



Jerusalem

and its **Hinterland**

The International Peace and Cooperation Center
Jerusalem



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<i>List of Maps</i>	iv
<i>List of Tables</i>	v
<i>List of Graphs</i>	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction	3
Chapter 1	19
Omar Yousef	
<i>Ethnography of a Holy City</i>	
Chapter 2	45
Rami Nasrallah	
<i>Jerusalem and its Suburbs: The Decline of the Palestinian City</i>	
Chapter 3	53
Abdalla Owais	
<i>Transformations between East Jerusalem and its Neighborhoods</i>	
Chapter 4	67
Rassem Khamaisi	
<i>Between Competition and Integration: The Formation of a Dislocated and Distorted Urbanized Region in Jerusalem</i>	

Map 1 5
Jerusalem and its Network of Villages, 1948-1967

Map 2 6
Israeli Municipal Boundaries After 1967

Map 3 7
Israeli Settlements and Their Expansion

Map 4 8
Centrality of Jerusalem Until 1993

Map 5 9
Impact of Checkpoints on Jerusalem

Map 6 10
The Separation Wall

Map 7 11
Annexed and Captive Neighborhoods

Map 8 12
Land Use in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed

Map 9 13
Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed

Map 10 14
Al 'Eizariya and Abu Dis

Map 11 15
Building Use in Al 'Eizariya

Map 12 16
Kafr 'Aqab

Map 13 17
Building Use in Kafr 'Aqab

Map 14 18
The Jerusalem Urbanized Region Within the West Bank

Table 3.1 56
Power consumption in several Jerusalem suburbs and neighborhoods from the beginning of 2000 until the end of 2007 (kw/h)

Table 3.2 58
Survey of 15 buildings in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed, July 2007

Table 3.3 59
Survey of 15 buildings in Al 'Eizariya, July 2007

Table 3.4 60
Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed: Statistics on the shops from the beginning of Dahiyat al Bareed checkpoint, to Qalandiya checkpoint on the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road

Table 3.5 61
Al 'Eizariya: Statistics on the shops from the Jerusalem–Abu Dis–Al 'Eizariya Junction to the end of Jericho–Jerusalem Street near Ma'ale Adumim

Table 3.6 61
Bir Nabala: Statistics on the shops from Palestine Street at the end of Al-Mawahel neighborhood to Ibn Khaldoun School

Table 3.7 63
Population of Kafr 'Aqab in 2005/2006

Table 3.8 65
Survey of 9 buildings in Kafr 'Aqab, July 2007

Graph 3.1 57
Power consumption in several Jerusalem suburbs and neighborhoods from the beginning of 2000 until the end of 2007 (kw/h)

Graph 4.1 79
Construction Activities in Ramallah 1991 - 2004

Graph 4.2 83
Population growth in Ramallah (1922-2004)

Graph 4.3 84
Number of building permits and licensed areas (square meters) issued by Ramallah Municipality (1991-2004)

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Introduction <

Chapter 1

Ethnography of a Holy City

Chapter 2

Jerusalem and its Suburbs: The Decline of the Palestinian City

Chapter 3

Transformations between East Jerusalem and its Neighborhoods

Chapter 4

Between Competition and Integration: The Formation of a Dislocated and Distorted Urbanized Region in Jerusalem



Until the signing of the Oslo Accords (1993-4), Jerusalem represented the metropolitan center of the West Bank and the undeclared Palestinian capital. The city was a transportation hub and an important economic and commercial center, in addition to its religious and national importance. This was linked to the Palestinian institutions based in Jerusalem, which constituted an alternative form of self-administration to the administrative and governance institutions of the Israeli occupation. The relationship between Jerusalem and its direct environs and other West Bank cities represented the backbone of Jerusalem's life because, to a large extent, it relied on its status as a service and economic center. Moreover, the growth and development of the city itself occurred primarily outside the municipal borders set by the Israeli occupation in a context of Israeli spatial control, which imposed restrictions on Palestinian growth and development within the municipal borders of Jerusalem.

Since May 1993, the Israeli closure and isolation of East Jerusalem from its natural extension (the West Bank), together with its poor relationship with West Jerusalem and the state of separation between the city's two sectors, weakened East Jerusalem and gradually undermined its centrality. The relationship between East Jerusalem and the suburbs that evolved around it was also influenced by the closure. At a certain point, East Jerusalem represented the hub hinging together the north and south of the West Bank and a great deal of the interaction between the West Bank and Jerusalem took place within the close vicinity of Jerusalem. These suburbs were dominated by Jerusalemites in terms of their populations, as well as the economic and institutional activities that evolved there.

Yet the weakening of Jerusalem was not only confined to its declining centrality for the rest of the West Bank (and the Gaza Strip to a lesser extent). Such weakening also included the suburbs that had formerly enjoyed strong physical and functional connections with East Jerusalem. The Separation Wall severed such connection and continuity, rendering the suburbs weak border areas without links to any other city besides Jerusalem. This was in spite of their artificial connection with Ramallah to the north and Bethlehem to the south through roads subject to Israeli military control and surveillance.

This book addresses East Jerusalem's relationship with its suburbs. It is the fruit of research conducted over two years by a team of planners from the International Peace and Cooperation Center (IPCC). Omar Yousef discusses in detail the

spatial growth and development of Jerusalem and the city's relationship with its environs, as well as the way in which the Israeli occupation effected the imposition of an arbitrary reality. Great hopes were hinged on past peace agreements, but these hopes vanished, leading to the creation of a new spatial, functional and social reality for the Palestinians in East Jerusalem, which Yousef argues has further complicated and exacerbated the conflict.

In the second chapter, Rami Nasrallah discusses the growth and development of the suburbs and the causes that have encouraged such development since the mid-1980's. He outlines the factors that have led to the deterioration and negative development of these suburbs due to Israel's attempts to minimize the city's population. Primary among its means of doing so has been the enactment and imposition of a law that equates Jerusalemites' residence in these suburbs with residence outside the country. Consequently, many have had their permanent residency rights in Israel - which were formerly accorded to Palestinian residents of Jerusalem - revoked. Moreover, the construction of the Separation Wall significantly weakened the development of these suburbs at a later stage because it led their residents to return to crowded neighborhoods within Jerusalem's municipal boundaries.

In chapter three, Abdullah Owais explains the demographic and spatial transformations that occurred in the suburbs and neighborhoods of East Jerusalem following the erection of the Separation Wall, which isolated East Jerusalem from some of its neighborhoods (within the annexed Israeli municipal borders) and suburbs. Through case studies, he analyzes the recent transformations in Kafr' Aqab, Ar Ram, Al'Eizariya and Bir Nabala.

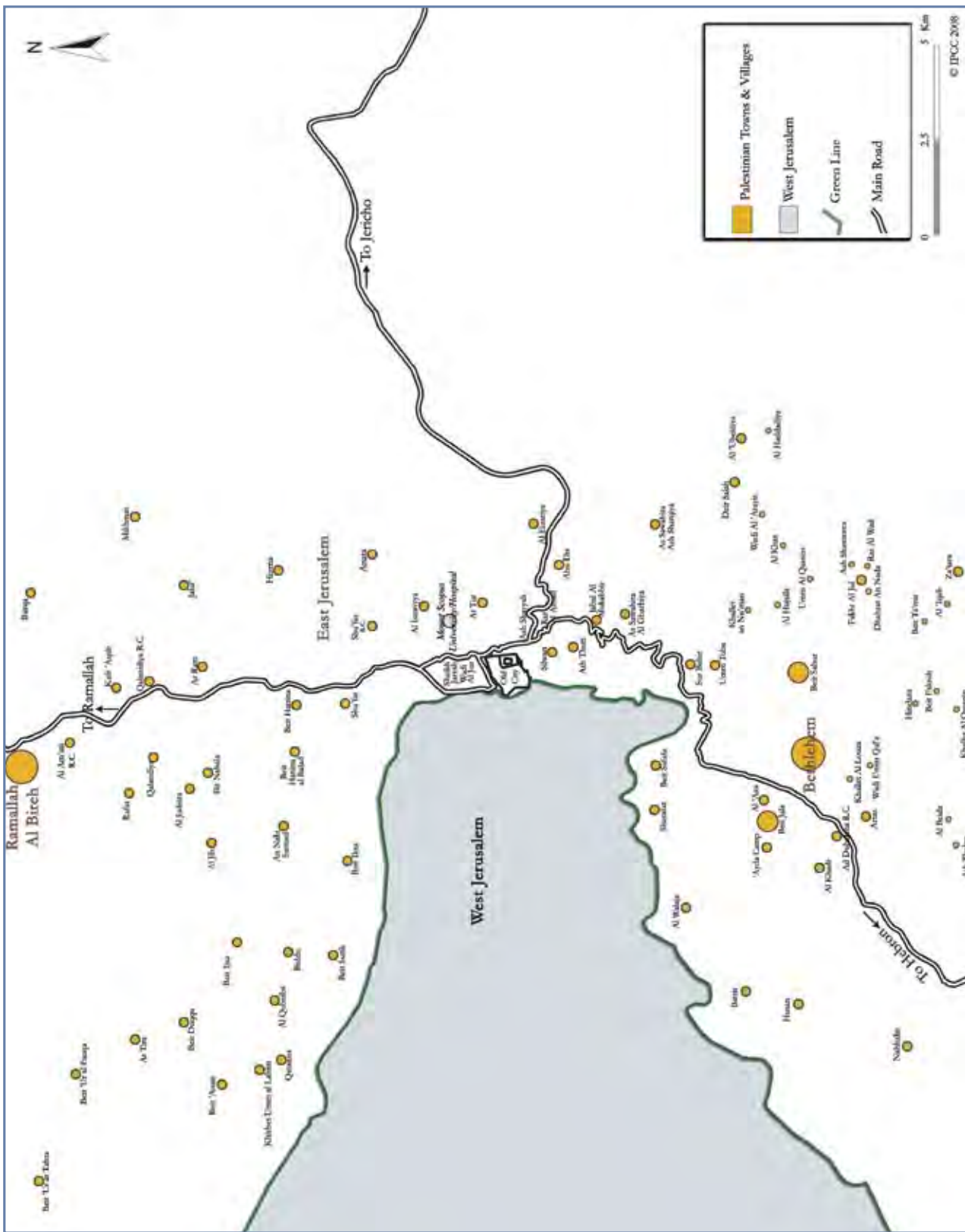
An essay by Rassem Khamaisi addresses the competitive and integrative relationship between Jerusalem and its environs, underlining the fact that from the mid-1990's onwards, Ramallah evolved into an administrative, service and economic center of the West Bank and took over many of the functions performed by East Jerusalem. Khamaisi proposes a framework for a future relationship that does not marginalize Jerusalem, but which creates some kind of continuity between East Jerusalem and the surrounding cities, especially Ramallah to the north and Bethlehem to the south. These cities are part of the Jerusalemite urbanized region, which includes numerous additional urban and functional centers that have the potential to develop integrated relations between themselves in the future.

This book represents the first study of its kind on the urban, spatial and functional developments that have occurred in Jerusalem and its environs during the past four decades. It also addresses the dramatic transformations that have taken place in recent years, the ramifications of which continue to be felt today, and which are expected to continue to influence the city and its environs in

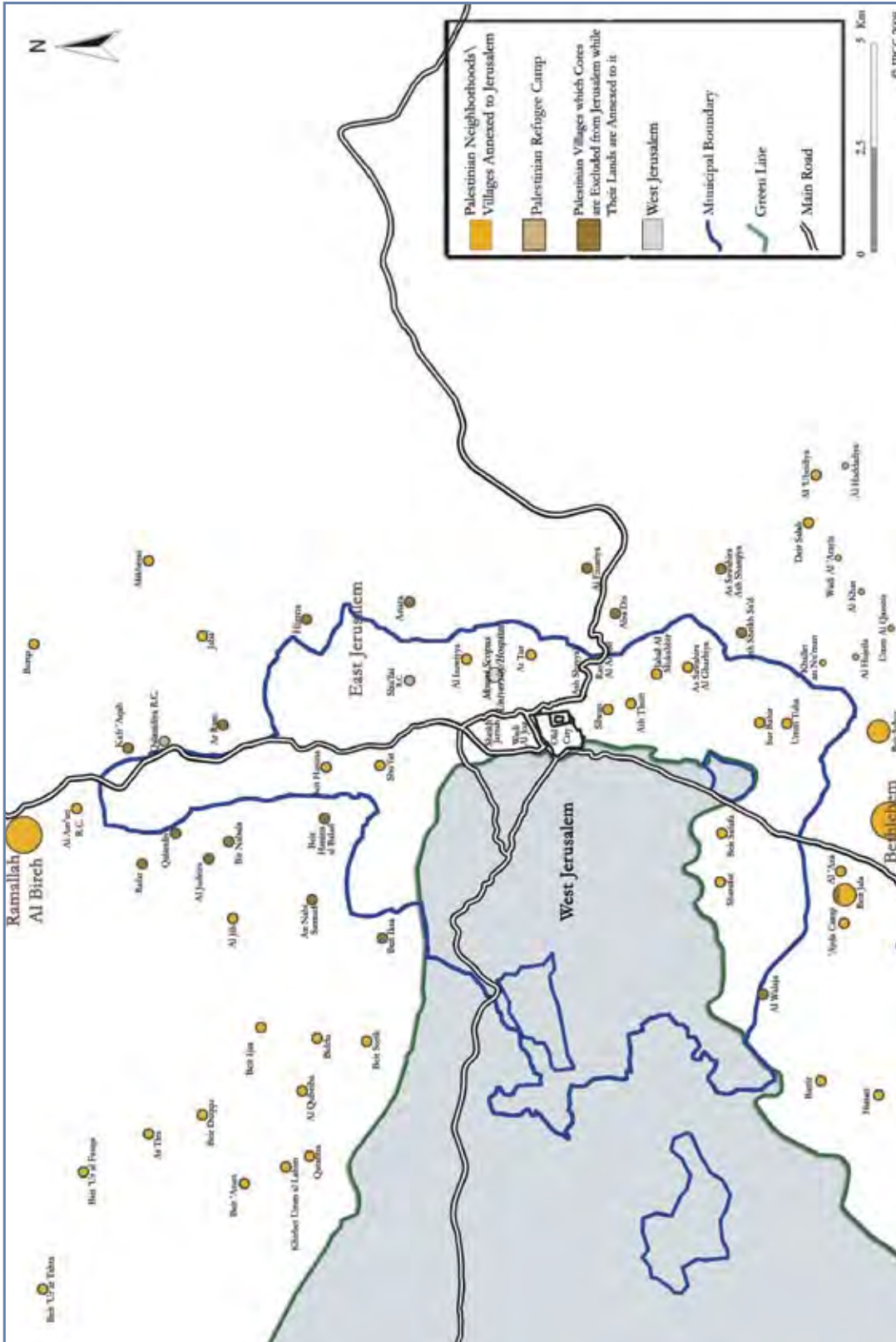
the near future. This fact calls for the continuous updating of this research, the monitoring of new transformations, and the analysis of their effects. Our center conducts such research regularly and continuously, analyzing the spatial, functional, and urban ramifications of the transformations resulting from the construction of the Separation Wall and Israel's reworking of space to serve its goals.

Rami Nasrallah
January 2008

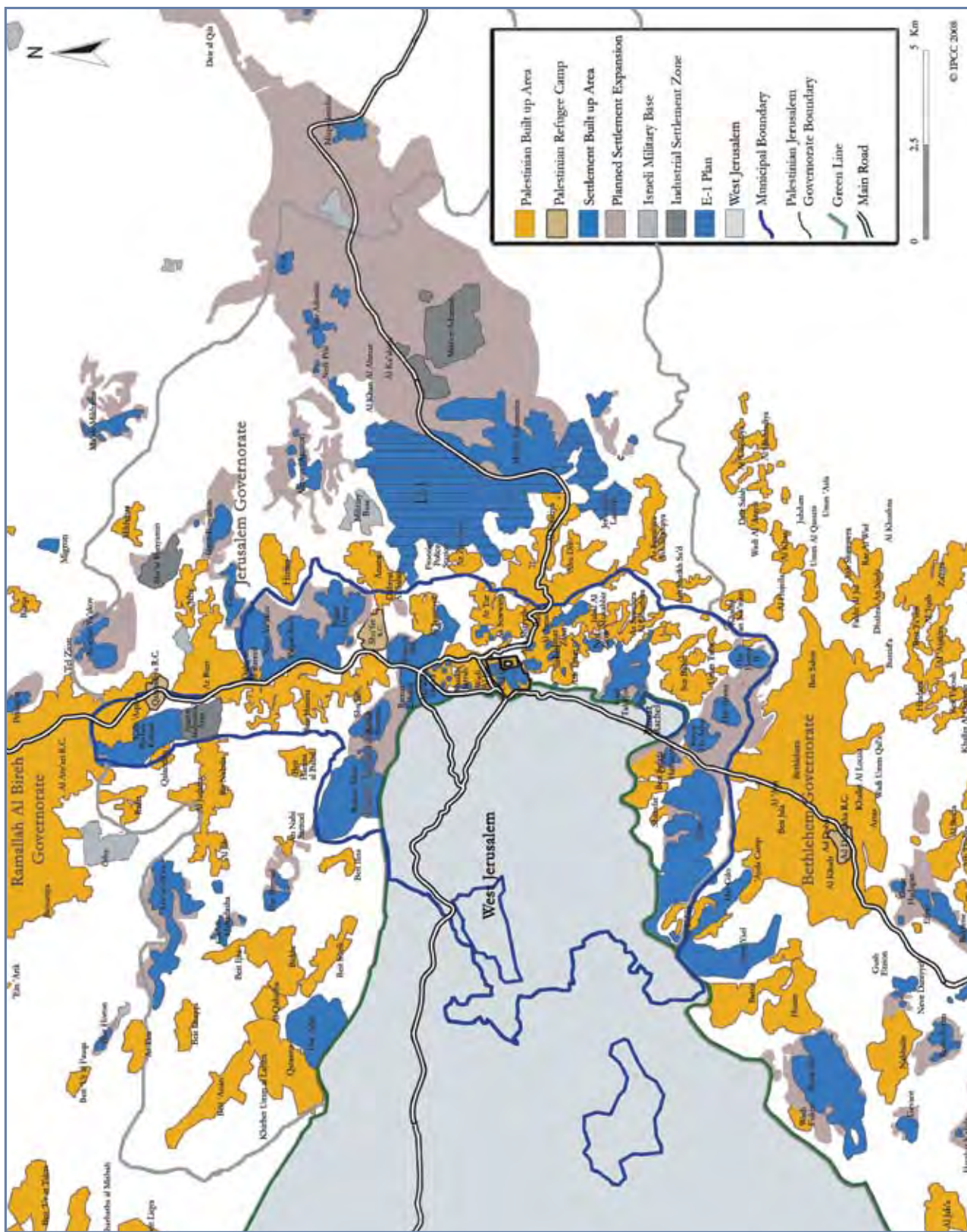
Map 1: Jerusalem and its Network of Villages, 1948-1967



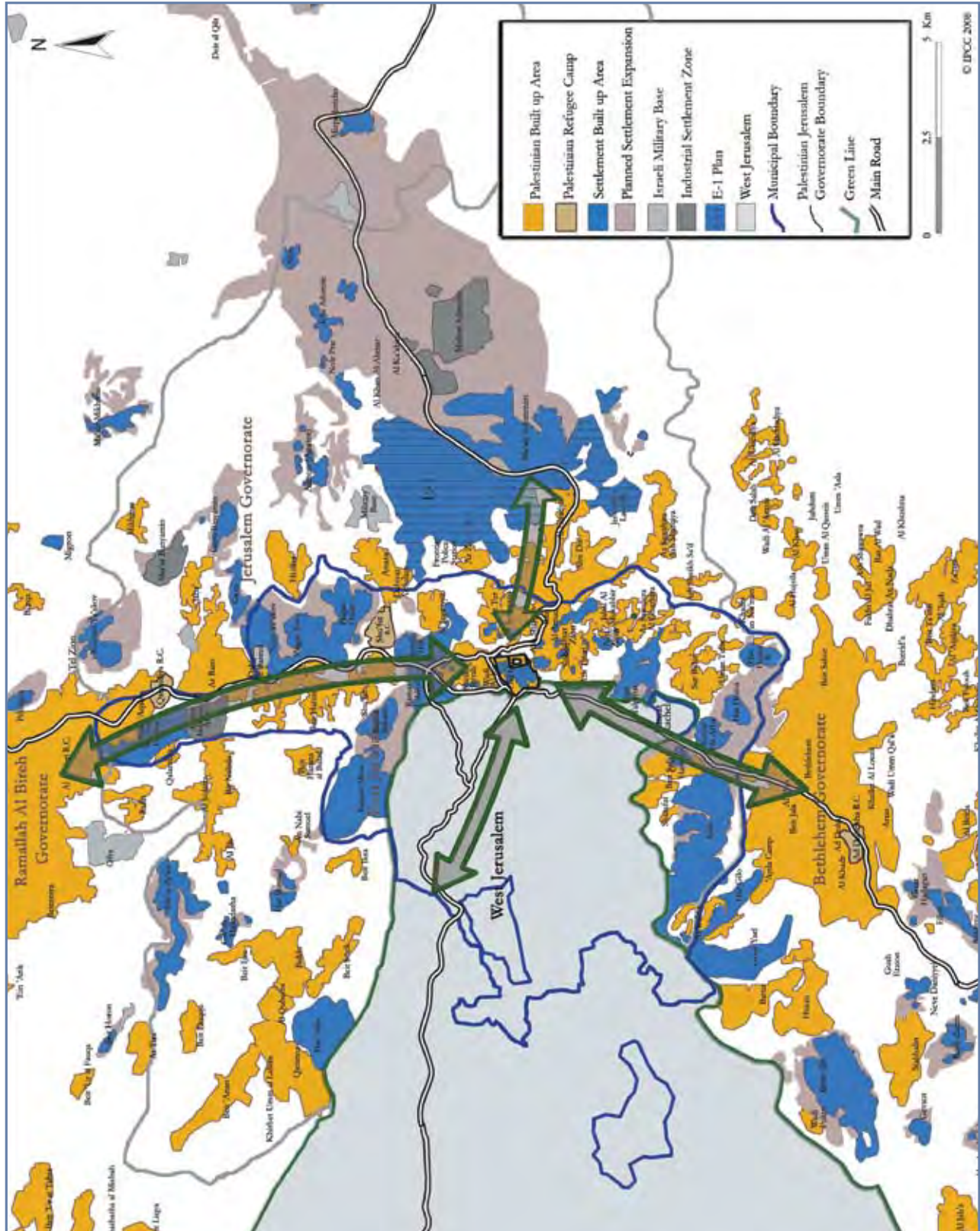
Map 2: Israeli Municipal Boundaries After 1967



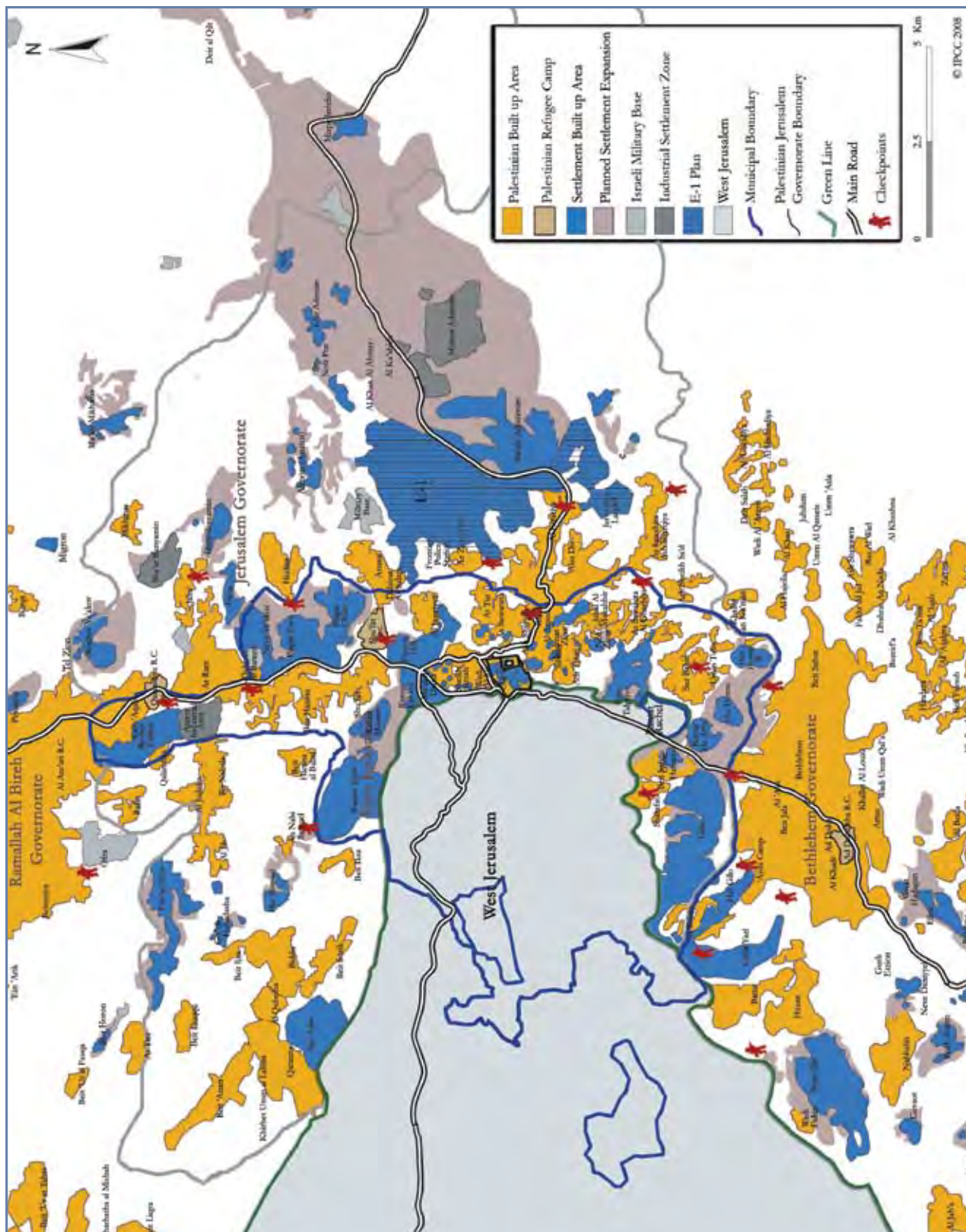
Map 3: Israeli Settlements and Their Expansion



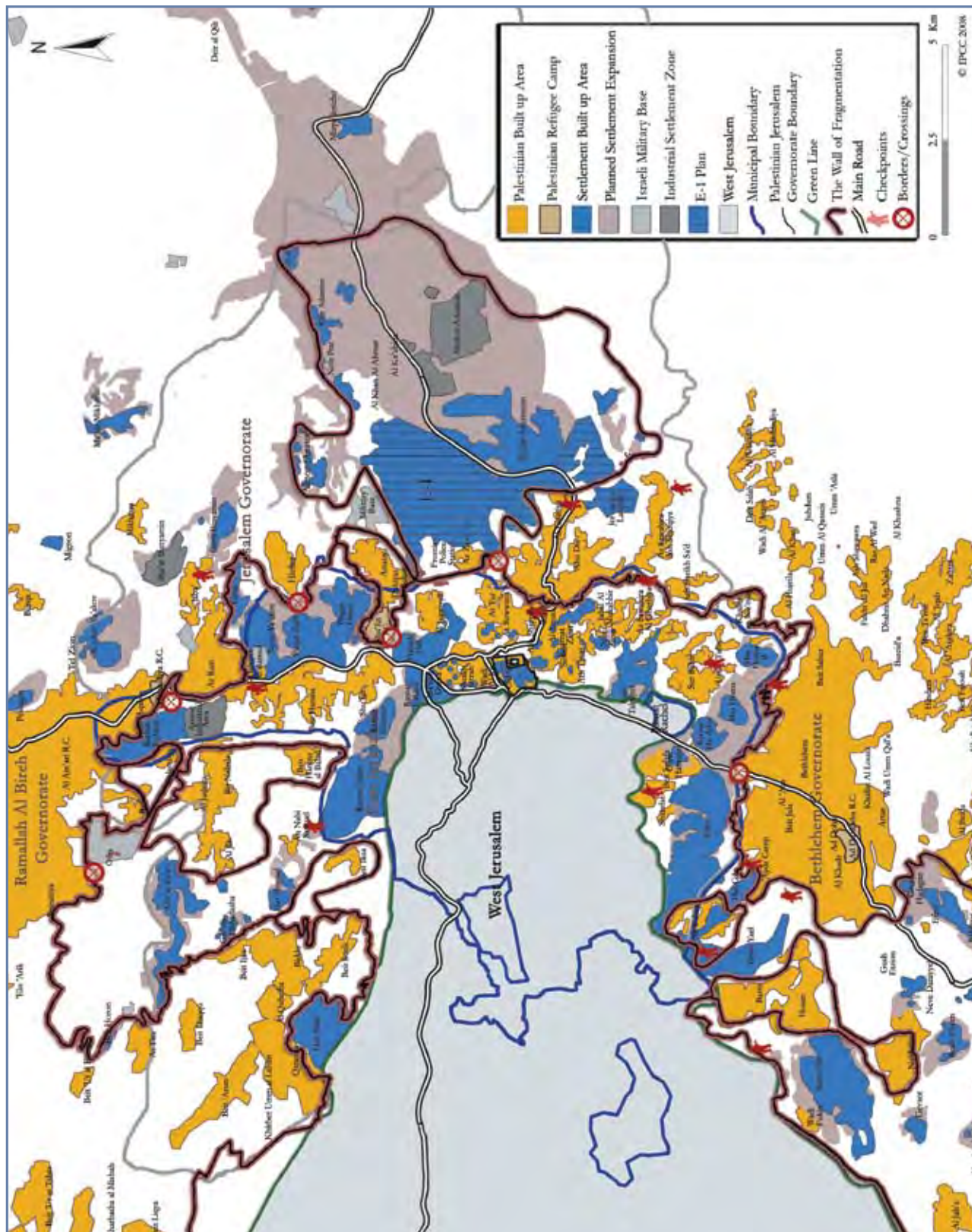
Map 4: Centrality of Jerusalem Until 1993



Map 5: Impact of Checkpoints on Jerusalem



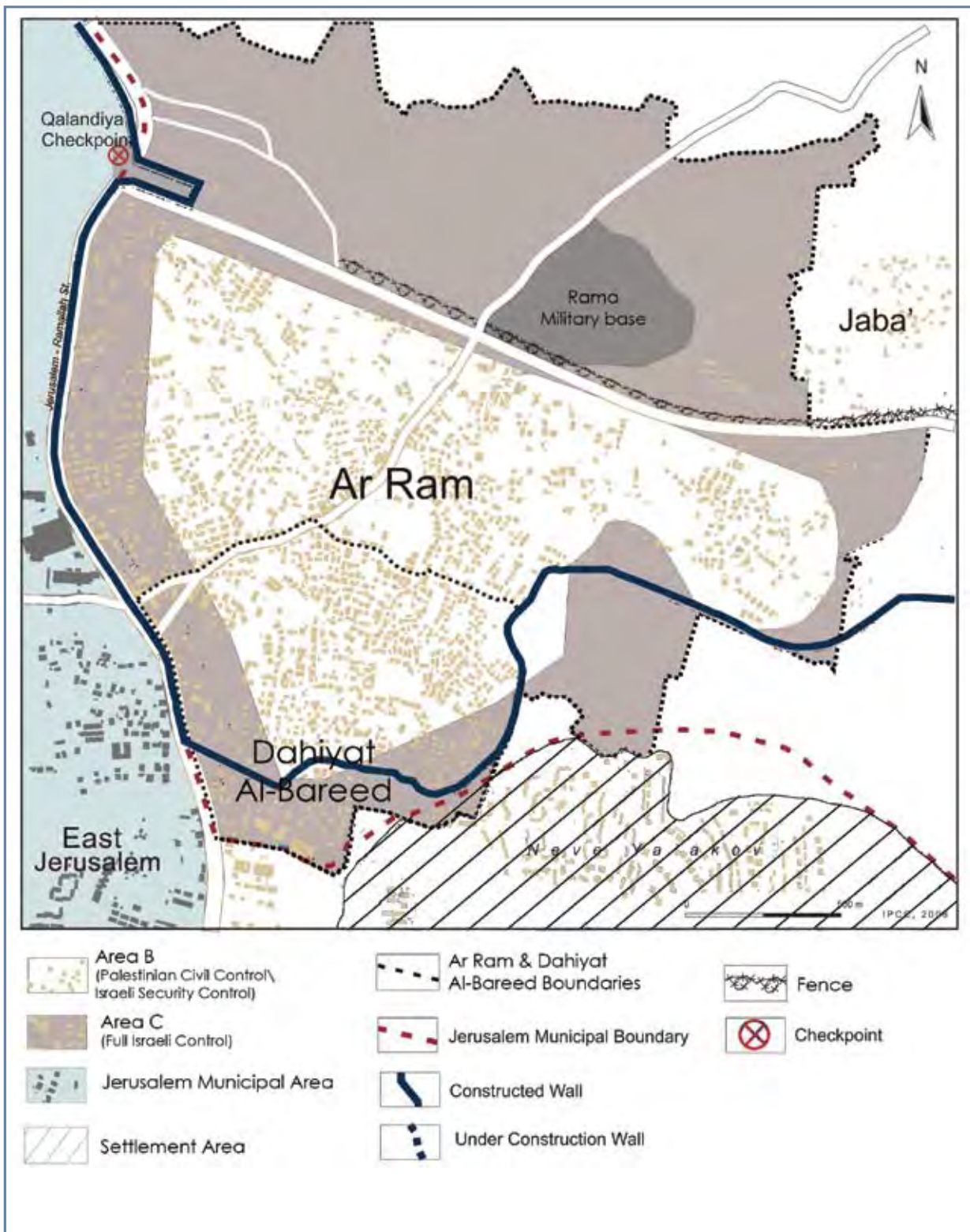
Map 6: The Separation Wall



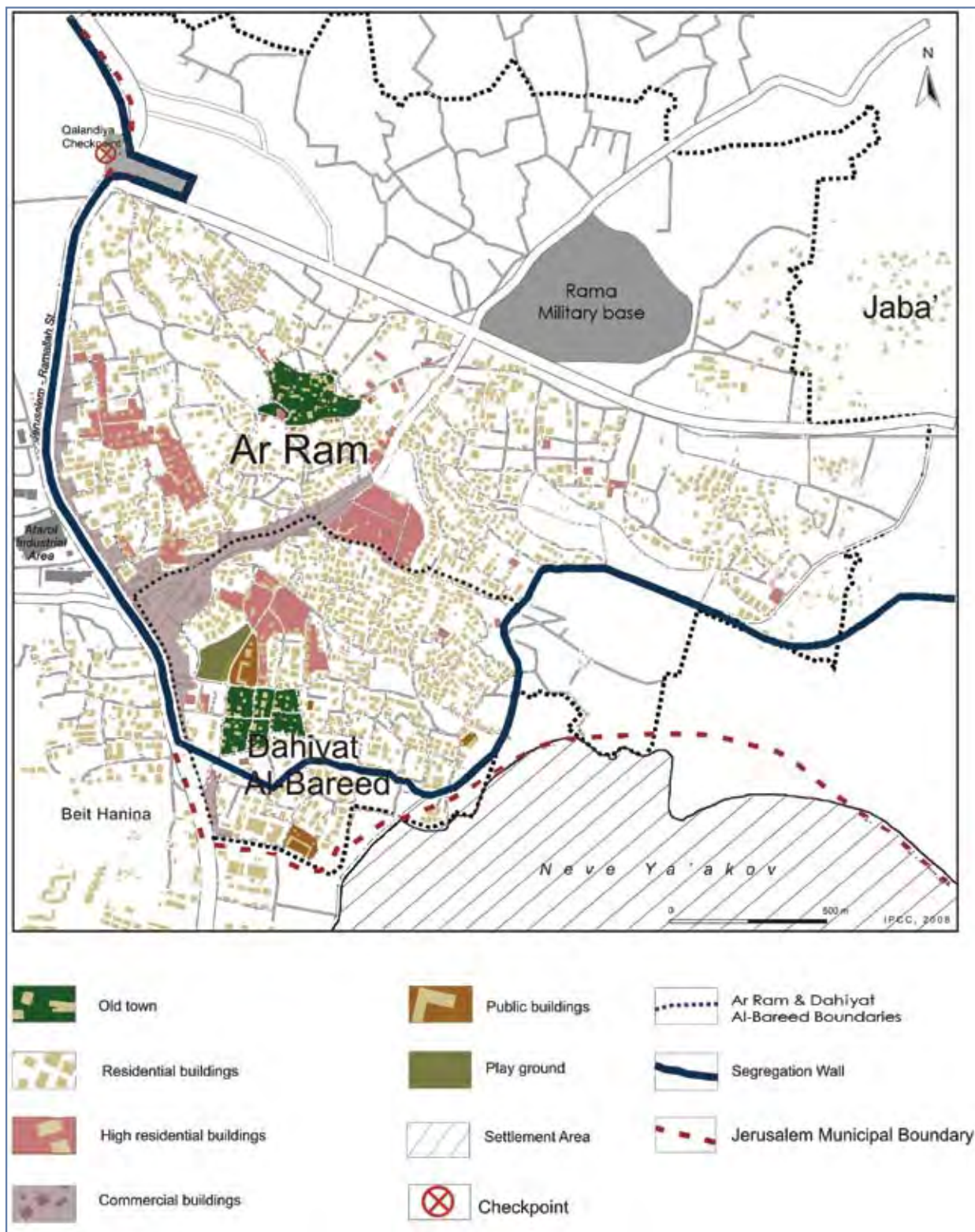
Map 7: Annexed and Captive Neighborhoods



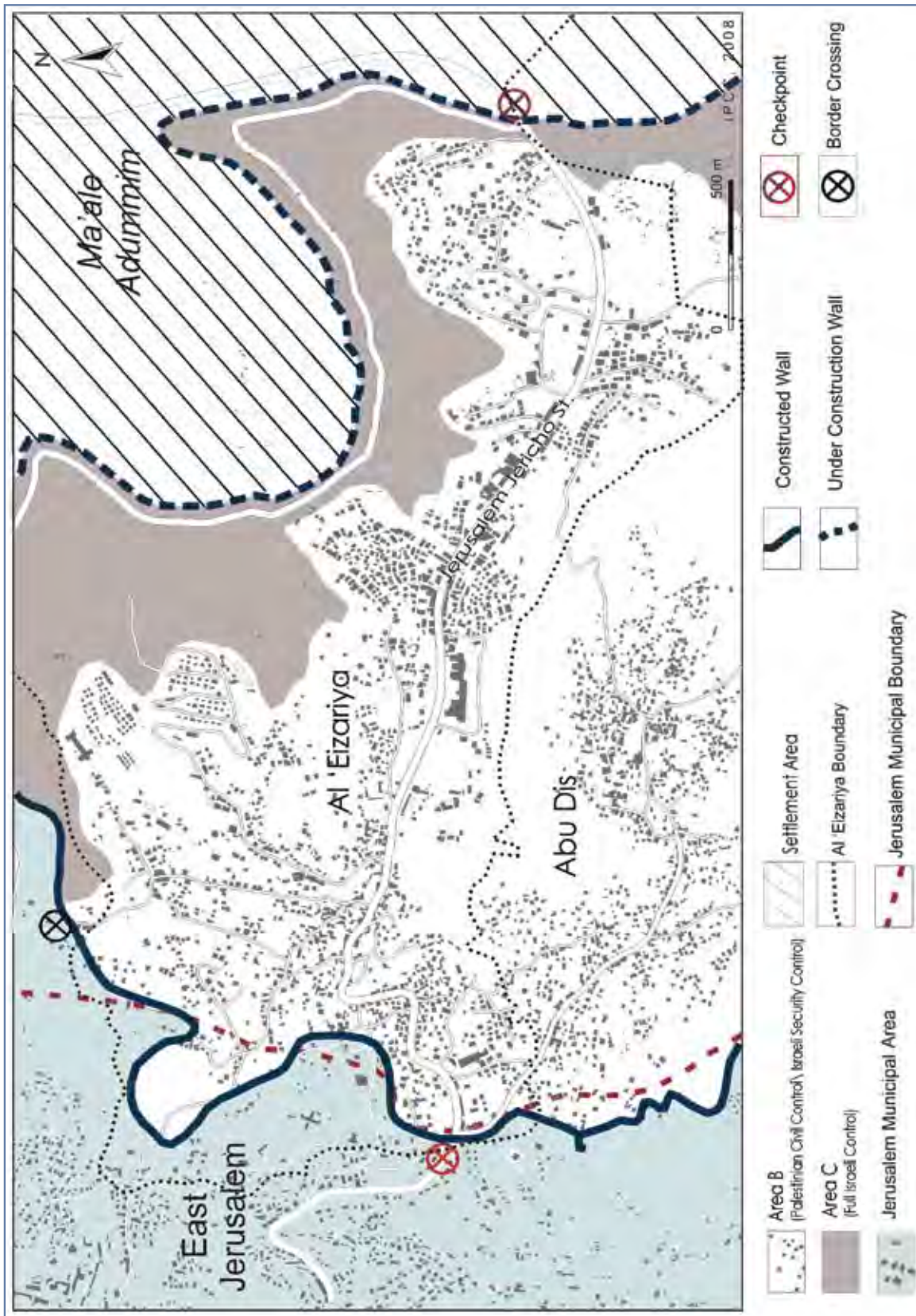
Map 8: Ar Ram and Dahiyat Al Bareed



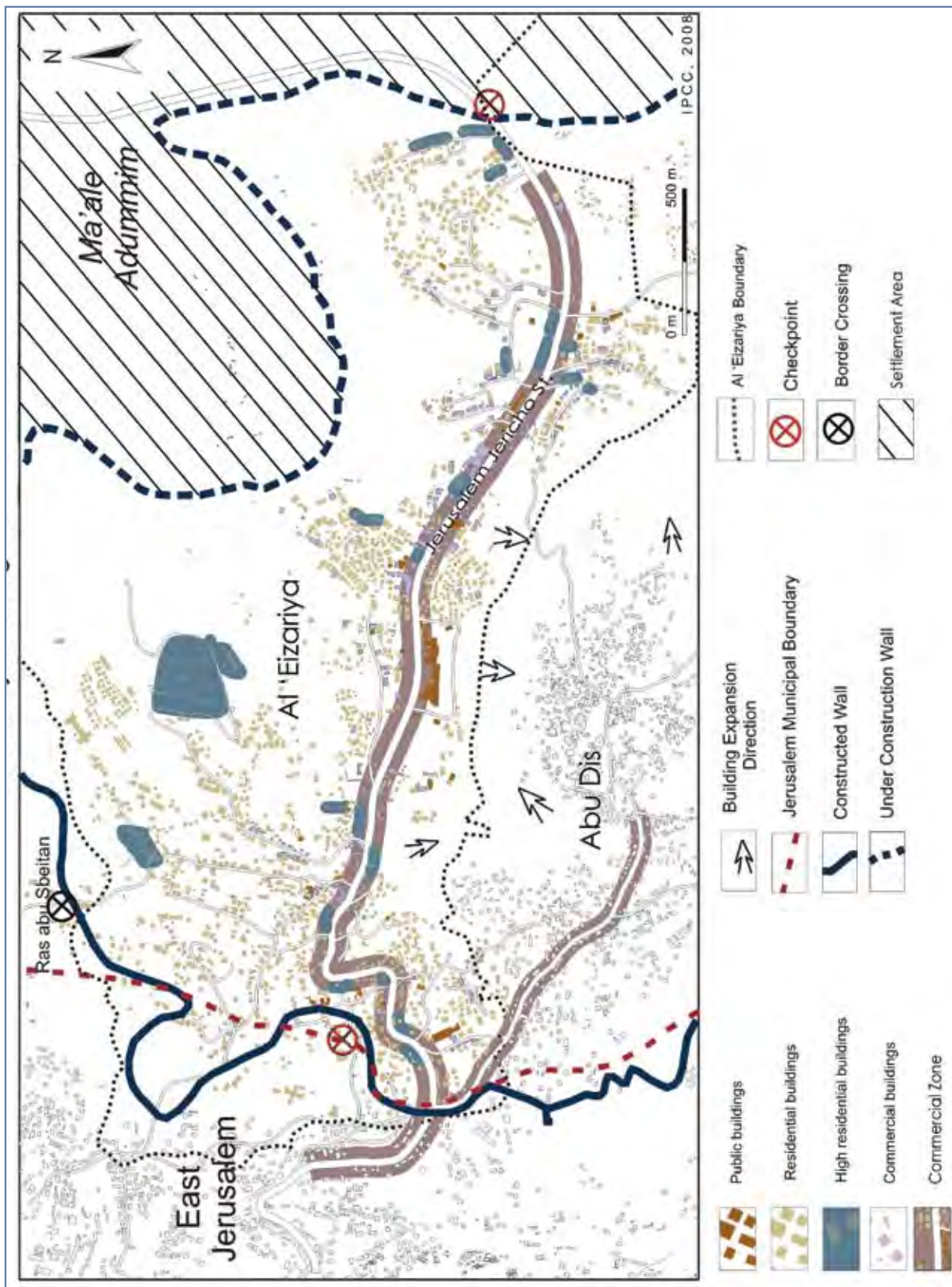
Map 9: Building Use in Ar Ram and Dahiyat Al Bared



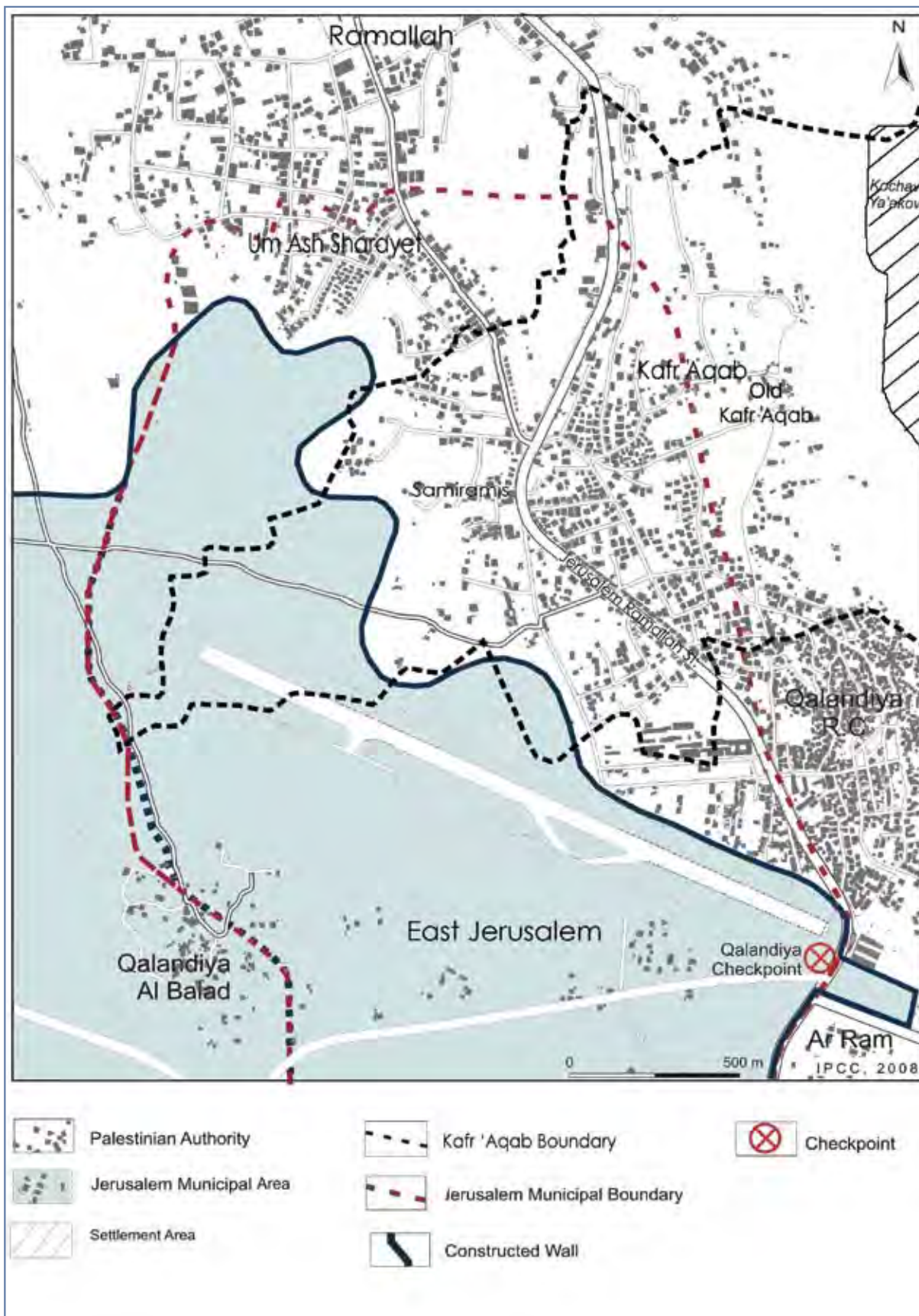
Map 10: Al'Eizariya and Abu Dis



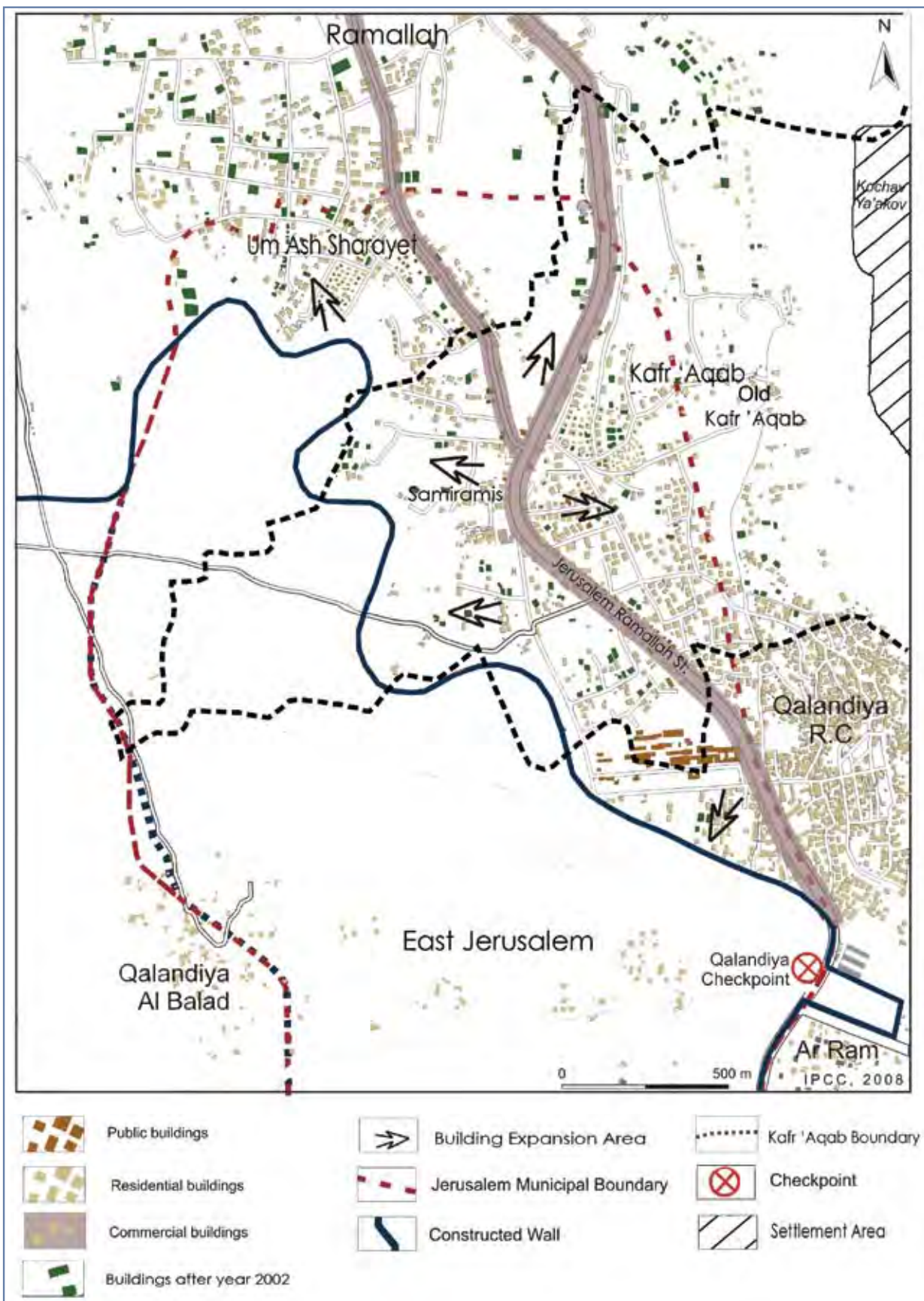
Map 11: Building Use in Al'Eizariya



Map 12: Kafr 'Aqab



Map 13: Building Use in Kafr 'Aqab



Map 14: The Jerusalem Urbanized Region Within the West Bank



Introduction

Chapter 1 *Chapter 1* <
Ethnography of a Holy City

Chapter 2

Jerusalem and its Suburbs: The Decline of the Palestinian City

Chapter 3

Transformations between East Jerusalem and its Neighborhoods

Chapter 4

Between Competition and Integration: The Formation of a Dislocated and Distorted Urbanized Region in Jerusalem



Ethnography of a Holy City

Omar Yousef

Palestinian East Jerusalem: Born out of division, raised under occupation and chopped to pieces during the "peace process."

An "Illegal" Friendship

My voice betrayed obvious hesitation as I tried to stick to my Arabic code of good manners by offering my old school friend a ride, but alhamdulillah – thank God – he was very considerate and turned me down. "No thanks," he said, "It will be too dangerous for you. I'll try the bus and hopefully there will be no flying checkpoints on the road." Abu Ahmad (52), my old school friend, was carrying neither drugs nor explosives but something that can be more dangerous in the Jerusalem of today: an orange identity card. These identification cards are given to Palestinians in the C Zone, making them illegal inside the territory marked by the Israeli municipal boundary of Jerusalem. This also applies to Palestinians with green identification cards from Zones A and B.

In 2003, and in parallel to the construction of the Wall, the Israeli authorities issued a decree punishing those caught carrying Palestinians in their cars without a valid permit for Israel. The penalties include impounding the car for one month, and a court hearing that could result in a prison sentence or high fine. This is the punishment you could receive if caught giving a ride to your uncle or sister who has come to visit during the holidays and who holds an identification card from Bethany – Al 'Eizariya – a Palestinian neighborhood of Jerusalem but one which lies outside the Israeli municipal border. Despite its biblical significance – it is the place to which Jesus walked from Jerusalem to visit the house of Lazarus – Israeli municipal officials cut the town out of Jerusalem's municipal borders although it is an urban extension of Palestinian Jerusalem, and has been one of the obvious directions of Palestinian natural urban growth since the 1950's.

In the spatial consciousness of East Jerusalem Palestinians, neighborhoods like Al 'Eizariya, Abu Dis, Anata, Ar Ram and Bir Nabala are part of the urban continuum of their fabric of life. As Suleiman

(65) who owns a house in Al 'Eizariya puts it: "Our families are spread throughout this area and now, all of a sudden, they don't belong to the city, and you can't give them a ride in your car? It's an insult; it's an assault on our moral values."

Abu Ahmad owns a business dating back to the 'open city' days. According to him, he is and has always been a Jerusalemite. He studied at Jerusalem schools, spent his days in Salah Eddin, East Jerusalem's main commercial street, and knows all of the city's pubs in the east and west! But since the imposition of checkpoints and the Separation Wall, he has become an "illegal alien" inside the annexed zone. In the census carried out by the Israeli authorities after the 1967 war, he was registered as a resident of a house that lies one hundred meters away from the arbitrarily imposed borderline, which illegally annexed¹ Palestinian land to the Israeli municipality. As such, he was given a different identification card than I was. I often feel embarrassed about this, and sometimes give him a ride late at night when the situation seems calm and the streets are free of police. He has polio and cannot walk long distances; a funny man whose company is a pleasure, one that is becoming harder to enjoy. Like many West Bankers working illegally in Jerusalem, he comes once a week – usually Saturdays if everything works out (it does not always work out) – and stays until Thursday, when he returns to his family in Al 'Eizariya. During this time, he works in a room of ten by six feet; he does not go out frequently in order to avoid police controls. At night, a 'courageous' friend usually drives him through the side streets that bypass the places where flying checkpoints may be lurking, to spend the night at the home of his sister, who lives on the 'Israeli side' of the Wall.

He goes home once a week for a one-day holiday, which he mostly spends asleep "out of frustration" as he says. When his attempt to enter to the city fails, he goes back home and spends some time with his family. He has also discovered that sometimes, he can use this as an excuse to gain an extra day off, something that he confesses to having done several times.

"I have no choice," he explains. "Because I spend very little time at home, my son and his friends got involved in anti-occupation activities, and he was arrested and accused of attacking a military jeep with stones and Molotov cocktails. He was

1. The annexation of occupied land is illegal under the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949) Articles 47 and 49; and UN Security Council Resolutions 242, 446, 452, and 465.

sentenced to one and a half years in prison and he is just 17.” He pauses and then concludes, “now we are both imprisoned by the Israelis: he is in jail and I am stuck in a tiny room in this city. I rarely leave this place and nobody is able to drive me around anymore, but thank God, some friends still pass by to visit me sometimes. I know almost everyone in the street where I work. Previously, many people that I know used to stop gladly to give me a ride while I was waiting on the sidewalk. But since that law was passed, people began avoiding me by looking busy, talking on their cell phones or changing the channels on their car radios. Many of those who used to give me a

ride are now avoiding saying ‘hi’ or raising their hand in greeting because they are embarrassed not to offer me the usual ride. For the first couple of months, we avoided the issue. Then we began talking about it and some friends would crack jokes about me being more dangerous in their cars than drugs or explosives, things that they may be able to deny any knowledge of, but with me, they’re doomed for sure. It’s a pity, but they can’t even do it for their mothers or sisters, which must be even more painful for them. Now I understand the situation and don’t expect rides anymore. The sad thing is that all of this injustice is seen as legal and my normal life is considered ‘illegal.’ ”

Picture 1.1: A crack in the wall through which Palestinians from Bethany - Al 'Eizariya – can sneak into Jerusalem in order to overcome the sudden rupture of their socio-economic support network



Reflections on a Metamorphosis of Ethnic Discrimination and Exclusion

Until 1993, when the Oslo Accords were signed, people did not pay much attention to where they lived within the area of the Palestinian urban fabric of Jerusalem, which had developed gradually as a natural extension of the city’s neighborhoods

especially after the division of Jerusalem in 1948. After its occupation by Israeli forces in 1967, 70 square kilometers of Palestinian land surrounding the Old City were annexed to the Israeli Municipality of West Jerusalem, and the step was celebrated as the ‘unification of Jerusalem as the eternal capital of Israel’. The annexed area was submitted to a continuous policy of spatial and demographic

engineering² aimed at achieving a Jewish majority on both sides of the city. In order to limit the number of Palestinians within the Israeli municipal area and to utilize vacant Palestinian land for the construction of Jewish-only settlements, urban planning was used as a tool to impose restrictions on Palestinian development and the construction of Palestinian housing within the municipal area.

The urban territoriality³ developed by the planning authorities had a major impact on shaping the morphology of space around Jerusalem, both in its form and socio-economic function. It fostered the imbalance of power and created two different groups living together separately: one dominant Jewish group and another subordinate Palestinian one.

The governing ideology of the state of Israel has had a strong influence on urban policy, which was employed in a partisan manner and in favor of the Jewish majority. This led to the creation of a new territorial reality by implanting a plethora of Jewish settlements around and between Palestinian communities in East Jerusalem, fragmenting Palestinian urban space and increasing disparities in terms of urban ethnic conditions between Jews and Palestinians. This continuing policy is undermining the credibility of peace negotiations in the eyes of Palestinians, and may affect urban stability. Together, these factors will pose serious challenges to negotiating the political future of Jerusalem towards any final peace agreement.

Based on interviews and conversations with city inhabitants and literature reviews, this chapter presents the story of East Jerusalem through concepts, images and attitudes expressed by its Palestinian population. It attempts to trace the evolution of East Jerusalem from the time of its birth, through the process of its growth, to its urban strangulation and physical truncation. Placing special emphasis on urban policy and the processes of housing development, it will describe and analyze the different phases that the city has undergone and their effect on the daily life of its inhabitants. It will trace and highlight aspects of change in the urban morphology of the city, the behaviors of its inhabitants while coping with the complications imposed on their daily lives, and their attitudes and perceptions towards their reality.

The Old City and its Network of Villages

Like most medieval and pre-modern cities, over the years, the walled Old City of Jerusalem became the commercial and administrative center of the network of villages surrounding it. This explains the governorate system of the Jordanian administration, which simply demarcated the main cities and the towns and villages that were connected to, or dependent on them. This network of interdependency is the result of natural features of the geography of the region, including the availability of fertile land and the topography, which determined the most favorable and accessible roads to the region's cities. Most of these villages practiced subsistence agriculture that mainly satisfied the needs of the villagers, but that allowed for some additional products to be sold in the city in exchange for other goods such as textiles, tools, pottery, and furniture.

The Old City was like a mother and the meandering roads were like the umbilical cords connecting both in a symbiosis of trade and subsistence. The Old City of Jerusalem is situated at the crossroads connecting Jaffa in the West and Jordan in the East, and the ancient north-south ridge road that goes from Hebron and Bethlehem in the south, to Ramallah and Nablus in the north. These roads have played a fundamental role in determining the city's shape and development.

In 1863, during the late Ottoman period, the Jerusalem Municipality was founded as the second city after Istanbul. According to this decision, the local authorities were entitled to collect taxes, build roads, develop infrastructure, and supervise building activities. This was followed by some gradual development outside the walled city. By the end of World War I and the imposition of British Mandatory rule in Palestine in 1918, Jerusalem was already developing towards the north, northwest and southwest mostly along the main roads.⁴ It began with the Yemin Moshe neighborhood in 1860, built by the British philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore to house new Jewish immigrants arriving from Europe at that time. This was followed by other Jewish projects, a German colony, and the construction of homes by some wealthy Palestinians seeking to escape the crowded Old City.⁵ I refer to the

2. Demographic engineering is an expression used to describe a similar policy in Lod (Yacobi: 2004).

3. Territoriality is the attempt to control geography through influencing and controlling the actions and interactions of people, things and relationships. It involves categorizations, border settings and urban politics (Sack: 1986).

4. Touqan: 2004.

5. Koryanker: 1994.

Jewish neighborhoods as projects because of the collective nature of their development, consisting of the construction of tens or hundreds of housing units at the same time.

Due to the difficult, hilly topography of the eastern side of the Jerusalem plateau, such projects were mainly concentrated in the northwest and along the road to Jaffa, with some scattered developments in the north along the Nablus road, and to the southwest along the road to Bethlehem and Hebron. The boundaries of the first British urban plan for Jerusalem included the Old City but excluded its eastern hills, and envisaged the development of the new city to the west, towards the plains of the western Palestinian villages. As such, the western part of the city - with its newly developed urban fabric and modern planning regulations, roads and infrastructure - became the new city, while the eastern side remained predominantly rural in nature.

The western side of the city developed in a formal, planned manner to host the new urban center, which was home to services newly developed under the British Mandate. The crowded Old City thus began seeping towards the west along the main routes, providing space for housing for Jewish immigrants and Palestinians, administrative office buildings, hospitals, cinemas, and a central commercial strip extending from Jaffa Gate along Jaffa Street. It was during the time of the British Mandate therefore that Jerusalem developed its "early modern part."⁶ The Old City dominated the pre-modern urban landscape, and the early modern era brought about the new city with its Jewish and Arab neighborhoods and their centers.

(See **Map 1: Jerusalem and its Network of Villages, 1948-1967**, which shows how Palestinian built-up areas in East Jerusalem developed around the surrounding network of villages)

1948: The Division of Jerusalem and the Birth of Two Cities

Under the British, the Jewish-Arab conflict escalated, culminating in the division of Jerusalem into two parts after the war of 1948. West Jerusalem – 'Yerushalayem' in Hebrew - was declared the capital of the State of Israel, while East Jerusalem –

'Al Quds' in Arabic - was annexed to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The Armistice Line passed through Jerusalem, separating the early modern center in the west from the Old City and its surrounding network of villages in the east. As a result of the war, both parts of the city became ethnically segregated or even cleansed, as Arabs and Jews who lived on the wrong side of the Green Line were forced to move. Palestinians moved to the east and Jews moved to the west. At that time, 2,400 Jews lived in the Old City in the east, and 31,500 Arabs lived in the new city in the west.

This was the birth of the ethnically separated twin cities of Jewish West Jerusalem and Arab/Palestinian East Jerusalem. Over the course of the next 19 years, both cities were managed and planned differently. They were part of separate national plans, reacted to different urban dynamics, and followed different paths of development. While West Jerusalem underwent a rapid, government-guided development process, under which the national symbols of the infant State of Israel were created and housing projects for new Jewish immigrants were constructed, East Jerusalem followed a slower track. In the Jordanian context, Amman remained the capital and the annexed Palestinian West Bank was not a focus of development for the Jordanian government, which concentrated on its capital and the surrounding regions on the eastern side of the River Jordan. Nevertheless, Jerusalem retained its importance as a religious center, and its centrality for the cities of the West Bank.

Cut off from the west by a wall and a strip of No Man's Land as a result of the division, the Arab city developed mostly towards the north and east. According to the new borders imposed by the 1948 Armistice Line, the southern road to Bethlehem lay in West Jerusalem, and the Arab substitute to this road was much longer and passed over difficult terrain. This fact therefore precluded development in the southern direction. Around the mid-1950's, refugee merchants who had lost their businesses in the western part of the city and who were searching for a substitute, began building the commercial street of Salah Eddin. The construction of new houses focused mainly on available lands in the northern and eastern villages surrounding the Old City. This led to the further development of the Palestinian neighborhoods of Wadi al Joz, Sheikh Jarrah, Shu'fat and Beit Hanina to the

6. Hasson: 2008.

north, and the Mount of Olives (At Tur), Silwan, Ras Al' Amud, Ash Shayyah and Al'Eizariya to the east. The southern villages such as At Tur saw some building activities and experienced population growth. However, Jabal al Mukabbir and Sur Bahir were more remote and difficult to reach through a serpentine road that crossed the difficult, hilly slopes leading to Bethlehem. As such, they grew little and with the exception of some newcomers, they remained mostly with their local populations, a factor that prevails until today.

Born out of the division, and having become the central city of the Transjordan West Bank, the early modern Arab Jerusalem began developing towards the areas surrounding the Old City. Yet for most people, the Old City's holy places and markets, the Damascus Gate area and the newly developed center of Salah Eddin Street remained the heart of the city. People would flock to these areas to shop and to access health and education services. Some recall that students at the Rashidie School (adjacent to the Old City) came from villages ranging from Beit Hanina to Sur Bahir, and from Al'Eizariya to Abu Dis. East Jerusalem took on the role of a transportation hub, with movement from surrounding and other villages being facilitated by the main bus station, which lay between the Damascus and Herod's Gates and which ran services from Hebron in the south, to Nablus in the north and Amman in the East.

After the loss of Palestine in the 1948 war, Palestinians were forced to come to terms with the new, difficult reality created by the Nakba (an Arabic name meaning 'catastrophe', and referring to the occupation of Palestine in 1948), the consequent refugee problem, and the destruction of their economy. According to Um Imad (77), who left to work as a teacher in Kuwait at the time: *"There were not enough jobs in the West Bank area. Young people were moving to Amman and some went to the developing Gulf counties such as Kuwait, which was in need of craftsmen and educated people to work as teachers and civil servants."*

The nature of the built-up areas and the urban situation on the Arab side of the city was characterized by a symbiotic relationship of subsistence and local trade between the Old City and the surrounding network of villages nesting in its ancient landscape. The urban conditions in East Jerusalem at the time of the division were still

pre-modern and unplanned, with the exception of Musrara, which was part of the now blocked-off Prophets Street connecting Damascus Gate to the 'new city' in 'West Jerusalem.' To the north, Sheikh Jarrah and Wadi al Joz were more rural in nature, with the exception of some mansions and institutions located in these areas. *"The roads now are the same donkey roads that we used to use. Later, some were widened and paved by the Jordanian government,"* said 80-year-old Abu Imad, recalling the time of his youth. The inhabitants of Silwan, a village adjacent to the southern wall of the Old City, were not initially in favor of being included in the first Ottoman municipality because of the additional taxes this entailed. As such, they *"stayed without a paved road until 1967 when construction began and was interrupted by the outbreak of the war,"* remembers Arafat (50) from Silwan, who used to play with the abandoned construction equipment as a child.

These donkey tracks played an important role in the development of more than 15 villages that lay within an eight-mile radius, and that later became the neighborhoods of Palestinian East Jerusalem. Over the years, Jerusalemite families bought cheaper land in these areas and built their homes there, laying the foundation for a Palestinian urban fabric based on the web of "donkey roads" that meandered through the topography and connected these villages.

"When my father built the house, the area was beautiful with few houses and lots of trees. You could even walk to the Old City," said Haje Jameele (78), who now finds herself stranded on the other side of the Separation Wall on the western side of Al'Eizariya. Looking at the high concrete wall standing 20 meters from her window, she complains that it has separated her from her family, and from the only hospitals in the area, which now lie on the other side in the Israeli-annexed part of East Jerusalem.

1967: Occupation

Mr. Kendall, a British planner, was just finishing his new town planning scheme to expand the area of Amanat Al-Quds (the Arab municipality of East Jerusalem) when war broke out. There was no chance for the scheme - completed in 1966 and which integrated the gradually urbanizing

villages in East Jerusalem's countryside - to be implemented. In six days, the Israeli army defeated the forces of three Arab countries and took the Golan Heights from Syria, the West Bank from Jordan, and the Gaza Strip and the Egyptian Sinai from Egypt.

This new reality had dramatic effects on both the Israelis and the Palestinians. For the Israelis, conquering the Biblical Lands triggered a euphoria of power and self-confidence that nourished a post-modern, messianic aspiration for a religious re-birth. This aspiration permeated secular Zionism and the national identity of Israel, bringing out their religious aspects. They had taken Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria, the eternally awaited dream of the Jewish nation. It was such a grand victory that many considered it a sign from God. In less than three weeks, on June 28, 1967, the Israeli parliament (the Knesset) held a session to amend the law of 1950 that had proclaimed Jerusalem as Israel's capital, to extend its jurisdiction to the eastern part of the city and thereby annex it. This decision was reaffirmed by the Israeli government on July 30, 1980, when it declared Jerusalem as the "eternal undivided capital" of Israel.⁷

On the other side, God was not so rewarding; Arabs in general and the Palestinians in particular, were stunned by this great shock. All their hopes for the liberation of Palestine were now shattered. The shock was so unexpected for the Arab mindset that it made conspiracy theories an attractive alternative explanation for what had happened. The defeat was recognized however. It is even repeatedly referred to by both Arabs and Palestinians as the "defeat of '67: Hazimat al Sab'a w-sitteen." The failure of the newly-born Arab countries to meet the expectations set out by their rhetoric shook faith in Arab world's ability to promote and achieve Palestinian goals.

Um Hassan, a 55-year-old woman who was living in Wadi al Joz with her parents at the time of the war, recalls how they sat in a back room with blackened windows listening to the radio broadcaster declaring the fall of Jerusalem. *"The shock struck me inside and left a mixture of helplessness and deep sadness. I had never seen my father cry, and that was the first time in my life when I saw my father and mother bursting into tears together. I can't forget it."*

Although it was an occasion of national sadness

and disappointment, Abed Othman describes the poor conditions of the neighborhoods' civil defense organization in the city in a humorous tone.

Abed Othman (55) from Silwan, a neighborhood where some skirmishes took place, recalls how the Jordanian civil defense distributed some rifles shortly before the war, giving each group of houses a rifle and five bullets for their protection. His cousin was old enough to claim the weapon allocated to their part of the street, and was fully convincing as he explained how the neighbors were using his basement as a "bunker" and that he needed to protect them. *"And he came back proudly with one," says Abed, "but that was the funniest rifle I've ever seen. In order to load the bullet and eject the used one, you had to pull a metal handle called a Makanazma to the rear end and back (bolting rifle). But that rifle was stuck and didn't work well. It was so difficult to pull that the young men took it in turns to see who could do it. It was usually uncle Abed who succeeded; he was tougher than the others. Watching all of this, I kept laughing at the way they handled that rifle! At the beginning, they found it funny too, but after hearing the sounds of the jet fighter in the sky they became gloomy. I kept laughing though. My cousin was longing to test the rifle. He was the first who went to the narrow window of the basement to 'examine the skies' but he couldn't see much because of the sandbags stuffed against the window. Hearing the planes, the young men in the basement sometimes poked the rifle out of the window and followed the path of the plane. Once, my cousin fired a shot in the air, which encouraged another young man to do the same. Then uncle Abed said angrily that they should stop playing like kids and keep the remaining three shots for self-defense."*

In 1967, the Arab countries - fragmented and newly formed after World War I, the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, and the occupation and division of the Middle East between Britain and France - failed to meet the expectations expounded in their nationalist rhetoric of liberation.

Abu Aziz (75), who lives in Shu'fat and who belonged to the Arab Nationalist Movement explains: *"Most of them were governed by military leaders who came to power through military takeovers. The regimes were more ideological than technical and professional, leading to their inability*

7. Khamaisi: 2006; Passia: 2002.

to stand up to Israel, which was far more superior in arms, organization and popular backing even though it was a country of Holocaust survivors. This failure encouraged the newly formed Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to take the lead in promoting a Palestinian agenda and in awakening a Palestinian identity."

From this point onwards, I will use the term Palestinians instead of Arabs to mark the change that took place in the minds of the Palestinian people and their perceptions of their identity after June 10, 1967, when people awoke to a Jerusalem under occupation.

(See **Map 2: Israeli Municipal Boundaries After 1967**, which shows how the Israeli municipal boundary excluded most of the surrounding villages, which later developed as Palestinian neighborhoods. After the construction of the Separation Wall, they became excluded from the life of the city)

Israeli Control of the City

"...in Jerusalem, the municipality is more dangerous than the army!"

Abu Kamal (58), Palestinian resident of East Jerusalem

As mentioned above, shortly after the war in 1967, the Israeli government illegally annexed an area of 70 square kilometers of the Palestinian territory occupied during the war to the State of Israel. It included the Old City and the lands of 28 surrounding villages.

"Such a decision contradicts the Geneva Convention and UN resolutions,"⁸ said Hamed (65), a lawyer from Al 'Eizariya. "But this is part of Israel's policy of creating facts on the ground and is celebrated by Israel as the unification of Jerusalem."

During the euphoria of victory and "Har Habait be yadenu,"⁹ and as a first move after the war, Israeli troops forcefully evicted 6,000 Palestinians from the Old City's Mughrabi Quarter and demolished 135 houses so that an open plaza could be created in front of the Wailing Wall. People from Silwan, which lies next to the Old City, still remember how many of these families came to live in their village after the eviction. They rented empty houses that

had been deserted by people who had fled to Jordan to escape the war.

The Arab municipality of East Jerusalem was annulled; its land was annexed to the State of Israel and placed under the control of the Israeli municipality of West Jerusalem. The land registration process that had begun under Jordanian rule was stopped, leaving large areas of Palestinian land without proper registration. Such Israeli policies were driven by the idea of achieving a Jewish majority in the city and by creating facts on the ground that would make the process of occupation irreversible. The municipal line drawn hastily after the war for example had military and demographic considerations behind it. With regards to land and demography, it sought to annex the maximum amount of land with the minimum number of Palestinians. As such, the municipal border included some villages and excluded others. Nonetheless, Israeli population counts from 1967 show that more than 68,600 Palestinians - some 25.8% of the city's inhabitants - fell within Jerusalem's new municipal borders.¹⁰

Jerusalem is of vast importance for both the Palestinians and the Israelis. It incorporates multiple meanings that weave politics with nationalism, culture, history and religion. Myth is also a concept deeply involved in the telling of its stories and in the envisioning of its future. By declaring it as the capital of the State of Israel, government policy aimed to maintain the percentage of the city's Palestinian population at around 27%, and to achieve a Jewish majority in both Jerusalem as a whole, and in East Jerusalem itself.¹¹ The government adopted an ambitious construction plan to implant new Jewish settlements in the open land between existing Palestinian neighborhoods and villages. The plans envisaged island-like satellites of suburban housing connected to the mother city of West Jerusalem by highways. By preserving Palestinian land for new Jewish settlements, it also sought to limit Palestinian development and the contiguity of Palestinian areas through restrictive building regulations and a new road system that physically separated these areas.

The municipality's policy was backed by the national government, and a wave of land confiscations followed. During the first three years of the occupation, Israel confiscated 18,270

8. Fourth Geneva Convention (1949), Articles 47 and 49; UN Security Council Resolutions 242, 446, 452 and 465.

9. This was a popular slogan in Israel after the war, meaning "the Temple Mount is in our hands."

10. Passia: 2002; Khamaisi: 2006.

11. Chechen: 2002.

dunums (1,000 square meters) of Palestinian land. By 1968, the construction of the first settlements had been launched. While settlement building was booming, Palestinians who wanted to build were faced with a scarcity of planned land, or with administrative difficulties and hurdles in the process of securing building permits. Out of the 70 square kilometers of Palestinian land that were annexed, 24 square kilometers were expropriated for Jewish settlements; 21 square kilometers were left unplanned; and 16 square kilometers were zoned as green areas and land for public use, leaving the Palestinian population with just nine square kilometers. Yet even this was a built-up area, where permits were mainly granted to extend already-existing buildings, or to fill in spaces between existing buildings.

Palestinians experience a deep, collective feeling of ethnic bias and discrimination concerning their status in Jerusalem, which they describe as racism.¹² They see themselves as being unjustly excluded from the use of their land and resources, while their assets are dedicated to Jewish settlements. This drives some to participate in protest activities against the Israeli authorities. Ali, a 35-year-old technician looking for a home, complained that *"thousands of houses and apartments were built for Jewish Israelis with government support but there is never money for Palestinians. From 1967 till now, there have been only two small projects for the Palestinians and that is all. This is racial discrimination; what do you want me to call it?"* Wael (45) from Silwan recalls that his *"first act of protest against the Israeli authorities was a sit-in at the Municipality of Jerusalem"* in the 1970's to protest against the demolition of a building belonging to his cousin.

In promoting its control over geographic space and ethnic demographic balance, the Israeli government launched a concerted campaign involving several ministries and government bodies, such as the Jerusalem Municipality, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Housing, and various development agencies. As an operational tool of power, urban planning was employed in a partisan approach that served the creation of a Jewish majority, and that led to the neglect of the Palestinian population and their basic needs. Abu Kamel (58), a building contractor from Beit Hanina, concludes: *"A struggle against Palestinian homes began, and is still going on today; in Jerusalem the*

municipality is more dangerous than the army."

This approach of ethnically-biased and partisan planning is reflected in and effected through:

- The confiscation of Palestinian private land for Jewish settlements;
- The use of road construction in a way that fragments the Palestinian urban fabric and limits its expansion;
- Low municipal spending on development and infrastructure in Palestinian neighborhoods; and
- Delays in preparing development plans for these neighborhoods and imposing low construction densities.

In addition to annexing swathes of private land and leaving little for the sizeable Palestinian population (half of the population of East Jerusalem at the time) to construct on, Israeli planning regulations and requirements were not adapted to the norms and conventions that Palestinians use to determine land ownership and construction rights. Palestinian ownership is based on collective family and village ownership of agricultural land, which sometimes explains the irregular shape of Palestinian land ownership patterns. The termination by Israel of the land registration process in 1967, before it had covered all of the soon-to-be annexed area of Jerusalem, complicated the issue of property rights and left a large amount of land without 'proper' documents according to Israeli requirements. Instead of adapting Israeli planning procedures to accommodate the particularities of Palestinian land ownership, the municipality exploited this situation to further its strategy of limiting Palestinian development and expansion in Jerusalem. With few exceptions, the Israeli authorities are the sole owners of land in the Jewish sector. Building projects in this sector are carried out by contractors and development agencies that acquire government-owned land through official procedures that avoid all complications related to land ownership. This is a clear example of how a non-neutral planning approach can be used to delay and complicate the building process for the subordinate minority while favoring development for the dominant group.

Economically, Palestinians are generally one of the weakest groups in the city. Yet while Jewish Israelis enjoy easy access to affordable housing subsidized by the government, Palestinians lack such projects

12. In their daily language, Palestinians describe what is happening to them as racism and they consider any attempt to use other expressions such as 'ethnic discrimination' as a way to avoid a clear terminology on the issue, and to "beautify" the occupation.

and are dependent on private home-building initiatives. Another obstacle in the way of such initiatives however, is the high cost associated with obtaining a building permit from the Jerusalem Municipality. Several Palestinians complain that it is equal to the money needed to build the house itself. As such, many Palestinians, like Ahmad, built without a permit: *"I would prefer to build the house with the money instead of spending it on a permit."*

(See **Map 3: Israeli Settlements and Their Expansion**, which illustrates how Jewish settlements are implanted in the heart of Palestinian communities, and how their expansion creates two segregated community systems)

The Infrastructure of Two Parallel Societies

A look at Israel's demographic and territorial policies in Jerusalem and the West Bank reveals how these policies laid the foundations for the development of two different and separate systems of living, which nourished the conditions of ethnic segregation. Both systems run along different but overlapping urban fabrics and each has its own geographic flow. Both connect and interact at certain points but are relatively autonomous, governed by different laws, and with a life of their own.

In Jerusalem, the first system is one that governs the Jewish fabric, consisting of West Jerusalem and the settlements built in East Jerusalem, which are connected through a road infrastructure that integrates them. This system of life is promoted by the state, which claims legal ownership of the land and designates it for the building of large Jewish neighborhoods, complete with services and modern infrastructure. The system is planned by government agencies, and is financially designed to provide affordable housing, cheap loans and tax incentives. Under the Jewish system, projects are characterized by rapid, mass production, planning and implementation, and are undertaken with special facilitation from the Jerusalem Municipality. As the product of government agencies and projects of mass production, Jewish settlements are therefore official, formal and regular in legal and physical terms.

Mahmoud from Beit Hanina is not against the

confiscation and planning of Palestinian lands if done for the benefit of the Palestinian population in Jerusalem. In his description of the housing situation in East Jerusalem, he argues: *"You cannot solve the problem depending only on personal decisions; you need a strong body like a government to work with the private owners, confiscate land, make allocations for public uses, and redistribute the rest proportionally. From my point of view, let the Israeli authorities do it, but it should be done with the consent of Palestinian owners and for their benefit."*

The second system exists within the Palestinian fabric. It spreads throughout the non-Jewish neighborhoods inside the Israeli-annexed municipal area, and extends beyond it towards the adjacent neighborhoods that lie within the governorate of Jerusalem. The Israeli municipality controls the system of living that exists inside its borders, while urban management in Palestinian neighborhoods that lie in the governorate of Jerusalem is organized by the Israeli military authorities. Land ownership in this system is mostly private and the government does not undertake any significant development or infrastructure projects. On the other hand, Palestinians are encouraged to move outside the municipal line because of the difficulty of obtaining building permits within it, and the much greater ease of obtaining building permits outside it. The system is poorly planned with no adequate infrastructure; housing production depends on private initiatives that are part of small projects for example. As Israeli and Arab banks avoid financing apartments in Palestinian areas, housing markets depend on cash, not loans. While securing a permit from the Israeli municipality is a lengthy, expensive process that can take two years, Palestinian local councils just beyond the municipal border are faster and less critical, and building can start within one month of applying. As such, Palestinian neighborhoods are the product of private initiatives and are small-scale projects of piecemeal growth that react to market demands. As a result, in their legal and physical aspects, they are private and tend to be informal, irregular and sometimes 'illegal'.

Accordingly, the Jerusalem Governorate (331.6 square kilometers) i.e. East Jerusalem and its network of 28 villages, were subjected to two different sets of laws. The annexed 70 square kilometers around the Old City were governed by Israeli civil law, and the rest of the governorate was

left under Israeli military law as part of the occupied West Bank. Although the Israeli municipality's planning law is restrictive towards Palestinian construction and development, Israeli civil law provides a system of medical and social insurance, in addition to certain protection for individuals and organizations, that is not available under military law within the governorate area. This new legal situation affected the city's development in two ways. First, it encouraged Palestinian institutions and community groups to locate themselves inside the municipal borders so that they could escape harassment from the military authorities in the West Bank and enjoy the legal protection provided by Israeli civil law. These organizations saw themselves as national organizations that provided services to Palestinians throughout the West Bank and Gaza, which strengthened the central role of East Jerusalem in the occupied territories. Second, the Israeli municipality's restrictive planning laws drove Palestinian development and housing construction out of the municipal area. People who first moved to the Ar Ram area recall that affordable land was available, and that obtaining a building permit was inexpensive and relatively easy in comparison with the procedures of the Jerusalem Municipality. The policy of the military governor encouraged Palestinians to construct within built-up areas without sophisticated planning procedures or the provision of adequate services. Over years of occupation, this policy has led to the development of neighborhoods around Jerusalem that provide housing for Palestinian Jerusalemites, but which are of low quality and are lacking necessary social, educational and health services.¹³

While building more than 40,000 homes exclusively for the Jewish population within Jerusalem's municipal borders, the Israeli government has subsidized just two small affordable housing projects for Palestinians within the municipal area in over 40 years of occupation. The first was the Nusseibeh Project in 1980 that provided 800 units, followed by the Wadi al Joz project some years later, where only 50 units were built. The municipality decided to develop a third (and last) housing project in the mid-1980's in Al 'Eizariya, which lies outside the municipal border. The idea came from Moshe Dayan, one of the 'Six Day War heroes', who opposed the idea of housing Palestinians inside the annexed city. His idea was to encourage them to live outside Jerusalem in order to further the

Picture 1.2: *Highways for the settlement system and meandering streets for Palestinian communities*



government's ultimate goal of achieving Jewish demographic superiority. Compared with Jewish settlements, the project was very small and did not exceed several dozen homes.¹⁴

Sumoud and Palestinian Urban Resistance

After the unilateral annexation of East Jerusalem to the State of Israel, the national government did all it could to transform it into an Israeli city with a predominantly Jewish character. This

13. Interview with one of the planners who prepared town planning schemes for West Bank towns.

14. Cheshin: 1999; 2002.

policy was practiced at different levels and Israeli interventions were not only territorial and demographic, but also legal, institutional, national, cultural and religious. These policies were part of what is termed a *Judaization* or *Judification* process, and sometimes an *Israelization* strategy. Although the religious aspects of the conflict have recently been increasingly emphasized, I would like to adopt the term *Israelization* to describe this process. This word carries with it a more complex reflection of the conflict; one that includes the religious dimension but that also incorporates national, political and cultural factors.¹⁵

As a way of facing the Israeli occupation, the Palestinian national leadership called for a policy of non-collaboration with the Israeli authorities, and resisted Israeli steps to dismantle existing Palestinian organizations and institutions. In the initial years of the occupation, Palestinian resistance took the form of a legal struggle and public appeals to the United Nations, and the Arab, Islamic and international communities. They also called for civil disobedience in the form of strikes and demonstrations. Lawyers, teachers and other professional groups boycotted Israeli national and local authorities, leading to the preservation of Palestinian independent organizations such as the Jerusalem Electric Corporation, the Chamber of Commerce, professional associations, and parts of the education and health systems. Professionals like lawyers, doctors and engineers maintained their associations but did not register them under the Israeli system. Most schools continued using the Jordanian, not the Israeli curriculum, and existing hospitals remained independent. At the same time, Palestinians created new cultural and charitable organizations and community groups to deal with the new situation. These forms of resistance achieved independence and autonomy for key cultural, professional and socio-economic institutions, which became symbols of national identity for East Jerusalem Palestinians. The Palestinian national leadership did not recognize the legitimacy of the occupation therefore, and declared a policy of boycotts and civil disobedience. While the Israeli authorities were thus taking advantage of their powers to gain legitimacy, the Palestinians were using the power of denying legitimacy.

For Israel, territorial and demographic policies were pivotal in its control and *Israelization* of

East Jerusalem. This manifested itself in land use, housing and development policies. These were the weak points of the Palestinian struggle. At that time, Palestinians were expecting liberation from the Arab world and did not participate in municipal elections in order not to legitimize the Israeli occupation. Like many other liberation movements, the Palestinian leadership could not focus on the struggle for urban justice and equality before reaching an acceptable political solution at the national level.¹⁶ Palestinian political groups were declared 'illegal enemy organizations' by Israel and were forced to work underground.

Palestinian successes in preserving their own institutions, organizations and professional associations against the Israeli policy of dismantlement and annexation helped the Palestinians maintain the basis of an independent, national civil society and local political leaderships that worked in parallel to the Israeli occupation. The preservation of national organizations under an Israeli rule that continually excluded and marginalized Palestinians from its territorial and demographic vision of the city laid the groundwork for two separate and parallel societies bound together in a relationship of power and submission. Not recognizing Israel as the legitimate ruler of occupied East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza Strip had an important symbolic value. This was reflected in the fact that Palestinians continued to follow the Jordanian, and later the Palestinian daylight savings schedule, which usually differs from the Israeli schedule by one week. In Jerusalem, the effects of the time difference are obvious and can create inconveniences for those families who have members attached to different systems in their daily lives. Reem, a 40-year-old mother with two children, each of whom is part of a different school system, says:

"That week is a hassle for me. I have to wake up an hour earlier to take my baby to the Palestinian kindergarten, and then I wait another hour to take my son to the Israeli municipality school. But it's okay - at least this reminds everybody that we are still rejecting the occupation and longing for freedom and independence."

De-legitimization of the Israeli occupation and *sumoud* formed the main strategies of Palestinian resistance after the 1967 war. *Sumoud* in Arabic means 'steadfastness' and can be understood as

15. Latendresse: 1995.

16. Bollens: 2001.

a strategy of passive resistance that intends to provide help and support to enable the Palestinian population to remain on their land. Sumoud was conceived as a survival strategy aimed at preserving Palestinian land, culture and identity. It also drew on the cultural heritage of rural Palestinian society in highlighting the traditional values of attachment to the land and self-sufficiency, in addition to the fertility of women and the importance of families.¹⁷ In this context, it is important to draw attention to the later development of the *ribat* concept, which is based on religious culture and intends to strengthen the weak and powerless in confronting dominance and uprooting. *Ribat* has a similar meaning to sumoud, but draws its importance from a *hadith* of the Prophet Mohammad, who promised special blessings and a great reward in the afterlife to those who remain in Jerusalem and its surroundings. Both concepts urge people to be patient, content, and not to give up.

In Israel, the national religious attitude towards the 'biblical land' was used in justifying the construction of Jewish settlements on occupied Palestinian land. The concepts of sumoud and *ribat* are significant examples of how the powerless and the marginalized can also employ their cultural and religious values in confronting dominance and uprooting. The Israeli settlement project, which deprived Palestinians from control over most of their land, sent a message that the conflict with Israel was about existence and not about borders.

"Sira' wojoud mish hudoud" as many Palestinians say in Arabic.¹⁸

It was difficult for the Palestinian national movement to engage in a civic struggle calling for equal rights in housing and development without recognizing and dealing with Israeli occupation institutions. Palestinians boycotted Israeli municipal elections, and did not possess any effective means of pressuring the Israeli government to stop confiscating Palestinian land for the construction of Jewish-only settlements.¹⁹ The Israeli government had the Israelization of Jerusalem at the top of its national agenda. Similarly, Jerusalem had always been part of the Palestinians' general national struggle for liberation.²⁰ Yet except in the rhetoric, it was very difficult to give it the special attention that would recognize its unique conditions and distinguish it

in Palestinian strategies so that effective, alternative plans could be developed to save the city.

Under these conditions, Palestinian inhabitants of East Jerusalem developed a special, survivalist type of resistance based on individual practices of existence. This attitude is clearly illustrated in Palestinian attitudes towards building without permits in defiance of Israeli municipality regulations. Cultural and religious concepts like sumoud and *ribat* play a major role in providing moral and ethical support to the inhabitants, while taking risks and enduring the difficulties of living under conditions of inequality and ethnic discrimination. Yassin (35) from Silwan, who built an unauthorized apartment on top of his family's existing home, explains his housing dilemma:

"Let them do what they want; at least I am here now. I have no other way to remain in Jerusalem if I don't build on top of our home. My younger brother will have to do the same in the coming years."

Such resistance by existence has become the credo of everyday life in East Jerusalem.

Growing Together Separately

Shortly after the 1967 war, life began to run its course once more as people began searching for a livelihood. Israelis came to explore Palestinian areas, and Palestinians went to explore Israel and their memories of a lost Palestine. Jerusalem was an open city that lay at the center of two worlds; it was at the heart of both the Israeli and Palestinian societies. Its political, religious, cultural and touristic significance also attracted scores of people, Palestinians, Israelis and tourists alike. The southern gate of the Old City, which provides the main access to the Jewish Wailing Wall, has traditionally been a spot where children from the nearby Silwan neighborhood sell postcards, prayer beads and cold drinks to tourists. They used to include children that were evacuated from the Mughrabi Quarter, which was demolished to build a plaza in front of the Wailing Wall after the 1967 war. Musa was one of them. Now 56, he recalls:

"Some Jewish visitors would call me Moshe when they heard my name and I didn't mind; it even helped me to sell more. I would bring a bucket of ice and water and fill it with bottles of an Israeli drink called

17. Latendresse: 1995.

18. Meaning "a fight of/for existence, not of/for borders." This saying rhymes in Arabic and is frequently used as a precise and concise explanation for what is happening in Israel and Palestine.

19. Cheshin: 1999; 2002.

20. Latendresse: 1995.

Tempo. *I would run over to the approaching buses, shouting in Hebrew "Tempo Kar, Tempo Kar."*²¹ *I used to shout the whole day, trying to make a living."*

The Israeli labor market offered jobs that were better paid. In the beginning, Palestinians – like minority groups in other societies – were mainly employed in unskilled jobs in hotels and restaurants, and as cleaners. Then the construction industry began to boom. *"It was the paradox of our life under occupation, but we had to live,"* continues Musa, who later worked as a construction worker and then became a sub-contractor in the construction of Israeli settlements around East Jerusalem. Settlement construction created a high demand for labor, and paid well for building materials. It also provided many jobs for engineers, craftsmen, workers and sub-contractors. Palestinians also benefited from this sector: companies and quarries delivered gravel, sand and building stones; high-ranking engineers were mostly Jewish Israelis but there were cases where a Palestinian could become a site supervisor, and most of the craftsmen, workers and sub-contractors were usually Palestinians from areas all over the Occupied Territories. Even if their jobs were not highly paid by Israeli standards, their income was still better than any comparable occupation in the Palestinian areas. Due to both the rural backgrounds of most workers and the family structures of many sub-contracting teams, Palestinians were able to save on expenses and compete with prices, and still make money.

After the completion of certain settlements, Jewish newcomers had to travel through Palestinian neighborhoods in order to reach their homes. Segregated bypass roads for Israeli use only had not yet been built. East Jerusalem streets connecting West Jerusalem and Israeli settlements developed into commercial strips servicing both Palestinians and Israelis in East Jerusalem. Here, you could find anything from fresh produce, to building materials, to furniture and electrical appliances. These areas also contained car repair workshops, carpenters' and blacksmiths' shops, and light industries. Due to the discrepancy in living standards under occupation, Israelis enjoyed good services at reasonable prices.

An examination of the morphology of the city reveals how certain commercial areas have developed through the business that came from adjacent

settlements. This was clear in areas like Al 'Eizariya, Bir Nabala and Ar Ram, which are situated on roads used by both Palestinians and Jewish-Israelis.

Although East and West Jerusalem remained ethnically segregated in terms of separate Palestinian and Jewish neighborhoods, commerce was a major magnet that brought both peoples to common places of encounter and interaction. Abu Khader, a 30-year-old merchant, illustrates the moments of tolerance and acceptance that take place through business:

"In this place, you stop judging the other because of his national belonging and you deal with him as a human who has needs just like you. He needs you and you need him; you make a deal and both can benefit. Here, you postpone the big political issues and leave them to the politicians, and you can have a laugh together."

Palestinians also flocked to West Jerusalem, shopping in its malls and boutiques, enjoying its cafes, restaurants and the rich cultural life of its cinemas and theaters. Work, commerce and political activism served as the primary venues through which people could meet and 'experience' each other. In spite of the limited nature of such encounters, they left Palestinians with several stories about mutual help, understanding and friendship. People tell stories of cooperation between Palestinian political groups and parts of the Israeli left, which supported the political rights of Palestinians. At the time of the first Intifada, which broke out in 1987, Palestinians recall stories about Israeli political activists who sometimes helped them by carrying secret letters or political pamphlets in order to avoid police and army controls. Names of leftist Israeli lawyers who defended Palestinian political activists in Israeli military courts were always in the newspapers, and were seen as good signs for future opportunities of cooperation and coexistence.

De Facto Capital of Two States

Between 1967 and 1993, Jerusalem was an open city and became the central city in both Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories. Due to its geographic and political centrality, it also became an economic, administrative and political center for both nations.

21. Meaning: "cold Tempo."

(See **Map 4: Centrality of Jerusalem Until 1993**, which shows how East Jerusalem grew to become the central city of the West Bank and acted as a bridge to Israeli society)

During this period, Palestinians based most of their institutions, charitable organizations and community groups in East Jerusalem. In order to counter the gap in the provision of social services under the Israeli military occupation, they established associations that dealt with human rights, women, youth, health, agriculture, arts and the media. Covering most of the vital aspects of social life, these institutions played the role of ministries in a shadow Palestinian government. By locating their central offices in Jerusalem, they escaped the harassment of the West Bank military governor and were able to provide services to Palestinians at the national level.

East Jerusalem was attracting more and more people, but it could not provide the needed homes within municipal boundaries to keep up with the pace of in-migration. Building without permits increased and the Israeli authorities responded with house demolitions. While most Palestinian institutions were concentrated in East Jerusalem, Palestinian housing construction began to move outside Israeli municipal borders in order to escape the restrictive nature of Israeli building procedures in Palestinian neighborhoods. Accordingly, East Jerusalem extended its branches towards the surrounding areas, incorporating villages within the Palestinian governorate.

As such, it became a city that straddled both the Israeli-annexed part and the West Bank, making use of the advantages available and avoiding physical and legal restrictions on both sides. Jerusalem became a center of attraction, a corridor of passage, and an arena of interaction for both Jews and Palestinians. Geographically open and without legal restrictions on who was allowed to live and work in the city, it became a job center for Palestinians from all over the occupied territories. Businesses, institutions and political groups thrived in East Jerusalem, and took advantage of the existing opportunities to develop wide networks of social capital inside and outside the municipal area. The flow of life that was generated from the dynamics of complex activities pursued in satisfying the daily needs of the Palestinian population, created a vibrant Palestinian city living

side-by-side with the Jewish Israeli part as the de facto capital of the Palestinians.

This manifested itself on socio-economic and spatial levels, which boosted the self-confidence of the Palestinians and strengthened their national and political aspirations. This in turn played a key role in the outbreak of the Palestinian popular uprising (Intifada) in 1987.

The Intifada sought to reclaim Palestinian space occupied in, and confiscated after 1967. In the form of strikes, Palestinians began to organize themselves according to communiqués issued by their national leadership regarding when to open and close Palestinian institutions and businesses. In spite of their efforts to open shops by force, the Israeli authorities lost control over Palestinian shop owners. Main roads were blocked with stones and burning tires, and Israeli institutions in East Jerusalem were attacked with stones and Molotov cocktails. Palestinians formed neighborhood committees and tried to prevent Israeli police from entering Palestinian neighborhoods.

The Palestinian Declaration of Independence followed on November 15, 1988. It was drawn up by the Palestinian National Council, which proclaimed a Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, with East Jerusalem as its capital. Israel ignored the declaration, and the Intifada continued until peace negotiations began in Madrid in October 1991. This resulted in the Oslo Declaration of Principles signed on September 13, 1993, which led to the creation of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). In Oslo, the parties agreed that the PNA would have limited autonomy over Jericho and Gaza for an interim period of five years, but postponed discussions on the status of Jerusalem until the third year of the interim period.

In spite of objections from some Palestinian political factions, the signing of the Oslo Declaration of Principles triggered a wave of hope and enthusiasm among Palestinians in East Jerusalem and the Occupied Territories. Naser, a 37-year-old political activist who was a young fighter during the first Intifada, remembers how he distributed red carnations to Israeli soldiers in Salah Eddin Street in East Jerusalem after the signing ceremony:

"There were many people celebrating in the street

and I was very happy and full of hope. As we stopped a jeep of soldiers, I ran to them and tried to put a carnation in the barrel of one of their rifles, but he didn't let me. So I gave it to him and said that I used to throw stones at soldiers during the Intifada, but that now there would be peace. Then I left, waving the victory sign."

The Demise of a Dream

On the question of Jerusalem, it was no wonder that Palestinian expectations of the peace process were based on the idea of 'an open city and a capital of two states', with the Jerusalem of the 1980's in mind. But it seems that the stakes for Jerusalem were very high, and to their disappointment, Oslo marked a turning point in the life of the city.

'Flying' checkpoints and curfews had been a feature of the first Intifada, but shortly before the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, Palestinians witnessed the creation of the first permanent checkpoints. These checkpoints were used to control the entrances to the city, and only Israelis and Palestinians who held an Israeli identification card were permitted to move freely in and out of the

city. From this point onwards, the difference between Palestinians that held Jerusalem identification cards and those that did not became more marked. Until then, the only difference had lain in the payment of Israeli taxes and the receipt of social benefits for those holding Jerusalem residency. Yet after the introduction of the checkpoint policy, the Jerusalem identification card gradually began to be perceived as an asset that granted holders freedom of movement in both Israel and the Occupied Territories.

Checkpoints served as gates in an invisible wall²² that demarcated territory, and that reaffirmed Israeli control over urban space in annexed East Jerusalem. Israeli governments have repeatedly declared that they will not negotiate over the status of Jerusalem as the 'united capital of the State of Israel'. On the other hand, Palestinians believed that this message was aimed at the national Israeli audience, and that Israel would eventually have to abide by international law, remove the checkpoints, and make concessions on the status of Jerusalem. 2008 will mark at least 15 years since the first permanent checkpoints were installed. Yet the situation has not improved; on the contrary, for Palestinians, it has gotten even worse.

Picture 1.3: Set up parallel to the peace process, checkpoints invaded the main arteries between Palestinian communities, politically manipulating the urban space



The years after the signing of the Oslo Accords were difficult, and were marked by several dramatic events. Less than 14 months after the signing ceremony and following accusations of wanting to divide Jerusalem, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by a Jewish fundamentalist on November 4, 1994. Palestinian Islamist groups opposed the agreement and continued their bombing and suicide attacks in

Israel. This chain of events led to the election of Benjamin Netanyahu as Prime Minister of Israel in May 1996. The Netanyahu government's policies towards East Jerusalem Palestinians, and the introduction of the 'Center of Life' policy²³ signaled a change in the city's demographic balance. As mentioned previously, Jerusalemites unable to find housing within the Israeli municipal boundaries turned to affordable opportunities in Palestinian

22. Azaryahu: 2000.

23. Through this policy, Jerusalemites residing outside the municipal boundary lose their residency rights and are denied access to the city unless they can prove - through a series of cumbersome measures - that Jerusalem is their 'center of life.' No such policy applies to the city's Jewish residents.

neighborhoods outside the Israeli municipal line. This led to the further development of areas like Abu-Dis, Al 'Eizariya, Az Za'ayem, 'Anata, Ar Ram and Bir Nabala, which absorbed the natural growth of Jerusalem's Palestinian population. The introduction of the Center of Life policy intensified this process, because it meant that Palestinians who failed to prove that Jerusalem was the center of their life lost their residency rights, together with their rights to work in Jerusalem or Israel, visit family members living there, or receive social benefits.

Although they were born in Jerusalem and had no other home, Palestinian Jerusalemites discovered that their status in Jerusalem was like that of foreign citizens; that their residency was a matter of state beneficence and not a right. When the policy was introduced in 1996, it was estimated that some 70,000 Palestinians holding Israeli identification cards lived mostly in excluded East Jerusalem neighborhoods, while some others lived outside the country.²⁴ Under the policy, hundreds of Palestinians lost their residency rights and tens of thousands were faced with anxiety and uncertainty about their future in Jerusalem. The fear of losing access to their city drove many Palestinians to flock back to the Israeli-annexed part of East Jerusalem, find an address, pay municipal taxes and register their children at schools inside the municipal area. Ammar, a 45-year-old engineer, used to work in the Ramallah area and live in Ar Ram, but had to move back to live with his parents in East Jerusalem. He remembers how difficult it was to enter the only, crowded office at the Israeli Ministry of Interior where he could legalize his status in Jerusalem:

"In order to prove my presence in Jerusalem, I was asked to provide an address in Jerusalem, present seven years-worth of bills including Arnona (municipal tax), water, electricity and telephone bills, in addition to proof that my children were registered in Jerusalem schools. Carrying a bag full of documents, I had to fight for several days to enter the office. Waiting conditions were horrible; people came at five o'clock in the morning in the hope that they might make it inside by around noon. There were hundreds of us waiting outside in the sun, and people were pushing and shoving to reach the door and get a place in front. Old people had no chance, and I had to bribe one of the guards in order to enter through a side door."

Through enforcing building limitations, the Center of Life policy, and restrictions on family reunification, and by installing military checkpoints, the Israeli authorities have placed East Jerusalem Palestinians in a state of exception. In pursuing the Israelization of the city, the government has used surveillance technologies and population management as tools to achieve territorial control and Jewish demographic superiority. Yet while it has severely complicated the lives of Palestinian Jerusalemites, this policy has ultimately backfired. Instead of excluding tens of thousands of Palestinians from the city, it has made them more conscious of the need to preserve their human and national rights, and has led them to hold on to their presence in the city. This fact is reflected in Israeli reports, which reveal that Palestinians constituted 34% of the city's population in 2006.²⁵

It was in this way that the signing of the Oslo Accords marked a shift in the city's development. Instead of consolidating its status as the capital of two states, the Accords turned East Jerusalem into an arena of urban struggle over territory, demography and national identity. Mahmoud (35), a merchant from Salah Eddin Street, expresses a viewpoint common among Palestinians on the plight of Jerusalem under the Oslo Accords:

"When Palestinians accepted postponing the issue of Jerusalem to the final phase of negotiations, they unintentionally signed a death sentence for East Jerusalem and gave a green light to the urban strangulation of the city."

(See **Map 5: Impact of Checkpoints on Jerusalem**, which shows how checkpoints blocked and controlled movement from the West Bank towards East Jerusalem, depriving the city from one of its main sources of vitality)

Captivity, Transformation and "Illegality"

The Palestinian conurbation straddled two administrative zones: the core of the city, including the historic Old City which had been annexed to Israel, and the areas of urban growth which branched out beyond the Israeli municipal boundary into the West Bank. This fabric of life was the result of a historical process of socio-economic and territorial interaction between the Old City

24. Bollens: 2001.

25. Kimhi, Choshen, and Assaf-Shapira: 2006a; Kimhi: 2006.

and its surrounding communities. The installation of surveillance checkpoints around East Jerusalem truncated its neighborhoods, separated it from its natural environs, and severed Palestinian flow into the city, hindering the movement of people and goods. This started a process of urban fragmentation in its territorial, social and economic fabric. This had a disturbing effect on the Palestinian fabric of life and on the network of Palestinian social capital, which was spread between Jerusalem at the center, and surrounding Palestinian neighborhoods and cities that fed into this center. Many people lived in Jerusalem but worked, went to school and participated in social and cultural activities in Ramallah, Bethlehem and even Hebron. The same is true of those who lived in the Jerusalem environs but who maintained Jerusalem as the center of their life. Nevertheless, Jerusalem is a center of worship for Palestinians and Israelis alike, but Israeli restrictions denied Moslem and Christian Palestinians from their right to the city to access key sites of worship.

Nineteen-year-old Ahmad is a student who had hoped to pay a goodbye visit to the Old City to pray at the Al-Aqsa Mosque before leaving to study in Amman. He sees his inability to enter the city in a metaphorical manner:

"When I look at this situation, I feel like Israel has arrested Jerusalem. It is like arresting the parents and preventing the children from visiting them, except with permits that are more often denied than granted."

East Jerusalem Palestinians who did not possess a Jerusalem identification card were evicted from the city. They were denied access, were forced to leave their jobs, and had to relocate their families outside the municipal area in order to avoid daily harassment by Israeli soldiers at checkpoints. Those who kept their jobs 'illegally' had to undertake a daily odyssey through valleys, orchards and dirt roads in order to smuggle themselves into the city. Transportation routes were continuously changing and mini-buses took unconventional roads and lengthy detours to avoid checkpoints and police raids. Streets connecting neighborhoods became dead ends because they were cut in half by the Separation Wall, and were transformed into transportation hubs for cars waiting for those crossing on foot after being dropped off on the other side of the Wall. Quiet secondary streets in

residential areas were invaded by streams of cars avoiding checkpoints or using them as detours due to reshaped traffic configurations. Connectivity was highly severed, and the daily business of working and traveling – fully legal before the peace process – was now illegal. East Jerusalem and its environs were pushed into a process of rapid social and economic transformation. In order to avoid falling on the wrong side of the line, which was later physically delineated by the Wall, thousands were forced to uproot, relocate, change homes, schools, and workplaces, and to reorganize their social networks.

While Palestinians without Israeli identification cards were quietly evicted from within the municipal line, those who held Israeli identification cards returned to the city in great numbers. This suddenly raised the demand for housing within the municipal area, leading to an increase in rents in Palestinian neighborhoods to an extent that they became higher than rents in some areas of West Jerusalem. Municipal urban plans for Palestinians did not allow for high building densities like those in Jewish neighborhoods, where construction was twice as dense as that in Palestinian areas.²⁶ In addition, large sections of Palestinian land were marked as 'green areas' on which construction was forbidden.²⁷ As a result, Palestinians had no other choice but to build without permits and a boom of 'illegal' building took place. In 2000, there were an estimated 15,000-20,000 such buildings without a permit, some 40% of the total number of buildings in East Jerusalem.²⁸ Khaled, a 45-year-old architect with an office in Beit Hanina recalls:

"Most of the home designs that our office produced between 1995 and 2000 were built without a permit. At that time, people were daring. They thought that Palestinian neighborhoods would shortly be handed over to the Palestinian Authority, which would understand their reaction to the housing crisis. Although Israel was sending its inspectors to survey the neighborhoods and distribute court and demolition orders, many of them were ready to take a bribe and turn a blind eye to those who paid well."

Abu Adel, who had to leave his home in Ar Ram and build a new one in Silwan, said:

"The area of my land was not planned and I could not wait for them (the municipality). I contracted a builder from Hebron who promised to finish it in two

26. Margalit: 2007.

27. Stein: 1997.

28. Margalit: 2007.

weeks during the Pesach (Passover) holidays when the municipality inspectors don't work. He requested that I provide a place for him and his workers to sleep and hide during the construction period. I began storing sand, cement and the necessary building materials. Then I talked to a relative of mine who lives nearby and has an empty garage that I could use for the workers. They built the frame during the Pesach holidays and we immediately installed windows with shutters. By the end of Pesach, the house looked finished from the outside and we continued to work on the interior."

Between the inception of the permanent checkpoints in 1993 and the completion of certain sections of the Wall around Jerusalem in 2004, Jerusalem remained accessible through several cracks in this architecture of separation and surveillance. It was inconvenient but possible, and people 'illegally' skirted dirt roads, sneaked through fences and climbed concrete blocks in order to go to work, reach schools and hospitals, or visit family members. On Fridays, groups of people could be seen seeping through holes in the separation system, heading towards the Al-Aqsa Mosque on foot for the Friday prayers.

'Illegal' building boomed in spite of the high fines and frequent home demolition orders. Businesses, institutions and schools faced problems in finding substitutes for their West Bank employees who arrived late after walking long distances to evade police raids and checkpoints. Some business owners provided hideouts for their workers where they could spend the night without being caught by the police. Due to the dual nature of the Palestinian conurbation's administrative status, in that it straddled both Jerusalem and the West Bank, it was difficult to reorganize the Palestinian fabric of life and its support networks, which were highly disrupted by the closure of Jerusalem, disconnecting it from its vital and complementary hinterlands. Accordingly, 'illegality' and anxiety became prevailing features of Palestinian life during this period of ongoing fragmentation and the remodeling of space and identity.

(See **Map 6: The Separation Wall**, which shows how Israel's Wall encircles, and severs Palestinian neighborhoods from the city in order to ensure an uninterrupted flow of Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem)

Truncated, Captive and 'Psycho'²⁹

Businesses in East Jerusalem always relied on customers from outside the city. Yet the installation of checkpoints and the developments that followed drained East Jerusalem of the vital human energy that used to flow into it from the Palestinian environs. While talks on Jerusalem were postponed until final status negotiations, funds flowed into Ramallah for projects and infrastructure promoted by the Palestinian Authority. As such, Ramallah began to take over the central role of Jerusalem as the business and administrative center of Palestinian society. Ramallah flourished and began to attract people from all over the West Bank by offering job opportunities in the newly created ministries and institutions of the Palestinian Authority. By the mid-1990's, businesses owners began to open shops in the more lucrative markets of Ramallah and Bethlehem, and some put their Jerusalem businesses on hold.

"Trade goes after the legs (Arabic proverb) and businesses follow people! So everyone that used to come to Jerusalem has now been redirected to Ramallah and Bethlehem," said Issam, a 30-year-old merchant from Jerusalem who manages his father's shop in Ramallah.

To add to the progressive isolation of Palestinian East Jerusalem, the Israeli authorities launched a closure campaign against Palestinian institutions and associations located within the municipal boundaries. Under the justification that institutions associated with the Palestinian Authority were not allowed to operate in Jerusalem according to the Oslo Agreement, the Palestinian Health Council and the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics received Israeli orders on August 28, 1995 to close their offices in Jerusalem.³⁰ The campaign culminated with the closure of the Orient House in 2001, which functioned as the central Palestinian political and social institution in Jerusalem, playing the role of a 'think tank', and coordinating between Palestinian groups in the city. Other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that escaped Israeli closure, found themselves separated from the very communities they aimed to serve, and faced difficulties in obtaining Israeli permits for their West Bank workers. As such, most of them chose to leave Jerusalem. Some other institutions that wanted to preserve their relationship with Jerusalem maintained a symbolic presence within

29. Psycho: An offensive term for behaving in an uncontrolled and unpredicted way (Encarta Dictionary).

30. Passia Chronology: 1995.

the municipal area or opened offices in Dahiyat al Bareed and Ar Ram, which are considered natural extensions of East Jerusalem neighborhoods but which are excluded by the municipal boundary.

By 2004, the Wall was built, most of the 'Jerusalem Envelope' was completed, and Palestinian

neighborhoods were already truncated and surrounded by an eight to ten meter-high wall and electrified fences. The city's urban landscape is now dominated by the Wall, which cuts through neighborhoods and divides and blocks streets, carving out a new landscape of social and territorial separation.

Picture 1.4: In Bir Nabala, a formerly active commercial street filled with workshops that serviced customers from Jerusalem became a dead end



Mahmoud (23), a graduate from Birzeit University who hopes to find a job as a teacher in a Jerusalem Municipality school, describes his feelings about living inside the Jerusalem Envelope:

"I feel as if I'm in a large prison; there is a concrete wall between us and the Palestinian communities, and a psychological wall between us and the Jewish communities. Although I can cross the security gateways, I really hate doing so. I had enough of it while studying at university and I want a break. The crossing experience is humiliating and makes me angry. I want to feel like a normal person for a while. I believe that checkpoints are meant to humiliate people and not for security, because there are still many ways to smuggle people into the city if you want to. I have lots of friends in Ramallah but I hesitate going there because of the checkpoints. Maybe later, when I can buy a car, I will go there through the Hizma³¹ checkpoint without having to cross Qalandiya."³²

If East Jerusalem was going through a turbulent

process between 1995 and 2003 as it sought to adapt and reorganize its fabric of life to escape the grip of Israeli submission, 2004 marked the tightening of that grip and the submission of the city to full Israeli control. Now, the few West Bank workers still able to access the city are mostly admitted with permits, and those without face arduous and risky daily journeys to reach their workplaces. They are forced to travel long distances, take several buses, and then walk some distance until they reach the few remaining 'sneaking in' points. Sometimes workers arrive to find that these points have been closed off, or that an army jeep is lurking around and that they have to wait until it leaves. Such points are usually unfinished gaps in the Wall, sewage and rainwater channels, or holes that were not easy to close with the prefabricated concrete panels due to certain topographic slopes, and which have been dug open again by the people.

Abu Khamis (32) from Al 'Eizariya works as an accountant. He could not find an alternative to his

31. The Hizma checkpoint is designed mainly for Israeli settlers living in West Bank settlements, but is also used by Palestinians with Jerusalem identification cards. Unlike at Qalandiya checkpoint, the flow of cars is kept running and soldiers target people according to crude racial profiling methods. A detailed check only takes place when a Palestinian is stopped. Waiting times range from 0-10 minutes.

32. Qalandiya checkpoint is exclusively for Palestinians, who can cross either on foot, or in an Israeli license plated car. Car searches are detailed, and drivers are obliged to open the doors to the trunks of their cars. Sniffer dogs are also used. Waiting times range from 25-40 minutes.

job in East Jerusalem, and he continues to make the daily odyssey to the city:

"I can't bear it anymore; it takes too much time and costs such a lot of money that I can't afford it anymore. The daily stress is already ruining my nerves. I am becoming too nervous, worried, and I explode very easily. Even if I cross the Wall, I risk being caught afterwards at the flying checkpoints. Sometimes my clothes get dirty when I am crossing, and it's embarrassing at work. I looked for an alternative in Al 'Eizariya, but the only possibility was driving a private car as a taxi, which is problematic because there are already too many people doing it and the registered drivers chase us out of the streets. I don't know what to do, but I know that I can't do this anymore!"

After tightening its grip on East Jerusalem, the Israeli authorities have escalated the policy of house demolitions in a context whereby the number of building permits issued is gradually decreasing. 2004 witnessed record levels of demolition: 152 Palestinian homes were demolished, while just 49 permits were issued that year compared to 129 in 2000. In addition to demolitions, the municipal court collected \$34,053,518 in fines for illegal construction between 2001 and 2006. On the other hand, there are plans to expand existing Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem and to build new Jewish settlements in the city, further consuming areas seen by Palestinians as vital land reserves on which to develop a future Palestinian capital. The newly planned Jewish settlements include the E1 (East 1), Reches Eshkol and Kidmat Zion, meaning "the coming of Zion," illustrating Israel's vision for East Jerusalem.

Amjad, an East Jerusalem lawyer, does not understand how the Israeli government insists on expanding the settlements using "natural demographic growth" as a justification, but keeps limiting Palestinian natural growth by all means possible. Finally he concludes: *"There is a war taking place on our home turf in which municipality employees are the soldiers and demolition bulldozers are the war tanks."*

(See **Map 7: Annexed and Captive Neighborhoods**, which shows how continuous Palestinian neighborhoods are truncated, changing the dynamics of urban flow and transforming the Palestinian urban organism into a matrix of annexed and captive fragments)

The Meaning of Space and the Credibility of Peace Talks

Built spaces are stages and actors, mediums and messages in the stories they tell.³³ Urban spaces go beyond the story of architecture towards a wider, collective social experience through the human territoriality that they impose. This territoriality controls and influences actions and interactions, connects and disconnects spaces and people, channels and influences the flow of movement, deciding densities, influencing demography and shaping geography. Political statements, conference declarations and press releases may promise certain territorial solutions, but the daily life experience in existing spatial constellations plays a complementary role in validating or undermining the credibility of those statements and political declarations.

Since the beginning of peace talks and over the past 15 years, East Jerusalem has undergone a process of rapid change and urban transformation. Palestinians perceive this as a process that is reproducing the city and transforming it from a central city, a religious and cultural magnet, a market town and a bridge between Palestinian and Israeli societies, into dead end frontier enclaves in a zero-sum game of Israeli political and territorial control. Those who knew the city in the 1970's and 1980's no longer recognize the truncated city of today: overcrowded dormitory neighborhoods separated from their natural geographic environment and surrounded by Jewish fortress-like settlements. Under the pressure of the housing crisis, people used to move to Palestinian neighborhoods excluded by the municipal boundary; this was the trend before the closure policy and the building of the Jerusalem Envelope. Now, Jerusalemites holding Israeli identification cards are displaying new tendencies, and an increasing number are looking for livelihoods in other, mostly Arab towns within Israel. In Jerusalem, some Palestinians are starting to move to Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem such as the French Hill, Pisgat Ze'ev and Neve Yacob. This is already establishing a new experience of ethnic mixing, but it is also angering the supporters of Jewish-only neighborhoods, and is creating new arenas of increasing ethnic tensions in the city.

East Jerusalem is becoming a city of lost memories

33. Yanov: 1993; 1998.

in which the security landscapes are cutting through its urban morphology, erasing memories and changing the sense of time. Neighborhoods that were across the street in some areas have already disappeared from the visual memory and geographic distances by just a couple of hundred meters, and now lie a 15-20 kilometer detour away. It is a city where main streets are blocked and secondary streets are forced to absorb re-channeled traffic without a solution in the foreseen future. A city of anxiety and surveillance, where checkpoints designated not only for security but also for the collection of taxes and unpaid bills lurk at several corners with a long row of Palestinian cars waiting to be checked. People living and working at the exit from Al 'Eizariya near the settlement of Ma'ale Adumim are convinced that the checkpoints stop them during the Sabbath traffic with security excuses to ease the traffic for Jewish settlers. A city in which you need to plan your trips to avoid flying checkpoints and the so-called 'racist traffic lights', which Palestinians believe make them wait more than their Jewish counterparts. Reality or stereotype, who cares? Perception is reality. Most Palestinians express the feeling of being unwanted in their city and they describe what is happening as a policy of strangulation and silent transfer.

All Arab and Palestinian conferences pay allegiance to Jerusalem; they reject, denounce and condemn Israeli policies but they stop short of any practical plan or solution. Although Jerusalem has a special place in the Israeli national project, one with its own strategy, for Palestinians, Jerusalem is part of the general national cause without any particular strategy to deal with its specific case, and it acquires prominence only in speeches, articles and political rhetoric. Palestinian inhabitants of Jerusalem would talk for hours about situations of suffering and victimization, but have few success stories to point to. Reporting their sufferings is seen by them as a form of resistance and due to the lack of a collective strategy, they go on solving their problems in a personal, atomized manner. Palestinians feel like victims of racism and discrimination, demand their national rights, and expect the international community to stand courageously in their support. Yet they feel abandoned and are losing faith in the seriousness of peace talks. Political stagnation and the lack of progress in the case of Jerusalem have made Palestinians feel powerless, and that this is the

game of the "big" players. Although the Oslo Accords and the Road Map are propagating a 'two state solution', discussions with people expose serious damage to the credibility of this solution, which is seen as fostering the 'cantonization' of Palestinian territory. As such, support for the increasingly appealing one state solution, where everyone would theoretically be equal, is growing. Most of the arguments against the two state solution are of a spatial and territorial nature and people are quick to ask "where do you want to create the Palestinian state and what about Jerusalem?"

Picture 1.5: "Can you see a horizon for the peace process?!"



Unilateral Activism and Peace Building

The ideology of the Israeli government has led urban policy in a partisan direction, which affects urban ethnic conditions by employing control over land, the allocation of benefits and externalities, and access to policy making in a biased manner. These actions seek to maintain Jewish supremacy and threaten Palestinian rights and identity, which in turn affects the city's urban stability.³⁴ In addition to this, truncating Jerusalem's Palestinian fabric of life by building the Wall has led to the separation of central East Jerusalem from its complementary urban extensions outside the imposed municipal boundaries. This has had a negative effect on Palestinian socio-economic networks in the Jerusalem governorate by disturbing previous patterns of flow in economic and social relations. Resulting urban fragments and enclaves have suddenly been forced to reorganize themselves and look for substitutes to Jerusalem. This is not feasible under the current conditions and is creating severe problems for Palestinian social capital that is of vital importance for the development of organizations, institutions and individuals. The urban organism of East Jerusalem and its territorial backbones of

34. Bollens: 2000.

Bethlehem, Ramallah and Al 'Eizariya, has been chopped into at least seven enclaves.

Talk of peace without achieving any tangible results that would ease freedom of movement and the economic, social and psychological hardship of the population is creating a state of helplessness and is increasing the anger and frustration of the people. This in turn is undermining the credibility of the endless peace process. Demands for change – any change – are obvious, and change borne out of frustration is not necessarily positive. Such conditions may have serious effects on the urban stability of the city and its environs. February and March 2008 witnessed some sporadic skirmishes in East Jerusalem between the Israeli police and youth. Some took place in Silwan due to the 'archeological excavations' underneath Palestinian houses by Jewish settlers. Others took place in Salah Eddin Street when the bombardment of Gaza was underway, and in a religious school in West Jerusalem, which was attacked by a Palestinian gunman. Such incidents underline the tense and explosive nature of ethnic conditions, and reveal the volatility of the situation in East Jerusalem.

Everyone is caught in a vicious cycle as "the existing situation is not desirable and the desirable situation cannot be achieved."³⁵ In the current peace process, Israel is putting pressure on the Palestinians to postpone talks on Jerusalem to a later phase, and the prospect of reaching a solution on the final status of the city appears limited. Although a two state solution would seem to be in the interest of both the Israelis and the Palestinians, people believe that Israel is the only active player shaping the city and creating facts on the ground in a unilateral manner, and that the Palestinians are helpless on-lookers. Palestinian inhabitants feel that Israel is redesigning the city's morphology and its environs according in its own interests, and that it will impose its vision on the weak Palestinian counterpart who will have to live with it, as if "Israel is playing chess and the Palestinians are playing ping pong."³⁶ In other words, the Israeli authorities are pro-active; they plan and act while the Palestinians are passive and usually only react to the outcomes of Israel's plan.

At the level of access to policy making, Palestinians with the right to vote in Israeli municipal elections constitute more than 30% of voters. This could act as a serious weight in the outcome of any electoral

process. But like other liberation movements, Palestinian political and social groups are still caught up in the understandable policy of boycott and non-participation as a symbol of rejection against the legitimacy of the occupation. Yet this policy is also weakening their chances of mobilizing an urban consciousness that can challenge urban policies, and develop alternative urban plans to facilitate development and improve the living conditions of Palestinian Jerusalemites.

Rehabilitation and Urban Planning

It is time for the Palestinian national leadership to initiate an open debate on Jerusalem and its unique situation, in order to develop new, creative and assertive methods by which they can regain more control and influence. Palestinians should lay the foundations for a future Palestinian municipality that will manage the Palestinian section of the shared city. The Palestinian Authority should insist on including this in the negotiation agenda, because it is a vital initiator of a peace-building process. It should be agreed upon even before reaching a final breakthrough on all other issues.

As all official parties - the international community, Israel and the Palestinian Authority - are promoting a two state solution with Jerusalem as the shared capital of both an Israeli and a Palestinian state, it would be in the interest of both parties to take the first steps towards this common goal in order to avoid a future deadlock that may result from Israeli unilateral policies. Any meaningful negotiation strategy for East Jerusalem should work on achieving at least two targets: reserving its territory, and creating a developmental body for Palestinian Jerusalem. Even without reaching a final agreement, the proposed Israeli projects of E1, Kidmat Zion and Reches Eshkol should be stopped: they are the only territorial possibilities for the future of East Jerusalem to escape the ongoing encirclement and regain the Bethlehem-Ramallah-Al 'Eizariya flow again.

Both parties should be encouraged to examine and learn from the lessons of Gaza and Belfast. In Gaza, unilateral Israeli policies and the exclusion of the Palestinian negotiating partners brought neither peace nor stability. On the other hand, cooperation and urban planning in Belfast has been used to ameliorate ethnic tensions and formed a major

35. Hasson: 2007.

36. This expression was used by Israeli journalist Amira Hass in an informal conversation with the author.

part of the peace-building process.³⁷ Planning in Jerusalem has been subordinate to the relations of power and a mono-cultural approach. If peace is to come to Jerusalem, a multi-cultural approach is required, one that must shift from power relations to ethical relations.³⁸

Picture 1.6: *No comment*



Urban planning can be part of the solution; it is a tool that can guide the development of today with an eye on the future, adopting a restorative strategy by creating a rehabilitation plan for the Palestinian city and its environs, and by introducing grassroots democracy through a participatory planning approach. To coordinate these activities, Palestinians need a coordinating body in the form of a Palestinian development agency that should not have a political agenda, but a social, developmental one. It should be a non-profit, private company that should take care of the socio-economic, legal and urban issues of Palestinian daily life and development in East Jerusalem, the future capital of the Palestinian state. The further development of this agency into a shadow Palestinian municipality through elections could be furthered by establishing it as a shareholder entity in which all Palestinians over 18 own a share³⁹, thus allowing for the periodic election of the agency's executive bodies.

In addition to negotiations that should achieve mutual agreements and open channels of support, Palestinians cannot wait until Israel invites them back into East Jerusalem. They need to work seriously using all political and legal means to protect their remaining territory, and develop livelihoods in the city through institutions with social and economic agendas. Much talk has been invested in honoring the city, but little has been done on the ground and people in Jerusalem often describe themselves as orphans. Speeches must be translated into actions and budgets; actions that focus on the real needs of Palestinian inhabitants and to protect them against discrimination, marginalization and a policy of slow transfer.

If only resolution of the Jerusalem issue was as easy as Abu Wahid (67), a merchant with a shop in Al 'Eizariya, believes:

"If you want to be doghry (meaning 'straight' i.e. fair in Arabic), solving the Jerusalem problem is easy. First, the Israelis should not return the settlements to us immediately; they can rent them for another generation. Second, the Palestinians should be allowed to develop the East without new Israeli settlements. Then the Old City should be developed as a world center for all religions. This way, you will automatically have a great capital for two states."

In the city of Jerusalem, Jews and Palestinians have been caught in a conflict that has pushed them to inhabit, and be inhabited by ethnic territorialities of power and submission. Urban landscapes have become permeated by morphologies of conflict. A shift to an ethical geography of cooperation as a step towards an ecology of peace seems to be a necessity.

37. Bollens: 2001.

38. Hasson: 2008.

39. Baskin: 2005.

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Introduction

Chapter 1

Ethnography of a Holy City

Chapter 2 ◀

Jerusalem and its Suburbs: The Decline of the Palestinian City

Chapter 3

Transformations between East Jerusalem and its Neighborhoods

Chapter 4

Between Competition and Integration: The Formation of a Dislocated and Distorted Urbanized Region in Jerusalem



Jerusalem and its Suburbs: The Decline of the Palestinian City

Rami Nasrallah

Historically, the walls of the Old City delineated the boundaries of the city. The lands surrounding the Old City originally belonged to the Palestinian villages situated around the city walls.

The process of urbanization in Jerusalem started towards the north of the Damascus Gate in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Palestinian Jerusalemite elite began to buy lands owned by the village of Lifta and to build the neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah. Later in the 20th century, Palestinian suburbs started to form southwest of the Old City. The primary axis of Jewish building was formed to the west of the Old City in the direction of the main road to Jaffa, which was the economic base of Mandatory Palestine at that time. After the 1920's, a new Central Business District (CBD) was formed in the direction of Mamilla and Jaffa Street, for both the Palestinians and the Jews.

In 1948, as the city was divided into east and west, 22,000 Palestinians living in the developed suburban centers in the southwest of Jerusalem were forced to leave to the east side of the city. These suburbs had symbolized the urbanization of Palestinian society; a middle, educated class emerged in Jerusalem after centuries of domination by an elite that had worked with the Ottoman administration.

Under Jordanian rule between 1948 and 1967, only urban neighborhoods were integrated within the municipal borders (such as Sheikh Jarrah and Wadi al Joz for example). In the 1960's however, an alternative CBD formed in the As Sultan Suleiman and Salah Eddin streets north of the Old City. Further expansion took place along the axis of the Jerusalem-Ramallah road, on land belonging to the villages of Shu'fat, Beit Hanina, Kafr'Aqab, and around Qalandiya Airport. At the same time and on the eastern axis of the Jerusalem-Jericho road, expansion began in the area of Ras Al 'Amud. In spite of the expansion along these axes, these new

urban areas were not integrated within municipal Jerusalem under the Jordanians. Jerusalemite urban families built along the main road to Ramallah in Shu'fat and Beit Hanina. Hebronite immigrants, who were known for their commercial skills, left the Old City in the 1960's and moved to Wadi al Joz, Ras Al 'Amud and Al Thuri (which lies on the lands of Silwan).

The Jordanian Municipal Boundaries did not include any of the surrounding villages, not even those adjacent to the Old City walls like Silwan and At Tur. Although the Kendall plan of 1966 was supposed to expand the municipal borders of the city to include scattered Palestinian villages covering an area of 70 square kilometers into one urban unit, it had not yet been implemented when Israel occupied East Jerusalem in 1967.

In 1967, Israel annexed 70 square kilometers of East Jerusalem and the surrounding West Bank villages. The basic idea behind this Israeli policy was to annex a maximum of empty lands with the minimum Palestinian population to the city.

In addition to the Jordanian municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, Israel annexed three types of areas in the city:

1. A maximum of empty lands with a minimum of people, by annexing empty village lands and excluding the villages' cores, as in the cases of Beit Hanina, Qalandiya, Kafr 'Aqab, Hizma, Abu Dis, Beit Ikksa, 'Anata and major parts of the lands of Beit Jala.
2. The newly urbanized areas of Shu'fat, Beit Hanina, As Swwana, and Ras Al 'Amud.
3. Village cores in some areas, while excluding parts of their lands in the West Bank, as in the cases of Sur Bahir, and Al 'Isawiya.

Villages geographically very close to Jerusalem, and that had direct and strong ties to the city - such as Abu Dis, Beit Ikksa, 'Anata, As Sawahira and Beit Hanina - were not annexed to it. Such villages were forcibly linked to Bethlehem or Ramallah and were administratively and legally under the military rule of Israel.

After the annexation of East Jerusalem and its surrounding villages in 1967, the Jordanian municipal council and planning scheme was annulled. All building activities were henceforth

prohibited, and East Jerusalem was never fully integrated into the municipality's broader planning system. Rather, its planning was only considered from the perspective of where to build Jewish settlements.

The Israeli planning system is a very partisan one. The government and the local authorities directed their efforts exclusively to the construction of settlements within the annexed area and, since the late 1970's, in outreach areas around Jerusalem, deep within the occupied West Bank. On the other hand, swathes of privately owned Palestinian land – or what was left of it after the confiscation of large areas for settlement building – were designated as green areas, where building remains totally prohibited. This lack of planning and the complex bureaucratic requirement to obtain a building permit came in addition to other policies to restrict the growth of Jerusalem's Palestinian population and the expansion of housing for them. This pushed them to search for alternative development and building possibilities outside the city's municipal boundaries.

It was only in the late 1980's and early 1990's that Israeli planning authorities began to prepare separate planning schemes for Palestinian neighborhoods, knitting them together as if East Jerusalem were an immense puzzle. In many cases, the Israeli planning system dealt with Palestinian neighborhoods as rural communities separated from the city center and its surroundings. The physical fragmentation of Palestinian neighborhoods through the building of settlements in spaces between these neighborhoods has been further guaranteed by the Israeli planning system, which prevents the expansion and development of East Jerusalem neighborhoods.

Forced Suburbanization

From the late 1970's into the 1980's, thousands of upper- and middle-class urban families were forced to migrate out of the city's municipal boundaries in search of better housing conditions. In villages such as Ar Ram, Bir Nabala and Al 'Eizariya, land was available for purchase, construction was cheap and – more importantly – there were fewer restrictions on building rights and obtaining a building permit. Construction could take place

quickly and virtually anywhere. New suburbs sprang up rapidly close to the cores of these small villages and along the main arteries leading to East Jerusalem.

Under the Israeli system, restrictions on development caused a slowdown in the urbanization process, pushing Palestinians towards suburbanization, as in the cases of Ar Ram, Dahiyat al Bared and Al 'Eizariya. In the 1980s, Ar Ram was emerging as a new suburb along the main road, with expansion taking the form of a T-shape that started on the main road to Ramallah and expanded inwards towards the core.

Al 'Eizariya and Abu Dis underwent the same process of suburbanization as Ar Ram, but more slowly.

One of the most important forces triggering the suburbanization of East Jerusalem's hinterlands was Israel's urban planning policy, which utilized planning regulations in order to restrict Palestinian development, thus negatively affecting East Jerusalem residents' quality of life.

The suburbanization of Palestinian neighborhoods around Jerusalem was accelerated by:

1. Restrictions on development and building within municipal East Jerusalem;
2. Land shortages and the high cost of land in Jerusalem, as well as high taxes and the difficulty of obtaining building permits;
3. The openness of landowners to selling land to urban families not affiliated with village families;
4. The availability of lands for reasonable prices in these suburbs; and
5. The easiness of obtaining a building permit from the Israeli military authorities that were responsible for these areas, and that allowed development in these new suburbs.

Unsurprisingly, a housing crisis emerged in the 1980's. As a result of the aforementioned discriminatory government policies, 40-60% of Palestinian Jerusalemites were forced to reside outside the municipal boundaries between 1985 and 1996.

In 1987, and during the first years of the Intifada, Palestinian shops were open for just three hours a

day. It was at this time that peddlers set up at the main entrance to Ar Ram, close to the Jerusalem-Ramallah road. Then, Ar Ram was a meeting point and a hub of activity, where Palestinian Jerusalemites constituted more than 50% of the population. As a result of these developments, the Ar Ram suburb later became a commercial sub-center.

The decisive impetus for these areas' development was the Israeli closure policy imposed in 1993, which restricted Palestinian West Bankers from entering Jerusalem, as they had been accustomed to doing in order to work, study, shop, see relatives and friends, receive medical treatment or pray at the city's holy sites. The fact that this suburban area served as "middle ground" between West Bank towns and Jerusalem contributed to its expansion and development as a major transportation center linking the southern West Bank with the north. In addition, the area became a new home for institutions and businesses forced to move out of the city in order to continue serving their West Bank clientele or to keep on their West Bank employees.

The development of these suburbs accelerated with the closure of Jerusalem and its gradual isolation from other West Bank cities. Having previously been the center and hub of all West Bank cities, buffer zones around Jerusalem now began to serve these cities. This was the case especially with the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, as many of its ministries and institutions were located in Ar Ram, such as the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction (PECDAR), the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, the Ministry of Trade, and the Ministry of Economy. Banks and other public and private institutions began operating from these areas near East Jerusalem, encouraged by the Palestinian Authority, which saw the space as a launch pad to achieve political claims on Jerusalem as the future capital of a Palestinian state. Some international institutions like the World Bank, the Norwegian Representative Office, and the European Commission set up their offices in Dahiyat al Bareed adjacent to the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem. This area also hosts several church institutions.

To the west of Ar Ram, a new suburb emerged in the late 1980's on the road connecting Bir Nabala

with Al Jib. In contrast to Ar Ram, which began as a 'bedroom community' offering few services and which later developed economic and public functions, this new suburb developed as both a residential, and light industry and workshops area. The commercial area along the main road in Bir Nabala serves Palestinians and passing Israelis. This suburb lies on the main axis for Israelis to reach the industrial area of Atarot. Israelis did not have access to the Jerusalem-Ramallah road and could therefore not utilize services in Ar Ram as they did in Al Jib and Bir Nabala. Israeli military forces blocked the western entrance to Al Jib in 2000 however, and a new road (number 4) connected Jerusalem with the industrial area of Atarot.

Al 'Eizariya developed at a slower pace than Ar Ram. It grew rapidly until 1999/2000, especially on the east-west axis of the Jerusalem-Jericho/Amman road. Development of this suburb started in an area called Ras Kubsa (the meeting point of Abu Dis/Al 'Eizariya with municipal Jerusalem) and extended east towards Al 'Eizariya. Until the second Intifada, the eastern section of this axis also served settlers from Ma'ale Adumim, who did not go deep into the neighborhood that lay in the western section towards Jerusalem, but who dared to go one kilometer inside Al 'Eizariya.

Back to the City

In 1996, Israeli authorities applied a new "center of life" policy, stating that Palestinian Jerusalemites must prove - by presenting myriad documents - that their "Center of Life" remained within the Israeli municipal boundaries, or risk losing their residency rights. Palestinian residents were forced to prove that they worked in the city, had paid all their property and municipal taxes, and that their children went to schools in Jerusalem. The move was regarded as a direct attempt to steer the development of suburbanization into a favorable outcome in the ongoing Israeli demographic battle. While previously, Israeli regulations had threatened those living overseas for more than seven years with the loss of their Jerusalem residency rights, this new law now also considered the growing suburbs as foreign territory. By this time, the suburbs had become an integral part of East Jerusalem's urban area, but remained outside the municipal boundaries. Israel's application of the law to Palestinians living in these suburbs

was a clear attempt to consolidate the separation between them and Jerusalem.

Despite these realities, many Palestinian Jerusalemites continued to build in the city, but obtaining the correct building permissions meant yet another series of legal hoops to jump through. Faced with complicated bureaucracy, limited available, properly planned land, land not yet properly registered, and the high cost of building permits, East Jerusalem residents instead engaged in widespread unauthorized construction.

In 1996, the first trend caused by this policy was that hundreds of Palestinian Jerusalemites constructed illegal extensions to existing buildings in the inner neighborhoods of Jerusalem, especially in Silwan, Al Thuri and Wadi al Joz. People also began moving back to Jerusalem to guarantee their residency rights in the city. The Israeli municipality allowed some owners of unauthorized homes to register as residents for tax purposes (thus shoring up their residency status inside the municipal borders). Others built quickly, choosing to worry about the consequences later.

One case study that illustrates the crisis provoked by this policy is that of the Shu'fat Refugee Camp. In 1999, 8,000 refugees registered with the United Nations Relief Works Agency (UNRWA) in the camp, were joined by a further 4,000 non-refugees who moved from the suburbs outside the municipal boundary into the camp (which lay within municipal Jerusalem) to maintain their residency rights in the city. It was relatively easy to prove residency in Jerusalem this way, in that the camp is run by UNRWA and its residents are not required to pay municipal taxes; all they have to do is provide the Israeli Ministry of Interior with a letter from the head of the camp's local committee to prove their residency in the camp. Today, the population in and around the camp has swollen to more than 25,000 residents, with a much higher percentage comprised of non-refugees. Yet this willingness to live in such crowded conditions to maintain Jerusalemite status will soon be worthless due to the physical exclusion of Shu'fat from the city by the Separation Wall.

Construction was intensified from 1999-2000, with new structures being built in the northern neighborhoods of Jerusalem, especially in Beit Hanina and Shu'fat. Middle class Jerusalemites

bought land in green areas, and other areas where planning and zoning had not been approved by the Israeli authorities for almost 20 years. Here, they built their own houses without securing building permits, something that was virtually impossible in most cases due to the lack of planning and the lack of allocation of new areas for future development. As such, 15,000-18,000 houses without permits now exist in East Jerusalem according to Israeli statistics on the Israeli 'Master Plan for Jerusalem 2020'.

The most recent rush to move closer to Jerusalem's inner neighborhoods was brought on by the construction of the Separation Wall, which has left entire blocks of housing standing empty in the suburbs, specially in Al 'Eizariya, Bir Nabala and Az Za'ayem, east of the city. Other areas have absorbed new groups of migrant Palestinian workers. West Bankers seeking to take advantage of Ramallah's booming economy are attracted by the comparatively low rents, although most of these properties remain under Jerusalemite ownership.

Since early 2004, there has been a major decline in construction without permits as a result of intensified house demolitions and the so-called "enforcement" of building regulations in East Jerusalem. As a result, today there is a wave of people moving into the heart of the city that have nowhere to live, housing prices have skyrocketed, and entire suburban areas have been indelibly changed.

Relationship with the Adjacent Cities

Since 1948, East Jerusalem served as a metropolitan center for the entire West Bank, and to a certain extent, the Gaza Strip after 1967. The city hosted the largest service providers in the health, social, cultural, and educational sectors. It was also the home of the national movement, which based all its institutions – including media and civil society institutions – in the city.

Direct commuting routes to Jerusalem from the neighboring cities of the West Bank extended from Hebron in the south, to Ramallah in the north.

Ramallah and Bethlehem served as satellite towns for Jerusalem and depended almost entirely on the

city. Bethlehem, however, was more economically dependent on Jerusalem: much of its workforce depended on employment in Jerusalem, in addition to the kinship ties between the two cities, and Bethlehem's religious attachment to churches in Jerusalem. Ramallah, on the other hand, was relatively independent economically, in that it relied on investments by the Diaspora community.

In 1996, the closure policy was becoming harsher, and some Palestinians could no longer evade the checkpoints and use bypass roads to enter Jerusalem "illegally." More restrictions were imposed and Palestinians – employees, shoppers, patients, students and so on – were prohibited from entering the city, causing the economic deterioration of Jerusalem.

In the same year, Ramallah began to attract Jerusalemite residency, business, and commercial activities. Palestinian investment also started to focus on Ramallah, mainly because of its lower taxes, lower rents, and its accessibility to customers.

PA institutions in the suburb of Ar Ram were moved to Ramallah when the second Intifada erupted in 2000, especially the ministries, based on the assumption that the Israelis would not invade Area A. As such, Ramallah gradually became the administrative center of the PA. Later on, other institutions, like PECDAR and the Welfare Association followed suit when construction of the Wall began, and when Ar Ram consequently became a dead-end enclave with limited accessibility.

Impact of the Wall on the Suburbs and the City

As construction of the Wall began in Jerusalem, the development of the suburbs was reversed and the suburbanization process slowed down. People who had moved out of Jerusalem in the mid-1980's and at the beginning of the 1990's returned to Jerusalem when the suburbs no longer had continuity with other West Bank areas.

Bir Nabala was linked with Ramallah to the north by a road that passed under the main road 443. The suburb became an enclave, totally isolated

from Jerusalem, which left more than 70% of the buildings in the town empty as people and businesses moved to Ramallah.

The same happened in Ar Ram and Al 'Eizariya, which lost most of their Jerusalemite populations. In both suburbs, less than 10% of the original Jerusalemite population remained in their homes; the rest stand empty with their owners visiting only once in a while and staying overnight occasionally to check on their houses.

With the Wall under construction, these suburbs lost their physical, spatial and functional contiguity with the city and became artificially linked with other centers, yet only through roads controlled by the Israeli military.

Again, as a result of the construction of the Wall, a new sub-center began to develop in East Jerusalem at the beginning of 2002, especially in the areas of Beit Hanina and Shu'fat. This also took place in a context whereby Jerusalemites were not allowed to bring any goods from the West Bank into Jerusalem.

Palestinian neighborhoods within municipal Jerusalem and excluded by the Wall (Kafr 'Aqab, Shu'fat Refugee Camp, 'Anata etc.), experienced different processes of exclusion. Shu'fat Refugee Camp and 'Anata, similar to the suburbs, were totally isolated from Jerusalem and were connected to Ramallah through a settlement road. In contrast, Kafr 'Aqab, which enjoys physical contiguity with Ramallah, became a grey area in that it lies within Jerusalem's municipal boundaries but on the other side of the Wall. Here, Israel has no legal jurisdiction to impose building and other restrictions, and as such, the massive construction of new high-rise buildings and the development of commercial activities have been allowed. Residents of Kafr 'Aqab enjoy the "legal" status of Jerusalemites, but maintain their continuity with Ramallah, which has become the new metropolitan center of the West Bank.

Conclusion

The isolation of Jerusalem from its hinterland and rest of the West Bank will have a major negative impact on the city and its functions. Jerusalem has already lost its centrality in the West Bank and the

city's suburbs have declined tremendously. This process is expected to continue, especially in Ar Ram and Al'Eizariya.

Jerusalem's economic base has been diverted to Ramallah, which has attracted Jerusalemites and skilled persons. The middle and upper classes have moved to Ramallah for employment and a better quality of life.

Bethlehem, which served as a satellite city of Jerusalem, has been most badly affected by the isolation of Jerusalem; the daily interaction between the two cities has decreased to a great extent. The shifting of the Palestinian metropolitan center from Jerusalem to Ramallah has weakened Bethlehem further, and it is expected to deteriorate even more in the near future.

The spatial relation between Jerusalem and its surroundings, which was previously based on functional and physical continuity, has been changed by the Wall, and the planned and built road network. The potential areas for the future expansion of Jerusalem in order to fulfill its functions as a capital had lain to the northwest. Yet now, these areas have been totally separated from the city and from each other (as in the cases of the

Bir Nabala and Beit Surik/Biddu enclaves). Israel has managed to create facts on the ground that will not only prevent a situation whereby East Jerusalem can function as a contiguous city, but it has also produced a situation where its hinterland has been isolated from the city and other urban centers. Even its connection with Ramallah is artificial, through a road spatially and militarily controlled by Israel.

The implications of Israel's isolation of Jerusalem have already affected the city, through urban deterioration and high population densities resulting from a panic return to within the municipal boundaries; a lack of employment; the closure of Palestinian institutions since 2001; and high poverty rates (68% according to Israeli welfare system data). These trends are expected to continue in the short -and medium-terms due to the lack of economic opportunities, the out-flow of money and people to Ramallah, and the lack of public and private institutions working to address the needs and future development of East Jerusalem neighborhoods within the boundaries of the Wall. This is especially the case in terms of issues of survival, in facing Israeli legal and administrative measures against illegal house owners, and on issues of planning and housing, including public institutions and facilities, and economic and community development.

Introduction

Chapter 1

Ethnography of a Holy City

Chapter 2

Jerusalem and its Suburbs: The Decline of the Palestinian City

Chapter 3 ◀

Transformations between East Jerusalem and its Neighborhoods

Chapter 4

Between Competition and Integration: The Formation of a Dislocated and Distorted Urbanized Region in Jerusalem



Transformations between East Jerusalem and its Neighborhoods

Abdalla Owais

The occupation of East Jerusalem was followed by the dismantlement of the Arab Jerusalem Municipality by the Israeli authorities, and the destruction of its institutional infrastructure. Its administration was subsequently taken over by the West Jerusalem Municipality. Between then and the building of the Separation Wall, the Jerusalem Municipality adopted a systematic policy towards East Jerusalem and its residents to impede its/their spatial, demographic and economic growth. This policy continues to be practiced today through various means. For example, the municipality confiscates Palestinian lands, devises master plans that serve its settlement policy, demolishes Palestinian homes, and minimizes the number of building permits issued to Palestinians. The number of building permits issued to Palestinians between 1967 and 2001 for example, did not exceed 3,100 although the Palestinian population in East Jerusalem during that period surged from 68,000 to approximately 221,000 (in 2002). Furthermore, although Palestinians comprise 33% of the total population of Jerusalem, no more than 9,000 dunums out of the 71,000 dunums that comprise the total area of East Jerusalem (12.7%) have been allocated to Palestinian spatial development. These practices and others, such as high taxes and the failure to generate employment, have impeded Palestinian spatial and demographic expansion, forcing an estimated 160,000 people out of the city and into nearby neighborhoods, especially those located along transportation routes linking East Jerusalem with cities like Ramallah and Bethlehem (See **Map 1**).

East Jerusalem's suburbs represent the natural, spatial and demographic extensions of the city. This characteristic holds true, particularly for the suburbs located along the transportation routes linking Jerusalem with other West Bank cities like Ramallah, Jericho and Bethlehem. This characteristic led these suburbs to become demographic and investment attractions, especially after the signing of the Oslo Accords. They

represented – for Jerusalemites in particular and for Palestinians from other West Bank and Gaza Strip cities in general – attractive places for residence, investment and work. The attractiveness of these suburbs led to their quick growth and development, especially in demographic terms. Such growth was manifested in the appearance of several high-rise residential buildings to absorb the increased demand for residential apartments, especially by Jerusalemites. Consequently, real estate prices in these suburbs witnessed a sharp surge within a short period of time, yet investors continued to channel funding into their real estate sectors.

Over the years, thousands of Palestinian Jerusalemites moved to live and invest in the neighborhoods surrounding Jerusalem. These neighborhoods include Ar Ram, Dahiyat al Bareed, 'Anata, Al'Eizariya, Abu Dis, As Sawahira Al Gharbiya and others. Many of these neighborhoods are connected to East Jerusalem through continuous construction as a result of natural expansion. This connection led to the evolution of mutual demographic, economic and social connections between East Jerusalem and the neighborhoods surrounding it, which in turn, became extensions of East Jerusalem's natural spatial development. Consequently, they also became connection hubs and social, economic, cultural and political bridges between the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

The Israeli government's decision to construct the Separation Wall, and the commencement of its construction in 2002, led to the spatial amputation of these suburbs from East Jerusalem. It rendered them residential ghettos and pockets disconnected from East Jerusalem, except via a handful of crossings and numerous checkpoints completely controlled by the Israeli military. Even the roads linking these suburbs with Jerusalem and other West Bank cities were, and remain under the control of the Israeli military.

The construction of the Separation Wall around Jerusalem led to structural, spatial, economic, social, cultural and service developments that also had negative, direct impacts on East Jerusalem neighborhoods. It amputated them arbitrarily and converted them into isolated, secondary residential pockets, ghettos and border areas, thereby causing dangerous malfunctions in their roles and threatening their future.

The development of the neighborhoods surrounding East Jerusalem impacted their structural, functional and social compositions, as well as their economic functions. It led to horizontal and vertical spatial expansion, and dramatically increased population densities in some neighborhoods where the Jerusalemite population increased to more than half the population, as in the cases of Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed.

Demographic and Spatial Transformations of the Neighborhoods

The increased demand for housing among Jerusalemites, especially nuclear families, reflected positively on the economic growth of the neighborhoods surrounding Jerusalem, especially in the construction and real estate sectors. As a result, some of these neighborhoods witnessed enormous booms, especially in the wake of the Oslo Accords in 1993. The pace of private sector construction in some areas like Ar Ram, Dahiyat al Bareed, Al 'Eizariya and Bir Nabala increased to unprecedented levels to absorb and meet increased market demand for housing.

(See **Map 8: Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed**)

The accelerated pace of demographic growth in East Jerusalem neighborhoods varied. Certain neighborhoods witnessed enormous develop-

ment, especially neighborhoods located along major roads and historic routes linking East Jerusalem with the main West Bank cities of Ramallah, Bethlehem and Jericho. These included Ar Ram on the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road, Al 'Eizariya on the Jerusalem-Jericho Road, and Abu Dis on the Jerusalem-Bethlehem Road. The percentage of lands used in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed surged to over 90% of the lands classified as Area B. The same applied to Al 'Eizariya, where the percentage of lands used reached approximately 80% of the lands classified as Area B (Ar Ram and Al 'Eizariya Local Councils, 2006). According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, the population of Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed stood at 22,944 people in 2002, prior to construction of the Separation Wall. The same year, the Ar Ram Local Council estimated that the population ranged from 50,000 to 60,000 people. It also estimated that more than 50% of the residents of Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed were Jerusalemites (Israeli identification card holders) not included in the Palestinian census.

It is difficult to measure the difference in the population of the suburbs prior to, and after the construction of the Separation Wall. However, there are clear indications of which suburbs were markedly impacted, both demographically and economically. One such indication is the volume of power consumed in the suburbs (See **Table 3.1**).

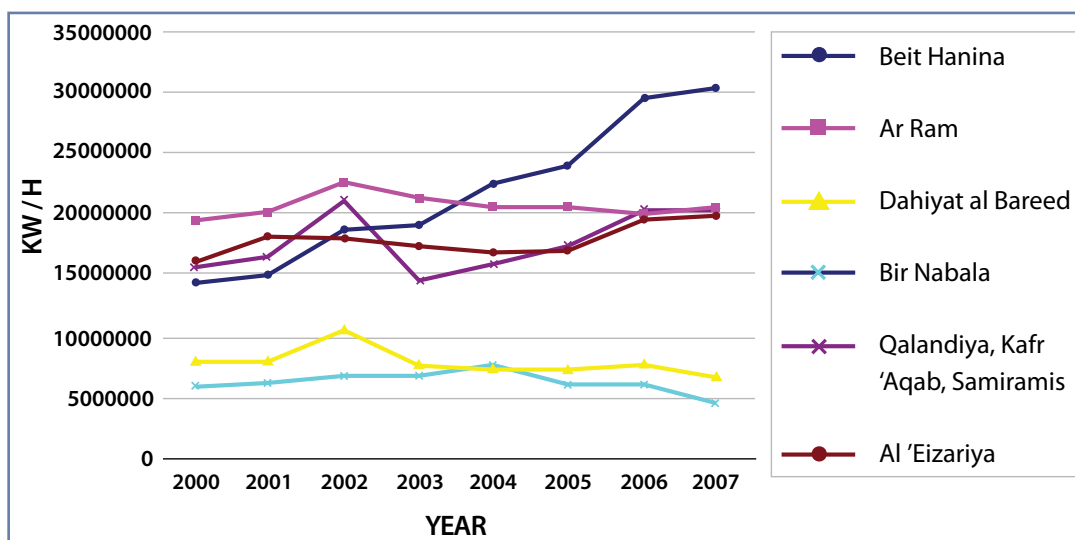
Table 3.1: Power consumption in several Jerusalem suburbs and neighborhoods from the beginning of 2000 until the end of 2007 (kw/h)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Beit Hanina	14,416,328	15,156,672	18,762,793	19,298,534	22,490,318	24,100,290	29,442,788	30,177,368
Ar Ram	19,740,022	20,185,690	22,715,723	21,497,916	20,658,730	20,764,896	19,988,299	20,622,891
Dahiyat al Bareed	8,072,574	8,237,247	10,758,863	7,856,915	7,477,006	7,358,513	7,757,879	6,735,463
Bir Nabala	5,991,102	6,404,512	6,952,468	6,867,294	7,860,073	6,305,744	6,349,819	4,803,393
Qalandiya, Kafr 'Aqab, Samiramis	15,934,214	16,481,970	21,315,307	14,716,580	16,098,986	17,562,120	20,598,116	20,369,704
Al 'Eizariya	16,039,845	17,964,513	18,030,905	17,427,853	16,727,028	17,404,196	19,498,037	19,866,500

As reflected in **Table 3.1** and **Graph 3.1**, the areas located within Jerusalem's municipal borders such as Beit Hanina, and the areas still under Jerusalem municipal control like Kafr 'Aqab, witnessed

accelerated increases in power consumption when construction of the Separation Wall began in 2002. This strongly indicates that these areas became housing and economic attractions at this time.

Graph 3.1: Power consumption in several Jerusalem suburbs and neighborhoods from the beginning of 2000 until the end of 2007 (kw/h)



Additionally, the increased power consumption in these areas is indicative of increased per capita income levels. Contrary to the accelerated increase in power consumption in the areas still connected to Jerusalem, the areas spatially isolated from the city, like Ar Ram, Al 'Eizariya, Bir Nabala and Dahiyat al Bareed (parts of Dahiyat al Bareed were annexed to the Jerusalem Municipality) suffered from negative immigration and weaker economies. Al 'Eizariya, for example, was plagued by economic weakness and negative population immigration between 2002 and 2005, but its location along the only road linking the northern and southern parts of the West Bank enabled it to regain some of its economic strength.

This situation encouraged Jerusalemite investors, as well as West Bank and expatriate investors, to invest in the real estate sector, thereby increasing land prices to record figures. One of the factors that contributed to encouraging construction activity in these neighborhoods was the fact that they were not subject to the strict construction and planning laws applicable in East Jerusalem. The issuance of building permits by the Palestinian Authority took less time, and did not entail complications beyond proving ownership of the land, submitting construction plans, and paying the required fees.

These uncomplicated measures and the relative ease of obtaining building permits had negative

ramifications on the neighborhoods' development however. Construction was allowed without taking into consideration the neighborhoods' needs for adequate infrastructure capable of absorbing such fast-paced development and the increase in the population and number of residential units. Additionally, construction did not take into consideration the neighborhoods' needs for green zones, recreational facilities and children's playgrounds. Furthermore, their vertical and condensed construction patterns deformed the general views of most neighborhoods, which ended up looking like forests of stone and concrete.

Due to the neighborhoods' conversion into ghettos and residential pockets surrounded by military checkpoints at their entrances and exits, Jerusalemite residents feared losing their right to keep their Jerusalem identification cards and residency rights in the city, as well as their children's right to receive education in Jerusalem schools if they remained in neighborhoods outside the municipal borders. Many of them therefore moved away from these neighborhoods, leaving behind a significant housing and economic gap that continues to afflict these areas till today. There are no official statistics in this regard, but according to estimates by the Ar Ram and Bir Nabala local councils, approximately 50% of residential apartments available in these areas now lie uninhabited.

A survey conducted by the International Peace and Cooperation Center in July 2007 in Ar Ram, Dahiyat al Bareed, Al 'Eizariya and Kafr 'Aqab – covering 33 residential buildings five or more floors high, which comprised 975 housing units – showed that approximately half of these residential units had been sold, while 162 were leased and 399 were inhabited. The survey revealed that most of the residential units that had been sold were uninhabited. The rise in the number of uninhabited units was caused by the relocation of their owners to East Jerusalem, who had leased their apartments instead of selling them due to the lack of buyers

and low rents, especially in Ar Ram, Dahiyat al Bareed and Al 'Eizariya. Moreover, the vast majority of tenants were West Bank identification card holders, unlike most owners of the residential units, who were Jerusalemites that had moved to live within the municipal borders or to the Kafr 'Aqab neighborhood, which remained part of Jerusalem. This explains the growing volume of construction in the Kafr 'Aqab area, which was limited in most cases to the construction of apartments for sale rather than for rent, as in Al 'Eizariya and Ar Ram (the number of rented units in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed increased markedly until the end of 2007).

Table 3.2: Survey of 15 Buildings in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed, July 2007

Year of Construction	No. of Residential Units	Rented to Date	Sold to Date	No. of Inhabited Residential Units	% Jerusalemites
1995	24	0	24	4	90
1996	24	0	20	0	90
1995	24	0	22	2	90
2000-2001	12	0	0	0	Offices
1998	24	-	12	0	100
1998	22	0	12	2	100
1999	22	0	14	1	100
1999	24	0	10	2	100
1999	24	0	16	0	100
2000	22	0	17	2	90
1997	28	0	28	12	90
2001	28	0	28	10	90
-	12	10	0	10	50
2000	32	0	18	6	90
2001	24	0	20	8	100

Picture 3.1: Buildings in Ar Ram



(See Map 9: Building Use in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed)

Prior to 2002 and the erection of the Separation Wall, the percentage of Jerusalemite owners of residential units in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed stood at 85%, which reflected the extent of their desire to settle in these areas. The number of residential units inhabited by Jerusalemites after this date (24%) also reflects the extent of out-migration from Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed due

to the construction of the Separation Wall and the spatial isolation of Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed from Jerusalem. Many apartment owners in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed did not pay off their mortgages because they were forced to move to areas within the municipal borders of Jerusalem, which therefore caused legal problems with the owners of the buildings. These owners cut the prices of their apartments by as much as 50% of the original cost as an incentive to apartment buyers in an effort to regain part of their investment.

Table 3.3: Survey of 15 Buildings in Al 'Eizariya, July 2007

Year of Construction	No. of Residential Units	Rented to Date	Sold to Date	No. of Inhabited Residential Units	% Jerusalemites
1994	12	12	0	12	30
1998	30	17	13	22	25
2000	15	10	5	15	10
1999	21	0	0	0	0
1997	32	0	28	18	10
1996	43	20	0	20	15
2002	20	11	0	11	30
2000	24	0	18	8	10
1999	24	16	0	16	0
1997	30	12	18	30	0
2003	30	0	0	0	0
2004	30	0	13	13	0
1998	10	0	8	8	0
2001	28	19	0	19	0
2001	36	12	0	12	0

Prior to the Separation Wall's construction, the Jerusalemite population of Al 'Eizariya was approximately 7,000 according to Al 'Eizariya Local Council estimates in 2006. The Jerusalemite population of Al 'Eizariya dwindled dramatically once construction of the Separation Wall began however.

(See Map 10: Al 'Eizariya and Abu Dis)

Those who stayed in Al 'Eizariya preferred to rent apartments instead of purchasing residential units because they were afraid of having to return to live within Jerusalem Municipality borders. The majority of those Jerusalemites who remained in Al 'Eizariya owned businesses in the town.

(See Map 11: Building use in Al 'Eizariya)

The relocation of many of these suburbs' residents was not confined to Jerusalemites. A large number of people, who moved to these suburbs from other West Bank and Gaza cities in order to work, also moved out.

Economic Transformations

Economic activity in the neighborhoods relied primarily on the purchasing power of Jerusalemites. They represented important markets that lured Jerusalemites to invest as well as to consume, and

also provided attractive work opportunities for many West Bank residents.

This mixture of a large volume of investments, the ready availability of a labor force, and purchasing power, became the primary engine that drove the Jerusalem neighborhoods' economy. Moreover, the neighborhoods' markets were prepared to meet the needs of East Jerusalem, and some, such as Ar Ram and Al 'Eizariya, became major economic centers in East Jerusalem. This reality led to a significant rise in the demand for commercial space, especially for shops built along main streets in

these neighborhoods, consequently leading to sharp increases in their rental fees. For example, in some areas in Ar Ram, especially at the Ar Ram – Bir Nabala Junction, merchants paid up to \$1,000 per square meter to rent commercial space at this strategic location.

This economic growth continued until construction of the Separation Wall began in 2002, which had a direct and negative impact on the economic structure of these neighborhoods. Approximately 30% of the shops located along the Ramallah-Jerusalem Road in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed were closed (IPCC Jerusalem Statistics, 2006).

Table 3.4: *Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed: Statistics on the shops from the beginning of Dahiyat al Bareed checkpoint, to Qalandiya checkpoint on the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road*

No. of Commercial Shops in July 2006		No. of Commercial Shops in July 2007		Total
Open	Closed	Open	Closed	
116	88	128	76	204

Although the number of open shops increased slightly, economic conditions in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed worsened due to the weakness of local purchasing power and the absence of Jerusalemites with strong purchasing power. Indeed, many merchants switched their businesses to selling small appliances, clothes and shoes in order to appeal to the purchasing preferences of the local population.

In spite of the absence of statistics on the number of commercial shops in previous years, it has been noted that the economic pace and the demand for commercial shops increased in 2007. This is attributed to the fact that the Separation Wall has restricted the ability of Jerusalemites to travel to Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed.

Picture 3.2: *Commercial Shopping Area in Beit Hanina*



This deterioration in the neighborhoods' economies inflicted significant losses on the environment and quality of life in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed. The phenomenon of piling up trash and burning it became a common occurrence in these

towns. Ar Ram Local Council attributes this to the residents' and commercial shops' failure to pay their financial dues. Ar Ram Local Council statistics indicate that just 20% of individuals and commercial shop owners paid trash collection fees in full

in 2007. Moreover, the council has been unable to repair the sanitation network, which sustained damages due to the construction of the Wall. This problem remains unsolved till today due to the Jerusalem Municipality's lack of cooperation with Ar Ram Local Council.

However, this economic deterioration in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed led to the evolution of alternative commercial areas and reflected positively on some areas in East Jerusalem. This applied particularly to those areas that were considered secondary in terms of their economic significance, like Beit Hanina and Shu'fat, areas that were also located along the Jerusalem–Ramallah Road. Growth and development in these neighborhoods is attributed to a number of factors, including:

1. The large number of Jerusalemites that moved to Beit Hanina and Shu'fat (within the Jerusalem Municipality borders);
2. The growth of the markets of Beit Hanina and Shu'fat to the extent that they were also able to meet some of the needs of Jerusalemites;
3. The difficulty of travel to and from traditional shopping areas in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed;
4. The absence of barriers between places of residence and the shopping areas;
5. The exemption of Jerusalemites from constant searches of their vehicles by the Israeli military, in that they do not have to cross checkpoints in order to reach these areas, as they now have to do to reach Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed; and
6. The fact that Jerusalemites are barred from bringing food or commercial items from the West Bank into Jerusalem.

Economic deterioration in Al 'Eizariya (along the Jerusalem-Jericho Road) is not much different from that in the Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed area. Income dropped by more than 50% in comparison to the period prior to the Wall's construction. This reality forced many merchants to close their shops, and obliged others to change their businesses to suite the needs of the area's residents, and move into the sale of clothing, shoes and housing appliances.

Table 3.5: Al 'Eizariya: Statistics on the shops from the Jerusalem–Abu Dis–Al 'Eizariya Junction to the end of Jericho–Jerusalem Street near Ma'ale Adumim

No. of Commercial Shops in July 2006		No. of Commercial Shops in July 2007		Total
Open	Closed	Open	Closed	
500	108	512	96	608

Table 3.6: Bir Nabala: Statistics on the shops from Palestine Street at the end of Al-Mawahel neighborhood to Ibn Khaldoun School

No. of Commercial Shops in July 2006		No. of Commercial Shops in July 2007		Total
Open	Closed	Open	Closed	
132	104	130	106	236

The situation in Al 'Eizariya and Bir Nabala was not much different from that in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed in terms of the weakness of purchasing power and the trends followed by business owners. It should be emphasized however, that the economic conditions in Bir Nabala are worsening day by day due to the difficulty of access and the absence of access points to Jerusalem through Bir Nabala other than the Qalandiya Crossing. Moreover, Bir Nabala is completely isolated from the rest of the Palestinian territories and is

inaccessible except via one road. Yet this road is controlled by the Israeli military through a checkpoint that has been transformed into a permanent feature at the village's entrance. (See **Picture 3.3:** Bir Nabala Suburb)

This reality impacted on municipal services in Al 'Eizariya, as it did in other neighborhoods. In 2007, the municipality was unable to collect taxes and fees for trash collection services from commercial shops for six months. It only managed to collect

Picture 3.3: *Bir Nabala Suburb*



3,220 Shekels out of 21,670 Shekels; equal to just 10.7% of the original sum it spent on the provision of these services.

The extent of this deterioration will be exacerbated in the future by plans by the Israeli government to build a new road to link southern cities like Hebron and Bethlehem with Ramallah and the rest of the West Bank, without passing through Al 'Eizariya. This proposed road will be built parallel to another section of the Wall to be erected east of Al 'Eizariya, a development that will diminish the importance of the Jerusalem-Jericho Road, and consequently, the importance of Al 'Eizariya as a whole. The Al 'Eizariya Local Council considers this scheme as the second blow to the town's economy after being besieged by the Separation Wall and cut off from the Jerusalem-Jericho Road.

The Israeli government justifies the scheme by arguing that the proposed road will create continuity between Al 'Eizariya and the eastern areas, and that it will consequently maintain commercial activity in the town. In reality, this plan will only serve to consolidate the construction of the Wall east of Al 'Eizariya and adjacent to the Ma'ale Adumim settlement. It will strip the town of vast tracts of its eastern lands in preparation for their annexation to Ma'ale Adumim, and will deprive Al 'Eizariya of its groundwater wells in the area. Moreover, the scheme will also define the means of continuity (or lack thereof) between the northern and southern regions of the West Bank. Ultimately, it will isolate East Jerusalem from the West Bank, in preparation for forming a 'Greater Jerusalem' and dividing the West Bank into two geographically separate entities.

Transformations in East Jerusalem and the neigh-

borhoods surrounding it have not been confined to the economic sector only, but have also included other sectors. For example, the health sector in these neighborhoods used to rely entirely on services provided by health centers and hospitals in Jerusalem. The construction of the Separation Wall and the subsequent barring of these neighborhoods' residents from reaching East Jerusalem hospitals however, have forced them to seek alternatives in other West Bank cities like Ramallah, Bethlehem and Jericho. This is despite the fact that these alternatives are further away, and provide much lower levels of care than East Jerusalem hospitals in terms of equipment and specialized personnel.

The relocation of clinics and medical centers based in these neighborhoods prior to the Wall's construction to Ramallah and Bethlehem, and the opening of branches of some Jerusalem hospitals in Ramallah, illustrates this search for an alternative to services in East Jerusalem. The Israeli logic behind this is to force cities near Jerusalem - like Ramallah, Bethlehem and Jericho - to absorb the increased demand for health, as well as cultural, social and recreational services provided in East Jerusalem.

These transformations are attributed to various causes, the most important of which are:

1. The closure of East Jerusalem to Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip;
2. The policy of closing Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem and forcing them into surrounding neighborhoods or neighboring cities, especially Ramallah;
3. The settlement of PA governance centers and foreign representative offices in Ramallah;

4. The existence of an infrastructure in Ramallah capable of attracting investors and workers; and
5. The relocation of political, social and cultural elites from East Jerusalem to other areas, especially to Ramallah.

(See **Map 12: Kafr 'Aqab**)

Table 3.7: Population of Kafr 'Aqab in 2005/2006

Area	Population
West Bank	10,565
Jerusalem Municipality	11,350

Kafr 'Aqab Suburb

Kafr Aqab town has undergone two important developments in its modern history. The first followed its occupation in 1967, when it was divided into two parts - one that formed part of the West Bank, and one that formed part of the Jerusalem Municipality. The second development was the construction of the Separation Wall in 2002, when the part affiliated with the Jerusalem Municipality was physically separated from East Jerusalem. This separation led to critical changes in the town's demographic, economic and spatial structures.

Despite its location along the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road midway between the two cities, commercial and demographic growth in Kafr 'Aqab remained limited for several reasons, the most important of which are:

1. The difficulty of obtaining building permits from the Jerusalem Municipality;
2. Its small population;
3. The preference of Jerusalem residents for neighborhoods closer to their residences and workplaces; and
4. The existence of large markets in the neighborhoods adjacent to East Jerusalem.

Picture 3.4: Kafr 'Aqab New Building Construction



However, the most significant transformations occurred in the Jerusalemite part of Kafr 'Aqab, which has now been isolated from East Jerusalem by the Separation Wall, but which is still administratively run by the Jerusalem Municipality. The Jerusalem Municipality remains responsible for all administrative services such as the provision of building permits, and the maintenance

of basic infrastructure, trash collection etc. The only service not provided by the Jerusalem Municipality is transportation. In return, Kafr 'Aqab residents remain committed to paying the various types of taxes collected by the Jerusalem Municipality.

Construction of the Separation Wall led to the rel-

ocation of scores of the town's residents to live within Jerusalem's municipal borders. After 2004 however, a sudden shift occurred in the town as many of the Jerusalemites who used to live in the neighborhoods of East Jerusalem, moved to live in Kafr 'Aqab for a range of reasons, the most of important of which include the following:

1. The Kafr 'Aqab area is still considered part of Jerusalem. As such, its inhabitants do not risk losing their residency rights in Jerusalem and their identification cards (every Jerusalemite who resides outside of the Jerusalem Municipality borders risks losing their residency rights and identification cards due to the 'Center of Life' policy);
2. The ready availability of housing;
3. Lower rent and real estate prices than those within Jerusalem's municipal borders;
4. The town's proximity to places of investment and work in Ramallah and in the neighborhoods surrounding Jerusalem; and
5. The direct openness and spatial continuity with Ramallah, and consequently, with Palestinian society in the West Bank.

The deterioration of economic conditions in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed reflected positively on Kafr 'Aqab as an investment alternative. As such, the Kafr 'Aqab suburb is generally witnessing a huge economic expansion due to the increasing demand for housing units in the area, particularly along the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road and in the Samiramis area, where construction activity and the demand for commercial shops is substantial.

The increased demand for housing in Kafr 'Aqab, particularly in the part located within Jerusalem's municipal borders, dramatically accelerated construction activity in the area. In the midst of this boom, many investors - not only Jerusalemites - were able to evade adherence to construction laws or planning and zoning laws, as in the cases of Ramallah and Al 'Eizariya after 1993, a factor which also helped fuel additional construction in the area.

(See **Map 13: Building use in Kafr 'Aqab**)

Construction activity in the part of Kafr 'Aqab located within Jerusalem's municipal borders remains active for many reasons, the most important of which are:

1. The fact that the area has become an attractive housing market due to its administrative affiliation with the Jerusalem Municipality;
2. The increased demand for housing in the area;
3. The possibility of building without obtaining building permits;
4. The lack of supervision by any authority; and
5. The existence of numerous vacant tracts of land in the area, which had been considered 'green areas' on which construction was prohibited in the past.

Table 3.8 reflects the fact that most buildings in Kafr 'Aqab were constructed after 2002, or after construction of the Separation Wall began. This has been attributed to numerous factors, including the high demand by Jerusalemites for homes in the Kafr 'Aqab area, which remained under Jerusalem Municipality administration. This is also illustrated by the fact that the percentage of Jerusalemites is high in the areas of Kafr 'Aqab subject to Jerusalem Municipality administration, and low in buildings in the parts of Kafr 'Aqab that fell under Palestinian Authority jurisdiction. The ease of construction without having to obtain building permits and without adhering to specific building heights is another factor that explains the acceleration of construction after 2002.

In parallel with this increased construction activity, economic activity grew along the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road. Several commercial shops are being constructed, and their rents are constantly increasing. Economic activity is not limited to the area along the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road, but is also active in other important segments of Kafr 'Aqab. For example, it is active along the Samiramis Road, which leads to the Um Ash-Sharayet and Al-Masyoun areas where several Palestinian Authority governmental institutions are based. Moreover, the shopping and recreational activities of Kafr 'Aqab residents have shifted from Jerusalem to Ramallah.

In a move to minimize the entry of Kafr 'Aqab residents - as well as other Jerusalemites living in Palestinian Authority areas - to East Jerusalem, the Israeli authorities have set up service centers at the Qalandiya Checkpoint south of Kafr 'Aqab. These include a post office, an office for paying tickets, fines and other kinds of bills, and an office of the Israeli Ministry of Interior for civil issues like identification cards and civil status. In spite of the Jerusalemites'

Table 3.8: Survey of 9 buildings in Kafr 'Aqab, July 2007

Year of Construction	No. of Residential Units	Rented to date	Sold to Date	No. of Inhabited Residential Units	% Jerusalemites
2003	16	0	7	0	100
2005	24	0	4	4	25
2004	36	12	24	36	80
2006	10	0	0	0	0
2005	28	11	17	28	10
2007	28	0	0	0	0
1999	46	0	46	46	90
2003	24	0	3	3	0
2001	32	0	19	19	100

concerns about using these services and therefore risking being classified as residents of the Palestinian territories, many residents have begun to accept them due to the difficulty of entering East Jerusalem and undergoing inspections at the Qalandiya Checkpoint.

The most important problems facing the residents of East Jerusalem suburbs due to the construction of the Separation Wall can be summarized as follows:

1. The construction chaos resulting from mismanagement and non-adherence to planning laws and regulations;
2. The spread of incomplete and deserted residential buildings;
3. The out-migration of capital and investors outside of the suburbs, and the consequent economic deterioration of these areas;
4. The out-migration of well-to-do families and skilled labor forces to nearby cities;
5. The emergence of social problems like theft and drug addiction, and the consequent prevalence of feelings of insecurity;
6. Increased levels of environmental pollution due to the piling of trash and the damage inflicted upon sanitation networks;
7. Increased noise levels in the suburbs due to the use of minor roads in these neighborhoods to avoid traffic congestions resulting from the checkpoints and the closure or narrowing of major roads;
8. Poverty, unemployment and the consequent deterioration of living conditions;
9. The non-existence of green lands, parks and recreational areas; and
10. The difficulty of mobility and transportation, increased transportation costs, the use of alternative and bypass roads, and prolonged travel times.

Introduction

Chapter 1
Ethnography of a Holy City

Chapter 2
Jerusalem and its Suburbs: The Decline of the Palestinian City

Chapter 3
Transformations between East Jerusalem and its Neighborhoods

Chapter 4 ◀
*Between Competition and Integration: The Formation of a Dislocated and Distorted
Urbanized Region in Jerusalem*



Competition and Integration: The Formation of a Disclosed and Distorted Urbanized Region in Jerusalem

Rassem Khamaisi

An urbanized region is a mostly urbanized geographical territory comprised of a large number of urban and rural municipalities, which collectively form an integrated functional unit capable of sustaining itself. An urbanized region also includes a significant area of open space, which may be developed around one center or more. The urbanized region is an expansion of the concept of "metropolis" and may even include more than one metropolis.⁴⁰ Over the past century, the urban and geopolitical centrality of Jerusalem has undergone significant transformations, evolving from a small city into a disputed, amputated metropolis plagued by conflicts over its status⁴¹; from a nucleus with a distinct identity and affiliations, to an urbanized region composed of numerous metropolitan areas.

It is commonly assumed that the Ramallah-Al-Bireh metropolis was transformed into the main Palestinian center of authority, economy and culture in the period following the temporary settlement of Palestinian Authority institutions there in 1994. Such rhetoric has increased substantively since the construction of the Separation Wall, which has isolated Jerusalem from its urban roots, including the Ramallah metropolis to the north and the Bethlehem metropolis to the south. This has undermined Palestinian demands - legitimized under international law - that East Jerusalem become the capital of a future Palestinian state, thereby restoring the geopolitical, spiritual, economic and cultural importance that it enjoyed prior to 1948.

The question here is how has urban development of the Jerusalem metropolis evolved since the middle of the twentieth century, and how did it become an urbanized region? What kind of relationship has emerged between Jerusalem and its hinterland, which is comprised of secondary cities and villages? Can the Ramallah metropolis

really serve as an alternative to the Jerusalem metropolis?

This chapter seeks to answer these questions by reviewing the urban development of Jerusalem in the twentieth century. Particular emphasis will be placed on the period following the 1967 War, especially the past decade, which will include a look at the ramifications of the Separation Wall on the structure and status of the Jerusalemite urbanized region. The central hypothesis underlying this chapter is that formation of the Jerusalemite urbanized region comprised numerous metropolitan areas and secondary urban centers which may serve as a basis for reorganizing the region to form the heart of a future Palestinian state.

It will argue that the competition that occurred among the urban centers surrounding Jerusalem has created an interim reality that is possible to modify through the integration of these secondary centers. This modification could occur through a reversal of the dislocated and distorted development of Jerusalem and its surroundings, which has taken place while the city has been under a state of conflict.

It will also contend that the Ramallah metropolis does not represent an alternative to the Jerusalem metropolis, but that it is an integral part of the Palestinian Jerusalemite urbanized region. It may in the future develop a framework of coordination or cooperation with the central Israeli urbanized region, including the Tel Aviv and Jerusalem metropolitan areas, assuming that peace and stability are attained between an independent Palestinian state and the State of Israel.

The presentation and analysis of the formation of the urban structure of Jerusalem and its relationship with its surroundings will be based on an evolutionary analytical hypothesis, which involves understanding the components of this urban structure and the factors that have influenced its development. Formation of the urban structure is the result of urbanization and urbanism processes witnessed by most cities, including Jerusalem. However, the reality of Jerusalem and its surroundings has evolved under specific geopolitical circumstances, and an urbanization process unique from other metropolitan areas and urbanized regions that have become the hearts of nation states.⁴²

40. Shachar: 1997.

41. Khamaisi: 1997.

42. Khamaisi: 2006.

This chapter is divided into four sections in addition to the introduction and conclusion. The first section discusses the hypothetical framework of the study, while the second section describes and analyzes the urbanization process in Jerusalem and its surroundings. The third section addresses the means of enforcing and connecting the Ramallah metropolis to Jerusalem as part of the city's urbanized region, and the fourth presents the distorted relations within the urbanized region. The conclusion summarizes the lessons learned from the evolution process of the Jerusalemite urbanized space, and suggests policy recommendations to rectify and reorganize the Jerusalemite urbanized space and region.

General Hypothetical Framework

The evolution process of the nation state often coincides with the transformation of one of its urban centers into the core and capital of the new nation state. Such a center evolves as a result of the settlement and concentration of governance, administrative, cultural and economic institutions there.⁴³ Some such centers have long urbanized traditions, while others evolved after they became capital cities. Tel Aviv and Amman for example, evolved as urbanized centers when the respective nation states of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan were declared. Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad on the other hand, are urbanized centers with ancient urbanized traditions whose historical roots go back several centuries. Jerusalem is a city with an urbanized tradition, but it has never been the political capital of any nation state, although it has served as the center and political, cultural and religious core of the Islamic State.

Transformation of a city into a geopolitical center triggers an urbanization process dependent on demographic changes resulting from natural population growth in the center itself, and positive immigration from surrounding villages and smaller cities. This population growth causes the expansion of the city's urban structure through the encroachment of built-up spaces upon open spaces. This subsequently creates continuity between the central city and the surrounding villages, annexing them to the built-up spaces and causing them to become parts of the urban expansion of the city.⁴⁴

In turn, these villages undergo urbanization processes and become additional secondary nuclei of the mother city. It is common for economic centers and residential neighborhoods to grow on the extremities of the mother city to become secondary centers linked to, affiliated with, and connected to the main center.

This traditional model has been described by a range of literature on the evolution of cities.⁴⁵ Some literature has pointed to circular evolution around the mother center; some has focused on the transformation from circular development to sector development along main roads, while other literature has drawn out the evolution of secondary centers when the urban center becomes comprised of various centers enjoying integration, continuity and graduation amongst each other. Yet more literature has emphasized that such integration and graduation has accentuated the comparative advantages and promoted the competitiveness of each center.⁴⁶

These studies underline that a city's development passes through various phases until it becomes an urbanized region, although this urbanized region may still contain pockets that have not undergone an urbanization process. The process of urbanization and the formation of an urbanized region as an advanced stage in the development of urbanized metropolitan areas, are characterized by integration between population concentrations, functional concentration, and structural changes of the labor market and labor forces, including the creation of appropriate administrations for those metropolitan areas.⁴⁷

Nonetheless, in various metropolitan areas - especially in developing countries - a false urbanization process occurs. This means that population and functional concentration occurs inside the urbanized region or metropolitan area, but they continue to lack economic and cultural centers that spread and push the development process to the peripheries of the urbanized region, and in turn, to the rest of the state.⁴⁸

Here, the evolution process of an urbanized region passes through various phases to form the metropolis. The first phase is an urbanization process, followed by a sub-urbanization process whereby the population is redistributed - espec-

43. Amirahmadi and El-Shakhs: 1993.

44. Abu Sabha: 2003.

45. Buck et al: 2005.

46. Brotchie et al: 1995.

47. Salet et al: 2003.

48. Haidar: 1994.

ially the middle classes, who seek to live in neighborhoods based along class lines - and then a process of deterioration occurs at the heart of the traditional and historical center. This phase is followed by a process of return to the heart of the traditional urban center. This is known as the 'back to the city' phenomenon, whereby the middle classes return to the city center, and renovate and modernize it. During this phase, a process of gentrification or rehabilitation occurs.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, the expansion process of the urbanized region and metropolitan area continues to include adjacent villages and towns. This phase witnesses an evolution process of cities in the peripheries, which are transformed from small villages or satellite cities into centers. During this period, a process of competition between the traditional center and the secondary centers, or between the main city and the other cities begins.⁵⁰ This process of competition occurs especially in the era of globalization, and easy and rapid mobility between cities.⁵¹

There are various influential factors in the process of competition between cities, such as development opportunities; continuity with networks of international cities; the comparative and competitive advantages of each city; governance and local administration and their relationship with the central government; the potential resources in each city and the means of their utilization; and the availability of controls and the existence of internal and external impediments which hinder the utilization of the city's resources.

Currently, most international cities form parts of urbanized regions, including secondary centers, which compete among each other for resources whilst also promoting integration that contributes to enhancing these urbanized regions.

In the context of Jerusalem, the question is whether what has been presented briefly in the theoretical framework is applicable to the area of Jerusalem and its relationship with Ramallah to the north, and other Palestinian cities such as Bethlehem to the south? Equally, can the area of Jerusalem be referred to as an urbanized region, which can be developed in accordance with this urbanized concept to become the center and core of a Palestinian state, and which overcomes

the phenomenon of 'urbanized climax' that has evolved in the urbanized region of Jerusalem?

The Process of Urbanization in Jerusalem

Jerusalem is unique as a religious center, in that it is the heart of the three monotheistic religions. This heart is sacred for millions of people. Nonetheless, this spiritual, religious and cultural heart did not evolve into a geopolitical center until the twentieth century. Prior to then, this center was affiliated with urban centers that formed the political capitals of the Islamic Caliphate. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, Jerusalem was the center of 'Sanjaq Al-Quds' which was affiliated with the Ottoman Empire, whose center lay in Istanbul. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Jerusalem was embraced by a wall that was erected, renovated and modernized by the Ottoman Caliph Suleiman Al-Qanouni. Several surrounding, scattered villages and small urban centers were linked to Jerusalem by this wall. During this time, Jaffa competed with Jerusalem for urban centrality. With the beginning of the British Mandate, the centrality of Jerusalem increased following the settlement of the Mandate's institutions there, in addition to the settlement of Arab institutions that were formed at the time, such as the Islamic Council in Jerusalem. During the British Mandate, the urbanization process in Jerusalem began to accelerate due to several factors that can be summarized as follows:

1. Formation of the Jerusalem Municipality in 1864;
2. Jewish migration and the settlement of Jewish immigrants in Jerusalem;
3. Relocation of Christian evangelical groups from European countries to Palestine, and the establishment of related institutions in Jerusalem;
4. Growth of the Arab population of Jerusalem due to natural population growth and positive immigration to the city;
5. Evolution of Jerusalem as a service center not only for the area of Jerusalem, but also for the rest of Mandatory Palestine;
6. Expansion of work opportunities in Jerusalem and the expansion of services provided to residents of the city and surrounding cities and villages;

49. Van Den Berg: 1982.

50. Brotchie et al: 1995.

51. Turok: 2005.

7. Social and economic mobility in Jerusalem, and the evolution of a Palestinian middle class comprised of educated persons, professionals and merchants; and
8. The establishment of new neighborhoods outside the city's walls.

The urbanization of Jerusalem expanded westwards and northwards.⁵² Parallel to the urbanization process in Jerusalem, an urbanization process occurred in the villages surrounding the city, which were later merged into its urban and municipal space. Additionally, there was positive migration from the Hebron area and settlement in Jerusalem.

Hence, Jerusalem became the geopolitical and administrative center of Palestine, especially following the creation of the British Mandate in Palestine. Meanwhile, the Zionist Movement viewed Jerusalem as an important religious center, but not as its heart. Rather, it first chose agricultural villages, and then Tel Aviv as its heart. Its awareness of the religious and national sensitivity of Jerusalem for both Arabs and Muslims, together with the reality of the conflict over the city, forced the Zionist Movement to concentrate on the development of a new urban center.

As such, it began developing the city of Tel Aviv, which was previously a neighborhood of the Palestinian city of Jaffa, from which it separated itself in 1921. Following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Jaffa in turn became a neighborhood of Tel Aviv due to the expulsion of most of its Palestinian residents. At the same time, the Jewish population of Jerusalem increased, contributing to its accelerating urbanization.⁵³

Yet the Palestinian National Movement was the first to declare Jerusalem the capital of the Arab Palestinian State, ahead of the Zionist Movement. In September 1948, shortly after the war, the Palestinian leadership announced the formation of the "Government of All of Palestine" and chose Gaza as its temporary headquarters, with Jerusalem as the capital of the Palestinian State.

In contrast, the State of Israel proclaimed Jerusalem as its capital on December 5, 1949, more than a year after the Palestinian decision.⁵⁴

The Jerusalem Partition Plan passed by United

Nations Resolution 181 in 1947 marked a turning point in Jerusalem's urbanization process. The plan called for the partition of Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish state, while Jerusalem and its surroundings were given a special international status. This Partition Plan was not realized however. In fact, the city was divided: the western part of the city fell under the control of the State of Israel and the eastern sector fell under the control of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

The physical division of Jerusalem lasted for more than 19 years (1948-1967). During this period, East Jerusalem was affiliated with Amman, which had evolved as the heart and center of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.⁵⁵ East Jerusalem played the role of a secondary center in the middle of the West Bank, although it was located on the western border. Meanwhile, West Jerusalem included most settlements and Jewish neighborhoods in the area, in addition to Palestinian villages whose residents had fled. West Jerusalem was affiliated with Tel Aviv, which formed the economic and administrative heart of the new state. Despite the declaration of West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, Tel Aviv remained, and increasingly evolved as its unofficial heart.

The division of Jerusalem handicapped the urbanization process in East Jerusalem, which included the Old City - the historical heart of Jerusalem. Nonetheless, Jerusalem continued to form the heart of the West Bank. During this period, the urban system in the West Bank was comprised of Jerusalem as a central city, followed by Hebron and Nablus, and then by Bethlehem, Ramallah, Jenin and Tulkarem. This gradual classification of the urban system was affiliated to the urban system in Jordan, and was isolated from the urban system in the Gaza Strip.

The rapid transformation in the urbanization process in Jerusalem occurred following its occupation in 1967. The annexation of East Jerusalem included land within the borders of the Jordanian East Jerusalem Municipality, as well as surrounding villages that had been incorporated into these borders, such as Shu'fat, Beit Hanina, Kafr 'Aqab, Al 'Isawiya, At Tur, Silwan, Sur Bahir, Umm Tuba, Sharafat, Ras Al' Amud, Al Thuri, Jabal al Mukabbir and As Sawahira Al Gharbiya. Israel's motivation behind this annexation was both geopolitical and territorial. In this way, it annexed

52. Walid: 1997.

53. Khamaisi et al: 2007.

54. Cohen: 2007.

55. Abu Sabha: 1995.

the largest possible area – eventually amounting to some 126,000 dunums - within Israeli municipal borders.

This process of annexation went hand-in-hand with the dismantling of the East Jerusalem Municipality and the village councils that had managed most villages annexed to West Jerusalem. Thus, East Jerusalem was joined to and managed by the Israeli West Jerusalem Municipality, while Palestinians in the “unified” Jerusalem Municipality – as per the Israeli definition of the municipal borders – were left with no independent Arab municipal institutions to manage their affairs.

In spite of the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem and the new status of its Palestinian inhabitants, who were now residents of the State of Israel, the city continued to offer employment and other economic prospects in light of the abundance of work opportunities within the Israeli economy, especially during the first two decades after the annexation of East Jerusalem to Israel.

Between 1967 and 1987 (until the outbreak of the first Intifada), the urbanization process in Jerusalem accelerated as Palestinian Jerusalemites living outside the country increased their investments along the Jerusalem-Ramallah road, especially in the Beit Hanina area. This led to the development of the so-called ‘New Beit Hanina’ area, as well as the establishment of neighborhoods like Dahiyat al Bareed and As-Sumoud between Ar Ram and Beit Hanina, which lay within the borders of Jerusalem.

In the meantime, an urbanization process began in the villages surrounding Jerusalem due to the growth of their populations and local economies. This was partly because of positive migration to these villages from other areas of the West Bank as a result of legal restrictions imposed by the General Population Registrar of 1967, which limited the ability of West Bank residents to live in Jerusalem. In this way, Israel handicapped the mobility of Palestinians who did not have the right to reside in Jerusalem, including family reunification cases.

After the occupation of Jerusalem, Palestinian administrative and cultural institutions and civil society organizations were set up to serve its residents, together with the rest of the West Bank

population. This reality restored the Palestinian centrality of Jerusalem, which had become a secondary center affiliated with Amman while it was under Jordanian rule. Municipal elections held in other West Bank cities to elect mayors and city councils were prohibited in East Jerusalem. This led to the absence of a municipal leadership in the area and to the increasingly important role played by traditional village leaders and heads of clans, along with leaders of political factions like Fatah. These new forms of leadership transformed Jerusalem into a central city and a capital in a process of formation and transition, building on its status as a capital waiting to be proclaimed during the period of division.⁵⁶

During this phase, the villages surrounding Jerusalem began to expand as a result of an influx of large numbers of immigrants from other parts of the West Bank. This was especially true for villages in the north Jerusalem area like Ar Ram, Kafr ‘Aqab, Bir Nabala, and Al ‘Eizariya. These villages created an urban linkage between Jerusalem and Ramallah some 20 kilometers away from Jerusalem’s Old City, and became lunar cities surrounding Jerusalem, contributing to its urbanization.

The first Intifada laid bare the difference between Jerusalem, which was subject to Israeli rule of law, and the surrounding Palestinian cities and villages, which were subject to Israeli military rule. This variation impacted the scale and intensity of resistance against the occupation, as well as the intensity of the Israeli military’s suppression. While Jerusalem regained political importance during this period through the activities of the Orient House, the Higher Islamic Council, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Palestinian National Theater; the publication of daily newspapers such as *Jerusalem*, *Ash-Sha’b*, and *Al-Fajr*, and magazines like *Al-Bayader*; and the appointment of a representative of Jerusalem to the Palestine Liberation Organization’s (PLO) Executive Committee and to Fatah’s Central Committee, this political centrality was not translated into urban development. Instead, East Jerusalem continued to grow on the periphery of West Jerusalem although it acted as a major urban center for the West Bank.

The urban development of Jerusalem witnessed a transformation from 1991 onwards, when Israel began to control the entry of West Bank Palestinians

56. Cohen: 2007.

into the city. This control was reinforced in 1993 with the erection of military checkpoints at the entrances to Jerusalem, thereby closing the city off from the rest of the West Bank. These closures contributed to weakening the urban development of Jerusalem, a process that was exacerbated by the enforcement of restrictive demographic, planning and geographic policies by the Jerusalem Municipality and the Israeli Government. These policies were aimed at controlling the urban development of Jerusalem, and planning the city on the basis of small, discontinuous neighborhoods lacking the means to transform into an important, united Palestinian national urban center capable of attracting municipal or national functions and activities.

The prohibition on the entry of Palestinians from the West Bank into Jerusalem, as well as the barring of Palestinian investments and economic activities in the city, were tightened in the wake of the formation and establishment of the Palestinian Authority in 1994. The Palestinian Authority's central institutions settled in the twin cities of Ramallah and Al-Bireh north of Jerusalem, while some of its secondary institutions were established in the cities of Bethlehem and Beit Jala, and large towns like Ar Ram and Al 'Eizariya. The settlement of Palestinian Authority and governance institutions outside Jerusalem triggered a rapid urbanization process in these areas, but subsequently weakened urbanization in Jerusalem itself. Instead, the city became affiliated with Ramallah and Al-Bireh both functionally and politically in spite of Palestinian political demands that Jerusalem become the capital and urban center of a future Palestinian state.

As reflected in **Map 14**, the urbanization process in Jerusalem and its surroundings reveals that Jerusalem has developed an extension of cities and villages, beginning in Bethlehem to the south and ending in Birzeit to the north. This vertical urban expansion occurred along a 40-kilometer stretch of a major historical road. A number of city centers lie along this urban extension, including Jerusalem's city center in the middle, as well as a nuclei of villages that underwent the kind of rapid urbanization that has taken place in many developing countries.

(See **Map 14: The Jerusalem Urbanized Region Within the West Bank**)

Such rapid urbanization occurred without planning; it took place randomly and in spite of Israeli restrictions that inhibited the increased investment of resources and funds into a proper urban development process. Such urban development occurred under a state of conflict and contradiction between the Israeli central and municipal government on the one hand, and the needs of the Palestinian population on the other. It therefore represents deformed urbanization unaccompanied by a process of functional evolution.

This urbanization process was also not accompanied by an "urbanism" process as the villages merged into the urban expansion and contributed to its formation. The absence of this "urbanism" process, as well as the absence of municipal and national institutions to lead such a process and provide the required infrastructure for its success, created a unique case of physical urbanization in Jerusalem. Housing was provided primarily through self-initiatives on private lands. This was because large plots of public lands lay under Israeli control and were either allocated for the establishment of Jewish settlements, or designated as green areas where construction was prohibited. Through these two means, the Israeli authorities sought to undermine the realization of urban continuity between Palestinian centers inside Jerusalem and outside it. They also aimed to preclude the formation of a Palestinian heart in the city, despite and because of the fact that Jerusalem's Palestinian population was substantial, standing at an estimated one million people in 2006, with over 250,000 living in the centre of the city alone.⁵⁷

The Separation Wall, which has been under construction around Jerusalem since 2003, is not the only physical barrier that has distorted and dislocated the urban expansion of Jerusalem. There have been other factors, including:

1. Spatial restrictions and controls imposed by Israel on Palestinian urban expansion;
2. Demographic and geographic policies seeking to maintain a Palestinian minority in the Jerusalem area. In the 1970's, the Jerusalem Municipality and the Israeli government adopted a spatial planning policy adhering to a '30% Palestinian-70% Israeli' population formula within the

57. Khamaisi: 2006.

- expanded borders of the Jerusalem Municipality;
3. The construction of Israeli settlements to increase the Jewish population in Jerusalem and its surroundings, while controlling and fragmenting the Palestinian presence in the city; and creating a settlement hinterland for Israeli Jerusalem that prevented the formation of a Palestinian majority in and around Jerusalem;
 4. Closing potential areas for Palestinian development and confiscating lands for the establishment of settlements, or to be kept as green lands to serve as a reservoir for future Israeli settlement expansion;
 5. Handicapping the development of infrastructure, particularly a roads network that contributes to developing and linking the urban expansion between East Jerusalem, surrounding cities like Ramallah and Bethlehem, and surrounding villages. This absence of a functional transportation network hinders the development of these cities and villages;
 6. Barring the intervention or formation of Palestinian institutions to manage this space, and fragmenting it into areas under Israeli civilian control (within the annexed borders); areas A under full Palestinian civilian and military control; areas B under Palestinian civilian control but without the ability to control security and maintain law and order; and areas C under full Israeli military control (in accordance with interim agreements signed between the Palestinian Authority and Israel as part of the Oslo Accords);
 7. The absence or prohibition of the evolution of Palestinian national institutions to manage and oversee the urbanization process. This has contributed to the deformation of the urbanization process in Jerusalem, and has limited the administration of Palestinian areas to the local level, keeping control over these areas in the hands of traditional leaders, some of whom were appointed not elected, and who lack the ability to meet the needs of an urban development process;
 8. Encouraging competition among the traditional urban centers over limited resources, which has led to the distribution of these resources, and which has consequently weakened the chances of forming a large center supported by strong peripheries on the one hand, and that can contribute to the development of these peripheries on the other. This bi-directional relationship between the urban center and the surrounding peripheries has been dislocated due to the erection of the Separation Wall, and the imposition of policies of siege and closure since the beginning of the 1990's;
 9. The mobility of commercial markets in response to Israeli restrictions and prohibitions on the entry of Palestinians to Jerusalem. Mobile and temporary commercial centers evolved in Qalandiya, 'Anata, Ar Ram, and Al 'Eizariya, weakening the major center of the Old City of Jerusalem;
 10. The economic weakness of surrounding satellite villages and towns due to limited opportunities and resources; and
 11. The erection of permanent and temporary ('flying') checkpoints to bar Palestinians from entering Jerusalem. These checkpoints, justified as means to provide for and preserve Israeli security, confine and restrict Palestinian development.
- After 1993, a new relationship evolved between Jerusalem and surrounding towns that had grown out of villages. Examples include Ar Ram, whose population did not exceed 800 people in 1961, but which had grown to 45,000 in 2000, and Bir Nabala, whose population increased from 850 people in 1961 to approximately 5,000 people in 2000 (See **Picture 4.1**).
- This population surge was accompanied by the resettlement of economic activities whereby Ar Ram, Bir Nabala, Al 'Eizariya, Az Za'ayyem and 'Anata became secondary commercial centers surrounding the commercial and business district (CBD) within East Jerusalem, which was represented by the Old City, and the Salah Eddin and Suleiman Al-Qanouni Streets. This commercial center was weakened by the fragmentation of commercial activities and the relocation of these activities to the centers of the 'villages' that became 'neighborhoods' within Jerusalem Municipality borders - like Beit Hanina, Shu'fat, Sur Bahir and Al 'Isawiya - but that continued to act as villages inside the city. In other words, the urbanization process in these villages was accompanied by their slow transformation into towns.
- The central transformation of Jerusalem's surroundings took place in the twin cities of Ramallah

Picture 4.1: *Population growth and the expansion of built-up areas in the Palestinian villages surrounding Jerusalem from 1961-2000*



and Al-Bireh, which evolved into the political center and heart following the establishment of the Palestinian Authority and the temporary settlement of the late President Yasser Arafat in the Muqata in Ramallah. Nonetheless, the official and popular Palestinian demand remained for East Jerusalem - meaning the Old City and its surroundings - to become the capital of a future Palestinian state where the Palestinian presidency and governance institutions would settle. However, due to the postponement of discussions between the Israelis and Palestinians on the future of Jerusalem to the phase of permanent status negotiations, these institutions settled in Ramallah.

During this interim phase, the urbanization process in Jerusalem slowed down. Meanwhile, the Israeli authorities tightened the closure of Jerusalem through permanent checkpoints, especially after the outbreak of the Second Intifada in September 2000. This closure set the stage for the isolation and separation of East Jerusalem from its hinterland, especially through the construction of the Separation Wall, which cut Palestinians off

from each other as in the cases of Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed.⁵⁸

This separation process dates back to 1967 when the administrative borders of Jerusalem were delineated. These borders also separated Palestinians from each other, in that some became residents of Jerusalem and carried Israeli identification cards, while their neighbors in the West Bank carried identification cards issued by the military authorities in the West Bank. This reality, which evolved through dual legal and administrative definitions of Palestinian citizens in Jerusalem and the West Bank, provided another basis for the erection of the Separation Wall, which consolidated existing legal divisions between Palestinians through outright physical separation. This duality of legal status impacted Palestinians' choice of residence: those who carried Israeli identification cards lived within the municipal borders of Jerusalem, while those who did not carry such cards lived in the towns surrounding the municipal borders, thereby contributing to the urban swelling of these towns, as described above. Residents of these towns worked in Israel and

58. Brook et al: 2005.



Jerusalem when Israel allowed them to do so, but after 2000, Israeli closures and the prohibition on entry into Jerusalem and Israel diverted Palestinian settlement to Ramallah and its surroundings.

Enforcement of the Status of the Ramallah-Al Bireh Metropolis in the Jerusalemite Urban Space

The status of Ramallah and Al Bireh (referred to hereinafter as the Ramallah metropolis) was enforced following the regression of Jerusalem's role as an urban center. Jerusalem became the desired capital that was marginalized as an urban center. The Ramallah metropolis on the other hand began to flourish from the 1980's onwards. This was especially so following election of mayors who worked not only at the municipal level, but also at the national level, and who were members of a national leadership that resisted the occupation, and were suspended from their positions by the occupation authorities as a result.

The geographic characteristics of the Ramallah metropolis in the middle of the West Bank and its proximity to Jerusalem, as well as its demographic characteristics represented by the social and ethnic diversity of its residents and its openness to new immigrants accelerated its urbanization process. They also facilitated positive immigration to the area, converting it from two small towns that were alienated from the Palestinian urban system prior to 1948, into the heart of the West Bank.

This enforcement of the status of the Ramallah metropolis is a direct outcome of Israeli restrictions on Jerusalem, in addition to other factors. The Ramallah metropolis, which today includes the three cities of Ramallah, Al-Bireh and Betuniya, extends over an area of 45,000 dunums and includes approximately 75 villages in the Ramallah governorate. Its population according to 2006 statistics stood at approximately 300,000 people. Many of the surrounding villages enjoy direct urban continuity with this metropolis, including Surda, Abu Qash, Birzeit, Rafat and Bettin, and have become part of the urban extension of the

Ramallah metropolis. The continuity between the Ramallah metropolis and the Jerusalem metropolis attracted institutions to settle in the Ramallah metropolis as an alternative to Jerusalem, a factor that contributed to enforcing the status of Ramallah. This status was also enforced by the nature of the society in the Ramallah metropolis, which is mostly comprised of immigrants from various West Bank regions, as well as refugees who settled in the Al-Amari Refugee Camp in Al-Bireh and the Al-Jalazoun Refugee Camp just outside it, and who moved to live in Ramallah and Al-Bireh following an improvement in their economic conditions. Furthermore, Ramallah's climate earned it a status as a summer resort that attracted visitors and tourists from the Arab world even prior to 1967. The existence of Christian institutions in the city also contributed to its social and religious diversity. The out-migration of Ramallah and Al-Bireh residents to work abroad, and who later poured money into the Ramallah metropolis' economy, also played a role in creating an environment conducive to investment and reviving the land and real estate markets.

Together, these factors led to the choice of Ramallah as the temporary center and political and economic core of Palestinian governmental institutions.

The following passage taken from the Ramallah and Al-Bireh Municipality website describes the status of the metropolis:

“Until the end of the last century, the livelihoods of the residents of Al-Bireh and Ramallah depended on agriculture, until the beginning of the first wave of expatriation, especially to the United States of America. Today, more than 20,000 citizens of Ramallah and Al-Bireh live in the United States of America. These citizens represent a major source of income for Ramallah and Al-Bireh. In recent years, the cities have become an important financial, administrative and cultural center in Palestine - they house major centers for dozens of banks and insurance companies, the headquarters of the President of the Palestinian National Authority, the Governor and a large number of Palestinian ministries and government institutions, in addition to a number of higher education institutions like the Nursing College affiliated with Al-Quds University, a branch of Al-Quds Open University, the teachers colleges affiliated with both the

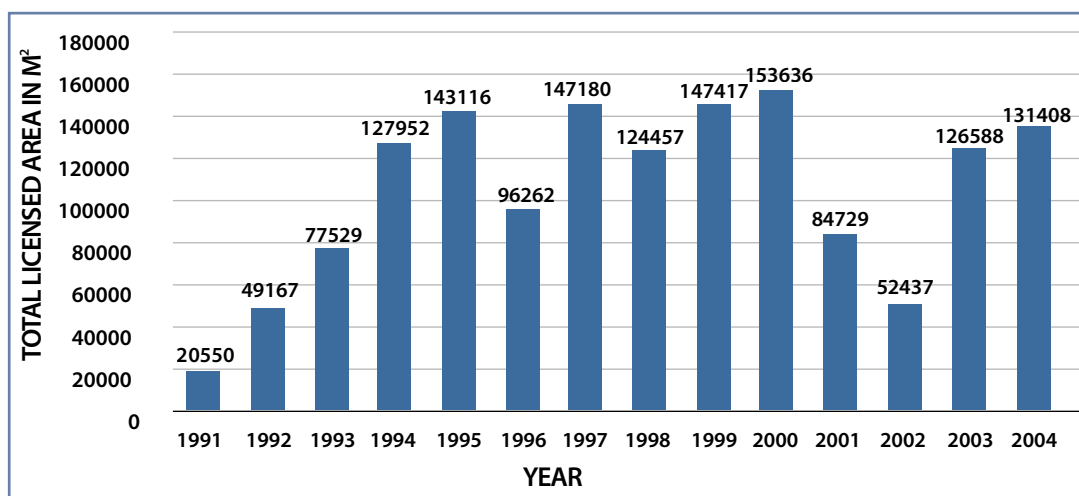
United Nations Relief Works Agency (UNRWA) and the Palestinian Authority, and hundreds of non-governmental organizations. Moreover, various handicraft and small industries are based in the city. Such handicrafts are byproducts of the city's commercial activity, like oriental and wooden antiquities, folkloric embroidery, and tobacco rolls. In fact, tourism has played a major role in improving and promoting commercial activities in Ramallah, and has contributed to the establishment of hotels and restaurants, as well as antiquities and embroidery exhibitions. Finally, the return of expatriates contributed to reviving this important sector as there are approximately 27 restaurants, 7 swimming pools, 18 tourism and travel agencies, and 10 hotels.”

This urban heart began to expand and to attract positive immigration in light of the presence of governmental institutions and international representative offices, alongside commercial institutions, banks and the Palestinian Monetary Authority. Between 2001 and 2004, membership of the Ramallah and Al-Bireh Chamber of Commerce more than doubled, from 233 to 480 members, indicating a surge in the volume of investments in commercial activities in the metropolis. In the meantime, the built-up areas licensed by the Al-Bireh Municipality increased from 69,747 square meters in 2001, to 86,864 square meters in 2003. (See **Graph 4.1:** Illustrates the surge in construction activities in Ramallah according to types of use.)

The housing crisis in Jerusalem⁵⁹ coincided with a construction boom in Ramallah, characterized by the construction of apartment buildings for immigrants from various West Bank regions, including Jerusalem, who moved to work in Ramallah. Hence, Ramallah and Al-Bireh became a center after 1993 and were transformed into a booming construction site, while the volume of construction in the villages and towns surrounding Jerusalem decreased. Between 2001 and 2003 for example, the number of apartment buildings in Ramallah increased from 115 to 149.

In Jerusalem however, construction was limited to meeting the needs of natural population growth, or providing housing solutions to those who moved back to live in Jerusalem following the construction of the Separation Wall, or as they sought to preserve their residency rights in the city in light of the Israeli policy of revoking these rights.

59. Khamaisi: 2006.

Graph 4.1: Construction Activities in Ramallah 1991 - 2004

Moreover, the construction of the Separation Wall and the erection of military checkpoints in Qalandiya, Az Za'ayem, 'Anata and Bethlehem not only imposed severe controls on the process of entry into Jerusalem, but also forced the secondary centers in surrounding towns like Ar Ram, Al 'Eizariya, 'Anata, Kafr 'Aqab and Qalandiya to affiliate themselves to Ramallah rather than Jerusalem.

The Distorted Relationship in the Urbanized Region between Jerusalem and its Hinterland

Analysis of the urbanization process in Jerusalem indicates that it has resulted in an unclear, distorted relationship - both functionally and practically - between Jerusalem and the secondary centers that have evolved around it over the past two decades, especially following the closure of Jerusalem to Palestinians. It is true that Jerusalem is theoretically viewed and dealt with as a center, and that it continues to enjoy the status of a major city both spiritually and geopolitically. Yet the borders of Jerusalem expanded beyond the administrative borders demarcated under the Jordanians and Israelis. Numerous neighborhoods continue to maintain strong rural identities and prioritize rural affiliations although they exist within the borders of Jerusalem. Other towns located just outside the borders of Jerusalem became lunar towns, before transforming into secondary centers due to urban and demographic swelling. Other tiny urban

centers evolved into major urban centers, as in the case of the Ramallah metropolis.

The status of Jerusalem is formed by numerous elements, whereby the city's functional and symbolic borders reflect its administrative borders, as in the case of many other cities in the world.⁶⁰ The question that arises here is: what are the factors that influenced the evolution of a distorted relationship between Jerusalem and its hinterland, and which led to the deformation of Jerusalem's spatial and functional urban development, to the extent that Jerusalem became a city affiliated with a competing center instead of becoming the functional center itself?

The following points briefly explain the factors that led to this outcome:

1. Israeli policies: Israeli policies seek to impose the domination and control of Israel over Jerusalem and to transform it into a capital not only for the State of Israel, but for Jewish people all over the world, as declared by former Israeli Premier Ariel Sharon. Realization of the goal of converting Jerusalem into a capital and center for the Jewish State was achieved through various strategies:

The first was the transformation of Jerusalem from a border city within the Israeli state following its division between 1948 and 1967, into a central city. This strategy has been, and is currently being realized through increasing

60. Hartshorn: 1992.

the Jewish population of Jerusalem by establishing and expanding settlements in and around the city. These settlements form contiguous circles around Jerusalem that are functionally dependent on the city and that are connected to it by a modern road network. They have also created a dual relationship between Jerusalem and its surroundings, in that a Jewish settlement network has evolved within the same geographic space as Palestinian villages and neighborhoods, deliberately fragmenting the latter from each other. As such, Jewish settlements functionally fed into West Jerusalem, while the Palestinian towns surrounding East Jerusalem competed with the city and its commercial centers. Jewish settlements enjoyed targeted and organized government support, while Palestinian neighborhoods and towns suffered from a spatial siege policy and evolved randomly and without centralized financial resources.

The second strategy was based on undermining the centrality of Jerusalem, and the Palestinians' relationship with and attachment to the city. This was accomplished by depriving Palestinians from the right to enter and live in the city⁶¹; closing institutions that managed Palestinians' affairs; deforming the planning of Palestinian neighborhoods; transforming rural towns into neighborhoods within the borders of Jerusalem following their annexation in 1967; and later, erecting military checkpoints that became physical barriers severing the contiguity between Jerusalem and its hinterland. This strategy shifted the function of continuity and integration from the traditional center of Arab Jerusalem to the secondary centers, and most recently, to Ramallah.

Thirdly, Israel created functional and institutional affiliations and linkages to connect East Jerusalem - which was left as a series of fragmented, discontinuous, and disintegrated neighborhoods - to the economic heart in the Tel Aviv area, thereby transforming East Jerusalem into a secondary heart within the Israeli state⁶²;

2. Demographic growth: The population of the Jerusalem area, which includes the

governorates of Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Ramallah according to the Palestinian definition, increased from 400,000 in 1966⁶³ to approximately one million in 2006. This was accompanied by Israeli demographic growth, which reached approximately half a million people in 2006. As such, the Jerusalem metropolis currently has a population of over 1.5 million, which is fragmented ethnically and nationally, and which is economically weak;

3. Social composition: Undoubtedly, the size of the population of the dislocated and fragmented Jerusalem metropolis represented a potential capable of transforming it into a center. However, this population is socially divided on Israeli/Palestinian national grounds. Furthermore, there are economic divisions among the Israelis in that the economic situation of West Jerusalem is weak in comparison with other Israeli cities. Within Palestinian society, the social structure is comprised of urban citizens, villagers, Bedouins, refugees and immigrants. This mosaic structure is also economically weak for the most part, and is characterized by traditional clan-based, as well as factional affiliations due to the absence of a national state. Therefore, Palestinian society in Jerusalem has not been molded as a society unified by the national cause and national affiliations, but rather by local ones. This social structure formed a scattered ethnic morphology and ecology, which conflicted in certain cases, and which impeded individuals' freedom of functional and spatial mobility, as well as that of economic and administrative institutions and activities in the rural areas within the metropolitan center;
4. Economic weakness: Most indicators underline that the economic conditions of Jerusalem metropolis residents, especially those in the Ramallah metropolis and within the borders of East Jerusalem, are better than those in the rest of the Palestinian territories. In 2002 for example, the average per capita income of Palestinian citizens in Jerusalem was 1,365 US Dollars, compared to 930 US Dollars in the rest of the Palestinian territories. Meanwhile, the average per capita income of Israelis in the Jerusalem area in 2004 was 17,000 US

61. Khamaisi: 2007.

62. Gonen: 2007; Hasson: 2007.

63. Dabbagh, 1988: 12.

Dollars.⁶⁴ These stark differences create a huge gap in purchasing and consumption powers, which weakens the Palestinian national economy as well as local economies. Urban studies indicate that there is a proportional and argumentative relationship between the economic capabilities of the metropolis' urban center, and between its other parts and peripheries. The better the economic situation of the peripheries, the better the economic condition of the center should be.

In Jerusalem however, this reality is distorted in that both the peripheries and the center are economically weak. This weakness means that it suffers from under-development, and that it lags behind in terms of participation in the global economy. In this regard, there is also a noticeable variation in the economic situation within the Jerusalemite urban space. The Israeli economy is similar to, and seeks to be part of the economy of developed countries, while the Palestinian economy is similar to the economic model of developing countries, a reality that it cannot change under present circumstances. This economic reality has played a key role in handicapping the attraction of foreign investments to the Jerusalem area, and has kept it dependent on limited local investments;

5. Religious and cultural status: Jerusalem and Bethlehem enjoy a unique religious and spiritual status. This status was expected to give the Jerusalem metropolis an economic boost, especially as these cities represent important religious centers at the international level. But in reality, this unique religious status has become a burden to both cities. The state of conflict over sovereignty over Jerusalem, and the pressure of Israeli policies to sever the religious and cultural affiliation with Jerusalem on the one hand, and to control the religious identity of the city on the other, prohibit the settlement of 'liberal' religious economic and cultural activities that are capable of assisting it to become part of the global economy. As such, these cultural activities tend to take place in cities that do not have religious and cultural restrictions. This partly explains the settlement of economic and cultural activities in Ramallah rather than in Jerusalem or Bethlehem.

There is some variation between Palestinian villages/towns in attracting immigrants, and economic and cultural activities however. This cultural closeness and local affiliation created variations in the urbanization space of Palestinian neighborhoods/villages in Jerusalem and its surroundings. The northern area of Jerusalem for example, is more open than the southern area. Urbanization in northern towns such as Ar Ram, Bir Nabala and Beit Hanina is therefore more rapid than that in the southern towns like Sur Bahir, Umm Tuba and As Sawahira Al Gharbiya.

Moreover, the state of conflict over Jerusalem contributed to enforcing cultural and religious conflicts and created variations between the urban space of Jerusalem and other urban spaces such as Bethlehem, as well as creating variations within it. In this way, the Ramallah metropolis grew and thrived while the Bethlehem metropolis regressed and weakened;

6. Absence of central government: The absence of a Palestinian central government to guide the reorganization of urban space and provide resources for urban development, including the provision of infrastructure, had a direct impact on the formation of a distorted and dislocated Jerusalem metropolis. Moreover, the absence of local government impacted urban planning and development in towns that did not have strong local urban management and a sense of initiative, like Bir Nabala, Ramallah and Al-Bireh. Such towns, managed by *mukhtars* and traditional leaders, ended up becoming secondary centers, growing randomly and unable to evolve into centers that promoted development in the area; and
7. Geographic location: One of the key factors in the development of a town and its transformation into a center, in addition to the presence and strength of local government, is the question of its geographic location and its linkage to the national roads network. In the Palestinian context, towns located along the national roads network - especially the Jerusalem-Ramallah road - on plains and in valleys, became centers because of the presence of the private sector in these areas

64. Khamaisi et al: 2007.

due to the advantage of their locations. The bypass roads network established by Israel around Jerusalem and throughout the West Bank avoided Palestinian towns. As such, the historical roads network from the Jordanian era and before remained the artery along which secondary urban centers surrounding Jerusalem evolved. The absence of guided and organized central and local governance therefore contributed to creating a disorganized and random urban morphology.

Urban Adjustment in a Changing Geopolitical Reality

Analysis of geopolitical changes, driven by Israeli political, functional, administrative and physical restrictions, reveals that there was a process of adjustment in the urban structure of the areas surrounding Jerusalem. Much of what has taken place in the formation of the urban fabric in terms of its structure and impacts on the relations between towns is influenced by these decisions. Two examples of this include land and housing prices and the locations of roving commercial centers.⁶⁵ The closure of Jerusalem to immigration and to Palestinian economic activities contributed to increasing the demand for housing in Ar Ram, Bir Nabala, Kafr 'Aqab, Ramallah and Al-Bireh. Due to the fact that these areas fell under Palestinian administrative jurisdictions (Areas A and B), private initiatives to establish residential apartment buildings more than ten floors high have been widespread there. Such buildings can also be found in the Bethlehem, Az Za'ayem, Al'Eizariya and Abu Dis areas just outside the borders of Jerusalem. Inside the borders of Jerusalem however, many of the apartment buildings established in Beit Hanina were built without licenses due to Israeli spatial and planning restrictions.

Additionally, temporary, roving markets kept moving to locations parallel to checkpoints and near Separation Wall crossings. Such markets reflected the state of instability experienced by the urban region of Jerusalem.

Moreover, the transformation of Kafr 'Aqab, Qalandiya and Al-Bireh's borders outside the Separation Wall - although they are still officially located within Jerusalem's municipal borders -

increased demand in these areas by investors, who built residential units and commercial centers outside the borders of Ramallah and Jerusalem as marked by the Separation Wall.

Despite this movement caused by spatial adjustment, traditional centers are still functioning but they remain weak, except in the case of Ramallah, which has become a national center.

Ramallah's Centrality Competes with Jerusalem's

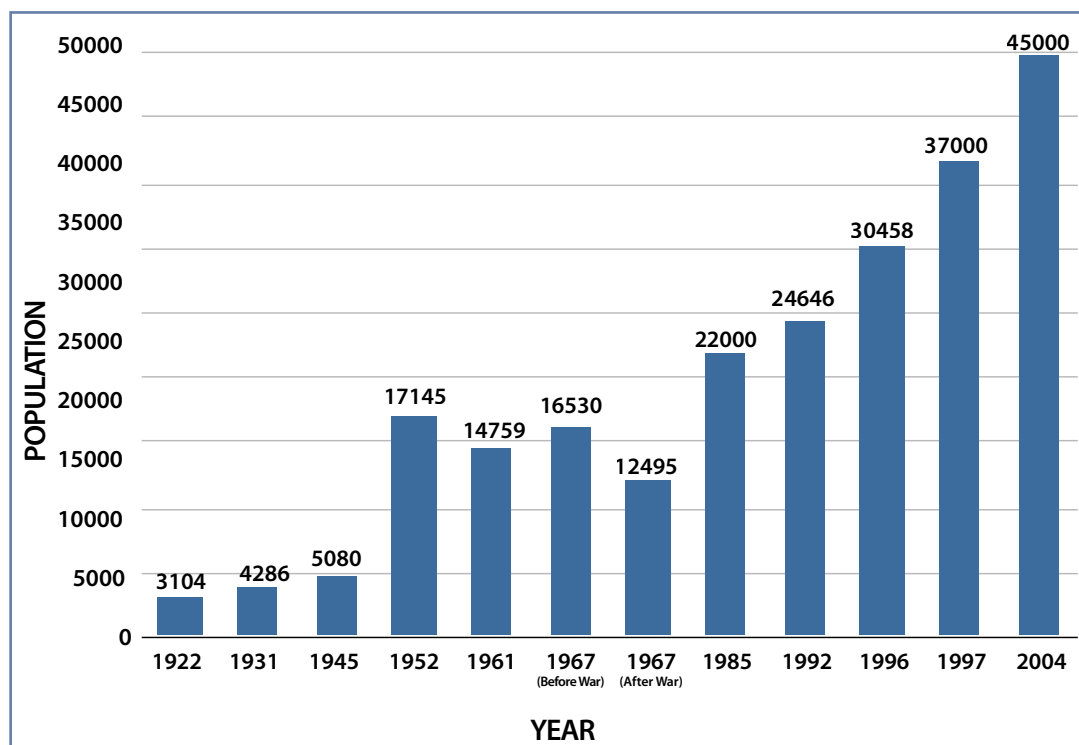
The situation and reality of the Jerusalem metropolis, which suffers from internal as well as external impediments and restrictions, enabled the Ramallah metropolis to grow in that it was free from a number of these restrictions. The desire to form a Palestinian nation state entails the formation of an urban heart.⁶⁶ This heart became Ramallah, which is located just outside Jerusalem and which enjoys spatial characteristics and an attractive geographic location, in addition to a social fabric and development opportunities that enable it to attract economic activities parallel to the settlement of governance institutions in the city.

As mentioned previously, Ramallah and Al-Bireh evolved from two small villages affiliated with Jerusalem. During the second half of the twentieth century, they underwent a rapid urbanization process. Their populations surged until they became an urban complex extending within an area of more than 37,000 square kilometers, putting them in second place within the Palestinian urban system behind Jerusalem, Gaza, Nablus and Hebron. In 2004, the registered population of Ramallah was approximately 25,000, while the actual number of residents in Ramallah including immigrants, was approximately 45,000 (See **Graph 4.2**). This population is expected to rise to approximately 90,000 in 2020.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the registered population of Al-Bireh in 2004 was estimated at 40,000, while the actual number of residents including immigrants, was approximately 60,000. As such, the current number of inhabitants in the Ramallah metropolis, which includes Ramallah, Al-Bireh and Betuniya, stands at over 130,000 and is expected to double by 2025 if population growth continues at the current pace.

65. Grab: 2004.

66. Khamaisi: 2006.

67. Khamaisi: 2007.

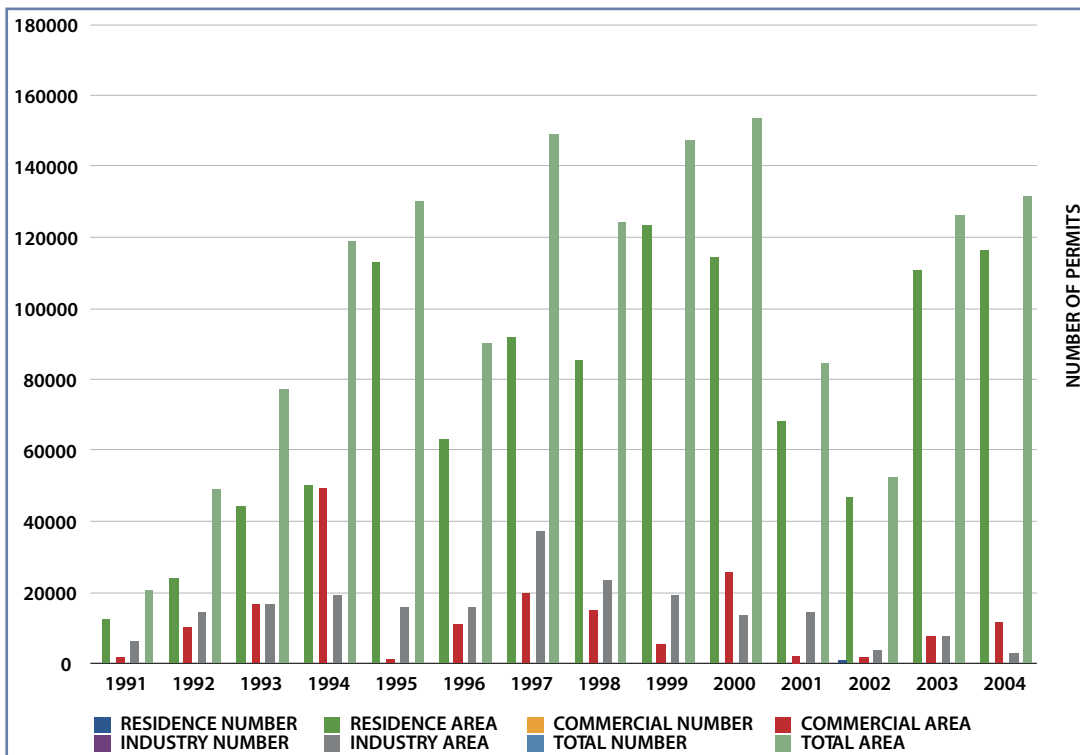
Graph 4.2: Population growth in Ramallah (1922-2004)

The following factors were key in contributing to the transformation of Ramallah and Al-Bireh into an urban center:

1. Israeli control over Jerusalem and restrictions on the entry of Palestinians to the city, detailed earlier in this chapter;
2. The geographic locations of Ramallah and Al-Bireh in relation to Jerusalem. Ramallah is located approximately 20 kilometers away from Jerusalem along the main road that links the north of the West Bank with the south;
3. The urban concentration of numerous adjacent towns, which contributed to the formation of an urban center extending from Kafr 'Aqab in the south, to Birzeit in the north;
4. Social openness, liberalism, and a culture of acceptance in Ramallah and Al-Bireh, which created a feeling among immigrants that they were not strangers. This open fabric attracted huge levels of immigration, under which the original population of Ramallah and Al-Bireh became a minority;
5. The existence of a relatively strong local administration which had sought to plan the city since the British Mandate era, and had continued guiding the process of development during the Israeli occupation and under the Palestinian Authority⁶⁸;
6. Settlement of the central authority inside the Ramallah metropolis. This settlement created an enormous demand for housing, thereby increasing the construction process in Ramallah (See **Graph 4.3**);
7. Availability of a land market and an open economy that could attract investment;
8. The desire of the central authority to establish and plan an urban center, which led to the preparation of a plan first by the Ministry of Local Government, and later by the Palestinian Ministry of Planning, to prepare schemes and programs to develop the Ramallah metropolis as a major center of a future Palestinian state;
9. The scaling-down of the presence of the Israeli occupation in Ramallah and the operation of Palestinian institutions in accordance with a Palestinian regime that allowed and encouraged the development of Ramallah;

68. Khamaisi: 2006.

Graph 4.3: Number of building permits and licensed areas (square meters) issued by Ramallah Municipality (1991-2004)



10. Minimal resistance to the occupation in Ramallah due to the social and institutional reality in the city, which lowered the intensity of resistance compared to other cities like Nablus or Hebron, and which created an atmosphere of relative calm and encouraged investors to settle in Ramallah; and
11. Awareness among western countries that the development of a Palestinian state must entail the development of an urban center as its political heart. Western donor countries therefore contributed to developing the Ramallah metropolis through the direct allocation of resources, as well as the establishment of their institutions and diplomatic representative offices there. This reality created a concentration of international institutions, and led to visits by various country representatives to Ramallah and Al-Bireh, and their reception by the Palestinian leadership there.

All of these factors collectively transformed the Ramallah metropolis into an urban center adjacent

and parallel to Jerusalem. It began to compete with Jerusalem and the surrounding towns in the Jerusalem hinterland, which gradually became affiliated with Ramallah instead of Jerusalem. Ramallah in turn became an operation and service center where numerous Palestinians came to work during the day, and returned to their homes in Jerusalem in the evening.

Summary and Conclusions

The formation of a metropolis and an urban region passes through various phases, and there are predictable behavioral patterns inside a society in terms of the formation of the metropolis' fabric and morphology. It is true that there are differences among the various models. For example, there are the American, European, Asian, and even Middle Eastern models.⁶⁹ However, a comparison of these models with the model of the urban region and Jerusalem metropolis reveals that Jerusalem evolved and developed within a unique reality. Jerusalem's location at the heart of a geopolitical unit was formed after the division of the Ottoman Empire when the borders of Palestine were

69. Abu Sabha: 2003.

demarcated, the British Mandate was declared in Palestine, and when Jerusalem became the capital of this Mandate. This period, which was accompanied by a natural urbanization process, did not last for long as Jerusalem was divided into two parts following the war of 1948. This imposed division had a profound impact on the development of the Jerusalemite urban region. It led to the creation of a paralyzed urban region suffering from conflict and competition over its limited resources, one that did not enjoy clear a ranking of the urban system. It was run under a dual administrative system, and was divided into national/ethnic urban units characterized by a lack of integration.

Due to this reality, the urbanization process in Jerusalem was accompanied by another urban process represented by the urbanization of the surrounding villages and their urban transformation into neighborhoods inside the city. This coincided with an urbanization process in lunar Palestinian cities, which evolved in response to the restricted entry of Palestinians into Jerusalem. This led to their settlement on its peripheries, creating a state of urban openness in some of these areas. These towns were later transformed into secondary centers during the extraordinary and random development process of Jerusalem, which occurred in response to Israeli spatial policies. Therefore, the urban system evolved in a heterogeneous manner, exacerbated by the erection of the Separation Wall and military checkpoints, which further fragmented this already disintegrated urban fabric.

The natural status of Jerusalem as an urban center and geopolitical heart of a Palestinian state has been undermined by the fact that its centrality is shared by both the Ramallah and the Gaza metropolises. Ramallah gained its centrality by virtue of its location under the shadow of Jerusalem, a shadow that has now become more prominent than the source of light itself. Undoubtedly, the Ramallah metropolis enjoys comparative advantages, which evolved as an expected result of Israel's weakening of the Jerusalem metropolis and the closing-off of the city to Palestinians. Additionally, the village and town centers surrounding Jerusalem form an affiliated hinterland that weakens the city instead of strengthening it because it does not possess strong resources capable of sustaining and strengthening itself.

The deformation and fragmentation that occurred in the morphology of the areas surrounding Jerusalem is not permanent and can be reversed. A different development and urban policy could restore the centrality of Jerusalem as the heart of the Palestinian state, although this should not occur at the expense of the Ramallah metropolis. Under this proposition, the Ramallah metropolis could become a secondary center within the surroundings of the Jerusalemite urban region, and could contribute to the development of a Palestinian heart in Jerusalem. In order to realize this transformation of Jerusalem into the center and heart of the Palestinian state, a strategy adopting Palestinian interests in Jerusalem must be developed. Such a scheme should represent a basis for reorganizing its space, which includes the city of Jerusalem and the surrounding towns and secondary centers, including the Ramallah and Bethlehem metropolises. Undoubtedly, the Separation Wall represents an impediment to the spatial reorganization of the urban morphology, but this Wall can be dismantled if Palestinian rights are restored by the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital.

Israeli spatial planning policies propose the development of the urban region as a strategy for the sake of attracting resources and concentrating them in this urban region. This urban region is expected to form a link with the global economy. West Jerusalem was proposed as part of the central urban region that includes Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. We propose here that the Palestinian Jerusalemite urban region extend from Bethlehem in the south to Birzeit in the north, that there is cooperation between these two urban regions, and that their linkage to the global economy increases, thereby raising the chances for development and political stability.

Currently, the Jerusalem metropolis has been transformed into an urban space with secondary centers. This reality is a natural result of a state of random development in the Palestinian cities and villages surrounding Jerusalem. In order to strengthen and reinforce Jerusalem, we must promote the concept that the reality that has evolved can be transformed from being a burden, to a boost that can contribute to strengthening Jerusalem.⁷⁰ This concept would guide a develop-

70. Gonen: 2007.

ment process that reorganizes the urban region through enforcing the urban centers, depending on the comparative and competitive advantages of each of these secondary metropolitan areas in the urban region. The centrality of Ramallah cannot be viewed as coming at the expense of Jerusalem. Its development must be viewed as part of the development of Jerusalem and as sustaining it in the case of achieving geopolitical arrangements that allow freedom of movement for, and the settlement of Palestinians in Jerusalem. This should

include investment in Jerusalem that links it to the national, regional and global economies. There are huge areas for potential new development within the urban region, and further urban centers can be established in addition to the expansion of existing centers. Moreover, the natural development process can evolve through the reconstruction and development of the current centers, including central development towards northwest Jerusalem as part of a strategy of enforcing the Jerusalemite urban region.

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