ARCHITECTURE THROUGH CONFLICT

How architects have redefined their profession while working in areas of conflict.

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Architects are being restricted in exercising their profession in East Jerusalem. This is mainly the result of the Israeli-Palestine conflict which has left its mark on the built environment of the city. This study aims to determine how architects have worked within the restrictions present in East Jerusalem. Specifically, it investigates how architects have redefined their profession and went outside of the traditional boundaries in exercising their profession.

To answer the question of how architects practise their profession in area of conflict, a research has been conducted into the roles of various Israeli and Palestinian architects. The research focussed on both their public standpoints regarding the conflict and their impact on the built environment of East Jerusalem. The result of the research has showed that architects have created new roles for themselves in which their are able to use their architectural traits to influence the design of the city by different means. They use their connection to the conflict as instigators in their fight to, once again, play an important role in shaping the city. Furthermore architects have expressed their architectural ideas through other forms that the traditional physical means.

These results suggest that the architectural profession has the potential to influence much more than just the built environment. By exercising their profession in combination with other disciplines the architect is able to create architectural work that goes beyond the building or even the city. Their newly created roles have the ability to redirect the future course of the conflict, by forming public debate and removing restrictions for future architects. Their connections to other disciplines and broad use of expressing their work has turned them from single instances into architectural typologies. They can be seen as a proposition for future architects working within East Jerusalem.

ABSTRACT

Architects are being restricted in exercising their profession in East Jerusalem. This is mainly the result of the Israeli-Palestine conflict which has left its mark on the built environment of the city. This study aims to determine how architects have worked within the restrictions present in East Jerusalem. Specifically, it investigates how architects have redefined their profession and went outside of the traditional boundaries in exercising their profession.

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From the smallest housing projects to national monuments architecture has always defined the human world, but the ever reoccurring conflicts as wars and political violence have created restrictions to the work of architects. New architects have emerged from these conflicts that turn down national pride and place people before icons. They have been redefining their profession to the ongoing conflicts and use the tools of their trait to impact their surroundings and change the course of the conflict.

Architect and professor in humanitarian architecture Esther charlesworth has described these new architectural roles that are formed by limitations of conflicts as archetypes. They depict various ways in which future architects might position themselves and change their ways of exercising architecture. However these archetypes are not just propositions of architectural roles, but in time became also descriptions of architects that have redefined the architectural profession.

One of those places that forces architects to take a new approach to architectural problems is East Jerusalem. The city of Jerusalem has been the stage of the ongoing conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians. The conflict started after the creation of the Israeli state in 1948 and the following Arab-Israeli War. This caused the separation of the previous British Palestine Mandate and created division between the Israelis and Palestinians. After the Six-Day War of 1967 Israel occupied the Palestinian territories and became responsible for governing them. Till today the government of Israel continues to build walls, checkpoints and Israeli neighbourhoods in Palestinian territories as East Jerusalem.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has left its mark on both architecture and the architectural profession. Architectural historian Alona Nitzan-Shiftan has described the architecture in Jerusalem as an unilateral unification. She argues that architecture has been used a tool that serves the Israeli state in turning East Jerusalem from a ancient Jordanian city into a modernist Israeli town. Yet many younger generation Israeli architects have left the Zionist ways of thinking and wanted to create a national identity inspired by the Palestinian vernacular. As their quest for an “architecture of the place” began so did the fight of Palestinian architects for the preservation of their culture and heritage.

The aim of this thesis is to provide insight on exercising the profession of architect when working in an area of conflict. Furthermore new roles of architects will be explored that have emerged from suppressing nature of the conflict. This thesis will focus on East Jerusalem as the area of conflict in a time period from 1967 till 2020. The main research question is: How do architects practice their profession in East Jerusalem when they are not able to work in their traditional ways?

In order to find out how architectural roles have changed in East Jerusalem the role of architects Eyal Weizman, Khouloud Daibes, Nadia Habash, Sandi Hilal, Senan Abdelqader and Suad Amiry have been analysed. These architects have been chosen because they have worked in ways to impact the built environment of East Jerusalem in other ways than the traditional architectural profession. This study has been done by analysing their architectural ideals and standpoints through primary sources as interviews, video recordings of lectures and literature created by the architects themselves. These roles have been cross referenced with the archetypes described by Esther Charlesworth to created a new set of archetypes. Furthermore the work of the architects has been analysed, through primary sources as interviews and secondary sources as articles and books, to find new forms of architectural expressions that are a result of the restrictions of the conflict in East Jerusalem.

This thesis consist out of 5 chapters. The first chapter will discuss the theoretical background regarding the work of Esther Charlesworth’s archetypes and other literature regarding the position of an architect. The second chapter will give an overview of East Jerusalem as a place of practicing architecture and the limitations caused by the ongoing conflict. In the third chapter a study is done of the archetypes that have emerged from East Jerusalem. The fourth chapter will further investigate their means of expression these different archetypes have used in their new roles. The final chapter will give a conclusion on the redefined profession of architects in East Jerusalem.
Even though many aspects that restrict architects in their work are regulations and policies that find their origin in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it must be noted that religion can also act as a restriction to the profession of an architect. Of course religion is an important part in the division of the two groups fighting over Jerusalem, however it also forms a key part of the East Jerusalem built environment. The western wall, as seen in the image on this page, located in the Old City in East Jerusalem is one of the most sacred places for Israelis. It was only after the Six Day war of 1967 that Israelis got access to the site since the creation of the state of Israel. The Old City was the first part of East Jerusalem that was occupied by the Israelis and lays currently in the centre of newly built Israeli neighbourhoods.
The changing roles of architects that are caused by events and restrictions, including conflicts, has been a recurring phenomenon since the earliest descriptions of the profession. Architect and professor Esther Charlesworth has used her studies on cities of past conflicts to not only analyse these roles, but to create new roles architects might position themselves in the future. This chapter will discuss her work regarding the role of the architect and these new typologies. Furthermore this chapter will investigate other literature about the expansion of the architectural profession outside of its traditional borders.

ROLE OF THE ARCHITECT

In her book *Architects without Frontiers* Charlesworth studied the cities of Beirut, Nicosia and Mostar, which all have seen conflicts and divisions through barriers and walls, to understand the changing role of the architect. To create an image of prosperity and national pride, governments are more willing to fund large (re)construction programs and therefore, Charlesworth argues, these past conflicts offer a great opportunity for architects to have more influence on the city. By expanding the profession of the architect beyond its traditional borders architects will be less restricted by conflicts and will be able to exercise their profession more freely.¹

ARCHETYPES

To help shape these roles of less restricted architects Charlesworth created a framework of propositions for these new types of architects, the so called ‘archetypes’. These types depict new roles, from pathologists, historicists to heroes, which focus on different aspects in reshaping the city. Charlesworth proposes these roles as ways for architects to work on the social, economic and physical recreation of cities while taking into account the limits of architecture to determine social behaviour.

The archetypes can be seen as a guide for architects to understand how their design capacities can be used when restricted in their traditional way of working. Architects in the role of pathologists are able to use their skills of analysing to diagnose the city and create a plan for its recovery. In the role of historicists the architect would be able to use physical recovery processes, by focussing on monuments and reconstructions, to improve cultural values. The architect as a hero, originating form the term star architect, would push architects to use their status within the profession to dictate the public discourse in how to rebuild the city. These roles, mentioned here and the others described by Charlesworth, are not just applicable to cities of post conflict, but also offer an ability for architects working from within current conflicts.

BUILDING AN ARCHITECT

The changing role of the architect is not something limited to the 21st century, in his book Occupying architecture, Jonathan Hill already gave a description of the flexibility of the profession. According to Hill the architectural profession is not a coherent discipline with set rules and boundaries, but rather a very broad profession that is merged within many parts of everyday life. This lack of guidelines has given architects the ability to detach their work from its physical forms. This way architecture becomes more than just a building and architects become more than just designers, by being able to impact other disciplines.

The important role architects can have and the broad operating range of the profession is something that dates back to the birth of the profession itself. Architectural theorist and professor Mark Cousins argues that in his work De architectura Vitruvius already showed the almost unlimited range of the architectural profession. Vitruvius describes in his works the importance for architects to learn about other knowledges as music, astronomy and medicine and their importance to the architectural profession. In many ways the profession of architect can be seen as just a collection of knowledge of many other disciplines.

In her book Architecture and the Paradox of Dissidence Ines Weizman claims that changing your role as architect requires a dissident action. A change of role cannot occur within the current mindset of the architectural profession and thus architects need to rethink their role within the shaping of a city. Weizman also states that this will only be possible if architects fight the current restrictions laid upon exercising their profession.

CONCLUSION

The work of architects has changed overtime from a wide ranging profession to a more limited role. This is partly because of restrictions that are present from events as conflicts. By fighting these restrictions and stepping outside of their discipline architects have the opportunity to have a larger impact on shaping the city. The archetypes, as presented by Esther Charlesworth, offer an example of how to do this by having architects taken on new roles that use the traits of their profession in different ways. However, these archetypes do not form the only example of this, in the past architects already understood that the knowledge of other disciplines could help them in exercising their profession.

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One of the factors that makes East Jerusalem and its surroundings a difficult and complex place for architects to exercise their profession are the many intertwining areas each with different purposes and regulations. These territories come in the form of Israeli and Palestinian neighbourhoods and settlements that create enclaves surrounded by walls and checkpoints. The image shows an Israeli highway that cuts through the Palestinian areas near the Israeli settlement of Gilo located south of East Jerusalem. The highway cuts through the landscape as a tactical device that both connects Israeli settlements as cuts off Palestinian territories.
ARCHITECTURE THROUGH CONFLICT

2 / HOLY CITY OF CONFLICT

There is no city where the division of culture, religion and ethnicity is so clearly visible as Jerusalem. From illegal Palestinian housing to the apartheid wall, the conflict in East Jerusalem cannot be seen separate of the architecture in the city. This also means that architects, or at least the profession of architect, has become a key role in the separation of Israelis and Palestinians. This chapter will discuss the connection between architecture, the built environment and the conflict within the city of Jerusalem. It will tell the story of architects on both sides of the conflict and how the conflict has effected them in exercising their profession.

THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

As an architect you can read politics in the most mundane architectural elements. From trees, houses, terraces to façades and roof cladding. All of these elements serve as tactical tools that are used on both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Israeli government and Palestinian rebels have reinvented the built environment as a tool of slow violence by creating a landscape that maintains the separation of the people through walls and checkpoints. Moreover this landscape is designed to create such a bare living conditions for the other party that they would be forced to move and give up their rights of the area.

STATE POLICY

The frontier of the conflict does not exists of a single border, but consists out of clusters of border devices. This area of borders and neighbourhoods in and around East Jerusalem is also known as the living wall. Rachel Kallus describes this area as a defensive line that is formed by Israeli houses. Furthermore the daily lives that these houses host create an extension of Israeli national territory.1 These houses and neighbourhoods have been designed to give its inhabitants the feeling of being in the old city while in reality they are far away and excluded enclaves. This is done by aesthetic and tectonic manipulations that are a direct result of the influence and involvement of the state. These state mandates go as far as to subordinate aesthetics to military strategies. For example the use of red roof tiles that allow military planes to distinguish friendly from enemy houses. Architecture is no longer a reflection of the people but of state policies and national pride.

ARCHITECTURE

The city of Jerusalem has a long past of different cultures, from the time of the Roman Empire till the current Israeli and Arab influences, which are all present in its architectural characteristics. These man made characteristics not only shape the city, but also show in a way the dominance of the current ruler over the city. It also resulted in the use of many architectural trends, similar to those of other Arab cities around the Mediterranean, as oriental architectural elements, arches and decorated columns. Most Arabic parts of East Jerusalem still show a wide use of these traditional styles often implemented into contemporary buildings. Yet in the Israeli areas there is often a search for a new and more modern style of architecture, one more similar to the west.

The Israeli-Palestine conflict has given these different architectural styles an extra notion of culture and history which gives them an ever greater value past their physical form. This has created an extra hurdle for architects working in the city since more pressure is placed upon them for working within certain architectural styles. This has eventually led to many architects, either by choice or force, to practice their profession in different ways to still be able to influence the shaping of their city.

ISRAELI ARCHITECTS

Eyal Weizman is one of the architects that has changed his way of practising architecture due to the conflict in East Jerusalem. He has chosen not to be part of the weaponized architecture as he calls it, but use different means to impact and change the built environment. His choice not to follow the state mandates has led him to be restricted in exercising his profession by being less likely to work on projects in the city and continues rejections to his proposals.

As a sabra (Israeli-born) architect Weizman is part of a generation of architects that have different architectural visions than the Zionist architects that were active in the Palestinian mandate. They want to move away from the international and modern architecture and focus on an integration of culture and history. Yet this sense of belonging they sought to create came with a form of national pride that in the eyes of many Palestinians was an even further suppression of their culture and history. This has left many Israeli architects with an inner conflict in which they are searching for national icons that are able to coexist with its Arab neighbour.

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PALESTINIAN ARCHITECTS

The restrictions and policies from the Israeli state have led to many, mostly Palestinian, architects that have not been able to perform their profession in the traditional ways. They are often not allowed to work within Israeli territories and report that, even when they follow the Israeli building procedures, they are thwarted by long waiting times and postponements. Nonetheless many Palestinian architects still go through this obstacle course, because it is often the only way of working and impacting the built environment.

Senan Abdelqader is one of these Palestinian architects that has been restricted in practising his profession by laws and legislations. Even with an Israeli passport he was not excluded from the discrimination towards Palestinians. He worked for many years in Jerusalem but eventually came to the realisation that staying in the city would be commercial suicide. In 2015 he moved his architectural firm from Beit Safafa Jerusalem to the city of Jaffa near Tel Aviv.⁵

Another Palestinian architect that experienced the restrictions of state policies that originated from the conflict is Nadia Habash. After being marked by the Israeli government as a negative influence on the public opinion she received a 29 year travel ban that restricted her from leaving Palestine. She continued her work as an architect as best she could with these restrictions and was still able to work on an international collaboration with renowned architect Peter Zumthor.⁶

CONCLUSION

As the built environment became a key aspect of the conflict and its violence and destruction so did the profession of architect. Israeli state policies have created restrictions to their work and turned them into instruments of the establishment, but on both sides of the conflict architects are rethinking their position within this context. They refuse to be part of its violence and have shown that they will continue to work even when it becomes harder for them to exercise their profession. If architectural elements can be used as tactical tools that serve military purposes they would also be the key to solve the conflict. It has become the duty of the architects in East Jerusalem to place people before icons.

“I would have loved to practise my architecture free of the constrains and violence of this conflict, but I think that to be an architect is not just to build and to contribute to the destruction of this place that I love most, but to use architecture as a way to both interoperate protest and resist.”

– Eyal Weizman
As an Israeli architect Eyal Weizman has had an advantage over other architects to work in Israel and surrounding areas, however this does not mean his work as an architect is not negatively affected by the restrictions that originate from the conflict. The image on this page depicts Weizman as he talks to an Israeli border guard that resides in the tube guard tower. Weizman asked if he was able to get closer to be able to film a project he worked on near the tower, however as can be expected he is not permitted to get any closer and is unable to take a look at the project he once worked on.
From the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the restrictions present in East Jerusalem new types of architects can be distinguished that have changed the way of exercising their profession. In this chapter these roles will be made explicit by identifying their origins, ideals and the work they have produced.

ARCHITECTS AS REBELS

On both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict groups of hard-liners can be recognized by their outspoken opinions of nationalism and unwillingness to share “their” land with the other group and naturally these positions can also be found within the architectural world. Sandi Hilal could be described as one of these hard-liners that fights the Israelisation of Jerusalem and Palestinian territories through her architecture. Hilal is born in a Palestinian town east of Bethlehem and has been a witness to the suppression of Palestinian rights and large amounts of refugees caused by the conflict. This has been the driving force in her architectural career.

In 2007 Hilal, together with fellow architects Alessandro Petti and Eyal Weizman, founded DAAR (Decolonizing Architecture Art Residency) as a combination of an architectural firm and art residency. Instead of using architecture to give technical solutions for political problems, as seen in East Jerusalem, Hilal wants architecture to remain something that poses and materializes questions. Together with other architects, urbanists, artists and film-makers DAAR, led by Hilal, forms a rebellion that questions the status quo and demands for a revision of the design and use of the built environment. Her rebellious character and hard statements about the conflict might be best reflected in the book Architecture after Revolution which can be described as a manifesto of DAAR. In the book Hilal uses her architectural traits to tell the story of Palestinians and their struggles for equality and justice through a series of analytical drawings.

Although her work towards equality, better living conditions and calls to actions have made Sandi Hilal into something of a rebel leader, this positions has also been the biggest burden on her work as an architect. Her rebellious standpoints have made it impossible for her to work on actual physical architectural projects, because the Israeli government will not allow such a hard stand against their regime. Her role as rebel has given her a large audience, but left her architectural work as a piece of debate rather than an actual change of the built environment.

ARCHITECTS AS POLITICIANS

After the long rebellions and several uprisings against the Israeli occupation many Palestinians came to the conclusion that the only possibility for a free Palestinian state is by living in peace with its Israeli neighbors. These standpoints have resulted in the creation of the Palestinian authorities that have been given the rights to govern certain Palestinian territories by the Israeli state.⁴ The Palestinian authorities consist of Palestinians from different backgrounds that both focus on preserving their culture as well as fighting for the rights of their people.

One of these Palestinians that called for peace between the two sides is architect Khouloud Daibes that has worked in different government positions for the Palestinian authorities. Being born in East Jerusalem a few years before the Six-Day war Daibes has witnessed much of the change that happened in the city after its reunification. She left the city to study architecture in Germany and returned to use her architectural traits to focus on the preservation of Palestinian cultural heritage. She soon became the director of the Center for Preserving Cultural Heritage and became a prominent fighter for the rights of Palestinians.⁵ She continued this fight from within the Palestinian authorities where she served as both Minister of Tourism and minister of Women’s Affairs.

Residing in governmental functions have increased Daibes influence over the design of the built environment and the ability to create policies for next generations of architects. She has worked on projects as monument protection in the Gaza Strip to Palestinian housing in East Jerusalem. Her architectural traits can still be recognized in her ways of approaching political problems, by focussing on the importance of the built environment and its influence on everyday life.⁶ In her political role she has met with prominent figures as Sebastian Kurz (Chancellor of Austria) and Dmitri Medvedev (former President of Russia). In 2013 she returned to Germany and till today works there as ambassador of Palestine. In this role she has a limited influence over new Palestine policies, but still sees this new role as a continuation of her fight for the rights of the Palestinian people.⁷

Architects as politicians have the ability to set a certain course for the development of the city by creating regulations and deciding upon the priority of tasks. Although this role offers much potential, the impact architects can have within these areas is something that is debated by many including Meron Benvenisti, who worked as planner and politician in Jerusalem. He had a pessimistic look on the capacity of the architectural profession on impacting the built environment with the ongoing conflict.8

ARCHITECTS AS PRESERVERS

With the reunification of Jerusalem and the growing amount of Israeli neighbourhoods and settlements many Palestinians became scared of losing their own culture. Currently a battle is being fought in East Jerusalem for historic authenticity between its Israeli and Palestinian inhabitants. As many Palestinians have already fled from Israel many more fear that they will lose “their” lands and with it their own past.

Being born in Jordan to refugees form Palestine, Suad Amiry never got to see the land of her parents during her youth. Only after finishing her architectural degree in Beirut she returned to Palestine to find out more about her own ancestry. In this search for her identity she learned about the lives of many Palestinians and their struggle for their own place that is slowly diminishing because of the conflict.9

Seeing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict own hand has instigated Amiry’s fight for preserving the Palestinian culture and history. In 1991 she founded RIWAQ center for architectural preservation which focused on the conservation of buildings. As an architect Amiry worked on many projects in which she restored (partly) demolished buildings within Palestinian areas in East Jerusalem and the West Bank. In 2005 her firm made a switch from single houses to working on entire historic centers. Amiry wants her firm to eventually become a cultural institution that can impact all facets of conservation rather than it staying in its current form as an architectural firm.10

Another architect that is devoted to work on cultural heritage and national identity through architecture is Nadia Habash. Habash founded her own firm as a result of not wanting to join the architectural firms which where all collaborating with the Israeli civil administration. She focusses on the restoration of buildings and preserving architectural heritage by eco-friendly solutions. Habash explains her architecture as a form of resistance towards the Israeli occupation and a way to protect the land of her ancestors.

The architect as a preserver, in this case, of national identity is able to restore cultural and historical values within the built environment. They do not only create designs that respect the historical authenticity of existing buildings but also try to recreate the, in some cases lost, historical character of the city. Both Amiry and Habash have been very successful in their efforts to preserve Palestinian cultural heritage with many projects completed by their firms. They have both be named as one of the 50 most influential architects working in the Middle East.¹¹

ARCHITECTS AS EDUCATORS

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict also has its impact on the educational system in both Israel and Palestine. The Israeli state does not recognize the architectural education from Palestine which has led to many Palestinians architects being taught in other countries as Lebanon and Germany.

Being born as a Palestinian in an Arab city in Israel, Senan Abdelqader has witnessed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from another point of view than many other Arabs. This is probably also the reason Abdelqader has a less hostile look towards Israeli then other Palestinians. He advocates for more respect for people on both sides of the conflict and underlines the importance of understanding each other to be able to resolve the conflict. Being born in Israel also benefited Abdelqader’s work as an architect as it gives him more rights as an architect working in Jerusalem and other parts of Israel.¹²

Senan Abdelqader dislikes the Israelisation of Palestine areas like East Jerusalem, but unlike some other Palestinian architects as Sandi Hilal, he does not believe that going against it in a form of rebellion or activism will accomplish any change. Change should be made from within. As he describes his architecture work when he still follows Israeli regulations because it is the only way to make any change or impact. To further influence the built environment Abdelqader started teaching architecture in Israel in which he not only focusses on themes as aesthetics, but also about the context of the place and its people. By teaching, he tries to impact to future of places as East Jerusalem. As the first Palestinian professor of architecture in Israel he offers his, mainly Israeli, students knowledge about both sides of the conflict that is unaffected by national pride or state mandated policies.¹³


As an educator the architect has the ability to change the course of the design of the built environment by shaping the next generation of architects. Education allows for more than just passing on the traditional architectural traits, it permits the architect to place their students within a certain position towards the conflict. Abdelqader has been able to influence the conflict by giving his students a better understanding of its context. His teachings contribute to the formation of a new type of architect that will take a different approach towards working in East Jerusalem as their predecessors.

ARCHITECTS AS FORENSIC SCIENTISTS

The profession of architects has often been seen by many architects as a neutral factor within the design of a city, but as architecture is such an important part of the conflict in East Jerusalem the question can be asked if this is truly the case. This is a question asked by many involved with the conflict including architect Eyal Weizman who blames the designers of the weaponized landscape as much as the ones mandating it.14

Weizman has a hard standpoint against these, as he calls it, crimes committed on the drawing board which are probably a result of him being within the epicenter of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for most of his life. In 1995 Weizman was one of the many Israeli present at the Kings of Israel Square in Tel Aviv the evening that prime minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated there during a rally. During the aftermath of this event and the growing tensions between the two groups Weizman went to the Palestinian city of Ramallah to volunteer as an architectural intern at the Palestinian department of architecture. This function gave him insights into the problems faced by Palestinian architects, but also allowed him to play an important part in their work as he was able to access important archives documents only accessible for Israeli.15

This small scale espionage, in which Weizman worked on the border between Israeli and Palestinian architecture, eventually led to a larger detective work within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Weizman set out to stop the designers responsible for the weaponized architecture and ultimately set out to bring these architects in front of the International Criminal Court of The Hague. By dissecting architecture, as a forensic scientist would analyse a crime scene, he is able to reconstructed the events that happened within the conflict.16 Currently Weizman talks to many people that are affected by the conflict and helps them not through creating new designs of housing, but rather by visual reconstructing their houses.17

The architect as a forensic scientist becomes a counterpart to the state mandated architects and has the ability to restore some balance to the conflict. Weizman has been able to use his architectural traits to transform the, previously weaponized, built environment to evidence of the crimes committed in the conflict. His work changes the neutrality of the architectural profession and forces those working within the conflict to choose carefully how to deal with the built environment. Architects are in this form no longer a tool used for state policies, but can become once more something to support the people.

CONCLUSION

Having close connections to either Israel or Palestine has meant many architects are determined to work in the region despite the restrictions caused by the conflict. Architects have redefined their profession mostly according to their views on the conflict and their connection to the area. The newly formed types of architects all set out to stand up for the people and be part of a solution for the conflict.

Although all types have the same goal their approach differs drastically, mainly resulting from their standpoint within the conflict itself. The architect as a rebel is the most outspoken type that, similar to the rebellions that occurred during the conflict, has an important role within the debate, but has not accomplished any direct changes within either the city or the conflict. A less outspoken, yet still a counterpart to the current status quo, is the architect as a forensic scientist. Using the built environment as its own weapon the forensic scientist seeks out to put those whom wrongly use their architectural profession on trial. Similar to these battles the architect as a preserver fights for cultural and historical values through the restoration of historical authenticity. They use their architectural traits to help support and sustain a national identity.

Other architects have chosen a more neutral position towards the conflict and try and apply change from within its current boundaries. The architect as a politician is the best example of this as they placed themselves in a peace making role. The politicians have the ability to change the restrictions of the conflict and decide upon a course for future architects to follow. The architect as an educator on the other hand changes the new generation of architects by changing the architectural profession from its core. Through conveying their own standpoints and creating a greater understanding of the context the educator is able to shape new future roles of architects.
As a combination of visual art and engaged participation art exhibitions constantly question the boundaries between subject and object. The art exhibition of DAAR, depicted on this image, titled *The Red Castle and the Lawless Line* is a way the firm led by Sandi Hilal presents their standpoints to the public. It allows for a visualisation of projects, often connected to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, that otherwise would not develop into more than ideas. It also creates a broad and global support for the firm and its mission in East Jerusalem with these international art exhibitions telling the story of the conflict.
The Red Castle and the Lawless Line. Decolonizing Architecture, Oslo.
The work of an architect does not solely exist of or rely on physical means of expression. Israeli and Palestinian architects as Suad Amiry, Eyal Weizman, Sandi Hilal and Senan Abdelqader have shown that architecture is more than the traditional physical expressions of drawings and scale models. This chapter will discuss how these architects have expressed themselves when they were not able to make use of these traditional architectural forms of expressions.

ARCHITECTURE THROUGH WRITING

With many architects being dyslexic writing is often not the first choice for an architect to express their ideas and standpoints. Yet when deprived of their traditional physical forms of expression, writing forms an important way to convey a message. Many architects mentioned in this thesis have contributed in the writing of articles, books and manifestos concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

One of these writers, that is currently better known as author than as an architect, is Suad Amiry who became a writer by mere coincidence. When locked up in her home with no-one else than her mother in law during an Israeli siege she was unable to work on her architecture projects and looked for new ways of expressing her ideals. She started writing the stories of her life and that of others living in and around Palestine. Her books became popular as they were easily accessible and translated the complex conflict into an easy to follow story. Her books, even though most are not directly related to her work as an architect, are part of her message of conservation. They form a means to spread awareness of the conflict and cause of preserving the architecture and culture of the Palestinians. Besides that the books themselves can also be seen as a form of preserving that hold the stories of Palestinians for future generations to read.

Other architects as Eyal Weizman and Senan Abdelqader have used writing to more directly express their architectural work. In his book *Hollow Land* Weizman tells the story of the Israeli-Palestine conflict through the built environment which forms the basis of Weizman’s work. Whereas this book conveys more the standpoints of Weizman the book *Architecture of Dependency* by Abdelqader can be seen as more of a collection of his architectural work. In this case not to show the background of his position, but rather to show the results of his work.

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ARCHITECTURE THROUGH EXHIBITION

Architecture, by many of its creators, often seen as a form of art whereas for many of its users it is seen as merely an object. This subject-object relation is the result of a lack of experience like the passive contemplation demanded by the viewer of a traditional art object. Yet this reception of the work of art lacks the interaction between the subject and object. According to Jonathan Hill the installation art is probably the closest form of art to represent architecture. It allows for a more critical and sensual relation, that the traditional works of art, between subject and object.¹

The firm DAAR, led by architect Sandi Hilal, has often made use of art exhibitions for expressing their architectural standpoints and create public awareness for their projects. Hilal has referred to these exhibitions as a crucial part in her work as an architect as it allows her projects, that are currently not being implemented, to come to life. Her colleague, Allesandro Petti, describes the exhibitions as more of a way to pose questions that are not possible to pose using traditional architectural means. By transforming their standpoints and visions, that are also connected to the conflict, into a form of art a discussion is possible that otherwise would not be held in the public sphere. Their architecture becomes a political statement visualised in a way that the public is able to connect to it and understand its context.²

CONCLUSION

With many books published by architects writing can be seen as a main form of architectural expression within the Israel-Palestine conflict. Although mostly directly related to architecture not all works are that easy to connect to the work of an architect. Suad Amiry has shown that the expression of architectural standpoints is not limited to architectural writing only, but can be conveyed through regular everyday stories of life. The lucidity of these stories has made them more easily accessible for a broader public than regular architectural works of writing.

Another form of easily accessible architectural standpoints can be seen in the art exhibitions. Having the benefit of visual representation the exhibition allows architectural standpoints to come to life. Its relation between subject and object allows people to have an interaction and even discussing about themes that would otherwise be held outside of the public realm.

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The architectural profession has changed due to the Israel-Palestine conflict both in its role and its ability to impact the city. This thesis has examined architects that have worked, outside of the traditional role of the architect, within this conflict. This has been done through examination of their public standpoints and their impact on the design of the East Jerusalem built environment.

The city of Jerusalem is scarred by its conflict that has a great influence on its built environment. Architects have found themselves to be restricted by regulations and state policies that eventually made them a tool of the state. Israeli architects turned away from their Zionist predecessors and are looking for a new identity through their architecture. On the other side Palestinian architects, that have been more effected in exercising their profession, are at the same moment working on preserving their own identity in this changing landscape. Many architects, on both sides of the conflict, refuse to let architecture become something that is used against the people and are rethinking their profession.

This environment has resulted in architects creating new roles for themselves in which they use their architectural traits in combination with other disciplines. One of these architects is Sandi Hilal, whom turned her rebellious character into an architectural role that questions the status quo and uses its architecture as a piece of debate. Eyal Weizman has gone a step further than just debating the use of the built environment and uses his architecture to bring those to trial that have miss-used their architectural profession against the people. Others as Khouloud Daibes have a more peace making approach and use their knowledge as an architect to create change from within the system. Also wanting to have a larger impact on the future of the built environment is Senan Abdelqader, who has started conveying his message for mutual respect through teaching future architects. Architects like Nadia Habash and Suad Amiry are more concerned with the current use of the built environment and work on preserving the national identity through historical authenticity.

All these roles that are formed are the result of the personal connections of the architects to both the conflict as the areas of Israel and Palestine. They are often a direct representation of their personal views on the conflict. Each of these new roles are an example of the broad range that the architectural profession still holds. They have created architecture beyond its traditional physical form as buildings through writing, exhibitions, debates, teaching and the creation of laws. This has made the profession of architect an important factor within the conflict. Not any more as merely a tool for the purpose of maintaining separation, but rather as a peace maker and part of resolving the conflict.

Just as the archetypes described by Esther Charlesworth, these new roles that the architects have created for themselves can also be seen as propositions for other architects. Although having different effectiveness, they show how an architect is able to continue their work in areas of ongoing conflicts. They form a guide to architects that want to create an impact to the complicated built environment of East Jerusalem. However, because of their connections to other disciplines and broad use of expressing their work, these newly formed archetypes can be applied even outside of the Israel-Palestine conflict.

Esther Charlesworth is an architect and professor that mainly focusses on architecture in areas that have been through conflict. In her book she discusses the role that architects take in relation to three case studies. These case studies involve cities that show many similarities to Jerusalem. The goal of the book is to show the different positions that architects take when working in areas that have seen conflict. She provides a method of setting out the different roles that architects take and how this position is visible in their work.


Architect and professor Jonathan Hill has produced several works in the form of books and exhibitions in which he puts the focus on the architect. The goal of his book is to show that architecture is not just a building, but also about the relation between the architect and the user. His book contains chapters written by a range of architects which all provide different view on the role of the architect and the importance of architecture.


As architect and associated professor at the Israel Institute of Technology Alona Nitzan-Shiftan has contributed to many works involving the built environment in Jerusalem. In her article in the Jerusalem Quarterly she talks about the changes in Palestinian architecture after the war of ‘67 and the up march of Israeli architects in Palestine. She cites various architects, including Moshe Sádie who had a large role in the so called Israelization of Jerusalem. Her article provides an explanation of the changes that occurred in Palestinian architecture and with it the shifting role of the architects that work within the city of Jerusalem.


As architect and associated professor at the Israel Institute of Technology Alona Nitzan-Shiftan has contributed to many works involving the built environment in Jerusalem. In her book she sets out to show the importance of architecture within the division of Jerusalem and the associated conflict. The book focusses on the unilateral unification of the city and relation of architecture and state policy. In her book she goes through the political and other factors that influence the work of the architect in Jerusalem while also stating her own position.

Petti, Hilal and Weizman are architects and founders of the firm DAAR. Their projects are mainly focused on the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The book can be seen as their manifesto in which they explain the background and the work of their firm. They do this by showing a series of provocative projects about the destruction and re-inhabitation of Palestine cities. Unlike other sources they tend to take a less reticent standpoint when talking about the current conflict. Their book provides an overview of the challenges that architects needs to deal with when working in area of conflict and makes clear their standpoint within this conflict.


Yara Safi is the co-founder and current head of the architecture department of the Palestinian Al-Quds University. Safi reflects in her paper on the architecture that results from the ongoing conflict in Jerusalem. In her paper she does not only relate architecture to the current conflict, but unlike many other sources, takes a standpoint against these political attitudes. She sees these national standpoints (from both sides) as something that takes away the importance of aesthetics. Her paper provides an viewpoint in which the focus lays on unification instead of nationalism.


As an Israeli born architect Eyal Weizman has worked on many projects and publications concerning the Israel-Palestine conflict. The goal of his book is to show how architecture is being used as a form of occupation. His book focuses on the IDF attack on the Palestinian refugee camp in 2002. The attack showed a new way to use the built environment and demonstrates the use architecture as a military tool. The book gives an overview of challenges for architects working in Palestine territories and shows the position of the author in this.


Ines Weizman is an architect and theorist that studies the material history of buildings, media and technology artefacts. Her book focuses on the concept of dissent within the architectural field. Her book consist of a collection of essays from expert scholars all responding to this subject. The book also discusses the role of the architect when working within area of conflict or politically suppressive regimes. Her book offers a large variety of viewpoints upon the position of the architect in relation to dissidence.


Amiry, Suad. Golda Slept Here; Palestine, the presence of absent. Bloomsbury, 2014.


ARCHITECTURE THROUGH CONFLICT

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