

## Who can advance Israeli-Palestinian peace? Contributing actors to the peace process

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### **The Tower of David Museum: Venue for Co-Existence**

**Rony Ohad\***  
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#### **Abstract**

Jerusalem has been studied extensively by scholars across a range of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. However, the arts, specifically public performance arts, have rarely been leveraged as a primary source to inquire into the city's social structures. This research project examines how cultural institutions within the Old City of Jerusalem (focusing on the Tower of David Museum site) reflect and shape the relationship between citizenship and cultural performances. The article inquires how a cultural institute in a contested city can become an allied sphere, a source for joint creation, and even a venue for peacebuilding. The events and performances addressed in this article provide examples of both straightforward and indirect peace process approaches, revealing culture's potential use and limits in a contested environment. The author suggests that a multicultural approach, yet not a neutral one, leads the museum to reveal its agenda, becoming "The City's Museum" for joint cultural creation and initiative.

#### **A. Introduction**

The globally significant city of Jerusalem has been studied extensively by scholars across a range of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. Researchers have examined the

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\* *Rony Ohad* is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Sociology-Anthropology department of the Hebrew University and a doctoral fellow at The Harry S. Truman Research Institute for The Advancement of Peace.

city's tenuous social and political dynamics in general terms,<sup>1</sup> as well as how these dynamics play out in their representations in the arts.<sup>2</sup>

However, the arts, and public performance arts<sup>3</sup> in particular, have rarely been leveraged as a primary source to inquire into the city's social structures, specifically the power relations and political influence of different groups.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, performance arts provide a unique and compelling lens for understanding various social, political, and cultural circumstances in new ways that could extend beyond Jerusalem's local context. The following study will focus on the case of performance arts to analyze the physical and social boundaries of social enclaves within a city, and to investigate how artists and art can affect geopolitics.

This research project examines how site-specific public performance art within the Old City of Jerusalem (specifically within the Tower of David Museum site) reflects and shapes the relationship between citizenship and cultural performances. There is a profoundly synergistic relationship between performance art and public spaces,<sup>5</sup> especially spaces imbued with significant historical and cultural value.<sup>6</sup> Hence, the Old City of Jerusalem provides a powerful lens to reveal how public cultural events map the connections and power relations between and within various social and political groups, focusing on the question: *how can a cultural institute in a contested city become an allied sphere, and a source for joined creation, let alone peacebuilding? What are the conditions required or limiting such a process?*

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Dumper, *Jerusalem Unbound: Geography, History, and the Future of the Holy City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); Malka Greenberg Raanan and Nufar Avni, "(Ad)Dressing Belonging in a Contested Space: Embodied Spatial Practices of Palestinian and Israeli Women in Jerusalem," *Political Geography* 76 (January 2020): 102090, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2019.102090>; Shlomo Hasson, "Territories and Identities in Jerusalem," *GeoJournal* 53, no. 3 (2001): 12; Philipp Misselwitz and Tim Rieniets, eds., *City of Collision* (Basel - Boston - Berlin: Birkhauser, 2006); Michael Safier, "The Struggle for Jerusalem: Arena of Nationalist Conflict or Crucible of Cosmopolitan Co-Existence?," *City* 5, no. 2 (July 2001): 135–68, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604810120057921>.

<sup>2</sup> Noga Keidar, "Making Jerusalem 'Cooler': Creative Script, Youth Flight, and Diversity," *City & Community* 17, no. 4 (December 2018): 1209–30, <https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12339>; Olga Levitan, "The New Jerusalem Light Rail Train as a Performance Space," in *Borderlines: Essays on Mapping and The Logic of Place*, by Ruthie Abeliovich and Edwin Seroussi (Sciendo, 2019), 27–44, <https://doi.org/10.2478/9783110623758-003>; David A. McDonald, "Performing Palestine: Resisting the Occupation and Reviving Jerusalem's Social and Cultural Identity through Music and the Arts," *The Jerusalem Quarterly* 25 (2006): 5–18; Diego Rotman and Eytan Shouker, "Building and Developing HaMesila Park: From Resistance to Collaboration," in *Understanding Campus-Community Partnerships in Conflict Zones*, ed. Dalya Yafa Markovich, Daphna Golan, and Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2nd ed. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 117–56, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-13781-6>; Abigail Wood, "Sound, Narrative and the Spaces in between: Disruptive Listening in Jerusalem's Old City," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 6, no. 3 (2013): 286–307, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18739865-00603003>.

<sup>3</sup> The term performance art indicated in this paper refers to a presentation performed **by** an artist and may include various technics, media, locations, and participants. Site-specific performance is created for, and out of the specific location it is presented in and in its context.

<sup>4</sup> Meirav Aharon-Gutman, "Art's Failure to Generate Urban Renewal: Lessons from Jerusalem," *Urban Studies* 55, no. 15 (November 2018): 3474–91, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098017743682>; Rebecca L Stein and Ted Swedenburg, eds., *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture*, e. g. 3rd (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> Miwon Kwon, *One Place after Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (The MIT Press, 2002), <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/5138.001.0001>.

<sup>6</sup> Erika Fischer-Lichte, Ramona Mosse, and Minou Arjomand, *The Routledge Introduction to Theatre and Performance Studies*, English Language edition (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014).

Jerusalem is a contested or divided city as opposed to other mixed cities in Israel, as the area of East Jerusalem is occupied by Israel.<sup>7</sup> The intertwined multicultural urban politics between Palestinians and Israelis<sup>8</sup> led Jerusalem to become a spatially and mentally segregated city<sup>9</sup>, characterized by ever-present struggles over its physical spaces, the civil and social rights of those who enjoy them or those precluded from enjoying them<sup>10</sup>. Most interactions and infrastructures lead to a divided and contested reality between two main groups in Jerusalem – Israelis and Palestinians.

Within this context, the importance of a sense of belonging and participation in the complex reality of the city and land can be studied through *cultural citizenship*. On the one hand, cultural citizenship emphasizes the influence of cultural expression on the political sphere. On the other hand, it acknowledges the ways in which politics and civics influence cultural expression.<sup>11</sup>

Therefore, this research project will reveal the delicate connections between the city, its residents, and artists, exposing the struggle for the city's character, representation, and sense of belonging through critical art on the one hand and popular art on the other.

This research is based on ethnographic and archival research, including in-depth interviews, participant observation, and text analysis of contemporary and historical documents. Interviews were conducted with key personnel involved in the production and organization of performance projects, performers, and artistic directors. The performance arts selected for the study include theatre performances, festivals, music concerts and public social events (e.g., mass screening; sportive tournaments), engaging with narrow and broad audiences. Archival research was used to analyze the documentation of past events and institutional records regarding financial and content-related decision-making.

I begin by reviewing the relevant literature on Jerusalem and performance studies. Next, I describe the organizational and content structure of the David Tower Museum, noting how the location and recognition of the museum as a central cultural institute shapes the performative sphere of the Old City of Jerusalem. One of the critical contributions of this study is presenting the dual relations between performance art and socio-political realities. To conclude, I will address the museum's potential in contributing to the mutual existence of daily life in Jerusalem.

## **B. Cultural Spaces and Performances as Political Arenas**

<sup>7</sup> Haim Yacobi and Wendy Pullan, "The Geopolitics of Neighbourhood: Jerusalem's Colonial Space Revisited," *Geopolitics* 19, no. 3 (July 3, 2014): 514–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2013.857657>.

<sup>8</sup> Marik Shtern and Jonathan Rokem, "Towards Urban Geopolitics of Encounter: Spatial Mixing in Contested Jerusalem," *Geopolitics*, May 15, 2021, 1–25, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2021.1926992>.

<sup>9</sup> Oren Yiftachel and Haim Yacobi, "Urban Ethnocracy: Ethnicization and the Production of Space in an Israeli 'Mixed City,'" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 21, no. 6 (December 2003): 673–93, <https://doi.org/10.1068/d47j>.

<sup>10</sup> Misselwitz and Rieniets, *City of Collision*.

<sup>11</sup> Edna Lomsky-Feder and Tamar Rapoport, *Israelis in Their Own Way: Migration Stories of Young Adults from Former U.S.S.R* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2012).

This study documents several examples of performance arts, representing a diversity of content, perspectives, and forms, telling the story of Jerusalem from various points of view. It employs two central conceptual frameworks. The first follows anthropological research in *cultural citizenship*, which employs two primary lines of inquiry – cultural and political – as a means of examining citizenship. While the cultural approach acknowledges the importance of a diverse citizenry, the latter emphasizes the importance of political participation as a pathway to cultural equality.<sup>12</sup> The second framework of this research will address Jerusalem as a *contested city*. Research into contested cities in the contemporary world seeks to break down and understand the complex dynamics of those cities in which social, political, and religious groups are in overt conflict. To achieve this, researchers seek to identify the distinct realities and lived experiences of disparate groups within a city and examine the dynamics of contested cities in comparison with each other.<sup>13</sup> Focusing this lens on the city of Jerusalem, the research aims to add an essential layer to anthropological research on the city through a detailed, ethnographic portrait of individuals and organizations engaged in and associated with public performance arts, as well as their audiences and others in geographical proximity.

The influence of art upon conflicted spheres was previously researched from different angles. Clark<sup>14</sup> recognizes the dualism in creating art after social and human catastrophes (Adorno) as a privilege – a need that is not necessary for survival, unlike food and shelter (Maslow), alongside the benefits of creation after destruction, such as reflection and processes of individual and communal healing as well as political criticism of local and national leaders. However, the use of performance art as a dialogical and reflectional tool in situations of continual conflict provides an alternative sphere and representation of the situation and the people taking part in the conflict.<sup>15</sup>

As the research takes place within and about the Old City of Jerusalem (the Holy Basin), the events, space, and audience represent the civil composition and relationships of Jerusalem, including social and religious groups such as Orthodox Jews, Muslims, Christians, Armenians, disability art performers, and Jerusalemite liberal artists. It is essential to emphasize the fact that most Palestinian residents of the Old City (and most of Palestinian Jerusalemites) are not citizens of the Israeli state, but only residents, and are therefore denied crucial civil rights. Nevertheless, considering their *cultural citizenship*,<sup>16</sup> each group defines its claim for influence upon the city's social structure instead of the expected acknowledgment derived from their rights as city residents.

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<sup>12</sup> Gerard Delanty, "Two Conceptions of Cultural Citizenship: A Review of Recent Literature on Culture and Citizenship," *Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1, no. 3 (March 2002): 60–66, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14718800208405106>.

<sup>13</sup> A. C. Hepburn, *Contested Cities in the Modern West* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230536746>; Wendy Pullan, "The Space of Contested Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 39 (2009): 39–50.

<sup>14</sup> Serena Clark, "View of A Space for Art in Post-Agreement Environments: The Case of Belfast," *Humanities Bulletin* 2, no. 1 (2019): 259–72.

<sup>15</sup> Dena L. Hawes, "Crucial Narratives: Performance Art and Peace Building," *International Journal of Peace Studies* 12, no. 2 (2007): 17–29.

<sup>16</sup> Aihwa Ong, "Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making," *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 5 (December 1996): 27.

Cultural citizenship denotes everyday cultural practices through which minority groups (based on religion, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status) claim space, recognition and rights to separate and equal presence, identity, visibility, and citizenship, emphasizing all cultures as equals<sup>17</sup>. Becoming a citizen in one's state depends on being constituted as a subject, exercising, or submitting to power relations with the state and civil society. Furthermore, being part of a minority group – specifically non-white groups bound to national and local groups requires one to balance between self-making and being made by the government and worldwide power dynamics.<sup>18</sup> In other words, the existence of minority groups and the question regarding their rights and sense of belonging can be challenged by two main approaches, the political and the cultural.

The political approach, referred to as 'cosmopolitan citizenship,' is founded on the centrality of culture in understanding citizenship. It assumes a society forms through cultural resources and identities, understanding citizenship as a constructive process requiring participation in the political community. The cultural course emphasizes diversity, acknowledging the importance of minority groups and their rights, constituting a diverse, rather than uniform, citizenry.<sup>19</sup>

Observing Jerusalem or any other culturally contested sphere in this sense unveils the deep feelings connected to aggressive acts which negate the other group's existence and identity.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, this study examines the use of the term *cultural citizenship*, and its implementation, through both perspectives, recognizing the delicate interpretation this term may create for each side.

There are places and opportunities where segregation is challenged, neo-liberal spaces, where profit interests overcome the contestation, such as private malls and shopping centers,<sup>21</sup> even if it applies through redevelopment and marketing of past violence spheres.<sup>22</sup> As reflected in the following sections, the events and performances addressed in this article prove an example of straightforward and indirect peace process approaches, revealing culture's potential benefits and limits in a contested sphere.

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<sup>17</sup> Jan Pakulski, "Cultural Citizenship," *Citizenship Studies* 1, no. 1 (February 1997): 73–86, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621029708420648>; Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship in San Jose, California," *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 17, no. 2 (November 1994): 57–63, <https://doi.org/10.1525/pol.1994.17.2.57>.

<sup>18</sup> Ong, "Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making."

<sup>19</sup> Delanty, "Two Conceptions of Cultural Citizenship: A Review of Recent Literature on Culture and Citizenship."

<sup>20</sup> Marc Howard Ross, *Cultural Contestation in Ethnic Conflict (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics)*, Illustrated, Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/cultural-contestation-in-ethnic-conflict/{A0FC365013118CD53F2B07FDFA7031F2}>.

<sup>21</sup> Marik Shtern, "Urban Neoliberalism vs. Ethno-National Division: The Case of West Jerusalem's Shopping Malls," *Cities (London, England)* 52 (March 2016): 132–39, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2015.11.019>.

<sup>22</sup> Marik Shtern and Scott A. Bollens, "B(u)ypassing Conflict: Urban Redevelopment in Nationally Contested Cities," *Journal of Urban Affairs*, March 31, 2021, 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2021.1890609>.

### C. The Tower of David Museum: History as a Performative Actor

“... all processes of interweaving different cultures in performance can be regarded as political processes. Performance takes place in public. Each and every performance creates both an aesthetic and a political situation”.<sup>23</sup> Jerusalem is a site of various religious and historical monuments representing countless rich and diverse stories and ideologies, many of which are in direct conflict with each other. The city, therefore, hosts an ongoing struggle between two national movements and multiple cultural and religious groups, all claiming their rights to the city, its history, and its future.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, adjacent lands surrounding the Old City walls, named the Holy Basin (including the majority of the holy places of the monotheistic religions)<sup>25</sup> are an inherent part of the geopolitical dispute. Even the modern naming of the area is part of a broader conceptual framing of the area as part of a historical story.

This unique assemblage of well-established communities, cultures, and stories in the Old City often inspires individuals and institutions to produce performances, tours, and other media that claim a particular narrative and history. Research projects concerning and addressing the performativity of the Old City and the performances taking place inside its walls<sup>26</sup> indicate the complex relationship between the residents living within the different quarters and those who use the space as a performative platform – including touristic and commercial activities, let alone artistic and aesthetic actions. Artists and social activists have long understood and utilized the public sphere as a place for action, raising questions concerning the ownership of the space. A group or individual’s position concerning the legality and right to use public space for artistic or other purposes depends on their particular interests, creating tension between the private and public spheres.<sup>27</sup> These studies have documented the many sensorial impacts of these activities, noting that visual, vocal, and spatial performances dominate the city, creating an indisputable influence on the residents’ lives in the Old City.

The Tower of David Museum is the largest official museum inside the Old City’s walls<sup>28</sup> and one of the most visited museums in Israel. The museum is positioned at Jaffa gate, one of the central entries to the Old City and the main gate for Israeli Jewish visitors and residents. As the following section will present, the museum’s history and current activity implicate the importance of the Museum in the cultural activities of Jerusalem and especially in the Old City.

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<sup>23</sup> Erika Fischer-Lichte, “Interweaving Cultures in Performance: Different States of Being In-Between,” *New Theatre Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (November 2009): 400, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266464X09000670>.

<sup>24</sup> Hasson, “Territories and Identities in Jerusalem.”

<sup>25</sup> Wendy Pullan and Maximilian Sternberg, “The Making of Jerusalem’s ‘Holy Basin,’” *Planning Perspectives* 27, no. 2 (April 2012): 225–48, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2012.646772>.

<sup>26</sup> Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, “The Occupation of the Senses: The Prosthetic and Aesthetic of State Terror,” *British Journal of Criminology*, September 10, 2016, azw066, <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azw066>; Wood, “Sound, Narrative and the Spaces in between: Disruptive Listening in Jerusalem’s Old City.”

<sup>27</sup> Hadas Ophrat, *Taking the City: New Art Strategies* (Tel-Aviv: Resling, 2021).

<sup>28</sup> As it is the only museum with a curator, the condition for being an official museum

The Tower of David Museum is part of the ancient Citadel in the Old City of Jerusalem, dated 3,000 years old. The Citadel is known today as the Tower of David, yet the name was given to one of the three-guard towers, which was built by Herod the Great. Fatzael Tower is the only tower standing today. The Minaret inside the Citadel was built during the Ottoman Empire, becoming one of the city's symbols. The museum opened to the public in April 1989, initiated by Teddy Kollek, then mayor of the city, wishing to renew a British tradition using the Citadel as a cultural site at the time of the British Mandate.<sup>29</sup> In order to open the site to the public, archaeological excavations were undertaken, and the site was presented as an archaeological museum, revealing and reviewing the different historical layers through permanent and changing exhibitions. The Museum is designed to tell the story of historical and contemporary Jerusalem for tourists from all over the world.

The Museum was initially defined as a museum for the history of Jerusalem, devoted to illustrating the city's narratives. Today, The Tower of David Museum is a key organization in the cultural sphere of Jerusalem. In the last decade, the Museum shifted its focus and aimed to become a Museum of the City – a museum dedicated to the genealogy of Jerusalem. As part of this change, the current administration set a route to form the museum as a central and crucial cultural institution in the city's cultural activity. The museum was known as an unattainable establishment, serving mainly as a luxurious venue hosting external events. Nearly a decade ago, the arrival of a new employee that soon became an administrator demanded a drastic change, claiming that the cultural department would stand for itself and would not be part of the educational or marketing departments of the museum. This created a structural change in the museum, establishing a yearly cultural plan providing accessibility to the Citadel through public events, and exceedingly becoming a cultural generator, influencing the cultural scene and demanding the museum's participation in every main cultural event in the Old City, as a leading cultural institution in Jerusalem.

The museum is a registered association, partially supported financially by the government and various donations, but following the formation of a cultural plan, today it is mainly self-sustained by the events held by the museum and entry tickets.<sup>30</sup> The museum is financially and content-wise independent, supervised by an Israeli-Jewish board and management. Nevertheless, the museum is highly evaluated by the municipality, various institutions, and production companies, allowing the institute to participate in and create mass events in the Citadel and the Old City.

Following the administrative changes, the museum became an exclusive scene for private and cultural events focusing mainly on public cultural events, allowing the institute to choose and maintain cultural activity by stabilizing the financial conditions needed to continue the artistic program. The museum began to host and initiate cultural events, including theatre performances, festivals, such as the Light Festival (2009-2019) and Music Festival, and international exhibitions, as well as the Dale Chihuly (July 1999).

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<sup>29</sup> <https://www.tod.org.il/en/about>

<sup>30</sup> <https://www.guidestar.org.il/organization/580016731>

Nevertheless, the current administration highly values the importance of varied audiences, not necessarily by age but by “status” – ‘young spirited’, families, and ‘settled-minded’ audiences.<sup>31</sup> The museum plans various events, workshops, and tours for each group based on areas of interest and culture. The multi-narrative content presented in the museum is displayed in at least three languages, as is the audio guide and website. Hence, establishing the museum as a cultural center and providing events for various audiences allowed the institute to maintain its financial activity and become economically and professionally independent. As such, the Museum strengthened its motto – a museum of the city – by freely choosing content and cooperating with other institutes and initiatives.<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, the Museum became a core of connections between different communities in the Old City, centralizing itself as a needed mediator and negotiator for the city of Jerusalem. For example, the Light Festival is a week-long festival presented in and around the Old City of Jerusalem, attracting tens of thousands of people walking through the narrow streets and alleys during nighttime, introducing the visitors to the local markets and way of life alongside the artistic experience of screenings, installations, music, live acts, illuminated sculptures, and trails. Nevertheless, the festival created a severe disturbance for the residents. With the festival's yearly growth, the disruption became harder and harder to bear. A local community leader approached the Museum's administration to request that the Museum address the municipality to alleviate the limitations implemented upon the local community due to the festival arrangements.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless the festival kept expanding every year, multiplying the routes it occupies, and increasing the disturbance for the local community.

One of the museum's main goals was to expand cultural events for all religions and languages. Different events and collaborations were initiated and designed for multiple and diverse participants, including football (2018) and backgammon tournaments (2019). The Museum's Manager expressed her unopposed opinion of exhibitions regarding more sensitive political issues, such as refugee camps near the city.<sup>34</sup>

The interactions between the cultural and social groups in the city create specific performances in the public sphere, including being present or excluded from the public sphere, such as in places where Palestinians and Israelis can or cannot go to, creating a continuous tension between participation and non-participation of the residents and outsiders. This relationship is expressed through actions of domination, such as the use of the Old City walls as the city billboard for social, national, and religious presentations.<sup>35</sup>

In an interview with one of the head administrators of the museum, these events were described as controversial, leading to unique productional arrangements, such as basing the event outside the actual Citadel, using a different entrance, and abolishing the need to enter through the main gate. Therefore, the manager indicated that more successful events

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<sup>31</sup> As noted by the administration through an interview.

<sup>32</sup> Naama Riba, “40 מיליון דולר כדי לרענן את סביבת העיר העתיקה,” *Haaretz*, May 14, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/architecture/.premium-1.6074749>.

<sup>33</sup> From interview with administrator of the museum

<sup>34</sup> Riba, “40 מיליון דולר כדי לרענן את סביבת העיר העתיקה.”

<sup>35</sup> Shalhoub-Kevorkian, “The Occupation of the Senses: The Prosthetic and Aesthetic of State Terror.”



did not intend to collaborate with the different communities but instead invited them to join events such as World Cup screenings inside the Citadel.

Moreover, following a multi-religious music event with the social-musical initiative “Koolulam” in 2018,<sup>36</sup> the museum administration initiated a multi-religious dialogue group, along with religious and community leaders, discussing the reasons for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the ways to resolve it by learning the basics of every religion and community in order to gain a deeper understanding of each other, alongside with local community activities.

These examples shed light on the importance of the museum as a cultural institution in the Old City of Jerusalem and the cultural scene of the larger Jerusalem, implicating the significance of this cultural institute to the relationship between state, municipality, and society. Even though economic independence creates the opportunity to discuss and display more controversial subjects, leading administrators in the museum, admit that successful events are those that do not address these issues directly but rather create an “ordinary” encounter such as screenings, tournaments, and different non-signified events.

## **D. Discussion and Conclusion**

Although the Museum establishes a multicultural sphere, reaching out and inviting in audiences from different statuses, nationalities, and religions, it is run by Israeli-Jewish management, and “[the] Israel flag flies on top of Fatzael tower” (Interviewee, 26/05/2021). Interviewees from the institution indicated that the notion of the museum as an Israeli organization allows the cultural and educational programs to introduce all relevant stories and information to visitors. In other words, once the Israeli-Jewish identity of the museum is legitimized, presenting and telling other narratives is much more acceptable. There is no need to justify the primary narrative.

Even though the Tower of David Museum implemented various approaches to increase diversity in the Museum – initiating activities and diversifying the audience attending the events - multicultural/religious/national existence is not a central goal of the Museum. Yet, should it be?

The facility and content are intended for international tourists, local citizens, and residents, creating multi-lingual exhibitions, and hosting various events. Nevertheless, the fact that the institution is a symbolic Israeli organization challenges the local community to use the sphere as its own. In order to create a welcoming environment and open the facility for more collaborative events, the Museum as an institution will need more than just hosting bi-lingual events and sports tournaments, but to initially collaborate with artists and cultural leaders to create an “in house” project and not only a production inviting a specific audience – such as the football screening. Although certain collaborations include local social organizations that are co-founded and represent Jewish and Arab Israelis, they usually remain as social activities, not performative initiatives.

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<sup>36</sup> <https://www.koolulam.com/#koolEvent>

Moreover, participating in the varied events initiated by the museum is not always accepted by artists or sponsors (such as embassies worldwide that do not recognize the Israeli sovereignty over Old City and East Jerusalem). Therefore, in some cases (depending on the participants), the effort to create multicultural events contradicts the basic political situation.

Thus, there must be an integral movement to create a safe but influential sphere, allowing all voices to be heard in equal value and tone. The museum wishes to become the City's Museum and, as such, to tell the city's history and story. However, regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the museum, alongside many other social institutions and initiatives, remains working and promoting the potential "common" interests of both sides – sports and backgammon tournaments, sing-along events, and oriental-styled events (e.g., Oud festival, artists' fairs). In order to create a well-established relationship between different communities, cooperation must begin with co-creation, allowing both sides to tell a story, even if it is too hard to explain and accept its content. Nevertheless, a national cultural institution will likely avoid such a problematic display. Still, primarily through art, the complex situation of Jerusalem can become more evident, easier to comprehend and could create an opportunity to relate to all narratives in the Old City and its surroundings. The mutual creation will design and develop the cultural citizenship of the residents, enabling a diverse citizenry in a multicultural sphere.

Reviewing the main activities of the Museum, it becomes clear that the main interest remains income and exposure alongside establishing the institute as a critical player in the cultural field of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, the Museum can expand its exposure to various audiences and thus truly become "The City's Museum". It is vital that these events happen in central institutions, such as the Tower of David Museum, all the more so in cooperation with other cultural institutions in the Old City, creating an inherent cultural sphere, allowing all voices and representations to be seen and heard, not replaced by one voice, nor reduced to "neutral" social meetings. These events do not necessarily need to be a part of an official peacebuilding project but an opportunity for joint cultural creation and initiative.

"By interweaving cultures without erasing their differences, performances, as sites of in-betweenness, are able to constitute new realities – realities of the future, where the state of being in-between describes the 'normal' state of the citizens of this world".<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Fischer-Lichte, "Interweaving Cultures in Performance: Different States of Being In-Between," 400–401.