proposal shall be renovated as a generative and integrative foundation to define the relation between conflict and context. The fundamental issue here is when Maslow's motives are basically the human motives as physiological and behavioral needs; the idea on the other hand in the suggested conflict-context relations is political rather than any other social or physiological aspect. So what politically feeds the relation between the conflict and

its context is taken from the state of the human well-being according to their status within Maslow's pyramid.
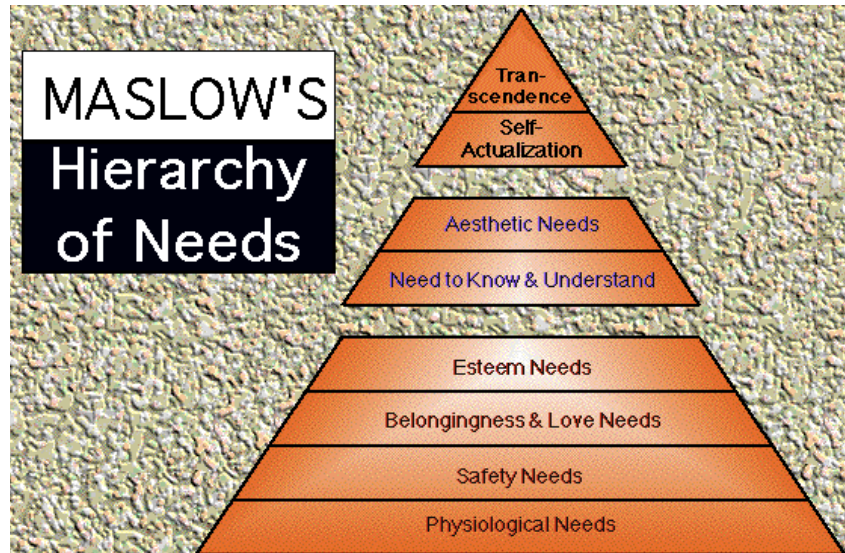
Figure 10. Maslow's Hierarchy of needs (Huitt, 2007, p. 1).

Maslow's theory organizes the fundamental motives of all organisms into a hierarchy that classifies their needs, derived by his own clinical experience. Where the arrangement suggested sees some motives precedence over others. Those needs are basically; *The physiological needs, The safety needs, The love needs, The esteem needs and The self-actualization needs*. However there are more to those basic needs, which Maslow calls cognitive needs and these are like the *desires to know and to understand*, and *aesthetic needs*. Therefore, if a hierarchy amongst the different needs of people exists, which can usually inform and shed on the conflict that affects it. Then the contexts that informs differently about the human well-being have a hierarchy in the way they are conflicted.

In view of that, three types that vary from one conflict setting to another in relation of human well-being (according to the hierarchy of needs suggested by Maslow). This shows that relation of a contextually conflicted setting is more complex than the

traditional view that sees contextual issues as only physical. Accordingly, the types of conflicted context are linked and associated with political and power. In other words, the different conflicts associated with human conditions and human well-being, in their relation to political conditions are defined according to the three following types: Ongoing Conflict-Context, Vague Conflict-Context and Determined Conflict-Context.

1. Ongoing Conflicted Context

Ongoing conflicted contexts as the thesis defines them occur in places where physical clashes and struggles come to pass such as in wars, terrorist attacks and where there is constant violence between one party and another. They are called ongoing since the conflict is not determined or no resolution to what triggered it is realized. It is therefore being witnessed on the daily basis of the people, which disturbs their well-being to live peacefully. In such cases, where human well-being is threatened by various forms of attack, safety becomes a necessity. Consequently, civilians tend to move from one place to another seeking safer areas. The Hierarchy of Needs that Abraham Maslow had put in order according to the needs of people, ranks safety needs in second place, directly after (food and hunger). These actions are motivated by safety-seeking and are heightened in cases of emergencies like wars, natural and man-made catastrophes, disasters, disease, crimes, societal disorganization, and other chronically bad situations. That attempt to rearrange the world against threats to achieve safety in areas of physical struggles can be seen/understood through man-made terrains and landscape. In architectural terms, physical conflicts can be traced, mirrored and revealed through buildings, cities and the landscape in general. In this particular study, the cities and the architecture where a physical struggle is taking place between the involved parties is focused on. The

reasons for the struggle may vary but what can be recognized and identified in such areas is that the architecture is subjected to effects of the conflict, which in total negatively affects the lives of the indigenous people.

Jerusalem represents a conflicted context that is ongoing, where physical struggles and the well-being of people is determined with issues of safety, defensive and offensive measures. The relation of architecture to this conflicted context will be elaborated in length, however, the Museum of Tolerance and the Bridge of Strings represent an example of how architecture relates to political conflicts.

2. Vague Conflicted Context

According to a conflict's aftermath and as a result of the consequence of a finished conflict, people may be still living under its effect. Other issues might still create conflict that in comparison to ongoing conflict are raised according to different issues. Such issues can vary such as the suffering of a political system that obliges obedience. What that means is a political system that directly/indirectly or implicitly/explicitly demands obedience from the people. It is when the mass is obliged to live in totality under an authoritarian form of social organization that submits to the authority in charge. A place where individualism is vague and absent and the political system is organized in such a way that it leaves no chance for individuality. As a result, such places are still labelled conflicted even though there are no wars, physical struggles and clashes. The conflict is not physical but it dwells within the systems. Confusing images of the conflict appear and/ or disappear from one place to another.

There are reasons behind this categorization according to the belong and be loved need indicated by Maslow), to satisfy this need, people strive to belong to certain

communities, to be accepted and approved by its members, which may vary and can be political. Such totalitarian systems work in a form of supply and demand, by demanding people's loyal devotion, ideologically and practically and supplying them with support that might be monetary, or other non-monetary rewards. Thus for people to achieve a sense of belongingness, they may accept totalitarian rule, at least as long as no other options seems available. This can justify the conflict, as a reason to such systems.

The island of Cyprus represents an example of a conflicted context that is vague, sine the physical struggle between the two ethnicities, represented by Turkish and Greek Cypriots, is no more evident. However, Cyprus still witnesses a conflict that is reflected with the division of the terrains of both ethnic communities. The embargos does not affect the political situation but the economical and socio-cultural issues that affect the well-being of people. The museums of National Struggles in both the south and the north of Nicosia are examples of how politically engaged architecture reflects and relates to the conflicted context at either side of the walled city. Both museums will be discussed further in chapter three.

3. Determined Conflicted Context

This last categorization might take on different faces, names and labels. Nevertheless, there are many arguments that can take place within the political systems functioning in areas where conflicts do not exist or might be abstract. I shall therefore, limit the discussion here to identify what I call a need for change in determined conflict-context according to the human condition and the well-being of people. However, there are two interrelated issues to define this type of conflicted context: One is the existence of a political conflict in the past and efforts to express regrets or lessons towards to instruct future generations. And two the condition of

human well-being is directed towards achieving better status in their daily life, to achieve change towards social systems and themselves. Both of them needs to occur in order to state that a conflict is present to a degree and at the same time to say that a political conflict is determined, therefore, in both condition a conflict is still taking place in an abstract manner. The discussion on both condition is valid with Walter Benjamin's statement as conflict does not end unless a change in all systems takes place and the other is through the Hierarchy of Needs, which indicates that people always strive to achieve better status within themselves to achieve change.

The need at the top of the pyramid of the Hierarchy of Need in Malow's theory is the self-esteem need, which can take on different forms including the self-actualization need after having fulfilled other basic needs, like safety and hunger. This need demands self-respect as well as respect of others, in matters of achievements, thoughts, independence and freedom … etc. A tendency according to Maslow where there is a "desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming" (Maslow, 1987, p. 21). The actualization of self-esteem and the ability to achieve such a need is akin to the medium where one find his/herself, if no hunger or safety issues or belongingness to a certain community is a problem due to living conditions. Then individuality becomes attainable, that is so since the majority of people in such context do not need to go through certain struggles to find food, or to be accepted by a certain community, and above all no limitation on freedom to tell what he/she thinks of and believes. A human as such might be able to have a future philosophy, can write and speak ones thoughts openly without a threat to his/her life. Nonetheless, an individual is capable of choosing between the different options according to what he/she finds right and fits with their own ideologies. A place where a person does not follow identity-thinking by

obligation but by choice, even if that place might not be the best example of a utopia, yet people will still struggle to achieve it. Individuals as such strive to make the good better for themselves as well as their communities in terms of social, economical, cultural, political, and technological issues and to other streams like philosophy, literature, music and arts. Such places face a need for change, which can simultaneously create conflicts that can dwell within the individuals and the community as a whole and in an abstract from. There are no wars, clashes or physical struggles in this case, but rather, conflict arises due to differences in thoughts, beliefs and interests, against for instance issues of equality, race, and humanity in general reminding for instance Walter Benjamin's image of the beggar as indicator of a problem within the social system, which triggers conflicts.

Most peaceful societies might fall into such categorization, however, the need to project problems against the social system due to a determined conflict is only considered in this category. This means that a political conflict had once occurred and individuals are being oriented towards instruction to learn from past experience and can be taught for generations. That is to say in a context where conflicts are over and a person is capable to exist as an individual, however, he/she is involved in a conflict for a change to take place regarding a certain political issue.

Berlin with The Jewish Museum will be discussed as it represents an architectural work that relates to a conflicted context that is determined. Particularly, the building refers to the absent Jews who were murdered or migrated from Berlin after the rise of Hitler, which marks a conflict. Today no more conflict is extant, however, the museum refers to an historic event (The Holocaust) in order to learn from past

experience and to teach the generations through an architecture that creates symbolic

and meaningful sites according to the current context.

Chapter 3

ON MUSEUMS OF POLITICAL EVENTS AND THEIR CONFLICTED CONTEXT

3.1. Introduction and Structure of the Chapter

The general objective of this thesis is to evaluate both the Museum of Tolerance and the Bridge of Strings in Jerusalem, as Foreground buildings that symbolically intend to contribute to the conflict of Jerusalem, however in a diverse manner. In order to evaluate both cases' contributing aim to the conflicted context, it is important to see how architecture in general tends to relate to critical political events and their conflicts, by considering the empirical reality (the context of the conflict).

Therefore, this part of the thesis is a transitional chapter between the literature review on context and conflict in chapter two and the evaluation of the architectural cases from Jerusalem in chapter four. The chapter will act as an extension to the literature on conflicted context, however, through presenting architectural cases (specifically two) selected purposely to draw on the relation between politically informed architecture (Foreground buildings) and the conflicted context it dwells within, both outside Jerusalem. The need for such means is due to the rather thin literature that informs how politically informed architecture can relate to its context in conflict zones and how do architectural works create meaningful mediums in relation to events within the conflict. As indicated in chapter two, the nature of the conflict can change between being Ongoing, Determined and Vague according to the context. The Ongoing nature of conflicted context in the chapter that follows represented with

the cases from Jerusalem. However, the Determined and the Vague conflicted context will be presented respectively by The Jewish Museum in Berlin and The Lakota/Nicosia Museum of National Struggle. For both examples, although no conflict compared to Jerusalem is still ongoing in their cities, however, both symbolic buildings refer *directly* to a conflict within their walls and are purposely built to address the conflict within their current context. This in total will help establish a parallel argument in the evaluation of the Foreground examples in Jerusalem.

The selection of both symbolic buildings followed the criteria below:

- Both cases are symbolic buildings to the conflict.

- Both cases utilize architectural articulation and aesthetics to directly relate their messages to the conflict by representing it or/and projecting meaning.

- They are purposely built to convey a relation with the conflict.

- Their context is conflicted in a certain degree.

- They are both museum buildings and museums are usually built to draw on symbolic representation in their context.

- They relate to a politically memorial events and represent architecture relation to political power.

- They orient/direct people's feelings towards an event as well as they instruct.

- They both follow a different approach to project meanings of the conflict and articulate the relation to political events and its memory differently.

- They are Foreground buildings that express a relation with a political conflict.

3.1.1 Aims of the chapter

Political event museum (known as memorial museums) stand in the face of catastrophic events, in terms of understanding, instruction, guidance in order to reorient the perspectives of the beholders and the users within the meanings it creates. By enabling the individual to act and evaluate the past, it would accentuate forgiveness and determination in the present and inspire the future. In brief, this is what is understood of reconciliation through remembrance, which ultimately leads to forgiveness. This approach is surfacing within the recent practice of some contemporary architects, like Daniel Libeskind, Peter Eisenman and some others. Although the word *reconcile* is defined as bringing in old relations of the past into harmony with each other[19], its theory within the realm of architecture is still being crafted and determined by the various architects practicing within transmitting messages of remembrance, history and events. It is differently advocated through each one's coming to terms with the understanding of the meanings created and the delivery of one's own interpretation. A philosophy that is reconfigured individually in relation to the eventual outcome they intend to address and translate with the tangibility of architecture's spatiality and formality, both on the figurative and the rhetorical scale.

Therefore the intent in this chapter is not to draw a paradigm out of the term reconciliation, nor to inscribe and describe the theory that is emerging from it.

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[19] Reconcile, la," *Oxford English Dictionary,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

Rather, it will involve bringing in certain approaches (projecting political events through architecture) to the forefront for a closer analysis: in order to understand how political architecture relates to its context through symbolic and meaningful representation. The aim is to question after evaluating the two symbolic buildings how reconciliation can be related to a conflict context within the architectural discourse? Once this is argued, by the end of this chapter, a conclusion can be drawn to set the ground to evaluate the cases within the context of Jerusalem in the forth chapter.

This chapter intends to borrow from certain examples to define how reconciliation is taking place according to the conflict. This is reflected in terms of representation and the way messages are delivered to the users. The first, known as the traditional narrative, factual means/objects and history are directly instructive form to the spatial representation of the trauma, and catastrophic event. It renders the individual as a passive receiver, where messages are transmitted as a fixed set of information irrespective of the variety, difference and different point of views within it audience. It also transforms the event and its history into something rigid and fixed that becomes an end onto itself. This denies the receivers the chance to judge the event for themselves and to decode its encrypted images individually. While the first approach might be regarded as an opinion about a certain event by a certain party, authority and/or architect (who was involved for its creation), the second is based on a Reflective Judgment of the past event. The role of the past, the present and the future and their relation to each and to a historical catastrophe, are left to the interpretations rather than imposing on them how to feel and think. Where none of these periods (past, present and future), are the mean end to the other nor is representation a merely subjective opinion of its designer or the authorities.

However, the relation is carefully crafted to impress and to affect. The experience offered by such a medium to the observer is like entering the past through the present. This experience can help in the development of individuality and allows one's own perspectives to form without the restrictions of a predetermined message. Essentially, the way symbolic message is positioned within the political context is a result of a critical understanding of it. In the end, the architectural work becomes embedded in the context, in relation to the history and to the present of the conflict, which allows the work to be critical.

3.1.2 Structure of the Chapter

The chapter is arranged by first introducing museums and specifically museums that relate to a memory of a political event during a conflict as a specific entry to architecture. Since museums are usually institutional in their nature and address different issues that concern society, in this case political and past events. As such, they intend to relate to reality artistically, by collecting relevant facts regarding certain events and becoming an archive. On the other hand, memorial museums are a political exercise of collective memory, a unified past and fixed perception of it. Where the political stance in the reading contained within the chapter will argue, is a relationship of the meaning of the past, and events within the built environment through museums. This argument agrees with the theorist Petar Ramadanovic, that political struggle, not primarily a battle for the territory of memory or its content, but for the meaning of memory, for what memory is, and for that which is memory beyond meaning (Ramadanovic, 2001, p. 27).

The second section of this chapter entitled **Storytelling** will theoretically come closer to showing the relation between the museum space, the representation and the symbolic messages they deliver following majorly the thoughts of Walter Benjamin

on story telling. Benjamin's role in this part is not only based on the philosophy towards the story of an event and the museum space, but his concern towards conflicts. To him conflicts never end and as far as they continue, then the role of art towards it can never stop. This means that for political events of a particular conflict to be projected towards next generation for the same mistake not to occur, then they need to be transmitted. To project the story into the future, many scholars including Benjamin believe that art has the ability to do so, where in the case of this thesis the art of articulating symbolic messages through a museum is being investigated. However a story within the museum take place in two different ways; traditionally and Reflectively. Both are elaborately discussed in the third and forth section of this chapter.

To evaluate both the Traditional and Reflective judgment's articulation of museum spaces towards a political event within a conflict, The Jewish Museum and the Lefkoşa/Nicosia Museum of National Struggle are studied. Thus, such evaluation takes place on the basis that they are museums and above all architectural works that are political and relate to their conflicted context in a different matter depending on different goals.

3.2 Museums of Political Events

Museums in general might be the suitable examples for discussions, not only that they serve the argument here in terms of their nature as places of representation and as containers of symbolic art objects or symbolic messages (specially the political ones that are highly crafted within them). Also the space of the museum in relation to the political context is an important issue to architecture relating to politics. Memorial museums represent important national/political, social and cultural

institutions due to the way they have developed during the Post-modern. On the other hand, museums as building types are usually crafted more artistically than the civic architecture usually is (background buildings), making them more vulnerable to criticisms since they are usually designed to impress and to deliver political messages. They are places where art is critical and crucial in relation to the symbolic, representation and message delivery. As well as their relation to context differs from background buildings in that relation.

Different speculations exist on how museums came to be but their rise came with a springing from a particular need to conform certain epistemological and political systems. These systems might be problematic, given their presumption of objectivity, which can be manipulated. Therefore, museums are political, in Foucault's term they are institutions that store, control and present knowledge, and are deeply implicated in the play of power (Foucault, 1980).

Given their political nature, museums therefore can be places where national or historical issues are being preserved or expressed. Due to their variation in their content, they become similar to battle fields where architects are competing against one another to achieve better expressions and more impressive representations, which may transform the museum from a cultural object to a sculpture that attracts attention to its formality.

Political event museums on the other hand, can be a place where opinions can be voiced instead of facts and truth. Yet, the question remains whether such opinions are common to all, and whether they are inspired from a critical understanding of the reality. Nonetheless, they may also be places where manipulation can take place,

since it is mostly based on representation, this representation can be subjective as well as selective. This argument is valid by the fact that museums are places considered as empty containers that are ready to receive representation by others like artists and the selected objects to exhibit, which in themselves could be manipulative and an instrument to political power.

The museum went through different changes from being a "dead place" (going against its very nature of containment) into being a source of entertainment and serving the popular and the political. It changed in terms of the peoples' social and cultural need and in terms of the critical role it can play within the society by adjusting to the changing nature of the living conditions of the century. Adorno, on his limited direct writing on architecture in general spoke of the museum as a dead container or as a mausoleum: "Artworks were always meant to endure; it is related to their concept, that of objectivation. Through duration art protests against death; the paradoxically transient eternity of artworks is the allegory of an eternity bare of semblance. Art is the semblance of what is beyond death's reach" (Adorno T. W., 1997a, p. 27). And somewhere else in the "Valery Proust Museum" Adorno had considered the museum as dead, since displayed objects are usually being taken out of their original context and welcomed into the museum to be exhibited as dead, killed, ruined or as suppressed as a mausoleum:

The German word 'museal' ['museumlike'], has unpleasant overtones. It describes objects to which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which are in the process of dying. They owe their preservation more to historical respect than to the needs of the present. Museum and mausoleum are connected by more than phonetic association. Museums are like the family sepulchres of works of art. They testify to the neutralisation of culture (Adorno T. W., 1995, p. 175).

They also presented ideal places that are ordered and disconnected from the real world outside. The collections it preserves are treated of great importance giving them the sculptural sense as to no aging or perish, which in that sense monumentalize what it contains through the activity and the ritual that takes place within the walls of the museum. Akin and rooted to the Western cultures nineteenth century's as a closed "other" space observed by Foucault:

These are heterotopias in which time does not cease to accumulate, perching, so to speak, on its own summit… The idea of accumulating everything… of creating a sort of universal archive, the desire to enclose all times, all eras, forms and styles within a single place, the concept of making all times into one place, and yet a place that is outside time, inaccessible to the wear and tear of the years, according to a plan of almost perpetual and unlimited accumulation within an irremovable place, all this belongs entirely to our modern outlook. Museums and libraries are heterotopias typical of nineteenth-century Western culture (Foucault, 1997, p. 333).

This act of decontextualizing had been rallied against during the Post-modern times, which experienced the changing nature of the museum as an institution from archiving and storing information to displaying it in a livelier, a change in both its role and its nature (Pearce, 1992). Nowadays objects are displayed more interactively especially the history museums, for instance frozen dead animals or fossils are no longer mere objects for preservation and observation but are also seen as educational tools (through interaction, touching and learning by doing and observing). Thereby video games, audiovisuals and animation replaced the conventional display methods. Art museums on the other hand, changed from displaying art of dead artists to displaying the art of the alive, changing over short periods of time, inviting locals to revisit such buildings that existed in their cities. Overall museums changed from exhibiting national showcases presenting heroes and victories into a place that engages with people teaching them to learn from previous mistakes, past catastrophic events and insures that these lessons are carried into the future. All in all, museums

are important for different reasons but mainly for emerging out of certain societies needs rather than being constructed artificially.

Such contradiction between the museum and time enforces the length of time certain cultures can be preserved and kept alive. However, referential and subjective to the act of collecting and to the way it appears to the masses, by creating sometimes illusions and twisted truth that diffuses any means of judgment resulting in liquidation and commoditization of the history itself. However, I may not intend to go into the circles of the relation of the museum to the act of the collections, which had been falsified by various figures and had much influenced the emerging of the modern museum as it stands now. See for instance in this context, the work of Jean Baudrillard in *The System of Collecting*, who via Freud has argued that the way and the value that personal collections forms subjectivity, is a control act over time and space which leads to the denial and the means of forgetting mortality: "in our era of faltering religious and ideological authorities, ... are by way of becoming the consolation of consolations, an everyday myth capable of absorbing all our anxieties about time and death" (Baudrillard, 1994, p. 17).

Returning to monumentality, where museums as an architectural style belonged to, Duncan and Wallach (1980) write, that museums similar to churches and temples not only belong to the same art history categories but they carry same fundamental architectural styles and places type which implicate classicism: "They continue metaphor: museums share fundamental characteristics with traditional ceremonial monuments" even in the modern Neoclassicism (Duncan & Wallach, 1980, p. 450). The Greek temples adopted as the style and the language of the classical that is akin to monumentality since it housed the gods, demonstrated relations between life and

the death and of rituals and practices. Adapted, systemized and interpreted by the Romans, then to the Renaissance and into the Neoclassical, the location of the museum within such monumental architectural language insured religious and temporal origins and property. Not only that, it also insured its place in the world in terms of the associated meanings it beholds, the objects it contains and the function of echoing ceremonial practices it houses. As well as fulfilling its role in protecting history by safeguarding precious cultural objects, which are still seen in today's museums (Duncan & Wallach, 1980).

So what about the symbolic messages museums deliver? The story they tell? And how such places represent symbolical messages (political ones) within the modern world that they impose on visitors? And how does history, political events enter into the space of the museum in relation to the context of the conflict? How do political messages as architectural discourse relate to the context of the conflict that forms it?

In the following examples I will architecturally come closer to showing the relation between the museum space, the displayed objects, their representation and the symbolic messages they deliver to visitors, through viewing them in relation to their context (the context of the conflict it intends to represent). That is to locate and illustrate the different types of museum in relation to representation and to their context (conflict it may be). I will also discuss museums as spaces where representation is contested especially inside its walls in relation to reconciliation. Museums give meaning to the past and help orienting people towards the future. In this I stress upon the validity of the argument since museums are places where reconciliation is to bring the relation of a certain past even within the future into a certain harmony. An approach that I observed to be taking place within Jerusalem,

not only with the MOT-J but also a certain way, a potential in the symbolic expression and the rhetorical implementation of the Bridge of Strings, as a poetic discourse to peace as it will be discussed in chapter four.

3.2.1 Storytelling

To Walter Benjamin the concept of history is much related to memory and remembrance, where the past or the history can exist within the present through taking on a meaning (Benjamin, 2002). That meaning cannot be given or transmitted objectively but through an active relation to his concept of *storytelling*. Storytelling in his thesis has a transmitting nature that is neither objective nor subjective, since it is built on communication in a form of experience rather than as a tool of knowledge or instruction, making history more meaningful. I shall stop to elucidate what it is meant by storytelling and what makes it distinct to communication through the experience in space.

Storytelling motivates partaking, interpretation, and reflection. Benjamin's 1936 essay *The Storyteller* allows orientating understanding of the past toward thinking through memory: that which uplifts meaningful actions in the present as a reminder of one's ability to think, critique and act. He is concerned less with stories as a form and more with it being the medium that creates a shocking and interpreting the passive historical sensibility (Benjamin, 2003, p. 396).

Storytelling allows a well-enhanced practice of representation and well transmitting of history, claims Benjamin. The true meaning of event lies in the past and is changed by those who receive it and how it relates to the experience of their life. Individuals that judged history for themselves, would eventually form a meaning of the present by transmitting. Yet, admitting that the act of transmitting, which in the

long run varies and changes from one generation to the other, is with no doubt changeable over the course of time through the medium of its representation and tradition. What does storytelling insure? How does it function?

Storytelling is an art of sharing an experience through repetition, since every time a story is being told it is being re-created and in itself it imparts judgment and thinking: "one of the essential features of every real story [is that] it contains openly or covertly something useful" saturated with real life experience for "in every case the storyteller is a man who has counsel for his readers". However, counselling to Benjamin is not a means to an end or an answer to a question but more of a proposal that is concerned with "the continuation of a story which is in the process of unfolding" … "one would first have to be able to tell the story" (Benjamin, 2002, pp. 145-146).

Since storytelling demands a built up sort of logic, Benjamin's emphasis is not on its repetition as an empirical fixed knowledge, but rather on the meaningful and necessary parts of the story that is suitable for a specific time. The capability of its renewability is how Benjamin differentiates between the traditional histography and storytelling: "It is half the art of storytelling to keep a story free from explanation as one recounts it" (Benjamin, 2002, p. 148). Yet that richness in meaning that it creates is beyond reasons and facts in its wisdom and telling "traces of the storyteller cling to a story the way the handprints of the potter cling to the clay vessel" (Benjamin, 2002, p. 149).

Benjamin situating remembrance within the realm of action encourages its continuity without having it determined. His suggestion is to the natural of telling, which

endures in the ear and the memory of the listener. Nevertheless, to Benjamin storytelling can go beyond a complete explanation and commitment to its details, it should leave more questions in the mind of the listener than answers. This would support its evolution. Yet since it is changeable over the scale of time, Benjamin puts no constrains on a full and accurate recounting but he induces suspension within its explanation: a story should not be "understandable in itself" or accurate since "in itself a story is not a fixed object, but a dynamic force; its teller is not concerned with an exact recounting, but with fidelity to an affective truth of experience. For these reasons, we should approach a story with a curiosity, the details of which append a yet-to-be decoded vocabulary of experiential knowledge" (Benjamin, 2002).

What did Benjamin see in storytelling? And why was he against objectifying history? And how does storytelling get involved with events and take part in architectural discourse?

Benjamin saw in memorials a medium to explore the past and to act upon it through the exchange of experiences. This would mark a beginning instead of an end that to him would mainly oppose knowledge, instruction, and information. Information and knowledge are immediate, temporary and limited as long as they are recent. They also have an explanatory nature that needs reasoning, facts and justification. Its nature is based on fixed knowledge, built on cause and effect, a linear approach to facts. That nature makes them universally built on cognition rather than experience, built on logic rather than emotions, allows no space for opinions since everything is fixed and in essence making the story objective.

The type of memorial or memory based on a common and shared perception of the history and the past, is subjectively authorized with symbolic meaning that is common to all and recognized by the mass. Where the same authority decides what is to be remembered and what is not, what should appear and what should not, through a process of selective and subjective selection. Selectivity is usually an interpretive representation of the past, which on its own leaves the receiver as passive about a certain idea or image. On the other hand, since the real event is absent as it is history, it is easily manipulated and formulated to serve certain aims and authorities. "It is the selective function of the narrative that opens to manipulation the opportunity and the means of a clever strategy, consisting from the outset in a strategy of forgetting as much as in a strategy of remembering" (Ricoeur, 2004, pp. 84-85).

But how does memory's relate to events? Especially when knowing that conflicting accounts and interpretations of the past would usually exist.

Events do not stand on their own; rather memorials are situated within the events argues Arendt (2005). Events are not physical but for them to become more meaningful they demand judgments and perception through the act of remembrance (Arendt, 2005). Arendt believes in leaving memory to individual perception and not to authorized institutions, since to her the system of relationships, which can create meanings "can exist only within the world produced by man, nesting there in its stones until they too speak and in speaking bear witness, even if we must first dig them out of the earth" (Arendt, 2005, p. 128). Arendt and Benjamin both believe that the memory within storytelling cannot be placed in collections. They believe that memorial is rather an exchange of the past and the present through action, which is akin to judgments and critical reflection.

3.2.2 The Traditional Narrative Model

1. The Lefkoşa Museum of National Struggle and the Nicosia National Struggle Museum.

The city of Nicosia or Lefkoşa in Turkish is the last divided capital city of Europe. The division is a result of a long-term conflict between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots on the ownership of the Island. The long history of the city as much as the island dates back to pre-historic periods, but traces of the Roman, Byzantine, Venetians, and Ottomans is noticeably spread along the landscape. After the intervention by Turkey in 1974, Nicosia or Lefkoşa with its old town surrounded by the Venetian walls has been a divided city, half of which belongs to the Greek Cypriots and the other half with the Turkish Cypriots. Till this day, the division is visible with wired barriers and military zones across the dividing line, interestingly on both sides of the city and within the periphery of the Venetian walls, two museums, one at each end are built to represent the struggle over the island from a national perspective. The two museums, which are within a walking distance from each other, are given the same title: "The National Struggle Museum".

Both museums are considered as a place of historical narrative, giving meaning to the past and an orientation towards the future regarding the claims of ownership of the contested island. Both museums are situated in a context that is conflicted. Architecturally this is evident within the National Struggle Museums on both sides of the walled city, where the 1974 war/division event and symbolic claims come to play within the space of the museum. Through the nature of such works, I shall define what it is to have a sort a Narrative, traditional model type of representation that still tells the story of the conflict/struggle but different/ in opposition to Walter Benjamin's storytelling.

To start with the museum on the North/Turkish part of the island, it articulates messages to the visitor through articulating history. It constructs history chronology, by telling the story of the different civilizations within its corridors and halls. A sort of nationalism built on a story that presents the enemy and projects an understanding of the story to the future, in a form of continuity and identification. The story being told actually represents the history of the life of the Turkish Cypriots within the island from a certain Turkish perspective, starting with the Ottoman arrival on the island in 1571 both on the figurative and the narrative level.

The museum was built adjacent to the Venetian walls of the city in the year 1983, a reinforced concrete modern building that reflected the style of the building in the 80's and 90's. It was purposefully built to be a museum, the building is located within the Turkish military camp area where upon entrance a typical mask of Ataturk[20] is placed on the opposite wall along with the flags. Visitors are handed leaflets showing the layout of the spaces and exhibits as well as the purpose of the museum, "to remember and teach about the struggles undertaken by Turkish Cypriots from 1978 to the present day".

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[20] Kemal Ataturk is the first President of Turkey in 1923. He is the founder of the Republic of Turkey by transforming and reforming the former Ottoman Empire into a modern and secular state.

Figure 11. The Turkish Cypriot Museum of National Struggle (Source: Museum brochure).

According to the explanatory handouts, the exhibit spaces are organized in different chambers according to the chronological order of the life of the Turkish Cypriots and their struggle on the island as written in the museum brochure:

Our national struggle is displayed in chronological order and is divided within its historical progression into three stages: First part: covers the period from 1878 to 1955. The year 1878 in principle is accepted as the beginning of our struggle when the British took control of the island … Second part: is distinguished as the period from 1955 to 1974 …. This period was marked with escalating violence … Stage three: covers the period from the 1974 Peace Operation till the present (Source: museum brochure).

The museum architecturally is composed of three different areas surrounding a central area, thus making a total of four different chambers. However, two distinct divisions amongst the chambers followed in terms of the narrative representation; to the period prior and post to the 1974 event. The three surrounding chambers follow different shapes and geometric forms, but are relatively narrow and linked to each other with straight 5-6 steps, which move around a defined circulation route (see Figure 12).
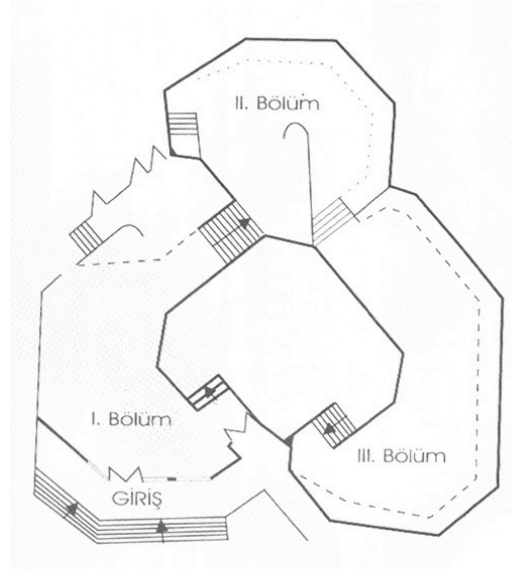
Figure 12. The Plan of the Turkish National Struggle Museum as given in the museum's brochure.

The first part of the three chambers marks the beginning of the struggle's narrative during the Ottoman period just opposite to Kemal Ataturk's image, with no reference to previous civilizations in the island like the Lusignan, the Venetian or the Hellenistic period. The absence of these periods would mark the possibility of making a link to any Greek existence in the island. The exhibits consist mostly of belongings, weapons and documents belonging to the founders of the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT) are on display.

The exhibit areas are more like wide corridors than wide exhibition spaces; they are dark and lit by narrow, linear windows at the highest part of the wall. Within these spaces, the different dates referring to the chronological order of the struggle appear in bold. The British as it appears in the same narrative are depicted by newspaper clippings, photographs, and such evidences as the start of the struggle. On the other hand, the main enemy is presented as the Greek Cypriots responsible for the killings, discrimination and politically and economically imposing pressure on the Turkish Cypriots. This is followed by descriptions of how the killing of the innocent people

took place and justifies the establishment of the TMT in its underground years. Such issues are enforced by exhibiting the original belongings of the members participating with the TMT, including their weapons, outfits and letters. Other relatively larger photographs portray women fleeing in groups with their children and belongings in their hands. The photographs portray the images of these people becoming refugees. In the same context of the museum, themes of sorrow dominate most of the darkly lit spaces within the museum.

Furthermore, the other part of the museum, which is not a surprise to the narrative representational spaces is a well-lit large chamber devoted to the post 1974 period. The chamber is relatively higher in elevation than the other exhibit areas and is located at the highest point of the building (spotted from the outside). This elevating would ensure that the room receives more light more than the rest of the rooms, through the running windows around its perimeter. Interesting architectural details are given to this room; its waffle slab ceiling (which is a structural system organized in equal cubical grid patterns by intersecting beams that runs in both longitudinal and horizontal directions) has some of its parts projecting towards the interior space (see Figure 13).

Figure 13: The last chamber of the exhibition in the Museum of National Struggle on the North of the Island. It shows the detailing of the roof, and the projecting parts of the slab to allow more light (Photo: Author, 2011).

These protruding sections are covered with glass instead of concrete from the top to allow more illumination into the interior space. The only large window that runs from top to bottom is decorated with colourful stain glass at one corner of the chamber, surrounded by the craved names of all the murdered Turkish Cypriots at its both its sides (devoted as a memorial). Standing as the last exhibit within the museum, the chamber is devoted to the event of the victory in 1974 when the Turkish army from the motherland Turkey brought the struggle and the suffering to an end. It celebrates the founding of the new state known as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, the feeling one gets in that room implies the feeling of relief, happiness and victories.

On the other side of the same walls of the city, stands the counterpart to the Turkish museum, the Greek National Museum. Despite the feeling of attaining closure in the last chamber/ hall of the Turkish museum in terms of the narrative and the story telling, the Greek museum is described to have no closure to the story that has no end. The entrance presents the aim of the museum, which exhibits the "volumes of

the two plebiscites for Enosis[21], Makarios's and Grivas' supporting statements. The struggle for Enosis[22] is vividly portrayed, but the outcome was independence not Enosis" (Papadakis, 1994, p. 407) which within the walls it does not suggest any victory or celebrations. The outcome at the end suggests that the London- Zurich agreement did the Greeks injustice. Thus, what is marked as independence to the Turkish Cypriots, is marked as defeat to the Greeks and the loss of the whole island. Similar to the Turkish Cypriots' representation, the Greeks represent the chronological history of the island from a national (selective) perspective, but that narrative is initiated during the Hellenistic period. It highlights the 14th century and the Greek existence on the island where the Ottomans are represented as "foreign conquerors". Accordingly, the Turkish Cypriots are considered intruders rather than being part of the original Cypriot population. This according to Papadakism (1994) is marked vividly in the symbolic distinction of the use of "us" as Greeks and "them" as reference to the Turkish Cypriots, denying them as a legitimate part of the population of the Island. In the same context, the British are considered conquerors just as the Turkish Cypriots were.

The museum consists of different halls, with each chamber similar to the Turkish museum devoted to different themes. Continuity with Greece is one of the main themes, and is integrated with representation of the massacre and the killing carried out by the British. The museum exhibit area is situated in a new extension to an old

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[21] Known as the movement for the union with Greece, and ended with Cyprus being an independent state.
[22] The Greek Cypriots carried in 1955 a plebiscites led by Enosis where the majority voted for the union with mother Greece. The British denied the decision although 88% voted for it, which it once promised to provide national fulfilment to the Greek Cypriots as they stood as allies during the Second World War. As a result a secret movement of liberation was formed known as the National Organization of Cypriot Fighter (EOKA) (Papadakis, 1994).

relatively smaller arched building; no reference to the date of the new extension is mentioned except that it appears to be recent.

Figure 14: The Greek Museum of National Struggle from the outside, to the left is the old museum building. On the right, the new modern extension to the museum can be seen (Photo: Author, 2011).

The museum is square in plan, divided into smaller squares that open to the ramp that circulates around a main two-floor gallery like hall. The entrance to the building is approached through the old building, where it is used for offices and administration of the museum. Upon entrance, exhibit panels that refer to the Enosis and EOKA and the start of the struggle can be seen, located within the central area that is a void within the spaces. Ascending the ramps from one side of that hall, explanations, newspaper clipping and letters are placed around the walls of the ramp, which though mostly written in Greek, the beginning of the struggle is presented via pictures and can be easily understood. Ascending further, three chambers that open to the ramp are located within the three corners of the museum at different levels, one used as an audiovisual room, and the other two display evidences of the struggle from a Greek Cypriot perspective.
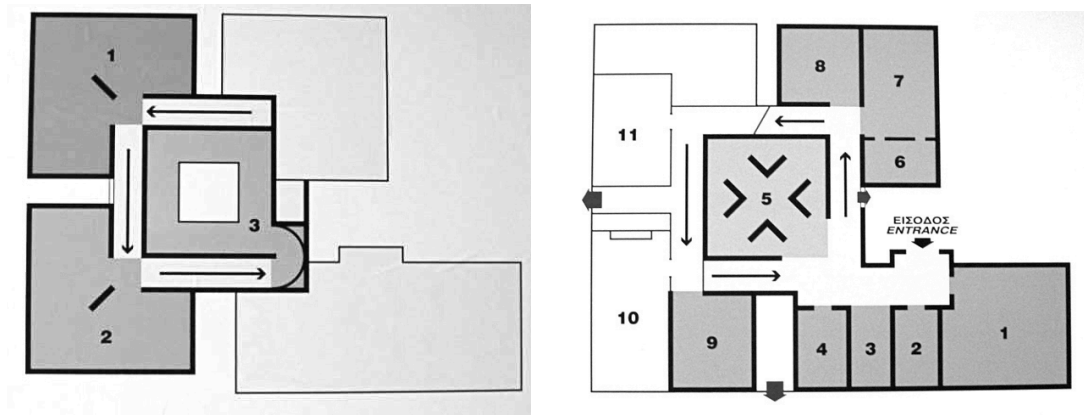
Figure 15: The plan of the Greek Museum of National Struggle as portrayed at the entrance. To the left: Ground floor plan and the First floor plan can be seen on the right (Photo: Author, 2011).

The belongings of Makarios including his bible, clothes, weapon, and his letters at the early time of the struggle, as well as to full files and report of the referendum to the union with Greece are shown in the first chamber. Three dimensional one to one replica models of Greek Cypriots being beaten or arrested by the British forces are located in the exhibition chambers. On the walls, different panels of photographs, letters as well as newspapers articles are organized showing sceneries of the killings and the suffering of the people and the belongings of those sacrificed.

After leaving the last room the ramp ascend to reach a void that overlooks the entrance hall, known as the execution chamber, which is a replica of the gallows where the execution of the EOKA fighters took place. Three ropes are suspend from the ceiling on top of the void, and around the walls is a grid of niches that contain photographs of those killed with a red candle like light in front of each box. To this point, the symbolic relation to Greek nationalism is represented through reference to ancient Greece and Orthodox Christianity. This accentuated by the candles, the icons like photographs on the wall and the sacred lamps that are a constant reminder of a sanctuary and the most sacred part of the church (Stilianou et al. 1991, Pp. 78 in Papadakism, 1994). What is striking in the organization of the voids is not only that

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it is central where the ramps ascend and turn around it, it is also the last space to visit, denoting an end to a story filled with sorrow for the dead and representing the story with no end. Its centrality within the museum implies the centrality of the painful story, where everything that is organized around it is in fact feeding it in terms of the story line. It is a void within the space, where the void resembles those who were killed. It's location on top of the entrance hall where the beginning of the story is being told means that the end and the beginning of the story are one, it started with a struggle and finished with no fair achievement to the demands of that struggle. It denotes a painful end with regards to what the Greek Cypriots demanded and with response to the answer to such demand.
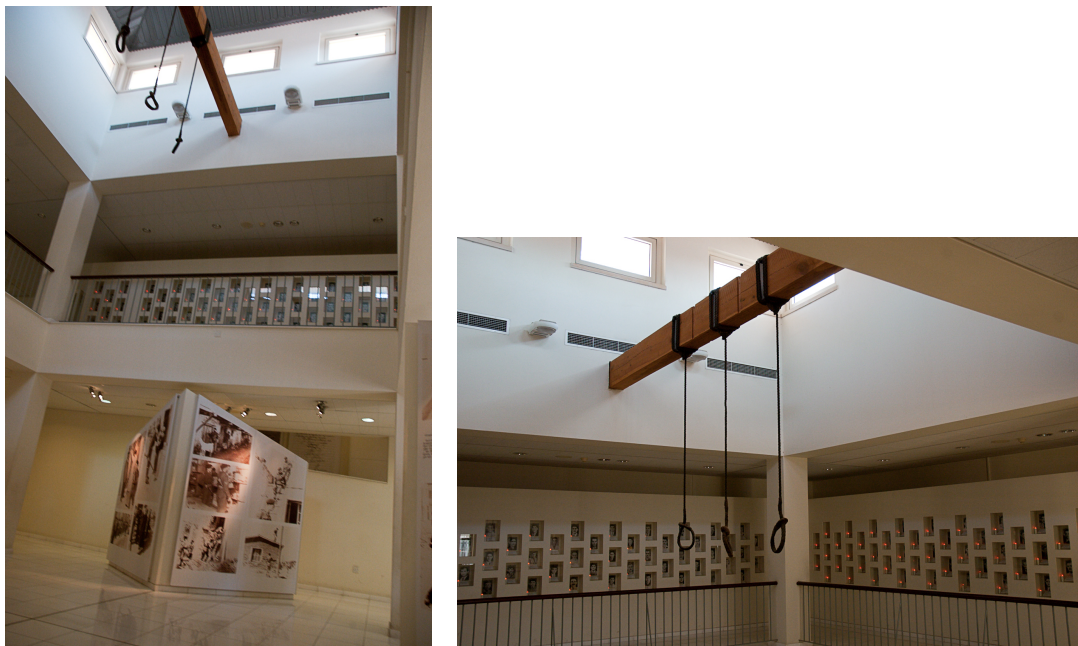
Figure 16: The Chamber of Execution, with the hanging three ropes from the ceiling. The left figure shows the chamber relation with the entrance hall (Photo: Author, 2011).

2. The Reading of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot Museums of National Struggle and their Relation to the Conflicted Context.

The understanding of both museums invites the thinking about the issues of spatial representation in relation to history, events and memory in the traditional narrative

sense. This in return inspires thinking of identification with one's culture and the traditional view of a memorial of the victim and the hero with regards to the past, the present and what it delivers to future generation.

Given the examples above my aim is to illustrate how this approach limits the individual into entering a critical relation with the event, and to debate the reasons why such approach had lately been shifting within the architectural practice. So how through the above museums instruction on the history in the face of the catastrophic event is achieved? What are the problems it creates in terms of individuals and the impression it leaves on visitors in terms of his/her relation to that past event and history? How does it relate to the political context? And how is such work valid in times where the context is changing towards accepting the other and attempting to reconcile?

The traditional narrative model's spatial arrangement usually is seen to employ a message as well as a duty towards nationalism. There are many arguments as to why we need to remember, but what concerns this thesis is the way that political representation takes place and how history and event enter into memory? This addresses what is called collective memory, a specific memory that targets the mass as part of their national or community belonging duty. I shall discuss such questions, but before that it is important to explain the other model of representation that is taking place within the architectural discourse. Doing so would help in understanding, by relating both types of political approaches to contrast them with one another, where one justifies the other.

The two national museums presented above speak of a language in opposition to what Benjamin had suggested. In what follows, I shall examine the representation of both museum in relation to memory, past, history and catastrophic event. When the essence of memory is to bring about that which is not tangible, lived or cognitive, then one must question to which degree can architecture promote the experience/ of that memory through meaning and representation? So how is the above is translated to the architectural sphere?

As opposing as the Greek and the Turkish Museum of National Struggle in respect to the same event they appear to be, they offer the same experience to the visitor. They are both built on the belief that such memorial architecture is a vital thing within the construction of nationality, which cannot be critically judged. That is so since whatever is presented is built on facts and supported with collections as a proof and evidence to that fact. No one at either side doubts or questions the truth of that event; which may shed some light on the right of existence of the different people of that specific geographic land. The objects placed on display like weapons, clothes and personal belongings appear as an archiving of a collection, which aims to instruct, through providing information and knowledge of what the nation went through to achieve the present stage. Every setting within their walls is aiming to build an awareness, which also intends to keep the memory of who the enemy is and therefore keeping it alive. A memory that is an end in itself, ready to be received by the intended local visitors, as well as the various tourists and foreigners.

Both museums' representations are subjective in terms of selectivity. Within the walls of the museums, the exhibits intend to draw and remind people of the truth, they neglect or erase that which does not supply the chronological order of events

with support and which creates contradiction to its main nationalistic purpose. The disappearance for instance, of previous civilizations within the Turkish museum, that may offer support to the other group claims is an example of the latter. The same can be said for the presentation of the Ottoman period in the island as part of a thin layer of history in the Greek museum. These contradictions are easily erased when someone travels around Cyprus in general, where historic buildings can be seen everywhere and the evidence of the existence and the accumulation of different civilizations is clear.

However, what interests this thesis is the spatial arrangement that goes as a representation of the purpose, aim and the messages to be conveyed. Especially within the Turkish museum, the chronological arrangement that fits with the organization and the quality of the space. The line of the struggle, which starts with the British, up until the period pre 1974, is of a dull, dark corridor like spaces. This tunnel then ends in a relatively larger hall that is well lit and arranged to receive light and air, where the happy photos of the Turkish army rescuing the people, the injured and the refugees. The museum, which employs a sort of one conclusion drawn from its arrangements and settings as well as the exhibits, mixes struggle, suffering and death with victory, and independence. The moment someone steps into the last hall, the victims become the heroes, the enemy vanishes, the British who treated them as slave peasants are long gone with a state of dignity. The art -of mostly photography - changes from sorrow, pain and sympathy to happy moments, victory and relief.

Relief is actually the conclusion drawn from the whole setting of the museum integrated with the memory of the time line it took for its arrival. No place within its wall for another story to be told, it is already set and has already happened the way

the museum has illustrated it. The public awareness it attempts to achieve does not provoke the feeling of the hatred of war or suffering, but brings about a sense of obligation as a nation and as an individual towards the nation that in the case of such suffering, then struggle and war is a responsibility.

 Similarly within the Greek museum, the arrangement of spaces is consistent with how the nation had been left with the event of the 1974. While this event was considered a victory to the Turks, it signified defeat to the Greeks. The event of 1974 did not result in the achievement of their aspirations as a one island ruled and shared by them and only them. That's why in its arrangement it leaves open-ended messages, the story does not finish within the walls of the museum as in the Turkish case.

All in all, both museums employ and imply the image of the struggle, however, its understanding changes from one end of the city to the other end, conversely with a structural similarity. Where the present is part of that unbroken connection with history and the past, is represented through a historical narrative embedded within the envelope of architecture. That narrative form or representation is much argued in White's thesis (1990a, 1990b), seeing it's significant in different ways, one to a central and significant subject, usually having a striking beginning, mid and end, and a certain well heard voice accompanied with action. It demands to link events to one other within a social setting to have a moral significance, which to White: "is the impulse to moralize reality, that is to identify it with the social system that is the source of any morality we can imagine" (White, 1990a, p. 14). If that's the case, then what is the significance of the narrative in such a context? And how does it find its justification to function?

As it was discussed in the first section of this chapter, the vague conflict-context, which Cyprus is an example of, functions within totality and concerns the masses more than individuals. What a better place to express those views than in such museums? Such a narrative form of representation finds its strength to function in places where individuality is almost vague, and where the individual is obliged to be part of the mass. Remembering Adorno's identity thinking, yet the reason for that is people tend to live in a form of a "we" instead of the "I", especially in places of traumatic events. Moreover, the conflict that was the reason for these events has not been determined yet, although both Greek and Turkish Cypriots live their lives within a state on each side, a complete solution has not been achieved.

Thus individuals become determined with what he/she should believe and how to act morally in relation to the event, shaping their attitudes and any possibility of being critical. This also makes them believe that the truth that is presented within the museums' walls is universal and the information received as the ultimate truth where no other truth can co-exist. Judgment is also passed on those involved and to those addressed indirectly; which builds prejudice, bias and limits the exchange of ideas, views and opinions. The totalized view is not even built on the depth of meanings it creates, it presents what it wants to be heard, thought or seen instead of representing it through the ability of art. Remembering involves either the passive reception (involuntary affection) of a past image or idea, or its active (intentional) search. The image or idea recalled is a selective and represents an interpretive representation of the past. This is because the object, experience, or the event being remembered is absent, and imagination is the means of its representation, memory is mutable and open to manipulation. "It is the selective function of the narrative that opens to manipulation the opportunity and the means of a clever strategy, consisting from the

outset in a strategy of forgetting as much as in a strategy of remembering" (Ricoeur, 2004, pp. 84-85).

Put in a different manner, the art that is usually employed in such spaces to create meanings usually lacks the capacity and the criticality of art. In both museums, it is based on photos and photography of real scenes and of shots that were not even meant to be art, but records and archiving of what had been happening.

Such works arouse empathy and emotions that are based on excess, the feeling of sorrow regarding those who were lost and repetitive mourning for past pain in the present. Turning such places from museums into mausoleums shows individuals the way they are ought to belong or to be a member of a certain community. Following Ramadanovic, memory has the potential to be exploited by those who, claim authority over the past and attempt to legitimize their claim either by concealing social division and representing unity through the projection of an imagined community or by playing on the fears of social disorder and insecurity. "Political struggle, is not primarily a battle for the territory of memory or its content, but for the meaning of memory, for what memory *is,* and for that which is memory beyond meaning. It is a resistance to the politics of imposition and representation, to their powers and manipulations" (Ramadanovic, 2001, p. 27). Adding " the struggle for memory is a political struggle. It is waged against the winners, that is, the conquerors who control history, and, by manipulating the collective memory, dictate the collective's identity" (Ramadanovic, 2001, p. 24).

Another factor by the traditional narrative model in exhibits, contents and spatial organization is the one conclusion message projected by it. Therefore, it invites the

question of how, as the mission of contemporary museums is entertainment, is able to sustain that when everything is based on apprehending reality in a sort of institutional sense?

The museum according to the previous discussion does not allow interaction but directs messages. A reason that makes most of these places visited by their locals in a very limited manner, and therefore does not sustain its role to integrate with the everyday life of the locals. Where in terms of its content it creates the sense of monumentality as if it is a statue raised on a pedestal, like a free standing statue of someone within any city. Such spaces are about the history more than it is about the event and the change it created; it is less about the recent people and their living needs. It manifests itself and pushes itself as a need superior to the people and their thoughts. Especially within the case of Cyprus the change in the political points of views about the division puts its role into question of how can it sustain in case of change?

The problem with such spaces is created with the modern, when once the classical museums were about praise and totality; modern ones are about the fear of forgetting, amnesia and failure to remember. As once put by Benjamin, "there is hardly a square in Europe whose secret structure was not profound and impaired over the course of the 19th century by the introduction of monument" (Benjamin, 1986, p. 65).

Such places of contestation cannot create places for compromise, for common ground for people to share a peaceful and coexist. This is due to the fact that it has to deal with history or rather an unresolved history. As Adorno states; in places where a

museum is to deal with the past and only the representation of the past then, working through the past is impossible. Impossible in the sense that for a compromised state is unattainable for as put in the words of Adorno, "the past will have been worked through only when the causes of what happened then have been eliminated" (Adorno T. W., 2003, p. 15).

Then and if that was the case, the belief that such places of meaning are still in need as part of cultural objects, as well as to keep memories for fear of forgetting "how" then did the Post-modern deal with that? Or architecturally speaking, how can architectural spatial representation overcome such constrains? And how was it falsified by its architects? How did architectural works manage to sustain memory whilst attaining entertainment? How did architectural work teach, instruct, inform and provide knowledge without fixating it as a mean end to the museum? And how did that manage to provide places for reconciliation, or open the ground for reconciliation to take place? And how can reconciliation be defined by it?

3.2.3. The Reflective Judgment Narrating Model

Andreas Husseyn's (1984; 1995; 1996; 1997; 2003; 2006) interest in the relation between architecture and memory notes that, by the beginning the interest of the modern culture was on what he calls the "present futures", however, since the 80's this shift had been towards "present pasts" (Huyssen, 2006). This means that living in a present time that calls on past events and history in order to educate and draw lessons through its mistakes by keeping the memory alive. Such a relationship and shift between time and space are the fundamentals to understand the contemporary culture and its relation to memory and the perception of history. This line of thought has been accelerating and reviving continuously in different mediums including architecture, like Holocaust Memorials. Yet, this interest brought with it a "new

wave of museum architecture" (Huyssen, 2000, p. 24). In Husseyn's discussion an interest to argue why the world had been building museums as if there would be no tomorrow, in which he validates with today's culture fear of amnesia; the failure to practice amnesia, which carries to celebrate political anniversaries, the danger to lose the memory and forget the past that should be remembered by the public, had influenced architecture and its involvement to approaches of representing the memory. This sections will discuss how the modern culture through its architecture intends to keep the memories alive however, with contemporary means of relating and finding ways to commemorate, remember, learn from past mistakes and to carry that narrative, (different to the tradition model discussed previously in the cases of the museums in Cyprus).

The reality that memory is a social and a political issue, where different accounts can be in conflict in interpreting the past, through each individual's memory, this would lead to the change of memory with time. On the other hand, generally dealing with memory, means having to facing to resolve issues in architectural terms, like the ability to differentiate between what is real and what is a memory and this has been a longer debate between historians opposing history to memory. This can be seen in much of the involvement of monuments of all types including the architectural ones, in registering and writing history through monuments for it to be transmitted to future generations before history was a scientific practice. On the other hand, memory has become a cultural commodity in recent times due to the involvement of the modern culture's media and other influences, like films, books and the internet that act as museology outside the institution of the museum (Huyssen, 2000). This representation by the media subjectively relates historic events in order to sell more, yet it creates a gap between what is real and what is representation. The other issue,

which touches on architecture and its means of representation, is the ability to overcome a dilemma between the realities of the modern culture, which demands to remember and by keeping up with the world that is organized around what is popular and rapidly changing. Nevertheless, the new cultural orientation, is gearing towards individuality of human perception and sensibility, as a response to the end of collective memory, which sees people in masses. Collective memory, perceives that the masses have a unified understanding of memory in a social, political, ethical and religious context. As such, collective memory is under question due to how much such collective unification can be efficient in informing individuals about the past under the increase in self-understandings.

Such a complex relation is at the threshold of creating and developing a new strategy of representation in architecture (museums specifically in this case) between what is a lived or an imagined memory. This would require formulating an original strategy that can build a deeper relationship between time and space, making it alive, interpretive, elaborative and lasting. Whatever the traditional model had in terms of social responsibility of institutions in preserving memories is now "flowed over into the public domain and been taken over by the media and the tourist industry" according to Pierre Nora (Nora, 1998, p. 614). As a result, this makes individuals practice remembering and articulate memory through what they choose to believe, which characterizes the environments of the contemporary cultures to actively remembering. As to the traditional model, it exists to keep certain memories unchanged such as remembering the dead, the heroes, the past and events to national communities.

On the other hand a lived experience of the event or the memory of it, would mean that meanings - which are not abstract within the built environment, because individuals are encouraged to think and judge in terms of what is socially, politically or ethically legible to them in time and space- however approached with critical awareness. Such practice demands reflection and judgment of what is not objectively presented in the traditional sense, against receiving knowledge and information that is fixed. And yet would provide a medium to produce a space that is social in the interaction between memory and people and with people to each other. Remembering Lefebvre's account on the production of social relations in a space that is conceived as a tool to action and thought through experience:

In addition to being a means of production [space] is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power; yet that, as such, it escapes, in part from those who would make use of it … What is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose code it embodies? (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 26, 44).

Such subjective but reflective spaces which relate the built environment to the meaning of memory, is not fixed, but generate a medium that allows experiences with history and encounters the past through the place that its symbolizes, to be revealed by the people themselves. Such public space according to Jarzomblek "is the primary medium through which memory and its associated historiographical energy seeks its representation, and thus it is in the public space that the retrieval process works" (Jarzombek, 2004, p. 72).

This sort of model, is identified as the Reflective Judgment model in spaces that are related to memory. It is built upon spaces that are less loaded with the familiar symbolic language of the Classical and more like spaces that can be depicted with

self-reflection related to each individual understanding, thoughts and beliefs. Places need to interact with people in a non-universal, non-fixated manner without a concept or a rule. These issues are not new and have been argued in the works of Adorno, which identified ability in art (contemporary works including architecture) to integrate and to involve human matters in ways that no other areas or domains do. By maintaining an ability to address the social and the cultural without being a fetish of the capitalist system or perceiving and assembling and arranging by being popular and entertaining for the sake of culture industry. Therefore, such works in order to avoid the culture industry needs to avoid being instrumental or universal but specific and critical: "In the image of catastrophe, an image that is not a copy of the event but the cipher of its potential, the magical trace of art's most distant prehistory repapers under the total spell, as if art wanted to prevent the catastrophe by conjuring up its image … The shaft that art directs at society is itself social" (Adorno T. W., 1997a, p. 33).

Adorno's argument in this sense might not be translated directly in the realm of architecture. Not only did Adorno not provide the basis to follow in architectural terms nor did he give suggestions as to how it can be followed. Therefore, saying that such architectural approaches create social site of meaning in relation to a catastrophe have been translated to a certain degree using theories does not mean that such architectural works escape the culture industry. As in the tendencies of Peter Eisenman and Daniel Libeskind to create a philosophy of such mediums of space and memory, have been created in their works and are inscribed to be expensive, and sell well around the globe. Although we may not know if they intend to be working against the culture industry, to this argument they are qualified due to their refusal to see architecture in its mean as an art to entertain and only attract through extravagant

aesthetics. However, as it will be argues shortly that some of their architectural works are able to criticize the status quo by appropriating architecture's role as being social. On the critical practice of the Reflective Judgment model in their works, it can be seen as an alternative creation to the relationships between the experience of the beholder to beholding objects of knowledge and information. This makes sense in a figural perspective and provokes representation and understanding in the search of meaning. Spectators become actors, in a critical form of exchange of human experience and perspective as argued by Lara (2007), that the Reflective Judgment makes place for acknowledging becoming the crucial mode in opposition to knowledge.

There is no autonomous, fully defined architecture, suggests the possibility of architecture's open-ended capacity for displacement, for new possibilities of meaning (Eisenman, 1987, p. 182)… the duration of an individual's experience of [the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe] grants no further understanding, since understanding is impossible (Eisenman, 2005, p. 12).

Peter Eisenman asserts that contemporary architecture creates variable of meanings. He does this by rejecting to fixate meanings, and allowing unexpected production of meanings and sensibilities by the users. Similarly, in his work in the Memorial of the Murdered Jews in Berlin, his refusal to fixate meanings to the memory of the killed, is justified with the prevention of amnesia and forgetting of a certain event that are originally meant to be remembered. Therefore, he sees the role of architecture as the intermediate tool for the production of meaning and not as a tool of remembrance. That is since architecture cannot imagine or represent the event and its context one to one as it was, nor through symbols or images of representation. He also refuses to see in contemporary architecture's representation a mean to dictate the way things should be remembered in the traditional sense. Thus, representation in a non-narrative form

would allow the memory of the event to be effectively in action, in relation to the changing nature of the context (the change over time); which is possible through representation that is built on abstraction instead.

Figure 17: Memorial to the Murdered Jews, Berlin by Peter Eisenman (Source: URL 7).

Although much formulated in his theory, Eisenman's work for the murdered Jews of Europe is not an architectural work. Yet, designed and interpreted by an architect, the site is much of a memorial, a statue or a work of art in that manner. It contains no real function, no enclosed space nor spatial arrangement between its parts in the conventional sense. Although much can be learnt and reflected upon from that specific piece of work, I appeal more to architectural work, realized and attained within architectural means, as spaces, materials, location, and context. However, Eisenman's own argument assessed in laying the bases for a reflective judgment form of representation. Where the Reflective Judgment model is in essence, the inherent variability of architectural meaning, which has no common judgment or standardized experience and knowledge. Moreover, this interrupts the traditional way that places of remembrance are usually understood, because contemporary memorial architecture sites "should be experienced as an indeterminate site of meaning and as potentially productive of new, unforeseen meanings. Foregoing traditional means of

representation and referential significance, memorial architecture gives rise to spaces and forms that break with the monumentalize and didacticism of traditional memorials and monuments" (Matatyaou, 2008 , p. 94).

To Lara (2007) such practice of Reflective Judgment demand, strong imagination and plurality where judgment happen to be the most political of all activities. Spectators of the narrative become actors, by the new thoughts and critical exchange (Lara, 2007, p. 97). Arendt as well sees enabling to see things in their proper perspective by being "strong enough to put that which is too close at a certain distance so that we can see and understand it without bias and prejudice" (Arendt, 1994, p. 323).

Architecturally speaking, reflective judgment is a means to the practice of creating meaning involving different points of view. Acknowledging as an act different to knowing and cognition, bears on the way people think and act. However, by questioning the act of representation without using recognized representational means of norms, conventions, and the tradition symbolic approaches. Rather than viewing an architectural work as a site that contains meaning, seeing uncertainty allows the questioning and the understanding by the individual. That is because it breaks with the norms that assert interpretation of the past and the event and leaves their effects undetermined. This as such, would strengthen the strategy of reactivating the spaces it creates, where visitors would lose themselves in the experience and in being part of the memory of that history. At the same time, as an architectural piece, it would function against totalized and instrumental means of imposing political meanings.

Nowadays there are many if not plenty of examples that follow the same line of thought, within architecture in its critical role with regards to catastrophic events. These works interpret the traditional narration and link to memory through approaching their works more critically when it comes to symbolic and meaningful representation. Yet, emphasizing on the role and its changing perception of meanings in relation to the context it intends to fit in. This is justified by the fact that many of those alive did not witness the real event and have no solid memory about it. As for those who did witness it, the memory fades away and the event with them "an event of obvious importance that is currently passing from "memory" into "history." (Varon, 1997). Another supporting argument to keeping of the memory of an event critically active in its new context (location and time) is justified since there can be no intervention with real facts of history. Such facts may be selectively organized according to a previously given meaning, also historians usually compete to interpret the past, shaping it "by the discursive forms in which it is figured". This fact reminds Walter Benjamin's argument that history is not meaningful if not given a shape, and rather a myth to a certain degree in the way different cultures organize a narrative to form a collective identity. It is not empirical but rather relatively and implicitly representational (Varon, 1997, p. 89).

White (1996), on the other hand sees that facts (the raw material of history) as not a "story-like" nor do they demand narrative handling, yet, the narrative is imposed on facts that are meaningless. Furthermore, meanings are usually subjective interpretations and understandings and employed as a sort of an ideology that is institutional and based on traditional and common cultural norms of understanding. (White, 1990a, pp. 66-67). Factors that set the view of interpretations are social and can vary between religious, ethnical, personal -including the way one is raised-, and

even political including the way memory of that history is interwoven: "societies in fact reconstruct their pasts rather than faithfully record them, and that they do so with the needs of contemporary culture clearly in mind – manipulating the past in order to mold the present" (Kammen, 1991, p. 3).

The total critical criteria of the Reflective Judgment model can be summed up in ten points collected from different resources as follows, (Eisenman, 2005; White, 1990a; White, 1990b; Lara, 2007; Matatyaou, 2008).

Ten points on reflective judgment:

1. No account on a beginning or an end should exist in the story being told

2. To affect feelings, emotions and perception and not to perceive history as archival and material to knowledge and evidence

3. Architecture cannot (at least no longer) remember life as it once was, as a symbolic imagination that represents human morality

4. To open a place for empathy without excess but not to shut down the ability of critical works to generate meaning on the past for which the present is responsible.

5. To acknowledge victims, however ambiguously

6. To insure that memorial architecture provides immediate encounters of the past and history yet provoke an event that is open to judgment

7. To leaving events and history active across time

8. To supplement fact-based messages to the public with experience

9. To inspire independence of thought and facilitate reflective judgments. As such it refigures the present to relations of the past and indeterminate future

10. To redirect issues of history and memory and experience away from subjective and objective judgments and to see history as a result of human action.

It is important to situate the above-mentioned points within the framework of the architectural practice, where such practice would ultimately serve the argument in pursuing the political relation to architecture according to the context. As such and within this section of this chapter, I shall discuss the Jewish Museum in Berlin, designed by the architect Daniel Libeskind, as well as his theory and philosophy behind that building. I will also draw on general criticisms to such approaches, which would prepare the ground for including both the MOT-J and the Bridge of Strings into discussion. This will be discussed in relation to both the narrative and the Reflective Judgment approaches in creating meanings in relation to the events and to the context of that event within the present. Thus clarifying how the relation between the meanings an architectural work creates (political in the case of this thesis) - in relation to the events and to its context whether the past and mostly the present - can

be interrelated when built on representation. Nevertheless, each site of meaning following the Reflective judgment models shows the individual perspective of the architect, the events it sets out to represent and what is meant to remember. Accordingly, the intention is not to determine a prototype out of a particular practice, but to bring the architectural cases into discussion in order to ask how such space and architectural works - through the model they chose - enable their referencing to the context which memory is part of.

1. The Jewish Museum, Berlin

 "An extraordinary completely autonomous solution" (Spens, 1999, p. 40) this is what the juries saw in the Jewish Museum, which was based on a competition incepted in 1988 when Daniel Libeskind was announced the winner. The competition programme demanded that the new Museum, which is an extension to the former and original Baroque palace reconstructed in 1973, should be only entered through the old building. Libskend's general purpose was to locate the Jewish history murdered by the Holocaust into the German history.

 His extension of the Berlin Museum, dedicated to Germany's Jewish community is an attempt of reforming "the broken relation between German and Jewish culture" (Matatyaou, 2008). Located within the west of Berlin and to the south of the Berlin Wall then in an area called Lindenstrasse, which in its fall in 1989 and the reunification of the city in all, had caused the delay and the almost abandonment of the project. Thus an alteration in the design was inevitable due to its high budget.

Finally in the period between 1999 and 2000, the museum opened its doors to visitors, however and more interestingly is the fact that during that time the museum

had housed no objects or pieces of exhibits. The attraction in this case was the empty building itself.

With a five-storey height, the angular, zinc-clad building, neighbouring some 10 to 15 story height apartment blocks built during the post war era is surrounded by gardens that are part of the architectural program. The new museum was not attached to the old Baroque building above the ground level, and both appear to be separately standing. Visitors descend through the only underground passageway staircase from the Baroque palace leading to an underground tunnel that connects to the museum building, and it remarks the first void out of bare concrete. The link is invisible from the outside and justified as "there is no bridge to be seen between what happened in Berlin's past and what is happening today. No bridge can get you there, only the underground ten meters down through the entrance void of the Baroque building" (Libeskind in Nulan & Wieseltier, 2002, p. 29).
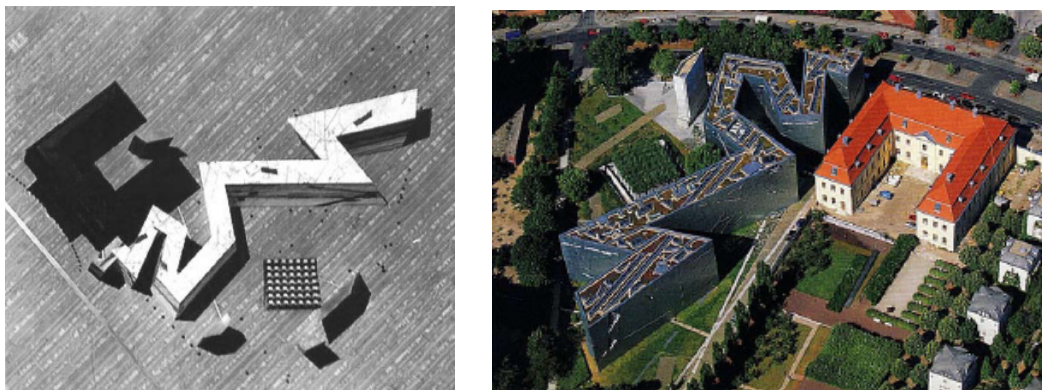
Figure 18. The Zigzag Jewish Museum in Berlin next to the old Baroque museum (Scarmack, 2011).

The structure had been described as a lightning bolt, as a zigzag or the fractured David Star as it refers to Jews, referring to the zigzag plan organization. However, to Liebeskind it was "Between the Lines", relating the literal meaning and the architectural spatiality, which are the two thinking lines and organization stemming

from a basic concept of the two entangled lines of the Jewish and the German history. A straight but fragmented into pieces line, and the other multiply bent towards infinity. Respectively, the first line is interpreted as the Jewish history, which is still embedded within the German history, thus, interrupted by a catastrophic event. Yet, that line is still straight due to "cultural contribution of Germany's Jewish residents, while also recognizing the reality of their destruction and it attempts to do so without collapsing the present into the past". The second line, the German history line, is continuous but violence tends to disjoin it. At each intersection between both lines, a thin empty space from the bottom to the top of the building crosses the axis, sealed to the exhibition halls and can only be entered from the underground or be seen from the small bridges that cross over the spaces. These voids as called by Libeskind function as the spine for the building, on both the literal and conceptual fronts, thus signifying the absence of the Jews from Berlin, those killed in the Holocaust.

Three tunnels lead to the empty voids, the main stairway into the extension, the "Holocaust void", and another to the outside of the E.T. Hoffman garden. The three axes lead to different voids, and their intersection symbolizes the tie between the Holocaust, Exile and a dead end, the "realities of the Jewish life" as Libeskind remarks. These passageways express "underground, one road goes to the dead end - The Holocaust Tower; one road leads to exile, the emigrants to America, the displaced - The Garden of Exile; and one road leads to the Staircase of Continuity back into the museum". (Libeskind in Nulan & Wieseltier, 2002, p. 29).

The three axes lead by the main entrance programmatically function as: the axis of continuity joins the old and the new, the past and present: "The existing building is

tied to the extension underground, preserving the contradictory autonomy of both the old building and the new building on the surface, while binding the two together in depth of time and space" (Libeskind in Nulan & Wieseltier, 2002). It is worth noting that this is the longest amongst the other two and leads to the main exhibition spaces. The continuity of the axis symbolizes the continuous history of the Jewish culture in Berlin. With an impression of depth into the interior, it affects the visitor with a sort of continuity, that of a private reflective experience to the past.

The axis of Emigration on the other hand leads to the Garden of Exile, which represents the Jewish exile from Germany. It has forty-nine columns that are six-meter high, arranged in a 7*7 grid. The forty-eight columns resemble the founding year of the Sate of Israel whilst the forty-ninth stands for Berlin and is filled with earth from Jerusalem. The platform where they rest is twisted 12 degrees from one side making the whole platform appear sloping towards one corner; which, aims to disorient and imply instability to the visitors. This represents the ones who left Germany, and yet, shrubs and green plantation grows out of the columns in symbol of hope.

Figure 19. The Garden of Exile including the 49 free standing columns raised of a squared plot, the Jewish Museum of Berlin (Scarmack, 2011).

The last axis, leads to a dead end devoted to the Holocaust and can be reached through a steel door at the end of the dark corridor. This void is a tower that isn't only symbolized as bare through the bare concrete but as well by being empty, dark and 24 meter high. Dramatized with an architectural feature, which is thin and narrow with high opening that allows certain light into the space and noises from the outside to be heard, all in all it symbolizes the mass murdered victims.

Figure 20. The Jewish Museum from the garden view, where the freestanding tower can be seen (Chametzky, 2008).

Many voids appear to be cutting the main form (as in Figure 21). The voids compose the central structural features and elements. Five in total, and are covered with concrete and lit through natural lights during the day and connected with bridges (60 in total). The fractured voids signify history. A history that is broken and not continues, the history of Jews in Germany; German Jews and the history of Germany itself, which cannot be thought separate from Jewish history in Germany (Huyssen, 1997). The void creates the in-between space between Jews and Berlin's history, inseparable as they are; it intends to provide the possibility to bring German-Jewish history into harmony. At the same time, the museum's architecture rejects to view that the Holocaust is the ultimate object of German history, because their life in

Germany had been amended by the Holocaust but it did not stop. However, their absence nurtures the memory of the void, as of something that cannot be healed, repaired or replaced; with the museum objects and installations. As such the voids will always be recalled to the memory of the spectators crossing the bridges, whilst they will be moving between the lines: "Organized around a void without images, Libeskind's architecture has become script. His building itself writes the discontinuous narrative that is Berlin, inscribes it physically into the very movement of the museum visitor, and yet opens a space for remembrance to be articulated and read between the lines" (Huyssen, 1997 , p. 80).

Section through Die Leere
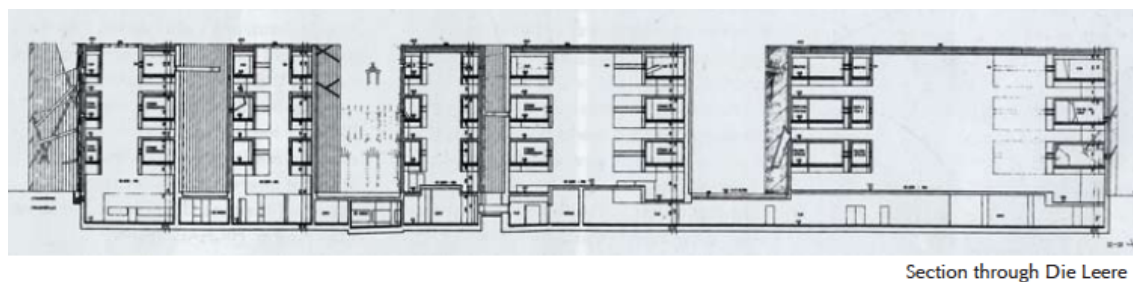
Figure 21. Section through the Jewish Museum, showing the relation of the voids (Scarmack, 2011).

The building described as an "emblem" by Libeskind, rhetorically, literally and abstractly presents the Star of David in the plan, albeit broken but not in the sense of an unbroken or destroyed Jewish tradition. The result of the event of the Holocaust and the Second World War is can be far to destroy that tradition. All these are symbolically affirmed with Libeskind plan and facades, besides the scheme of fragmentation. To this study the interest, is the ability to relate to the context in different means; the starting points of Libeskind's scheme are of unrelated fragments as well as external to the architecture discipline (Libeskind, 1992). The star for instance is created with *the mapping of the addresses of Jewish and German citizens on a map of pre-war Berlin*. Then joined with each other through an "irrational and

invisible matrix", nevertheless as they are central to his work, they offer no logic in the finished work and remain fragmented (Libeskind, 1992, p. 83). Even appearing in the same manner on the facades, the openings appearing as wounds toned in the zinc envelope and positioned following the same scheme of the same irrational map. For Libeskind the approach to architecture was not about the façade this time, but as a container of meanings; "It is a different time and while the word façade might still be around, I don't think anyone is looking at them, even if the architects of Berlin are still constructing them" (Libeskind, 1999, p. 35).
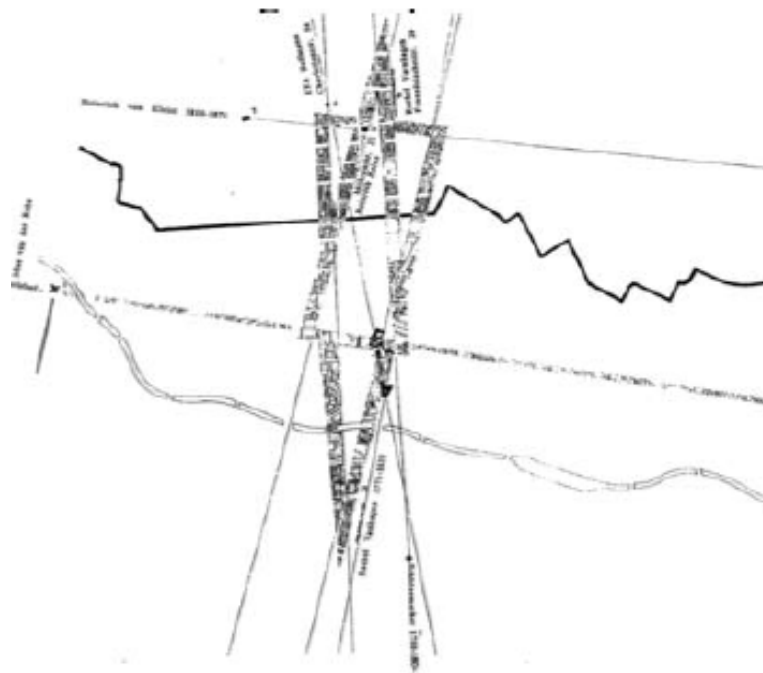
Figure 22. A Diagram of a distorted Jewish star matrix, invisibly used by Daniel Libeskind to sketch his layout for the museum, in which he saw a need for connections between the figures of Jews and Germans (Scarmack, 2011).

It is tectonically interesting to see how the structural details come together and as well serve symbolic messages within the storyline that Libeskind intends to employ. The interior walls have sharp angular edges and sometimes slope and lack a perpendicular 90-degree connection with the slabs and the roof. That reproduces the horrible feelings and physical disturbances that can only remind the concentration

camps and the purpose behind them. And yet no works of art can be seen within the museum, or any piece of recognized and familiar symbolic work to convey messages.

Figure 23. Right: The beams connecting the complex structure of the building while still under construction. Left: is the Holocaust Tower, a bare concrete 24 m tower, lit by a high, narrow and single slit in honor of the murdered Jewish victims (Scarmack, 2011).

Thus, that is made possible through his selection of the materials and the structural systems, which allow such details to take place. The usage of the zinc – untreated zinc- not only makes the reflection of the grey sky appear blue through reflection, but also allows the structural details to be visible by encasing the lines of the roof, structural members, earth and slab. What also contributes to the presence of such detail is the situation of the openings and the fact that the whole rapping of building is made to appear light in mass.

The usage of in situ poured concrete into moulds, the selection of beam and post as the structural system, as well as the usage of conventional materials, kept the cost low and allowed opening to convey variety in size, location and height.

2. The Reading of the Jewish Museum and its Relation to the Conflicted Context.

There are different interrelated matters and approaches where architecture in a way or another can be linked to memory. Against the Traditional model of narrating history and therefore memory, the Jewish Museum inscribes memory, history and the event into the building's spatiality in a form of knowledge rather than information, praising architecture to be of an assist to the act of memory rather than having it determined by it. The Jewish Museum's story is, a type of storytelling, which in Benjamin's view, can be exchanged through experience instead of being ready set information waiting to be received. That exchange of the story would mean that it is projected from an individual to another in a non-linear way, since that story is never framed nor put in order: "the events is not forced on the reader. It is left up to him to interpret things the way he understands them and thus the narrative achieves an amplitude that information lacks" (Benjamin, 2002, p. 89). That value of the story to Benjamin is in its ability to expand itself and to continue into the future in opposition to information that is limited to the moment (Benjamin, 2002, p. 90).

Therefore, the museum is clearly a memorial museum, meant to stand, designed to represent different issues, like the absence of those killed, the painful past and hints to a better future. It functions as a mode of memorialization that is not subjective yet symbolic in the non-conventional mode of representation. It is also filled with controversies, but that might be due to the fact that it is meant to be fragmented and

never resolved or understood that easily[23]. Ready to be received by different generations, without being told how to remember, act, feel, or respond (as in responsibility) towards that catastrophic event. Although as any architectural piece of work, it does not escape criticisms, it allows discussion to take place in relation to its context and the architectural relation to politics (in a poetical sense). That context is not only meant in the physical sense - to the surrounding architecture- but also in the context of the event, in relation to a certain conflict, and to a proper situating of its carried meaning in the present and future.

The museum demands a meaningful engagement with history, whilst refuses any symbolic representation that is received passively. It does not utilize the conventional evidence to build facts; on the contrary, it rethinks the lack of evidence to absence in a dual way. The absence of having any material left because of the destruction caused by the Nazis, emphasized by the tilting walls that stand for the absent Jews from Berlin today.

His work might be received as a new interpretation of architectural space and function, but it cannot be seen as empty containers ready to receive objects but a sort of narrative that is participatory. It is in a way a hidden "universal hope" that is viewed by Perez-Gomez, as providing an experience of hope to "the inconceivable

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[23] Although some figures see conventional symbolism in the museum, for example John Rosenthal, sees Libeskind's Garden of Exile as seeming "to suggest finally that the Nazi persecution of the Jews served some sort of higher redemptive purpose, since without it, after all, Israel might never have been created" (Rosenthal, 2004). Yet, others see it as indicative to the failure of the objective mode of representation that is critical, and public, by explicitly imposing meaning into the spaces, form, and order. Fixed meaning entangles it through symbolic representation, which diminish understanding and forms a united and totalized image of the past, built on anxiety and empathy. Alternatively, it does not sanction a political objectivity that awakens experience, challenges history and allows memory to evolve in its purpose to the future, because memory is determined: "That is due to the aspects of absence, in a sort of a subjective experience in the voided space, by imposing the meaning and the horrible meaning of that absence" (Matatyaou, 2008).

destruction of Jews in Europe during the Second World War," "and possibility for all, transcending ethnic specificity and resentment" (Pérez-Gómez, 2006, p. 106).

That is because although it has a symbolic spirit, it is built on logic and not a conventional and universally recognized manner. It predicts a sort of experience but does not determine it. "If the Museum was not to become stuck in an eternal return to this moment, it had to avoid being a Holocaust museum *per se.* Thus the necessity of building open-endedness, a state of permanent incompletion, of always becoming" (Smith, 2005, p. 110).

Yet, what makes the museum an interesting example that can relate to the architectural context through its relation to politics?

In its relation to the memorial function of architecture, it can create debates of how it is received in relation to the way it conveys the messages symbolically. Nevertheless, it relates these messages to the context in a direct way. From its determining starting line, it not only wanted to relate the event of the Holocaust as a catastrophic event to include Jews, but also to relate that event to a larger circle which in reality has affected Germany and the Germans. It shows that Libeskind understood the context of the event in its relation to the past, not only to Jews but also to the larger circle. In addition it wanted to transmit its messages within the current context not only to the Jews of Berlin or Jews in general but also to the present time (where Jews are part of Germany at the time being). It did not show Jews as victims as a consequence to a German act but related to the existing generation that view this relation as built on peaceful coexistence (for instance no signs of the Nazis appear anywhere in the museum). It did not arbitrarily or abstractly represent on the context, as fabricating

reality with regards to whatever is contained. The context was already ready to receive talks and works that could address anti-Semitism at the time which would not have been possible in the past time. It is also about not having objects/belongings as evidence to a memory of a particular person but is rather about the event, which makes such a building valid within its context in terms of the living generation that had not witnessed the event. It is also not valid to speak of such representation that is suited to an abstract conflicted if individuality did not exist (referring to the satisfying of the self-esteem need in the hierarchy of needs). The perception of the memory should not only be determined by Libeskind or imposed by him through his selective reading. It was a demand that such articulation be crafted and is hence the reason why this work is remarkable to the nature of the competition, which demands such architecture. This means that the competition has high standards and critically reviews all aspects of representation and their relation to tectonics.

3.3 Conclusion, Foreground Buildings and Conflicted Contexts

The Jewish museum and the Museums of National Struggle in Nicosia shed on the relation between foreground buildings and politically conflicted contexts. They both emphasize on the critical role of conflicted context to create meaningful mediums through architecture and demonstrate differences amongst that relation which is dependent on the nature of the conflict they refer to.

In general the criticality that the architectural examples investigated in this chapter shed on the following in relation to conflicted context:

- The architectural examples highlight the role of the political context when architecture intends to create a meaningful ground towards the conflict.

- The symbolic relations they represent in their architectural aesthetics are articulation of an appropriation from the nature of the conflict and the well-being of people.

- They indicate that an ontological continuity with political environment and nature of the conflict is important for architectural representation to communicate with the reality.

- They highlight that aesthetical representation inherit in the formal language is a critical strategy to relate to the conflict, and not merely an arbitrary interpretations.

- It is as well critical to the strategies that architecture undertakes to relate to its political context by differentiating between what is lived and what is imaginary.

- The examples indicate that architecture is a mean to produce meaning about a certain event, but cannot be the event itself. That is since events do not stand on their own but are what people in a certain context interpret them and shape the human life around it.

- They emphasize on the role of architecture to relate to social and political issues and not as a merely human science that is being fed by it's own discipline.

- The two examples demonstrate a difference in the interpretation of events and its political relation to people in its political context. This is done through articulating memory and remembrance differently. However, in both cases it shows that political context and the nature of the conflict indicate on what to remember and what to forget according to the reality and without fabrication.

Chapter 4

CONTEXT IS CONFLICT, CONFLICT IS CONTEXT

4.1. Context is Conflict in Jerusalem

The aim with the two symbolic buildings (the Jewish Museum and the Museums of National Struggles) discussed in the previous chapter is to evaluate the relation between foreground buildings and conflicted contexts dependent on the nature of the political conflict they refer to. The chapter indicates that formal and aesthetical qualities in relation with political conflicts cannot be a claim based on opinions and personal preferences by the parties involved in their production including the architects. Accordingly the lack of multiple perspectives instead of the plurality of thoughts that become appendages of instrumental reason in architectural works, obstruct the appearance of truth in conflict zones.

Therefore, the following chapter will evaluate architectural attempts that relate to ongoing conflicted context in the case of Jerusalem. There are several elements within the following arguments, around which the chapter is structured. The first is the architecture of the city of Jerusalem, which is fundamentally the forming ground to its context, and is linked to the conflict between the two ethnic groups. Following the argument in chapter two, where the context has two components that inform a relation with the political conflicts and they are both the Background and Foreground buildings. Both represent and stand for the conflict in Jerusalem in a diverse manner, where the Background buildings represent more frequent and extreme relation that is

reminiscent to the political conflict. Foreground buildings, including the Bridge of Strings and the Museum of Tolerance- Jerusalem, are related one way or another with the conflict in various ways, when investigated in relation to the same context. By means of representation, they do not employ instrumental, nor form a direct relation to architecture and political power, but disregard the physical separation between both ethnical groups. As foreground buildings, they poetically carry a discourse to peace, tolerance and coexistence. Appearing to ignore the reality of the conflict in Jerusalem and refer to the city as unified.

Therefore, putting the foreground buildings in Jerusalem into evaluation will demand apprehending the reality of the conflicted context of the city first. In order to argue that the conflict is urbanized and the context is conflicted, it is necessary to show that relation in architectural scale. Background buildings usually represent the frequent and the common as they reflect the well-being of people and what informs their daily life in relation to the conflict. Therefore the second element of the discussion is to read the possible and multiple meanings that architecture beholds in relation to political power and conflicted context, especially through background buildings.

Subsequently, evaluating foreground buildings in Jerusalem will seek to move beyond the familiar understanding of oppositions between visible and invisible, instrumental to power and influential, involved or unplugged, and to set out an introduction to a possibility of political power that is not only poetically related and socially abstracted built also by ignoring the values that can feed it to embrace a critical political role to the conflict. Since the conflict is being purged from their representational references, their function as sites of reconciliation and as a vehicle to critical reflection of the reality of the context is weak. As foreground buildings lay

inadequate understanding of the context. This is given that their architectural aesthetics is mute to speak and communicate a critical stance that motivates reconciliation.

The final element would inscribe an attempt to understand what feeds the conflict-context relation, since an apparent difference between both Background and Foreground buildings is conditioned upon their indifference in the understanding of the conflict. Background buildings are considered to be central to the conflict and are believed within this study to be representation that stand for the conflict and reflect it in a direct and real manner. On the other hand, Foreground buildings work as particular attachments to particular events and subjectively selecting to draw on particular portions of that conflict. Yet, allowing certain voices to impose their meaning through representation. More to the point, it is to indicate that the question of foreground building's poetical discourse is to be shown as a problem to the conflict in terms of representation and can be ideologically different in the understanding of the conflicted-context.

Although the word real had been used in Background representation, the thesis does not advocate conflict representation through obsessive warfare cult nor it intends to redefine representation as much as it aspires for a future reconfiguration of a dichotomy between both architectural representation and the existing grain into something more inherently complex.

4.2 The Role of Political Power in the Architecture of Israel-Palestine and Jerusalem's Conflicted Context

Between Israel and Palestine, the conflict is urbanized and architecture is involved in claiming and defining sovereignty and excluding the others outside its limits, where

both groups are in continuous state of territorial conflict and war. There are different measures to the way the conflict is urbanized by Israel: One is the settlements and the panoptic fortresses at the hilltops, whereas another method involves the spatial borders that are volumetric and 3-dimensional and finally the complex road systems, tunnels and bridges that plays a role in creating spatial divisions.

Such problems stem from a long anticipated conflict, clashes and struggles, which lead architecture to be employed as a tool to determine the uncontrollable attacks by the Palestinians. As a result to this, cities and the urban fabric are turned into smaller enclaves within a larger network of customized fragments of townhoods. The reason is the area's demographic nature, which is more complex on the Palestinian parts as their cities are dispersed and are associated with less, ordered urban fabrics as well as to the large urban growth, play an important role in this. These cities are out of Israel's control in terms of defending itself where settlements are facing the effects of the long-term conflict. The Palestinians being individuals that are familiar with the terrains, provides them invisibility within the complex urban networks and ability to manoeuvre and hide from any surveillance. As a solution to such threat, Israel employs military deployment and technology advancement as well as several techniques to control the terrains through land appropriation and the cleaning of the territories. This is achieved through forced demolitions and destructions that are carried systematically to fragment the coherence, which leads to destruction of the cities and the urban fabric.

In order to guarantee surveillance and safety to any possible attacks by the Palestinians to its residences, Israel employed the hilltop policy, utilizing fortress-like settlements at the neighboring hilltops surrounding the Arabic towns and cities.

Such "vertical planning" according to Weizman (2003) is considered to create a secure living environment in forms of fortresses that can detect every movement around them and limit any foreign entry due to their secure surroundings due to the help of a controlling mechanism like the panopticon.

Figure 24. A gated Israeli community in East Jerusalem, French Hill (Photo: Author, 2005). Right: Another Settlement at the hilltops overlooking a barbed wire barrier (Source: URL 6).

In order to connect the settlements to each other and main routes to cities like Tel Aviv, traffic networks were established in a concentric manner. The policy of having roads within the settlements arranged in a way to create a circular arrangement to the overall layout through rings of connecting streets was adopted. This meant that public facilities within each settlement were to be located at the innermost ring, surrounded with individual homes or with high apartment blocks. The residential blocks left to the outside have their interior arranged to overlook the outside, the living rooms located to survey the landscape underneath while the bedrooms, are inward oriented. All together, this arrangement forms a defense fortification enclave formed by a series of repeating blocks and managed by the civilians, which reinforces its strength and turns domestic neighborhoods into exercising surveillance. Architecture as such is involved with less aesthetical issues but more political and systematic, instrumental power by serving warfare strategic agendas and means to

control space. According to Sharon Rotbard (2002), the division that the Israeli community employs results in the fragmentation and the division of the coherence of the Palestinian townhoods. This is evident through the continuous construction of settlements and the infrastructure that feeds such enclaves, which results in a spatial and fragmented appearance of the West Bank.

But then, Israel realized that the "civilian fortification" of the enclave settlements did not entirely solve the issues of the attacks when it was breached several times by the neighboring Arabic towns. To decrease the casualties on its side, Israel had to consider the borderline between both states by employing a different strategy. This was achieved by transforming the in-between territories into a deeper 3-dimeansional border, which can be more elastic and incorporating every settlement that would cut the continuity between the cities and towns of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. By doing so the Israeli were linked to each other, but this also resulted in a Palestinian state that is divided into territories and connected by bridges or tunnels. In addition to movement through these methods, access to resources such as water or airspace is under the control of Israel, adding to the overall conflict (Weizman, 2003).

In order to separate and control both communities, Israel initiated the so-called security wall, a networks of bypass roads intertwining over each other. The Israeli network of roads is fast, large and secured, but the Palestinians are isolated and the freedom of movement is restricted in a way that it does not intersect with the Israeli roads. The image of the bypass roads appears like two states overlapping, however, in reality they inhabit the same land. Bridges and tunnels work by separating in a "vertical dimension" as Weizman observed, to avoid any possibility of coming together. As a result, the landscape becomes a large volumetric network of

connections and separations: "The West Bank is to be reassembled in the shape of a complex building, with its closed-off enclaves as walled spaces and its bypasses as exclusive security corridors" (Weizman, 2002). Other issues are involved with such three-dimensional matrix of complicated terrains, including the undergrounds, which tend to create problems not only through water resources but also through the sewage systems that both states use. The topography of the terrains means that the sewage water spatters towards the valleys and towards each other, forcing it to overflow in the Palestinian refugee camps in the West Bank, mainly due to the lack of an underground piping system (Weizman, 2002).

Above all, the overall complexity of the problems created not only makes life difficult for both states, but mostly Palestinians, where the wall in reality runs and occupy lands that belongs to Palestinian farmers and individual land owners. This situation eliminates all hopes for a potential solution, which would resolve the conflict and create a two state entity where the two nations would be living side by side. The complex adaptation of territories in reality and the complicated routes and networks make it an impossible task to decide what stays in and what stays out, if division would take place. Some settlements that are a part of the complex terrain and some parts of the same Arabic towns are divided at two different ends and unifying them would mean compromising the roads that links the Israeli settlements and Arabic lands at the same time.

Figure 25. The demographic differences between the settlement of Pisgat Ze'ev and its neighbouring Palestinian refugee camp of Shuafat, Jerusalem (Weizman & Segal, 2003, 27).

Whilst this is the case in the West Bank and Gaza, a more complex situation is valid in Jerusalem, not only because of the wall or the division of the city to its neighboring Palestinian towns and its suburbs but also due to less appealing issues. Although minority of the Arabs living in East Jerusalem is entitled to Israeli citizenship, there are still some controversial and contradicting conditions in terms of extreme ethnical segregation. Spatial fragmentation in Jerusalem involves enclaves of Israeli settlements in the East part. The complexity of the dividing line is increasing due to the principle of isolation, and the hilltops settlements tear the spatial as well as the social, and economical fabric of the Palestinian territories. Similarly, the Palestinians are enforced to spatial enclaves under the hegemony of Israel. However, they do not enjoy the same political, social or cultural life that is available for the Jewish Israel residents of Jerusalem. This has been the situation

since the annexations of East Jerusalem in 1967, by which the Israeli law imposed planning decisions. However, it should be mentioned that the same rules and regulations that happen at one end of the city (the West) are not imposed on to the Palestinian in the East. The reality of a unified city indicates that unification only stays as a myth in the discriminating system against the Palestinians. There is also a considerable amount of lack of investment in the public infrastructure in the eastern areas, although constituting 30% of the population. According to Ibrahim Mattar, only 10% of the municipality budget is spent for the eastern Arabic part of the city, where people pay similar taxes to the rest of the city (Mattar, 1983). Secondly and most importantly is the issue of planning rules and regulations concerning building permits. Due to the restrictions imposed on them, the Palestinians receive a few permits if any to build on their own lands, also paying high additional costs for land surveys and ownership registration issues. Besides the long procedures for applications and the lengthy routines, this effort is usually met with an unexplained and an unreasonable rejection. For this reason, Palestinians have to face housing shortages that do not correspond with the fast number of growth. Therefore, applications for permissions takes place after buildings are constructed, which in most of the cases results in forced and constant demolishing of houses:

In Jerusalem, building rules and laws no longer serve the common interest of all citizens; instead, they are being used in the struggle for territorial and demographic dominance of one ethnic group over the other. The condition where a dominant group (in this case Jewish Israelis) appropriates the city apparatus to buttress its domination and expansion has been described as "urban ethnocracy (Misselwitz & Rieniets, 2009, p. 67).

Figure 26. The Separation wall passing through East Jerusalem, (Photo: Author, 2008).

4.3 Searching into Expression of Power in the Architecture of Jerusalem

While the above reality of Jerusalem is a summary of a lengthy relation of architecture and politics during the last 60 years, it reveals some of the complexities of that relationship, which can then be brought to bear on the argument about contextual architecture presented in this thesis. The motive of this research work in this part is to attempt to locate the relationship of architecture to politics into the discussion of context and contextual architecture, and its condition in the city of Jerusalem. But this theoretical framework of that relation is not clear in its nature or equal between architecture and buildings. This only increases the ambiguity of contents as much as forms and appearance in certain cases. Equally this condition raises the issue of the nature of Background and Foreground buildings (or architecture with capital "A" or small "a") and also the way they are involved or expected to reveal in relation to political power. This difference is achieved through

a search for the point in which the way the conflicted context of Jerusalem is considered, through its evidential representation, physically or poetically. There are various ways in which architecture and buildings relate to the conflict and are affected on different levels apart from the physical and poetical, such as in the military and warfare involvement within cities and its architecture. However, the study will concentrate on the two particular concerns, Foreground and Background. Taking these two categories into consideration, questions can be gathered under the shadow of how, who and for whom do these building serve in their relation to political power and share on the everyday experience of the people living in the city. This is also an important aspect for the identified cases as it will be revealed that such buildings or architectural works, whether Foreground or Background in their nature, are biased in appearance. In other words, the Foreground buildings are illusional yet almost incorporate a made-believe concept of a unified city for the two different ethnic groups. Yet, Background buildings are forward-looking and physically and poetically straightforward when they are used to refer to the conflict of the city.

Perusing the question of how such works can be related to political power is of a more complex question, where as realizing its ends might reveal the who and for whom questions and would be explored in length throughout the thesis. Yet, there are more about the nature of how the different building types (Background and Foreground) on its own relate to the political power in Jerusalem. What part of the conflict it relates to? How is it embedded through the architectural physicality? What does it address? What does it intend to inform and influence? And architecturally speaking, how do the representation images it carries relate to the conflicted context in Jerusalem? The main motive behind answering these and other related questions

had originally initiated through personal interactions with contradicting images and the realities in the city in itself. The invisible separation between the East and the West is almost vague and intangible in certain areas but recognized by the people as the end of one territory and the start of another. Finding answers and attempting to discuss such issues labeled as contradictory to the appearing image of the city are some of the goals of this work. Once faced with the factual reality of the conflict represented by the architecture of the city, it has been realized that many more questions can be added to the list of questions included above.

4.3.1 Methodology: Collecting Fragments of the Conflict

The focus in the cases selection in Jerusalem has relied on the Old City as a reference point to explore the contemporary architecture engaged and incorporated within the trajectory of the conflict, yet not including its vicinity or its architecture. That is due to several reasons. One is the fact that the Old City of Jerusalem had been an arena for conflicts for more than thousands of years, where the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the newest and the recent. So its historical architecture has a different motive and relationship to older conflicts that we may not be able to trace back to easily, nor evidences about certain issues that even exist or are approachable. Secondly, expressions of power and politics that took place in the city during its long history are mostly embedded with monumental sites, most of which are religious buildings and holy sites such as churches, mosques, synagogues, temples and shrines. Such places, like other historic sites around the world, are embedded with political power through an architectural language that is meant to impress, endure and last for generations to come through scale, size, location, heavy classical ornamentation and iconic images that directly relate to their impressive images. At this point, references are made to the different structures that are contemporary in the sense that their

erection took place during the Israeli and Arab conflict and do not date back to Roman, Islamic, Crusaders, and Ottoman times and the English mandate in the city. However, the other reason that is more related to recent reasons is the conflict between Arabs and Jews, which stems from the Old City considered as a Holy site to both sides, with the endless claims of who gets to keep the city under their own state. At the same time, walking around the streets of the Old City, it may be hard to believe that Israelis and Palestinians are in conflict with each other for more than 60 years. It is true that Arabs were forced out of their houses by the continuous insult of their Israeli neighbors, restrictions to maintain old decaying buildings and that there is a controlled entry measures to mosques during religious celebrations, subjected to men below the age of 50 by the Israelis and that continuous excavations are taking place underneath the city to trace evidence of the Jewish inhabitance of the city before thousands of years which threats the stability and the foundations of the Arabic buildings. But in spite of all this, it is still hard to imagine the conflict since there are Arab shop owners as well as Jewish owners that sell their goods not only to tourists but to Israeli neighbors, Arabic as much as Hebrew can be heard in the streets, it is also difficult to differentiate between the natives of the two groups from their appearances if no religious symbols are included in the way they are dressed. Both communities mix up daily in the Old City and return to their homes at the end of the day, whether this is to the East or the West of the city. Considerably small number of crimes and little political violence is witnessed in these areas, as if it is a place outside the conflict.

Considering such issues, relying on the Old City as a reference point, circulating around its immediate surroundings and exploring the contemporary architecture evolving around the ever-increasing circles of streets in that area as shown in (Figure

27). The figure gives a good indication of the method/route used to trace architectural cases that are reminiscent of the conflict in appearance following these criteria:

- Only contemporary examples were considered and historic structures were avoided

- The conflict that the buildings represent in their aesthetical appearances refers to the conflict between Israel and Arabs

- Buildings that poetically refer to the conflict were as well recorded

- The buildings that are close to the visual and physical vicinity of the old city were recorded

- Separation walls, barriers and security apparatus were not considered as the search was upon architectural expression of the conflict

- Most of the buildings where evaluated through their facades, as it was impossible in most cases to have entry due to political reasons, except for the bridge. However, the other two proposals for the Museum of Tolerance were evaluated through collecting different materials from different resources to be able to investigate further on their architectural qualities.

Whilst wandering the streets in search of fragments of the conflict, patent evidence of extreme architectural examples revealed their self-reflecting images as those dominant structures, which were incorporated and engaged within the trajectory of the conflict[24]. This showed that the reality of the city outside the Old City's walls is

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[24] It is important to mention that taking an observing tour around the urban space in Jerusalem in search for architectural appearances that relates to political power followed a subjective criterion to my own perception of that relation. The keywords utilized for such selection were fortress appearances, defensive or offensive appearances, panoptic, settlements in the negative mean of the word as annex more than a natural human action to settle in a place, direct symbols like flags, or any

somehow different. Yet, it revealed that, contemporary architecture, which is akin to the areas outside the city, is incorporated with the recent conflict more than it is in the Old City because it had surfaced mostly after the beginning of the struggle.
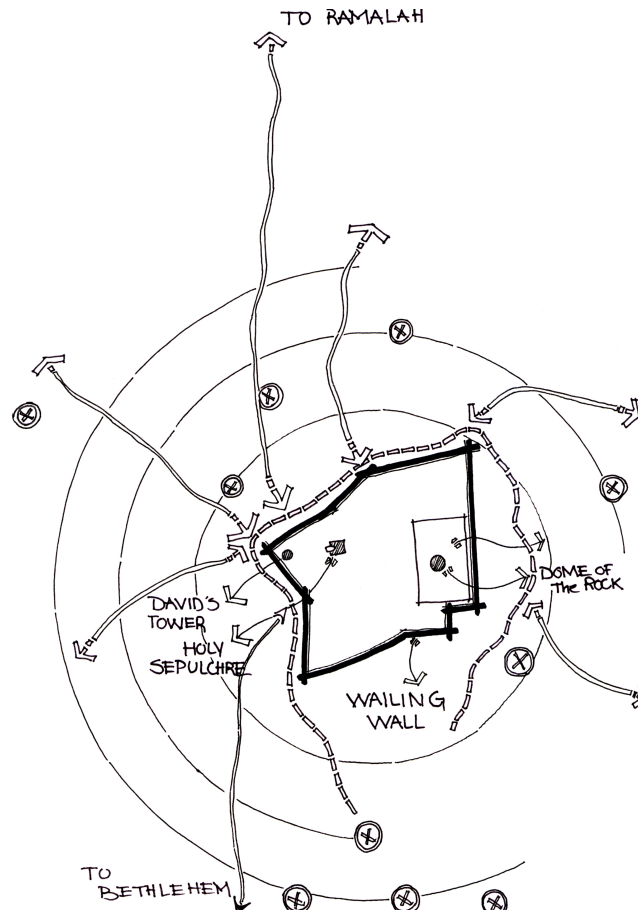
Figure 27. An amended map of Jerusalem indicating how the immediate surroundings of the Old City were explored for the purposes of this research.

Taking such an exploring circulation around the streets revealed twenty-two architectural cases that are related to the conflict or remind the conflict. The various cases are of different scale, use pattern (ownership passing from one power group to another) and have come about through different processes (single owner enterprise versus organized construction methods, etc). At the same time, the political power they represent or who is being presented by this power varies, however, the thesis

aesthetical attempt that is uncommon (for political purposes) within the building trend in Jerusalem, were utilized to read the urban space.

understands of power as a social relation between two distinct groups at its ends that are of different ethnical, religious, value and ideology, thus the term might be of a binary nature but power in this case is rather an implicit effect as an agent against the other.

Therefore, the cases were grouped and discussed under different categories according to: their frequent appearance in the city (as commonly emerging amongst the terrains and therefore, represent a general tendency and involvement with power). Secondly as extreme cases that carries direct and visible relation to express political power and the conflict. According to the two criteria, some important features whereby buildings might come to work as representative of an area, a style of construction, or a category (private or public) were grouped. Among such categories, the cases were then discussed according to the nature of the power they express, as whether an Arabic or an Israeli expression of political power.

Hence examples of different order in terms of make (i.e. expressive of disparate design intentions, policies, etc.), and effects (domestic architecture at level of neighborhood as opposed to architectural components of the city infrastructure) are taken up and grouped under other major headings in relation to the discussions of context: Background and Foreground buildings.

The reason behind such categorization is that, foreground buildings, which can differ in nature from one building to another, relate to the conflict in a non-direct or non-physical manner but more on the poetical and the symbolic in the case of Jerusalem. As examples, they are both an urban infrastructure/public space designed by a globally renown invited architects, Frank O Ghery and Santiago Calatrava. Where

they are still related to the conflict but address it in a peaceful manner instead. They are built with a discourse that addresses peace and represent a certain political event in the history of the conflict. Another issue about their nature is that they are public in use, their location, budget and scale which makes them one of the most visited spots, if not talked about by the media as well as locals and the large architecture circles. In total, they are built to impress, outstand and affect the beholder of the city as much as the visiting tourists. Their aims within the boundaries of their sites is also to furbish, regenerate and enliven the areas they exist in as well as to strengthen the image of the city on the world's tourist map as a tool to advertise for the city.

Following is the evaluation of the foreground buildings including the Bridge of Strings and the Museum of Tolerance and the twenty cases that represent the background buildings traced around Jerusalem. It is important to highlight the fact that evaluation of the cases will be according to the ongoing conflict in Jerusalem and that involves discussions about the context that contains the conflict. Therefore the importance of the background building that precedes the evaluation of both the museum and the bridge is essential according to the fact that: Chapter three investigates the relation between foreground and conflicted contexts as an extended literature and therefore the background buildings of the determined and vague conflicted context were not considered that is since:

- It is an evaluation of a specific relation that can open a platform to evaluate the cases in Jerusalem

- The interest in the relation between foreground buildings and conflicted contexts is specified with the ongoing conflicts that are physical and continue to influence the well-being of human in its vicinity.

- The Museum of Tolerance and the Bridge of Strings form the case study of this thesis.

- Since contextual issues form the major discussion of this thesis, it is therefore appropriate to evaluate foreground buildings against the context, which is formed by the background at the first place.

4.4 Background Buildings

In the past, the everyday environment was never considered architecture, but architecture was exclusive to buildings like temples, churches and mosques. Everyday environment, or to specifically name it, Background buildings, can be defined as the basic elements and the backdrop that defines and shapes the streets, neighborhoods, towns and cities. Background buildings form the fabric of cities; they are the buildings built by civic people to meet the need of shelter, made of the materials, techniques, and styles that makes them domestic. According to Leon Krier (1998), the urban design term Background or Private Realm is part of the elements that define a community and consist of buildings that are usually privately owned like houses and shops. On the other hand, Foreground buildings that make up the Public Realm are usually the civic buildings and spaces such as churches, parks, and libraries (Krier, 1998). However, both Foreground and Background buildings are interdependent in shaping the general space of a city, community or street. In the

everyday environment, architects are demanded to be aware of the local context and issues about the environment including all its aspects and forms.

Habraken (2006) believes that both Foreground and Background buildings (or everyday environment in his terms) coexisted through interaction yet in interdependent manner in the past. They both influenced each other in a harmonious and interactive way, as in the case of the New England Villas observed by Habraken, which were translated into courthouses or town halls in the American continent. However, this all became obsolete during the modern time since the rapidly changing societies needed to solve the issues of the everyday environment to keep up with the pace. Instead, the everyday environment was seen as a problem in itself to architects who attempted to create solutions to define the new age architecture, instead of an architecture that can find its place within the common fabric that was already there. The new technologies, techniques and materials as well as the rapid transportation and communication could not have the everyday environment's old and local aspects which could not facilitate meeting and communicating with that change, rather the traditional built environment itself had to change. Solutions were created with the help of experimental architecture, or better-put into everyday environment, becoming the issue and forming ground of the modern architecture and modern architecture, which was all about proposals to everyday use and related solutions. These solutions ranged from Le Corbusier's Unite d'Habitation proposal of a well-organized built environment consisting of uniform housing solutions prior the Second World War to the Bauhaus intention to set examples of the daily working environment; from visions of office towers and working offices to a world of architecture that became preoccupied with the everyday environment as a problem to be designed around the globe. Briefly, architecture around that time was about making the common into

something special. To Habraken as much as it is to others like Frampton, modern architecture had an interest in improving the everyday environment, wanting it to be free of its traditions, and innovative by incorporating new building methods independent from the local.

Therefore, it is fair to say that not every background building is a work of architecture but that every work of architecture can be considered as a Background building in the values it adds to the quality of its environment. That is because Background buildings are not only about a specific end-to-end building block, but are mostly related to the street, community, changing environment, and adaptability.

However for Habraken, hearing the reality about the everyday environment from today's architects and their idea about the dilemma of Background buildings and less appealing architecture works: "Too bad nobody wants to do a background building[25]" (Habraken, 2006, p. 14), influenced his proposal which stated that creating a more aware and responsible generation of architects towards the built environment can be done through research and knowledge within the education system and the profession. This would mean learning from the traditional as well as the contemporary examples in respect to the way the everyday environment is structured, how it responds to change and to the way it inhabits with such rapid change over different circumstances. Such awareness can take place through legitimizing research into the profession of architecture, learning the values of the environment; the change and the issues that make it live and contribute to it. The lack of teaching design without the everyday environment resembles a medical student

[25] Lawrence Anderson, the MIT Dean of the School of Architecture at the time summed the dilemma about Background Buildings to Habraken,

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who learns how to remedy the body without knowing about the way a human body functions.

Moving on from that resemblance, a human body in architectural terms can be equally resembled to the context, a certain context that consists of background buildings similar to the cells of the body that accumulate around the main and the secondary arteries and vessels, whilst the main organs make up the foreground buildings, all working within one main system. In this case, in order to understand each organ separately, the system should be considered as a whole.

4.4.1 Background Buildings in Jerusalem

The cases presented in this part signify on two issues; extreme cases, which show that there is a problem in the social system and its reflection in architecture, and more frequent expressions of power, which deepen the social conflict through the built environment. They represent architectural/building examples that revealing a self-reflecting image as dominant structures, incorporated and engaged within the trajectory of the conflict. They are grouped in accordance with their similarity to and correspondence with the interpretations that will be discussed in the argument in terms of the expression of power in three different categories:

1. The Defence Tower Model

2. Israeli Expression of Power

3. Arabic Expression of Power

The interpretation of the reflections of architecture to the conflict will draw on the following:

1. Extreme cases, which show that there is a problem in the social system and its reflection in art (architecture). The Defence tower represents such extreme cases.

2. More frequent expressions of power, which deepen the social conflict through the built environment. Both Israeli and Arabic expressions of power can be seen in this group.

4.4.1.1 The Defence Tower

Within the Eastern/Arabic part of the city, the two cases seen in Figures 28 and 29 contain aspects critical to the conflict in Jerusalem and its architecture. Both buildings are located within Arabic neighbourhoods, residential in type and inhabited by Israelis.

The building in (Figure 28) is located within the Mount of Olive neighbourhood to the southeast of the old city, originally owned by an Arabic person and currently inhabited by the only Israeli residents within the area[26].

The visible Arabic traces are the first three floors with conventional stone cladding, the latter one being a later addition. The windows vary not only in size and proportion but also in shape, protected by several metal bars. The two most recently added floors and the roof garden were built by the building's new Israeli residents and were covered with a red timber profile and a red tiled pitched roof. The timber, which is not a commonly used material in Jerusalem, emphasizes the vertical extension of the building, as does the *double height* balustrade that surrounds the staircase leading to the entrance to the top floor. The replacement of the garden with

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[26] For an ambiguous reason, it is not clear if the building (pre-owned by former Palestinian owners, Abu Al-Hawa and Kiswani families) had been sold or claimed through a court order. 'The families insisted that they had not sold the buildings to Jews but to Palestinian buyers (who, in turn, sold the property to a Jordanian investment company), and that signatures on the settlers' alleged contract had been forged. Today, approximately 30 settlers live in the two houses (Passia, June 2009).

a raised roof garden, located in such a way for safety reasons against any Arabic attacks and for observing the surroundings and the presence of the raised Israeli flag emphasize on an Israeli existence. In total the building portray an image of a military defence tower.

Figure 28. The Israeli inhabited building block within the Arabic neighbourhood of Mount of Olives, (Photo: Author, 2008).

The building is a reminder of what Rotbard sees in both Israeli architecture and architecture in general as "not at all an innocent activity". Rotbard indicates that this *Homa Umigdal* - the Hebrew word for a wall and tower mould of the historical 1930's Israeli architecture - is: "a system of settlements seemingly defensive but essentially offensive form" (Rotbard, 2002, p. 42). In the same way, the Israeli residents of the Mount of Olives are not only infused with the rhetoric implication of the conflict, but at the same time they appear as prisoners' in their own building/ tower.

At the same time, another building similar to this prototype appears as a "machine of invasion" (Rotbard, 2002, p. 47) as depicted in (Figure 29), which shows a building block within the Ras el Amood neighbourhood, built with defensive measures to house and protect residential Israeli apartments from possible Arabic attack. Resting on a hilltop, the building appears to be one continuous surface, since it lacks any

articulation or subdivisions between the blocks, apart from the balconies. The building also contains small drab openings covered with metal shutters and is surrounded by a high protective wall. Various Israeli flags are visible at different locations and there is a security guard to monitor all movement in or out of the building. The four-floor building aims to flatten its locational topography. Its surface is clad in mechanically carved stone assembled in large chunks on the surface. However, the building's location has a splendid view of the old city and the Wailing Wall, which is a sacred religious site for Jews. Nevertheless, the building offers an image of a military building, providing a fortified, wall-like seclusion within the Arabic-Israeli conflict arena.

Figure 29. The elevated Israeli building block on Ras el Amood hilltop (Photo: Author, 2008).

The experience of truth that both buildings offer is that of *extreme*, or in Adorno's term, they are works based on "identity thinking" that comply with the existing system -the conflict between two ethnic groups. Identity thinking is when the masses adopt a single antagonistic thought. Only as a result of the reconciliation between the object and subject can the non-identical be released (Adorno T. , 2007, pp. 5-10).

The defensive approach hinges its theme/reference by copying the political. Thus when in Jerusalem the dialectical nature of the culture to achieve an antagonistic

language of truth within the conflict, through architecture, creates only extreme situations - such as totalitarian, meaning that the reification of the individual and the society contributes to barbaric attitudes it renders architecture as barbaric. However, in respect of the issue of architectural reflection, is debatable as it strives to form a corrupted/distracted reflection of the conflict, hence, serving the conflict with its physicality. In this case, architecture copies in its form, the material of the conflict, which feeds it with repression and exploitation.

In Jerusalem and following Adorno line of thoughts, the peaceful dialectical conflict between opposing concepts comes to an end as the dialectical nature that feeds art is damaged in the society as a result of the continuity of extreme situations. Within the architectural examples examined, reification attains an end to the dialectical conflict between art and society imposed by the authorities (Hürol, 2009).

Or as Leach states architecture: "undermines its capacity to be subversive" by maintaining the status quo with its physicality (Leach, 1999, p. 116). Therefore, architecture throughout its disclose to the existing status quo in which it should originally negate becomes extreme in Jerusalem.

4.4.1.2 Israeli Expression of Power

On even a brief visit to Jerusalem one cannot avoid encountering many of the contemporary buildings that are scattered around the old city and the hilltops. Those buildings have been constructed with the ideology of efficiency and economical sufficiency in mind in order to build a Jewish nation, where functionalism is the determining factor as well as the aesthetical considerations of order and the tectonic manipulation of materials. Indeed, the Israeli architecture that one encounters in Jerusalem is indicative of an "architectural operation" rather than an "architectural

production". The architecture reflects the influence and involvement of the state in its production rather than that of the people (Saifi, 2006).

These alienated buildings are of instrumental characteristics involved with the modern industry within: firstly, the use of industrialized technology on a large scale, secondly, the expression of economical power and thirdly, the manipulation of the construction material, the stone.

The high buildings on the hilltops emphasize on the *vertical surfaces* of the prototype/modular appearance, which is the result of a one floor plan repeated within the verticality (this also applies to the adjacent blocks on the site). In the building façades order and repetition is achieved and generated throughout the buildings with the use of windows and openings, maintaining similar heights and the absence of various articulations, thereby creating an ordered, albeit monotonous appearance. Another designation is the ground *horizontal surfaces* that mark the settlements, which can be compared to those of the Palestinian neighbourhoods. The linear network of streets, sidewalks, parking lots and the overall pattern maintain the distinction between the Israeli/Urban and the Arabic/Rural, which is more organic.

The Cartesian building blocks that usually emerge in groups imply an ordered militarian approach due to the fact that most buildings groups are usually surrounded with high protective walls and are generally built on hilltops. This is mainly seen for the purposes of observing the nearby Arabic neighbourhoods. This is particularly the case in the eastern part of the city.
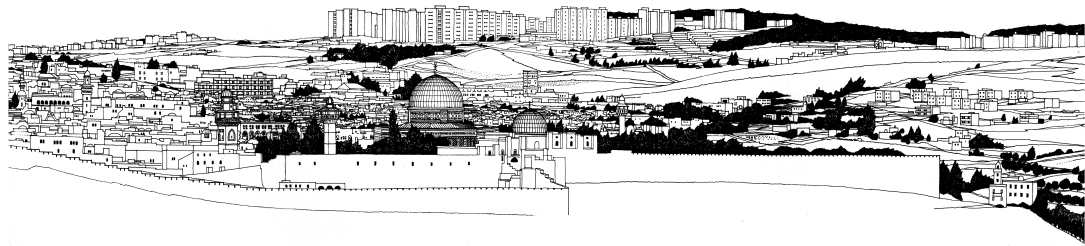
Figure 30. The relation between the Israeli and the Arab built environment in East Jerusalem (Kutcher, 1975: 92).

Thus, in the process of their construction, these buildings employ industrial techniques of both prefabrication and mass production in the interests of economical efficiency, optimization and meet the requirements of the state in terms of speed and/or efficiency. Examples of these aspects of construction can be seen on the façades of the buildings, which are covered with the large blocks of Jerusalem's white stone that has been mechanically carved to give the appearance of several smaller pieces joined together. As Nitzan-Shiftan remarks: "The conventional self-evident stone utilization is processed, transformed and reduced to a superficial image of itself" (Nitzan-Shiftan, 2002). Paradoxically, these cladding techniques are employed with buildings that exceed ten floors. These buildings are validated through building regulations which tends to view buildings in Jerusalem as a single whole or body as opposed to distinguishing between individual buildings as single and particular entities: "the uniform use of Jerusalem stone minimizes the distinction between individual buildings, the ensemble is what matters. Buildings in modern technology made it necessary to find the adequate solutions while using the stone and other modern materials in a total new manner" (film produced for the Israel Ministry of Construction and housing 1993).

Figure 31. On the left above: The Hotel Novotell – East Jerusalem. On the right above: An Israeli mass housing complex around the Telpiot region, southwest Jerusalem. On the left below: Another Israeli mass housing complex around the Telpiot region, southwest Jerusalem. On the right below: Jerusalem's Municipality building (Photo: Author, 2008).

Nitzan-Shiftan (2002) states that this industrial construction defined the built environment after the unification, with the main goal of converting the modern Israeli town and the old Arabic spiritual/historical architecture into a united and invisible Israeli Jerusalem.

On the other hand, following the unification, Israel intended to demonstrate and employ an image akin to international values by copying the western style and converting and merging it with the local style by through the negation of the existing technology and styles (the Arab architecture). Although, some attempt has been made towards achieving this, this *modernized* architecture contradicts between the modern forms and the traditional stone cover architecture accomplished with modern technology and techniques, as well as the historical theme of the city and the

proclaimed ancient Jewish history in the city. Israel, throughout introducing an architectural image that represents the different immigrants transformed collectively into one nation, bound under one history, falls short in identifying individuals. This architecture appears to function as an instrument of only: "attaching population to territories", where as argued by Balibar (1991), the "state then becomes the representative of the people". Thus architecture is created and stands as an empty container ready to receive people as a result of the reduction of differences and by employing the use of pure, plain and simple construction in a modern tradition. This is something that is absent in the Arabic parts of the city. The use of advanced technology is limited to non-Arabs, whereas Arabs can only build individually[27].

This peculiar form of modern architecture is an expression of power through technology, which articulates the spatial production accompanied by the controversies of the height issues and the speed of construction it provides. This controversy lies within the fact that technology is a power apparatus in itself; it can, therefore be described as a system of collective control as a result of the utilization of instrumental rationality. Even the stone cladding can be seen as a result of instrumental rationality along with the flattening of the general topography. As Murray states, following Adorno's notion: "modern architecture reflected modernity infatuation with instrumental rationality" (Murray, 2005, p. 10). In view of this, it is, therefore, appropriate to revisit Adorno's rationality where he acknowledges the effect of the brutal role of technology on man: "the new human type cannot be properly understood without awareness of what he is continuously exposed to from

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[27] Arabs usually use conventional construction techniques of reinforced concrete frame systems with infill walls and white stone for cladding.

the world of things about him, even in his most secret interventions" (Adorno 1996, p. 40).

Asserting with Adorno, the materiality of architecture (ontological use of technology) along with the critical characteristic in relation to truth, is capable of producing autonomous architecture through transforming the dominating effect of the industry (Heynen, 1992). Therefore, Heynen's emphasis is on innovative critical architectural re-creation rather than badly imitating the existing surfaces. An "artistic rationality" should alternate with an "instrumental rationality".

Most of the Israeli buildings emerge as an outcome of mere technical/programmatic consideration, and demonstrate a negation of context and immediate spatial quality, because of the bad imitation of the surfaces of the historic city.

On the other hand, within Jerusalem itself, these buildings, when seen against the Arabic terrain, are inscribed extensively with implied economical power and are generally seen as divided, protected communities on various hilltop locations, built in a mechanistic manner. Whilst the Arabic architecture is more respectful of the effect on the topography, and is constructed in a dispersed manner, also any repetition, which occurs, is scarcely visible (see Figure 32).

Figure 32. Above: An Arabic neighbourhood in Ras el Amood, East Jerusalem, showing the dispersed organization of the buildings. A typical image of the Palestinian townhood (Photo: Author, 2008). Below: another Arabic neighbourhood in Wadi al Jooz, with Israeli high-rise buildings at the horizon of the city (Source: URL 9).

Similarly, the unified appearances of the Israeli architecture imposed on the society and justified as being of indigenous Jewish style in the built environment can be seen in a parallel perspective, against the particularity of the Arabic architecture. Unity that becomes more important than the aesthetical consideration and the replacement of rational solutions with instrumental solutions lead to the disappearance of individuals from the arena of buildings and the dialectical conflict increases as a result of these subjective approaches.

4.4.1.3 Arabic Reflection of Power

When the city is viewed on a larger scale, the vast differences between both sides are instantly exposed. This inconsistency applies to both; the Israeli hilltop architecture marching towards modernity, apparently wiping out all traditional values on one side and the Arabic dispersed architecture extending along the topography on a relevantly modest scale on the other. Although there are very few examples of mass housing complexes on the Arabic side, some can be seen within the rural areas outside the city in the direction of Ramalah. The reasons for this vary: the first reason is Israel's non-provision of building permits for such projects, forces citizens to avoid such building approaches. Secondly, there is a lack of investors and technologies to support such actions. And thirdly, the Arabic households, which are mostly comprised of extended family, maintain their preference to share apartment blocks with their family members rather than with strangers.

However, amongst the ever-increasing rings circulating around the old city, a new and unusual tendency to develop a mass housing approach has emerged on the hilltops of the southeast region overlooking the old city, in respect of the Arabic population there. Therefore, as Amor points out such 'environmental dualism' is associated: "between the forces of continuity and change that affect the very aspect of their daily life" (Amor, 2008).

Figure 33. The new Arabic mass-housing tendency in East Jerusalem (Photo: Author, 2008).

The building is constructed in the "modern style" throughout; as can be seen by the flattening of the topography, the terraced articulation within each block, the use of steel profiles alongside the Jerusalem stone, together with steel cables that carry the hanging canopies, the use of large prefabricated stone blocks replacing conventional method and the vast repetition of the same modular system. On the other hand, the openings on the façades vary between slender, narrow and large double height windows. The overall approach has similarities to the Israeli settlements. It is hard to discount its provocative appearance amongst the other scattered individual Arabic buildings.

The case in hand is ambiguous. Following Adorno's line of thought, the fading of the dividing line between the new Arabic tendency - *the self* - and that of the Israeli ones - *the other*, perhaps require examination and call a question; is this uncommon case a statement of a progressive attempt to change, or is it an adaptation as a result of a cultural contact or a stand undertaken to reflect power through an increasing self-awareness?

To acquire an answer, a complete picture is required in order to rethink about the difference as a consequence of the association with the Israeli tendency.

Nevertheless, as a result of the reconciliation with the *other* to form an image of the *self*, Said (1979) argues that the separation between the West and the East defies an ongoing identity construction of the *self*, dependant on the *other* through differences. However, Gupta and Ferguson see Said's post-structural Foucauldian reflection as the West being dependent *on the orient for its own identification* (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p. 8). The Arabic buildings on the contrary tend to construct new characteristics in the presence of the other; uniting differences and consequently undoing the other. Accordingly, the question par excellence speculates if this Arabic mass-housing tendency is simply an owner statement? Is it against or equivalent to a similar Israeli approach to architecture? Is it against *identity thinking* or is it *identity thinking*?

4.4.2 The reading of the Background buildings in Jerusalem, The Unified Myth

The cases discussed above reveal that any proclaims to see East and West Jerusalem unified is a myth, as well as the current planning measures that proclaim to eliminate all physical boundaries for the reduction of conflict and inequality. That is due to an existing vast distinction within both parts in terms of the constructing methods, economical deficient between the groups and the diverse implementation of technology, techniques and measures of production.

But what the reading of the above cases emphasize on are two issues: the first is the conflicted context and what forms it, which is reflected truthfully and honestly in the cases and the other is the relation of architecture to power which is instrumental in the sense that it serves the conflict in an obvious and directly manner and projects messages about people's opinion about the status quo. Therefore, the cases of the background context serves the thesis in uncovering the context of Jerusalem through

tracing architectural works that are directly related to the conflict and yet express power – Conflict is Context and Context is Conflict.

It is as much interesting to see that the policy of utilizing such techniques to emphasize on images of political power is not only akin to the settlements themselves, some of the public civic architecture is also involved. But some stays biased and ambiguous like the Arabic case. It is at the same time revealing that with such techniques and crossing of the technological and instrumental gap between both parts, the terrains of Jerusalem in terms of its architecture is changing into a more modern city, where the local and the traditional significance of it is fading away. This on its part might reveal political tendencies that were once thought to be invisible through Israeli's modern architecture and the International style to Israelize Jerusalem into a city that is neither Israeli nor Palestinian in appearance. However, in reality, this effort turned out to be a battlefield of images that carry the reflection of the conflict, showing that Jerusalem is a testing ground for an architecture that is aiming to be political. This nowadays brings up the definition of what the "architecture of a place is": a politically involved architecture became domestic. Such political architecture became contextual and that what we can call home, the genius loci, affiliated with mix style that are neither traditional and vernacular nor completely modern but a mixing kitsch of both, revealing administrative control, political progress and functionality. Interestingly that functionality cannot be simply talked about in terms of what once the modern project had aimed, but functionality and practicality to defend, defeat and proclaim. This is a fulfilment of functionality to representations, appearances and images.

Such images at the same time help understand the affiliation between power and image, which is not only global, commercial, industrialized but also totalitarian too. The presence of a sort of cultural wars between ethnical existences that rally to claim sovereignty, land and secularized, nationalistic aims and groups can be observed. Such realities convey and transform the built environment where the everyday environment is shaped to realize and nurture the sense of belongings through neighbourhoods that are socialized with political nationality. Referring back to Habraken (2006), the modern project to solve the problem of the everyday environment, as in Jerusalem, is seen to adjust the built environment and make a "national home" through architecture, and therefore becoming national through architecture's link to power.

The implication of such translation would mean that the context of Jerusalem is a state controlled operation that aims to dominate and socialize people under national belongings is formed and produced by the cultural product; architecture -that in turn becomes dominated with political power. This is seen as a conductive architecture of nationalism and for the different nationalists, which defines and creates a built environment that is political in form and content. Yet the appearance of such architecture that denotes its involvement to political power as a national symbol, would mean that people with their personal choice are transformed into subjects and tools to build such statehood. That explains the nature of the settlements built in East Jerusalem prior the unification in 1967, where such architecture made the nationalistic transformation available to the new immigrants who were brought to a new place like Jerusalem. Yet, such architecture became habituated where its values, locality and its very existence is linked to political power. In every local building code, architectural technology and techniques, detailing, policy, and strategies to

appropriate the validity of political power and the national messages it conveys can be seen.

In total, such affiliation indicates the depth of the conflict's trauma invested within the local regions, its architecture and the way each nation and group on its own side represents its right to existence and claims sovereignty through architecture. Therefore, capturing and unifying the city in 1967 did not mean the end of the Jerusalem division. This division, even if it is intangible, is still visible amongst its people, reflected through their architecture and falls short to reflect a collectively unified city. Again, the nationalized land, produced with order and repetition within the built environment, reveals an abstract myth of a unified city with both groups and as a home to one unified nation at the same time. The modern appearance of the city does not mean that the civic values and rights are set to all its inhabitants equally.

4.5 Foreground Buildings and Structures

Foreground buildings, is a term used in this study to define architectural works that are more eye catching in terms of their location and are used by the public for services as opposed to Background buildings. They are usually built with the purpose of meeting their functions, yet, designed by professional architects in opposition to the traditional or the vernacular. They are usually meaning, value, and appearance loaded. Their creation varies according to different demands ranging from the economical market like private investors, or local authorities like municipalities as part of urban regeneration and rehabilitation to the lifting of the face of the city by refurbishing it with new functions and/or as magnet to attract people. In other words, these buildings can be described as iconic landmarks in the sense that they stand within the frontier line of other less eye catching, average and familiar ones to the

local context. Their distinctive nature might vary according to the images and other representations utilized, whereas their function changes accordingly. Other factors also playing an important role include the technology utilized and the industry involved, scale in terms of size or/and height, unfamiliarity to the existing or the common in appearance. Such buildings contribute to its immediate surrounding in respect to social, cultural and even political activities and recently to the attraction it receives by the media. Furthermore such buildings had been responsible to peruse a different need and a different dimension in value. This is the phenomenon of a city promoting and branding on the international scale since the 80's.

Such characteristics of Foreground buildings can be traced back to historical times. Some examples of this include older building such as temples, religious buildings, institutions and buildings used for similar official purposes in the pre historic, such as Agora and Forum in the Greek and the Roman civilizations. Their role as a product of the last two to three decades had changed under the label of Starchitecture or architecture with a capital A (Rybczynski, 2002). Starchitecture which is a blend of both the word star and architecture, to mean a work of architecture that carries the signature of a celebrity or internationally famous and recognized architect (Rybczynski, 2002). Although not necessarily every Foreground building is a Starchitecture work, a phenomenon only emerged during the 1990's economic boom. The works of Starchitecture have been chosen with the purpose of discussing the term in order to provide a more peculiar phenomenon to a certain type of Foreground buildings. The term "Foreground building" is used widely in a more comprehensive way to describe and involve other approaches that are of different concern to this study. However, the architectural works that are to be discussed within this study are still referred to as Foreground buildings, since they are more prominent to their

opposing Background buildings in their nature within the discussions of context. And Starchitecture would be an appropriate term to talk about architects who involved more than just the architectural qualities of a certain buildings, which are discussed by this study.

Starchitecture describes the iconic buildings of the 21st century that carry a famous architect's signature that has been responsible for its design. Such public buildings usually attract the interest of the media, and in doing so the designer would carry a celebrity status (Rybczynski, 2002; Nobel, 2007).

It is believed that the term had gained its reference to the so-called "Bilbao Effect" within architectural context (Rybczynski, 2002). This is in relevance to the Guggenheim Museum designed by the architect Frank O Gehry in Bilbao, Spain. The museum was built as an art museum, which at the same time acts as a landmark to the old and industrial city of Bilbao to be brought on the international touristic map. The works of Gehry had inspired many cities around the world along with the authorities and investors who to utilize such an approach in advertising for their cities and attracting tourists in order to improve the economical condition.

The idea to employ iconic architecture as a promotion to cities, institutions, or investments and developments required the creation of remarkable and impressive buildings that are striking, unique and visible in terms of features and locations. This would demand a particular architect and a "signature style", but that would mean that architects had to design in places outside their native countries and foreign cultural and social backgrounds. On the other hand, designs and buildings became monotonous, for "signature style" replicates itself to fit its new host, which resulted

in less original solutions to précised locals and problems to typically image-loaded and form centred works. Such examples are almost everywhere but to name some are the works Frank Gehry, Zaha Hadid and Santiago Calatrava.

Peculiarly what made such influence attainable are the current technology and mainly the mass media of the digital age. In order to raise the profile of a certain city and gain an international reputation, the emerging communication systems insured that a building is widely noticed and appreciated as a sort of change form as subjects of "place making" to "place marketing" as Castello (2009) names it. Even if such buildings are not visited for real, they are internationally recognized by the iconic status they achieve. As an outcome of this, the building is seen to its architect as a mechanism of representation and images through the alteration of the reality into photography, exhibits, and films. Thus is similar to the way the media is seen in the eyes of the public viewers. The public can experience the spaces a building creates on paper, whilst visiting the real place is replaced with the images. The image does the role for them, and at this point the cities are not culturally or socially appreciated anymore. Andreas Huyssen even argues by stating that there is not even a need to build the real things, souvenirs and advertising do the job instead with the use of items such as postcards, t-shirts and the mugs that replicate the reality (Huyssen, 1996).

Although at a slow pace where due to economical declines in 2008 and 2009, it is believed that a decline is taking place with such approaches (McGuigan, 2010). Cities cannot afford to improve important necessities such as buildings roads or urban infrastructure; these needs should have been carried out instead. Also when

that seems to be a promising improvement, it was not to be the same case in Jerusalem as shall be discussed in the following section.

4.5.1 Foreground Buildings and Structures in Jerusalem

The following examples investigates into foreground buildings in Jerusalem as part of the search for the striking images of architectural works that are in a way related to political power in relation to the conflict of the city. Unlike the first set of examples discussed in relation to their nature of being Background buildings, which present direct and clearly perceivable links to the conflict, the following two cases do not. In controversy, they carry a poetical tie to the political situation through representation and extravagant aesthetics that is reminiscent and is linked to peaceful images. The contradictory relationship between both to the city's conflicted context shall be discussed in following sections in which the difference of the understanding of the architectural context of Jerusalem within the Background and the Foreground buildings will be shown. However, in what follows the examples traced are, Santiago Calatrava's Bridge of Strings, Frank O Gehry's Museum of Tolerance and the Chyutin Architects proposal to Gehry's withdrawal from the MOT-J project afterwards.

4.5.2 Calatrava's Bridge of Strings as a Project

The anticipated Bridge of Strings, designed by the Spanish Architect Santiago Calatrava, was completed in June 2008, which to this date has not functioned in full. The structure was initially designed as a part of the light rail that will provide a rapid public transportation around the city and define a monumental entranceway at the western entry between Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv-Yafo.

Defining a visual element to the skyline of the city, the bridge is to forestall a plaza underneath and a safe pedestrian cross over to the busy traffic intersection. Yet, the

decision to site the bridge in a charmless neighbourhood of the city is destined for an urban redevelopment, where the surrounding is characterized as being grimy, ugly, and surrounded by shabby apartment blocks and hotels. Thus, ultimately there is a belief that it will refurbish the entrance to Jerusalem, leading and upgrading all the way to the city center (Tommer, 2008) (See Figure 34). Calatrava states:

Uri Shetrit, the city engineer, who is also an architect, was preoccupied with how to make this area more urban, how to make it more pleasant for pedestrians, because the traffic is enormous there. The bus station is not far away, and many of the cars arriving in Jerusalem have to pass through this intersection. We wanted to unify the area and give it character. So the bridge is a link for the tramway and for pedestrians, but it is also the excuse to create a major plaza, to give character and unity to this delicate place which is the entrance to Jerusalem (Tiram, 2008).

Figure 34. The Bridge of Strings, designed by Santiago Calatrava, Jerusalem. Left: (Photo: Author, 2009) Right: (Calatrava, 2012).

The steel suspension, curved and single support bridge, is 360 meters in length, 14.82 meters in width and 118 meters in height. It is carried by 66 cables tilted to a 118 meter mast, cast in reinforced concrete. The mast is set at a rough angle of 150

degrees to the deck and bends at its midway up. The white cables are attached at various heights arranged in a parabolic shape that is developed through 3-dimensionality in space, as their pattern appears to swirl out from the main mast. Accordingly it derives its name as the Bridge of Strings, or the Bridge of Chords, from the fact that it resembles David's Harp, the instrument that King David of Jerusalem played and carried with him wherever he went. Yet, the Arabs of the city would call it the White Bridge.

Intended to be more of a conventional bridge at a cost of 300 million NIS[28], the technical requirements of the light rail system resulted in the S-shape of the bridge, as Calatrava claims. Where its geometry has been defined precisely by the need of the railway to pass first from Yaffo Street through the plaza it proceeds underneath and into Theodore Herzl Avenue. Producing a curve, which is not only determined by the course of the rail but also by the speed and degree of curve that the train can pass through (Tiram, 2008).

The physicality of the bridge as well as the way it behaves in respect to the structural system, as claimed by Calatrava, are the defining elements of the bridge's formal composition as well as its structural solution. However, during its construction buzzing about the appearance of obvious cracks on its surface that could cause delays was firstly reported by the IDF (Army Radio). This was justified as being a part of the welding that joins its parts and was refused to be announced as cracks but defaults that could be seen in such structures usually.

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[28] NIS refers to NEW ISRAELI SHEKEL, the currency used in both Israel and Palestine. Which makes the cost of the bridge at the time around 69.8 million American dollars.

In his statement about the bridge, Calatrava indicated how the reference to the site is very important in "the way the bridge touches the ground" as it was very "fundamental". Referring to the access ramps, the points where the bridge touches the ground which are clad in stone, leading to the walkway on its one side that is glass decking and railing: "there is the way people move around and use the bridge to articulate the city. These are the basic issues I always look at. For this bridge in Jerusalem, the quality of life and the quality of the city—to be responsive to the place—is the most important thing" (Tiram, 2008). Calatrava refers to the rule that all appearances of buildings in Jerusalem should involve the use of the white stone. That is justified as a tool to relate the new to the old by preserving continuity.

Figure 35. The pedestrian over cross, resting on bases covered with stone, taken from below the Bridge of Strings (Calatrava, 2011).

The bridge was dedicated in the honour of the 60th anniversary of establishing the state of Israel and the 40th anniversary of the unification of the East and West Jerusalem in 1967[29]. The construction had been rushed to meet this date, knowing

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[29] The distinction between the East and West Jerusalem is a post-1948 phenomenon. Although unified throughout its history, Jerusalem was divided in 1948. In 1947 the United Nations decided to partition Jerusalem and Palestine into two states, a Jewish and an Arab. In June 1967 the result of the Six Day

that the rail would not function at least for another 2 years. The inauguration took

place in the form of a festive celebration of that event, and was announced only to

Jewish people. The opening was announced as follows:

Hosted by the Municipality of Jerusalem, the inauguration will take place on June
25th starting at 6:00 pm. Large projection screens will show images of the bridge's
construction along with videos of Jerusalem, and the entire evening will feature
dramatic music by the Jerusalem Symphonic Orchestra punctuated with
synchronized fireworks, choreographed dancers, and children's choirs. Prime
Minister Ehud Olmert and Jerusalem Mayor Uri Lupolianski will preside over the
celebration, which will also feature remarks by Mr. Calatrava. A narrator will explain
the significance of the bridge as it is slowly illuminated and emerges from the
darkness of the evening. Choirs, trumpets, harps and singers will all herald the
unveiling, and the crowd will be invited to sing in celebration as more fireworks fill
the night sky (Inauguration of Calatrava Bridge focus of Jerusalem anniversary).
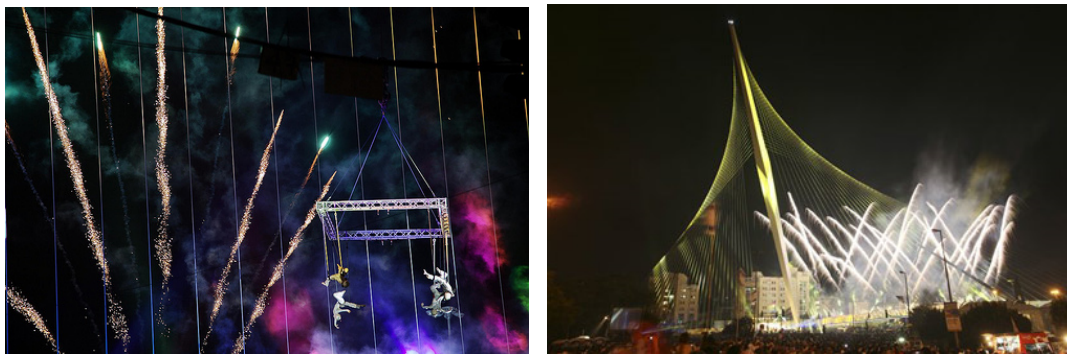
Figure 36. The inauguration of the Bridge of Strings, June 25th 2008 (URL 1, 2008).

The Bridge has generated large amount of publicity and criticism in the media and

less in the architectural circles since its inauguration. It was criticized for being

flamboyant, an eyesore and an unneeded landmark to the city, which has its old holy

monuments instead. The bridge described by some local architects as well as artists

and immediate residents in an interview with Haaretz newspaper (May 2008), was

welcomed sometimes with praise and scepticism, or criticism. The criticism pictured

it as outlandish structure, since it reminds totalitarian regimes that attempted to create

War between Israel and the Jordanians, led Israel to annex East Jerusalem and prior to that,
reunification of Jerusalem took place shortly after the war. The walls, fences and barbed wire were
removed and the city became one again. Traffic began to flow in both directions across the former
borderline (Mattar, 1983).

many symbols and force their monuments, as well as being risky to be turned into a farce. Even though it is considered to be fascinating by some, its location is still problematic. Mainly, the majority agreed that Jerusalem does not need any new symbols. Some other architects were pleased that nothing worse was done, but still thought that it requires perspective (Tiram, 2008).

Considering the bridge within the interest of this study is what is mostly striking about it is the attempt to relate to the conflict of Jerusalem in the architects statement, which of course can be read and interpreted in relation to his understanding of the context of Jerusalem that is related to the conflict. Calatrava states:

Bridges are instruments of peace. They join places that were separated. They permit people to meet. They even are meeting points. They are done for the sake of progress and for the average citizen. They even have a religious dimension. The word religious comes from Latin, meaning 'creating a link.' This particular understanding has a very deep meaning, especially in Jerusalem, which contains in its name the words shalom, salaam, peace. A bridge makes a lot of sense in a city like Jerusalem (Tiram, 2008).

The bridge can be linked to the conflict of the city, which can also be explained by the fact that the Arabs were not even invited or asked to be involved during the inauguration events. An Arab resident of Jerusalem made the following statements about the bridge[30]: *"We did not know the bridge stood for the 40th anniversary of the unification of Jerusalem, we hear that from you. Besides we did not know it stood as a symbol of peace or that peace had come to Jerusalem even"* (laughing)

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[30] The statement was recorded informally when an Arab resident was waiting for the bus around the vicinity of the bridge at the same time I was observing the area, which brought his attention to ask my interest in the bridge and when he learnt its link with the unification, he laughed and made that comment.

On the other hand, some Jewish people made different statements expressing their opinion about the bridge in different Internet blog, devoted for the bridge. Generally, the statements varied between supporters and none, on the need for such a structure, the need to suspend it, lacking beauty and a phallic symbol of self-monumentalization by its architect. Others expressed that they live in the vicinity and since its erection they kept their windows shut to avoid seeing it (Tiram, 2008).

What makes the bridge different to other outstanding starchitecture work in the city is its intention to relate to the political context of Jerusalem (the conflict) and impose messages of changes interpreted from the architect's point of view. And that in itself is not a problem to the argument, but it is dependent on the way that specific context, the size, subjectively and selectively reading it, as well as to relating it to all the people living in the city as a whole. As such I would raise several questions in relation to architecture's relationship to the political context it relates to. As the main concern was to see and pursue through arguing how an architectural piece which is political in its content and carry poetic discourse to peace, relate to political power in conflict zones, then how is the bridge related? How much are Calatrava's thoughts related to the reality of the context/ conflict of Jerusalem? How much of a change is the bridge capable of producing in line with the conflicted context of Jerusalem? How can the intention of his political representation be understood according to the context? And mainly, how mush did Calatrava understand from the conflicted context of the city? Does it as well open a new definition to the way architecture can be involved to political power, specifically in conflict zones?

Such questions would open another layer of complexity to the way context is being looked at, perceived and read by practicing architects to Foreground buildings and

structures, and specially in conflict zones. Yet, such questions are part of the most fundamental questions at hand, and the study will explore their connotations in detail. But at this early stage, it is also possible to propose a series of contents. One is to the extensive emphasis on the formal concerns over the reality of the everyday experience of the conflict in Jerusalem. Second, is the extensive attachments of meanings to works that are sometimes inappropriate to the context they rest upon. And third is the political content that an architect might behold about a certain work but due to the limited understanding of the real context, a work is read against itself in terms of meanings. This discussion will be dealt with in depth later in this chapter. At this point, another example that can be read similarly to the bridge will be presented, followed by an argument of their differences in relation to political power and link to the conflicted reality.

4.5.3 To Tolerate, Tolerated and the Tolerance, A Museum of Hypocrisy

A Museum of Tolerance (MOT-J) was announced to be built in the center of Jerusalem, in an area that is known as the virtual division line between the East and the West of the city. This is where the east finishes and the west starts and vice versa located on an old Muslim Cemetery. This was almost around the frontier line of the buffer zone that divided Jerusalem during the years 1948-1967.

Similar to the original Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, the museum in Jerusalem is associated with facilities that address racism, human dignity and focus on the Holocaust's history in general. As a project, it is part of a "new generation of cultural institutions that have emerged over the past decade that - rather than displaying wondrous objects, as was the traditional function of a museum - seek to inculcate values" argues Samuel G. Freedman (Freedman, 2004).

The Los Angeles Museum of Tolerance is a transformation from an organization that seeks Nazi criminals, founded and directed by the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Dean, Rabbi Marvin Hier. During the 11 years since its opening, the Los Angeles MOT attracted over four million visitors addressing multicultural coexistence, morals and values. It also exhibits the Holocaust at its core, which as a case study teaches the effects of hatred when it goes unchallenged (Freedman, 2004)

According to Rabbi Hier, the MOT-J will offer "a great landmark promoting the principles of mutual respect and social responsibility" where in the face of a "'rising crescendo of ethnic tensions, civilizational clashes and the use of religious justification for acts of terror," it will provide "a great institution" that "will focus on issues of human dignity and responsibility" (Boehm, 2008).

The fund raising event towards the anticipated $200 million cost from Jews around the world, was followed by a ceremony. The ceremony that took place in Jerusalem gathered political and artistic figures from Israel and abroad, who addressed the crowds, including the former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, the architect of the museum Frank Gehry and the California Governor, Arnold Schwarzenegger. "In the darkness that pervades the Middle East, … this building will be a candle to guide us," stated Schwarzenegger about the museum, which he came to Israel to promote (Freedman, 2004).

Afterwards, news was leaked about the excavations and the silent removal of human remains. This led to the suspension of the construction as a result of demonstrations around the site by Arabs and some Jews (Makdisi, 2010).

The museum site is located in West Jerusalem, intersecting both Hillel and Ben-Israel Streets, adjacent to Independence Park and the Mamilla Muslim cemetery. Since 1970s that parcel of land had been used as a parking lot, a seven-floor underground parking on one side, with a pedestrian plaza on top, and the Independence Park. In an area adjacent to the Jerusalem municipality and a short walk to the west of the old city and the Jaffa Gate, the museum is to be placed on what was part of an old Moslem cemetery, Ma'man Allah or Mamilla. This is a historic site that is believed to be of the burial ground of Salah el din[31], his soldiers and many Moslem families for hundreds of years until 1967 (Khalidi, 2009).

By the early 20th century, the cemetery covered almost fifty acres of land where estimation of its establishment dates back to the 17th century with no clear delineated boundaries until the 19th century., outlined borders were set in place until the urban development started taking place in the 1840s. For instance, The Palace Hotel built in 1920s by a Jewish architect and renovated at the time being, showed respect to not intrude into the grounds of the cemetery (Makdisi, 2010).

Khalidi states that the cemetery was "full of thousands of grave markers in 1948" till the cemetery came under the guardianship of the Israeli Department of Absentee Landholders. Some handful graves were broken in 1967 and now almost none of them exist (Khalidi, 2009). However, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the cemetery

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[31] 900 years ago, the warriors of Salah al-Din's (an Arab Moslem warrior) had recaptured Jerusalem from the Crusaders. See Karen Armstrong, Jerusalem – One City, Three Faiths, where she wrote: "…Saladin also invited the Jews to come back to Jerusalem, from which they had been almost entirely excluded by the Crusaders. He was hailed through the Jewish world as a new Cyrus" (Khalidi, 2009).

started to erode and a road was paved to connect the two streets. This was followed by a parking lot built on a small part of the cemetery in 1960[32] (Makdisi, 2010).

After the war in 1967, part of the large area served as a parking lot when the Jerusalem municipality was handed to the authority of the cemetery from the Israeli Department of Absentee Landholders in 1992. At this point, it turned the other part into a public park known as the "Independence Park". This led to the destruction of many of the graves where human remains were scattered as well as the plantation of trees and shrubs. In 1985 excavation took place during the installation of sewage lines, whilst similarly in 2005 the Israeli Electricity Company excavated the cemetery further, eliminating more graves to lay some cables (Khalidi, 2009; Makdisi, 2010). However, the tombs can still be seen as shown in Figure 37.

Figure 37. The existing condition and the tombs of the Mamilla cemetery (Khalidi, 2009).

In 2006 protestors of both Arabs and also some Jewish gathered against the act of building on holy sites. The protestors, who believed that Israel should be protecting and implementing the laws of protection, managed to suspend the construction for some days. However their claims were then raised to the Israel Supreme Court of

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[32] "This project was given the approval of an Israeli-appointed Muslim official (who was subsequently arrested and removed from office because of corruption)" (Makdisi, 2010, Pp. 519-559).

Justice, followed by a ruling that arrived in 2008, stating that the project could go ahead because "… a parking lot had been built in the area more than 40 years ago and then raised no objection…" (Khalidi, 2009, p. 106). The center claimed that there was nothing wrong with erecting "a great landmark promoting the principles of mutual respect and social responsibility". The High Court of Justice concluded that the "national and international importance" and potential benefit of the museum outweighed any violation of the constitutional rights of the deceased. The court allowed construction to proceed on the condition that the graves, which were found on 12% of the site were to be relocated or a floating floor was to be built" (Hecht, 2009, p. A1).

Based on the value of tolerance between nations and between human beings, and its purpose is to spread the idea of human dignity among the public, to educate people with regard to the values of mutual trust and fraternity in society, to further the purposes of education to respect the basic values of democracy, to bridge disputes between nations and between various population sectors, and to contribute to the deepening of human consciousness with regard to the value of peace and love in human life....The Museum of Tolerance should reflect the lessons of the past and assimilate these lessons into the values of tolerance and fraternity for the future. It is supposed to link the past, the present and the future by regarding the basic rights of the individual as the supreme value in human life and in the governments of peoples and states (Israeli, Berkovits, Neriah, & Hier, 2010).

4.5.3.1 The Museum of Tolerance as a Project (MOT-J).

1. The Gehry Proposal

Gehry's proposal to the Museum consisted of a 230,000-square-foot, (almost 21,370.000- square- meter) complex. For Gehry, the semicircular museum, with its centrepiece circular Grand hall, symbolizes the "living room of Jerusalem" and the design's starting point, according to the museum's website. The hall, which is five stories tall, is surrounded and supported by 16 titanium pillars (the sculptured titanium pillars of tolerance) with inscribed names of the donors, seen first from a far distance by the visitors. The museum as well features different facilities that

surrounds the grand hall; an education center notable by the rectilinear limestone-clad, transparent theatres in glass, a blue –aluminium and steel- children's museum and a blue ribbon like conference center covered with Gehry's infamous titanium (Hecht, 2009), shown in Figure 38.
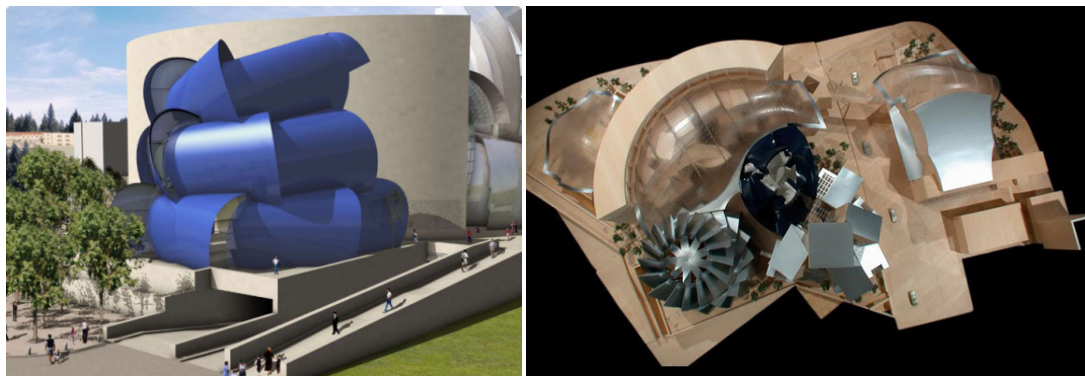
Figure 38. The proposed Museum of Tolerance designed by Frank O Gehry (Boehm, 2008).

The glass hall is surrounded with entry doors along the entire building by 360 degrees, allowing entry for people coming from all directions. This entry design also, dominates a visual connection to the rest of the facilities: "Families and children are constantly in view, in your face, so that you never escape from the issue of what this place is all about … I was trying to make a building that had body language …

People can come from all directions, and all kinds of people can come" (Freedman, 2004, p. A31).

Scholars, cultural figures, religious leaders and a group of architects condemned and opposed the museum on the fact that it "blow to peaceful co-existence" in the city due to its location. Meron Benvenisti, the former mayor of Jerusalem saw the building as "so hallucinatory, so irrelevant, so foreign, so megalomaniac". On the other hand, many orthodox Jewish figure found it disturbing to locate a Jewish Museum of Tolerance on a site where Muslims have been burying their dead for a long period of time (Villa, 2010).
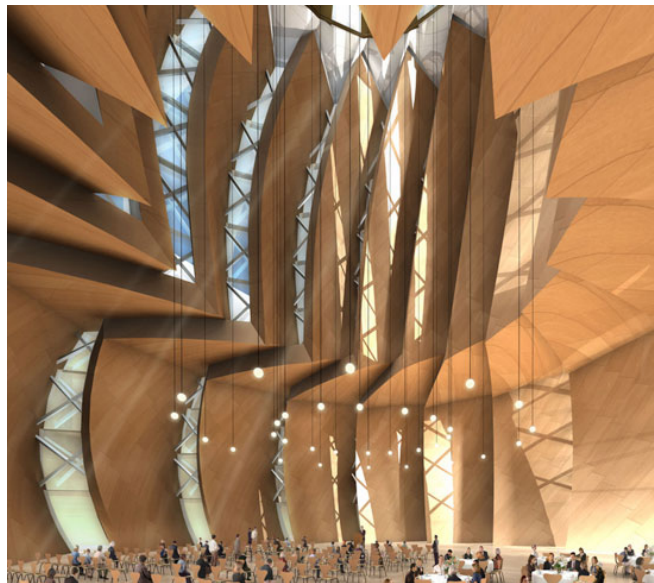
Figure 39. The interior of the Grand Hall of the Museum of Tolerance, proposed by Frank O Gehry (Boehm, 2008).

Not so long after those debates and the protests took place, the Israeli newspaper reported the withdrawal of Gehry from the museum of tolerance. Yet, the Simon Wiesenthal Center announced that the museum was to be redesigned on the same planned site with a new proposal and the architect was to be announced later. This

was also announced as follows by Rabbi Marvin Hier, the center's founder and dean in the museum website:

This is the right decision for us … The good news, however, is that the project is moving forward; we have a fantastic site in the heart of Jerusalem and we can now refocus all of our energies on bringing to Jerusalem and the people of Israel, a project of crucial significance to its future.

Gehry's justification to his withdrawal[33], according to his statement, was not related to the protests over the site or to the chaos that was created over it, but to a request by the center to reduce the cost of the building in 2008 when the overall financial crisis hit the world. He declared that he and his team were not able to redesign the building to fit into a new reduced budget:

I greatly value my relationship with Rabbi Marvin Hier and admire his determination to establish a Museum of Tolerance in Jerusalem that will serve as the embodiment of human respect and compassion … Unfortunately, our staff and resources are committed to other projects around the globe, and thus I will not be able to participate in the redesign effort. Contrary to a published report quoting my partner Craig Webb, this parting has nothing whatsoever to do with perceived political sensitivities. The Museum of Tolerance project is vitally important, and I have no doubt that Rabbi Hier will create a visitor experience that will bring people of all faiths closer together (JTA, 2010).

Soon it was announced that the Chyutin Architects, a Tel Aviv based architectural firm have won the competition for the new Museum of Tolerance, replacing the previous proposal by Frank Gehry. The project was officially posted at the firms' and the museum's website.

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[33] Frank Gehry responded through a call to the Los Angeles Times, due to unveiling of the new plans for the Museum of Tolerance in Jerusalem stating: "I'm glad I got out of it". Aiming to clarify why "people always complaining that my work is too expensive" when his version's cost of the project is as twice as high to the new proposal, his justification was simple "because mine was twice as big". He as well pointed to a design he a produced for the museum in a smaller version but he and the Wiesenthal Center "couldn't see eye to eye". When asked about the new proposal, Gehry compared it to a "giant glass modernist boomerang", adding, "I don't know maybe it'll look OK" (URL 2., 2010).

2. The Chyutin Architects proposal

Located at the same site, the new proposal aimed to integrate to the surrounding landscape without "overshadowing" the existing urban setting whilst still maintaining its character as an iconic structure. The structure as the Chyutin architects stated, would "reflect transparency and openness and generates visual interest at close and distant views" (Sebastian, 2010). By acting as a bridge, the building would cross between the different architectural styles in the vicinity, yet, stylistically through the contemporary architectural language as much as the advanced technology and materiality.

Through embracing the urban fabric where the park is part of, it was aimed to host different activities with the inclusion of exhibition spaces, an education center, a theater, a multipurpose hall, offices, a restaurant, and a gift shop. To the architects, these activities are justified for being diverse in their types according to the services they offer, as well as their operating hours, environmental requirements and interaction with the urban context. These sections allow different communities to access their desired destination without disturbance; through a developed concept that meets the requirements of each specific activity (Sebastian, 2010).

Figure 40. The new proposal for the Museum of Tolerance by the Chyutin Architects (Sebastian, 2010).

The building is a long linear structure that elongates through the south and the east of the site, creating a new urban square though the meeting and the enhancing of the three surrounding streets different in character and function: The Hillel street is a commercial area, whereas the Moshe Ben Israel street is a road crossing the park and the Moshe Salomon street where Nachalat Shiva's pedestrian mall is present, is full with restaurants and shops.

The public square consists of several elements; a sunken square/garden that encloses the exposed archaeological remains of a Roman aqueduct discovered at the site (not referring to the tombs or graves of the cemetery) (Sebastian, 2010). It also

encompasses an amphitheatre along with landscaped public areas of paved routes and a grove. The archaeological garden will contribute to outdoor exhibition activities, however, connected to the street by a terraced slope that can be used for outdoor performances.
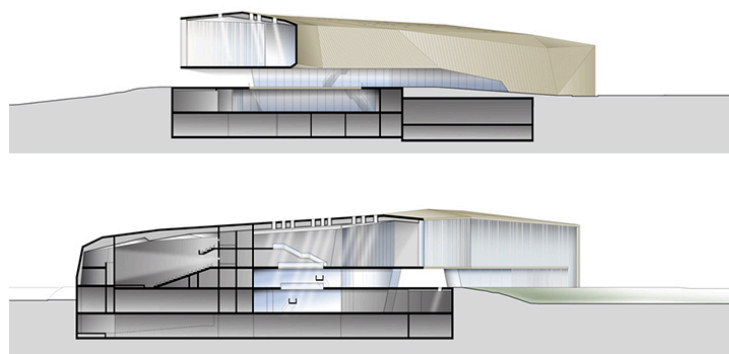
Figure 41. Above: a view of the archaeological garden of the Chyutin Architects proposal seen from the lobby floor. Below: sections of the same building (Sebastian, 2010)

The main building is divided into two horizontal wings: the upper wing that consists of three floating floors, hosting the theatre and social meeting spaces; and the lower wing, also referred to as the "dark box", has a two-floor level below the sunken wing (archaeological garden) hosting the children and the adult museums and exhibition spaces. The two horizontal wings are split with an entrance floor located at the public square level leading to the sunken and floating wings, containing into the restaurant and a gift shop. Yet, a four-floor lobby connects the floating wing and the sunken

one, creating a gap between the two wings, in which part of the floating wing is suspended over the ground level. The gap acts as a doorway to the buildings from the city to the park, expecting it to appeal to the pedestrians in the public square and the park to enter and experience the MOT-J building. Therefore, this plan allows a visual continuity between the city and the park, which will prevent the building from becoming a barrier.

Figure 42. The interior of the Museum proposed by the Chyutin Architects, taken from the transparent lobby floor (Sebastian, 2010)

The architects justify the architectural language used in the MOT-J building as being dictated by the surrounding settings of the city by having it acting as a visual icon in relation to the backdrop of the city's surrounding architecture. That is by maintaining continuity with the rest of the city in terms of height and materials. The design of the building facades was done according to the municipal regulation that requests buildings to be covered with stone regardless of their height, size or use, resulting in building facades that overlook the city to be covered with a stone-clad. Therefore, a dialogue with the 19th and 20th century stone houses surrounding the structure was maintained. Yet, the surface that overlooks the park has glass facades, relating to the

glass park façade of the future proposed Courthouse, (as seen in Figure 43). The differences in facade treatments, as the architects state, will provide diversity by enriching the visual appearance of the structure, creating elements of surprise to those walking around the building (Sebastian, 2010).
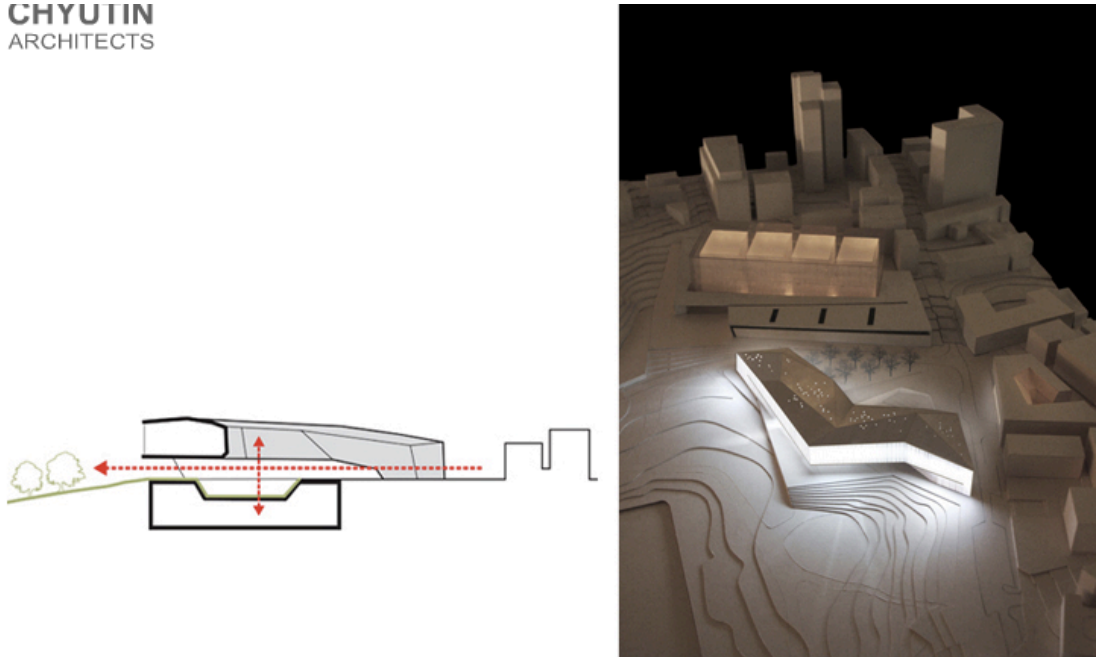
Figure 43. The proposed Courthouse at the back of the MOT-J building and at the other side of the Independence Park (Sebastian, 2010).

However in total and in relation to the geography of Jerusalem, which is known for its surrounding hills, the geometrical envelope that connects the folded stone clad planes on the roof in a vertical zigzagging manner echoes the relevant topography of the city (Sebastian, 2010).

4.6 Evaluation of the Bridge of Strings and the MOT-J.

Both the Museum and the Bridge received much criticism from the media and architectural circles. Whilst Calatrava's bridge was mostly criticized because of its aesthetical appearance being an strange symbol to the familiar historical symbols of the city, the MOT-J was criticized for its location and the problems it raised between the Arabs the Jews. While both criticisms are valid, this section raises a different

point with regards to the buildings' symbolic meanings due to their appearances vis-à-vis the conflict within the city. Both buildings carry poetic messages that address tolerance and peace in the city and reconciliation between both ethnic groups.

Consequently, this section of this chapter will discuss the problems associated with such architectural works in general and in particular by evaluating their relation to the conflict. Accordingly, a discussion will be presented, regarding the assigned meanings in the architectural approaches used with the bridge and the MOT-J.

Some local architects[34] see the Bridge of Strings as an unnecessary symbol to the city (Rotem, 2008). However, they saw it as a symbol of the Modern (contemporary work) but no further discussions addressed what sort of a symbol it was. Was it not important to have a symbol in general? Or was it a symbol that should have not addressed the city of Jerusalem in terms of the bridging between its ethnical groups? Yet, among the architects, some had seen it as part of the trend that is noticeable in the tourist map of the rest of the world and found that a city like Jerusalem does not need to be advertised for in order to tempt tourists to the city. Although I agree with such criticisms I still intend to address the bridge in terms of it's meaning as a poetic discourse to peace, and in the way it addresses the city of Jerusalem (in which the conflict is part of).

Calatrava stated that the bridge is a needed symbol in Jerusalem. For the bridging is an activity that the involved ethnic groups need to overcome or over bridge for a peaceful state. Calatrava's initiation for a long conflict to be brought to an end

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[34] Architect Saadia Mandel, David Kroyanker, Prof. Micha Broth, an urban planner and lecturer at the Technion and Architect Hillel Schocken to an interview for Haaratez Newspaper (Rotem, 2008).

through the aesthetics he utilizes cannot be interpreted in that manner for many reasons. I would argue that, aesthetically it is quite an abstract structure, and thus it does not address the conflict or portray to the people of the city in its intention.

If we are to look at works of architecture in terms of their symbolic meaning or the issues they intend to address other than their primary function (i.e. for transportation in the case of the bridge), then it is possible to speak of the bridge as a controversial aesthetics. Georg Simmel, (1997) considers the concept of the bridge as a metaphor for thinking. As he sees in bridges both the activity of connection and separation that the bringing of two sides is an activity of coming together that at the same time highlights the separation: "Only for us are the banks of a river not just apart but 'separated'; if we did not first connect them in our practical thoughts, in our needs and in our fantasy, then the concept of separation would have no meaning" (Simmel, 1997, p. 66). Heidegger had a similar perspective with the traditional bridge. The landscape and the banks of the river are emphasized to be separate and apart after they were linked with the bridge. So as much as the bridging activity brings the two sides being apart by a barrier, it as well emphasised their distance and their separation, like the two sides of the same coin. Since the bridge overcomes the distance but makes the separation visible and measurable and thus both the bridging and the distancing become two repercussions for the came action. Also, the bridge being the new gate of Jerusalem creates the same two-sided activity. According to Simmel (1997), the door is an act of entering and at the same time exiting, and therefore becomes an image of the boundary. So what does the bridge intend to do? Accentuate on the separation between both ethnical groups? Is that the symbol that the city cannot take and in which many architects had criticized? Or the gate that represents Palestinians living outside the boundaries of Jerusalem and cannot enter

the city because of the continuous and strict control on the borders? That of the new segregation and separation wall?

Although practically the bridge is meant to be a unifying tool, as part of the railway system that connects Jerusalem with the over crosses of the junction rests upon. Its appearance might not reflect this for; the location it rests upon is intended to be a part of the development if the surrounding area. The unifying tool cannot be well seized since it allows no full perception of the area due to its scale in terms of height, and the enclosure it is fitted in. This indicates that the bridge does not organically grow with the rest of the surrounding but is forced to fit. However, if the bridge was to address both ethnic groups, it should have been located at a critical site where both groups can come together, in a way that they have no other option but to use the bridge. Also the suspension activity makes no visible separation between the two sides it bridges, yet sculpturally exaggerated. The expression of peace contradicts and contrasts with the reality of the human condition in Jerusalem; particularly with regard to the discrimination against the Arab population, who are like refugees in their own homeland. It also contradicts with the political situation within the country because of the ongoing conflict. Thus, Calatrava's White Bridge lacks the ontological continuity with its human and political environment, which is necessary when addressing the issue of peace. Simply having a discourse on peace is not sufficient, in itself, for being peaceful.

On the other hand, the argument about its sculptural emphasis and arbitrary discourse to peace is valid for the reason that two years before the bridge was initiated, Calatrava had produced another bridge in the town of Petikh Tikva in the suburbs of Tel Aviv (see Figure 44). A Y-shaped cable bridge, which is aimed to connect a

hospital and a shopping mall, where a steel pylon supports three intersecting spans. The light structure is paved with glass and the bridge was indeed needed to cross over the water and as such its suspension was proper and valid (URL 3, 2006). Therefore, are the two bridges the one in Jerusalem and the one in Tel Aviv similar in their tendencies and in their discourse?

Figure 44. The bridge designed by Santiago Calatrava in Petikh Tikva, near Tel-Aviv (URL 3, 2006).

The sculptural effect does not refer to the crafting of the bridge itself but to the fact that it has been standing for almost 4 years with no passing traffic or functioning metro on the bridge or in the city as a whole. The rushing that took place to have the bridge finalized in time for the 40th anniversary of Jerusalem's unification raises the question of whether it was really built as a bridge, as part of the metro or as a symbol to add meaning to the city regardless of when it will function as a bridge? This is the case since it was announced to the public that the railway and the metro would not function for at least 3 years and now 5 years have passed since. As such no crossing activity had been taking place, but instead a huge sculpture exists in the vicinity and can be seen as part of the skyline of the city.

Consequently, one could question if the bridge was really built as a sculpture or a working bridge? Is there any change in the conception of Calatrava about the aesthetic of his bridge in relation to the bridging as a symbolic activity in Jerusalem since his bridge's replica done in Tel Aviv? To what extent was Calatrava aware of the barrier and separation (which was initiated almost around the same time he was asked to design a bridge) that divided Jerusalem? And how did his perception of the "context" including the separating wall effect his decision towards his statement about bridges and peace? What was his understanding of unification? How did he relate unification to this context and is Jerusalem really unified?

Any observer would scrutinize the bridge and its symbolic meanings and intentions when coming face to face with the architecture of the background buildings mentioned in the section above, and would question how much the bridge would relate to reality. Why did Calatrava have to have peace involved with the bridge? Could it not have been just a bridge, to overcome a practical or a design problem instead of forcing symbolism and adhering meaning to his work? A meaning that was not carefully thought of or the conflicted context considered? Was latching its symbolism and the crossing between both groups as a label added at the end and not intended from the beginning?

While Calatrava tends to create everything out of nature inspired by reality and converts industrial led materials into structures that can communicate with the environment, however, his bridge is shouting out and repressing other voices. It is not adequate to expect that it would have a physical continuity with its immediate environment. It was designed to be different. On the other hand, Jerusalem itself is a monumental city and it symbolizes the cultures that have lived in it over thousands of

years, including the never-ending conflicts between them. It is even possible to see signs of these conflicts, when observing the city from a distance. Because of the monumentality of the city, the question arises to whether it was necessary to have such a monumental symbolic structure within such a monumental city. It also raises the question of the bridge, itself, actually being a monument in the form of a structure, which does not have any function. It may have been better to have constructed a more sculptural monument under these circumstances. Because the message this structure sends, how it echoes and vibrates depends on its reception by people through interactions, participation and inhabitancy of that space it creates, which is a fundamental feature of architecture as a whole. As such, events (such as the unification) have no political, social or cultural shape or impact outside judgments. The meaning of such an event changes in perspective in accordance with particular times and places. Rather than giving a place for the meaning of the conflict to be produced, does the bridge fixate and project a singular view of what it means to bridge a conflict? Limited by a selective and narrow understanding of the reality, the bridge became entangled by a demand for a fixed meaning and reception, calling for symbolic representation; thus diminishing the meaning and understanding that can be created by the use of social spaces in everyday life, which is essential to reconciliation and hopefully peace.

However, the question par excellence is: should the same practice be carried out in conflict zones and in areas with no conflict? Are they truly the same activity? Was the celebration that took place in Jerusalem for the inauguration of the bridge similar to the inaugurating of any other building created by Calatrava anywhere else in the world? Didn't Calatrava know that the anniversary that Israel celebrates of its unification marks the same event of the 40th Palestinian Diaspora? Of people living

in refugee camps waiting for their return or dignified living conditions outside Jerusalem?

Accordingly, if such works disappoint any attempt for an architectural piece to initiate sites of reconciliation between groups, then which works don't? Is the attempt in the MOT-J a more appropriate approach to reconciliation? Since it carries with its folds the word tolerance? Yet, is tolerance valid within the boundaries of a certain type of buildings? And how can tolerance be practiced again inside the envelope of a certain building? And how would it relate to the reality?

Although not much is known about Gehry's proposal to the MOT-J, yet enough is revealed to undertake the argument that his work did not change its perspective or meaning in a conflicted city like Jerusalem. Known for his Disney Concert Hall, Bilbao Museum and the Guggenheim, Gehry's aesthetics through the MOT-J indicates his obsession with formal aspects, which are alien in appearance to the city, and do not offer a new relationship between its program and the architectural space it creates (Foster, 2001; Hartoonian, 2006; Perez-Gomez, 2006). However, it arbitrarily turns the conflict into a sculpture, hollowed with vacuum interiors for any practice of reconciliation to take place. The MOT-J never achieved a critical relation that is truthful in representing all the people of Jerusalem, nor does it architecturally creates a birth site for the redemption of racism in general. To take but one example, the donors names engraved on the pillars that can be seen from a distance are those of people from one ethnic group. Determining the significance of his architectural solution to the spaces it creates and the techniques used in the so called "living room" of Jerusalem - where symbolically it is the thinking line and organization of Gehry's design, where all members of the city can be involved, leaves little room for

people and passers-by to understand the meaning and the real problem of uncontrolled hatred and to learn lessons through a certain practice.

The program (activity) of the building itself is also a problem to the museum, besides its location and site, with spaces that are not over determined with specific functions that invoke issues of anti-racism in general. The scale and segments of the structure overwhelm the visitor, and create a dimension of monumentality. The building imposes a feeling where humans are to think of peace or work on reconciliation, and it dictates no spatial guidance or activity. The spaces lack indication of how one should act in the building, unless certain exhibition halls are entered. Furthermore, spaces cannot be perceived objectively either, since the space – as in the new trends in museums of redemption and in memorials- do not inspire feelings associated with the events or history as in the Jewish museum in Berlin for example. It also neither invites silence or chatter in relation to the conflict that is to be tolerated. The building does not attempt to inspire hope, nor with its relation with the conflict, leaves an outcome or leaves it undetermined. Visitors are not asked to interpret the conflict or to reflect on the Holocaust, nor does it space for silence.

Built on empty interiors and overwhelming crafted envelopes, as is mostly the case with Gehry's buildings, the voids and emptiness within the interior spaces are unvocal as much as they are ambiguous. Nor are they communicative or authoritative at the same time, the museum has nothing to show of itself except what other artists display periodically.

On the outside, the alien forms do not bring the conflict or hatred in general into a dialogue with the city, but arrogantly stands within and draws attention to its

sculptural nature and to itself as an object in the Independence Park. Hartoonian (2006) interprets the works of Gehry as establishing a relation with an audience of spectators rather than a relation to public users, a sort of entertainment rather than usage. A sort of aesthetics with the least connection to function, states Hartoonian (Hartoonian, 2006, pp. 104-132). His works in general and not differently in the MOT-J, relates to its site heterogeneously, by flattening its differences and making it appear with the same significance. Where his building could have been situated in a different location somewhere else. Gehry does not only (in the case of Jerusalem) ignore the historical significance of the city, but he ignores the Arab residents and those buried beneath. By simply proposing a layer of concrete that can separate the living from the death, does he intend to solve the problems raised regarding the site. Ignoring the fact that such justification not only sounds disrespectful but he also manipulates the masses on the fact that building needs to go further down to earth to lay its foundation, therefore, presenting his building as something that floats on earth.

On his relation to the site, Hal Foster in *Why all the Hoopla?* describes Gehry's metallic museums and curvy concert halls, that it "compromises to a collage of forms and images … bold shapes … sheathed in striking materials and set in a dynamic … Furthermore, his interiors are difficult to decipher from his exteriors and vice versa" (Foster, 2001). To Foster and no less in the case of Jerusalem, Gehry's "museums trump the art" (Foster, 2001). As a result of the use of this great scale, which challenges the museum and inflates it as a gigantic spectacle-space, it swallows the art it contains. A similar criticism was raised as a response to his proposal to another museum. A building that was meant to be an art gallery where its users continuously complained about the lack of straight walls to have works hanged on. These ironies usually defended by Gehry as being an expression to break with tradition, makes him

one of the most criticized architects of the century. Although sometimes he is defended as being sensitive with the use of materials as was the case during his beginning while designing his own house in Los Angeles. "Gehry gradually turned a Modernist idiom into a funky LA vernacular. He did so primarily in domestic architecture through an innovative use of cheap materials associated with commercial building – exposed plywood, corrugated metal siding and chain-link fencing. As is often the case with architects, his first landmark was the renovation of his own home in Santa Monica (1977-78), which has functioned as a laboratory-cum-showroom ever since (he redesigned it again in 1991-92)" (Foster, 2001, p. 25). By making use of the local material whilst integrating it with recent technology, Gehry is said to be what Frampton described as a context regionalism (Hartoonian, 2006). I believe there is confusion with what Fampton pointed to and to Gehry's interpretation of regionalism and context in his vernacular inspired home in Santa Monica and to his practice elsewhere. Jean-Louis Cohen says that Gehry's buildings are designed with "what he calls the specific 'body language' of each city" in mind. Only when it is grasped, sometimes intuitively, does the city's architecture find its place in Gehry's work" (Cohen, 2001). But in relation to the case of Jerusalem, it is better put by Foster that "Gehry's fans tend to confuse his arbitrariness with freedom, and his self-indulgence with expression" (Foster, 2001). The titanium which came to inscribe almost all his works and in which might had fit in the case of Bilbao for its reflection on the river, does not work the same way in Jerusalem. What I accordingly question is: in his proposal for the MOT in Jerusalem, how much titanium is available regionally? And how much does his project incorporate local vernacular and traditional stone? Even if the building was to contrast all that to stand for itself, I question whether this material is suitable in this climate with regards to the fact that

it would be quite difficult for people to look directly at the building during a hot sunny day due to the reflective and shinny surface of the material. "The important urban idea is to fit a building into the fabric of the city," Gehry says; "it takes time to get the body language of a building, to fit it into an environment."

However, the building did not take as long as the proposal to the MOT of Jerusalem, nor was there a chance to test any of its aspects in-situ or to give other architects a chance to criticize the work itself. Despite this fact, Sarri Makdisi managed to criticize what he saw in the building, and there was an exchange between him, Gehry and others. However, the critic mostly included the location of the building itself and part of Makdisi's own reading of the building. Many had seen that the initially there was good intention but that was soon lost due to the selection of the site. Although I would briefly mention these criticisms, but my aim is to discuss the relation between the building along with Calatrava's bridge to political power and the conflict. And whether they perceive the relation between architecture and political power differently to the common language that architecture relates to it? My argument is not actually based on the site/ location of the building specifically, though location is still important in the argument, since it what sheds some light on the ethical importance to architecture (which might have been ignored by Gehry himself). Therefore, it will focus on the building's aesthetic relation to political power and how it relates to the conflict. Where, I shall question the physical connection of the structure to the site and how that can play a role in inviting and attracting people of different backgrounds to itself, through its programme and through its spatial and formal arrangement? I question how as Arnold Schwarzenegger stated can it "in the darkness that pervades the Middle East, … this building will be a candle to guide us"? And in what way can the "rising crescendo of ethnic tensions, civilizational

clashes and the use of religious justification for acts of terror," be addressed to provide "a great institution" that "will focus on issues of human dignity and responsibility" (Makdisi, 2010 , pp. 519-520).[35]

Makdisi (2010), explores his opinion about Gehry's proposal as he resembles it to an Architecture of Erasure. To Makdisi, the building resembles castles, fortresses, watchtowers and mostly walls. By referring to other works of Gehry, he argues that Gehry's approach is not based on freedom as his defenders and Gehry himself claims; but rather, on surveillance, control and power integrating the colonial architecture of Israel, especially in the so-called "living room" of Jerusalem (that replicates the panoptical features). The Panoptical to Makdisi, is at the base of his thesis, which relies on Eyal Weizman's analysis of the division between East Jerusalem and the West bank with regards to the replication of the politics of occupation based on the visible and the invisible. Eyal Weizman identifies a sort of "vertical occupation"[36] in several of his works (Weizman, 2002; 2007), to Makdisi this functions on the horizontal plane where Palestinians are rendered invisible to Israelis. In addition, this is not the only repercussion, as Makdisi sees it "the wall as the signifier of erasure is itself erased in turn" (Makdisi, 2010 , p. 535), According, the wall has become invisible in different ways, once as painted on from the Israeli

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[35] From the Center for Human Dignity: MOT-Jerusalem, Jan. 2003, The Gehry proposal to MOT-J website has now been taken down.

[36] The whole point of the matrix of control is to superimpose two separate political geographies— one Jewish, one Palestinian—on the same physical landscape. The parts of the Jewish West Bank, Weizman explains, are seamlessly tied to each other and incorporated into Israel; the parts of the Palestinian West Bank, on the other hand, are fractured and broken and fragmented, shards of territory cut off from each other. For Jews, the West Bank is—to invoke the terms of Deleuze and Guattari—a smooth space; for Palestinians, it is severely striated. The result, according to Weizman, is a representation of geography best understood in terms of what he calls the "politics of verticality." Weizman's notion is not merely figurative; it is literal as well. For example, where the West Bank's unlit, broken, potholed, or altogether unpaved Palestinian roads cross the well-lit, well-paved, and vigilantly patrolled Jewish bypass roads they plunge beneath them into tunnels. Jews traverse the landscape *above*; Arabs, *below* (Weizman, 2007).

sides (like decorative arches for it to appear as a Roman aqueduct that is something which connects rather than separates) or adjusted to disappear in the landscape which is sometimes cladded with stone and smooth surfaces rather than naked concrete at its other side looking the Palestinian villages. At other time, it is covered with shrubs and tresses. It is always perceived by no mistake by the Palestinians as brutal concrete high wall on the their side.

According to Makdisi's analysis of the museum, the separating wall around the city resembles and is reflected within the museum. It is more angular than Gehry's other works and the titanium walls protect the glass like a fortress especially in the grand hall, (works as observing the bodies through the complex). To Makdisi this depicts the exclusion of the Palestinians, who are separated by the vertical walls, which restrain their movement. Makdisi sees the "living room" of the museum as a place for the residents of one kind excluding the other kind; who are out of sight through the separation politics: "all kinds of people" actual means (without admitting it) "only Jewish people" because of the invisible process of exclusion and erasure by which the universal is restricted to the particular" (Makdisi, 2010, p. 544).

The walls to Makdisi are part of the main features of the museum including the walls that surrounds the complex and the hanging wall that suspends above the visitor centre appears to Makdisi as a "scale replica" of a section of the West Bank's separation wall hovering in the air. Yet, transformed and freed from the dirt, mud, graffiti and the shabby rectilinear concrete slabs into floating ones and relived of the burden of separation. The pillars of Tolerance are covered with Gehry's infamous titanium clad curving which resembles the smooth and unrestricted geography of Israel against the strained/closed Palestinian portion as Weizman argues:

The wall here is open and lit, rather than forbidding and closed; it enables panoptic vision but does not shut down the visual field, as the wall does in the West Bank. In Gehry's design, that which is separated is so utterly separated that it has disappeared into thin air—the separated other is so far gone that the self constructed through the process of its removal is left all alone in blissful self-contemplation (Makdisi, 2010 , p. 545).
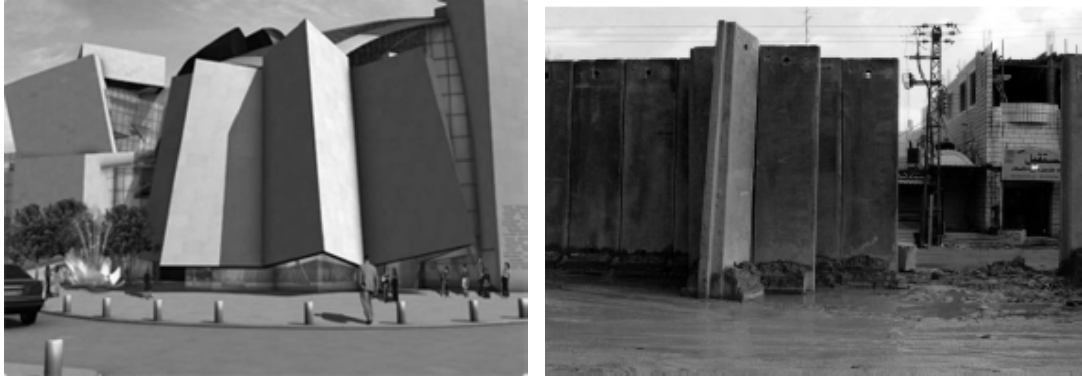
Figure 45. Left: Gehry's MOT-J Entrance wall. Right: A section from the separation wall, both walls are quite similar according to Makdisi (Makdisi, 2010, p. 546).

Many might not agree with Makdisi's own interpretations of the architecture of the museum relates to the conflict within the context of Jerusalem and the whole country in general[37]. As thus, I want to make my point that Makdisi's interpretation serves my argument here. Such architectural works are often subject to such criticisms and interpretation by their nature. But before moving on to argue that the general issue of architectural works like the Bridge and MOT-J museum are open to interpretation and above all are controversial due to their existence in a conflict area like Jerusalem, we shall go through the Chyutin proposal to the MOT of Jerusalem. There is not much to discuss about the Chyutin proposal to the MOT-J since the alteration did not change the location of the museum in response to those who demonstrated against it in the first place. Nor did the contents change. As a result, the structure proposes nothing new or difference in its building programme other than an alteration in the

[37] Many who defend the MOT-J and Gehry had exchanged responses, which had been published by the same journal to Makdisi's main article "The Architecture of Erasure", which discusses the political dimension of the MOT-J proposed by Frank Gehry. Gehry himself had responded, defending his position towards Makdisi's criticisms about the museum in Jerusalem. Other responses are as well involved such as Raphael Israeli, Shmuel Berkovits, Jacques Neriah and Marvin Hier's The "Architecture of Erasure"–Fantasy or Reality? Including Makdisi's response to all.

appearance. And their understanding of the immediate and the surrounding context is not but physically related and interpreted.

The proclamation by its architects that the building is to house a diversity of functions (according to the functions it lists) appears to be untrue in reality when contrasted with Gehry's proposal. Not only that, but the functions that might be a motive to bring different ethnic groups together aren't present.

This section will involve a discussion about the general attitudes towards controversial buildings in terms and on the bases of their architects' claims; such as, in the case of the bridge and the MOT proposed by Ghery.

After long debates, criticisms and demonstrations, the new proposal by the Chyutin proposal had a different attitude in its formalistic approach with regards to the immediate context. Instead of the shiny, rectilinear titanium and the blue ribbons of the previous proposal, the building is completely covered with the white stone of Jerusalem. This seems to have been inspired by the surrounding hills and the general geographic appearance of the city. The building seems to fit with its surroundings (physical context), which could possibly be attributed to the large criticisms that had been received in response to previous proposal (against the sculptural attitude of Gehry's building). On the other hand, the Chyutin architects being native are more familiar with the context, in terms of restrictions and regulations. Part of their major works as posted on their website, shows that their approach to architecture, Modern as it may be, follows the contemporary building trend in the country in general, yet is restricted to the usage of the white stone clad. On their proclaim/ justification that the authorities restricts buildings to be covered with the white stone, this raises the

question of how such restrictions were not valid/mentioned in the proposal of Gehry? Or do such restrictions differ depending on the architect? And how flexible are these rules and what do they depend on?[38]

Omitting any reliant and spontaneous movement, the Chyutin's MOT-J building subjects its visitors to an open area, allowing a visual field to the park that give guidance to visitors as to directions/spaces they should move in/to. The split floor that is almost transparent on most of its sides allows the building to act as a passage from one side to another, functioning as a shortcut of sorts between the streets it intends to link. That emptiness suggests the continuation of the landscape, which makes the building appear as a complete mass (a 3 dimensional canopy) and give the impression that it is not touching the ground. This contrasts with every other building and symbolic building in the region, as it lacks the symbolism necessary to show its stability and its connection to the ground and thus its roots. This choice might be affected with the criticisms similar to Makdisi to Gehry's proposal, in order to avoid any attempt to resemble the building into features like enclosures, surveillances, fortress that resembles the occupation in general.

What is also interesting about this building is the use of names and symbolic labelling to spaces that are both ambiguous and do not relate to a symbolic spatial activity, such as in the "living room" in Gehry's proposal. Similarly, within the Chyutin proposal, the labelling of the "dark box" to the two sunken floors below the ground level begs the question of what is actually dark about them? And how is that

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[38] Famously these rules and regulations (planning) are usually changeable according to no fixed laws or criteria. The same law that allows and issues building permit to a Jewish residence at the cross end of the street, does not allow the same to the other end where the resident most of the time is an Arab. Justified with laws and regulations that follows neither rigid logic nor a reasonable justification. See "For Arabs only" for debates on such issues (Kaminker, 1997).

related to tolerance and the people of Jerusalem? Or is it called a 'dark box' because it is below the ground and has no visual access to the outdoors, and so becomes mysterious and dark? It is worth mentioning that no box like space in the structure exists but rather two rectilinear floors split into two through a concrete slab that houses the exhibition activities for both adults and children. It might not be a coincidence that with such approaches and with such building types that the architects intend to find a verbal, literal assimilation to their buildings. Chyutin is mostly influenced with Daniel Libeskind Jewish Museum of Berlin- in giving his work the name "between the lines". However, Libeskind's two lines differ from Gehry's "living room" and Chyutin's "dark box" since it is a representation of two real parallel lines: the history of the Jewish people and the history of Germany. These lines form the building's main spatial arrangement and locate the building into the meaningful context of the relation between Germany and Jews. The conflict, which seems to disappear, is carefully and politically read and interpreted and yet reflected in a proper context that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

Going back to the MOT-J, the building might be perceived as more modest in its scale, this is due to the fact that its context and architecture comply with Jerusalem's general appearance. The building achieves that only on the figurative level avoiding arbitrary representations similar for instance to Gehry's 16 pillars of tolerance. Although along the interior, the articulation and arrangement of spaces is expected to be different to that of Gehry's, yet, the activity within its walls in terms of tolerance is no different. The blue ribbons and the titanium rectilinear portions were replaced with stone. The same living room that is seen from a distance and allows all kind of people to enter and interact still exists on the ground floor of the Chyutin building. The visual fields that the grand hall offers to all other functions have now been

divided into floors with concrete slabs in between. This provokes one to ask, how can tolerance be integrated and achieved amongst the architects by either the first or the second proposal? How does the architectural programme help and motivate people to be more tolerant? Yet, what sort of tolerance activity can a building envelope and shelter? What do Arabs and Israeli's do when they come together tolerating each other?

Another important issue is that although the Chyutin proposal relates to the context of Jerusalem in a more related manner than Gehry's proposal, it is still questionable on the way that the political context is understood and interpreted. Native architects still insist on seeing Jerusalem related to its topography in harmonious manner by replicating the image of the hills that surrounds it. It reads Jerusalem as only a geographic entity and emphasizes on it as empty vacant lands, stripping it from all cultural, historical and political values. It seeks to inspire guidance for its appearance using its immediate surrounding architecture. Ignoring the general consideration of the architecture of the rest of the city, which represents much of the real context of Jerusalem and avoiding reading the context through its architecture as political.

Further concerns can be raised for all the three examples, regarding the bridging activity that was included in Calatrava and then by the Chyutin proposals. These concerns question the sort of bridging activity that can take place as a result of the construction of the Bridge and the Museum of Tolerance? They also question how this bridging can relate to reality (which is architecturally read through the contextual architecture)?

Seeing the three examples brings to mind what Adorno had once saw in contemporary art: the ability to be critical and to address the status quo. In the case of Jerusalem, the architecture we witness does not only get itself involved with the culture industry -where Adorno could see the fetishism in the work itself- but it is also beyond capitalism and all economical aspects towards self-orientation and egoistically satisfying type of trend. As a de facto, the architects both Gehry and Calatrava, had made themselves known, due to their works on several projects, and created icons that in essence have no iconic notion on the social, cultural, or political state of affairs in Jerusalem. The conflict of the city turns universal, since it is represented with images that replicate and repeats itself in the works of the architects around the globe. In each of the above mentioned cases, the symbolic meanings of the conflict and the long historical struggle of Jerusalem sites void of urban meanings. The kind of meaning that is important to societies and that is born out of self oriented vision and installation. Of values that are fixed to the technology at the expense of a symbolic vocabulary that can bring together a real sense of interaction. These values should stem first and foremost from the context of the city itself as being the only source of installation, representation and inspiration. And the real life conditions therein to be able to achieve coexistence and reconciliation. The works are political in the architect's own opinions rather than political with regards to contributing and relating to the experience and the reality of discursive attributes. Despite the fact that a few words are written by the architects as a description of their works, they fail to be adequately meaningful. This could be a result of the rigid boundary they set/created, that allows no meaning to emerge from within. I cannot find a justified reason for the use of the white stone in their work.

By reducing the context of Jerusalem including its political complications to a stone touch up finishing to appear local is indeed naïve, miss read or not critically questioned. Both in the Chyutin proposal to the MOT-J and the bridge, the white mechanically carved stone is a part of their appearance. The bridge, on the other hand and as justified by Calatrava, had been covered by the white stone clad in the portions where the bridge meets the ground to appear continuous with the rest of the city, how does that little portion of stone, help the bridge relate to the city?. How much such a small portion in relation to the huge bridge appears and appeals to the viewer as related to the city? How much truthful is that continuation? The very small portions in reality are unnoticeable, since people walking underneath the bridge do not perceive it entirely, thus no one stops to notice the stone but are rather overwhelmed by structure itself.

On the other hand, in the Chyutin's proposal a large percent of its walls are covered with the stone, a choice that is overwhelming due to the gigantic form of the structure. Also, how does this fit with the fact that the walls disappear with the ground floor level being transparent? What I intend to suggest here is the usage of the stone that had been for years part of the regulations and has been unquestioned since then. The only thing that the stone adds to a building is extra cost, yet how much of urban fabric and texture continuation with the city does the stone bring? And how much of the urban texture is preserved by all buildings appearing to be covered in the same material no matter of its scale, size and the openings it has on its facades?

Finally a general question can be projected at this final stage: which is more important, the building as an object standing by its self? Or the events and the

activity that it houses? Of course I may not answer the question since it may require a discussion spanning the history of architecture and its practice. However in locating the question within the paradigms of the architecture of the recent age, it soon become obvious that as critical as these works may be in their modes of representation, reception and powerfully symbolic they subvert to the norms and conventions which results in a heavy handed political relation to architecture.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Conflicted Contexts Being-uncovered
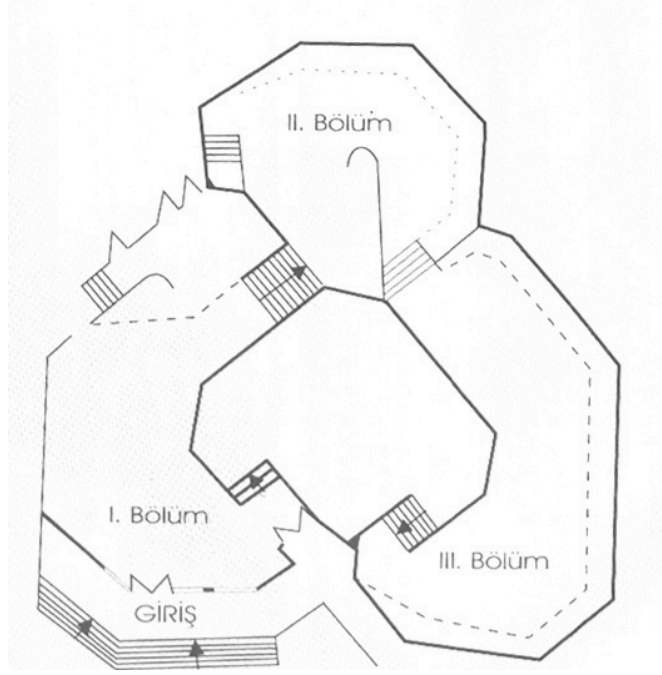
Buildings and architecture do not stand in vacuum but on an already established ground that is social, political as well as environmental and physical. That is since architecture is not only about mere appearances, but its aesthetical appearances are interpretations that stems from a real ground that is informed by the well-being of people. On the other hand, conflicts are not nonfigurative in the sense that they are grounded in real life and human's well-being is shaped by the political reality. Accordingly, when architecture selectively draw on it representations, it cannot interpret the conflicted context selectively.
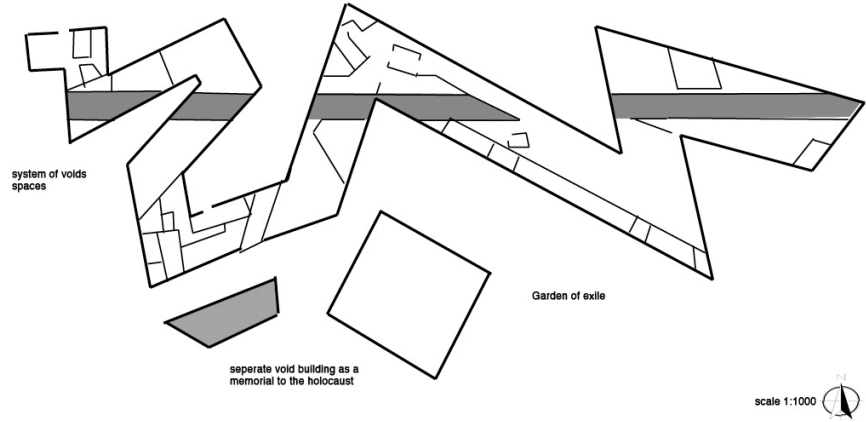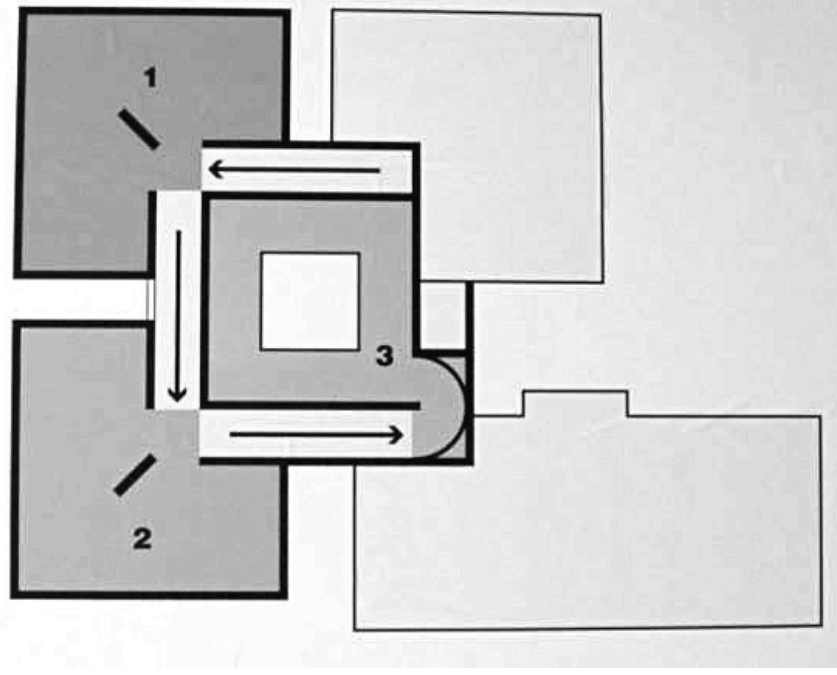
It is interesting to see that the works of architecture in Jerusalem represented by the Museum of Tolerance and the Bridge of Strings, as architecture of no context in general, do not relate to the conflict in Jerusalem when in intention they imitate the trends of Reflective Judgment that has been surfacing since the 90's. The approach of the Jewish Museum in Berlin is much influencing the works of Gehry and Calatrava in their approach in Jerusalem. However, when Libeskind's work is much built on a logic that relates the issue of memory and history to the conflict, the Bridge and the MOT-J are interpretations of the Reflective Judgment trend as empty containers and spaces, specifically in relation to the conflicted context. Yet, what is

alarming is the approach to see the conflicted context as *determined* rather than ongoing in their interpretation and articulation of spaces.

Different approaches to relate the act of memoralization of historically political events in relation to the conflicted context has been discussed in this study. Although they are different in their attempts, they intend to refer to the conflicted context as it is, without having to change its nature in order to feed the selective appearances and their aesthetics. A concluding table can be introduced at this closing chapter in order to highlight on the act of memoralization in relation to the conflicted contexts within all the architectural approaches of all the cases discussed from inside and outside Jerusalem (Table 1).

Table 1. The relation of the cases included in the study with the conflicted context.

	Plan/ Figure*	Conflict Type	Model of Storytelling	Functional solution	Representation	Relation with the physical context	Relation to Political Events	Relation to Individuals	Symbolic representation	Relation to conflicted context
Tourjeman Post museum		Ongoing	Traditional and Symbolic	Re-used Building	-	Already existing	Direct	Passive	Chronological	Failed
Lefkoşa Museum of National Struggle		Vague	Traditional Narrative and Symbolic	Designed to peruse the story. Corridor for exhibits and a central room attains closure to the story	Subjective and Selective	Considered the nearby context architecturally	Totality (collective memory)	Passive	Chronological and archival arrangement	Direct and feeds national aims

Jewish Museum, Berlin	Nicosia Museum of National Struggle
Determined	Vague
Reflective Judgment	Traditional Narrative and Symbolic
Spaces designed to affect in line with the story	Designed to peruse the story. Corridor for exhibits and a central room attains closure to the story
Neither subjective or objective	Subjective and Selective
Relates in plan to the houses of the absent Jews in Berlin. Protects the landscape and the existing previous Baroque museum	Considered the nearby context architecturally
Direct	Totality (collective memory)
Active and interactive	Passive
Experience through knowledge	Chronological and archival arrangement
Comprehensive	Direct and feeds national aims

Museum of Tolerance, Jerusalem Chyutin Architects proposal	Museum of Tolerance, Jerusalem Frank O Gehry proposal
Ongoing	Ongoing
Lacks a story (Imitates the Reflective Judgment)	Lacks a story (yet imitates the Reflective judgment)
Empty interiors	Empty interiors awaits for artists to contribute
Relates to Jerusalem Physically (through the zigzagging roof)	Selective and Universal
Relates to the topography of Jerusalem through the roof and the stone cladding but ignore the conflict	Ignores the Separation wall and the Muslim Cemetery underneath
Relates to the conflicted context in Abstraction	Relates to the conflict in Abstraction
Neither Passive or Active	Neither Passive or Active
Formally and visually relates to the context as only physical	Technological and Material manifestation
Determines the ongoing conflict in its approach	Determines the ongoing conflict in its approach

Bridge of Strings		Ongoing	Lacks a story (More of a monument and a sculpture)	Lacks the place for people to come together	Selective and Universal	Ignores the city's symbolic structures and the city as a whole	Relates to the conflict in Abstraction	Neither Passive or Active	Technological and sculptural manifestation	Determines the ongoing conflict in its approach

* Some cases do not have a plan drawing like the Bridge of Strings and the Tourjeman Post museum.

At the beginning of this study and in the background of this dissertation, I put forward architecture's relation to politics, where architecture can be a tool, an instrument and an apparatus to express political power. That power can be inherited from architectural space, images and appearances and in the way it organizes/controls the users. But there is always more to that relation, the ability of architecture to express, reflect and to relate to the social, political and other intangible relations of the status quo in different manners. That is so since architecture can exist as a cultural object, which in itself can stand for ideological, ethical engagements, and moral consideration through stimulating meaningful medium. Architecture has the potential to give form to the un-presentable historical facts, and opens a place for judgments especially with regards to political events. Moreover, it is possible for architecture to relate to political power as a promise to change in times of conflict.

The second issue is the break with the built environment, and its tradition as was the general trajectory of this study from its beginning, caused something to be lost. Acknowledging and closely examining the built environment of its existing qualities is being absent from the agenda in the contemporary works of most starchitects. For one thing, the new ideal of the avant-garde, futuristic and boundlessness to certain values of place and cities, hoped for continuity with the global world's commerce, technology, information, and economy, seemed at the same time to have de-emphasized the spirit of the local. More than this, human relations, opinions and expression of feelings about certain issues like the political - which is usually irreducible from the built environment - has been denied.

Places and cities, which are amongst the basic issues of culture and its identity, where the inhabitants of the place produce particular meaning, character and values, through forming as well as being informed by meaning. A place where the spatial relationships which constitutes our identities cannot just be placed in Cartesian position of abstract spaces and in abstract relation to other things. At the same time Adorno in his essay "Functionalism Today", had a different message to the architectural spectrum and that is the impossibility of an architecture that can be guilt-free, this is because architecture after Auschwitz has no place to dwell. Yet, Adorno argues that building in the old sense and its relation to its place no longer exists. Adorno's understanding of the architectural experience with regards to human beings, in the late capitalism, is basic and is bond to industrialism, of instrumental technological relations, which cannot be avoided. However, architectural experience can still be fundamentally determined by cultural concerns, which make the experience of the spatial and place a product of identity, and of social quality and responsibility rather than just a creation of a product. Conversely, the spatial experience and quality of a certain place need not to be a resource of adjustments to only figure/ground model of structuring places and cities in general. That is since the figure/ground model used as a visual representation to places and spaces and their understanding, denotes that figures or foreground architectural pieces appear against a ground that goes unnoticed most of the time. The concern with images rendered the ground forgotten and the experience of the background disappears from the sight of the designers, is taken for granted (including its cultural, social and political values) and is no longer taken into consideration. On the other hand, Heidegger believes in the essence of the backgrounds or the experience of a place, to represent and reveal the truth in their relation to the things that had gone unnoticed. Meaning that, guilt

free architecture is possible if the grounds that we intend to place architectural works on is considered and conceptualized; taking into account the cultural concerns, which makes the experience and the quality of a certain place alive and the experience of it never absent. Heidegger's pre-reflective phenomenology means that truth can appear against the unnoticed "ground" by being-uncovering. His aim is to draw attention to what was forgotten and is absent within the modern, where all the surrounding things are the basic concepts, for people to present themselves through. Since we are always somewhere and as such we are governed with the fact that we are always somewhere in space or place through experience. (Heidegger, 1962, pp. 256-273).

So how would that understanding of spatial experience help recognize architecture as something that can be applied into specific cultural ground rather than just being a product in a conflict zone?

The answer should be context, as it has to be the tool to reveal the cultural ground as well as the spatial experience, which in turn reveals the truth about the reality of a certain place, and its local peoples' relation to the "things"[39] in Heideggerian terms. Yet, when the context is politically charged, then searching into political grounds can help architectural work be placed within a political context and to be part of it rather than being placed like a product into it. Since in politically charged areas or conflict zones, everything takes on a political shape, things that belong to the experience of a place become politically charged, also cultural and social issues become politically charged at the same time. So it is true to say that to reveal the reality through a piece

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[39] Heidegger on the "thing" is after the relatedness between who are in the relation and the way that relation is thought. The thing is neither the object nor the substance, thus it is the reference to looking at that particular thing, by being near the thing brings itself to happening and by bringing the fourfold together and their worlds into play (Heidegger, in the essay of "the Thing" in Guzzoni, U. 2008, p. 130-131).

of architecture, a search into its political grounds has to be essentially informed by the context.

Therefore, having to define the underrating of context within this closing part of the study, Heidegger's fourfold can shed on what it means to reveal the reality through architecture/building by the act of being-uncovering. What is actually being uncovered is the context of a certain setting. Heidegger's fourfold are a reminder of the everyday life; the earth, sky, divine and mortals. In Heidegger understating, buildings in their nature consist structuring locations, which join spaces; the joining of location and spaces brings spaces into the "thing" of the building (the being of building). As such building should not be understood as the shaper of spaces or locations instead it makes an environment for spaces and a site for other beings to come into existence and the fourfold to come into existence at the same time. Then if we are to define context in line with this understanding as the thing being revealed by the building and architecture, then the thing is the context and the fourfold are the different layers that form it. However, a context of a conflict zone would mean that a *fifth fold* is added to these layers, which is the political sphere that shapes everything and people's well-being within this political. That since in relation to their context, buildings need to establish a certain dialogue with the surrounding and with people like a musical instrument as Libeskisnd sees it, "like all instruments [architecture] it needs to be played and heard by the people" (Libeskind, 2002, p. 24). However, it should be stated that the layers of the context cannot be fixed or can be listed in this closing part of the thesis. Since every context is distinct in itself, therefore its layers can vary accordingly. The context of Jerusalem as was discussed throughout the argument is layered with both its Foreground and Background buildings, which makes it impossible to compare similarities and differences with other contexts. Yet,

context cannot be reduced to fixed guidance to follow, as every context is specific to what an architectural design intends to contribute to, which in Jerusalem the Context is the Conflict and the Conflict itself is the Context of the city.

Nevertheless, within Jerusalem it can be said that the context is in itself divided into different hierarchies between Foreground and Background buildings within their relation to the conflict. That is since Foreground buildings are expected to transcend themselves however, by marinating an ontological continuation with the rest of the environment especially when it address political issues. An emphasis can be argued that for instance in the MOT-J's case the building does not gain its significance in the current situation because it does not realize the problem of building in conflicted area, where everything would take a face and criticism to politics only. As an agreement with Jeremy Gilbert-Rolfe to debates between Gehry and Saree Makdisi over the MOT-J that: "in occupied Palestine everything is loaded, that it will inevitably be read in terms of the problem of colonialism, but one cannot build things with nothing" (Gilbert-Rolfe, 2010, p. 600). In fact, the lack of realizing the political de facto conflict and any symbolic stance that is recognizable and common to both communities undo the building's symbolic value to discourses of tolerance. Yet, the disappearance of commonly identifiable symbolic grounds that relates to the conflict through multiculturalism according to its mission:

"To promote civility, mutual respect, and democratic practices among the diverse peoples of the Middle East as well as … to bridge divisions and strengthen relationships between neighbors and among faith communities … [to serve as] a clearinghouse for innovative ideas, … for creative public exchange ... [to] cultivate and promote the values, visions, and voices of the region's multicultural, multi-faith, multi-generational population, champion equal opportunity and human rights" (Israeli *et al.* 2010, p. 563).

On the other hand, the building's symbolic stance is further undermined by the museum's role as part of an urban renewal project between the city's old and new parts. This master plan was designed to develop the city centre into a cultural and spiritual area with commercial attractions for locals and visitors[40]. This attempt to regenerate the city centre, including the development of the MOT-J, will have a special significance as claimed by Israeli *et al.* returning the "life and excitement to the streets of the city centre, not only in the fields of commerce and business but also in the fields of culture, entertainment, tourism and housing" (Israeli *et al.*, 2010, p. 599). Therefore if we to consider the MOT-J as part of a regeneration vision, aiming to add to the existing commercial core of the city an entertaining function, then the museum appears as a mere inserting of a sculptural architectural work. That is because the museum has more of a symbolic and iconic meaning not only to what it adds merely to a center of a city but to the whole conflict in itself. Therefore, a museum of tolerance might be the motive to common multinational and cultural grounds, which this study support and sees through the capability of architecture to establish such platforms. But the museum cannot be only seen as an activity of cultural entertainment as an alternative to the commercial core, like any other museum because of the discourse it addresses at the heart of a wounded city. As an outcome, the lack of ontological grounds to its symbolic stance embedded with its aesthetical appearance makes the museum's criticality vulnerable. As it reminds a mere museum outside Jerusalem, the MOT-J is not the Disney Concert Hall or a place of an exhibit to modern arts. Therefore being an extension of the original Los Angeles MOT, it cannot be expected to appear the same and carry a similar symbolic stance and discourse as it is in Jerusalem. That is although Los Angeles might be a

[40] The plan for regeneration of the city centre involves, constructions of a railway, renewal and development of streets, erecting new public buildings, encouraging the young to live in the area by giving grants, introducing commercial building and creating new traffic system that facilitate access.

city of which suffers a true multicultural and multinational ground due to the different ethnicities inhabiting the city[41] (Davis, 2006) the diversity does not ignite similar conflicts as it is in Jerusalem. Therefore a difference is expected from the museum in Jerusalem on appearances, symbol stance and discourse in order to contribute to the conflict.

The total lack of references to the conflicted context in the Museum of Tolerance as well in the Bridge of Strings is an outcome of formally empty containers and arbitrary relations. That is since the aesthetical appearance of both Calatrava's Bridge and Gehry's museum is imitated and therefore appear as a replica of their other "signature style" seen outside Jerusalem. Besides, issues of peace in the time being, are subjective, and an architectural piece of work that attempts to address this becomes critical because it relates to something that is non-existent. A work of architecture cannot be the reason for peace but can have a hopeful aim for change; only if it truthfully addresses the reality or at least build its imagination of peace in relation to the empirical situation.

5.2 Summary of the Argument

This study is part of the question being increasingly asked within relation to context, between architectural establishments and institutionalized power and conflict. There are many interrelated issues that the study discussed in order to reveal architecture's

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[41] Mike Davis post-liberal Los Angeles as he calls it, is a reflection on security efforts and tendencies of urban design, architecture and the police. For the social relations and the built environment is an image of repression in space and movement. To secure the city against violence, increased crime rates and the war on drugs, the police seal and barricade the poor neighbourhoods in Los Angeles. As a result, the central parts became self-contained within the ethnic and class boundaries against Latinos, black and homeless whites in enclave and restricted areas. A defence of the luxury life that destroys public spaces, Davis claims. Mega structures, celebrity architects, developers and investors buildings are central in the city with the gaze of the police, banned in the face of certain class.

relation to political power in conflict zones. Taking the context, as the base to any architectural understanding is an important issue but considering it in a conflict zone means that the architecture that we create is not in Diaspora.

The argument from the very beginning of the "Background" of this thesis, had set the way architecture and politics can be related, where one can look at architecture and argue it can be political or claim it the other way round. However, both ways still see that architecture and politics are related, and much of the effort was to label the way that relation can be seen from an architectural perspective. Such as war, an instrument and machine to control, impose power or by undoing and unplugging architecture from its political apparatus to achieve change. This can change and affect the everyday life of the people using, or living around such works and touch on their cultural issues.

Such a specific relation between architecture and politics could have been possible in different settings through a search into the different relations that architecture can have with politics in conflict zones, and through discussions of the physicality as much as the political context it becomes part of. By examining three different conflicted contexts and the way they engender certain understanding and relations according to the conflict, then the contextual implications in relation to different conflicted contexts can be argued. This premise would summon the examination of the potential architectural works to re-present political issues. By examining the limiting and the enabling of the contextual conditions for the creation of a political relation to the context.

Two symbolic buildings from a determined and vague conflicted context were drawn upon. These examples were introduced and chosen due to their nature as symbolic architectural works for political events that are important to their conflict. In both cases of the Museums' of National struggle in Cyprus and The Jewish Museum in Berlin, the works politically relate to their context and conflict by addressing issues of important past events. Regardless to the fact that they are different in their approaches, spatial organization, scale and size in relation to the conflict, artistic and aesthetical quality and the way they both deal with creating meaningful grounds to politics. The two different symbolic buildings in Cyprus and Berlin relate to their conflicted context in content, representation and meaning, thus instructing on what and how events are be remembered. Their spatial organization and aesthetical architectural quality in that sense are formed to deliver spatial experience whether objectively or subjectively. They are also organized around different attempts to impose sensational and sentimentality. What was essential in symbolic buildings is their relation to the empirical reality (conflict), in terms of past, present and to some extent the future.

Furthermore, the study takes Jerusalem, as a unique case to study conflicts and the architecture plugged to it; which showed that the people in the city are spatially divided although the city is unified. Although such division is not physical in terms of defined borders, it is reflected through their architecture, the architecture of everyday life that expresses the different enclaves, different demographic spread along its terrain, expresses and utilizes architecture to project certain claims. This had been largely discussed and analyzed in the collected twenty cases that represent Background buildings' direct relation to the political conflict in their aesthetical

appearances. In reality such architecture (the context of Jerusalem) is able to put any claims of proclaimed unification, physically, socially and politically under question.

In the same context, new approaches in the city were observed as relating to conflicts in a diverse manner, which opened the ground to discuss such attempts in relation to the conflicted context. As a relation of architecture to politics that is not witnessed or common in conflict areas in general, which attracts people into its physicality and at the same time addresses issues about peace in conflict areas. The MOT-J, the Chyutin Proposal and Calatrava Bridge were discussed in their attributes to architecture's relation to politics throughout discussions of contextual architecture specifically in relation to conflict. It is thus possible to say that such relation to politics is revealed through relating them to the context.

Accordingly, the two example would allow establishing the space to say that the MOT-J both Gehry's and the Chyutin's proposal as well as the Bridge, in their architectural discourse to peace and relation to the political conflict do not provide a common ground where both groups of Jerusalem can realize the reality towards the conflict - except for beautiful images that enforce peace when there is no ground for it in realty. It shows that at the same time, such discourse to peace in architectural terms decontextualizes the conflict within their spaces. Their emptiness, and alien appearance in the case of the museums and the sculptural nature of the bridge that had to be rushed to meet with the 40th unification anniversary, transcend themselves as architectural works in terms of sculptor, economical manifestation and universally recognized icons rather than being an architecture creation and addition to a context which can contribute to the social, cultural and political.

The conflicted context, which is not really realized or considered in such terms, becomes a tool to justify mythical validity to relate architecture to politics, rather than being the motive to fulfil genuine demands. That statement is possible since both Calatrava and Gehry are still producing similar replicas around the globe after their contribution to Jerusalem. At the same time, it is ironic to see that their designs after Jerusalem allow everything that is outside any relative discourse to conflicts become arbitrarily political. Evaluating both the Museum and the Bridge in their aim to contribute to conflicts still hinges the question of how can such works contribute to politics through aiming to change, to justify everyday life's lack of equality, unification and tolerance?

It is interesting to see how the context, that is the tool for architects to receive information about reality and the human values, is not utilized and understood in its full potential. If such architects had looked at previous works like the Tourjeman Post-Museum and questioned why they had failed and disappointed any attempt to relate to their conflicted context, perhaps they might not have made the same mistakes. That is seeing Jerusalem as unified, lack of common symbols for representation that relates to the real context, and therefore reality appears fabricated and reference to it alien in their aesthetics.

In conclusion, it can be said that architecture might not directly reflect political context but attempts to bring in change. Which in itself is not a problem, however, the ignorance of the political context is an essential problem to architectural practice in conflict zones. Political relationship can be read through the context consisting of background buildings. As such, context should be seen larger than and with a

political concern in political conflict zones in order to meaningfully contribute regardless to the appearance it chooses.

This study has defended context and contextual issues as well as its importance in achieving truthful and genuine architecture. My last words, as were my first words, convey the fact that the ultimate responsibility is upon architects, academics, educators and students, where architecture need to be considered as a tool to change and ease people's life rather than icons or objects that satisfy the capital. This thesis has looked at architectural issues from bottom to top, from observation of the everyday lives of people and the truth projected through their architecture, rather than top to bottom, in which authorities usually intend to see architecture as an imposing tool on their people.

The question of iconic/star architecture has been shown throughout the thesis to be a specific problem for physical conflict zones. Such works are simultaneously the most artifactual and least determined as a cultural or social product. Mostly having no actual function at all, other than pointing to their impressive construction and extravagant aesthetics, which puts the arguments in full circle, when architecture tends to be politically engaged, it has to be site specific, explicitly constructed and a creation that grows within a context pledged to the empirical world. Accordingly, architecture can have a double existence –aesthetical and social including the political- that incorporates highly autonomous art, but is spatially specific, and engaged.

For this thesis hopes for peace and a truly unified Jerusalem, it also hopes for architecture that can contribute to peace, an architecture that was once part of a

genuine everyday living experience, a place for people to dwell and a place where architecture can find its place within what already exists. An architecture that serves people rather than serving the authorities, politics, the rich and the strong, an architecture of the people, and architecture of hope. This study hopes to shed on the importance of ethics in the architectural practice, which in the surfacing trends that imitates the works of starchitects, empirical realities are being ignored and the ethics of why and for whom we design is also not engaged. That is since in a politically charged context everything tends to be political and takes on a political form, which allows little place for ethics to appear and take place. Accordingly, architects practicing in a context as such need to be aware of the fact that their architectural works may lack the necessary ethics to contribute symbolically and meaningfully to a reality that is political. As architects, we need to be aware of the fact that criticisms on issues of ethics will surface as the empirical reality is manipulated through political power.

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