

Unified Jerusalem? Architectural reflections on the political conflict in city

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Abstract:

This paper aims to present on contemporary architectural reflections in Jerusalem, where architecture is a result of the accelerating conflict following the reunification of the city in 1967. Both the traditional and contemporary Arabic architecture and Israel's baffled search for a national architecture demonstrate expressions of power around the environs of the old city and suspects a truthful unification. Four different architectural forms, which are seen as reflections of power are explored within this paper, which can be a tool to critique that accounts to the general architectural attempt in the city to relate to the conflict. With the assistance of Theodor W. Adorno, the cases are discussed, analyzed and interpreted under the concept of authenticity and identity thinking. The paper demonstrates that contemporary architecture in Jerusalem, per se, lacks authenticity and, in fact portrays rather political attitudes, which are based on national/state aims that negate the aesthetical/ethical considerations of the city. It also, demonstrates a tendency towards a bias, which tend to reflect power in respect of contemporary Arabic architecture.

Keywords: *Architecture and power, conflict, Jerusalem, Adorno.*

Introduction

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).

The man-made characteristics shaping the old city and its extension reflect the different cultural influences throughout the city's history. The

architectural characteristics can be traced back to the time of the Roman Empire, the Byzantines, the Umayyad, the Crusaders, the Ayubbid, the Mameluks, the Ottomans, the British and the later change in the demographic picture as a consequence of the Arab/ Israeli conflict (Kroyanker, et al. 1993). Like most Mediterranean Arabic cities, Jerusalem shares similar architectural trends, including building with the white stone as a cladding material, oriental architectural elements and style to articulate the surfaces and the spaces, like defining entrances and opening with arches, decorated columns and the divisions of the interiors according to religious and traditional norms. Today on the Arabic part, the architecture of the city follows the traditional and the oriental trend, yet by implementing contemporary building and construction techniques. At the same time, buildings still appear to be dispersed along the topography without changing the original landscape of the city.

The conflict in Jerusalem dates back to the year 1948 where the city was divided into an East-Arabic and West-Israel, with a buffer zone of barbed wire and army posts. It was not until 1967, that the unification of Jerusalem took place after a war between Israel and the Jordanians, and became an Israeli ruled and unified city. This development consequently raised the issues of: i) the dual ethnicity of the citizens (Arabs of both Muslims and Christians and Jewish / Israeli denominations) ii) the spatial division issues (theirs/ours), iii) the destruction of identity and unequal living conditions. The complexity of the division between the two ethnicities is demonstrated in an architectural reflection of images that tend to shape the face of the city whilst also engaging architecture as an instrument of exorcism plugged into the power that tends to form it. Per se, employing the multiplicity of both the state/individuals' participation in architecture forms part of the inquiry necessary for and requisite to the unfolding of the conflict and also provides or provokes the impulse of the architectural commentary, so to speak.

In order to examine and identify the architectural reflections of the conflict in Jerusalem, the author during a visit to the city, relied 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. See Figure 1. Patent evidence of extreme architectural examples revealed

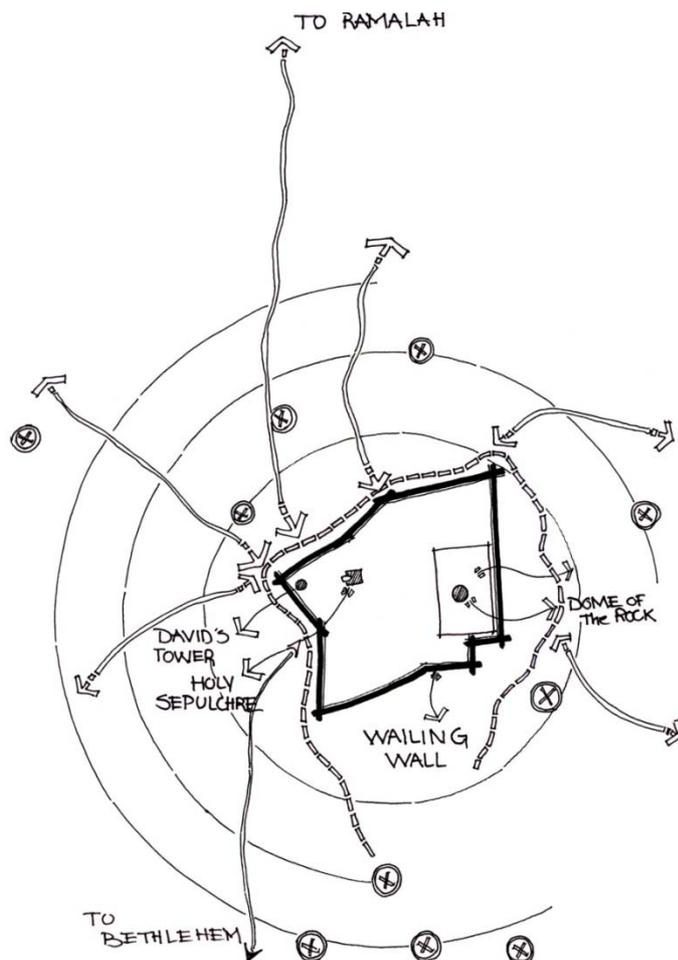


Figure 1. An amended map of Jerusalem indicating the approximate location of the buildings discussed within this paper.

their self-reflecting images as those dominant structures, which were incorporated and engaged within the trajectory of the conflict. 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 the author's own perception of that relation. The keywords utilized for such selection were fortress appearances, defensive or offensive appearances, panoptic, settlements in the negative meaning of the word- as an annex more than a natural human action to settle in a place, direct symbols like flags, or any aesthetical attempt that is uncommon (for political purposes) within the building trend in Jerusalem, were utilized to read the urban space.

These architectural interventions in the Israeli and/or the Palestinian scenery were recorded and later grouped in accordance with their similarity to and correspondence with the interpretations that will be discussed in this paper in terms of the expression of power in four different categories. The contemporary cases selected vary between residential and communal/ commercial buildings. Secular/ historical architectural works were, however, avoided. The selected cases for the purpose of discussing the architectural reflection to power do not stand as a general representation of the building trend of the city.

The four architectural reflections discussed within the paper are as follows:

1. The Defence Tower Model
2. Israeli Expression of Power
3. Arabic Expression of Power
4. Ignorance of the Conflict

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 and the ignorance of the conflict represent 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.

Such affiliation between art (architecture), power, image and society indicates that recounting Adorno's truth is relevant to the matter in hand.

Adorno, as one of the main figures of the Frankfurt School and as a thinker, addresses the issues of how the enlightenment and its ideas of liberation, reason and progress still continue to produce acts of inhumanity, manipulation and repression such as the holocaust. Therefore, the discussion that the paper appeals to Adorno's thoughts is akin to Art that is more than a mere reflection of the reality (that of social and economical) but as an actual reality aiming for the truth by revealing the reification of modern society. According to Adorno, art becomes critical by negating beauty in favour of truth, by responding to the social reality. As a result, art only emerges as autonomous when it refuses to be an instrument used to wield power, whilst simultaneously acquiring a political role (Heynen, 1992). It is impossible, to represent Adorno's work in one text, therefore, this paper will only refer to and elucidate on Adorno's philosophy relating to autonomous art, identity-thinking, rationality and the authenticity of the work of art (including architecture), it will not, however, offer any further discussion. By

illustrating such reflections, the paper will offer a critical account of the ethics of Jerusalem's architecture in the light of the conflict using the contemporary works of both the Israelis and the Arabs.

1. The first reflection: The Defence tower

Within the Eastern/ Arabic part of the city, the two cases seen in Figure 2 and Figure 3 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 2 is located within the Mount of Olive neighbourhood to the southeast of the old city, originally owned by an Arabic family and currently inhabited by the only Israeli residents within the area¹. The visible Arabic traces are the first three (conventional cladding) stone floors, the last one being a later addition. The two most recently added floors and the roof garden were built by the building's new Israeli residents and are covered with a red timber profile and a red tiled pitched roof. The timber, which is not a commonly used material in Jerusalem, emphasizes on 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 a raised roof garden (for safety measure) and the presence of the raised Israeli flag, portray an image of a defence tower along the windows that are protected by several metal bars.



Figure 2. The Israeli inhabited building block within the Arabic neighbourhood of Mount of Olives.



Figure 3. The elevated Israeli building block on Ras el Amoood hilltop.

The building is a reminder of what Rotbard sees in both Israeli architecture and architecture in general as not: 'at all an innocent activity'. Seeing 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, 2003:42). In the same

way, the Israeli residents of the Mount of Olives are not only infused with the rhetoric implication of the conflict, but they, at the same time appear as prisoners' in/of their own building. This in itself makes the building rather appear more of a military architecture and therefore as a defense tower amongst the rest of the residential neighborhood surrounding it.

At the same time, another building similar in its prototype appears as a 'machine of invasion' (Rotbard, 2003:47) as depicted in Figure 3, which shows a building block within the Ras el Amood neighbourhood, built as defensive architecture to house residential Israeli apartments as a protection against the possibility of Arabic attacks. Resting as it does 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. With small drab openings covered with metal shutters. 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. Nevertheless, the building offers an image of a military, fortified, wall-like seclusion within the Arabic-Israeli conflict arena.

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, 2007:5-10). Adorno calls non-identity as thinking, hence, 'negative dialectics is thus tied to the supreme categories of identitarian philosophy as its point of departure' (Adorno, 1994:147).

The two buildings strongly contradict with what Adorno recognized in art (including architecture). His emphasis on the way to experience truth is only through art, as it is the only refuge against the existing system -the non-identical. Throughout his 'atonal philosophy' Adorno seeks what concerns modernism with actual/concrete phenomenon; to him art (contemporary art) is critical in the process and its potential autonomous criticism of the society in where it hinges its theme/reference against (Adorno, 1997). Art is not critical by copying the political; rather art is political by the potential of politics within art: 'the form of art have implications that extends to politics' (Adorno, 1997:255).

Even tranquil works discharge not so much pent-up emotions of their makers as the works' own inwardly antagonistic forces. The result of these forces is bound up with the impossibility of bringing these forces to any equilibrium; their antinomies, like those of knowledge, are unsolvable in the unreconciled world. The instant in which these forces become image, the instant in which what is interior becomes exterior, the outer husk is exploded; their apparition, which makes them an image, at the same time destroys them as image (Adorno, 1977:84-5).

Thus when in Jerusalem the dialectical nature of the culture to achieve an antagonistic language of truth, through architecture, with the conflict, creates only extreme situations – totalitarian, meaning that the reification of the individual and the society contributes to attitudes that renders architecture as barbaric:

The more total society becomes the greater the reification of the mind and the more paradoxical its effort to escape reification on its own ... Cultural criticism finds itself faced with the final stage of the dialectic of culture and barbarism (Adorno, 1995, p. 34).

Authentic art (including architecture) is understood as an art critical to society (Adorno, 1997). However, in respect of the issue of architectural reflection, is debatable as it strives to form a corrupted/distracted reflection of the conflict, hence, it serves the conflict with its physicality, since architecture negates its critical aim by copying, in its form, the material of the conflict, which feeds it with repression and exploitation. On the other hand, the intention of art to achieve the same antagonistic language with 'truthful thoughts' can only be presented by art through a medium of a dialectical nature. In Jerusalem the peaceful dialectical conflict between opposing concepts, nevertheless, 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 (Adorno, 1993). Within the architectural examples examined, the reification between society and individuals attains an end to the dialectical conflict between art and society imposed by the authorities (Hürol, 2008).

Or as Leach (1999:116) states architecture: 'undermines its capacity to be subversive' by maintaining the status quo with its physicality. Therefore, does architecture becomes non-authentic throughout its' disclose to the existing status quo in which it should originally negate to attain its criticality in Jerusalem? Or does the opposite of authenticity happen to be barbaric within such cases?

2. The second reflection: Israeli expression of power

On even a brief visit to Jerusalem one cannot avoid encountering many of the contemporary buildings whether commercial/communal or mostly residential which are scattered around the old city and the hilltops². 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 characteristic 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 buildings vary in height (between four and twelve floors) – the vertical surfaces of the prototype/modular appearance of the building 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 as compared to the Palestinian neighborhoods. 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, principally, it seems, for the purposes of observing the nearby Arabic neighbourhoods and their attacks. This is particularly the case in the eastern part of the city.

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 to 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 white stone, and which have been mechanically carved to give the appearance of 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 that tend to view buildings in Jerusalem as a single whole or body as opposed to distinguishing between individual buildings as single and particular entities. Justified as the uniform use of stone diminishes the distinction between individual buildings, as the ensemble is what matters in appearance. As a result, buildings in modern technology necessitate the utilization of stone in adequate solutions in manners that are totally new and different.



Figure 4. On the left above: The Hotel Novotell – east Jerusalem. On the right above: An Israeli mass housing complex around the Telpiot region, south-west Jerusalem. On the left below: Another Israeli mass housing complex around the Telpiot region, south-west Jerusalem. On the right below: Jerusalem's Municipality building.

This industrial construction, argues Nitzan-Shiftan (2002) that defined the built environment after the unification of Jerusalem, aimed to convert 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 adapting the international style and converting and merging it with the local style by negating the orient (the Arab architecture that was already there). Although, some attempt has been made towards achieving this, this modernized architecture fails to express the local spiritual value, 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 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 an 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, 2005:10). 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 the world of things about him, even in his most secret interventions' (Adorno, 1996:40).

For a thinker and a philosopher like Adorno, only critical rationality can conceivably inform art (including architecture) with autonomy. Mimesis, which is seen by Adorno as the autonomous/ utopist potential of art to imitate itself, refuses the reproduction of a false imitation of reality. Yet, the possibilities of a better realm lie within provision of the concept of 'autonomimesis' (Zuidervaart & Huhn, 1998:696-7). It is the critical potential in art; it is autonomous when it is not based on instrumental knowledge, identity-thinking, or approaching its representation theme without the dependency on an image resemblance of the world (Huyssen 1975; Hohendahl 1981, Heynen 1992, Murray 2005). However, it does not represent, imitate or reproduce reality:

The task of aesthetics ...it is spirit itself in its omnipresence and not the intention of the enigma. For in that it negates the spirit that dominates nature, the spirit of artworks does not appear as spirit. It ignites on what is opposed to it, on materiality (Adorno 1997:118- 9).

On that basis art yield to the modern reality of inhumanity whilst negating beautiful representation (Heynen, 1992:83). 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' in order to provoke identity thinking. According to Adorno, rationality is an intention of objectivity and logic:

The rationality of artworks has as its aim opposition to empirical existence. The rational shaping of artworks effectively means their rigorous elaboration in themselves. As a result they come into contrast with the world of the nature-dominating ratio, in which the aesthetic ration originates, and become a work for themselves. The opposition of artworks to domination is mimesis of domination ... Even the immanently polemical attitude of artworks against the status quo internalizes the principle that underlines the status quo, and that reduces it to the status of what merely exists (Adorno, 1997:289).

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 objectionable imitation of the stone 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 5).

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, leads to the disappearance of individuals and the dialectical conflict increases as a result of these subjective approaches. Conforming to Adorno's statement Unity is division:

It is not just unity within diversity, but as an attitude to reality it is imposed, a unity over something – and thus, as a matter of pure form, it is antagonistic in itself (Adorno, 2007a: 317).



Figure 5. An Arabic neighbourhood in Ras el Amod, east Jerusalem.

3. The third reflection: Arabic reflection of power

If unity is traced in the Israeli architecture, then when the city is viewed on a larger scale, the vast differences between both ethnicities are instantly exposed. This inconsistently 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 no examples of mass-produced complexes on the Arabic side similar to the Israeli settlements especially for housing, some cases can be seen within the rural areas outside the city in the direction of Ramalah. The reasons for this vary: firstly, Israel's non-provision of building permits for such projects, forces citizens to avoid such building approaches³. Secondly, the lack of investors and technologies to support such actions. 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 to the south-east overlooking the old city, in respect of the Arabic population there (figure 6).

The building is constructed in the 'modern style' throughout; 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 dispersed individual Arabic buildings.

The case in hand is ambiguous. However, by inducing its critical reflection it inscribes on transpires between 'a do-not-let-yourself -be-understood and a wanting-to-be-understood; this tension is the atmosphere inhabited by art' (Adorno, 1997:302). Or 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).

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



Figure 6. The new Arabic mass-housing tendency.

this uncommon case a statement of a progressive attempt to change, 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 to such question, 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, when Gupta and Ferguson (1992) see Said's post-structural Foucauldian reflection as the West being dependent on the orient for its own identification. The Arabic buildings on the contrary tend to construct new characteristics in the presence of the other; it unites differences and consequently it undoes the other.

Thus returning to Adorno, 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. The fourth reflection: Ignorance of the conflict

The paradox of the relation between the following structure and the conflict is realized by covering up contradictions. The newly introduced Bridge of Strings, designed by the Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava as Jerusalem's new gate following the 40th anniversary celebration of the city's reunification⁴, is built to carry the railway of the unfinished metro (Figure 7). The suspending bridge with its cables that are visible from any point around the city, is seen as surplus to the city's requirement.



Figure 7. *The bridge of Strings, Jerusalem.*

It could be argued that the tendency is to be skeptical about the conflict and away of reflecting the truth of the matter-that living in Jerusalem is not as peaceful and free as it is made out to be. The bridge stands out with the conflict and constitutes contradictory moments; it only points out to the ignorance of the other existing group living under exclusion. An Arab resident of Jerusalem made the following statements about the bridge during an interview with the author: '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). Adorno's (1997) emphasis that artworks through the nature of their social determination, ought to be critical with regard to contradictions present, which are illustrated, in this instance, with irony. The out of the social context bridge is seen as an allegory to the ignorance of the anguished Arabs. On account of the fact that the concept of East vs. West is still legitimate and such rupture and division is captured and revealed through scenes of unequal living conditions between the two sides. Consequently the artistic approach of the bridge that ignores the condition of the Arabs is a one sided dogma: 'Its locus is precisely there where the work frees itself from being simply a product of subjectivity' (Adorno, 1997: 142). To Adorno this shows once more that, authentic art, which is the dialectic between the individual and the society, is transformed into artistic fetishism, as it indicates an end of objectivity in art:

No direct relation exists between social need and aesthetic quality, not even in the sphere of so-called functional art... The quality of artworks can be meaningfully brought into relation with social need only when mediated by a theory of society as a whole, not on the basis of what a people need at any given time, which can for that reason be all the more easily imposed on them (Adorno 1997: 315).

With regard to Adorno's statement, Kallus (2004) according to a report from one of the residents of the Gilo quarter⁵, an Israeli fortress of private dwellings with protective measures of remarkably bulletproof glass windows and an encircling protective wall, to the south-west of Jerusalem, that: 'relatives and friends call and ask after our wellbeing, as if we were living in the occupied territories- but, for God's sake, I am living in Jerusalem' (Kallus, 2004: 341). This shows again that these types of power and sovereignty messages, which are given through architecture, are also taken and accepted by sovereign people.

How then, to categorize the alien bridge? Alien as it ignores the conflict or authentic because it represents freedom? What is really the line between being alien and authentic in respect of this particular case?

Conclusion

The paper unveiled several different architectural reflections of power in Jerusalem, which although they do not present the majority of the building character in the city, nevertheless they disclose the overall attitudes of the building approach/manner by both Arabs and Israelis in the city. Interpreted in this way, the buildings discussed are particular cases within a particular context; it is not possible to compare and contrast the similarities and the differences between the four categories: 'Culture is refuse, yet art –one of its sectors – is nevertheless serious as the appearance of truth' (Adorno, 1997: 310).

The four diverse architectural attitudes in Jerusalem and in respect of Adorno's thoughts indicates on different reflections in relation to authentic architecture and the conflict by questioning:

1. Does architecture become non-authentic throughout its' disclose to the existing status quo in which it should originally negate to attain its criticality in Jerusalem? Or does the opposite of authenticity happen to be barbaric within such cases?

2. If the Arabic mass-production 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?
3. How then, to categorize the alien bridge? Alien as it ignores the conflict or authentic because it represents freedom? What is really the line between being alien and authentic in respect of this particular case?

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, and the relation of architecture to power which is instrumental in the sense that it serves the conflict in an obvious and direct manner and projects messages about people's opinion about the status quo.

It is at the same time revealing that with such techniques and crossing of the technological and instrumental gap between both parts as in the Arabic case, the terrains of Jerusalem in terms of its architecture is changing into a more modern city, where the local and the traditional significance is fading away. This on its part might reveal political tendencies that were once thought to be invisible through Israeli's modern architecture 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, 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.

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 can be observed. Such realities convey, shape and transform the built environment to realize and nurture the sense of belongings through neighbourhoods that are socialized with political nationality.

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. And 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, and 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 Jerusalem in 1967 did not mean the end of divided Jerusalem. 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 to be ordered and repeated within the built environment, reveals an abstract myth of a unified city. The modern appearance of the city does not mean that the civic values and rights are set to all its inhabitants equally.

This paper has presented several cases, however, within the milieu of questioning it may still ask if any instances of authentic architecture can exist within a city such as this? Yet, in the face of such despair, the truth desires to emerge, however inadequate that may appear to be. With reference to his famous dictum: 'To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric' (Adorno, 1995: 34), I would be inclined to ask Adorno after 40 years of his death, if authentic architecture is possible in Jerusalem anymore?

Notes

¹ *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).*

² *Mostly diffused in the east part of the city as an indicator of the continuous illegal annexation of land. While Israel increases its presence in the east, it declares sovereignty over the entirety of Jerusalem through settlements. The International community does not recognize that, however, in reply to that, Israel denied that these measures constitute annexation. Yet, declaring Jerusalem as complete and united, as the capital of Israel.*

³ *Such advanced technologies are not used by the Arabs, who can only build individually. In East Jerusalem, they are not allowed to build on their own land in where the laws about this issue change continuously. As such, people initiate building first and then apply for building permits retrospectively. These applications are mostly declined resulting in the compulsory demolishing of the buildings. Therefore, the limited availability of houses and the general expansion limitation, force many Arabic inhabitants to live together in large family groups. Sometimes the number of inhabitants corresponding to one room reaches three or four people (Kaminker 1997).*

⁴ *The inauguration of the bridge is seen as an important event to the city at least on the Israeli side, however, the Arabic inhabitants knew almost nothing of the reason it was erected for. The announcement that preceded the inauguration went 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. (n.d. 2008).

⁵ Gilo, one of Israel biggest suburban settlement in the east, is located to the south of Beit Jalla and to the north of Beit Tzafafa. Its in-between location amongst two Palestinian towns makes it distinct on the geo-political situation. The latest intifada had shown the hardship of the daily life threatened with continuous threat. It was set on fire in 2000, which led to its fortification through the construction of walls on the streets facing the town of Beit Jalla. For more details see Kallus (2004).

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