The Urban Bridge: Walking Baghdad

by

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Contents

Acknowledgments	2
Abstract	5
Introduction: City of Walls	9
1.Context: Reading Baghdad	13
1.1. Hard City	13
1.1.1. The Nine Districts within the Walls	15
1.1.2. Geographical Imaginations	18
1.1.3. The Walls	25
1.2. Baghdad Soft City	29
1.2.1. Photography in Documenting the Wall	31
1.2.2. A Memory Work Around the wall : a personal intervention	37
1.3. The Metropolis of Baghdad as Text	39
1.3.1. The Metropolis	41
1.3.2 The Baghdadian Flâneur	44
2.Concept: Walking Baghdad	47
2.1. The Act of Walking & Being Lost	49
2.2. Swings, Stairs & Pathways	53
3.Content: Re-stitching the City	55
3.1. The Urban Bridge	57
3.2. The Enfilade	63
3.3. Re-Constructing the Bridge	75
3.4. Reconstructing the Image	77
Postscript	81
End Notes	83
Bibliography	89

Abstract

This Thesis started with an inquiry of the act of dwelling in movement within the city of Baghdad. The context in which Baghdadis build, live and move today is not stable, but meta-stable.¹ To address the implications of this state of temporality, a study of movement namely, walking was conducted. The act of walking and being lost in any city can allow its inhabitants to dwell within the state of the meta-stable. For Baghdadis, such movement can help in coming to terms with the ambiguity and temporality of Baghdad as a severed city. This speculative work embodies two contrasting worlds; a collective memory of the city as it was – the soft city, and the reality of the severed, fragmented, walled city of today – the hard city.

The pendulum swings.

To bridge these two worlds, this enquiry explores the metropolis of Baghdad as a text, and posits the Baghdadian flâneur as its reader. As a vehicle for defining the act of being in a temporal state – not necessarily lost – a study of stairs, pathways and circulation networks is used to understand these transient moments within the volatile city. The inquiry then proceeds to investigate the connection between the existing walls of Baghdad and the proposed architecture. This is architecture of and for circulation.

أتعلمين أي حزن يبعث المطر ؟
 Do you know what sorrow the rain can inspire?
 وكيف تتشج المزاريب إذا انهمر ؟
 Do you know how gutters weep when it pours down?
 وكيف يشعر الوحيد فيه بالصباغ ؟
 Do you know how lost a solitary person feels in the rain?
 بلا انتهاء - كالدّم المراق ، كالجوع ،
 Endless, like spilt blood, like hungry people, like love,
 كالحب ، كالأطفال ، كالموتى - هو المطر !
 Like children, like the dead, endless the rain.
 ومثلنا الذي يطيفان مع المطر
 Your two eyes take me wandering with the rain,
 وعبر أمواج الخليج تسح البروق
 Lightning's from across the Gulf
 سواحل العراق بالنجوم والمخار ،
 sweep the shores of Iraq With stars and shells,
 كأنها تهم بالشروق
 As if a dawn were about to break from them
 فيسحب الليل عليها من دم دثار .
 But night pulls over them a coverlet of blood.
 أصبح بالخليج : « يا خليج
 I cry out to the Gulf: 'O Gulf,
 يا واهب اللؤلؤ ، والحار ، والردى ! »
 Giver of pearls, shells and death!
 فيرجع الصدى
 And the echo replies,
 كأنه النسيخ :
 As if lamenting:
 « يا خليج
 'O Gulf,
 يا واهب المخار والردى ...
 Giver of shells and death .
 أكاد أسمع العراق يذخر الرعود
 I can almost hear Iraq husbanding the thunder,
 ويخزن البروق في السهول والجبال ،
 Storing lightning in the mountains and plains,
 حتى إذا ما فُص عنها ختمها الرجال
 So that if the seal were broken by men
 لم تترك الريح من ثمود
 The winds would leave in the valley
 ي الواد من أثر .
 not a trace of Thamud.

An extract from The Rain Song, a poem by the Iraqi poet Badr Shakir Al-Sayyab.²

Walking Baghdad

Reading Baghdad

Urban Bridge

Narrative Diagram of the research strategy that lead to the architecture

Introduction : City of Walls

"Is history so harmless as to allow us to adapt artifacts to our needs or so dangerous as to prompt us to completely erase their traces?"³

Monica Riera, an urban history researcher, when discussing the architectural implications of postwar Germany and taking down the Berlin wall, inquires of the general act of erasure and the social, political, and indeed architectural ramifications of such an act. When erasing architectural content of political nature from the urban context, does said act allow for development, or is it a step

backwards? Such are the explorations upon which this work embarks within the context of post war Baghdad.

In the past two decades war has littered Iraq with its residual military urbanism and has thus changed the face of Baghdad drastically. War manifests itself with concrete blast walls that cover miles where street level interaction used to occur. Once an immersive experience, walking the streets of Baghdad today offers nothing but blank, grey concrete structures lining the main access roads and covering the city's main landmarks. The city has been assaulted by these

A moment of transcending the Baghdad walls through an elevator, author's work

walls and they have taken over.⁴

The walls are not only a manifestation of sectarian divide, creating zones for Sunni and Shiite, poor and rich, Muslim and Christian, but these walls also act as psychological segregators. Their physical form is forever imprinted onto the genius loci of the city; the notions created of social and religious class divisions persist far beyond their physical form. The city of Baghdad as urban form acts as a security device, where walls form an intriguing duality of senses in between security and insecurity. A general sense of mistrust prevails; Baghdadis don't trust the city

and it does not trust them back.

A quote from Haifa Zangana, Iraqi writer and political activist, explains the severity of these walls on the city, and helps to better understand the many names of the walls;

*"For media purposes, the walls are called 'security walls'. Outside, most Iraqis on either side of these structures call them 'occupation walls', 'hatred walls', 'sectarian walls' or 'segregation walls'. There are more technical terms: Concrete walls, Blast walls, Sandbags walls, Barbed Wires walls or Concrete Caterpillar"*⁵

The blast walls emerged, these blast walls, or Bremer walls ⁶ have an obliterating impact on the memory of Baghdad; a sense of alienation and loss in direction prevails upon walking the streets of the city. The walls have left neighborhoods unrecognizable to Baghdadis who left the city and came back years later. Yet for the ones who remained within the city, throughout the turmoil of political events, these walls hold a different meaning. These walls have witnessed firsthand the brutality of war and the blood baths of everyday civilian bombing.⁷ The walls trigger a range of rallying memories, ones that the people would much rather forget and at the same time, erase this city's war souvenirs.

This thesis explores these walls from a civilian's point of view and introduces the concept of a Baghdadi Flâneur as the city's wanderer. The intention is to study the experience of walking next to the walls, and recreate the duality of senses that they generate. These walls hold binary meanings for the inhabitants; they play on the duality of security and insecurity,

public and private, the media's projected image to the city and the city itself. The space around the walls is not public, but only quasi-public; a space where there is a high level of surveillance and control. For purposes of this enquiry, this will be used as the definition of a meta-stable context.

In order to tackle the duality that is created by the walls, the city of Baghdad is viewed as a text, this methodology will allow for the city to be read in a binary manner; the hard city, and the soft city. The hard city deals with the events leading towards the severing of Baghdad into nine ethnic districts, and introduces the concept of geographical imaginations, as proposed by Derek Gregory⁸, and reinterpreted by the author to describe the strategies of selective walling implemented on the city. This sense of lucidity and in the modern city is evident in Jonathan Raban's description of London, his home town. He states that this nature of the city of illusion that the dwellers roam, the one that is made of geographical imaginations is the embodiment of both the urban

dream liberator and the utilitarian militant nightmare. This double edged nature of the city of memories applies to Baghdad just the same, when roaming Baghdad these memories of the soft city are as much a nightmare in contrast to the current - Hard conditions as it is a dream of the way the city once was.

*"The city, our great modern form, is soft, amenable to a dazzling and libidinous variety of lives, dreams, interpretations. But the very plastic qualities which make the city the great liberator of human identity also cause it be especially vulnerable to psychosis and totalitarian nightmare"*⁹

The Soft City, in our case, is a coined term to describe the interpretation of Baghdad through the photographic documentation of Baghdad by Ghaith Abdul-Ahad, an Iraqi journalist and photographer, and through a personal memory work around the walls done by the author. The proposed architecture will then address this state of meta-stability through movement, and ultimately attempts to open the question as to whether the walls should be obliterated or kept as a sociopolitical or architectural remnant of this city's brutal history.

Conceptual diagram showing the binary effects of the walls

Context|

Reading Baghdad

1.1

Baghdad | Hard City

*"For almost a full decade,
an inhuman campaign of
sanctions—the most complete
ever in recorded history—has
destroyed Iraq as a modern
state, decimated its people,
and ruined its agriculture, its
educational and health care
systems, as well as its entire
infrastructure"¹⁰*

This chapter aims to give a better understanding of the existing state of the city of Baghdad and the metamorphosis in its urban fabric. Vital periods of its history that shaped the city of Baghdad today; Post Saddam Hussein's rule (1979-2003)¹¹, occupation (2003-2007). And post occupation (2007-present)

Fig. 1 A photograph showing the mayhem of electric cabling in Baghdad.

1.1.1

The Nine Districts

within the Walls

The story of Baghdad begins between the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The city is Iraq's heart of politics, economics and culture. Despite being smaller than its neighboring governorates, Baghdad is the most populated with roughly six million inhabitants.¹² Today's Baghdad consists of nine districts; four on the west of the Tigris; Rashid, Mansour, Kadimiyah, and Karkh. On the east side of the river is Adhamiya, 9 Nisreen, Karadah, Rusafa and Al-Thawra (revolution district). Despite the rapid changes the city has undergone in the past decade, the center is still one of historic souks, schools, mosques and churches. Al Rusafa, is considered one of the most important areas in Baghdad's center because it contains most of its transportation hubs, administrative districts, and public markets such as Souk Al-Arabi, Shorja, and Al-Rashid Street.¹³

Baghdad Area: 4,555 sq km (1.5% of Iraq)

Population: 6,696,596 (21.1% of total population)

Male: 50.2% Female: 49.8%

Urban: 87.2% Rural: 12.8%

Prior to 2003, Baghdad was considered a multi-ethnic city with churches and mosques of all sects, shrines and temples. The city's neighborhoods enclose urban centers where public, social and cultural events occur. Each neighborhood's center is connected to other centers. The city of Baghdad functioned as one interwoven urban entity¹⁴. In the article "Walling in Iraq: the impact on Baghdadi women" Haifa Zangana states;

*"A key facet of the much-vaunted US strategy of 'surge' in Iraq has been the fracturing of Baghdad into a vast network of separated and walled communities. Baghdad has been segmented by a maze of 'security walls' that has fundamentally altered the Nature of Iraqi life, reinforcing the sectarian divisions that were foisted upon the Country with the Anglo-American invasion and occupation"*¹⁵

Fig. 2 Map of Baghdad, showing urban centers interwoven in the city's fabric

A previously stated, three specific years have been pivotal in the narrative of the walls:

2003

The United States Invasion of Baghdad

2007

US Troops officially left Baghdad, and the Baghdad walling strategy was implemented.

2014

A group named ISIS¹⁶ occupied major Iraqi cities and started to threaten the already fragile state of security within the region. Their presence raises concern in regaining stability within the urban context of Baghdad, and poses a threat to the notion of the removal of the walls.

1.1.2

Geographical Imaginations

Diagram Comparing in length the West Bank wall (Palestine), the Berlin wall (Germany), and the Baghdad Wall (Iraq).

Derek Gregory introduces the term Geographical Imaginations as “an attentive mode of inquiry, a vigorous engagement with the real”. Gregory uses the term to explain the differences between real geography on the ground and imagined geography of books, maps and politics, culture and history.¹⁷

The term, in the confines of this thesis is used to discuss the imaginary geographical dividers that were forcefully implemented on Baghdad post occupation. As stated before, the city the inhabitants walk today is significantly different from the homogenous urban fabric of Baghdad prior to the walls; the walls created new ethno-sectarian districts in the city, converted zones into walled districts for Sunni, Shia and Christian. This is a manufactured reality of Baghdad through the eyes of the occupation.¹⁸

“A new map of Iraq coloured in red (Sunni), green (Shia’s) and yellow (Christians), indicating the newly manufactured reality of how Iraq and Iraqis should be, has often been used by

the US military in their press briefing to the media and consequently referred to by the media and international organizations, mostly, without questioning, helping to establish a forged reality”¹⁹

Baghdad today is hidden behind 231 KM of blast walls, whereas the Berlin Wall was a mere 155 KM. Despite the length of the Baghdad wall, the area of Baghdad (200km²) pales in comparison to Berlin (890km²)²⁰. This military urbanism scheme was modeled after the west bank wall, which is currently 670 km long.²¹

The atmosphere of 2007 was highly politically charged; the Iraqi government was working to favor the ascendancy of the Shia and particular fractions within it, while the Sunni minority was marginalized.

This unstable context resulted in three strategies during the implementation of the Baghdad Security Plan;

- The differential treatment of prisoners
- The incorporation of new militias
- The selective walling of Baghdad neighborhoods.²²

Fig.3 Arial View of smokefires from coalition bombing during the second war in Iraq over the Tigress River. April 2, 2003

The Third Strategy involved the placement of four-meter high walls around specific neighborhoods. Around April 2007, the ethno-sectarian fault lines were traced with blast walls and interrupted only by checkpoints. Initially five neighborhoods were selected, including Adhamiya, Amiriya and Khadra-mainly of Sunni inhabitants - but this was later increased to ten. The first neighbourhood to be enclosed within the walls was Al-Adhamia, chosen due to the revenge attacks by Shia death squads, as well as being rumored to have been a post for AQI (Al-Qaeda in Iraq) bombing.²³

The people of Baghdad were not easily persuaded into accepting the walling strategy, many comparisons were drawn to the wall of the West Bank, and like the Palestinians, Iraqis complained of being treated like caged animals. There was opposition to the construction of the wall by the Iraqi press, even the Prime minister of Iraq, Nuri Al-Maliki objected briefly to the scheme of the walls.²⁴ The US military however, carried on with the strategy and argued that the walls did

not seal off neighborhoods but merely helped controlling access to them. The severed neighbourhoods were labeled as Gated Communities, but these gated communities were entered by checkpoints, and the inhabitants were subjected to biometric scans²⁵ every time they entered their neighborhood. This strategy, in the opinion of James Denselow, a writer on the Middle East for the Guardian is "a systematic attempt to transfer the conflict into a deep freeze rather than address the root causes of the violence"²⁶. This freeze has been transformed into literal freezing zones. Segregating the community, rather than dealing with the socio-political turmoil post occupation has created a language of acceptance of the divide. The Walls are physical manifestations of the state of freeze, creating an architectural strategy of disconnect.

2003 Multi- ethnic

Fig.4

2009 Segregated

Fig.5

- Sunni majority
- Shi'a majority
- Christian majority
- Mixed area

These maps, based on the work of Michael Izady for Columbia University's Gulf 2000 project, show how the city divided from 2003 to 2009.

For both Sunni and Shia, their right to the city, and specifically their freedom of movement, was deeply threatened by these ethno-sectarian lines. Kim Sengupta, from The Independent (UK), reported ;

"People may feel safer inside their neighborhoods, but are more wary of venturing outside them. A short journey across the city can take hours with roads blocked off and numerous checkpoints, discouraging people from visiting relations and friends and reinforcing the sense of isolation." ²⁷

This meant that in order to go on with everyday life activities, the inhabitants needed to alter their paths of movement. This shift in circulation and delay in arrival at destination only contributes to further detachment of the inhabitants from their urban context. The city of walls is not there to expedite movement, it facilitates in blocking it. This rapid change created a new pattern of living for the Baghdadis, as they searched for ways to navigate through the ethno-sectarian divide. Face to face interaction

has been to a degree disrupted by the walls. An ordinary trip to visit a family member, or go to school entails a degree of danger 'Shiites and Sunnis still take long, circuitous routes to work to avoid each other's neighbourhoods.' ²⁸ different zones, streets and bridges are restricted by different militias.

The city's urban fabric began to change accordingly; in many areas Baghdad suffers of housing shortages and a lack of accessible public spaces²⁹. Due to the high mortality rate, many public spaces and open areas were turned into graveyards; one example that stands out is the children playground of Imam al Ashram shrine in Adhamia district³⁰. To address this matter, the urban bridge- in a later chapter- runs through an overpopulated graveyard, and creates a moment of interaction.

Despite slow improvement to the infrastructure, Baghdad suffered from long power cuts, lack of water supply, along with poor access to fresh food, at least until the year 2010. This situation has paved the way for greater division

and polarization of the city. This is evident in the photographs of Baghdad neighbourhoods showing thousands of electric wires connecting the buildings together. This chaotic network of electric circulation reflects the inhabitants rejection of the current state of disconnect. This alluring network above the ground has inspired for the architecture of this thesis to propose an intertwining path alongside the electric mayhem.

Since 2007 the security situation has improved. A third of the displaced residents have returned, death rates have

dropped and the freedom of movement has considerably increased³¹. In 2011 the occupation forces left Iraq and a set of local politicians replaced the foreign administration. However, Baghdad still faces many challenges and the security situation is as fragile as ever.

A diagram showing Al-Adhamia, the first walled district in Baghdad

1.1.3

The Walls

According to Mustafa Obaid's research 'Behind the Blast Wall: Walls of Post-occupational Baghdad', this map is the latest available survey of the existing wall of Baghdad. This map shows 44 continuous walls spread around the city. 50 fixed checkpoints and a large number of random checkpoints are spread all over. In total 50 residential areas and 60 markets are included within the walls, and most of the main streets are enclosed with concrete barriers.³²

In 2014, Iraq was exposed to greater danger by a terrorist group called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). This group has already occupied major Iraqi cities such as Mosul, Anbar and Tikrit while threatening to invade Baghdad.³³ After 2009, there was hope that the walls would be removed. The fear of terrorism attacks hitting the city is increasing everyday and now forcing the government to implement

Fig 6: Walls Distribution in Baghdad by 1013/2014. Base map (Byron G.Como, 2011) walls entrances and street blocks were created by Obaid, Mustafa, 2014

more strict security measures, which will clearly affect the walling strategy. In 2007, at the end of the occupation, there was hope that the walls would be removed from Baghdad, as the political context slowly started to stabilize. This hope is quickly vanishing.

The hard city of Baghdad, at its current state, consists of walls, the ethnic districts, and disconnected circulation paths. This physical environment of disconnect has inspired for an argument of architectural connect. The architecture proposed should be the antithesis of the wall.

Fig.7

Fig.8

Fig.9

Fig. 7-9 These maps show the town plan of baghdad 1958, prepared by the Army Map services, U.S. Army

1.2

Baghdad | Soft City

*"the city as we imagined it,
the soft city of illusions, myth,
inspiration and nightmare
is as real, maybe more real
than the hard city we can
locate on maps, statistics,
monographs on urban
sociology, demography and
architecture. The postmodern
metropolis is spatially
organized through strategies
of fragmentation, dislocation
and decentralization."*³⁴

In soft city, Raban talks of his city, London through the eyes of a narrator (inhabitant), where the city is not only a setting for events, but is in itself a protagonist of the story. ³⁵ This city is defined not through architectural, perhaps at times hard lines of urban fabric, but through the intangible moments of interactions with

the inhabitants. The dialog compares London and New York through language, clothing, styles and other characteristics of inhabitation as to put a finger on the essence, or feeling of the city. In early chapters, Raban discusses the utopian dream and the dystopian nightmare of the modern city as ways to better understand

the moments of fragmentation in interaction within the confines on the intangible.³⁶

*"The city, our great modern form, is soft, amenable to a dazzling and libidinous variety of lives, dreams, interpretations. But the very plastic qualities which make the city the great liberator of human identity also cause it be especially vulnerable to psychosis and totalitarian nightmare."*³⁷

The context of this project embodies two highly contrasting worlds, the world of the volatile, severed city that is etched with the walls' traces; the hard city, and the world of memories, of the multi-ethnic harmonious; the soft city. In this chapter Baghdad is discussed as shown through the media, photographs and through a personal memory work where the city of Baghdad, and the walls are taking a central stage it's the narrative. These works are discussed in aim to help view Baghdad as the Soft city, and better incorporate the bridging of the Hard/Soft worlds of Baghdad an urban fabric.

Transgression, a photo-collage representing the wall, the mirrored wall, and a moment of transgression

1.2.1

Photography in Documenting the Wall

We will now take the hard and soft city as two highly contrasting worlds, the world of the volatile, severed city that is etched with the walls' traces, and the world of memories, of the multi-ethnic harmonious, soft city. How then is this evident through the media and photography? In this chapter, three photographic memory works are explored. We will look at the work of contemporary photography that documents the rapid changes in war ridden Baghdad by the photographer Ghaith Abdul Ahad. These photographs are utilized to as to familiarize the reader with the hard and indeed soft reality of Baghdad. Another exploration takes us to the work of Waleed Raad, who documents the loss of address caused by the years of

civil war in Beirut. In an attempt to both familiarize the author and the reader with Baghdad as a soft city, this thesis exploration includes a personal memory work of Baghdad by the author, this work aims at connecting the reader, through the use of a Flaneur to other urban settings around the globe.

The Baghdad walls have been photographed by photo journalist and former architect, Ghaith Abdul-Ahad. Born in Baghdad, he began working after the 2003 invasion of Iraq, writing and publishing photographs for various internationally recognized media outlets.³⁸ When the first US tanks entered Baghdad, Abdul-Ahad grabbed his camera and took to the streets to document the fighting. Ten years later, he is one of the world's most prestigious war photographers and continues to document themes of war in the Middle East for the Guardian.³⁹

In a documentary titled "Baghdad: City of Walls"⁴⁰ Abdul-Ahad talks about his

method of documenting the walls. He takes an interest in ordinary Iraqis, as their lives tell the story of how Baghdad has been affected by the war. His photographs take a straight forward approach toward the documentation of the horrors of war and its effect on the city. Abdul-Ahad, who remembers a different Baghdad from a few years back, found that 2008's Baghdadis live in walled, ethnically cleansed communities. For him the new segregation strategy jeopardizes the identity of the city's inhabitants; there is no such thing as a Baghdadi any more. Everyone now is identified with a particular walled neighborhood, guarded by one of a dozen or so militias."⁴¹

Forged out of the political necessity to separate, classify and identify zones of the city, the walls of Baghdad created 9 different districts within the city. These ghettos, as Abdul-Ahad describes them, are entered and exited by a military checkpoint. It is not always clear who controls the different zones, a fact made clear in Abdul-Ahad's documentary ,

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

"Baghdad: City of walls' as he is forced to change his identity, from Sunni to Shia, and vice versa, as he crosses through the different ethnic districts".⁴²

The approach that Abdul-Ahad takes to documenting the physical and social changes occurring in Baghdad is compelling. As they show the inhabitants of the city roaming around the destroyed city post occupation. His approach in making the inhabitants the focus of the photograph helps in understanding the relationships being developed between the inhabitants and the fragmented urban context. As German writer and academic Winfried Georg Sebald points out, "facts ... stare us straight in the face." W.G Sebald and J.M. Coetzee, a South African novelist and linguist, shared a cause with Sebald in realism. Coetzee asserts the importance of bare facts in the representation of suffering. He claims that this power of pain is portrayed in a state in which the body suffers⁴³, a concept that is evident in Abdul-Ahad's photographic work, some of his early photographs were published

in the book "Unembedded".⁴⁴

These photographs are highly contextualized; they bear a certain type of Punctum. In *Camera Lucida*, Reynold Barthes Identifies the "punctum" as (a Latin word derived from the Greek word for trauma) on the other hand inspires an intensely private meaning, one that is suddenly, unexpectedly recognized and consequently remembered it "shoots out of the photograph like an arrow and pierces me".⁴⁵ According to Roland Barthes, the Punctum is subjective and influenced completely by its context. For a foreigner, his photographs might evoke an initial shock at first glance, but they play perfectly into the imprinted image of Baghdad as a city of death and are eventually indistinguishable from the thousands of similar war photographs from Afghanistan, Syria, Libya, Palestine, etc. It is only to the Baghdadis that his images create a dual sense of familiarity and alienation. His photographs are familiar in the sense that a Baghdadi would recognize certain parts of the

image, a street curb, a sign, a bus that resembles the one they used to ride home, the distinct brick type of the building facades. Yet they are unfamiliar, for these photographs cannot be located on a map; the photographs never show the complete building, which prohibits the viewer from knowing the address.

This dual state of familiarity is a direct reflection on the walls effect on the city of Baghdad. The walls create an alienation or detachment from the physical context of the walls, and a familiarity and attachment to the world of memories that the walls evoke. Another trigger for this sense of alienation in the photographs is that neither locals nor foreigners identify with the gunmen in one picture, the dying children in another. These people and their pain are alien to the Baghdad of a few years back, yet these images have become fixtures of the Baghdad of today.

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

Fig. 15

Fig10-15 These photographs are by Abdul Ahad, from the series, Unembedded

Abdul Ahad's photographs are similar to the work of the artist Waleed Raad, his work documents the trauma of civil war on Beirut through the architecture it has created and destroyed. In Raad's series 'sweet talk' ⁴⁶ he tries to recreate the loss of address associated with trauma through the abstraction of the photograph. His work consists of a series of cut outs of buildings that at first glance seem familiar, but as the viewer inspects the photo, the location and time become foreign. Raad's approach draws attention away from the faces of the war and attracts attention to the physical changes in the urban context of Beirut. It draws attention to the transient nature of the city's context, especially at times of war. This work is also relevant due to the use of a woman Flaneur, the body of the woman is meant to show the transient moments of the inhabitant connecting, and disconnecting with the city. A sense of alienation arises once the viewer recognizes the sense the belonging the Flaneur lacks with her city. It is that state of detachment that this thesis hopes to address through its architecture.

The Ideological and social changes in Baghdad are evident as the power of the wall extends far beyond its physical form. The new social conduct created by the walls dictates that a woman is no longer able walk the streets alone, and is forced to engage the walls through the car window. The wall dictates the way people dress, talk and behave from one side to the next. This state of the new Baghdad has inspired for the next chapter, a personal memory work by the author, to better situate the author and the reader into the context of Baghdad, soft city.

Fig. 16 Walid Raad & Le Group Atlas, Sweet Talk, 1987-2005, photograph, 111th cm, Archives du Groupe Atlas.

1.2.2

A Memory Work Around the walls

Considering the photographs taken by journalists and photographers, I started to insert myself into the heavily loaded context of Baghdad. The photographs were chosen through a personal lens; my situation in cities where I was a stranger wandering around attached but detached, a foreigner and a local, in other words, as a flâneur.

But first a note on the Flaneur, who Shields describes as such;

*"The stranger is a foreigner who becomes like a native, whereas the Flâneur is a native who becomes like a foreigner"*⁴⁷.

The Flaneur is therefore relevant to this body of work, as it resembles the state I was in while roaming these cities, and much more significantly, while in Baghdad. The result is a series of photo collages that reflect an imagined reality; they assume that there has been a diversion in history that would allow for the female body to dwell within the context of this volatile city. In these photo collages the body is used as a memory device, as it is moved from a context of security, offered through urban environments in cities within the European and the north American realm, and projected on the reality of Baghdad. The objective is to create rhetoric of the body through space.

The result is a series of photographs that dwell within the then and now, merging two realities, trying to convey a sequence of events that take place simultaneously, but ultimately could never exist.

The context in which these photo collages are is partly imaginary, and partly real. The liberty that is taken in assuming the context as partly fictional has led later to design three moments of interaction with

Memory Work, Photocollages by the author

the wall; The Elevator, The swing and the pathway. These moments try to convey a sense of attachment and detachment to the walls through the act of movement. This early work helped guide the way toward the Urban Bridge.

Baghdad falls

[illegible]

39

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 2, 2007

EXTRADE ENVOY
IS BUSH'S CHOICE
FOR WORLD BANK

LEAVING GOLDMAN SACHS

Zwick Has Job of Easing
Furor Over Wolfowitz
and Creditability

By STEVEN R. WEIDMAN

WASHINGTON, May 2 — For almost a decade, Robert B. Zwick, a senior diplomat and public policy expert, has been the most important source of information on the World Bank to the White House. But on Tuesday, the administration said it was sending Zwick to the World Bank to ease the furor over the appointment of Paul H. Wolfowitz as director.

While Zwick has spent much of his career at the World Bank, he is not a member of the bank's governing board. He is a senior advisor to the bank's president, Paul Wolfowitz, and he is a member of the bank's executive board. Zwick is a senior advisor to the bank's president, Paul Wolfowitz, and he is a member of the bank's executive board.

Advisers Fault
Harsh Methods
In Interrogation

Intelligence Techniques
Called Amateurish

By ROBERT D. MACDONALD

WASHINGTON, May 2 — As the Bush administration prepares to send new rules governing interrogation techniques to the Senate, advisers are warning that the techniques are amateurish and could damage the United States' reputation.

The president and other senior officials are expected to sign the rules, which would allow the use of harsh interrogation techniques. The rules would allow the use of harsh interrogation techniques.

A woman in a headscarf holds a child in a crowded area in Baghdad. The image is part of a news story about the situation in Iraq.

Overbooking, Bumped Fliers And No Plan B

By JEFF BAILEY

PHOENIX — The summer travel season is under way, and so many airlines are overbooked that they are bumping passengers off their flights. The airlines are overbooked that they are bumping passengers off their flights.

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War/Media: Collage of media projection on the war from the Iraqi press during the reign of Saddam Hussein, and major western press outlets.

1.3.1

The Metropolis

During my last visit to Baghdad in 2011, I was confronted with the reality that so much of the city was shielded from its inhabitants. The fact that a civilian, specifically a civilian woman, was no longer permitted to walk and interact with her physical context added an element of illegibility to the hard context of the walls. In order to better understand this element of illegibility, and to layer the hard and soft contexts, the city is seen as text in this chapter. Charles Baudelaire, the French poet presupposes a reader or readers to the city when it is viewed as a text, for Baudelaire the reader has often been identified with the figure of the Flâneur. The Flâneur is usually described as a privileged bourgeois male who wanders the city as an observer.⁴⁸ The readership of the city depends on the accessibility to

its inhabitants. In Baghdad accessibility is heavily dependent on the reader's identity. Gender, social class, and ethnicity determine who accesses the different neighbourhoods.

Let us return to Raban; "But this is where you live; it's your city... and its language is the language you've always known. The language from which being you, being me are inseparable"⁴⁹. Here Raban suggests that language itself is critical to the way the city is read. Through media, It is evident Baghdad is portrayed very differently in Arabic than in English; Fig. 8 shows that during the reign of Saddam Hussein , the political situation was portrayed as being in favour of the Iraqi former regime; one newspaper headline translates to "Victorious in military and in politics" . A few months after the headline of the New York Times read "Baghdad Falls".

Language has long had direct influences into architecture; an early work by Daniel Liebskind is evident to that, in this work he produced a series of drawings that depict the building as a collage of

information that architectural space is created from. Through an iterative design process he attempts to construct an architectural language from the patterns that the collage of information creates.⁵⁰ In our case, this can become a method for translating the different information obtained by media, the clashing languages that describe Baghdad, and the photographic memory works into a cohesive space that bridges the hard and soft city together.

Fig.17

Fig.18

Fig.19

Wall/Effect , an early sketch

Fig.20

Fig.17-20 Liebeskind early drawings depicting an architectural design that emerges from a collage of information.

1.3.2

The Baghdadian Flâneur

Upon undertaking the task of designing in and for Baghdad, we are struck by the question of who to design for. Who is the Baghdadian, and what does it mean to dwell within the Baghdad of today? To better understand this dilemma, we will take a look at a speculative work within the confines of post-occupation Baghdad. In the pamphlet "The Hanging cemetery of Baghdad"⁵¹ the architects from NaJa & deOstos design an apparatus that hovers above the city and serves as a cemetery that accounts for the casualties of the war. This work addresses the duality of the media's projected image of Baghdad, and the constructed reality of the city itself. NaJa & deOstos chose to walk us in their vehicle of death through the eyes of two

fictional witnesses. The first is a Baghdadi woman describing the journey up the long ramp into the hanging cemetery, as she escapes the city in search of her temporally placed beloved's corpse. She finds him wrapped in white cloth and suspended above the city that led to his death. She describes her journey of the city and the apparatus:

"You might start to wonder what it would be like to be part of this brutal scenario and to live under this enormous canopy of dead bodies. Well, I have already advised you that after a certain time everything in this life can turn strangely normal. Just as I had my body violated, my home pierced with bullets and the produce of my small market vegetable stall stolen several times over, the life of a city under a silent war can also bring you opportunities. The blessing of one of these favorable circumstances explains why I can describe so well, not only the journey to the cemetery, but also this mysterious level where everything

seems to be remote and familiar at the same time"⁵².

The familiarity she describes is especially intriguing; this woman finds herself strangely more attached to the city at the level of the hovering cemetery. The suspension, and being above the context has given her an elevated outlook that allows for a better understanding of the happenings her world. These understandings lead her to feel remote and connected to the urban context at the same time. The second narrator is a departed Baghdadian man who describes to us the vision he has of Baghdad both figuratively and in reality as his body lies within the borders of the hanging cemetery. He describes;

"My vision is the most privileged of all the narrators presented in this book, Imagine a view able not to encompass an impressive Arial panorama, but also simultaneously portray a range of different angles- right, obtuse acute- and all of which mediated by privileged

viewpoints of the most memorable monuments of the city. This is how I observe Baghdad. Apart from all these benefits of elevation, my strategic position still allows me to enjoy the security and peace long forgotten in these lands"⁵³

The sense of elevation, also gives him an understanding of his context, the different angles that he now observes allows him to form an attachment with the rampant city below. These imaginary quotations are not rooted too far from reality; in the words of the non-fictional inhabitants of the city, living within the walls of contemporary Baghdad is a form of imprisonment. Ahmed al-Dulaimi, a 41-year-old engineer who lives in within the walled district of Al-Adhamiya says in an interview;

*"this will make the whole district a prison. This is collective punishment on the residents of Al-Adhamiya they are going to punish all of us because of a few terrorists here and there."*⁵⁴

Derek Gregory documented the opposition to the wall by the Baghdadis as well, one young Iraqi woman states;

*"The Wall is the latest effort to further break Iraqi society apart. Promoting and supporting civil war isn't enough, apparently... It's time for America to physically divide and conquer."*⁵⁵

The objective of building the wall, according to Gregory is *'to prevent insurgents from using neighborhoods as bases to conduct operations against other communities and, if this failed, to prevent death squads from entering in order to retaliate.'*⁵⁶

The events of the past decade have had a dramatic impact on the city's social dynamics. The city Baghdadis live in today is a place heavily segregated by gender. As harsh as the visual impact of the war has been, the social impact has been far more severe. There is no room for a woman to walk, talk, or engage with her city. This contradicts directly with the soft city of memories, the one that existed

just a few years ago.

The evident sense of alienation the Baghdadis express, and their collective protest against the wall has inspired for an architectural response of connection. In order to address the alienation through architecture the urban bridge is elevated from the city of walls, creating a level where the inhabitants are able to cope, and perhaps even dwell above the city.

Smoke of Baghdad: a representation of the woman Flâneur

Concept Walking Baghdad

When embarking upon bridging the hard and soft contexts of Baghdad, the term Meta-stability comes to mind. A meta-stable context is one that does not allow for constant stability within its confines, yet is grounded at times to create moments of interactions. This context is constantly moving, and in trying to keep with its rhythm, the act of walking is introduced.

A photo collage inspiration for the Urban Bridge of walking, this collage combines a famous stadium designed by Le Corbusier in 1959 to the rest of the city through stairs.

2.1

The Act of Walking & Being Lost

The act of walking, according to Rebecca Solnit, is related to history. One walks for pleasure, politics, aesthetic and social stimulus. The act of walking is discussed in relation to the walls of Baghdad for many aspects, one is that it is a direct manifestation of movement; the act of walking physically changes the state of being in time and in space. but there are other acts of movements; according to Adam Hardy movement within architecture is either contained or represented, he states that;

"contained movement', where it is not the architecture that is thought of as moving, but the eye, mind,

imagined body or forces; and 'represented movement', where there is an implication or illusion that the architecture is in motion". ⁵⁷

The act of walking and climbing stairs connect the body to the architecture through movement and therefore, are 'contained'. While architecture that does not move the body but draws the eye into motion are expressions of 'represented' movement. The act of walking is a statement of contained movement against the walls. The walls are being transgressed by the simple act of walking, and by doing so the architecture attempts to reattach the inhabitants with their city. The moment a figure of a woman touches the wall is a moment of transgression. In her book 'Wanderlust, History of walking' Rebecca Solnit describes the act perfectly, she says;

"Where does it start? Muscles tense. One leg a pillar, holding the body upright between the earth and the sky. The other a pendulum, swinging

from behind. Heel touches down, the whole weight of the body rolls forward onto the ball of the foot. The big toe pushes off, and the delicately balanced weight of the body shifts again. The legs reverse position. It starts with a step and then another step and then another that add up like taps on a drum to a rhythm, the rhythm of walking. The most obvious and most obscure thing in the world, this walking that wanders so readily into religion, philosophy, landscape, urban policy, anatomy, allegory, and heartbreak.”⁵⁸

Walking can also be taken as a metaphor for language within architecture. Solnit refers to the pace of walking and how it relates to one's thinking. She states that walking places a rhythm and spatial construct to the process of thinking and being lost in one's thoughts. Another analogy can be drawn between being lost in space and lost in thoughts. The act of walking creates a state of detachment from one's surroundings and an attachment to the soft realm; it is a way of entering the soft city.

Photocollage moments of connection to the walls

Walking is very much a social experience. Solnit mentions that Søren Kierkegaard, the Danish philosopher who refers to the streets of Copenhagen as reception rooms, for him the experiences of walking these streets offers the wanderer the pleasure of brief encounters of coincidental encounters, while being within one's self. Solnit says;

*"A lone walker is both present and detached, more than an audience but less than a participant. Walking assuages or legitimizes this alienation."*⁵⁹

Kierkegaard's philosophical writing did not mention the act of walking, but he addressed it in his poetry, novels, letters and journals. Solnit suggests that the reason is that the act of walking grounds one's thoughts in the realm of a personal embodied experience.³⁶

"Walkers are practitioners of the city, for the city is made to be walked. A city is a language, a repository of possibilities,

*and walking is the act of speaking that language, of selecting from those possibilities. Just as language limits what can be said, architecture limits where one can walk, but the walker invents other ways to go."*⁶⁰

These drawings are attempts of transgressing the wall through movement, creating platforms for walking.

Urban bridge, within frames for structural support

2.2

Swings, Stairs & Elevators

In the realm of the war ridden Baghdad a walking space would reaffirm the current state of detachment and alienation of the Baghdadis from the city; it allows them to enter the world of the imagined city of memories, while taking a walk in the hard context of Baghdad. It reaffirms their right to the city, the right for movement, and creates moments of attachment as well. As mentioned previously, the walls and the hard context of Baghdad acts a trigger of memories. The experience of walking, next to, or above, the walls is meant to re link the architecture to the scale of the body, and to recreate a personal embodied attachment to the wall.

Walkers are not dwellers, they are travelers

and drifters who have not the attachment of a worker, this sense of detachment allows the Baghdadis to experience the city as though strangers, or Flâneurs. The traveller is a term related to movement in modern theory; the body is referred to as a parcel in transit that is moved from one space to the other. The act of moving can be muscular, i.e. the body or mechanical, as an apparatus that moves the body. The movement of the body through muscles relates the experience of drifting back to the body's limits. The act of walking extends the body, and forces the inhabitant to physically engage through movement.

The space around the walls is related to power, an expression of authority and control. The inhabitants' right to the city and right of movement is lost in Baghdad. In order to address the meta-stable context of the walls, a methodology of designing within architecture of movement was applied. Three architectural interventions were conceived, these three moments acknowledge the existence of the walls,

but are designed in a state of loss of the address. The selection of the site was through the memory work that was previously mentioned, three pivotal moments arose from the photo collages were chosen and transformed into fictional locations of intervention; the locations of these interventions are within the fictional realm of photographs, and not within the hard facts of Baghdad.

The Swing

Pathway/Elevator

Enfilade

Content Restitching Baghdad

The architectural manifestation of this enquiry seeks out to re-instate a sense of familiarization and reject the segregation and divide of Baghdad by the walls. It was concluded that the current state of fragmentation in the urban fabric is an alien condition to the context of the city, and is a byproduct of the military urbanism strategies post occupation. In her critique of the current state of walling with Baghdad, Haifa Zangana argues that inhabitants freedom of movement, or the lack there of is directly related to the "divide and conquer" strategy of the occupation.⁶¹ She states that the current regime is aiding the occupation in keeping the country disconnected through the blockage of main circulation paths, creating checkpoints, curfews, the use of iris scans, fingerprints and DNA samples are all strategies of movement prevention and a direct manifestation of occupation control over the city.

*"Socio-human interconnectivity and the multiple choices of services and markets are what make a city. This was ended by the walls. They are intended to reduce open public spaces into highly guarded prison cells. The movement of inhabitants, men and women alike, is controlled by barriers to force populace stay at home and not risking crossing the wall surrounding their designated 'safe area'."*⁶²

This obstruction in urban movement, and divide of the city into walled ethnic sectors has inspired for an architecture of connect. The context of disconnect is transformed into the concept of the urban bridge.

Megacities

This exaggerate isometric Aerial view of Baghdad shows two major districts in Baghdad, Al-Adhamia (Sunni) and Sadr city (Shia) with wall extrusions. They have become two walled cities within the metropolis of Baghdad under the imaginary geography of the occupation.

3.1

The Urban Bridge

The Urban Bridge is a pedestrian path that connects various urban sectors of the city through movement. The proposed architecture aims to restitch the fragmented city through pedestrian movement. It introduced an urban connector that disconnects the inhabitants of the city from the hard reality of the wall and reconnects them with the soft city through the act of walking. This structure is not autonomous in nature as evident by the many interventions made along the path by the urban context. The bridge ultimately aims to re-link the severed city of Baghdad through the act of leisurely walking the city and reconnecting the Baghdadian Flaneur to his/her city.

This structure follows an orthogonal bridge. It is linear in nature that is intervened upon by various contextual

elements. As a starting point, Al-Rashid Street, a landmark and one of the oldest streets within the city was chosen. This street has been a cultural hub for the past century and has played a vital role in the cultural evolution of the city. It starts at Bab al Muadham (Sultan's Gate) in the north of the city and ends at Bab al Sharki (East Gate) in the south; and is situated within Karch, the east of the bank of the Tigris. This specific spot in the urban fabric of Baghdad is enlaced with religious, cultural and social centers. An elevated walk through Al-Rashid Street is meant to reconnect the inhabitants to their city.⁶³

Within Al-Rashid street, The bridge is made to encounter a mosque, a public garden, a cemetery and finally cross over to the west side of the Tigris river by reconstructing of an existing bridge, that was bombed and reconstructed in the last decade, to cross over the tigris river and into the other side of the City.

This urban bridge does not transgress the walls, in the sense of crossing, desolating or erasing them. The bridge's conception,

and early conception evolved from the walls, it is therefore a parasitic structure in that regard. It does, however stand on its own as its structure is independent of the walls. The bridge is made as to acknowledge the wall's current presence, and state its temporal nature. It therefore confronts the inhabitants with the wall, whilst creating an opportunity of dwelling within it. Once the wall is removed, the Bridge remains as a reminder of the brutal sectarian divide, without commemorating the wall, memorializing it or making it permanent. The bridge however grows alongside the walls, and morphs these walls space that responds with the context. The grid of the bridge juxtaposes with the grid of the existing city and creates platforms within the merging of the new grids. Despite going alongside

the wall the urban bridge is structurally independent and uses light steel joints to merge together into a large sound structure.

The structure of the urban bridge consists of a series of thin steel frames that collectively hold the pedestrian platforms. These slender vertical items prevent deformation of the vertical body through horizontal bracing, for support the upper corners are connected to strengthen the light steel grades and add rigidity to the structure. In the quest to add a spatial dimension to the bridge, the enfilade was chosen as a space of and for walking.

Collage, urban Bridge

Map showing location of urban Bridge within Baghdad. Al-Rashid Street

Map showing expected development of Urban Bridge according to the location of the walls

Map showing location of intervention points alongside the Urban Bridge within Baghdad. Al-Rashid Street

Top- Grid with contextual photographs to dictate Urban Bridge development., Bottom- Urban Bridge through the city

3.2

The Enfilade

The Enfilade bears two meanings (Oxford Dictionary);

1- A suit of rooms with doorways in line with each other.

2- Gunfire directed along a line from end to end

This duality of meaning makes the Enfilade a perfect metaphor for the meta-stable context of Baghdad; it can be seen as an act to counter the military urbanism tactics of the walls, as well as an act of walking and losing oneself within the meta-stable context. The proposed architecture will include an enfilade that envelopes the act of walking, and creates room for safety and stability within the context of the hard city for the Baghdadian

Fig.17 Another World, Escher

Sketch, Enfilade

Enfilade, design

Flâneur to wander. The space designed is an enfilade of circulation that provides shelter and structure within the small gaps of the walls. This enfilade adds a spatial elopement to the act of walking; it contains space that facilitates for wandering and-attaching the wanderer to the city.

The enfilade is created through a series of metal frames that wrap around the path orthogonally and results in a disorienting perspectival pathway, one that is broken by a series of long elevated stairs that connect the pathways together. These elevated, connected paths of walking provide for a terraced viewing experience of the city. The walkways are hung by the metal frames and are therefore structurally bound to it, forsaking the walls as a structural element, and merely echoing the walls proportions through their gird.

Pathway, design in alignment with context

Urban Bridge, Hafez Qadi Gardens. Entrance into the enfilade

This stop along the bridge responds to the gated mosque of Al Rashid. The pathway still follows the grid of the walls but creates space that echoes the mosque's facade. The enfilade is created through a series of frames throughout the bridge. In this instance, the frames are a direct response to the state of the context.

Ubran Bridge, Connection point with the Mosque

The path design started by layering photographs of the context into the grid of the walls

The urban bridge encounters a cemetery along the way, at this encounter the orthogonal grid of the bridge is forsaken, and the space is created using the grid of the cemetery. The space created is a canopy that hovers above the cemetery, and envelopes smaller structures or portals, these portals descend into the cemetery without ever touching the ground, allowing the inhabitants to reconnect with the mortality of the city without interfering with the crowded cemetery's circulation.

Canopy over the Cemetery, descending stairs

Canopy over Cemetery, multiple onnection points via stairs

Into the Cemetery, Canopy with translucent semi protective roof.

This sectional drawing cuts through the Urban Bridge along approximately three K.M. of pathways and shows the high and span of this circulation network.

A perspective of the five episodes within the urban bridge

Space is created within the urban bridge. These enfilades for walking follow the orthogonal grid of the walls

3.3

Reconstructing The Bridge

The last intervention made on the pedestrian bridge targets the reconstructed Bridge of "Al- sayrafa". This bridge is vital to traffic in the congested city, it was bombed in 2007 resulting in the loss of many lives and further hindering circulation within the city. ⁶⁴ The reconstructed bridge mirrors the old bridge but incorporates the act of walking within it via a pedestrian path. The path is woven into the structural grid of the existing bridge, and creates moments and out of the existing structure. The Pedestrian path is a way across the river to the other side of the city where the project is expected to expand; in the absence of the wall the bridge follows the orientation of the context.

Al-Sarifya Bridge, Destroyed

The Urban Bridge, Crossover
through the reconstructed
Al-Sarifya Bridge

Pedestrian Bridge runs
through the reconstructed
Al-Saifya bridge.

3.4

Reconstructing The Image

This inquiry into bridging the two intersecting worlds of the soft and hard city constantly struggled with the issue of context representation. In the images previously produced the photographs of the context were incorporated into the architectural perspectival drawing, and adjusted to be included in the drawing accordingly. In other words, the perspective is constructed.

In this exercise the photograph experiences a different treatment; It is considered the base upon which the architectural apparatus is created. The perspective angle is here taken as is and the image of the context is treated as the centre of the built architecture. The result is a series of drains that place the viewer in the context of war ridden Baghdad. The images depict scenes of

everyday Iraqi life. One depicts a market place in the heart of the city, showing the act of walking as part of the Baghdadi's everyday life, within the walls. The other depicts a street corner in an old street of Baghdad; this image is meant to depict the interactions between the urban bridge and the decaying city structures. The balconies shown in this image are "al-shanashill"; most often the narrow alleys are shaded by these ornately carved, enclosed wooden windowed balconies protruding out from the houses over the alleys, and are considered a traditional feature in Baghdadi architecture⁶⁵. These balconies now serve as portals into the bridge, creating multiple access points into this new network of circulation.

Space formations along the wall, These drawings are made with the context perspective in mind

Interaction within the Urban Bridge, Market Space

Market space, Wall, Urban Bridge interaction

Within The Image, street corner interacting with the urban Bridge

Postscript

This exploration embarked at the inquiry of dwelling within movement. It was concluded that the inhabitants of the city were at a state of disconnect with their immediate context, due to the physical, social and political limitations of movement caused by the walls. This is the given context in which this project attempts to dwell. So within this disconnect, can we dwell in movement?

In the context specific state of the temporary walls of Baghdad, a stagnant state would be in contrast with the temporal nature of the city of walls. By merely standing still, one allows the wall to be constant and renders them permanent. By moving, however, one transgresses the main purpose of the walls, stopping the urban circulation. Another issue raised by this inquiry is the future of the walls, and the future of the urban bridge itself. Once the walls are removed their palimpsest will remain within the structural grid of the urban bridge. This network of pedestrian circulation surpasses the walls, as the bridge would be structurally independent of them. I imagine the bridge to outlive the walls and be used as a reminder not only of the walls, but of the Baghdadis right to the city that the walls had taken away, walking. The urban bridge at that point in time will become an autonomous device of walking the city of Baghdad and engaging the inhabitants with its brutal history. The bridge will act as a reminder of the walls existence in the past, without glorifying their presence.

The walls were a stepping stone that this project has from embarked upon a journey to re-live the city's history and enable the inhabitants to take back their civil right of movement. The walls are the scaffolding to the urban bridge, once removed they reveal a device for circulation for the Baghdadis to remember, and to dwell.

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king Don up and
that the
at the
looking me on
looking buildings
if that they will
infer that purpose

End Notes

1. Metastability is a term used to define the behavior of systems that can exist in states that are less stable than the system's most stable state. (dictionary.com)
2. This poem is by Badr Shakir Al-Sayyab, and is translated by Lena Jayyusi and Christopher Middleton (Web, 2015) <http://www.occupypoetry.net/rain_song>
3. Monica Riera, How Should We Build? Architecture, History and the Post-Cold War Context in Germany (Online: Routledge, 2007) 386
4. Mark Tran , US builds Baghdad wall to keep Sunnis and Shias Apart (The Guardian: Friday, 2007) <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/apr/20/iraq.usa>
5. Haifa Zangana, Walling in Iraq: the impact on Baghdadi women (International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies, 2010) 45
6. The walls were called Bremer Walls in reference to Paul Bremer, a US diplomat and former businessman, who was appointed administrator of the CPA in 2003, serving as the de facto head of the Iraqi state from 11 May that year to 28 June 2004, when power was transferred to the Iraqi Interim Government. Justin Marozzi, Baghdad: City of Peace,

City of Blood (Penguin Books, 2014)

7. BBC NEWS, Sunni leader attacks Baghdad wall (BBC News, 2007) http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/middle_east/6579335.stm

8. Derek Gregory is an historical geographer at the University of Cambridge. He published a book on human geography titled "Geographical Imaginations, also wrote articles about the of post war Baghdad. <http://www.geog.ubc.ca/persons/derek-gregory/>

9. Jonathan Raban, Soft City (E.P. Dutton, 1974) 25

10. Edward Said is a Palestinian American literary theorist. **from the article**

David Swanson, Sociocide: Iraq Is No More (HumansForPeace.org: 2011) <http://warisacrime.org/content/sociocide-iraq-no-more>

11. Saddam Hussein was also the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, General Secretary of the Regional Command of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, Leader-Struggler, Knight of the Arab Nation, Hero of National Liberation, etc.

Justin Marozzi, Baghdad: City of Peace, City of Blood (Penguin Books: 2014) 379

12. Joint Analysis Unit, Baghdad, Iraq Governorate Profile, (JAU:2013) <http://www.iau-iraq.org/documents/475/GP-Baghdad%202013.pdf>

13. Ibid
14. Haifa Zangana, Walling in Iraq: The Impact on Baghdadi Women (Intellect Ltd: 2010) 45
15. Ibid 41
16. Islamic State of Iraq and Syria or Islamic State of Iraq and ash-Sham
17. Derek Gregory, Geographical Imaginations (Blackwell:1994) 71
18. Haifa Zangana, Walling in Iraq: The Impact on Baghdadi Women (Intellect Ltd: 2010) 45
19. Ibid 45
20. Mustafa Obeid, Behind the Blast Wall, Walls of post occupation Baghdad (Bauhaus University Weimar, 2014) 45
21. BBC News, Q&A: What is the West Bank barrier? (BBC News: 2005) http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3111159.stm
22. Derek Gregory , The Biopolitics of Baghdad: Counterinsurgency and the counter-city (University of British Columbia Vancouver, 2008) 30
23. Ibid 30
24. BBC News, Iraqi PM criticizes Baghdad wall (BBC News, 2007) http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6582225.stm
25. "The Biometric screening process includes an iris scan, fingerprinting, the taking of photos of the face from different angles and a background check". This definition is taken from;
26. James Denselow, Freezing the conflict (The Guardian, 2008)
27. Kim Sengupta, Under siege, what the surge really means in Baghdad (Independent: 2007)
28. Rod Nordland, Baghdad Comes Alive (Newsweek. 2007) <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-171554964.html>
29. According to to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2011.
30. Mustafa Obeid, Behind the Blast Wall, Walls of post occupation Baghdad (Bauhaus University Weimar: 2014) 37
31. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2011.
32. Mustafa Obeid, Behind the Blast Wall, Walls of post occupation Baghdad (Bauhaus University Weimar, 2014) 50
33. Anthony H. Cordesman and Sam Khazai, Iraq in Crisis (CSIS, 2014) 37
34. Jonathan Raban, Soft City (E.P. Dutton, 1974) 21
35. Dr. Cary Siress, Hard pan soft city (TUM Technische Universität München2012) 2
36. Jonathan Raban, Soft City (E.P. Dutton, 1974) 39-64
37. Ibid 15
38. The Guardian, Ghaith Abdul-Ahad, journalist (The Guardian, 2012) <http://www.theguardian.com/open-weekend/ghaith-abdul-ahad>
39. In an interview Ghaith explained how he started his career as a war journalist and photographer;
"On April 9, while standing in front

of my house, I suddenly saw these big armored vehicles going by..... My whole life had completely changed. When I was born, Saddam was there. He became this god, this mythical figure. Then one day, you wake up and he's not there. I wanted to see his palace from the inside, so the next day, I walked to it. I passed American checkpoints, saying that I was a British journalist. When I reached the entrance to the Green Zone, there was fresh blood in the street. At the gates of the palace, the soldiers gave me an escort to show me around. I remember thinking how banal it all was; I was expecting something much grander"

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Images

All images belong to the author, unless noted otherwise.

Fig.1 Source: <http://viipphoto.com/articles/iraq-return-to-life/>

Fig.2 An aerial photo with hospitals, universities, mosques, and the "Green Zone". Source: 1.US Geological Survey EROS Data Center, Aerial Photo, "Baghdad Iraq (1/27/91)"

Fig.3 NASA Landsat 7 image of Baghdad, April 2, 2003.

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Fig.4 Source: "Despite Tikrit Loss, ISIS Still Holds Large Swaths of Iraq." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 11 June 2014. Web. 13 Apr. 2015. http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/06/12/world/middleeast/the-iraq-isis-conflict-in-maps-photos-and-video.html?_r=0.

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Fig.6 Walls Distribution in Baghdad by 1013/2014. Base map (Byron G.Como, 2011) walls entrances and street blocks were created by Obaid, Mustafa, 2014

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Fig.6 Walls Distribution in Baghdad by 1013/2014. Base map(Byron G.Como, 2011) walls entrances and street blocks were created by Obaid, Mustafa, 2014

Fig. 7-9 These maps show the town plan of Baghdad 1958, prepared by the Army Map services, U.S. Army Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/world_cities/

Fig10-15 These photographs are by Abdul Ahad, from the series, Unembedded

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Fig. 16 Walid Raad & Le Group Atlas,
Sweet Talk, 1987-2005, photograph,
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Fig.17-20 Liebeskind early drawings
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The Urban Bridge

Re-stitching Baghdad

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