ARTICLES

Jerusalem's Alternative Collective Memory Agents

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ABSTRACT: Jerusalem played an important role in the establishment of collective memory studies by Maurice Halbwachs in the early twentieth century. Recent studies in this field draw attention to the contribution of a variety of agents to building, maintaining, and challenging collective memory realms. Following suit, this article deals with the methods that agents of an alternative collective memory for Jerusalem use to challenge the Israeli hegemonic narrative. Before reviewing their activities in East and West Jerusalem and their resources and impact, I summarize the hegemonic narrative as presented in four memory realms. Special attention is given to both sides' use of the Internet as a means of overcoming the physical limitations of memory realms.

KEYWORDS: alternative memory agents, collective memory, hegemonic narrative, Jerusalem, Maurice Halbwachs

"At the end of October 1939, the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs," the founder of collective memory studies, "visited the convent of the Sisters of Our Lady of Sion and looked at the excavations under it" (Lemire 2017: 56). A few years earlier, in 1925, Halbwachs had published his book *The Social Framework of Memory*. This book, argues the historian Vincent Lemire, made Halbwachs the "first scholar to have attempted a sociological approach to memory processes" (ibid.). In Jerusalem, according to Lemire, Halbwachs learned that space and sacred memory are interrelated, a discovery he included in his book *The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land*, published in 1941, just two years after his visit. Halbwachs,

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concludes Lemire, "was also the first to grasp the significance of Jerusalem in understanding the links between memory processes and topographical anchors, between memory and places of memory. Nowhere else could a sociologist find such a promising terrain for study, upon which had been deposited so many interwoven layers of memory" (ibid.: 56–57).

Pierre Nora (1996) expanded Halbwachs's insights from sacred sites to all kinds of memorial monuments, symbols, ceremonies, and commemorations. Moreover, Nora (1989: 12) argues, sites of memory "originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory" (see also Azaryahu 2006; Zerubavel 1995, 2005). Following Nora, other studies have drawn attention to the role of agents in building and maintaining memory sites. Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn (1989: 2) argue that "memory operates under the pressure of challenges and alternatives," such as private or collective pressures to forget. Drawing on Michel Foucault, they add that official versions of historical narrative evoke counter-memory. Therefore, they conclude, "whenever memory is invoked we should be asking ourselves: by whom, where, in which context, against what?" (ibid.). In what follows, I answer these questions in relation to Jerusalem's alternative memory agents.

National movements and states in general, and those engaged in territorial conflict in particular, produce selective views of history. Erasing the memory of rival collectives is not an uncommon practice, whether as part of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or elsewhere. For instance, Craig Larkin (2012) shows how fictive collective memory shapes Beirut's urban spaces, and Rebecca Bryant (2012) discusses similar practices in Cyprus. Post-war collective memory in different European societies is addressed in a volume edited by Jan-Werner Muller (2002). The current article focuses on the agents implementing or resisting the selective erasure of memory in Jerusalem, both East and West, since the Camp David summit in 2000, where for the first time Israeli rule over East Jerusalem was officially negotiated.

The failed Israeli-Palestinian peace process intensified the struggle over Jerusalem's collective memory. Israel's hegemony rests not only on sheer force, but also on arguments that posit exclusive Israeli rule in Jerusalem as the ultimate representation of the past. Critical Israeli and Palestinian civil society organizations, on the other hand, identify Palestinian roots in West and East Jerusalem alike, and explore what the oppressive historical narrative hides. As I show below, they challenge Israeli hegemony by producing subversive and emancipatory knowledge and representations of the past.

Before discussing those agents, I summarize the hegemonic narrative as expressed in four memory realms: the Tower of David museum, the City of David archaeological site, the Temple Institute, and the Jerusalem Municipality's "Open House" directory. The first two realms use the biblical and medieval past to legitimize Israel's rule in the present, whereas

the "Open House" directory reshapes Jerusalem's early-twentieth-century history for the same purpose. The Temple Institute, on the other hand, is oriented toward the future. According to its theology, the reconstructed Jewish Temple should replace existing Muslim shrines. Each of these institutions disseminates the hegemonic narrative not only in museum exhibitions and publications, but also virtually, through well-developed and engaging websites. Modern technology enables them to overcome the physical or environmental limits of memory sites. Those who challenge these hegemonic narratives have fewer resources, and their use of the Internet is more limited.

Agents of Hegemony

The Tower of David museum stresses the presence of a Jewish community in Jerusalem in all eras, depicting its way of life and Diaspora Jews' hopes of returning to the city. The exhibition treats the Canaanite period, which it dates to 3200 BCE and says lasted for nearly 2,000 years, only in passing as compared with the space devoted to the Israelite period, which lasted only 600 years. The exhibition and the part of the museum website devoted to the Canaanite period say nothing about the city's institutions or the rule of the Jebusites, identified as national ancestors in certain Palestinian historical mythologies.[1] The museum describes Jewish rule during the First and Second Temple periods, whose beginnings it dates to 1006 BCE and 515 BCE, respectively. Each text on these periods celebrates the city's religious and political significance for Jews.

The exhibition recounts over 400 years of Muslim domination in Jerusalem, beginning in 638 CE, without mentioning that both the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates were not only Muslim but also Arab. The museum divides the Arab epoch into shorter periods labeled with the names of the different ruling dynasties, without doing the same for Jewish dynasties.[2] This sophisticated manipulation of history creates the impression that Arab rule consisted of a series of very different regimes, each of which ruled the city for less time than the Jews did. Indeed, the text relates that during this period Jerusalem became holy for Muslims and the Dome of the Rock (built in 691 CE) achieved great symbolic status. Yet the title 'Muslim period' is misleading since the post-Crusader ruling dynasties of the Ayyubids (dating from 1187 CE), the Mamluks (1260 CE), and the Ottomans (1517 CE), each named separately, were also Muslim.

Moreover, despite their non-Arab origins, the Ayyubids and Mamluks are viewed as part of Arab history since Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi ('Saladin' in the West), who defeated the Crusaders and centered his regime

in Cairo, adopted Arab culture and contributed much to its development (Sayfo 2017). In short, the museum's narrative downgrades the Arabs and intimates that only Jews regard Jerusalem as both their holiest city and the center of their national civilization.

This was also Prime Minister Rabin's main point at the "Jerusalem's 3,000th Anniversary" celebration in September 1995, an official collective memory event marking the year King David conquered the Jebusite city. The Israeli government constructed the event to balance the signing a few days earlier of its Oslo II Accord with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), according to which East Jerusalem Palestinians were eligible to participate in Palestinian Authority elections (Schmemann 1995). The hegemonic narrative leads to the conclusion that history reached its climax with the establishment of Israel in 1948 and the unification of Jerusalem in 1967. The past is depicted as a circle, closing with the Jewish people's arrival at the historical destination toward which it had always strived.

The Palestinian neighborhood of Silwan is built on a slope that is the site of ancient Jerusalem. For that reason, international expeditions have excavated the site since the nineteenth century, joined by the Israel Antiquities Authority after 1967. "Where It All Began" is the slogan that Elad—the Hebrew acronym for the City of David Foundation, established in 1986 and officially cooperating with the Israeli government since 1997—uses to describe Silwan. The starting point in question is a strictly Jewish one: the conquest of the Jebusite city by King David. Accordingly, the website's timeline almost completely erases the Muslim and Christian presence in Jerusalem, as well as its rich Arab history.

The only exception is a section of the timeline called "The Early Arab Period," which, like the descriptions of all the other periods, focuses largely on Jewish settlement in Jerusalem (see City of David 2019a). The chronology begins with the biblical patriarchs and the story of Abraham's binding of Isaac on Mt. Moriah and ends with the contemporary City of David. The website features a panoramic view of the Old City (City of David 2017) and an interactive virtual tour of Jerusalem (City of David 2019b). Jewish sites and neighborhoods are tagged while Arab neighborhoods, the al-Aqsa Mosque, the Dome of the Rock, and the Church of Holy Sepulcher—all prominent features in the landscape—are not. Thus, Elad symbolically purifies the area of its non-Jewish elements and roots.

Elad's mission is to strengthen Israel's hold on Jerusalem. It uses the archaeological site in its political campaigns and cooperates with government agencies to ensure that the Jewish historical narrative is the only salient one in Israeli public consciousness (Ir Amim 2012). It is no wonder that in 2017 the state honored Elad, a private organization with a clear and explicit political agenda, with the Israel Prize.

Whereas Elad's educational mission targets the past, the Temple Institute is a future-oriented NGO. Both organizations cooperate with branches of the Israeli government and enjoy Christian Evangelical donations (Ir Amim 2013, 2017). The Temple Institute produces instruments and priestly vestments in preparation for the moment when a reconstructed Jewish Temple replaces the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque. The Temple Institute aims to educate the public on the major role the Temple plays in Judaism and calls on Jews to express their national and religious attachment to the Temple Mount by visiting it regularly.[3]

One should not underestimate the revolutionary mission of the Temple Institute. While classical Judaism requires Jews to remain passive until God rebuilds the Temple, the Temple Institute, along with other radical Jewish religious-nationalist groups, promotes activism (Ir Amim 2013).[4] These organizations shift the focus of Zionist activism from state and settlement building to Third Temple theology, and move from simply remembering the past to reconstructing it on the ground.

In 2007, in order to "honor and appreciate Jerusalem's builders and planners from all periods, and [pay] tribute to world cultural assets in the city," the Jerusalem Municipality initiated "Open House," an annual event inviting the public to visit private homes and institutions that are otherwise closed to visitors.[5] Contrary to this inclusive statement of purpose, not a single private Palestinian home has participated, since Palestinians refuse to legitimize Israel's unilateral annexation of the city. The few Palestinian buildings included in the project each year are public institutions like churches, and also the American Colony Hotel.

Palestinians are also largely absent from the directory pages of West Jerusalem homes, where tens of thousands of Palestinians lived under the British Mandate up until the 1948 War. For instance, according to the directory, in 1937 an unnamed "Arab family" built the house inhabited by the "Baron family" in 2007. The directory also informs us that the International Christian Embassy was built in the 1930s, without any further information. At the same time, however, it provides detailed information on each Jewish family or institution that took over Palestinian property, along with the style in which the buildings were reconstructed.[6]

Power relations between the hegemon and its subordinated subjects are formed along a hierarchical axis. Therefore, the multi-religious profile of Jerusalem, which the Israeli hegemonic narrative approvingly underscores, is accompanied by the reservation that Jewish attachment to the Holy City overrides Christian or Muslim attachment. Moreover, the hegemonic narrative denies Palestinian roots in Jerusalem. Collective memory, however, moves between past and present along a linear-horizontal axis. Whereas Israeli hegemonic power uses its superiority to incorporate

horizontal memories into its hierarchical order and thus maintain its present power, agents of alternative collective memory act to preserve their autonomy and the linear axis. In other words, alternative tours, both real and virtual, decode this top-down order. The city, accordingly, becomes a heterogeneous space of hegemony and resistance—a multi-layered 'text'. On the surface, it is a constructed hegemonic-authoritative text, while beneath it, 'subtexts' of covered and denied memories exist. Alternative collective memory agents expose these hidden texts and struggle to create legitimate space for them in the public imagination.

Alternative Collective Memory Agents in East Jerusalem

In contradistinction to Elad, the Israeli-Jewish NGO Emek Shaveh (Valley of Consensus), established by archaeologists in 2008, presents archaeology as a bridge between peoples and cultures. "We believe that the cultural wealth of this land belongs to the members of all its communities, nations and faiths," the organization writes. Its mission statement implicitly rejects the division that professional archaeologies cooperating with Elad make between excavating the past, in which they participate, and Elad's presentation of their findings, as well as the fate of the Palestinian neighborhoods those professionals ignore. As the NGO's website states: "An archaeological site is comprised not only of its excavated layers, but also its present-day attributes—the people living in or near it, their culture, their daily lives and their needs." Whereas the hegemonic narrative excludes Silwan Palestinians from its purview, Emek Shaveh sees them as legitimate partners and guardians of their places. It involves Silwan Palestinians "in work on the site in or near which they live, whether it is managing its heritage, engaging in joint excavations, developing the site, or devising tours that combine visits to the site with an introduction to the local community."[7]

Emek Shaveh's Silwan/City of David tour starts with a short introduction to the site and Elad activity. At the first stop, the tour includes implicit criticism of Elad. Emek Shaveh exposes "the gaps between the finds and the narrative told to visitors at the site." Then, at the next stop, the tour deals with "what can and cannot be learned about the past from archaeology in addition to current issues: who are the El'ad Foundation and the Nature and Parks Authority that manage the site?" At the third stop, the tour introduces what is missing from the Elad narrative: the Wadi Hilweh neighborhood in Silwan. The visitors "look at the characteristics of daily life in the neighborhood, and learn about the changes that have taken place in the wake of the settlers' entry." There, Emek Shaveh explicitly presents

its alternative principles: "We will discuss the possibility of engaging and presenting archaeology in charged sites such as Silwan, how ancient relics can promote understanding between conflicting parties, and how communities can be integrated into managing sites located in their area."[8]

Ir Amim (City of Nations), established in 2000, has a broader mission than Emek Shaveh.[9] It offers alternative tours to different East Jerusalem areas and publishes reports on topics such as the formation of the city's borders, discriminatory urban planning, and the negative impacts of Israeli policies on Palestinians' everyday life. In two of its reports, Ir Amim (2009, 2012) exposes Elad's secret cooperation with several branches of the Israeli government to take over Palestinian homes and impose an exclusively Jewish historical narrative on Silwan. Unlike the hegemonic power that sees Jerusalem Palestinians as a 'demographic threat' that Israel tolerates as second-class residents, conditional on their acceptance of Israeli-Jewish superiority, Ir Amim (2019) considers them legitimate natives and advocates that Israel meet their needs, take into account their individual human and collective political rights, and build an equitable and stable city for all residents.

In 2009, Silwan Palestinians established their own site, the Wadi Hilwah Information Center, in the part of Silwan where Elad operates. They view Elad as a settler organization aiming to uproot them, the natives, from their homes and from history alike. "We, the residents of Wadi Hilweh," the Information Center website declares, "do not allow any person to obscure our deep rooted identity which lies in the houses, stones, trees, gardens, springs, and sky of our village. Silwan, the core of the human history on this pure land, does not like the falsification of history that comes from the offices and platforms of the settlers association of right-extremist political agenda [*sic*]."[10]

The Wadi Hilwah Information Center says it wants to "tell the story and history of our village to all people without reservation, hesitation, intolerance, or racism. We are proud of the full history of our village and proud of being the owners of this beautiful legacy. We acknowledge all the civilizations that have passed through the village, those who constructed the village or even those who destroyed it and wreaked havoc. It is part of the historical reality of the whole story."[11] Thus, against Elad's exclusivist narrative, Silwan Palestinians present an inclusive approach. They do not deny Jewish historical presence at the site but include it on the long list of nations that settled in this part of Jerusalem. They refuse to play into Elad's hands by accepting the hegemonic narrative's underlying premises.

The Centre for Jerusalem Studies at al-Quds University has since 2009 offered paid boutique tours to areas off the hegemonic route, uncovering past chapters of the Old City's history that the hegemonic narrative

neglects. These walking tours focus on Old City cultural heritage and its past and present social composition. As the Centre's website states: "Al-Quds alternative tours aims to show the multi-facets of the city & its mosaic, from a Palestinian perspective. It visit holy & historical sites, from topography, geography, archeology to politics; the most thrilling is the social fabric as the inhabitants of each époque make the city's vibrant identity [*sic*]."[12]

In addition to these organizations, three Israelis—Eran Tzidkiyahu, Amir Cheshin, and Shaul Arieli—offer guided geopolitical tours of East Jerusalem.[13] Each challenges the hegemonic narrative, criticizes Israel's policies in East Jerusalem, and considers Palestinians as an integral part of the city's past and present fabric. (See below for the estimated number of participants in their tours.)

Alternative Collective Memory Agents in West Jerusalem

In 1947, some 22,000 Palestinians, almost a quarter of the city's Arabs, lived in southwest Jerusalem alongside about 1,800 Jews, who constituted around 5 percent of Jerusalem's total Jewish population. The area was inhabited by members of the middle and upper classes, educated professionals, senior officials, well-to-do businesspersons, and contractors (Klein 2014: 78–79). With the Zionist occupation and the flight of Palestinians from their homes in April 1948, the area's multicultural character ended. After the war, Israel gradually changed its cultural identity and physical environment. Streets and neighborhoods were renamed, Jews moved into the abandoned houses, belongings were looted, and new buildings appeared next to old ones. After 1967, Palestinian refugees from the West Bank and abroad, including former residents of southwest Jerusalem, came to visit their place of origin. They verified and updated their memories and strengthened their attachment to the area (Klein 2017).

Unlike Walter Benjamin (1997: 167–223, 293–346), an urban rambler who enjoyed losing his way in the streets of Naples, Moscow, Marseilles, and Berlin, the refugee visitor is mission-oriented, aiming to find his/her family home and relocate his/her memory of belonging. A brief comparison with Germans visiting their former Polish places of residence illuminates the Palestinian case. In both instances, visitors are 'homesick tourists' (Marschall 2016). The moment in time is also the same in both cases: the Germans were forced to leave their homes in the wake of World War II (1945–1947), while the Palestinians left during the 1948 War. Moreover, Germans and Palestinians returned to visit in the same years: the Palestinians shortly after the 1967 war and the Germans since the 1970s.

However, major differences distinguish the two cases. Unlike the Palestinian refugees, the German expellees do not claim a right to return, and their case is internationally closed. Therefore, returning German tourists evoke happy, nostalgic memories that in many cases result in the establishment of lasting friendships with Poles living in their former places of residence. Palestinian visitors, however, express their agony and anger at Israel for denying their historical roots. None, as far as we know, maintains contact with the current Israeli occupants of his/her former home (Klein 2017; Marschall 2016). Returning Palestinians disrupt the spatial order that Israel created after 1948, whereas the Germans promote acceptance of existing socio-political and spatial orders.

In its 2018 exhibition, Manofim, an annual Jerusalem art festival, included interactive exhibits about former Palestinian homes in Talbiya, a pre-1948 Palestinian neighborhood in West Jerusalem. The exhibits aimed "to turn the spotlight" on Talbiya and "to set in motion a reflexive process" regarding its Palestinian past and Israeli takeover. Israeli and Palestinian artists exhibited their work in seven homes, alongside historical documents, photographs, short films, and architectural plans relating to each home and its former Palestinian owner.[14] Manofim also offered the public a paid walking tour of the neighborhood entitled "The Houses Speak Arabic," which included "the stories of affluent Palestinian families and houses that lament the memories and dreams of their former inhabitants."[15]

Modern technology enables, at any time and in any place, a visit to Jerusalem's past. "Jerusalem, We Are Here" is an interactive website in English, Arabic, and Hebrew that since 2016 has offered three virtual walking tours of pre-1948 southwest Jerusalem. It includes rich information on the area's pre-1948 residents and their everyday lives.[16] Dorit Naaman, an Israeli-Canadian Jewish documentarian and film theorist, initiated the project in 2007. Naaman decided that as the 1948 generation is aging and passing away, there is an urgent need to present its story firsthand. The website integrates the past and present in short videos, filmed between 2012 and 2015, that show former Palestinian residents and their descendants narrating family memories at the site of their former homes.

The website also includes a multi-layered street map of buildings built before and after the 1948 War. Palestinian homes are marked with their owners' names and histories, alongside unidentified buildings about which the website solicits information from the public. In addition, it includes aerial photographs from 1918, 1946, and 2014 and original maps of the area from 1934 and 1938. Beautifully and professionally designed, the website combines sound effects with multi-layered still images and videos. Memory monologues and music from the 1940s play in the background as Jerusalem municipal archive documents mingle with privately owned ones.

To "Jerusalem, We Are Here" we can add three academic projects that use technology to give voice to those whom the official Israeli narrative neglects. The web collection of the Israeli National Library Arabic Newspaper Archive of Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine enables one to search 37 titles published between 1908 and 1948.[17] Similarly, on its website the Library provides access to 1,322 historical maps of Jerusalem.[18]

"Open Jerusalem" is a developing Paris-based project about Jerusalem from 1840 to 1940. Established in 2016, its researchers work to create a united catalogue of different archives on that period and their inventories. The project's next phase aims to publish an English-language analysis and database with a search engine. "Open Jerusalem" focuses on collections that facilitate bottom-up study of Jerusalem's diverse population and multi-ethnic public spaces.[19]

The journal *Jerusalem Quarterly*, edited by Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, has been published by the Institute for Palestine Studies since 1998 in both hard and open-access copies. It offers high-quality short studies of Jerusalem's social history from the late nineteenth century to the present, with a focus on its Palestinian natives, and includes invaluable studies based on original and unpublished primary sources.[20]

Alternative collective memory agents enjoy fewer resources than their hegemonic counterparts, yet they succeed in reaching out to a broad public. Israel's Nature and Parks Authority has granted Elad a franchise to manage the City of David site and guide visitors (Hasson 2011). The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and Ministry of Education regularly send soldiers and schoolchildren to tour the site, which attracts nearly half a million visitors each year. The City of David is a well-developed tourist attraction heavily funded by Elad's wealthy private donors: between 2006 and 2013, it received $115 million in donations (Blau and Hasson 2016).

Donations to Ir Amim, on the other hand, were less than $1 million in both 2014 and 2015, according to the Israeli Corporation Authority.[21] Emek Shaveh is a small organization with about half of Ir Amim's budget.[22] The Centre for Jerusalem Studies is part of al-Quds University, and no information is available on its budget. These and other NGOs rely heavily on funding from foreign governments and organizations. Given the small size of Jerusalem's alternative collective memory agents, the number of participants in their tours is significant.

According to data provided by each of the aforementioned NGOs and tour guides, in August 2017, Emek Shaveh tours attract about 1,000 participants annually, and some 38,000 people participated in Ir Amim tours over the last decade. Shaul Arieli has guided about 5,000 people per year since 2004, Eran Tzidkiyahu started offering tours in 2014 and guides about 1,500 people a year, while Amir Cheshin began in 2002 and

guides a few hundred people each year. Between its establishment in 2016 and June 2018, 13,000 people visited the "Jerusalem, We Are Here" website. About 200 people participate annually in tours by the Centre for Jerusalem Studies at al-Quds University.

The profiles of participants in these alternative tours vary. Emek Shaveh, Eran Tzidkiyahu, Amir Cheshin, and the Centre for Jerusalem Studies at al-Quds University estimate that their participants divide equally between Israeli citizens and foreigners. However, the majority of participants in the Ir Amim and Shaul Arieli tours are Israelis.[23]

Despite its superior resources, the hegemonic power is concerned with the growing popularity of alternative collective memory agents in Jerusalem and beyond. The government has passed three laws to limit alternative agents' activities. In 2011, the Knesset approved the Nakba Law, which "authorizes the Finance Minister to reduce state funding or support to an institution if it holds an activity that rejects the existence of Israel as a 'Jewish and democratic state' or commemorates 'Israel's Independence Day or the day on which the state was established as a day of mourning'" (Adalah 2011; see also ACRI 2011).

In 2016, the Knesset approved the NGO Law, requiring any NGO that receives more than 50 percent of its funding from foreign entities to declare that fact in all of its advertising materials and reports. This law came on the top of an earlier one from 2008 that requires full transparency with respect to the donations NGOs receive from foreign governments. That law was amended in 2014 to increase reporting requirements from one to four times a year. Both NGO laws exclude donations from individuals, such as those received by Elad (ACRI 2016).

Finally, in 2016, Israeli authorities promulgated the Tourism Service Bill, which raises the penalties for unlicensed tourist guides. Unlicensed guides led nearly 50 percent of all tours in 2016, and according to the bill's sponsor, many of them spread "false information." "Israel is not Switzerland," stated the minister of tourism in support of the bill. "A mediator is needed here, we have the Zionist narrative … Visiting Israel is different from seeing the cherry trees blossom in Japan." Due to the increased number of highly specialized tours led by local experts and pressure from the Israel Tour Guide Association, the bill was amended in December 2017 to require that only foreign tour groups be led by a licensed guide, unless they are comprised of pilgrims led by a Christian religious leader or speak a language not common among Israeli tour guides (Davidovich-Weisberg 2018; Landesman 2016; Rozenberg Kandel 2017; Surkes 2018). Despite these measures, the Nakba Law did not end the debate on the 1948 War, nor did the NGO Law or the Tourism Service Bill stop alternative collective memory agents from challenging the hegemonic narrative.

Summary

Based on the discussion above, three conclusions can be reached. First, technological changes affect patterns of exclusion and inclusion in Jerusalem. Both hegemonic and alternative collective memory agents use virtual tools, street tours, and collective memory realms to promote their messages. As new technology develops and becomes popular, both types of agents agents use the web to gain support and expand their narratives. Available resources and realities on the ground determine which tools are used more extensively and where the past or the present is ignored.

Sharp contradictions exist between the Tower of David museum and the City of David, both in East Jerusalem, and their surroundings. Palestinian neighborhoods dotted with small Jewish enclaves exist outside the Jewish Quarter. Therefore, hegemonic collective memory agents direct their visitors to segregated compounds: museum rooms, ancient water supply tunnels, or archaeological excavations where Palestinian natives are invisible and their present and past presence is substantially reduced (Selimovic and Strömbom 2015). To further conceal the Palestinian neighborhood, Elad, the organization that initiated and runs the City of David national park, built a large visitor center and conference compound next to its archaeological site. Enjoying significant financial resources, hegemonic collective memory agents run well-developed websites to complete their memory realm exhibitions. Alternative memory agents operating in East Jerusalem, on the other hand, draw attention to the Palestinian presence as a point of departure for recalling the city's past. They make use of the social fabric of East Jerusalem to compensate for having limited financial resources.

The case in West Jerusalem, however, is different. No Palestinians remained there after the 1948 War. Former Palestinian homes are hard to recognize, either because new Israeli-Jewish buildings surround them, or because they are architecturally neglected. Many of them are now public institutions—schools, nurseries, synagogues, or hospitals. Only a few alternative collective memory agents enjoy the financial and professional resources necessary to compete with the hegemonic narrative that the neighborhoods' present-day configurations support..

Second, alternative collective memory agents decode, at least partly, the hegemonic spatial memory order. Henri Lefebvre (1991: 1–67) and Michel de Certeau (1984: i–xv, 20–30) argue that citizens' everyday practices contribute to the production and reproduction of urban space. Following them, the above discussion shows that routine walking tours by civil society members are bottom-up practices that recreate or re-remember the city's past. Jerusalem's alternative collective memory agents also decode the hegemonic conceptual order by disseminating alternative knowledge.

Elissa Rosenberg (2012) identifies three types of walking in memorial sites: walking as a journey, walking as a transformative encounter, and walking as an everyday urban practice. In the journey type, the walker reimagines space by crossing a monument that disconnects him or her from everyday life. The hegemonic memory realms of the Citadel museum and City of David archaeological site are built according to this type. The transformative encounter type connects the walker with the world and brings the visitor to see it differently. Alternative collective memory tours operate according to this type, challenging both the spatial and conceptual bases of hegemonic memory. In the everyday urban practice type, street installations drive the neighborhood resident to remember as he/she maintains the ordinary rhythms of everyday life. This type is used in Berlin and Amsterdam to remember Jews who were deported during World War II. Rosenberg maintains that "the buildings became haunted by their past" (ibid.: 139). This type, however, is missing in West Jerusalem.

Finally, Jerusalem is a wounded city, a place that according to Karen Till (2012: 6) has been "harmed and structured by particular histories of physical destruction, displacement, and individual and social trauma resulting from state-perpetrated violence." Wounded city residents struggle or negotiate with each other over whose past will be represented in public space. Till introduces 'memory-work' as a tool to create social capital and stability even when the wounds of exclusion and displacement are still open. Memory-work includes public visibility, political transparency, and accountability for wounded groups and gives "thick meaning to an inhabitant's experience of place and the city" (ibid.: 10). Memory-work thus legitimizes and restores deported or excluded collective belonging to its original place by representing it. Through this approach, alternative collective memory agents modestly promote the healing of the city's wounds.

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NOTES

1. See Tower of David, "Permanent Exhibition," https://www.tod.org.il/en/exhibition/permanent-exhibition/.
2. Ibid. See also Tower of David, "360° Audio-Virtual Tour," https://www.tod.org.il/en/museum/citadel/virtual-tour-360-degrees/.
3. The Temple Institute, "The New Holy Temple Visitors Center," https://www.templeinstitute.org.
4. See also the Temple Mount Faithful Movement on Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/templemountfaithful.org/.
5. Jerusalem Municipality, "Open House," https://batim.itraveljerusalem.com/.
6. Ibid.
7. Emek Shaveh, "About Us," https://alt-arch.org/en/about-us/.
8. Emek Shaveh, "Silwan/City of David," https://alt-arch.org/en/tours/tours/silwan/.
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11. Ibid.
12. Centre for Jerusalem Studies, "Al-Quds Weekly Tours," http://www.jerusalem-studies.alquds.edu/en/al-quds-tours-events/al-quds-weekly-tours.html.
13. See "Eran Tzidkiyahu—Tours, Lectures, and Analysis," https://erantzidkiyahu.com/; "Amir Cheshin—Unique Tours in Jerusalem" [in Hebrew], http://amir-cheshin.indexmedia.co.il/; "Homepage—Shaul Arieli," https://www.shaularieli.com/en/homepage-2/.
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