

Loose ends: the role of architecture in constructing urban borders in Tel Aviv–Jaffa since the 1920s

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A border is an ideological socio-cultural construct by which communities define and defend their territory. But what are its formal and spatial configurations? How is the border architecturally conceived and perceived? This paper investigates these questions through analysis of three border typologies – the door, the bridge and the gateway – fostering a new discussion of architecture as a border-making practice. It also relates to how architects and planners contribute to conflict, and to ethnic and physical barrier-making by not being fully aware of the cultural and political implications of their actions. These ideas are discussed in the context of Israel/Palestine and the dynamic of the demarcation and separation between Israelis and Palestinians since the early twentieth century. It focuses specifically on the border zone between Tel Aviv and Jaffa, the Menshiyeh quarter. By examining border-making from architectural and urban perspectives, the paper expands the political-historical discussion of Israeli boundaries and clarifies the relationships between conflict (destruction), architecture (construction) and the everyday life of groups and individuals in today's world of modern nationalism.

Introduction

The concept of border as a spatial formation of power relations implies control over resources and the framing of movement [1]. The modernist project of creating state borders,

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intrinsic to the modern nation-state's struggle over territory [2], generates order, both internally within the nation and externally between nations. However, the border also plays a significant cultural–ideological role in which geo-policy and culture intersect to establish a national identity [3]. Thus, the border influences all spheres of everyday life, at different scales and levels, from the private home to the national arena, by defining the pattern and direction of movement [4], to establish connections and intersections. These patterns of movement are vulnerable to manipulation by the state and other institutions, through maps and other documentation, actual physical demarcation, signage and usage.

To clarify this argument, the ways in which urban discourse engages with the concept of the border will be considered first. Later, how these attributes of the border are articulated in architectural practice will be examined by introducing three key border typologies, the **door**, the **bridge** and the **gateway**. Specifically, this paper will focus on the border formation between the adjacent cities of Tel Aviv and Jaffa, from the early 1920s to the present. In many cities with multi-ethnic compositions, including Tel Aviv and Jaffa, borders have been contested, dynamically constructed and reconstructed. However, unlike other places, the border between Tel Aviv and Jaffa is affected by the unstable geo-political situation of their undefined national borders. Hence, although defined as a concrete physical place and connected to architectural practice and everyday lived experience, the border between Tel Aviv and Jaffa is altered according to political events at the national level.

The role of architecture and planning in establishing borders

Urban discourse relates to the border mainly in its perceived dimension. This envisions border space ‘as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of “inhabitants” and “users”’ [5]. This compound of physical space and symbolic use of its objects is evident in Lynch’s analysis of the physical expression of borders and how they demarcate and organize space [6]. In this sense, spatial objects such as buildings and walls are products of architectural construction of both physical and imaginary borders. Lynch [7] shows how these borders divide and separate a city, while at the same time they assist in constructing an image of place. Other theoretical approaches regard borders as socially imposed phenomena and emphasize the role concrete demarcation plays in voluntary and involuntary ethnic segregation [8]. Borders along streets, railway tracks, parks and other urban landmarks, set boundaries beyond which residents of one part of the city cannot and/or do not pass. Here, planners and architects play a major role, establishing these perceptual boundaries and how they affect difference, identity and mobility [9]. There are many examples of these practices, such as fencing public parks to redefine the privatization of urban space as part of capitalist ideology [10], walling a neighbourhood [11], or treating a building like a fortress [12]. From this perspective, the border is an ideological representation and a cultural category by which social groups define themselves and the world to construct spatial power relations. Urban borders are thus dynamic spatial productions, conditioned not by their design, but by architecture that expresses the complex struggles of contesting forces for space and territory.

Discussions of perceived urban borders tend to overlook the conceived dimension and the contribution of architecture, especially with regard to the geo-political terrain of the

nation-state. These discussions do not acknowledge the unique role of planning practices in supporting local–national ideology, or their effect on the everyday lived experience at border zones. As noted by Lefebvre, conceived space is the abstract domain of ‘scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers, and social engineers ... all [of] whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived’ [13]. One of the few works acknowledging the role of the conceived in the demarcation of borders, by the architect Rem Koolhaas [14], discusses the Berlin Wall as an architectural object. He notes the wall’s graphic demonstration of efficient power of division, exclusion and enclosure of space. The Berlin Wall, according to Koolhaas, suggested that architecture’s beauty is proportional to its horror and cannot be disconnected from the political discourse of borders. Architectural measures to produce and preserve spatial control express rules, language and behavioural norms, materializing ideologies to manipulate ways which people experience the world [15].

Thus, the urban border is focused on as a conceived phenomenon – an architectural expression of political ideology. To explore the unique role of architecture in local border-making, especially in the urban milieu, three border typologies are proposed: the door, the bridge and the gateway [16]. These are presented as a means of discussing architecture as a border-making practice. Each of these borders implies a boundary – a separation intended to classify unbounded space and assist in its division [17] and its connection. This view concurs with George Simmel’s observation that things must first be separated in order to be joined together. ‘Practically as well as logically, it would be meaningless to connect that which has not been separated’ [18]. Thus, a door is not a separation but a possibility for an ongoing interchange. According to Simmel, the door actually suggests that separation and connection are two sides of precisely the same act [19], simultaneously embodying the completely different intentions of entering and exiting. In contrast to the door, the bridge symbolizes the extension of a more volitional sphere over space. It connects the finite (one end) with the finite (the other end), regardless of direction. In addition to Simmel’s typologies, a third hybrid typology is suggested – the gateway, similar to the bridge in that it is visible and has aesthetic value and, like the door, has directional connotations (see Table 1). Also the door and the gateway signify flow, while at the same time physically and perceptually framing the direction of entering or leaving as a rite of passage. Of these three typologies, the door is the most open spatially and conceptually, and the gateway is the most rigid.

Conceptualizing these border typologies will assist in analysing the specific urban context of Tel Aviv and Jaffa. The focus on these cities illustrates how architectural practices and national aspirations intermingle in the construction of urban borders. Obviously, this is not unique to Tel Aviv/Jaffa; similar situations occur in cities all over the world. Nevertheless, a

Table 1. Border situations

Door	Bridge	Gateway
Daily value	Aesthetic value, visibility	Aesthetic value, visibility
Separation between inner and outer	Connecting finite with finite	Framing inner
Framing direction of entering and existing. Everyday practice	Undirected movement	Framing direction of entering or leaving. Rite of passage

discussion of Tel Aviv and Jaffa, spanning a period of development of three urban schemes, can add to knowledge of architectural border-making and help in understanding the ways in which spatial practices are tools for creating borders.

Constructing identity and borders: Jaffa and Tel Aviv

Separation was a dominant component of the Jewish collective discourse in Palestine, even before the establishment of the State of Israel. Since the beginning of the twentieth century the pre-state Jewish national renaissance was centred in Jaffa (*Yafo* in Hebrew), rather than the more traditional centres of Jerusalem, Tiberias and Tzefat [20]. Jaffa's conglomeration of ethnic and religious communities led to the establishment of autonomous Jewish neighbourhoods apart from the Arab city's Moslem and Christian communities. This development outside the city wall is characteristic of modern urbanization of medieval cities world-wide [21]. In Jaffa, however, the new development outside the city wall signified the existence of an autonomous national entity. As opposed to the urban continuity of new Jewish neighbourhoods in Jerusalem, Ahuzat Bayit, the new Jewish neighbourhood of Jaffa (later to become Tel Aviv), was defined as a separate entity that eventually led to the contestation of these borders.

The establishment of Ahuzat Bayit in 1909, a neighbourhood constructed with the assistance of the international Zionist establishment, marked the real beginning of Tel Aviv [22]. From the outset, Ahuzat Bayit was declared a new urban entity that expressed its founders' political and cultural boundaries. Its construction of national identity and cultural difference was based on autonomous communal life and a new spatial order. The adaptation of novel physical ordering and morphological language, in contrast with the vernacular of Jaffa's crowded streets, emphasized the community's boundaries. The new neighbourhood was characterized by a grid of suburban streets divided into spacious building lots, allowing for European-style detached residential buildings with pitched roofs and small gardens. These were new aesthetic ideas and social norms influenced by the Garden City movement [23], expressing the separation between work and living and the regulation of hygiene, light and air. Although in terms of management and capital the neighbourhood was still part of Jaffa, its spatial conceptualization allowed the community to separate itself, and thus delineate its identity, from the linear city's history.

Initially, Ahuzat Bayit's cultural and architectural boundaries did not give rise to conflict, since it resembled other peripheral neighbourhoods of Jaffa, and thus presented no threat to the city. However, the border definition was changed with the British occupation of Palestine. The British saw cities as important locations for deploying power technologies by means of which populations could be categorized and controlled. In this context, town planning became the mechanism by which aspirations towards cleanliness, civility and modernity were realized, quite literally, 'on the ground' [24]. In an effort to control newly acquired territory, the new rule created surveys, reports and maps, along with demolition and construction [25]. The demarcation of space eventually assisted the Jewish community, and colonial rule was especially effective during conflicts between the ethnic communities of 1921 [26]. Although the British planner Patrick Geddes reported in 1925 that.

with all due respect to the ethnic distinctiveness and the civic individuality of Tel Aviv as a township, its geographic, social and fundamental economic situation is determined by its location in relation to northern Jaffa; ... The old town and the modern township, must increasingly work and grow together [27].

Still, separation was inevitable.

The parallel development of the two communities, and especially the Jewish demands for autonomy, contributed to the British Mandate decision to separate Tel Aviv from Jaffa [28]. This decision, officially recognizing Tel Aviv as a separate entity, demarcated the Menshiyeh Quarter, situated between Jaffa and Tel Aviv, as a buffer zone. Analysis of architectural projects planned for Menshiyeh reveals the role of these projects' contribution to the demarcation of spatial borders. Examining both built and un-built schemes designed for the area, as well as the everyday lived experience, exposes the complexity of architectural border-making to facilitate 'door' situations that allow for regular exchanges between communities.

Menshiyeh: conceiving the border as a door

It should be explained that one quarter of Jaffa, known as Menshiyeh, projects as it were into Tel Aviv; or, expressed more historically, Tel Aviv has extended around this quarter of Jaffa [29].

The separation discourse and actual division of space, initiated in the early 1920s under British rule, indicated a new spatial relationship between Arabs and Jews in Jaffa/Tel Aviv. However, despite the very different shapes, scale, materials and nature of the urban fabric, the spatial continuity of residential buildings encouraged movement and ongoing exchanges between the two communities. Despite the fenced border between the two cities, the Menshiyeh boundary zone has been conceptualized, and actually functions as a metaphorical door. This affected daily life and allowed simultaneous connection and separation, with an infinite number of possibilities for movement and passage. Moreover, even during conflicts (and perhaps because of them) the border has become not so much a dividing wall as a locus of negotiation between communities and cultures.

Menshiyeh was first developed as a fishing village on the coast and as an extension of Jaffa bordering on Tel Aviv (Figs 1, 2). The *Tel Aviv City News* [30] described Menshiyeh as an Arab neighbourhood embedded in Jewish areas of the city so that it was hard to distinguish between the two cities. This is apparent in aerial views of the period [31], in which the physical border between Menshiyeh and Tel Aviv is fragmented and the two neighbourhoods coalesce. However, although they are geographically indivisible, researchers [32] emphasize the architectonic differences of the two neighbourhoods and highlight their distinct formal attributes (Fig. 3). Built at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, Menshiyeh follows the planning principles of a traditional village by reflecting the economic, social and cultural systems of its place and time. The basic building unit, a multi-functional residential space where all activities take place, is the cube constructed from local natural materials – stone and sand [33]. In contrast with this continuous urban vernacular, the new urban fabric of Tel Aviv followed the development scheme of Geddes. Influenced by the modernism induced by Zionist ideology [34], Tel Aviv's new



Figure 1. Menshiyeh Village, as an extension of Jaffa bordering on Tel Aviv (Jaffa–Tel Aviv, 1930, survey of Palestine, 1:10 000, Tel Aviv Historical Archive).



Figure 2. Menshiyeh from the north, 1917 (Reproduced by the permission of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London).



Figure 3. Menshiyeh, urban blocks typology. From the left: Menshiyeh; from the right: Tel Aviv. (Jaffa, 1938, survey of Palestine, 1:2500, Tel Aviv Historical Archive).

residential architecture adopted the International Style [35], its formal appearance influenced by both the Bauhaus and Le Corbusier [36], although actual implementation was driven by economic constraints and administrative bureaucracy [37].

Although maps of the period show a continuous urban fabric, in reality socio-cultural differences between the cities made the border situation much more complex. The Jewish community's attitude towards Menshiyeh was ambiguous, seeing it on the one hand as providing shelter for new immigrants, especially those unable to afford the rising rents of Tel Aviv and, on the other, hand an enemy zone – the land of the 'other'. Perceived by the founders of Tel Aviv as 'primitive', Menshiyeh was presented in Tel Aviv's modernization discourse as 'somewhere else', reinforcing its status as a temporary solution to Tel Aviv's lack of housing. Tel Aviv Council noted that, 'Menshiyeh is just a few seconds away from the corner of Allenby [the centre of Tel Aviv at the time] and is surrounded on three sides by Tel Aviv's streets. The owners of the land and the houses, however, are mostly Arabs' [38]. Menshiyeh is thus a transit station for Jews arriving from Asia and Africa, as the newspaper

noted, 'Who are the Jews in Menshiyeh? Newcomers, Jews from Arab countries, to whom the lifestyle and the environment are more familiar than the Hebrew settlement' [39].

This ambivalent border between Tel Aviv and Menshiyeh embodied the simultaneous acceptance and rejection, connection and separation, apparent in everyday life in the 1930s. A British report detailing the events of 1936, described Menshiyeh as vulnerable, susceptible to violent disturbances [40]. It referred to the Jewish protest that resulted in harassment of Arabs working in Tel Aviv. When rumours that Arabs had been killed spread through Menshiyeh and Jaffa, violent and destructive events ensued [41], after which many Jews fled from Menshiyeh to Tel Aviv. However, the housing shortage in Tel Aviv and lower rents in Menshiyeh soon compelled the poor Jews to move back to Menshiyeh [42].

The unrest of 1936 was the Jewish community's justification for the call to revise the border between the two cities [43], although the Peel Commission (1937) declared decisively that Jaffa and Tel Aviv were a single geographical unit. It also remarked on the hostility between the two communities. Although efforts were made to clarify the border line, no agreement was reached [44]. The British suggested constructing a buffer-fence, to include a road that would reinforce the border and allow British control if violent events recurred [45]. The limitations of this suggestion indicated that the British perceived the problem as 'unsolvable'. The Woodhead Committee, discussing the issue a year later, suggested demolishing a row of houses between the two neighbourhoods, making a wide road, and constructing a wall with gates to be used for army movements if necessary [46].

Parallel to the British separation discourse and the actual spatial and administrative separation, mutual relationships between the two communities persisted. The Menshiyeh quarter operated as a dynamic border zone that was 'not physical but socio-spatial' [47] and, rather than dividing the cities, it allowed ongoing relationships. However, this dialectic attitude towards Menshiyeh changed irrevocably with the 1948 War and the occupation of Jaffa.

Menshiyeh: conceiving the border as bridge

Tel Aviv and Jaffa are separated from each other. Tel Aviv thrives and Jaffa stands still. Reconstruction of Menshiyeh will allow bridging the area between the cities ... the idea of constructing a Tel Aviv centre between the two cities, and the movement of population to the south will completely change the status of Jaffa [48].

Power shifts, from the end of the British Mandate and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, were evident in the Menshiyeh of the 1960s. It underwent forced movements of populations following the annexation of Jaffa to Tel Aviv and the unilateral arrangements made by the State regarding the land and property of absentee Palestinians. This is marked, both symbolically and physically, by the formal decision to turn Menshiyeh from a back-door area of the city into a national and municipal 'bridge'. The concept of a bridge, initially conceived as an imported element linking the two urban entities, in fact supported the arguments for separation. As an ambitious architectural project, it actually encouraged discontinuity, transforming residential neighbourhoods into a business area that programmatically and practically separated two ethnic groups. This redefinition of the border and the role of Menshiyeh in constructing a national and municipal bridge must be understood in relation

to four conflicts: between the two communities, between the city and the state, between the city and its citizens, and among the professional planners and architects.

The first conflict erupted immediately following the United Nations' decision on November 29, 1947 to divide the country between its two communities. The separation plan saw Jaffa as an isolated Arab enclave. In the ensuing war, the Jaffa–Tel Aviv border became a battlefield, which resulted in the Jewish occupation of Jaffa which, for the Jews, was perceived as an 'end to a serious threat to the safety of the Jewish State' [49]. For the Palestinians, the occupation and the consequences of the 1948 war are still perceived as *Al Nakba* – a national as well as a personal tragedy [50]. Although Menshiyeh had suffered heavy physical damage, parts of the village were still standing and were inhabited by Jewish immigrants, thus implementing the State's housing policy of utilizing abandoned Arab structures as temporary shelter for needy Jewish populations (Figs 4, 5). The second conflict, an outcome of the occupation, was the struggle between the city and the State concerning Tel Aviv's municipal control over Jaffa [51]. On October 5 1949 the annexation of Jaffa was approved by the government, and the combined city was named Jaffa–Tel Aviv.

The annexation created a new situation, compelling the municipality to take upon itself national tasks. Objections were quick to arise. The municipality, threatened by a financial burden that would endanger Tel Aviv's lifestyle, refused to accept the unification. As Mayor Rokach explained, 'Tel Aviv has developed areas according to a town-planning scheme. On the other hand, Jaffa is densely built-up, but has no proper infrastructure' [52]. The Minister of Interior's response was that

if we follow this line of thinking, we will have to close the country's doors to newcomers. Since Jaffa is poor and Tel Aviv is rich – and this is the situation – then the feelings of friendship and responsibility obligate rich Tel Aviv, in this time of crisis, to support poor Jaffa [53].

Another objection was that Jaffa 'came first' in the city's name (i.e. Jaffa–Tel Aviv) [54]. However, despite all objections, a government committee declared Jaffa a natural continuation of Tel Aviv, a financial and cultural basis for the annexation plan [55]. The mayor immediately called for 're-planning Jaffa right from its foundations', proposing Tel Aviv as a model for a new aesthetic tradition [56]. To achieve this end, as part of the new partnership between city and State, the 'City Project' for 'a new heart for Tel Aviv–Yafo' in Menshiyeh was conceptualized. It materialized as a town planning competition to redesign Menshiyeh for the Tel Aviv–Yafo Central Area Redevelopment Project [57].

So, together with Jaffa, Menshiyeh underwent two interconnected processes in the early 1960s. On the one hand, it was systematically neglected – an attempt to cause a population transfer that would force urban redevelopment. On the other hand, the goal was to develop Tel Aviv as an alternative tourist attraction to the more traditional centres. Essentially, Jaffa was to be transformed from a hostile Arab town into an 'Old City', integral to Tel Aviv and its heritage. The plan's commercial prospects were clear, as described by the City Spokesman: 'the development of Menshiyeh has first priority in the development plans of the City Council, due to its economic potential as the largest commercial centre in proximity to the beach' [58].

Thus, the conceptualization of Menshiyeh as a bridge – as the commercial heart of the city – necessitated evacuating the population to refine its land use [59]. Menshiyeh was described in the competition booklet, as 'a peripheral district of Tel Aviv ... [in which] the existing



Figure 4. The urban fabric post-war, Menshiyeh, aerial view 1955. (Tel Aviv Historical Archive).

buildings are either obsolete or so old that they are only fit to be demolished or rebuilt' [60]. The ongoing neglect of the area by the municipality also accelerated its abandonment. Residents wrote to the Mayor [61] and members of the City Council [62] voicing suspicions about the professed aim for 'cooperation with goodwill' in the redefinition of the area as a bridge [63].

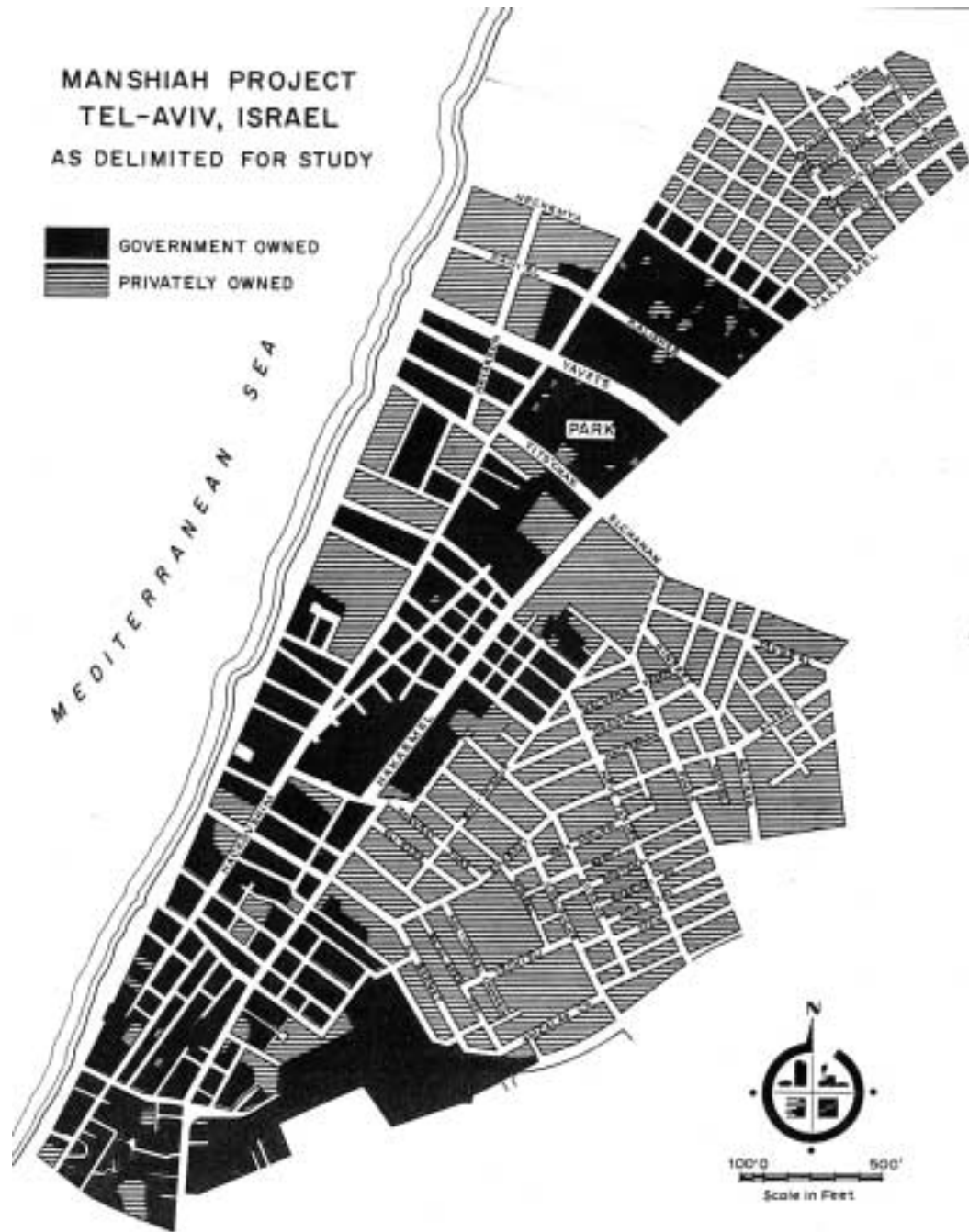


Figure 5. Menshiyeh Project, real estate study, 1961. (Tel Aviv Historical Archive).

However, the international competition to mark *Menshiyeh* as a bridge took place despite objections, and 152 entries were submitted by architects world-wide [64]. The first prize was given to Alexander Branca and Gerd Feuser from Germany, ‘for presenting an idea of fundamental importance to Tel Aviv ... broadening the sea front, and constructing a lagoon, divided from the mainland but linked effectively with a new city centre’ (Fig. 6) [65]. This proposal (and others) expressed the high modernism of the international agenda. In the context of Tel Aviv, it proposed a cutting-edge image for the nation-state. However, the real purpose of this endeavour was to legitimize demolishing the existing continuity of the Arab fabric, replacing it with isolated objects, and utilizing new technology in line with the economic and ideological interests of the new Jewish State [66].

It is important to note that, in spite of the first prize award, the project was given to three young architects: Niv, Raifer and Mizrahi, under the supervision of the more experienced architects, Sharon and Perleshtain. This was allowed because the jury [67] saw the prizewinners’ design as schematic, to be developed further by local architects more familiar with the urban context. The process included studying all the winning plans and submitting a new layout. The new group envisioned the area as a potential municipal-national centre that would assist in solving Tel Aviv’s basic infrastructure and movement problems and improvement of poor neighbourhoods, and establish physical links between the two cities [68].

Further complications of conceiving the project as a bridge arose from subsequent conflict between the architects and local planners’ response for the city’s varied master plans. For example, Zion Hashimshoni, who had been responsible for the master plan of the 1960s, favoured a socio-national perspective. He called for looking at *Menshiyeh* not as a commercial bridge, but as an integrated neighbourhood within the city [69]. Two other planners also articulated their objection to the bridge concept. Aharon Horovitz, who had been in charge of the master plan of the 1950s, and Yakov Ben Seira, who had been the city engineer 1929–50, criticized the bridge’s capitalistic implications with its dismissal of community [70]. In a letter to the *Menshiyeh* community [71], Horovitz wrote that the area was designated for a park and not for commercial development. The other planner, Ben Seira, called the plan ‘immature’ [72], attacking its development policy, warning against an ‘American capitalist agenda’. This, he argued, would cause a gentrification process and would not solve the problems of the poor neighbourhoods [73].

Opposition delayed the preparation of the *Menshiyeh* master plan and negated the necessity for the whole project. Thus, the programme for a business centre, or bridge, and main motor route along the sea was never implemented. However, despite the opposition, the mayor ordered the preparation of a detailed plan [74] that featured high-rise office buildings and hotel development. Yet, despite its partial realization, the *Menshiyeh* Project (Fig. 7) created the visual and physical barriers between Jaffa and Tel Aviv. The architecture reinforced the fortuitous border with out-of-scale buildings, thereby separating the city from the waterfront. As a result of the new master plan in the 1980s [75], the concept of the two entities connected through a commercial bridge was discarded in favour of regenerating adjacent neighbourhoods to catalyse a regular flow between the privileged north of the city and its poor south.

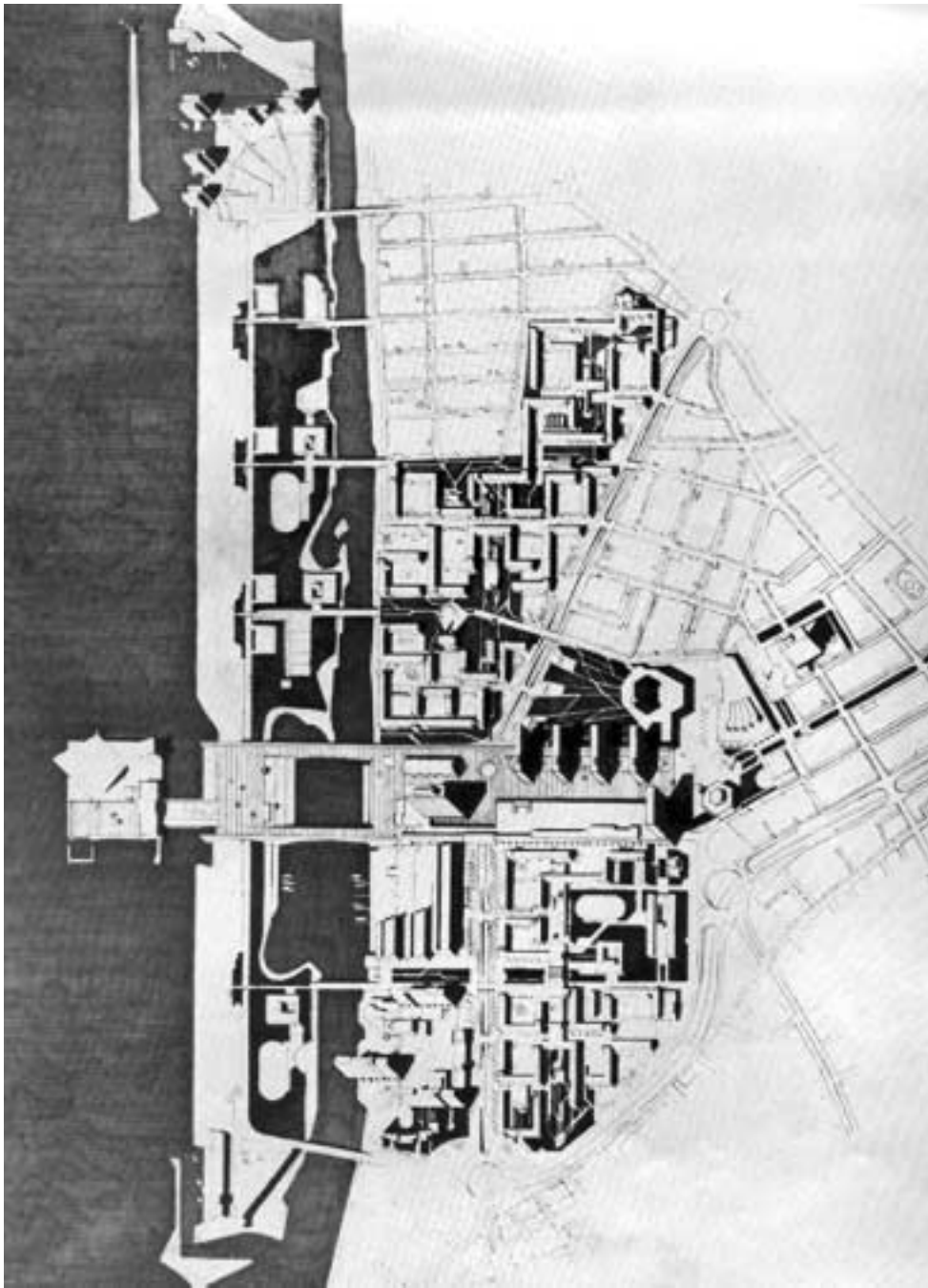


Figure 6. First prize winner of the Menshiyeh competition (in la ristrutturazione della zona centrale di Tel Aviv–Giaffa, *op. cit.* [65], p. 32).



Figure 7. The partial implementation of the ‘City Project’, 2003 (photograph: Tali Hatuka).

Menshiyeh: conceiving the border as a gateway

The plan was suggested in order to connect by urban means the new Tel Aviv and its modern area of Menshiyeh to the delicate fabric of old Jaffa, and to create a functional unified continuity [76].

In the end, the planning policies and the accelerated privatization processes of the 1980s resulted in the fragmented and eclectic Menshiyeh of the 1990s. Out of this situation in the 1990s, a new architectural border-making concept emerged in the form of a ‘gateway’. The ‘Jaffa Gate’ project conceptualization was influenced by three major issues. First, new power relations between the private sector, the city and the nation-state are formulated as part of the new capitalist logic of economic circulation; the poor city is continuing to initiate co-operation between private investors and national–municipal development companies. As opposed to the rationales of the 1960s, the 1990s plans were the result of private developers looking for profitable investments and the municipality’s eagerness for urban development. Secondly, there was a shift in professional discourse among architects, challenging the functional approach of modernism [77]. Repudiating Utopian views and rethinking the linking of ‘social’ and ‘architectural’ space [78], these designers searched for other ways to conceive the city. They emphasized physical space, existing circumstances and the local historical context [79], paralleling architecture’s search for place and its focus on critical regionalism [80] and the *genius loci* [81],

perceiving space as an archaeological site constructed from layers of history and memory [82]. This architecture, rejecting the political modernist agenda, reverted to the formal-aesthetic, thereby opening the door to capitalist values [83]. The third change derives from the Palestinian/Israeli dispute, the peace process of the 1990s, and the subsequent attacks on civilian centres, culminating in a violent attack and bombing at sites in June 2001.

The world's economy and political processes in the early 1990s led Israel's leaders to support economic growth in real estate development, for which metropolitan Tel Aviv has been the centre [84]. Thus, while in the 1930s Jaffa and Tel Aviv were perceived as binary entities, and in the 1960s as a unified entity, by the 1990s they were seen as fragmented communities structured according to economic logic. But, how do these changes affect border-making, and in what ways is the production of space influenced by national conflicts?

The current proposal, evolving from the 1990s partnership between the city and the private sector, offers Menshiyeh the architectural concept of a tourist 'gateway', an entry to the city. The Jaffa Gate Project embodies the desire to reframe the area, as a place/passage that marks the entrance to Jaffa's Mediterranean culture. In contrast with earlier beach plans, Bogod and Pigardo's scheme of 1992 was based on a commercial development of restaurants, shops, a fishing centre and hotels, all perceived as an expansion of Jaffa's tourist area (Fig. 8). However, in the end, the City Council decided to establish, with minimal investment, a temporary promenade in the area. The result is a simple layout of railings, planting and sitting areas. Yet, regardless of its scale, this modest promenade has changed the area irrevocably, increasing the Jaffa–Tel Aviv connection by inviting constant use of the area by Arab and Jewish families alike.

Yet, this was not the end of the story, while constructing the temporary promenade, an unexpected event occurred. During the process of installing a sewage line, the Ottoman Sea Wall of Jaffa was exposed, attracting the attention of two local architects, Eyal Ziv and Eitan Eden. They contacted Atarim, the company in charge of the development, suggesting

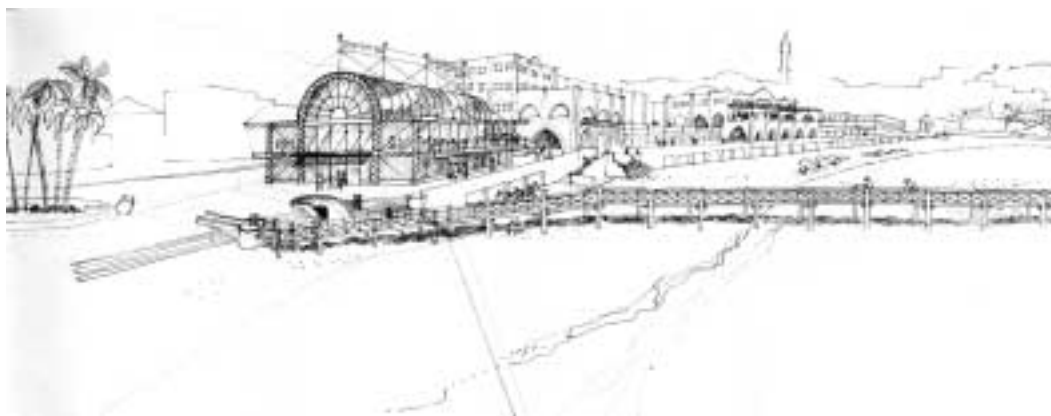


Figure 8. The Jaffa Gate Project (Bogod & Pigardo, the architects' collection).

that the wall be preserved as part of the promenade. Their detailed proposal illustrated how the project could contribute both culturally and historically to the city [85]. Work in the area was stopped, and the two architects were asked to suggest an alternative to Bogod and Pigardo's plan. This remnant of the Ottoman wall, initially destroyed at the end of the nineteenth century, was now the project's main generator, focusing the plan on preservation of the wall [86] (Fig. 9).

As these recent projects demonstrate, the discourse of the 1990s is very critical of the modernist attempts of the 1930s and 1960s to erase the Arab landscape by assuming the place has no memory. The 1990s initiated a new search for identity, in contrast with the prevailing policies of blurring and forgetting. By exchanging the concept of a bridge for that of a gateway, the municipality can reconstruct the very fabric it demolished only three decades ago. This has resulted in projects attuned mainly to the commercial market, to promote tourism. As the architects of the Menshiyeh Gateway say,

... these are mostly ruins, and in some places there are dilapidated buildings and huts remaining from the original village. The old structures will be combined with the new buildings. The original scale of the village will be reconstructed, using Mediterranean materials and colours, all in the picturesque narrow alleys and the various squares [87]

This nostalgic approach is even more extreme at the Jaffa Promenade with the preservation of the Ottoman wall, where the imaginary borders of the analogical wall are invented.



Figure 9. The Jaffa Promenade, 2003 (photograph, Tali Hatuka).

These projects demonstrate how the national awareness of border, discursive or real, is adapted to the everyday. This ‘normalization’ may adopt a different spatial and morphological attitude from that of the 1960s, but it serves a similar function in its ideological support of the production of borders.

Borders and architectural practice

The main question, underlying this analysis is not whether a border is needed, but what kinds of activities the practice of architecture promotes. As argued in this paper, architecture plays a key role in the conceptualization and management of borders by employing the formal language of the regime, loaded with cultural meanings of boundaries. Architectural practice in *Menshiyeh* has furthered the Jewish community’s attempts to differentiate itself. However, despite Arab and Jewish differences and conflicts in the 1930s, Tel Aviv and Jaffa were interconnected through the mutual practices of everyday life. The attempt to erase *Menshiyeh* during the 1948 War in order to create symbolic national and municipal borders raises complex questions. How were the local communities affected by these demolitions? How did they assist in the creation of actual and/or imagined space? And, essentially, is it actually possible to erase borders at all?

In the 1960s, the erasure allowed the State a ‘redefinition of place’ in which scale and lifestyle were completely modified. But this attempt to reproduce the space has, in our time, unstitched the fragile relationships between the two communities/cities. If *Menshiyeh* of the 1930s functioned as a door, connecting two communities linked to each other and to the sea, in the 1960s it became a ‘separating’ bridge. This architectural vision, conceptualized with no reference to the inhabitants or to the actuality of the place, was bound to fail. In the 1990s the awareness of a real and discursive border, as in the 1930s, emerged through the practice of daily existence. Nevertheless, adoption of the language and vocabulary of ‘Old Jaffa’ is ideologically based on national narratives of identity and meaning, similar to those of the 1960s.

Menshiyeh demonstrates that architectural border-making, by erecting boundaries, affects the tension between communities, as well as between the inhabitants and the establishment. It is enacted, by choice – as in the case of *Ahuzat Bayit*, and by force – as in the population transfer following the 1948 War. By reconstructing an imagined domain, *Menshiyeh* was lost to the Arab community, becoming part of ‘Greater Tel Aviv’ for the Jewish community. This process is, of course, not unique to Tel Aviv/Jaffa. Here, as elsewhere, architectural conceptualization is based on professional knowledge and ideologies that are relative, subjective and changing. It involves an abstract spatial representation that is, as Lefebvre reminds us, the dominant mode of production of any society, affecting both lived and perceived spaces [88].

This article’s contribution to the discussion of border-making lies in its inclusion of architectural practice, which creates varying border typologies: the door, the bridge and the gateway. These typologies allow a new discussion of architecture as a border-making practice. However, our concern is not merely with the concrete construction of borders. Our main concern is how architecture is enlisted by the separation discourse, how architects and planners contribute to conflict and to ethnic and physical barrier-making, by not being fully aware of the cultural and political implications of their actions.

Finally, the dichotomy between the Utopian, abstract vision of the profession and the conflicted lived space is clearly evident in the case of Menshiyeh. However, this does not mean that the profession should not engage in Utopian thinking. On the contrary, Utopian thinking has often helped to create discursive and physical shifts in conflicted situations by visualizing new spaces. In Lefebvre's terms, the conceived space plays a key role in changing both the lived and the perceived spaces. In fact, as demonstrated in Menshiyeh, each of the border-making typologies – door, bridge and gateway – has contributed to the re-thinking and re-visualization of the place. What is argued here is that, in the process of design, architects and planners should be more alert of their role in border-making. Often, in order to stabilize conflicted situations, they must challenge others' and their own ideological assumptions within the process of design, attempting to produce spatial 'doors' that allow mutual-ity on both sides of a border. The practice must never predicate a static power-relation geometry that forms a separation, but always be on the alert for the infinite opportunities of exchange and modification.

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The natural state of the wall was weak ... the stones had been damaged over the years by electricity cables and water pipes ... it was impossible to expose the wall, though we wanted to very badly. But we did think it worthwhile to mark the wall ... not to reconstruct the thing itself but to create an analogy ... (A. Eden, interview 22 January 2002).
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