Wall and Tower: Notes on Tactics and Tactical Experiments in Israeli Culture and Politics

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the use of tactic in artistic and activist practices in Israel. The notion of tactic in this article is based on an architectural form of settlement developed by Jews living in British-Mandate Palestine during the nineteen-thirties called Wall and Tower. This architectural style can be understood as a strategy employed to take over space, as well as a tactic that intervenes and disrupts power structures. By analysing three case studies from the last decade initiated by artists and activists – Israeli-Jews, Israeli-Palestinians, and Bedouin – this article explores the relationship between the use of temporary and critical interventions and their theme of return to or search for home. The theoretical framework is multi-disciplinary and explores processes of globalisation and de-globalisation within Israeli society, as well as art theory that emphasises the socio-political engagement within art practices, such as tactical media, performance, and site-specific.

KEYWORDS

Art, Activism, Israel, Palestine, Tactic

Introduction

During the nineteen-thirties an architectural form was developed by Jews living in British-Mandate Palestine called Wall and Tower (Homa Umigdal in Hebrew). It was used for building new Kibbutzim – a form of Jewish settlement with a socialist, communal, and agricultural orientation. These settlements were erected without permission from authorities. However, a law from the Ottoman empire that was adopted by the British-Mandate prevented illegal constructions from being demolished if the roof had been completed (Rotbard 2003). Wall and Tower can be understood as a tactic – a temporary act of resistance that is characterised by the lack of space in which it can made permanent (De Certeau 1988). Wall and Tower is based on haste building methods – erecting a wooden wall with a guarding tower, which could be built

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overnight. It was initiated, at that time, by a minority group who struggled to reclaim a land from what was perceived by them as an exterior occupier who enforced restrictions on Jewish immigration and settlements in Palestine. It was also a direct response to the Arab uprising of 1936-1939 which was the biggest reaction against the British-Mandate and the Zionist project. Wall and Tower is an example of a tactic developed into a future strategy – a defined space which determines power relations (Ibid). Around fifty Wall and Tower Kibbutzim were set up during the Arab uprising. They successfully created a chain of Jewish settlements that had an impact on where the borders of the future state of Israel were drawn in 1967 (Rotbard 2003).

The transformation of Israel from being a society of communities to a territorial nation-state led the Israeli state to adopt both strategic and tactic positions (Kemp 2000). It has became part of the Israeli mainstream narrative that is largely based on a victimhood discourse, and of a collective state of mind of “civil militarism,” which perceives the state as being in a constant war as the “natural way of things” (Newman Smulders 2013; Kimmerling 1993, 129). Wall and Tower is an example of the way the pre-state tactic has continued to influence the language and actions of the state of Israel as strategy. It is mostly dominant in the West Bank area in which Jewish settlements manage to secure as much as land as possible (Weizman 2007). There is thus a conceptual continuity between Wall and Tower settlements constructed under British-Mandate

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2 For example, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said to the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee in 2015: “I’m asked if we will forever live by the sword – yes” (Ravid, 2015).
and current Israeli settlements, justified with nationalist, security and religious arguments. The new settlers from the last thirty years perceive themselves as the followers of the pioneering Zionist settlers, enjoying official and unofficial support from the government, and parts of the Israeli public, despite their disregard of state and international laws (Ibid).

This article uses the concept of Wall and Tower to examine it both as a strategy for expanding and defining space, as well as a tactic that intervenes and disrupts it. To examine this relationship, I will focus on three practices from the last decade that correspond to the strategy of Wall and Tower in a tactical way. The first is the commune in the village of Iqrit in northern Israel. It was established on August 2012 by young Palestinians, descendants of the Iqrit villagers who during the 1948 Israeli-Arab war were removed from their home and then forbidden to return home. It is an act of civil disobedience where the group renewed parts of the village by building facilities and moving there without permission. The second is The Convoy, a project by the art collective Empty House from summer 2013. The Convoy was an intervention into Jerusalem, which involved them moving around the city’s neighbourhoods as a group of nomads using mobile DIY facilities. The last project is Eternal Sukkah by the art group Sala-Manca with the collaboration of Al-Kurshan family and the artists Yeshaiau Rabinowitz and Itamar Mendes-Flohr. It is consisted of a Sukkah, a temporary structure used during the Jewish holiday Sukkot, in which for seven days the feasting occurred in the Sukkah. The Sukkah – made out of tin and wooden plates – was originally used as the house of Al-Kurshan family and was purchased from them by Sala-Manca. The family is part of the Jahalin Bedouin tribe, which has been displaced for several times since 1948 by the Israeli government, and at the moment live in Judea desert area in south of Israel.

The projects differ in their activist or/and artistic intentions. However, the theme of return to or search for home that is present in all of the projects expand the notion of tactic that is associated with the lack of defined and definite space (De Certeau 1988). They also challenge main Zionist axioms that are defined by means of return – to the land, to the sources, to history (Raz-Krakotzkin 2013). Together they make an interesting case in relation to tactic as well as artistic engagement with socio-political issues in Israel.

The art of tactic – a theoretical framework

The art/activism junction in which the case studies are located calls for a multi-disciplinary approach to understand the nature of these practices, the way they operate as tactics, and the way they challenge Israeli-Zionist narrative. This section explores the theoretical framework that is

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3 For example, current minister of education, Nafatli Bennet, said in interview for Al-Jazeera on February 2017: “If you want to say that our land does not belong to us, I suggest you go change the bible first, come back and then show me a new bible that says that the land of Israel doesn’t belong to Jews” (Al Jazeera English, 2017).
derived from art theory, with emphasis on tactical media, site-specific, and performance, as well as social and political theories focusing on processes of globalisation and de-globalisation.

Since the 1990’s there has been an emergence of artistic interventions, such as public art, activism, and tactical media. These practices adopt the language of tactic as a way to correspond to globalisation, as well as the autonomous status of artwork that is supposedly separated from social and political life (Bradley & Esche 2007). On the surface, both globalisation and art practices are characterised through the concepts of acceleration, fluidity and mobility. However the latter use these characteristics in order to expose globalisation power sources, the people who benefit from it, and the ones who are excluded. As critical art practices, they intervene and disrupt the dominant semiotic regime, creating temporary situations “in which signs, message, and narrative are set play” (Raley 2009, 6). Similar to de Certeau’s notion of tactic, these practices emphasise modes of operation that hold a subversive potential by using products in a different way from their original purpose – a shift from being a consumer to a producer (De Certeau 1988; Raley 2009). In relation to the article, it is not only a matter of using products but using language as well. The question, therefore, is how the case studies use language to undermine concepts that are central to the Israeli-Zionist narrative.

In the last three decades Israel has moved towards being a neo-liberal economy, resulting in the deterioration of the welfare state model (Adva Centre 2016). One of the recent and significant counter-reaction for this shift was the protest for social justice during the summer of 2011. In comparison to other protests around the world at that time this one focused on the housing shortage (Livio & Katriel 2014). The use of protest camps already have a long legacy in different socio-political struggle as “a tactic of political contention” (Feigenbaum et al. 2013, 1). As a tactic that was globally adopted during the insurrections of 2011, it transforms the public space into a “global street” - a space that brings into the surface the problematic relationship between powerlessness and empowerment, but also provides with the opportunity for the powerless to make history and politics (Monterescu and Shaindlinger 2013, 229). Within a local context, the use of tents in protests resonates with the first decade in Israel, where a great number of Jewish immigrants lived under harsh conditions in transition camps (Ma’abarat in Hebrew). The protest, therefore, uses the temporary characteristics of the tent to express the sense of financial insecurity that moved forward to the third generation (Misgav 2013).

The sense of insecurity is not only the result of accelerating globalisation processes in Israel. When it comes to other citizens or residents, such as Palestinians and Bedouins, restrictions on movement and construction are also enforced on them. That happens during times of supporting building in Israeli settlements in the West Bank, as well as promoting towns within Israeli territories that are exclusive for Israeli-Jews. These actions are justified by security and

4 The massive distribution of the protest that has started as a protect camp in Rothschild Boulevard in Tel Aviv to other places around Israel led to the expansion of other issues that were effected by the socio-political situation in Israel. For example, education, pensions, workers and single mothers rights, and struggle of other minority groups, such as the LGBTQ community, Israeli-Palestinians, and asylum-seekers.
nationalist reasons of fighting against terror or maintaining the Jewish majority in Israel (DeMalach 2009; Weizman 2007). This article shows two examples of these de-globalised processes: the Iqrit village and the Jahalin Bedouin tribe.

Iqrit is a unique case in the history of the displacement of Palestinians. During the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the Israeli army entered and asked its residents to vacate their homes for a period of two weeks. When the village residents asked to return, their request was denied and Iqrit was declared a restricted military area. Although the Israel High Court of Justice passed a judgement in 1951 allowing the villagers’ return, the ruling is yet to be implemented. Since then the villagers and their descendent have continued their juridical struggle to return to Iqrit, alongside acts of civil disobedience such as demonstrations, tours, and a youth summer camp (Iqrit Community Association 2013).

The case of the Jahalin tribe is different since its status of nomads/refugee is something that is both part of the traditional way of life and something that was forced on the tribe as a result of constantly moving to areas that do not meet their needs. They first became refugees in 1948 after they were deported from the Negev desert in south of Israel. They moved to Judea desert and the Palestinian towns Abu-Dis and Al-Eizariya. Both towns are located in area B that is under a Palestinian civilian control and Israeli security control. During the 1990s, as a result of building the Jewish settlement Ma’ale Adumin, they were forced to move again. Today, many of the Jahalin tribe live in Arab al-Jahalin, a semi-urban village close to the Abu-Dis garbage dump in area C, an area that is under full Israeli control. The new place is recognised by the Israeli state, but it doesn’t allow its resident to maintain their traditional ways of living, such as keeping live stock (Bimkom 2013).

Connecting issues of home, ownership and displacement, this articles explores the relationship between home and space. In relation to tactic, it analyses the meaning of tactic and other temporary interventions in cases where the feeling of temporariness and instability are ordinary feelings and a concrete reality. Since the case studies are initiated by different actors within Israeli society – Jews, Palestinians and Bedouin – several interpretation for the relationship between tactic and strategy are necessary.

To examine further relationships between time and space is important to understand the case studies as site-specifics as well. While earlier texts on site-specific during the 1960s and 1970s perceived site as a physical space, highlighting its materialistic qualities, current theories on site-specific have expanded the site to the cultural and social context that constructs it. Site-specific

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5 In her analyse of the commune in Iqrit, Daphna Ben-Shaul refers them as “internally displaced” - meaning, Palestinians who have an Israeli citizenship and live within Israeli territories, but are unable to return to their original homes and villages. They often have been occupied or replaced by new Jewish residents or have become historic sites and part of the nature reserves (Ben-Shaul, 2016: 36)
has become a discourse, an anti-visual and immaterial experience built on information, text, gestures and performance (Kwon 2002). This interpretation coincides with the ways the case studies reproduce new meanings to the sites they occur in. In order to examine the relationship between the projects’ site and the historical concepts or events they refer to, I will borrow the term ‘performative return’ coined by Ben-Shaul. It is a form of a site-specific performance “which bring about a re-conceptualization of reality” through aesthetic means (Ben-Shaul 2016, 31-32). Similar to tactics, it is both temporary and manipulative. It responds to socio-political events or crises, however it does not wish to offer a solution to them. By doing that, a performative return aims to change the conception on the event and to re-conceptualise reality (Ibid).

**Tactical experimentations in Israel**

The case studies correspond to the way Wall and Tower was canonised in Israeli history in two main ways. The first is by appropriating the tactic of Wall and Tower within the language and experience of non-Jewish minorities in Israel. The second is by neglecting its conceptual meaning of home and shelter by adopting a nomadic approach towards the Israeli space.

In order to transform Al-Kursahn family’s house into an artwork Sala-Manca paid them 6,000 NIS, out of the 10,000 NIS artists’ budget provided by the Jerusalem Development Authority. The artists drove to the Judea desert and dismantled their house. Al-Kurshan’s family then built an improved house using the money given to them. Similar to the Wall and Tower, the whole process of dismantling and building had to happen overnight to avoid officers from the Israel Civil Administration spotting the construction of an unauthorised structure. The dismantled house was transferred to Jerusalem, and rebuilt in Hensen Centre for Art and Technology in Jerusalem where Sala-Manca works (Rotman 2017).

The new structure contains both qualities of a Bedouin House, rebuilt exactly as it was, and a Kosher – as it is built according to Jewish law – Sukkah. For the last purpose, Sala-Manca added a palm tree branches as the roof and festive decorations. It has thus become, as similar to the other case studies, a hybrid space that contains different histories and narratives in which their intersection produces new identities (Bhabha 1994). It has adopted the tactic of Wall and Tower for the opposite purpose. The original model was used as a shelter, separating the settlements from outside – the local landscape and its inhabitants (Rotbard 2003). The Eterenal Sukkah model used the discreet characteristics of Wall and Tower in order tear down these walls by suggesting an inclusive structure and a collaboration with non-Jewish residents living in Israel.
A similar thing happens in The Convoy on a conceptual level. Empty House was formed in one of last demonstrations of the 2011. The main motivation was providing artistic solutions for the housing shortage by occupying abandoned houses and transforming them to alternative artistic spaces. Their acts were always tactical, and in contrast to the original Wall and Tower, the group never had intentions of taking ownership of the space they have entered. After every event they left the space with the infrastructure they have created for other people to use. The non-sovereign approach that stood behind Empty House’s projects has taken on an explicit meaning during The Convoy. During this project, the “invaded” space was Jerusalem. Dozens of participants responded to Empty House’s open call and assisted with the preparations for the journey, such as building mobile infrastructures for electricity and water, as well as different types of DIY vehicles that were used as a kitchen, library, hair salon, cinema, and book printing. The journey itself lasted for a period of fifteen days (Empty House 2013a).

The Convoy is a nomadic experience that asks questions about home, safety and comfort zones. In the project’s website, Empty House describes The Convoy as “the art of the Matzah” (Empty House 2013b). According to the book of Exodus, the Matzah was the bread that did not have time to prove and rise before the people of Israel left Egypt. This description has much in common with Kwon’s definition for a discursive site-specific that is less of a structured space or model and more of a “itinerary, a fragmentary sequence of events and actions through spaces, that is, a nomadic narrative whose path is articulated by the passage of the artist” (Kwon 2002, 29). The Convoy navigates between the physical space of Jerusalem and textual, visual and dematerialised sites. During the preparation and the journey, Empty House’s website has become
an interactive space where its participants shared their ideas for the project. It also included a journey diary, interactive google map, and a live chat and forum (Empty House, 2013a). The Convoy emphasises the action and its unknown consequences. It is highlighted through one of the interactive documentation on their website called The Nomadic Code. It contains meditations, open questions and quotations written by the participants during the journey, mostly regarding issues of authorship, ownership and power, and the place of the nomad(s) in relation to them. Most of these insights are characterised with an open, fragmented and unfinished tone (Empty House 2013b). The notion of tactic is highly dominant here, as The Convoy refuses to delimit itself to an organised and defined set of theories and principles, despite its rich philosophical and cultural sources of inspiration.

Such is the case with Eternal Sukkah. Although the site is more defined than that of The Convoy – a Sukkah located in an art centre – it is anchored by textual, oral, photographic, and cinematic sources that both document the project as well as construct its meaning. During the holiday of Sukkot, Eternal Sukkah, has become a space where different practitioners, such as Al-Kurshan family, artists, activists, academics and religious figures, were invited to share different experiences of nomadism, homelessness and refugeeness (Roman 2017).

In relation to discourse and the notion of ‘performative return’, both The Convoy and Eternal Sukkah perform the act of return to Jewish sources. The nomadic and temporary meanings are influenced by the story of Exodus that both Sukkot and Passover are related to. They both highlight elements of temporariness that come with a moral responsibility that is drawn from them being an enslaved minority in Egypt. Sukkot commemorates the structures which the people of Israel were living in during the Exodus, as well as the temporary structures which
farmers used for sleeping during harvest time. The Kabbalah and Jewish philosophy scholar Rachel Elior argues that the holiday reminds the settlers that they are temporary residents. It is therefore, an annual practice for the memory of being a refugee and a foreigner (Rotman 2016).

The mix of tactic with aspects of Jewish tradition that highlight issues of temporality, nomadism, and refugeeess becomes a critical reaction to Zionist ideology. The Zionist ideology can be read as negating the concept of exile and diaspora in favour of sovereignty in the land of Israel (Raz-Krakotzkin 2013). The non-sovereign or non-exclusive approach towards the state challenges both Zionist interpretations and religious right movements, that choose to highlight the act of occupying the land as the beginning of salvation and the coming of the messiah. This approach expands the context of site-specific. Kwon highlights the problematic transformation of site-specific from being a critical practice to a nomadic practice that was embraced by mobilised capitalist economy (Kwon 2002). The cases of Eternal Sukkah and The Convoy however contradict this logic. They both use the temporary space to halt time in order to imagine other life forms that are more communal and socio-politically aware. It is not an act of escapism or a business or luxurious journey, but one that is motivated by a sense of responsibility and the need to change the political vocabulary that shapes the social, political and economic reality in Israel. The use of traditionalist languages within a contemporary and critical practices are common amongst artists and activist who come from communities who experienced the exclusion and erasure of their traditions (Burns 2006). In an interview with Walaa Sbait, one of the members of the Iqrit commune, he argues that the commune is inspired by different models of struggles: the framers struggle in Mexico and Brazil; the Tuareg in the Sahara desert and Mali; as well as Kibbutzim, Israeli settlements and outposts (Matar 2013). The varied sources of influence show how different struggles in a global world have become networked. It also highlights the importance of appropriating the language of local strategy in this case, that of the Israeli-Zionist hegemony, in order to challenge it.

Adopting the language of Wall and Tower within the context of the Palestinian struggle for national and territorial recognition, confronts the Israeli double standards regarding the expansion of settlements in the West Bank, as well as the lack of support and resources for Palestinian construction (Grinbaum & Ziv 2016). Since the Iqrit commune or “settlement” is not erected on an arbitrary spot but on the grounds of Iqrit village, it raises the question of the

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6 This reading exclude ultra-orthodox Jews who reject the idea of a secular Jewish state. There are also alternative approaches within Zionist-Orthodoxy which are more flexible regarding the idea of sovereignty. For example: the former Sephardic Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, who ruled that the sanctity of life is more important than the sanctity of land, thus in case of the risk of losing life it is possible to give up on territories; the “Land of Peace” movement who promotes dialogue and co-existence between Jewish settlers and Palestinians through the common of both Judaism and Islam being Abrahamic religions.

7 For similar acts see: the erection of a camp in the demolished Palestinian village Birim in 2014 by the art collective Insiyab; the camp protest Bab Al Shams (“Gate of the Sun” in Arabic) that appropriates the 2011 Israeli protests for social justice tents; the video art of Yael Bartana, Summer Camp, from 2007 documents the rebuilding of a house demolished in the West Bank village Anata by Israeli authorities. The rebuilding was made by Palestinians, Israelis, and international volunteers of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions.
Palestinian return. Allowing the villagers of Iqrit to return to their village might create a precedent for the Palestinians’ demands of return – a demand that has never been recognised by the Israeli public and government throughout the years (Ben-Shaul 2016). This further exposes the Israeli double standards regarding the right to return that is automatically granted for every Jew who wishes to immigrate to Israel, even if they or their family were not born in Israel.

The concept of Wall and Tower or the act of settlement can be partially applied to the case of Iqrit. It does not only appropriate strategic language to interfere its space, but it uses the language of return, claiming a place that once belonged to them. The performative element of this return is manifested through the restoration of the destroyed village and the utilisation of the past within both a daily and aesthetic means (Ben-Shaul 2016). It is interesting to compare Iqrit’s performative and disobedient act to the history of Palestinian art since 1948. According to art historian Gannit Ankori Palestinian art deals with the experience of displacement and exile, the loss of the nation and the land quite often with a tragic and pessimistic tone (Ankori 2006). While the experience of displacement is what motivated the actions of Iqrit’s villagers, it is the use of humour, creativity, and productivity that define the commune. By adopting humoristic tone the commune in Iqrit not only manages to expose the different treatment it receives from Israeli authorities, but it also manages to maintain a more constructive way of dealing with the struggle of displacement. Its members do not adopt a nostalgic look at the past, but adapt it to their life. It can be seen from the mixture of playing football, producing oil, having tours with the elders who teach them about the place, installing solar systems and recycling facilities, or just watching TV, smoking and drinking, and learning the Dabke (a Palestinian traditional dance) (Ben-Shaul 2016).
The last issue is the relation between the tactical meaning of the projects to the space they respond to. The case studies provide a complex idea on tactic that moves between the decision of not being tied to a certain space, and the aim of claiming a space. It has to do with questions of privilege; who initiates the action, in which space, and what types of relations they hold with the authorities.

In the cases of Eternal Sukkah and The Convoy, the artistic context provides a protection to acts that in other contexts are labelled illegal. The “invasions” of Empty House were not disturbed by the police. That can be explained by the lack of a political agenda such as the one initiated in Iqrit. It also has to do with their their artistic success. Since their first project in 2011, Empty House has received media attention and attracted many visitors to their projects – all located in Jerusalem. The alternative tone the members have brought to the city art scene, has contributed to the artistic image the city tries to promote. It is not surprising, therefore, that the latest Empty House project, “HaMiffal” (“the factory” in English), was funded by Eden – a commercial company that promotes projects to regenerate and renewal the city centre of Jerusalem.

However, it would be incomplete to see the relationship between authorities and art practice only from the perspective of exploitation and the observation of tactic by strategy. While art often is used as a cosmetic tool to mask social inequality by authorities, it can be also be used for the

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8 Jerusalem city hall promotes projects for urban renewal, to fight against the demographic decline in young people leaving the city for political and economic reasons. See: The Jerusalem Development Authority; Eisenbud 2016.
opposite reason (Khan 2015). That was the case with Eternal Sukkah that was described by Jerusalem mayor Nir Barkat as a terrible financial decision but a brilliant tactic through the transformation of a house into a piece of art to avoid paying taxes. Sala-Manca used their privilege as Israeli-Jewish artists to “legalise” certain actions as well as to bring to the front other actors within Israeli society that lack that privilege. Later on, Eternal Sukkah was purchased by the Israeli Museum increasing its value by a tenfold. Half of the revenues were sent to Al-Kurshan’s family.

While the projects of Empty House and Sala-Manca were intended to be temporary, the commune in Iqrit is a case where a tactic aims to reclaim a space. This shift is explained by Ariel Handel in an essay on the use of uncertainty as ‘technology of control’ in the West Bank. Handel argues that since strategy – the state of Israel and its different agents taking part in the occupation – uses the language of chaos, confusion, and uncertainty, the way to resist it will be by developing patterns of rationality, routine, and consistency (Handel 2007). For that reason, since its establishment the commune in Iqrit was under constant surveillance and some of its new facilities have been demolished by officers of the Israel Land Administration and Special Patrol Unit (Matar 2013). The commune in Iqrit is not only an act of a performative return but of a civil disobedience. It aims to break the symbolic gesture and promote justice in a concrete way of bringing back the villagers to their original homes. The use of tactics – similar to the historical Wall and Tower – is meant to have a long-term strategic goals. That is something that cannot be observed or tolerated by the current strategy that dismantled the commune.

Model of possibilities

The ways in which the projects were ended indicate the “fate” of tactic. They either disappeared or were co-opted by the system they tried to oppose. However, current technological, artistic, political, and economic factors have re-conceptualised the use of tactics. Rather than being a “science of singularity” as suggested by De Certeau (De Certeau 1988, ix), tactic becomes a collective effort by those who feel excluded from society. Despite the physical disappearance of tactic, many of these efforts leave traces through the documentation and the distribution of the tactical act in different artistic and activist networks. The singular tactics are contextualised within alternative narratives and histories of civil disobedience and social change. By doing that they prevent a complete absorption of tactic by the strategic spaces, such as the art institutions or the mainstream media which either neutralise or criminalised the acts.

These case studies enrich the context and terrains in which tactical practices correspond to. They operate within a system that maintains its power structure by both pushing to a neo-liberal economy that destabilise the financial security of its residents, and using constrains to restrict freedom of expression, movement, and residency on others. The adoption of tactic within collaborative projects thus posits a double challenge: to the neo-liberal model that encourages the
individual’s growth and accomplishments, and to Israeli-Zionist hegemony and its notion on national identity and land ownership. These case studies transform Wall and Tower, that was motivated by the need to be safe and protected, to a tactic that resists the current language of separation and exclusiveness based on ethnic and nationalist identity. They take advantage of the privilege that art holds. This is not to avoid a direct political action or a long-term campaign, but to highlight other “battle fields” that take part in the construction of narratives and identities.
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**Biography**

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