The Palestinian Bedouin of Barriyat Jerusalem

Survey Report of 23 Bedouin Community Sites in the East Periphery of Jerusalem; Khan el Ahmar, Sahel el Ahmar, Tal’et ed Damm and an Nabi Mousa Areas.

International Peace and Cooperation Center
2014
The Palestinian Bedouin of Barriyat Jerusalem

Survey Report of 23 Bedouin Community Sites in the East Periphery of Jerusalem; Khan el Ahmar, Sahel el Ahmar, Tal’et ed Damm and an Nabi Mousa Areas.

2014
AKNOWLEDGMENTS

IPCC team conducted the survey, mapping, and documentation of the Bedouin communities in the East Jerusalem periphery. IPCC would like to extend its sincere thanks to UN Habitat for its support. Especial thanks to the Heads of the Bedouin communities for their cooperation, also the surveyors for their support.
IPCC Planning Staff

Rassem Khamaisi - Head of Planning Staff
Rami Nasrallah
Amaal Abu Ghoush
Jumana Abu Sada
Anita Bakshi
Basel Koutena
Rawan Naser Eddin
Tariq Nassar

IPCC Surveyors

Murad Natsheh
Islam Idaes
Madiha Rasas
Issa Younan
Heba Burqan
Yasmine Khass
# Table Of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Methodology</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Context</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Current Situation of Bedouins</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Results</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Experience of the Bedouins’ Displaced</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Recommendations</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acronyms

EJ  East Jerusalem
ICA  Israeli Civil Administration
WB  West Bank
IHPC  Israeli Higher Planning Council
GIS  Geographic Information System
OCHA  UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PCBS  Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics
IDF  The Israeli Defense Forces
HCJ  High Court of Justice
PNA  Palestinian National Authority
CLA  Conjugated Linoleic Acid
MOLG  Ministry of Local Governance
MOPIC  Palestinian Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>List of Boxes</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Box 1</td>
<td>Community Site Names</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 2</td>
<td>Characteristics of the Twenty-one Bedouin Communities</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 3</td>
<td>Mewat land</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 4</td>
<td>What is E1?</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 5</td>
<td>Arab Palestinians Bedouin Experience in the Naqab-Negev</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 6</td>
<td>Tribal Relations and Dwelling Patterns in the el Hathrora Community</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 7</td>
<td>The Spatial and Material Composition of Bedouin Communities</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 8</td>
<td>Wadi el ’Awaj – The Bedouin community with the highest density</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 9</td>
<td>The Khan el Ahmar School</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 10</td>
<td>The al Muntar Community</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 11</td>
<td>The Khan el Ahmar Communities</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 12</td>
<td>Needs Assessment of the Twenty-one Bedouin Communities in East Jerusalem</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 13</td>
<td>The Arab el Jahalin ’al Jabal’ Site</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 14</td>
<td>Problems Faced by the al Jabal Community</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 15</td>
<td>Maintaining a Bedouin Way of Life</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 16</td>
<td>Changes in Planning Approaches to Indigenous Populations</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 17</td>
<td>Natural Soil Replenishment compared to Synthetic Fertilizers</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 18</td>
<td>Superior Nutritional Profile of Grass-Fed Dairy Products</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 19</td>
<td>Sustaining Livelihood</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 20</td>
<td>Freedom of Choice and Gradual Development</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 21</td>
<td>Wadi el Qilt</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 22</td>
<td>Cultural Landscape of Wadi el Qilt</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>List of Maps</td>
<td>Page No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 1</td>
<td>Distribution of the communities’ location sites in the Jerusalem Barriya</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 2</td>
<td>Allon plan 1976: Areas of annexed lands</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 3</td>
<td>Israeli plans and spatial control over the Bedouin area in Barriyat Jerusalem</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 4</td>
<td>Ma’ale Adumim jurisdiction area boundary</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 5</td>
<td>The route of forced migration of the Bedouin to Barriyat Jerusalem</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 6</td>
<td>Water resources</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 7</td>
<td>Topography map</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 8</td>
<td>Slope map</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 9</td>
<td>Annual mean temperature</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 10</td>
<td>Land cover</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 11</td>
<td>Total Population and Gender ratio</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 12</td>
<td>Access to Education</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 13</td>
<td>Access to Health</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 14</td>
<td>A comparison of the physical environment between Arab al Jahalin and Wadi el Awaj</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 15</td>
<td>Important cultural sites in Barriyat Jerusalem and Wadi al Qilt (as identified by PNA)</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>Page No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Report Methodology</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Summary of the GIS methodology for producing maps and presenting the collected data</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>Bedouin tribes in Barriyat Jerusalem</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>Al Jahalin Clans Population Percentage</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>Bedouin Tribes’ Population Percentage</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>The clans of al Jahalin Tribe</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>Population pyramid for the 23 communities</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8</td>
<td>Number of structures by type of use</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9</td>
<td>Household arrangement</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10</td>
<td>Types of health insurance</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11</td>
<td>Access to water and electricity</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 12</td>
<td>Work by location and by profession</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 13</td>
<td>Solid waste in kg per capita per day</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 14</td>
<td>Preference in terms of movement</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 15</td>
<td>Preference in terms of housing type</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 16</td>
<td>Preference in terms of work</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 17</td>
<td>Urban to rural ecological cross section</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction
Introduction

The Planning Survey for Bedouin Communities in the Barriyat\(^1\) – outskirts- of Jerusalem was initiated in December 2011, and developed from the efforts of the Displacement Working Group to support Bedouin communities facing displacement. The project developed from a joint proposal put together by IPCC, UN Habitat, and BIMKOM, with each organization examining related aspects and needs of these communities, mainly focusing on protecting these communities from the threats of displacement. UN Habitat’s focus is on liaising with the Palestinian Authorities and the Ministry of Planning to ensure feedback into the National Spatial Plan on planning policy for Bedouin communities, highlighting the experiences of neighboring countries in regards to national planning guidelines for Bedouins, and considering environmental preservation and sustainability as part of the strategic planning for the future. BIMKOM studied the Arab Palestinian Bedouin communities (hereinafter referred to as Bedouin) that have been relocated to the al Jabal area, BIMKOM also studied the environmental side effects of the adjacent municipal dump, and the symbiotic relationships between the Bedouin and their environment. IPCC has approached this study through a detailed survey of all of the communities’ sites, examining their existing living conditions and access to services.

This report will describe the situation of the twenty-one Bedouin sites that lie in the Barriyat – outskirts- of Jerusalem today (See Map 1). Most of these communities are originally from Tal Erad, a region of the Naqab – Negev desert. Through a series of displacements that began in 1948, the communities eventually settled in the Barriyat east of Jerusalem. Yet again, they are threatened with evacuation from their homes. Several potential relocation sites are under discussion, one of which (1627/4/05) is near the Abu Dis waste disposal site, that functions as the main dump serving Jerusalem and the surrounding areas. The plans to relocate the Bedouin from the areas around Ma’ale Adumim and other settlements were declared by the Israeli Civil Administration (ICA), without the involvement of the affected communities. Israeli advocacy campaigns label the forced urbanization of Bedouin communities as “modernization”. However, the argument that relocation will improve and modernize the living conditions is not based on an assessment of the existing situation.

This report attempts to provide a realistic assessment, based on a comprehensive survey of these communities. The data from this survey will be used to illustrate that the proposed relocation site is incompatible with the Bedouin’s livelihood requirements and their traditional way of life, which necessitate access to larger areas of land for sustaining their traditional herding and grazing activities and access to their long established residential areas. The Bedouin’s important role in preserving local ecologies and natural assets, such as the wadis and their role in the cultural landscape will also be discussed. These Bedouin, who were already forced to partially abandon their traditional economic practices of rearing and herding livestock and seasonal agriculture due to Israeli restrictions on access to pasture lands for grazing, are now faced with a future of dwelling on small plots of land with little access to any means of making a living.

This report suggests that the displacement of these Bedouin communities would not only
force them to live near a hazardous site, but would also have a severe impact on their ability to maintain their traditional social and cultural practices, which have sustained them for generations. The data presented in this report is collected through a household-by-household survey of the twenty-one Bedouin communities' sites, will provide the most up-to-date information available regarding their demographic and social characteristics. This study is the first to consider these communities in detail, using structured questionnaires and mapping to document their current living conditions. Careful consideration is given to the social ties of the Bedouin communities, examining family; kinship and clan structures and how these ties are maintained within their current dwellings. In addition, this report describes the regional setting, detailing with the accessibility of these communities to infrastructure and services, traffic and transportation issues, and access to employment opportunities. This methodology also allowed for the exploration of functional relationships between the Bedouin and the surrounding areas - including nearby cities, settlements, and natural resources - as well as for the projection of the need for future expansion areas. The collected data will be used to assess the needs of the communities, and to argue that these needs will not be met if the Bedouin are displaced to the proposed site near Abu Dis, or any other place.

Rather than displacement to unsuitable sites which do not allow the Bedouin access to viable employment opportunities suited to their traditional means of livelihood, a comprehensive approach must be developed, incorporating planning initiatives that take into consideration the traditional Bedouin lifestyle and their links to the environment. It will also be shown that such an approach will benefit the surrounding communities. As will be described, Bedouin communities contribute in multiple ways to the places they inhabit: enhancing both the rural and the urban environments they are connected to, as well as contributing to the sustainable maintenance of local ecologies. Thus, as this report will argue, the displacement of the Bedouin will affect the cultural landscape in Jerusalem’s outskirts, depleting the cultural heritage and ecological integrity of this area. The Palestinian Bedouin communities in Jerusalem Barriya live in area C under Israeli occupation, the Israeli spatial planning policy is to displace and concentrate the Bedouin communities in urban localities and to confiscate their land and territory.

The report will outline the methodology used for this study. Then, the report will outline the situation of Bedouins living to the east of Jerusalem, from the historical origins of their displacement, to their current situation within the political context. Finally, the report will conclude with an analysis of the effects of these changes on the life of the Bedouin, making several recommendations as to how the characteristics of the Bedouin life can best be preserved. Like all architectural formations, the Bedouin villages are unique configurations that are informed by social and cultural practices. Planning initiatives for these distinct settlements must take these factors into account.
The inhabitants of the twenty-one Bedouin communities have been living in the outskirts of Jerusalem since as early as 1951. Most of the residents are originally from Tal Erad in the Naqab desert. While most are Bedouin, some inhabitants are non-Bedouin from Sawahreh or Hebron. The Bedouin in the communities hail from three different tribes: al Jahalin, al Ka’abneh tribe, and al Azazmeh.

2,608 inhabitants live in the communities discussed in this report, and the populations range from 23 to 265 residents. The communities have an average percentage of 51% female residents, and 49% of residents are under the age of 14. The communities contain around 2,100 built structures. About 65% of which are for residential use, 33% are animal shelters, while less than 2% are for public use.

Most of the communities live in permanent sites as small villages or hamlets. The communities want to preserve their traditional lifestyle, with a strong attachment to their living place. Most of the communities live in sustainable life conditions, although some of them work in the surrounding localities in agricultural activities.
Map 1: Distribution of the communities’ location sites in the Jerusalem Barriya.
Bedouins localities of Khan al Ahmar
1 Methodology
Introduction

A survey was instituted in order to describe the existing living conditions of the Bedouin communities in the Barriyat of East Jerusalem, as well as their lifestyle and current economic situation, and to determine the communities’ desires about living arrangements. This report gathers, describes and explains these conditions in order to provide a better understanding of these communities and their current reality, based on demographic and spatial data. (Figure 1 describes the full process from preliminary research to the production of recommendations).

Data Collection & Instruments

The data used for this report were collected by IPCC planning team, from January to March 2012, through a number of methods including meetings with tribal leaders and the headmen of each community; quantitative surveys; and discussions with members of each community. Questionnaires were carefully drafted by the team, tailoring them to specific issues related to the Bedouin communities. These were then completed by each household in each of the twenty-one communities, resulting in a comprehensive set of demographic data, as well as qualitative information about each community’s experience in their current dwellings. Information about the sites was also collected through site observation, photographic documentation, and mapping of the sites and local networks.

Following general background research on the region and the multiple communities under study, the survey was initiated by a meeting with a group of leaders from the Bedouin communities. The Bedouin leaders were informed of IPCC’s plans to survey the communities near Jerusalem, and, due to the sensitive nature of this issue, they then consulted with their individual communities. The first to agree to participate was the Khan el Ahmar group, which lives in five different communities in the region. IPCC did the initial survey work of these Bedouin, demonstrating the results to the leaders of the other communities in order to gain permission to continue with the survey work there.

The pilot survey with the Khan el Ahmar community and the discussions with a group of Bedouin leaders allowed IPCC to develop a questionnaire, which was then used with each household in each community.

The questionnaires were used to gather data on:

1. The composition of each household in terms of ages, education levels, and employment status of each resident.
2. The spatial characteristics of the Bedouin homes in terms of the types of structures they include, building materials, and general living conditions.
3. The means of livelihood of each household, focusing mainly on the number of livestock owned both before and after the imposition of restricted access to grazing lands.
4. The access to essential basic infrastructural provisions for water, electricity, solid waste disposal, and sewerage systems.
5. The access to essential basic services such as health care, education, and transportation.

Nearly 400 questionnaires were completed for the twenty-one communities included in survey, retrieving quantitative data for 2,608 residents and

---

2 Fourteen people trained by IPCC planning department conducted the survey work with the assistance of colleagues at IPCC, and under the supervision of the director of the planning department.
more than 2,100 structures. Additional qualitative data was gathered through discussion with sixteen community leaders, who individually explained the specific circumstances of each community, concentrating on:

1. The historic evolution of the community in terms of origin and migration to the current location.
2. Tribal building laws.
3. The access to services, education, and work opportunities.
4. The availability of playgrounds, preschool activities, and shopping locales.
5. The changing access the community had to grazing lands and the impact of these restrictions on their livelihood.
6. The effects on the community from the increase in the price of fodder for livestock.
7. The social context and tribal and clan connections within the communities.
8. Preferences regarding their living situation.

These discussions provided valuable insights into the living patterns of these communities, as did informal discussions with community inhabitants during the process of conducting the survey, and observations made by the planning team. Photographic documentation, as well as mapping of structures, topographical features, and services, were also used to collect data. Upon completion of the data collection, a final meeting was held with community leaders to discuss the results and obtain their feedback and approval to use the information.

Reports were then produced for each community regarding the results of the survey and analysis of the data. Each Bedouin community has a fact sheet attached to this report (See Appendix). This comprehensive report is the result of all the compiled and analyzed data. The recommendations arrived in Section 6 of this report were developed from an assessment of the field survey and from direct contact with the community inhabitants from a wide demographic range including men and women, adults, youth and children.
Mapping & Analysis

Data collected during the survey was recorded in Excel files which were then linked to the Geographic Information System (GIS) computer software, which is designed to collect, retrieve, manipulate, and display cartographic features. Other data about the site, such as road networks, built-up Palestinian areas, Israeli settlements, municipal borders, and topographic features were obtained from various sources such as: the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), UN Habitat, the Ministry of Local Government, the Ministry of Planning, and the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS). GIS was the main tool used to analyze the data gathered during the survey. The use of GIS began in an early phase of the research, as it was used to link the collected data and store it in various formats. The system allowed for the organization of different types of data, both spatial and non-spatial, in a common database, enabling different forms of analysis and presentation of the results.

Structures identified from the survey work were drawn and given a numerical code. The additional data collected (the number of people per household dates of construction, building materials, use, and infrastructural connections) was then connected to the drawn outline of the building. This graphic and demographic information could then be viewed and examined within the existing regional context of topographical features, road networks, Palestinian and Israeli built-up areas, and other information. These data and this set of relationships were compiled in a number of ways, and were used to create the maps, graphs, tables, and charts that appear in this report. The use of the GIS system allowed for the management, organization, and analysis of a large amount of data, obtained from the twenty-one communities. It enables the display of spatially related material in a manner that can be clearly understood in a visual format. (See Figure 2 for a diagrammatic representation of this process).

The maps created for this project describe a number of aspects of the communities under study. They illustrate the relationships between community locations and their surroundings, including other Bedouin communities, nearby towns, settlements, main roadways, and military zones. They also describe the relationships between individual structures within each community, presenting the distribution of structures according to tribes, clans, and families.

A set of maps were created for each individual community that describe:

- The migration of each of individual group from Tal Erad, locating their various sites of residence prior to arriving at their current locations.
- The growth of each community and their expansion over the last several decades.
- The socio-spatial structure of each community, illustrating clan relations and household configurations.
- Physical aspects of the site including topographic conditions.
- Individual buildings and structures in terms of density, construction materials, and use.
- Regional networks, infrastructure, and access to regional services.
In addition to these community maps, the overall data set was also used to analyze the whole region, resulting in a set of maps which illustrate:

• The overall context of the site including all twenty-one communities’ sites, Israeli settlements, Palestinian built up areas, roads, and the Separation Barrier.
• Physical aspects of the area including topographic conditions and important site features such as archeological and cultural sites.
• Access to natural resources, water resources and grazing areas.
• The nature of vegetative land cover in the region.
• The mean annual temperature in the area.
• The percentage of building uses in each community including living areas, animal shelters, and public buildings.
• Population numbers and male-female ratios.
• Population numbers in terms of tribe and clan affiliation.
• Israeli plans for the area including settlements, the Jerusalem municipal border, Outer Limit Plans, the relocation site, the Abu Dis waste disposal site, existing roads and their buffer zones, and the Separation Barrier.
Figure 2: Summary of the GIS methodology for producing maps and presenting the collected data.
2 Context
Introduction

The traditional Israeli spatial policy of Judaizing space, through a Matrix of Control, is now applied to the Jerusalem Barriya, as in other Palestinian territories. The policy aims to limit and shrink the Palestinian areas through land confiscation, regulative planning, housing demolition, concentration of the Palestinian and Bedouin populations, and the construction of Israeli Settlements. Planning in the Jerusalem Barriya, involving the displacement of the Bedouin, has geopolitical as well as humanitarian consequences. Following the Allon Plan, since the 1970’s this area has come under Israeli control as the main connection between Jerusalem and the Jordan valley (See Map 2). In addition, the area of the Jerusalem Barriya connects the northern and southern parts of the West Bank, and is crucial to ensuring a viable future Palestinian state. The Israeli policy of continuous implementation of a territorial matrix of control has created a clear apartheid system, which began with the building and expansion of the Israeli settlements, the confiscation of Palestinian lands and the creation of dual road planning and municipal systems; one serving the Palestinian indigenous people, and the other used to enable further settlement enlargement by Israelis.

The issue of land appropriation by the Israeli occupation remains a major condition of life in East Jerusalem and the West Bank. Since 1979, Israeli occupation authorities have declared more than 90,000 hectares in the West Bank to be state land, even though it had previously never been considered a governmental property. The presence of Palestinians in certain key areas is discouraged through a number of mechanisms, which include the difficulty in obtaining building permits; home demolitions; expulsion from land; and the impact of the separation barrier in disrupting connections between Jerusalem and its network of villages in its outskirts and hinterland, now in the West Bank. The building of roads is another mean of restricting Palestinian construction. The number of building permits granted to Palestinians does not meet the demand for housing, leading to the construction of illegal buildings which then face the threat of demolition. The demolitions take place in Jerusalem, as well as in Area C of the West Bank, where hundreds of Palestinian owned structures are demolished every year.

Area C comprises nearly 60% of the West Bank, and Israeli occupation authorities maintain full control over planning and development in this area. From 2000 to 2007, 94% of applications for building permits submitted by Palestinians were rejected by the ICA. Many of those displaced were residing in or near the E1 area (See Box 4, Page 25), which is a planned expansion zone that will link the Ma’ale Adumim settlement to Jerusalem. The twenty-one Bedouin communities described in this report mainly live in Area C land, mostly in the municipal jurisdiction of the Ma’ale Adumim settlement and are among those facing displacement from areas that are slated for future expansion of the settlement. The Israeli state claims that the Bedouin in the area are recent arrivals to this area, settling without permission on state lands around 1988. However, as this report will

---

1 Yigal Allon the former Israeli foreign minister under the first Rabin government, who drafted his plan shortly after the Six-Day War in June 1967
2 BIMKOM and BTselem, 2009 p.10.
3 IPCC, 2008.
5 OCHA, 2009 p.11.
6 BTselem, 1999 p.23.
illustrate, the Israeli claims are not supported by historical research, which places the Bedouin on this land long before any settlements were built.

**Israeli Territorial Expansion**

The displacement of the Bedouin from their land must be seen within the context of Israel’s continual expansion aims and the growing occupation of Palestinian lands in the West Bank. The political geographer Oren Yiftachel uses the term “Judaizing the homeland”, to denote the process which the Israeli state has been engaged in since 1948 to restructure territory. Driven by the premise that the land “belongs” to the Jewish people, based on their presence during the Biblical times, an “ideological and moral project” was instituted to populate the country with a Jewish majority.

Complex institutional and legal mechanisms enabled the confiscation and occupation of land; Jewish-owned lands increased from the pre-1948 percentage of 7-8% to holdings of 93% (as of 1999) of the area located to the west of the Green Line that set the armistice boundary of the West Bank in 1948. Confiscated properties are deemed as “state lands”, falling under the ownership of organizations such as the Jewish National Fund, the Jewish Agency, and the Zionist Federation. Yiftachel assimilates the transfer of lands to such unaccountable bodies to a ‘black hole,’ from which Arab-owned lands are nearly impossible to retrieve. As Sandy Kedar outlines, the Israeli legal system transformed land possession rules in ways that “undermined the possibilities of Arab landholders to maintain their possession,” and enabled the transfer of ownership to the Jewish state. Here the modern western legal system, with its cache of technical and scientific language, legitimizes confiscation of land from the Palestinians.

An important part of this legal mechanisms involved Mewat land (See Box 3, Page 25), defined under the Ottoman Land Code as “dead land”, uncultivated and distant from towns and villages. The Arabs claims to such lands were taken into consideration by the Israeli Supreme Court in the 1950s and 1960s, when rules regarding Mewat lands were significantly reinterpreted. Whereas the Ottoman law entitled people proprietary rights to the Mewat lands that they had cultivated, and Mandate Law allowed opportunities for official registration of this land, the Israeli application established Mewat land as State property. As this report will explore, this interpretation of the local land laws has drastic consequences to the Palestinian owners of such lands, as well as for the Bedouin who used Mewat lands extensively – lands in the Negev from which they were expelled in the 1950s – and lands to the East of Jerusalem from which they are facing expulsion today (See Box 5, Page 26).

\[9\] Yiftachel, 2002 p.28.
\[10\] Yiftachel, 1999.
\[11\] Kedar, 2001 p.923.
Mewat Land

Israel defines and declares every land in the Naqab as Mewat land, which then becomes a state land according to the Israeli land regime. The example of Hawshele tribe’s Kaser al Ser village is illustrative. They went to the Israel court in 1984 to assert their claim to be the owner of the land. The Israeli court rejected their claim and ruled that this land is Mewat, and must be owned and controlled by the state of Israel. The same decision was taken by the Israeli court regarding al-Arakep land in 2012. Based on this court’s decisions most of the land in Al-Naqab is defined and declared by Israel state as state land.

What is E1?

E1 (derived from “East 1”) is a hilly region in the West Bank, spanning an approximately twelve square kilometer area between Jerusalem and Ma’ale Adumim, for which future Israeli development is planned. It is located to the north of Jerusalem - Ma’ale Adumim – Jericho Road, and touches the eastern edge of the municipal boundary of Jerusalem, as well as the neighborhoods and towns of Anata, Abu Dis, al Eizariyeh, and az Z’aiem. This area also comprises the only geographical connection between Jerusalem and the West Bank, and the construction of planned developments in E1 will drive a wedge between the city and its surroundings, essentially destroying the integral connections with nearby Palestinian villages. The planned route of the Separation Barrier in the area, parts of which have been built, deviates far beyond the Jerusalem municipal boundary and encircles Ma’ale Adumim and E1. The planned route indicates that the Israeli authorities want to eventually separate this land from the West Bank and annex it. Plans for E1 include at least 3,500 housing units, an economic development zone, commercial areas, hotels, universities, a cemetery, a waste disposal site, and a large park. The construction of this area seems to be geared towards creating an irreversible reality that will be impossible to dismantle – thereby determining future boundaries. (See Map 3)13.
Many of the Arab Palestinian Bedouin citizens in Israel and the West Bank are originally from the Naqab, or Negev Desert, of which they were essentially the sole residents until the State of Israel was established in 1948. Prior to this the population of this arid region consisted of 90,000 Bedouin belonging to 96 different tribes. As Jewish immigrants began to settle this area, and since the Bedouin did not hold land registration documents recognized by the Israeli administration, they were mostly relocated to a small area, known as the Syag, which consisted of about 10% of the territory they had once inhabited14. Today, more than half of the region’s Bedouin population, about 129,200 people, has been relocated to towns15.

As part of an effort to limit their territory within the Syag, the Israeli government began to build new towns in which the Arab Palestinian Bedouin were resettled. The first such town, Tel Sheva, was built in 1964, using the same planning logic as that followed in Jewish neighborhoods, organized into small plots of less than 500 square meters on which small houses were built. This approach did not take into account the social and cultural living patterns of the Bedouin, nor did it allow for land on which animals owned by these residents could graze. A second new town, Rahat, was built in 1970, and an effort was made to be more responsive to the needs of the residents. The town was divided into neighborhoods which could be organized along clan and tribal affiliations, and the plots were considerably larger, although homes were still built using the nuclear-family model.

This approach was considered to be somewhat more “successful”, and five more new towns were built according to these principles. While this planning model was an improvement on that employed at Tel Sheva, it took into account only one aspect of Bedouin life, that of tribal affiliation, while continuing to ignore the other socio-cultural and economic needs of these communities16. As a result, the new towns offer an environment that is unsuitable for the rural character of the population, and one that lacks a viable economic base. Over the last few decades the peripheral location of these towns, in conjunction with the loss of the traditional economic herding practices of this population, has resulted in rising poverty, unemployment, and crime17. The restrictive planning and building of these new towns allowed the Israeli government to achieve territorial and geopolitical goals through forced physical urbanization without urbanism.

[Box 5]

15 Another 45,000 Bedouin live in the region, but rather than settling in these new towns they live in thirty-six unrecognized villages, regarded as illegal, as they do not meet the terms of the 1965 Planning and Construction Law, which requires that permits be obtained for all buildings. Therefore basic services and infrastructure, such as electricity, water, roads, and health care are not provided, and their houses are under constant threat of demolition (Center on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2008, quoted in Shmueli & Khamaisi, 2011).
16 Ibid., p.113
17 Lithwick, 2002
Expropriation of Land near East Jerusalem

Ma’ale Adumim is one of the biggest Israeli settlement, located in the West Bank seven kilometres east of East Jerusalem, was established in 1975 and was declared a municipality in 1991. It originally provided housing for a handful of families, “persons whose employment is in the Ma’ale Adumim area”, located near Jerusalem’s new industrial zone, established the year before. At this time the decision was also made by an Israeli ministerial committee to expropriate around 30,000 dunums18 of the village lands of al Eizarieh, at Tur; al Issawiieh, Anata, Abu Dis, Khan el Ahmar, and an Nabi Musa for the needs of this settlement (See Map 4). Extensive additional land has also been expropriated in order to build roads going to the settlement19. The expropriated lands included vast areas to the east and south of the industrial zone which feature a hilly topography and a hot and dry climate, and thus are largely unsuitable to residential construction.

They are, however, strategically located, in the areas that overlook the passage between the northern and southern portions of the West Bank. In the end, the expropriation order included seven times the land required for the initial industrial zone20. The borders of the settlement expanded several times, in 1981, 1991, and again in 1994 during the Oslo peace process, when an additional 1,200 dunum were added and linked to the municipal border of Jerusalem and the E1 development area.

The Question of “Empty” Land

The seizure of land for Israeli settlements was justified partly by the claim that it was “empty” state land, and that no Palestinians would be affected by the construction of the settlement. However, the assumption that uncultivated land cannot fall under individual ownership is counter to local land laws21. Additionally, the entire area in question was not uncultivated at the time of construction. In fact, a report prepared by the Israeli Ministry of Construction and Housing in 1977 states that several wadis [valleys] in the site were being cultivated, and that it would be “necessary to evacuate an agricultural area and a small number of families”. The report also points to the wide usage of this area by the Bedouin who planted on land in rainy years, and every few years “the land is re-divided among the members of the tribe. The more arid land is used for communal grazing, moving eastwards during the winter…”22.

18 Dunum is equal to 1,000 square meters
20 BIMKOM and B’Tselem, 2009 pp.9-14.
22 Urban Institute, Z. Zaslavsky and Associated Engineers Ltd., Examination of Location and Development Potential of a Community in the Ma’ale Adumim Area (August 1977), quoted in BIMKOM and B’Tselem, 2009 pp.27.
Territorial Ambitions of Israel & Bedouins

The E1 area contains many parcels of privately owned Palestinian land which lie within the jurisdiction area of the Israeli settlement, but outside of the built-up areas. Thus owners are able to use these lands, but it is unlikely that continued access will be possible if planned neighborhoods, for some 16,000 residents, are constructed in E1. If these building plans are carried, this will have a major impact on the West Bank, essentially intensifying the division between other Palestinian areas and Jerusalem. In addition, the strategic location of Ma’ale Adumim, in the narrowest part of the West Bank, creates a condition where proposed development around the settlement in the E1 area can compromise the viability of a future Palestinian state by separating the northern and southern sections of the West Bank.

The construction of the Separation Barrier (Wall) will also impact accessibility for Palestinians living here will be required to obtain permits to allow their daily movements in this area. Additionally, the proposed route of the barrier will enclose several thousand Bedouin from the al-Ka’abaneh, Azazmeh, and Jahalin tribes, triggering the Israeli decision to displace the Bedouin to a site in the village lands of Abu Dis, placing them on the ‘Palestinian’ side of the wall. In fact, displacement from this area occurred throughout various phases since the 1970s. Due to Israeli’s “security needs” grazing areas were closed and compromised the freedom the Bedouin had enjoyed to roam with their herds.

Background of Bedouins “Up to 1979”

The Bedouin living in Barriyat Jerusalem are semi-nomadic people who generally settled in locations near water springs or wells and organized their livelihood around periodic herding trips to pastures in the region. The Bedouin residing in the twenty-one communities to the east of Jerusalem belong to three tribes; al Jahan, Ka’abne, and Azazmeh. They each have origins in the south of Bir as Sabe or to be exact Tal Erad desert in the Naqab-Negev. Prior to the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948, they were practically the only inhabitants of this arid region. The Ottoman and British Mandate governments respected the customary land rights of the Bedouin in a region that was considered mawat, or dead land, due to its unsuitability for regular cultivation. After 1948, as Jewish immigrants were encouraged to settle this area, many Bedouin were expelled. Some were resettled in the small region known as the Syag, in new towns built by the Israelis, and in “illegal” villages (See Box 5, Page 26). Others migrated farther north in search of lands with suitable grazing ar-

---

23 BIMKOM and B’Tselem, 2009 p.39.
24 BIMKOM and B’Tselem, 2009 p.41.
25 The term semi-nomadic used in this report refers to populations that are generally settled in one location, but undertake trips with their herds to find suitable grazing pastures, generally in the summer months. They generally return to their more permanent residences from the winter to late spring, at which time they may plant crops that do not require irrigation.
26 Of the communities under study, only Wadi el Qilt has direct access to water resources in the region with a pipe connection to a nearby spring. In early January of this year, the ICA restricted access to this source to a 30 meter stretch for the handful of families remaining there. No previous restrictions were in place, and these families have no alternate source of access to water.
27 See Kedar’s discussion of policies towards Mewat land under the Ottoman and British Mandate governments (2001, pp.936-938).
eas and water sources that would allow them to continue to live as semi-nomadic pastoralists. After leaving the Negev, they stopped first in the hills near Hebron, but as this area did not offer suitable grazing lands, they continued further to the hills to the south and east of Jerusalem. They led their herds to pastures, covering a wide geographic area including lands near al Eizarieh, Abu Dis, Khan el Ahmar, an Nabi Musa, the Jericho hills, and as far as the Dead Sea (See Map 5). Good pastures and ample sources of water allowed the Bedouin to maintain their traditional practices of herding. Much of this land could not support regular agriculture, but when it was privately owned, they entered into oral contracts for its use. They would return to the water spring areas in their regular semi-permanent areas of residence east of Jerusalem, and would plant wheat and tobacco whenever possible (These seasonal residences are where many of the Bedouin have been permanently settled since the late 1970s).

From the 1950s through most of the 1970s they enjoyed complete freedom of movement over these lands. This was the nature of their existence from 1951 until the late 1970s, when they subsisted mainly by raising livestock and through the cultivation of wheat and tobacco. The men engaged in other activities as well, working in road construction or as laborers or agricultural workers. Their situation changed dramatically in the 1970s as Israeli authorities began to place pressure on these communities to leave this area and move towards Palestinian villages and towns. Several Bedouin encampments were destroyed during this period, and some communities were evacuated.

**Israeli Settlements & Accessibility “late 1970s to 2000”**

The restrictions were put into place due to plans for the construction of several settlements, including the large Ma’ale Adumim settlement to the east of Jerusalem. This began even before the construction of the settlement, with the designation of large areas of land as closed military areas, cutting off access to grazing lands.

This process began in 1968 with the closure of four military zones in East Jerusalem, at Sheikh Jarrah, Anata, an Nabi Ya’coub, and ar Ram. This compromised the viability of making a living through raising livestock, and meant that many Bedouin had to reduce the size of their herds. Additionally many of the communities described here had to move in the late 1970s to their current locations. Only the Wadi el Qilt, Nkheila, South Foqara, az Z’a’iem Zip’ee, and az Z’a’iem Jahalin communities were not required to move at this time. By the late 1980s they were more settled in the areas they had previously used as

---

28 Shmueli & Khamaisi, 2011.
29 Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Campaign, 2008 p.35
30 It must be pointed out that some Bedouin left this region after it came under Israeli control after 1967. Some clans left for Jordan and never returned to the region. These groups are not covered in this report, which only focuses on communities that have been living in the Jerusalem periphery since the 1950s.
31 Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Campaign, 2008 p.42.
32 The process for declaring an area a closed military zone is quick and simple. This was enabled by a military order stating that “a military commander is entitled to declare any area or place closed” and to prohibit the entry of persons, with the exception of a “permanent resident” who lived in the area prior to its declaration as a closed zone. Palestinians are not allowed to enter these zones, there is no possibility for construction in these areas, and those who break the order and enter are subject to heavy fines and imprisonment (BIMKOM, 2008 p.26).
their spring to summer residences, on lands that were intended for the growth and expansion of Ma’ale Adumim. A program of expulsion and displacement began at this time. The position of the Bedouin was further weakened after the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, when the land that they were living on was classified as Area C, and thus fell under complete Israeli control.

The Bedouin living on this land were given an evacuation order by the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) in July of 1994, and they responded by filing a petition with the High Court of Justice (HCJ) in May of 1995. The petition was denied and they were forced to move. Several of the communities covered in this report faced this situation, including those currently residing in Wadi Sneysel, Um el Asawij, Wadi el A’waj, al Muntar, Wadi Abu Hindi, and Abu Nuwar. Also affected was the al Laton AbuJum’aa community which left the area and now resides in Bir Nabala in Ramallah (this group is not included in this study). Efforts at removing the remaining Bedouin continued in 1997 and 1998, when they again petitioned the HCJ with the assistance of attorney Shlomo Lecker. In the end, the court upheld the decision to expel the Bedouin, deeming that they had no legal claim over the land. The petition process benefited the communities to some extent in that it increased public awareness about this issue and has helped to delay their removal, which is currently on hold. B’Tselem contends that according to this legal position “the only way the Bedouin can comply with the law, given the terms of reference of the IDF and the High Court of Justice, is to cease being Bedouin.”

This is the fate intended for them by the Civil Administration in the alternative site that it established. The situation of these Bedouin communities became more difficult following the second Intifada in 2000, when they were denied access to Jerusalem with the construction of the Separation Barrier. With this closure they also lost access to the al Rashidieh market and a livestock market near Bab el Asbat, one of the Jerusalem Old City gates, where they had sold most of their animals and animal products, as well as purchased necessary goods.

Social Context

Tribal Kinship Relationships: The twenty-one communities include 2,608 residents, who are mostly Bedouin from the al Jahalin tribe. Tribe is referred to as “al qabila” in Arabic. Usually, entire communities are related, where the inhabitants are all cousins from one clan, and they generally made the journey together from their original location in Tal Erad. The Arab el Jahalin are comprised of three clans, 33 B’Tselem, 1999 p.24.

The Arab el Jahalin are comprised of three clans,
or al Ashira (العشيرة): Abu Dahouk, Salamat and Saray’a (See Figure 6). Each of these clans is then subdivided into different family groups, or al fakhth (الفخذ). The Abu Dahouk clan has branched into several afkhath, mostly al Hjouj, Kurshan, Abu Falah and Bo’ran. They also include the Daiafeen and Gawanmeh branches, but they do not reside with these communities to the east of Jerusalem. In total, the Abu Dahouk clan in this area consists of 440 people, or 19% of the region’s Bedouin population. They live mainly in Khan el Ahmar, as well as smaller communities in Um al Asawij and al Muntar. (See Figures 4 and 5).

Twenty-eight percent of the population, or 630 subjects, belong to the Salamat clan, which is divided into the largest number of family groups. They live mainly in the center of the region under study, in the Wadi Sneysel and Abu Ghalieh communities, with smaller groups residing in Jabal el Baba and Wadi el A’waj to the south. The Saray’a clan is the largest, forming nearly half, or 48%, of the Jahalin tribe, with a population close to 1,100. The largest family groups in this clan are the Ara’ra and the Hathalin, followed by the Tabaneh and Foqara. This clan resides mainly in the northern communities of Wadi el Qilt and al Hathoura, as well as in the central communities of al Kasarat and Nkheila south. They also comprise the population of one of the largest communities in the region, Wadiabu Hindi, and Jabal el Baba near al Eizarieh.

The dynamics between the communities play a role in their places of residence. For instance, the Abu Dahouk clan lives in their own separate communities, or together with the Saray’a clan, but never with the Salamat clan. Additionally, they will not reside with Bedouin from tribes other than the Jahalin. The Saray’a clan can be found living with people from all other clans, and they have even been known to have members from other tribes residing with them, such as the al Azzmeh tribe in the el Hathrora community. The Salamat clan has members from the Saray’a living with them in the Jabal el Baba community, and non-Bedouins living with them in Wadi el A’waj. Other than these exceptions, they tend to live in their own communities, usually organized by family groupings. The Ka’abneh tribe lives in two communities: one in Wadi el Qilt and the other on Road 437. Both communities are populated by distinct family groups, and in this region they have not been known to live with members from another tribe. (See Box 6, Page 33).
Figure 3: Bedouin Tribes in Barriyat Jerusalem
The El Hathrora community is the second largest community in the periphery of East Jerusalem in terms of population. It has more than 223 residents, and half of the population consists of children below the age of 15. The community is also one of the largest in terms of the number of households, with 32 different households, with an average number of 6.97 members. This is one of the few communities in which members of two separate Bedouin tribes are living together: the al Jahalin and al Azazmeh tribes. The residents from the Jahalin tribe are all from the Salamat clan, and come from four families: ‘Ara’ra (96 residents or 43%), Foqara (86 people or 39%) and Rafay’a (23 residents, or 10%). There are four households that hail from the al Azazmeh tribe from the same family group, consisting of 18 people, or about 8% of the community. These households are all clustered together on one section of the site, however there is no fence or partition that divides them from the Jahalin residents, and they all share services such as water and electricity.

[Box 6]
Figure 6: The clans of al Jahalin Tribe

Abu Dahouk Clan

Salamat Clan

Saray’a Clan
Bedouins Locality of al Muntar
Map 2: Allon Plan 1976; Areas of annexed lands.

Source: http://www.shaularieli.com/77951/Policies-Programs
Map 3: Israeli plans and spatial control over the Bedouin area in Barriyat Jerusalem
Map 4: Ma’ale Adumim jurisdiction area boundary
Map 5: The route of forced migration of the Bedouin to Barriyat Jerusalem
Current Situation of Bedouins
Geographical Aspect

The twenty-one Bedouin communities live an area that lies several kilometers to the east of Jerusalem, extending eastwards from Anata and al Eizarieh to Jericho and the Aqbet Jaber Camp. They are spread out from east to west along the region’s main transport artery, Road One. Several Israeli settlements also lie in this region, including Ma’ale Adumim, the largest with a built-up area of 3,063 dunums, around which the Bedouin communities of Abu Nuwar, Um Alasawij, and Jabal al Baba are clustered. The Abu Hindi community is located near the Kedar Settlement (253 dunum), and the Khan el Ahmar communities are surrounded by the settlements of Kefar Adumum (235 dunum) and Almon (169 dunum) from the north, and to the south by the “as Sahl el Ahmar” currently the Mishor Adumim residential area and industrial zone, which has an area of 1,195 dunum. To the east lie the Palestinian towns of al Eizarieh, Abu Dis, Anata, and Hizma, and as Sawahra ash Sharqiya. Wadis to the south and north, as well as a number of springs and wells, provide sources of water in the region. (See Map 6)

Topography & Climate

The hilly region the twenty-one Bedouin communities dwell in gradually slopes downwards toward the Jordan Valley, moving from a general elevation of 800 meters above sea level in the west, to 210 mbsl in the east. The topographical condition of the communities varies greatly, with az Z’aiem Jahalin community at the highest elevation of 640 masl, and Wadi el Qilt to the east at 20 meters below sea level (See Map 7). These hills have a slope of up to 40%, but all of the communities are located on areas of lesser incline, generally between 10-20%. (See Map 8). The climate is arid, with mild temperatures through most of the year, and a hot, dry summer. Mean average temperatures in this region range from 17°C to 23°C. While most communities can be found within the temperate zone that ranges from 17-19°C, two communities are in the 19-21°C range, and Wadi el Qilt lies in the 21-23°C temperate zone. Average temperatures are around 32°C in the summer and 15°C in the winter (See Map 9). The annual rainfall is 100-200mm.

The land generally remains uncultivated, and most of the natural land cover remains on the hills. The hills are mostly covered with grasses and herbs suitable for grazing in the spring, and are mostly bare later on in the year. Smaller areas are covered by a natural forest. The region is marked by a gradual transition, moving eastwards, from a Mediterranean climate, which enables regular cultivation, to a desert climate, suited to grazing animals. The area under study contains a few regions that are suitable for cultivation, most with a low to medium agricultural value. There is one site of high agricultural value, which is located two kilometers from the Khan el Ahmar communities, and is less than one kilometer away from al Kasarat and Wadi Sneysel to the west. (See Map 10)

Administrative Aspect

The sites of the twenty-one Bedouin communities fall into various administrative areas. Three communities, Wadi el Qilt Iktifat, Wadi el Qilt Ka’abneh, and al Hathrorra, are located in the east within the an Nabi Mousa boundary. The
Demography

The population of the twenty-one Bedouin communities ranges from twenty-three to 265 inhabitants, with a nearly equivalent ratio of males to females, with a female percentage of 51% of the population. The communities tend to be young, 49% of the inhabitants are under the age of 14. This is the most dependent group, and at present they are sorely lacking education and health care services. Only 3% of the residents are above the age of 60, indicating the short life-expectancy in these communities. They also have an average growth rate of 4% for the last decade, and of 6.8% for the previous decade, either of which is much higher than the West Bank average of 2.77%\(^{40}\). (See Figure 7, and Maps 11).

Khan el Ahmar communities are located in the Ka’abneh (Tajammu’ Badawi) administrative region which is carved out of the Anata and al Issawieh area. The az Z’aiem Jahalin, az Z’aiem Zir’ee Communities and Wadi Snekel community are located within the administrative borders of al Issawieh, while Jabal el Baba is located in the al Eizarieh area. Wadi el A’waj, and Abu Nuwar are located in Abu Dis lands, and the al Muntar community is located in the as Sawahira Ash Sharqija division\(^{39}\). The administrative reality of this area is counter to the claims made by the Israelis that this land was unoccupied and fell outside of the boundaries of any inhabited areas. Rather, this land has long been considered to be associated with the specific localities outlined above.

\(^{39}\) Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS), 2007.

\(^{40}\) Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS), 2007.
**Built Structures**

Bedouin homes generally include several structures, organized around an open external area, which accommodates the household activities of the residents and acts as a play area for the children. These structures are surrounded by a wooden or wire fence, which demarcates the private territory of the household. However, these may have several openings in them, oriented towards neighbors who are close relatives, such as siblings or parents. Residential structures typically include the Madafeh, or guest room. The Madafeh may be divided by a wood or fabric partition, defining a sleeping area. Larger households may even have two Madafeh structures, one for men and one for women. Houses also include a number of separate bedroom structures, as many as are required. Houses may also have a separate structure for storing clothes, which can include a shower within. The toilet, where it exists, is always separate, and located far from other areas at the corner of the site. The kitchen is also always separate, and at times is accommodated in two structures—one for the cooking fire, and the other just for the storage of food. Structures for animals are also built within the household’s enclosure, and they can be located at a distance from the main living areas, but at times are close. Each community has, on average, thirty-three structures for housing animals (See Figures 8, 9). They never build on grazing areas, which are for common use, and the presence of a home would mark the area as private territory. For the same reason they will never build near a water source nor on land located on routes to grazing areas.

As the children of the family grow up and marry, starting families of their own, they move out of their parents’ homes and build their own residences nearby. As a general practice, the Bedouin build extra rooms as they need them. For instance, at Khan el Ahmar North East, although there are only 19 families, there are 85 structures on the site. The nature of the spatial expansion of these communities is related to family growth and change; they build new structures as the family grows, when they need more sleeping areas, or additional shelters for the animals. Additionally, they will build new structures for the son of the family, as he gets older and needs privacy. This can later be used by his family when he gets married, or he may pass it on to one of his brothers and build another structure for him and his wife. The newly married couple will usually build a single new structure, a bedroom, and will continue to share the communal structures, kitchen, and madafeh with the extended family, only building their own additional structures as their family grows. These new structures are generally built by the son around 20 meters distant from the existing extended family buildings. A more distant relative, such as a cousin, would maintain an even greater distance of around 50 meters. These building practices are instituted in order to provide both families with privacy. The topography of the site plays a large role in the location of the structures.

The Bedouin do not build their structures such that the openings face other families, but rather organize structures to create the maximum degree of privacy. It is commonly known that it is unacceptable to build in between the residence of the family and the residence of the son; therefore structures of extended families (the parents and their children) are usually clustered close to each other. Currently the Bedouin of the East Jerusalem periphery tend
to build closer to one another; this is due mainly to the imposed limitations on building, demolition orders, and harassment from settlers. While this was previously considered unacceptable, they now cluster closer together both due to these limitations as well as for greater security. The average number of persons living in one household is 6.6, which is above the Palestinian average of 5.5\(^{41}\). (See Box 7, Page 45) This ranges from small to young families of two or three people, to larger extended families of up to thirty-three. The average density of these communities is 7.13 person per 100 square meters.

The maximum density occurs in Wadi el A’waj with 13 person per 100 square meters, and the minimum is at Khan el Ahmar Southwest with 4 person per 100 square meters (See Box 8, Page 45). While originally the structures of the Bedouin in this region were tents, built from material created by spinning and weaving goat hair, their buildings are nowadays mainly clad with thin wood or zinc panels and sheeting materials and supported by wood or metal poles. The structures often leave areas of the façade open, and do not feature any fixed doors or windows. Plastic is stretched over the structures where necessary to prevent water infiltration. The roofs are constructed from similar materials. The structures do not have any proper foundations and the ground surface is generally simply flattened and overlaid with a layer of compressed base-course, and then covered with carpets.

In addition to residential structures, some of the Bedouin communities contain public buildings as well, including mosques and schools. Khan el Ahmar North East is the only community with its own mosque, and it is used by nearby Bedouin communities such as Khan el Ahmar South West (locally known as Abu Felah). Most communities have a building called the almadedeh, or public guest house, where the men meet to discuss community matters. In communities that do not have an almadedeh, the Madafeh in the village headman’s house serves in this capacity. These buildings can be large, and generally hold up to twenty or twenty-five people. Temporary structures are built to house wedding festivities.

\(^{41}\) Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS), 2007.
The Spatial and Material Composition of Bedouin Communities

- Bedouin homes are generally built as separate small structures clustered around an open area.
- The average number of people per household is 6.6.
- The average density is 7.13 people per 100 square meters.
- Common building materials include wood, zinc sheets, and plastic.
- The communities have little connection to municipal services, and must receive assistance from UNRWA refugee services.
- The average number of structures used to house animals is 33 per community.

Wadi el A’waj
The Bedouin Community with the Highest Density

The community that exhibits the highest density is that of Wadi el A’waj, at 13 people per 100 square meters. This community is composed of five distinct families from the al Jahalin Salamat clan: Bseis, Abu Eweida, Sayayla, Le Hjoj, and Erhaiel. Many residents who were forced to relocate to the Arab el Jahalin ‘al Jabal’ site near al Eizarieh are originally from this community. They are also from the Salamat clan, but belong to the family groups of: al Hersh, le Hjoj, Salamat, and Abu Ghalieh. While most of those now living at al Jabal had to completely abandon their livelihood as herders, many at Wadi el A’waj continue this tradition. Of the 26 employed people at Wadi el A’waj, 8 continue to make a living through livestock, and the others works as laborers, mostly in al Eizarieh. Still, the women and children in these families continue to engage in tending to the livestock; the average number of livestock is 21 heads per family.
Education

The provision of proper education has been difficult for the Bedouin communities. Ironically, when they build more permanent type structures from materials such as concrete, this draws the attention of Israeli groups who call for their demolition. School structures therefore tend to be makeshift, and at times classes for some of the grades take place outside of the school buildings. This clearly does not provide an ideal setting for education, especially when students are forced to take their classes outdoors in the sun or the rain.

At present, only three communities have built their own schools: the Khan el Ahmar North East ‘Abu el Helw’ Community school holds classes from the first to the sixth grades (See Box 9, Page 47); the Abu Hindi Community School holds classes from the first to the ninth grades; and the Abu Nuwar community has a kindergarten. This kindergarten served fifty children, while the twenty-one Bedouin communities have 714 children under the age of six. Teachers for the community schools come from nearby towns and cities such as Abu Dis, al Eizarieh, as Sawahra ash Sharqieh, and Ramallahln.

Most children must travel to nearby areas for education, generally from the sixth grade on; they attend schools in Jericho, Aqbat Jaber, Anata, al Eizarieh and az Z’aiem. (See Map 12, for the location of these schools and the routes of travel taken by children in the Bedouin communities to schools in near Palestinian localities.)

At least partly as a result of the lack of an educational infrastructure, only a few members of the 23 communities have attended university, and only sixty-six have finished high school. The drop-out rate is high, with 34% of students between the ages of 6 to 20 not completing their education (a total of 358 students, 55% of which are female). Most of the males leave school during the 8th grade, generally to assist with herding activities, and females may drop out just after completing elementary school.
The Khan el Ahmar School

The school in the Khan el Ahmar North East ‘Abu el Helw’ community was built in 2009 with the help of the Italian NGO Vento Di Terra (Wind of Earth), and local NGOs. This eco-friendly building was constructed using car tires and mud. In August 2011, a settler organization from the neighbouring settlement of Kfar Adumin filed a petition in the Israeli High Court of Justice requesting that the Court compel the Israeli Civil Administration and the Ministry of Defence to demolish the school. The Attorney General's office submitted a formal response to the court on 19 April 2012 specifying that the Minister of Defence has decided to move the school from its current location to another one. The minister instructed the relevant authorities to try and find an alternative suitable location to the school and to implement the relocation in the upcoming months. Therefore the demolition of the school is on hold for the time being, and it will only be demolished when a new school is built, or possibly even at the end of the current school year.

[Box 9]
Health

Though many of the inhabitants of the communities have UN welfare cards which entitle them to health services, most still make use of health services provided by Palestinian National Authority (PNA) since 57% have Intifada Insurance and another 14% have PNA insurance. Only 19% use the health services provided by the UN, in addition to 6% which have and use both the UN and the PNA services. Only 3% of the studied population does not have any type of health insurance (See Figure 10). There are no local health care centers in any of the community areas so they must go to Jericho, Aqbet Jaber, Anata, Abu Dis, al Eizarieh, and az Z’aiem for treatment. They also use the hospital in Jericho, mainly for maternity care. The mobile al Eslah Clinic offers the community health services once per month. (See Map 13)

Infrastructure And Services

Most communities receive water service from the PNA or the Israeli Mikorot network, which charges the PNA. Others have water delivered in tanks, and one community uses a nearby spring for all of its needs. Additionally, communities may have their own informal plumbing infrastructure, consisting of a shallow network of pipes, which run to all households. Electricity is minimal and is generally provided through a PNA connection, or by using diesel-operated generators. Electricity is mainly used to provide lighting, as most communities have few appliances which require electricity, other than small fridges or fans; 28% of the communities have no electricity (See Figure 11).

The communities create little waste, especially in comparison to urban populations. Their solid waste management system involves the separation of organic solid waste, some of which is burned, fed to the animals, or thrown into a local dumpsite in the valley. The average solid waste, other than the organic waste, is 0.26 kg. per capita per day. This is minimal when compared to the Palestinian average of 0.50 – 1.00 kg. per capita per day, or the Israeli average of 1.80 kg (See Figure 13). The communities are not connected to a sewerage system, so some of the households use a modified cesspool, or a system of 2-inch diameter hoses which carry sewage to be discharged in nearby valleys. According to the residents of al Kassarat, Khan el Ahmar SE, and Khan el Ahmar SW, several communities suffer from local environmental pollution due to the discharge of waste into the valleys from the nearby Kfar Adumim Israeli settlement and from the nearby quarry. Although this is illegal under Israeli law, these settlements get away with this by discharging the waste after working hours and on Saturdays.

In general, the communities are not well-connected to transportation services, and only a few vehicles, twenty-eight cars in total, are owned by residents. The highest number of cars, seven, is owned by the al Muntar community (See Box 10, Page 50), but generally most communities have at most one car and/or one tractor for the use of all residents.
The Bedouin described here are semi-nomadic communities which, until recently, have depended mainly on livestock for their daily provisions and livelihood. Traditionally they have enjoyed the lifestyle of roaming with their herds, and they appreciate the life of freedom that it offers. While the twenty-one communities described here formerly depended almost exclusively on herding and periodic cultivation of wheat and tobacco, since the onset of limitations of movement from the late 1970s onwards, many Bedouin have had to stop farming and sell a large percentage of their herds in order to survive economically. Across Area C, this traditional pastoralist livelihood remained viable in the 1970s and 1980s, but became increasingly difficult from the 1990s onward. According to a 2010 UNRWA report, while subsistence on livestock continues to be possible in Areas A and B of the West Bank, it is “reaching a point of collapse” in Area C. This certainly seems to be the case with the twenty-one Bedouin communities examined here, who together previously owned around 17,000 animals, and have seen that number reduced in recent years to 12,824: or a reduction of 33%. Still, this will be a difficult number to maintain at the proposed relocation site.

Generally today most families own only enough livestock to meet their household needs for dairy products, and the reduced herds often do not suffice for any additional production of milk or cheese for sale. Thus the restricted access to grazing lands has had a major impact on the ability of the Bedouin to provide for their families using their skills and knowledge of livestock. Another significant economic setback has been the loss of access to the Jerusalem market after 2000, where they had previously sold their goods and produce; this has affected their ability to engage in trade. Subsequently, they have found alternatives in markets at Jericho, Aqbet Jaber, Anata, Abu Dis, al Eizarieh, and az Z’aiem. Now many men from these communities work in the industrial zone, Mishor Adumim, and in the nearby Ma’ale Adumim settlement. They also work in nearby Palestinian localities such as Abu Dis and Jericho, generally employed as construction workers, agricultural workers, or laborers.

Currently there are 332 residents, from all of the communities combined, who are unemployed (this number includes all men above the age of 15, not in school and capable of work). There are 402 who are currently working; 3 of whom are women (2 teachers and one janitor). Thus the unemployment rate is 42%, although this does not take into account the women who play a large role in herding and producing dairy products. Currently 113 out of 332 people engage full time in herding, which is 34% of the employment profile. In Wadi el A’waj for instance 18 are full time herders; this consists of 60% of the people currently working, or 44% of the workforce in the community. Similarly in al Hathrora community, 17 work in herding out of 28 currently working and out of a workforce of 48 residents. In the communities Khan el Ahmar SW (Abu Odeh), Nkheila North and Abu Nuwar there are no inhabitants working in herding (See Box 11, Page 51). The bulk of the employed residents work in nearby Israeli

---

42 UNRWA, 2010.
settlements or in the industrial zone at Mishor Adumim, while the rest are employed in nearby Palestinian localities (See Figure 12).

While 34% of these residents continue to make a living from livestock, the majority of 53% work as laborers. The remaining 13% work in a range of professions, including tourism, farming, and teaching. Despite the difficulties in making a living solely from livestock, many Bedouin families continue to raise animals. In those family groups that do keep animals, a small number of people in the family, are engaged in their care in terms of full-time herding work. Women continue to play a large role in taking care of the remaining animals and making the dairy products and children are still instructed in animal care as well; among those families with animals, this remains an intrinsic part of their upbringing.

**Current Projects**

In the last several years, since 2007, various organizations have stepped in to address the needs of the Bedouin, especially in order to address their compromised ability to find viable economic opportunities. OCHA and UNRWA have been leading efforts that focus on the humanitarian concerns of herding communities in Area C by advocating against forced displacement, offering free legal advice, providing mobile health clinics, and distributing food, subsidized fodder and water43. Oxfam Italia, with the support of the EU, has recently instituted a program that seeks to empower the community by offering vocational courses and training that will diversify household income opportunities through traditional food products and crafts; and the Jahalin Association aims to offer legal advocacy, health care, and to raise awareness of the plight of these Bedouin communities facing displacement44.

---

**The al Muntar Community**

The largest Bedouin community in the area to the east of Jerusalem is that of al Muntar. They are are widely dispersed across. They are clustered in six different areas in this site, and are generally grouped together by family where each group consists of one or two extended families. There are also two groups of non-Bedouin living in this community, and they live adjacent to each other on the site.

---

44 http://jahalin.org
The Khan el Ahmar Communities

There are five communities in Khan el Ahmar: Khan el Ahmar North East (locally known as Abu el Helw), Khan el Ahmar North (locally known as Abu erRa'ed), Khan el Ahmar North West (locally known as Abu Ibrahim), Khan el Ahmar South West (locally known as Abu Fallah) and Khan el Ahmar South East (locally known as Abu ‘Odeh). About 80 families compose a residential population of 572 people (51% are females). There are more than 300 children under the age of 15. The population of the five communities is mostly from the Abu Dahouk clan (67%), and the Saray’a clan, both from the al Jahalin tribe. While they once owned over 4000 head of livestock, they now own just a little above 1000 head. The average population growth rate is 6.53%, and the average number of people per household is 7.24. Within these communities there are a total of 67 people working, 11 of whom work in herding livestock. 45 work as manual laborers, and more than half of this number are employed in the industrial zone of Mishor Adumim and nearby settlements. These communities suffer from a lack of access to basic services such as electricity and water. They survive by using generators or solar cells, and two of the communities have absolutely no connection to a water supply, necessitating the delivery of water in tanks.
Living Preferences

Finally, this survey assessed the living preferences of the twenty-one Bedouin communities in terms of their attitudes about moving to a new location, preferred housing type, and employment sought. When asked during the household survey\textsuperscript{45} about their desire to either settle down or to move, it was found that 75\% of inhabitants would prefer to settle in permanent communities, and only 13\% would not mind relocation (See Figure 14). In terms of housing type, 71\% wanted permanent homes, built from stone or concrete block, connected to essential infrastructure like water, electricity, and a sewage system, as well as accessible roads. Twenty Percent indicated no preference in terms of type of structure, but were also interested in access to better services (See Figure 15). In terms of work, more than half of the families expressed a preference for the providers of the family to seek employment in order to bring money into the family, even if this means working outside of the community. Twenty Percent of the families would like to maintain their livelihood in livestock and herding, and would prefer to have access to grazing fields and water sources (See Figure 16).

\textsuperscript{45}These questions were added following the survey in the first community (Khan el Ahmar NE, locally known as Abu el Helw), and thus only the remaining twenty-two communities, including 372 families, were asked these questions.
Figure 11: Access to water and electricity

Figure 12: Work by location and by profession

Figure 13: Solid waste in kg per capita per day
Figure 14: Preference in terms of movement

Figure 15: Preference in terms of housing type

Figure 16: Preference of work
Water tank in Abu Nuwar Bedouin community
Sample of living section in the Bedouin's home
Sample of Bedouin’s kitchen
Map 7: Topography map
Map 9: Annual mean temperature
Map II: Total population and gender ratio
Map 13: Access to health
Results
Results

As this report has illustrated, the displacement of the Bedouin involves more than just the question of the expulsion of communities from a territory desired by the Israeli authorities. The loss of access to Palestinian land and the expulsion of Bedouin communities from the E1 area have been well documented from a legal perspective. It represents the potential destruction of a unique social, cultural, and economic system defining a particular way of life that has developed over centuries in close relation to a specific kind of landscape.

How can these communities be enabled to preserve their way of life. This is really a question of how to preserve a culture that is in danger of disappearing. Certainly change is inevitable; these twenty-one communities have been living in the urban periphery of Jerusalem ever since their expulsion from the Negev, as early as 1951, and their communities have witnessed many changes since that time. Nonetheless, they have still managed to maintain a connection to their traditions and this is strongly related to the fact that these traditions are deeply entangled with their unique relationship to the landscape. While they are nowadays more connected to permanent communities since their children are enrolled in schools there, and they are more closely tied in to local economies – they have still managed to preserve certain aspects of their previous lifestyle. Most communities still maintain herds, and their children still learn how to tend to the animals and make traditional food staples. They continue to build their homes as a series of open and separate structures dispersed across the site, in a configuration that is suitable to their needs; and they still maintain a sustainable relationship with the landscape in which they live. Yet, if these communities are again forcefully displaced to the proposed Abu Dis site, even these already compromised tendons of connection to their traditional way of life will be severed.

Proposed Bedouin Relocation Site

Relocation to the proposed site (1627/4/05) near the Abu Dis waste disposal site would further compromise the ability of the Bedouin to maintain a connection to their traditional manner of dwelling and livelihood. The small plots provided would not accommodate their manner of building, outlined below, nor would it allow them to continue to keep even small herds of livestock. Their herds might be thought of as a form of capital, in that the animals reproduce every year and serve as a source of revenue. This investment is then essentially completely liquidated when the animals are sold. Additionally, the ownership of the land on which the Bedouin are to be relocated is not uncontested. While Israel considers this area to fall under the definition of “state lands,” Palestinian residents of Abu Dis claim ownership of this area. This puts additional pressure on these Palestinians who have already seen a drastic reduction in their property and resources, and could lead to negative consequences for their relationship with the Bedouin, who are also uncomfortable about settling on land belonging to someone else.

The land to which the Bedouin will be relocated is unsuitable for a number of reasons related
to their lifestyle and economic needs. In addition, the proposed land is unsuitable for any kind of residential inhabitation. The proposed plan (1627/4/05), aims to concentrate some of the Bedouin in an urban site and would place the residential structures of these communities as close as only 150 meters from the garbage dump, which is completely unsuitable for health and safety requirements. The Israeli state has confirmed that this is an unstable site, stating that “it should be emphasized that a collapse is liable to cause a severe environmental risk and even endanger human life”\(^ \text{46} \). Regarding the proposed plan for the Bedouin, a member of the Israeli Higher Planning Council (IHPC) stated that the site is “explosive and liable to cause great damage,” and that “it is irresponsible to put people there.”

Nonetheless, the IHPC approved the plan, claiming that while there may be risks associated with the site, there are reasonable ways of dealing with them\(^ \text{47} \). The political scientist James Scott has described the state’s approach to nomadic and semi-nomadic people as one that has historically attempted to force legibility on these populations through sedentarization. This approach was executed, in part, as officials translated local land practices and tenure customs into a standard system. He refers to these practices as akin to “abridged maps,” which, “when allied with state power, would enable much of the reality they depicted to be remade”\(^ \text{48} \).

In the case of the Bedouin, attempts to relocate these communities must be viewed within the context of the creation of a desired future Israeli state map. The twenty-three Bedouin communities described in this report are an obstacle to the future expansion of the Ma’ale Adummim settlement to the east of Jerusalem and Israeli development plans for the E1 area. While such emi-nomadic populations, which live in close relation to the land, can be seen as rendering explicit the connections between man and nature, in this case, these connections are being dissolved in order to facilitate division.

Figure 17, represents a cross section of the Palestinian topography spreading 27 km from the west to the east at the level of Bargiyat Jerusalem. It shows the unique topography of this area which starts from the eastern mountains of Jerusalem at 700 meters asl and ends with the Dead sea 400m below sea level. The figure also reflects the diversity of the urban fabric and cultural nature of the Palestinian society which varies from urban in the west changing to rural and then to nomadic in the west. The diversity fits in harmony with the climate variability ranging from the Mediterranean climate to desert climate.

In summary, the proposed plan for relocating the twenty-three Bedouin communities is unsuitable as described before. The survey has shown a set of needs for these communities which requires an immediate interventions that will be explained next chapter (See Box 12, Page 70).

\(^{46}\) High Court of Justice 10611/08 (emphasis in the original), quoted in BIMKOM and B’Tselem, 2009 pp.45.


\(^{48}\) Scott, 1998 pp.2-3.
Figure 17: Urban to rural ecological cross section
**Needs Assessment of the Twenty-one Bedouin Communities in East Jerusalem**

- Better connections are required to basic infrastructure such as electricity and water for those who currently do not have access to these services (solar cells can serve as a viable alternative to electricity connections).
- More access is required to basic services such as health care and education, especially kindergarten facilities.
- More bus stops need to be provided along Road One to enable easier transportation connections for children to get to school, and for workers to reach their areas of employment in nearby towns and settlements.
- The livelihood needs of the Bedouin must be better addressed in order to enable them to continue to make a living through the raising of livestock. This requires easier access to grazing lands, access corridors to nearby pasture lands and water sources, and the provision of subsidized fodder where necessary.
- The condition of instability and uncertainty with which these communities are living should be alleviated through the immediate halting of demolitions and pressure of displacement from the ICA.
- Residents should be allowed to expand their homes with new structures to accommodate family expansion without being required to apply for building permits.
Proposed relocation site (dumpsite)
5
The Experience of the Displaced Bedouins
The condition of the community now living in the Arab el Jahalin ‘al Jabal’ site, just on the edge of al Eizarieh, provides evidence as to what such a future might entail. The Bedouin living here are originally from Tal Erad. They are all from the al Jahalin Salamat clan, and by 1967 some of them settled in Abu as Suwwan, Um el Ga- layeen and Bir el Manfokh, and another group settled in Wadi el A’waj, living on private land through arrangements with the owners from al Eizarieh (See Box 13, Page 75). They were forced to move to this location due to the expansion of Ma’ale Adumim in 1996 and again in 1998. They were given land for 200 families, as well as permit to build on these lots. The al Jabal site today presents a range of living conditions: including small structures built from wood and zinc sheets, alongside a number of brick and stone homes, strung together by narrow twisting dirt lanes. In general the building materials of the homes reflect the economic situation of the family in that those who could afford to do so, built using brick and stone. However, this does not tell the whole story, since some residents have had to sell all of their livestock in order to finance the construction of these permanent homes, and are now struggling to find means to make a living. Many residents of this site must now work as laborers and they no longer work as herders. The unemployment rate in the community is high at 50%.

Today the community also consists of the Abu Horayra Mosque built in 2011, and a committee building that includes a health clinic run by the PNA and a youth club. There are four small grocery stores in al Jabal, with owners from the community, but many residents must get most of their groceries in al Eizareh. They also share a cemetery with other refugees in al Eizareh (See Box 14, Page 76).

The first group was forcefully migrated to al Jabal, “the mountain”, in 1997 after losing the legal battle to remain in their previous location. Sixty-three families were brought to the site at night; the men were arrested while the women, children, and livestock were dropped off in several locations in al Jabal. They were previously living in what was known as area 06 in Ma’ale Adumim, where they farmed the land in the winter raising wheat, barley, and beans, paying the land owners a share from the crop. The second group was relocated in 1998 from Wadi Sney- sel, now know as area 07 in Ma’ale Adumim, after signing an agreement with the ICA through their attorney Shlomo Lecker.

An agreement was reached with the ICA in 1997 whereby families were given the lease for plots of land for 49 years, which can then be renewed for another 49 years. The plots were about 450 square meters in size. Families of up to six members were given one plot of land and 32,000 NIS (around $7,000) as compensation for their demolished homes and the animals that died during the transfer. Families with more than six members were given two plots of land.

The people who were forced to move in 1996 (according to the inhabitants of al jabal it was in early January, 1997) and 1998 were given a small amount of compensation ranging from 15,000 to 30,000 NIS. Around fifty families excepted this offer at the time (Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, 2007 p.18).
and 56,000 NIS (around $13,000) as compensation. The agreement with the ICA also included the provision of roads, water and electricity connections for each plot, and land for public buildings. However only a few houses were provided with water connections and electricity connection was later provided by the PNA. The empty plots for the public areas have been left empty, and they remain rocky and full of wild, thorny plants. The roads provided by the ICA are mostly simple dirt roads, and while they were planned to be sixteen meters in width, they are only around four meters wide. Additionally, a 1998 agreement with the ICA provided grazing land that the community could use in the spring months, however, the Bedouin have never been allowed access to this area.

Small plots of land were provided to Bedouins, ranging from 500 to 1000 square meters, residents are unable to continue to build in the sprawling manner to which they are accustomed. They report discomfort with this situation, since they are used to having much more privacy and freedom when it comes to living arrangements. Some residents now have to share structures, such as kitchen buildings, with other families: a situation that puts new pressures on family and clan relations. Quarrels between neighbours have resulted from the close proximity of the plots to each other, and also because the residents are not accustomed to having windows opening on to their neighbours’ windows. Residents have stated that the Madafeh has lost it meaning here, and it is no longer used as it was in the past for daily gatherings of the men of the family, meeting to discuss family matters. It is now used only occasionally for guests. Residents also expressed a sense of disconnection from the ground, in that children of the family who marry now build their new quarters on another story above the parents’ home, rather than building adjacent and separate structures as they had done in the past.

A new kind of structure has appeared at this site in order to deal with the site constraints: two story shelters have been built with a ladder used to access the second story. These structures are built out to the absolute limits of the lots, such that there is barely enough space left to walk between them. A look at a map of the layout of structures at Wadi el A’waj illustrates just how dramatic a contrast exists between their previous manner of dwelling and inhabitation, and the conditions that they must now endure (See Map 14). Additionally, those who received plots from the state that are located in the valley suffer from major problems with water flow from rainfall. As there is no solid waste collection service offered to this community, the residents have mainly relied on their old system of burning waste. This has become quite difficult due to the small sizes of the plots and the proximity of the burning sites to houses and children’s play areas. Thus a significant amount of garbage can be seen stacked at the sides of the plots, creating a potential health hazard.

While they were given plots of land, as well as electrical and plumbing connections by the Israelis, this forced urbanization does not appear to be beneficial for this community, as it does not address in any way their economic development or the social and cultural aspects of their manner of dwelling. Additionally, these resettlement areas do not take into account the projected population growth of the community and their

---

50 Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, 2007 p.9.
need for future expansion areas\textsuperscript{51}. In brief, it can be concluded that the al Jabal community has been given just enough to enable its survival, but there has been no thought given to what they need to be able to thrive. The conditions at the proposed Abu Dis relocation site do not allow in any way for growth or development, but simply provide a site where it is likely that the Bedouin will atrophy in every sense of the word: their homes, their herds, and their connection to the landscape must shrink to fit this narrow space that they have been allocated. Now only able to gaze upon the hills their herds once used to graze, their expansive way of life has been reduced to a minimal state. The twenty-one communities described in this report face a similar future if their proposed displacement by the ICA is allowed to go forward.

\textbf{The Arab el Jahalin ‘al Jabal’ Site}

\begin{itemize}
  \item The residents are originally from Tal Erad, and by 1967 had partially settled in Wadi el A’waj.
  \item They were forced to move to this location due to the expansion of Ma’aleAdumim settlement in 1996 and 1998.
  \item Land plots sizes range from 450 to 1000 square meters, and are rented from the state for forty-nine years, to then be renewed for an additional forty-nine years.
  \item There are about 200 families in the community, or around 1,400 people.
  \item The community has a local committee, The Arab el Jahalin Committee, and a selected representative, or mukhtar.
  \item They built the Abu Horayra Mosque last year, and have an Arab el Jahalin School and a kindergarten, which serves about 40 children.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{51} The proposed resettlement area is on lands that belong to the village of Abu Dis. Before 1967 the village owned around 28,000 dunum; a number that has today been reduced to around 4,000 dunum (Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Campaign, 2008 p.54). The arrival of a large Bedouin community in this area could potentially cause social and economic problems for this community as well, and could easily result in tensions between the Bedouin and the local residents, as they might be seen as a strain on already tight resources.
Problems Faced by the al Jabal Community

• The residents experienced a forced relocation to this site, and are still struggling to acclimateto their new environment.

• The plots given to the inhabitants are too small, and cannot accommodate their previous lifestyle. They are not accustomed to living in such close proximity to neighbors, or in having windows that open onto neighboring homes, and this has resulted in a number of quarrels.

• There is a high dropout rate from school, especially for males, who work as garbage collectors at Ma’aleAdumim from a young age. The school is in bad condition, lacks a social worker, and the children and their families are uncooperative with the teachers and the school.

• Unemployment rates are high: Since many Bedouin did not receive vocational education or training, only having knowledge and skills related to raising livestock, the move to al Jabal caused increased unemployment. Many young people search through the nearby dumpsite for items they can sell for money, with a negative impact on health.

• More than 90% of the residents sold their livestock as there is no place for housing animal shelters on the site, nor is there access to grazing land.

• The current residents fear the displacement and forced relocation of other communities to this site, and the social problems that this will create.

• The municipal dump is located very close to this site, and residents can see and smell it from their homes.

• There is no garbage collection at the site so the residents are forced to burn the garbage, causing problems for all neighboring homes due to their close proximity.

• There is no sewer system at the site, and this is facilitated only by shallow cesspools. Due to the high slopes and steep topography of the site, this causes problems with leaks affecting neighboring properties.

• There is no authority responsible for repairs to the roads or water networks.

• There have been disputes over several empty plots of land, over which ownership has been claimed by residents from Abu Dis.
Map 14: A comparison of the physical environment between Arab al Jahalin and Wadi el Awaj
6

Recommendations
Introduction

The recommendations provided below were arrived at from close examination of the results of the survey and GIS mapping and analysis of the twenty-one Bedouin communities. They take into consideration the basic needs of these communities, the provision of basic services, and are also geared towards conserving, as much as possible, the Bedouin lifestyle. Planning for Bedouin communities must take into account their existing layout and configuration, which is connected to important social and cultural factors, and should also allow for their future development. These communities must be involved in determining their future, and should play a role in the creation of plans that will define their living conditions and manner of livelihood. Such plans need to recognize that Bedouin villages are unique social and cultural formations, and should ensure that spaces are configured in such a way as to allow for a particular set of social relations. The ultimate goal must be to work to prevent the destruction of the unique Bedouin social, cultural, and economic system, which has developed over the centuries in relation to the landscape. This can best be achieved by following the set of guidelines outlined in the following five sections: Immediate Interventions, Maintaining a Bedouin Way of Life, Sustaining Livelihood, Freedom of Choice and Gradual Development, and Wadi el Qilt Cultural Landscape Plan.

Immediate Interventions

In addition to long-term planning strategies for these communities by the PNA with the support of the International organizations, the current situation of the Bedouins and their physical surroundings requires the immediate intervention of UN agencies and the international society for the provision of the minimal conditions required for basic human existence. Currently, inhabitants live in constant fear of displacement, with the threat of demolition looming over them at all times. This creates a constant state of anxiety, which is contrary to the basic human need for physical and psychological security. These inhabitants need assurance that sudden and constant visits by the ICA will cease. International organizations can play an important role in providing this stability by pressuring the Israeli authorities to freeze the demolition orders until a mutual resolution is reached. During this interim period, the inhabitants need to be able to accommodate their new family members and newly married couples, and thus must be enabled to build new structures.

As long as the Bedouin live in their current communities, they need access to vital water and electricity services. Currently 400 Bedouin must still buy their water in tanks, and those who have access to water have no assurance as to how clean it is and more than 730 in the communities are not connected to any source of electricity— not even solar cells. One of the greatest needs in these communities is for kindergartens and playgrounds, since half of the inhabitants are under the age of 14 and they lack facilities for play and recreation. Moreover, while there are nearly 700 children below the age of six, these communities have only one kindergarten, serving only 50 children. They also are in need of health services, or at least a clinic within community premises, one of which should remain open over night. It is estimated that nearly 96% of the inhabitants must use public transportation to commute to nearby locales, and none of...
the communities has a bus stop located nearby. Thus, the children, women, and men must walk on the main roads, which for the most part do not feature sidewalks, and accordingly most public transport vehicles are unable to stop for them. (See Box 9, Page 47, for an assessment of these immediate needs).

Maintain Bedouin Way of Life

Throughout the Palestinian history, the Bedouin have been part of the physical as well as the cultural landscape, enriching and complementing urban Palestinian culture. The Bedouin way of life is strongly and inextricably connected to their origin as pastoral nomads. The term “pastoral nomadism” refers to an extensive land-use system, based on raising livestock and herding them to find fresh pastures for grazing. It is not uncommon for pastoral herding communities to be thought of as isolated, self-sufficient, and lacking contact with other groups in the regional context. Rather, these groups are not as separate as may be believed, but are tied into village and city life due to economic necessity. For many nomadic groups, such economic needs and local opportunities for trade and employment have led to a relationship of economic interaction with farmers and towns, where goods and services are exchanged to mutual benefit. It may not even be accurate to think of these communities as having been purely nomadic. Badu al-rahalah, Arabic for “mobile Bedouin,” suggests that some Bedouin groups were nomadic while others were more sedentary. The Bedouin in Israel and the West Bank today are referred to simply as Badu (See Box 15, Page 81).

Increasing evidence suggests that the distinction between nomadic and sedentary is more fluid than previously imagined. Recent research on these communities suggests that they “operate along a continuum of economic and social activities” which vary throughout the year depending on the need for pastoral activities or the availability of other opportunities. Yet, even if these groups are settled in more permanent structures, they remain connected to “a persistent nomadic identity even in the context of residential stability,” whereby this essential component of mobility continues to inform the community’s social structures. Suleyman Khalaf suggests that the Bedouin have been undergoing a process of transformation in which “They are adjusting their material and political life to rapidly changing modern conditions and yet they continue to respect and adhere to a range of traditions that help them define and perpetuate their ethnic integrity, their Bedouin-ness.” Planning by both the Israelis and the Palestinians for these communities must take this into account, and cannot address their needs in the same way as other, more settled, Arab populations (See Box 16, Page 82).

---

52 For instance, the work of Salzman describes the large number of non-herding activities engaged in by nomads in Iran, which include: gathering activities, raising of crops, trading, wage labor, and service as guides (Salzman, 2000). Cole refers to this socioeconomic system as “complex and multifaceted.” It included household, kin-ordered, tributary, and mercantile modes of production, where “no single mode was dominant; they were all present in varying degrees” (Cole, 2003 p.240).
53 Szuchman, 2009 p.3.
54 Ibid.
Maintaining a Bedouin Way of Life

- While the Bedouin living to the east of Jerusalem are living in a fairly settled and sedentary condition, planning for these communities must pay attention to certain nomadic aspects of their culture which they continue to maintain, even when living in permanent settlements.
- Bedouin communities are a crucial part of the Palestinian cultural landscape, contributing to diversity of the social, cultural and physical environment.
- The Bedouin way of life imposes a minimal burden on the state and its services, and their sustainable living and herding practices have minimal negative impact on the environment.
- When allowed to engage in their traditional economic practices, the Bedouin are productive people. But the experience of the Bedouin who were forcibly relocated to the al Jabal site illustrates that they become less productive and more dependent once fully urbanized.

Currently more than 50% of the world’s population is urbanized, and it is expected that about 70% will be urbanized by 2030, leading to further impacts on the environment. The Bedouins’ self-sufficient lifestyle imposes the minimal burden on the state and its services. Furthermore, the Bedouin in general live in a sustainable manner with minimal impact on the environment. When allowed to engage in their traditional economic practices, Bedouins are productive people. Yet, as the experience of the Bedouin who were forcibly relocated to the al Jabal site illustrates, they become less productive and more dependent once completely urbanized.

Throughout history Bedouin have inhabited valleys and natural reserves without harming the environment or permanently changing the landscape. Their system of livestock management was generally practiced in regions with little arable land. In some regions, animal herders have gained a bad reputation for following destructive land management practices, but traditional pastoral nomads cause almost no degradation to the environment. The unfavourable reputation has come about in part due to the difficulty that planners and state land management authorities have had in understanding the dynamic nature of this system of pastoralism. In reality, traditional herding practices have little adverse impact on the environment, in large part because the size of the herds and their mobility between pastures generally do not place local resources under prolonged pressure. This is a system that is beneficial both to the herders and local farmers; when herds graze on fallow agricultural land, the soil benefits from manure deposits, which return valuable nitrogen to the soil (See Box 17, Page 83). Additionally, local populations can also benefit from the wild plants provided by nomadic groups for eating or medicinal purposes, and from the knowledge that nomadic groups may have of local flora and fauna. Through this system of pastoralism, the Bedouin provide important food products to consumers in the Jerusalem area, including good quality dairy products and mutton, which is much needed since currently only about 25% of the red meat consumed in the West Bank is produced there.

60 Recently, established herders have looked to pastoral nomadic communities for knowledge and advice on herding practices, such as with the knowledge exchange between Maasai from Kenya and American ranchers. (Curtin & Western, 2008).
Changes in Planning Approaches to Indigenous Populations

Planning paradigms have changed drastically since previous approaches, where it was believed that residents’ behavior is informed by the spaces in which they resided, and that this behavior could be changed through spatial restructuring. The reorganization of space was seen as a precondition for social restructuring and societal transformation. Recently scholars have described such practices of forced urbanization as “equivalent to destruction,” arguing that it is critical that indigenous people are allowed the right to live in a manner that is consistent with their traditions and, most importantly in the case of the Bedouin, in a manner that facilitates their unique relationship with the land. Indeed current planning discourse suggests that a more participatory approach should be followed, especially when planning for indigenous communities.

A number of recent planning initiatives in the Syag region have attempted to redress the problems created by the imposed conditions of living in the new towns, including the establishment of the Regional Council of Unrecognized Villages in 1998, as well as legal petitions by Bedouin groups. A different solution must be found for planning for Bedouin communities, since the experience with new towns built by the Israelis such as Tel Sheva and Rahat, as well as other settlements built by Arab governments, have proven to be unsuccessful models.

There is a similarity between the Bedouin in Naqab and those in Barriyat Jerusalem; both are indigenous people, coming from the same tribes and culture. And just as the Bedouin in Naqab struggled to achieve equality and equity and to have their right recognized on the land they live on as well as in their existing villages, so too the Bedouin in Barriyat Jerusalem seek to achieve these same goals, in addition to ending the occupation and the de-colonization policies held against them.
Natural Soil Replenishment compared to Synthetic Fertilizers

Natural fertilization through animal manure allows for soil replenishment in a manner that is more sustainable, from both an economic and ecological standpoint, than chemical fertilizers. The use of such methods of fertilization, where farmers introduced manures or compost and relied upon soil microbes to make nitrogen available to plants, were common until the 20th century. Synthetic fertilizers were introduced in the early 1900s, using industrially fixed nitrogen derived from natural gas, and are not sustainable since they rely upon non-renewable fossil fuel sources. Significant environmental damage is also caused as large quantities of nitrates are released, creating “dead zones” in coastal waters. Oxidized forms of nitrogen contribute to smog and acid rain. In contrast, the symbiosis between nomad and farmer allows for natural and sustainable agriculture and livestock rearing that is beneficial to both parties.

Sustaining Livelihood

Maintaining a Bedouin way of life cannot be decoupled from their means of making a living. For the Bedouin, the connection between the community and their livestock penetrated deep into social structures, and it might be said that the household was equated with the herd; and when a household divided so did the herd. Members of the family were involved in all activities related to the animals, and their products were also consumed within the household. Several types of livestock may be herded; the Bedouin communities discussed in this report generally have herds of cattle, sheep or goat, and a few have camels. Raising and herding livestock is central to Bedouin identity, yet their capacity to maintain these practices has been severely curtailed by the enclosure of many grazing lands into military zones and the resultant increase in the cost of providing food for the animals through the purchase of fodder. Thus, raising livestock became a financial burden rather than a provider of profit. Regardless, many families still raise animals.

It is the role of international human rights organizations to pressure the Israeli authorities to allow the Bedouin access to water springs and grazing lands near their communities. Other states in the region have instituted a variety of programs geared towards enabling their resident Bedouin communities to continue their traditional economic practices. For example, in Syria the state created cooperative societies, subsidized fodder for herds, drilled modern wells, and banned plowing of the steppe in an effort to promote natural conservation. This resulted in changes to the kin-based pastoral system of previous years, and the production of mutton.

---

61 See the Stanford Woods Institute for the Environment for more information about synthetic fertilizers. (http://woods.stanford.edu/woods)
62 Cole, 2003 p.239.
was geared towards larger-scale commercial production for Syrian and Gulf cities. But still, this did enable these groups to pursue a livelihood related to their traditional skills and lifestyle. State intervention has also transformed pastoralism in Jordan, but nonetheless, Rowe argues that Bedouin communities are still able to maintain a "continuity with tradition." They continue to eat a diet based around products from their own household animals, and social organization remains based around kinship. (See Box 18). The Bedouin continue to prefer pasture-feeding their herds, which they believe contributes to the health of the animals and improves the quality of their milk.

Superior Nutritional Profile of Grass-Fed Dairy Products

Research at the Harvard School of Public Health by Hannia Campos has shown that milk from grass-fed cattle has a superior nutritional profile compared to milk from cattle fed on fodder. Grass-fed cattle produce milk with five times the amount of an unsaturated fat called conjugated linoleic acid (CLA). CLA is beneficial to heart health. Campos told Reuters that "because pasture grazing leads to higher CLA in milk, and it is the natural feed for cattle, it seems like more emphasis should be given to this type of feeding."

Sustaining Livelihood

The Palestinian Authorities through all its institutional bodies with the support of the international organizations and UN agencies should plan for the needs of the Bedouin;

- The planning cannot be accomplished simply through a plan that delineates plots, residences, and roadways, but it is crucial that the livelihood needs of the Bedouin also be considered, also
- The communities require access to grazing lands and to water springs which can only be accomplished by the International organizations, as well as
- Subsidies by the PNA on animal fodder are required.
- The Bedouin need access to markets where they can sell their meat and dairy products, including the development of seasonal spring bazaar.
- Cultural tourism initiatives can be instituted which spread awareness about the Bedouin culture by bringing student and university groups to these communities, and through longer overnight stays which include participation in traditional Bedouin household activities.
- The provision of vocational training by the UN agencies is required to allow Bedouins to find work in fields other than basic labor.
The PNA can assist the Bedouin in the East Jerusalem periphery by providing subsidies on animal fodder, enabling them to continue to rear and benefit from their livestock. The Ministry of Health should educate the Bedouins on hygienic practices and impose health codes on the dairy products they produce. With the help of the PNA and supporting NGOs the Bedouin can organize seasonal spring bazaars to present and sell their products. The Bedouins in their current locations should be included within the Ministry of Tourism’s cultural tourism plans as a unique indigenous culture. This will allow them to benefit from tourism initiatives such as visits by students groups and overnight stays. UNRWA can assist by providing vocational training for Bedouins who did not complete their education, and who need to find sources of income other than herding. This will enable them to find work in fields other than labor. (See Box 19, Page 84)

Freedom of Choice and Gradual Development

The Bedouin communities described in this report have lived in the peripheries of East Jerusalem since the early 1950’s. Ever since their forced eviction from Tel Erad, they have been located here, even before the Israeli occupation of this area in 1967 and prior to the establishment of Israeli settlements in the 1970s. Therefore, national and international mediation efforts should be focused around allowing them the right to choose how and where they would like to live. They must be given the right to participate in determining their future, and must be consulted in regards to decisions made about their communities.

The Bedouin must be allowed to maintain, as much as possible, the connections they have made with local communities and regional networks. They should not be treated as nomads who can easily be shuffled to new sites, disconnecting their relationship with their sites of residence. They have the right to develop their communities and way of life, and to keep pace with civilization without being forcibly urbanized. Any future development of the Bedouin way of life should be the result of a gradual process, one that will allow them to maintain social and cultural continuity between generations and allow for the transmission of cultural practices and traditions.

It is clear that the connections between people and the places where they have dwelt are extremely important in terms of collective meanings, belonging and identity – which inform peoples’ attachment to particular landscapes. It can be argued that due to the Bedouin system of clan and tribal relationships related to particular lands, and their long-standing economic dependency on land-based forms of production, that their attachment to the broader region in which they dwell is stronger than urban populations. In the case of the Bedouin, attachment to place must also be viewed in light of particular attitudes toward family and clan lands and the idea of hamula in Arab communities. The hamula is a unit within societies that is based around family relationships. For the Bedouin, this notion of hamula can be equated to the ashira, or clan.

Palestinians remain connected to the villages and lands of their hamula, even when they move elsewhere for work or education opportunities, and most maintain connection with their original

67 The number of people belonging to a hamula can vary, and at times an entire village can be from the same hamula. Its members will generally live in the same quarter of the village, from which that quarter takes its name. The hamula provides protection and security, it is an important social grouping, and disputes and quarrels are often settled by the head of the hamula (Baer, 1964 pp.169-70).
places of origin and the their ancestral lands, if they are still accessible. Especially due to the loss of many Palestinian villages and lands after 1948 and 1967, it can be said that the attachment to land has intensified. While they may not ‘own’ land in the traditional sense, the Bedouin also hold a strong sense of belonging to particular areas, and similar to Palestinian communities, are not willing to forsake these lands. (See Box 20)

Rassem Khamaisi has argued that for the Arab populations of Israel belonging and attachment to place are defined along several lines of affiliation: family, clan, tribe, locality, and region. As such, these communities are closely attached to certain localities, and prefer not to move to new areas.

Khamaisi argues that planners working in these communities are thus more restricted in terms of the allocation of housing, which must be apportioned within a more limited regional framework than other societies, in which mobility is more common. Yet, in Israel planning policies have not addressed this reality, and additionally, these policies do not differentiate between the needs of different groups within the Arab community, such as the Bedouin, and plans are developed without regard to the geographic location, religious affiliation, or lifestyles of these communities. Planning for these communities should examine their unique spatial, cultural, and economic needs, and allow for alternatives for their development that do not necessitate displacement or urbanization. (See Box 16, Page 82)

---

**Freedom of Choice and Gradual Development**

- The International organizations and the UN agencies should support the Bedouin of Barriyat Jerusalem right to choose their sites of dwelling and way of life.
- These organizations should support the Bedouin’s right to be consulted about decisions regarding their communities, and be actively involved in determining their future.
- This support should extent to allow the Bedouin to maintain, as much as possible, the connections they have made with local communities and regional networks. They should not be treated as nomads who can easily be shuffled to new sites, disconnecting their relationship with their sites of residence.
- These communities have the right to develop and keep pace with civilization without becoming urbanized.
- Alterations to the Bedouin way of life should be seen as a process of development, rather than change; and this must proceed gradually in order to maintain social and cultural continuity between generations, and to allow for the transmission of cultural traditions.

---

68 Khamaisi – 2012
Wadi el Qilt Cultural Landscape Plan and Bedouin Involvement

The nomination of Wadi el Qilt, and the resident East Jerusalem Bedouin communities, for designation and protection through UNESCO as a mixed cultural and natural heritage area is recommended (See Box 21, Page 88). The term “cultural landscape” has been defined by UNESCO’s World Heritage Committee as distinct geographical areas which uniquely “represent the combined work of nature and man”69. The east-west corridor of the Wadi el Qilt region, along with the band of existing Bedouin communities running just to the south of this area (See Map 15) can fall into the UNESCO category of an “organically evolved landscape,” and the subcategory of a “continuing landscape” which: “retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time”70.

It is clear that the social and cultural practices and history of the Bedouin are intrinsically connected to the landscape. Their unique manner of living has been developed over many generations, and this cannot be detached from their traditional economies of herding, dairy production, and seasonal agriculture. Like many seminomadic communities, the Bedouin of Palestine have developed these practices along the peripheries of urban and semi-urban areas, and their economies are dependent on these relationships. Their presence has also enriched and contributed to the life of the nearby towns and cities, as they have for many years provided animal products and traded with these population centers. Additionally, they have played an important role in the ecological relationship between the city and the surrounding open areas.

In order to nominate and designate this site as a mixed cultural and natural heritage area, we believe that a thorough survey and documentation of the Wadi el Qilt area is required: including all its monuments, caves, natural features, water sources, and plant and animal life. In the meantime, the Ministry of Culture can take an active role in supporting Bedouin culture by promoting excursions to Wadi el Qilt and the surrounding area, and engaging the resident Bedouin communities through:

1. The organization of Bedouin Cultural Nights.

2. The organization of cultural and educational visits to the Bedouin communities for school and university groups, visitors from nearby cities, and tourists.

3. The organization of hiking trips that include Bedouin communities in their itineraries as rest points along the hike.

4. The creation of living museums in the Bedouin communities, where traditional Bedouin tools and cultural objects can be displayed in a traditional Bedouin tent structure. This will provide opportunities for both tourists as well as young Bedouins to learn about the culture.

The area of Wadi el Qilt presents an outstanding diverse environmental, natural, and cultural landscape, with many features of historical significance and aesthetic value. It is important to take action to protect the area, and for it to be considered for designation by UNESCO as mixed cultural and natural heritage site (See Box 22, Page 89). Wadi el Qilt is a unique site with features that cannot be found elsewhere. It encompasses an area of around 6,000 dunum (6 km²) and runs west from Jericho towards the Jerusalem periphery, lying just to the north of Road One, along which many of the Bedouin communities are based. This diverse and exquisite environment features natural and manmade monuments and is located between Jerusalem, a city holy to the three Abrahamic religions, and Jericho, which is one of the oldest cities in the world. It is located in the region that is the only livable spot on earth lying below sea level. Additionally, the uniqueness of this site is enriched by its indigenous inhabitants — the Palestinian Bedouins — who contribute to this cultural landscape. While it lies near a major road that connects the west and the east of the region, due to the topography of the area and its many mountains and valleys, it remains an oasis far away from the noise and the pollution of the city.

This site has been designated as an “important archeological area” by the Palestinian Natural Authority, and has around 180 sites of outstanding universal value including several important archeological sites dating back to the Byzantine period, natural springs, and wildlife. The topography is terraced by natural rock and cave formations, a sharply inclined valley, and evergreen trees. Elevations range from 200 meters below to 800 meters above sea level. The presence of water and shade has been attractive for Bedouin, who have used the many natural caves and shelters spread along the valley. In addition to this active use by Bedouin, the site also maintains traces of many layers of previous periods of inhabitation. Small shelters and ruins from the Byzantine period, as well as the remains of a Roman aqueduct, appear along the valley, which was once used as a major pilgrimage road during the Byzantine period when many of its caves were used by monks. Several of these caves still contain remains of mosaic floors.

Wadi el Qilt

The wadi starts just south of Anata from EinFawwar, a natural spring located at the bottom of a gorge. Approximately 250 meters to the east are the ruins of a Byzantine cistern. Five kilometers further lies the spring of EinQilt, as well as the remains of an early monastic inhabitation of caves known as Deir Abu Alassi. A further six kilometers to the east sits the Monastery of St. George, located on the northern cliff wall of the wadi, which has its origins in 420 A.D. This monastery underwent several changes, and what is visible today is the result of extensive reconstruction works executed by the Greek monk Callinic from 1878-1901. The monastery consists of three main sections including the Cave Church of St. Elias, The Church of the Holy Virgin, and the Church of St. John Thebes and St. George Choziba.

[Box 21]

71 Palestinian Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC), 1999.
The site has many natural springs such as: Ein el Qilt, Ein fara and Ein el Fawwar. "Wadi el-Qelt is one of the Jordan River’s major western tributaries carrying rain water from the eastern slopes of Jerusalem and al-Bira 35 km down to the valley of Jericho". Thus in winter and spring, and at times in summer, streams and waterfalls run down along the valley, reviving plants and trees, and creating a relaxing environment suitable for hikes and picnics. Furthermore, Wadi el Qilt lies within a natural reserve, one of 36 in the West Bank designated by Israel and adopted by the PNA MOLG, and MOPIC.

This is a sensitive and delicate area consisting of the combination of a unique ecological system and fragile cultural heritage sites, which also hosts the living practices of animal herding and pastoral nomadism. As such, careful thought must be given to what kind of development is allowed at the peripheries of this site and the planning of urban areas or settlements here must be avoided. Efforts must be made to prevent the pollution of the springs or the wadi. The system of pastoral nomadism has long been a sustainable approach to the use of arid and semi-arid landscapes, and their use of the site would both contribute to its ecological sustainability as well as allow the Bedouin to continue with their traditional livelihood activities. Such a site provides an ideal location for the Bedouin to use for grazing pasture due to the ample natural water supply and suitable vegetative land cover. Preserving this site as a cultural landscape to which the Bedouin have open access will contribute to the stability and maintenance of their traditional way of life, and will allow for sustainable preservation of the area due to the ecological benefits of pastoral nomadic practices. In turn, access to the grazing lands contained within this area will allow the Bedouin to preserve their traditional culture, and local communities will benefit from the products that they will again be able to supply.

---

**Cultural Landscape of Wadi el Qilt**

- The Wadi el Qilt area, and its resident of Bedouin communities, should be adopted by the UNESCO’s protection as a mixed natural and cultural heritage site.
- The Bedouin communities should be engaged with the support of UNESCO and other UN agencies as part of the cultural landscape of this region through the organization of activities such as Bedouin cultural nights, educational visits from various groups, hiking trips which include Bedouin communities in the itinerary, and the creation of living museums in these communities.
- The Palestinian and Israeli regional planning schemes must consider the Wadi el Qilt area as a natural and historical corridor, and this area and its periphery should be kept free of major urban developments’ of the settlements.
- The provision of grazing lands for the Bedouin should be thought of in conjunction with a sustainable approach to the Wadi el Qilt site.

---

[Box 22]

---

72 [http://jericho.ps/QeltTrail](http://jericho.ps/QeltTrail)
Final Thoughts

Some efforts have been undertaken in the region to preserve the Bedouin cultural heritage. This has taken various forms, including Bedouin theme parks and other forms of tourism that have "commoditized the image of the Bedouin". Cole argues that the meanings of "Bedouin" have changed over the past century and continue to change: "Bedouin" previously denoted a way of life that was specialized and revolved around steppe-based herding. Today, "Bedouin" refers less to a "way of life" than to an "identity". The way of life was grounded in ecology and economy, the identity in heritage and culture. This has been the standard approach to Bedouin heritage, but there are ways to bring these two aspects together; better alternatives can be found. This can occur by viewing their areas of residence as a cultural landscape that is not oriented towards tourism, but rather is a partnership between cultural preservation and conservation of a natural area. The Bedouin should be allowed to adapt and merge with regional economies, as research shows they have been doing for decades. And also, as has been the case for centuries, residents of adjacent towns and cities will be able to benefit from the animals products provided by the Bedouin, which are superior in quality and nutrition.

Safeguarding the Bedouin existence in the area demands serious action and support to thwart the impending demolition of their shelters. The Bedouin embody a cultural heritage that is tangible and intangible at the same time. Their socio-economical practices are indicators of their cultural identity. Yet, the vicinity they occupy is historically significant to their lifestyle, one that is uniquely bonded with their social norms and practices. Displacement of the Bedouin will only lead to a severe loss of those features of their lifestyle that cannot be adapted in urban or in rural settings. They will not be able to carry their traditional self-support/employment in modern settlements. Accordingly, implementing modern means, which aims to harmonize the area with the global trend of planning and to rearrange the Bedouin environment will lead to a process of gentrification that will transform and erasing the socio-spatial environment of the Bedouin and inevitably sacrifice the authenticity of an existing heritage (See Map 15).

---

Map 15: Important cultural sites in Barriyat Jerusalem and Wadi el Qilt (as identified by PNA)
Bibliography


BIMKOM, 2008. The Prohibited Zone: Israeli Planning Policy in the Palestinian Villages in Area C.


IrAmim, 2005. IrAmim Position Paper: The E1 Settlement is not Ma’aleh Adummim.


Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Campaign, 2008. Arab Jahalin: From Nakba to the Wall.


Susskind, L. and Auguelovs, I., 2008. Addressing the Land Claims of Indigenous People. Cambridge: Pro-
gram on Human Rights and Justice, MIT Center for International Studies.


Appendix

Bedouin’s locality fact sheets
Khan el Ahmar North Bedouin Community, commonly known as “Abu er Ra’ed”

Population
150 people: 70 females and 80 females, over 59% are children under the age of 18. There are 13 families in the community. 69% of the households are nuclear.

Educational facilities
Only one person (female) in the community has a university degree, and only 4 females actually finished high school; about 31.8% of the inhabitants between the ages of 6 to 18 are dropouts (11 males and 15 females).

Health facilities
They use health centres in Aqbet Jaber refugee camp, and Abu Dis. Women go to Jericho Hospital to give birth. A mobile clinic named: “al Eslah clinic” offers the community health services once every month.

Other facilities
The community has no mosque, but has a public guest house “madafe” (65 m² and a capacity for 30 people).

Water
The community gets it water from the Israeli water network “Mikorot”, who charges the PNA for it.

Electricity
The community is not connected to the main line, though these lines pass by it; there is more than one generator operated by diesel; one is publicly used and two are private.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket. Some of the houses have a modified cesspool, some use the house for sewage discharge.

Economic Status
Only 18 males in the community work and 2 females work as teachers, the following chart shows the distribution of the people in community according to their activity status.
Khan el Ahmar North-East Bedouin Community, commonly known as “Abu Hilw”

Population

One of the largest Bedouin communities in the peripheries of East Jerusalem. Population of 128; over 59% are children under the age of 18. There are 19 families in the community all from “Abu Dahoq” clan.

Educational facilities

One school “Khan el Ahmar eco-friendly Built in 2009 by the Italian NGO Vento Di Terra the school started with 45 students, it now has 72 students, 36 of each gender.

Health facilities

They use health centers in Aqbet Jaber refugee camp, and Abu Dis. Women go to Jericho Hospital to give birth. A mobile clinic named: “al Eslah clinic” offers the community health services once every month.

Other facilities

One Mosque built in 2003 after which no structures were allowed by the ICA. Area of 70m² Capacity of 60 people.

Water

The community gets it water from the Israeli water network “Mikorot”, who charges the PNA for it, the community built its own slightly deep underground -half an inch- temporary network.

Sanitation & Solid Waste

Has minimal solid waste discharge, mostly when compared with urban people. They have a modified cesspool, it is a barrel berried in the ground, open from below so it leaks it contents in the ground, it has never been emptied.

Economic Status

The community still depends partially on herding, most of the economically active males work as laborers part time. The average daily wage is 50-100 NIS, mostly in farming, construction work, factories or tourism.

Electrical

The community owns a generator operated by diesel, but it’s in a bad shape and out of order most of the time. So when they are not working they use gas Lighting Chamber.

### Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Occupation %</th>
<th>% Demography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Guide</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Male</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Female</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Kefar Adumim

Mishor Adumim

Khan el Ahmar North-East Bedouin Community
Khan el Ahmar South-East Bedouin Community, commonly known as “Abu Odeh”

Population
71 people; 40 males and 31 females, the community is considered young since over 52% of the population is under the age of 15 while 29 people, 15 males and 14 females (41%) are between 15–50, none of the inhabitants is above 50. The community has a population growth rate of 4.79% for the last decade.

Educational facilities
There are 23 students in the community, 8 of which are females; they go to al Khan school or schools in Anata, Abu Dis.

Health facilities
They use health centers in Jericho, women go to Jericho Hospital to give birth. A mobile clinic named Al Eslah clinic offers the community health once every month.

Other facilities
The community has no mosque, but has three public guest house “madafe” for the three families, and no schools.

Water
The community gets its water from the Israeli water network “Mikorot”, who charges the PNA for it, the community built its own slightly deep underground -half an inch- temporary network, it reaches all the houses in the community, and each house distributes it around the house as needed to the kitchen, shower and toilet, mostly by a hose or pipe, which can be moveable sometime. In a few houses there is a tank and then a bucket is used in transferring the water.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket, then each family burns its waste separately in a designated site. Some of the houses have a modified cesspool, others just use a house for sanitation disposal.

Economic Status
14 people in the community are economically active; there are 4 people are unemployed, 4 have a full time job. 10% Work as mere labourers in construction.

Electricity
The community owns a generator operated by diesel, but it’s in a bad shape and out of order most of the time. The community needs the electricity mostly for lighting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Demography</th>
<th>Male Occupation %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44% Male</td>
<td>29% Worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56% Female</td>
<td>71% Unemployed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Occupation %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worker 29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed 71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14  people in the community are economically active; there are 4 people are unemployed, 4 have a full time job, 10% Work as mere labourers in construction.
Khan el Ahmar South-West Bedouin Community  Commonly known as “Abu Falah”

Population
84 people; 45 males and 39 females, the community is considered young since over 50% of the population is under the age of 15. 40 people, 19 males and 21 females are between 15–60, which is nearly 48% of population, only 4 of the inhabitants is above 60. The community has a population growth rate of 4.79%. There are 16 families, all are nuclear families.

Educational facilities
There are no schools in the community; the students have to go to Khan el Ahmar School and the schools in near cities.

Health facilities
They use health centers in Jericho, and Eizariyeh. Women go to Jericho Hospital to give birth. A mobile clinic named “al Eslah clinic” offers the community health services once every month. None of the inhabitants has a chronic disease.

Other facilities
The community has no mosque, but has public guest house “madafe” for the three families, and no schools.

Water
The community gets the water from the Israeli water network “Mikorot”, passing right through the community, and Mikorot charges the PNA for the cost.

Khan Al-Ahmar South-West Bedouin Community

Population

Kefar Adumim

Mishor Adumim

Electricity
The community is not connected to the main line, though these lines pass by it; they do not even have a generator since the 90s. Just two families in the community use gas for lighting.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag, then burns waste in a designated site of toilet discharge through cesspotel and they use 2 inch hoses to discharge kitchen wastes.

Economic Status
Only two men in the community work, one as a farmer and one as a worker. There are 18 people are unemployed. The Bedouin women do not work other than with the raising the sheep and the household matters.
Khan el Ahmar North-West Bedouin Community

Commonly known as “Abu Ibrahim”

Population

139 people; 69 males and 70 females, the community is considered young since over 54% of the population is under the age of 15. 39% of the population are between 15–60, and 7 people above 60. The community has a very high population growth rate of 7.38% for the last decade.

Educational Facilities

There are 31 students in the community, 18 of which are females; they go to al Khan school or schools in Anata, Abu Dis and other neighboring localities. There is one male student at the University.

Health Facilities

They use health centers in Jericho, and Eizariyeh. Women go to Jericho Hospital to give birth. A mobile clinic named “al Eslah clinic” offers the community health services once every month.

Other Facilities

The community has no mosque, but has three public guest house “madafe” for the main families, and no schools. There are 31 students in the community, 18 of which are females; they go to al Khan school or schools in Anata, Abu Dis and other neighboring localities. There is one male student at the University.

Water

The community gets its water from the Israeli water network “Mikorot”, who charges the PNA for it, the community built its own slightly deep underground -half an inch- temporary network it reaches all the houses.

Sanitation & Solid Waste

Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket, then each family burns its waste separately in a designated site. Some of the houses have a modified cesspool, or they just use the house for sanitation.

Electricity

The community has no electricity, it is not connected though the main lines pass by it; there are two generators -private generators- operated by diesel in the community. The cost is around 50 NIS per household for the solar; it is filled every five days and powered for a couple of hours at night.

Economic Status

22 people in the community are economically active, 3 of them unemployed. The Bedouin women do not work other than with the raising the sheep and the household matters. 8 People in the community have a full time job. The average monthly income for those who do work is a little above 1700 NIS.

Population & Other Facilities

Kefar Adumim

Mishor Adumim
Abu Ghalia Bedouin Community

Population
There are 102 people in Abu Ghalia community: 46 males and 56 females, the community is considered young since over 47% of the population is under the age of 15. 49% of the population are between 15–60, and just 4% people are above 60. The community has a very high population growth rate of 4.37%.

Educational facilities
There are 30 students in the community, 15 females and 15 male; they all go to ‘Anata to study. Only 2 males finished high school, and only 1 male and 1 female has a university degree.

Health facilities
All the inhabitants have UN refugee health card and use the clinic in ‘Anata refugee camp. Al Islah mobile clinic comes once every month.

Other facilities
The community has no mosque, but has a public guest house 'madafe', but no schools since the Israeli authorities forbid them to build a school.

Water
The community does not have a water network; it is not connected to any water network. They buy water by tank from nearby town “Anata”.

Electricity
The community used to have a generator but most of the time is out of order. The generator is used for lighting a few hours at night, which needs 2 litters of diesel and costs 15 NIS.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket.

Economic Status
21 people in the community are economically active, 10 of these people are unemployed. The Bedouin women only work in raising the sheep and household matters. 8 people of the working force are employed outside the community in a full time job. The average monthly income for those who do work is a little above 1100 NIS.
Nkheila North “Ka’abneh” Bedouin Community

Population
The community consists of 64 people; 28 males and 36 females, the community is considered young since over 46.9% of the population is under the age of 15. 50% of the population are between 15–60, and 13% are above 60. The community has an above average population growth rate of 3.62% for the last decade.

Educational facilities
There are 12 students in the community, 11 females and just 1 male, they all go to Anata to study.

Health facilities
All the inhabitants have UN refugee health card and use the clinic in Anata.

Other facilities
The community has no mosque, but has a big guest house “madafe”, and no schools.

Water
The community buy water from someone from Anata, they paid a bills for him, because no main line for the community. There is also a few water tanks used in the community to get the water to the animals when they are distant from the homes of their owners.

Economic Status
17 people in the community are economically active. There are 11 people are unemployed. 6 people of the working force are employed outside the community as laborers. The average monthly income for those who do work is a little above 900 NIS.

Electricity
The community owns a generator operated by diesel, but it’s in a bad shape and out of order most of the time. The community needs the electricity mostly for lighting.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
They have minimal solid waste discharge, mostly when compared with urban people. Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket.
Nkheila South “Foqara” Bedouin Community

Population
Nkheila South “Foqara” is a small community with only 40 people; 21 males and 19 females, half the community are children under the age of 18. There are 7 families in the community all related from al Foqara family part of “Ara’ra” clan.

Educational facilities
There are 16 students in the community, they go to school in Anata Locality.

Health facilities
Most of the families in the community have the UN Card health insurance. They mostly use the health center in Jericho, al Eizarieh, or Ramallah.

Other facilities
The community has no mosque, but has a public guest house “madafe” (and it gathers from 15-20 people), and no schools.

Water
There is no water network in the community, they purchased water and then fill it in reservoirs.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
They have minimal solid waste discharge, mostly when compared with urban people. Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket, then each family burns its waste separately in a designated site. Some of the houses have a modified cesspool.

Economic Status
There are 12 economically active persons in the community, who can be a source of income to their families; 2 or 3 of them work in small professions like building, and the rest don’t work. There are 9 women who can be economically active but they work only inside their homes due to culture and traditions.

Electricity
The community is not connected to an electricity network, they have one generator only supplied by solar energy which is sufficient to supply their mobiles, and TV with electricity for only 3 hours.

Legend
Main Roads
Constructed/Under Construction Wall
Planned Wall
Road Network
Jerusalem Municipality Border
Palestinian Built up area
Israeli Settlement Built up
Israeli Settlement Outerlimit
Al Kasarat Bedouin Community

Population
There are 156 people in Al Kasarat community; 86 males and 70 females, over 30.3% of the population is under the age of 15. 48.7% of the population are between 15–60, the inhabitants are above the age of 60. The community has an above average growth rate of 3.81% for the last decade.

Educational facilities
There are 44 students in the community, 19 are females and 25 are males. The little children studying in Anata 15 and 10 minutes respectively by car.

Health facilities
Most of the families in the community have the Intifada health insurance provided by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), those who don’t have the Intifada health insurance have a UN welfare refugee card.

Water
The community does not have a water network; they have been withdrawn from Israeli line. The community built its own slightly deep underground –half an inch- temporary network.

Electricity
The community is not connected to the main line, though these lines pass by it; they get the electricity from the quarry for a couple of hours at night for lighting.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
Has minimal solid waste discharge, mostly when compared with urban people. Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag.

Economic Status
There are 29 males in the community who are capable of work, 20 of which are currently unemployed. 2 people work in construction and another 3 people work as workers and 4 in other jobs.

The women in the community take a major role in raising the livestock; they feed the livestock, clean underneath them, milk the sheep and make the dairy products. In many occasions some children drop out of school to help in these chores.

Al Kasarat Bedouin Community

% Demography
Male Female
55% 45%

Male Occupation %
Shepherd Driver Worker Construction Unemployed
10% 7% 10% 9%

Other facilities
The community has no mosque, but has a public guest house “madafe”, and no elementary school.
Al Hathrora Bedouin Community

Population
Al Hathrora is one of the largest Bedouin communities in the area. There are 223 people in Al Hathrora community; 115 males and 108 females. The community is considered young since over 51.6% of the population is under the age of 15. 44% of the population are between 15–60, only 9 of the inhabitants are above the age of 60. The community has an above average growth rate of 5.82% for the last decade.

Educational facilities
There are 57 students in the community, 20 are females and 37 are males. The little children go to school in Aqabat Jabr and Jericho 15 and 10 minutes respectively by car.

Health facilities
Most of the families in the community have Intifada health insurance provided by the Palestinian National Authority those who do not have the Intifada insurance have a UN card. They use the health center in Jericho and Al Eizaria. Some of them use the health center in Anata, Ber Nabala and Ramallah.

Other facilities
The community has no mosque, but has a public guesthouse “madafe”, it does not have a school.

Water
The community gets water from the Mikorat network.

Electricity
The community owns a generator operated by diesel, some families have their own generator.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket. There is no seageage system, many household use the bucket of hose to discharge toilets sewage.

Economic Status
There are 47 males in the community who are capable of work 19 of which are currently unemployed. 3 people work in farming another 7 people work as workers, and 17 work in herding, 3 in farming, 1 as guard.
There are 65 people in Wadi el Qilt Ka‘abneh community; 31 males and 34 females. The community is considered young since over 44.7% of the population is under the age of 15. 52.2% of the population are between 15–60, only 2 of the inhabitants are above the age of 60. The community has an above average growth rate of 4.38% for the last decade.

Population

Wadi el Qilt Ka‘abneh Bedouin Community

Educational facilities

There are 8 students in the community, 5 are females and 3 are males. The little children go to school in Jericho and Anata 15 and 10 minutes respectively by car. Al Eizaria and Anata is where the inhabitants get their groceries as well.

Health facilities

Most of the families in the community have a UN welfare refugee card since they are refugees from Tal Erad in Naqaba; those who do not have the UN card have the Intifada health insurance provided by the Palestinian National Authority.

Other facilities

The community has no mosque, but has a public guesthouse “madafe”, and no an elementary school.

Water

The community is not connected to water network, they buy water by tank.

% Demography

Male Occupation %

Water

Kefar Adumim

Wadi el Qilt Ka‘abneh Bedouin Community

Electricity

Wadi el Qilt -Ka‘abneh- is not connected to electricity. The community needs the electricity mostly for lighting, the people in the community use gas lighting.

Sanitation & Solid Waste

Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket. Most households use the hose directed to the valley, a few use cesspool.

Economic Status

There are 17 males in the community who are capable of work, 3 of which are currently unemployed. There are 4 work as workers and one in farming and 10 in other jobs. The women in the community take a major role in raising the livestock; they feed the livestock, clean underneath them, milk the sheep and make the dairy products.
There are 23 people in Iktefat community; 11 males and 12 females, the community is very small, there are 26% of the population is under the age of 15. 74% of the population are between 15–60, none of the inhabitants are above the age of 60. The community has a growth rate of 3.08%.

Educational facilities
There are 5 students in the community, 4 are females and only 1 is male. The little children studying outside the community would have to wait on the road and wait to reach their schools in Aqabet Jaber.

Health facilities
Most of the families in the community have the Intifada health insurance provided by the PNA. Those who don't have the Intifada health insurance have a UN welfare refugee card since they are refugees from Tal Erad in Naqaba.

Other facilities
The community has no mosque, but has a public guest house “madafe”, and an elementary school.

Water
The community gets its water from the fountain in the bottom of the valley, they carry out the water from the valley with buckets.

Electricity
The community is not connected to electricity, the community needs the electricity mostly for lighting, so the people in the community use gas lighting. The people in the community have minimal appliances that need electricity.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
They use the bucket for sewage disposal.

Economic Status
There are 10 males in the community who are capable of work, 2 of which are currently unemployed, 2 people work in farming another 3 people work as workers, and 3 work in herding.
There are 107 people in Wadi Sneysel community; 54 males and 53 females. The community is considered young since over 50.5% of the population is under the age of 15. 47.7% of the population are between 15–60, and just 1.9% people are above 60. The community has a very high population growth rate of 5.97% for the last decade.

Water

The community gets its water from the Israeli water network "Mikorot", from a connection for Ma’ale Adumim Settlement and they bill them for it. The community built its own above-ground - half an inch- temporary network, it reaches all the houses in the community, and each house distributes it around the house as needed to the kitchen, shower and toilet, mostly by a hose or pipe, which can be moved sometime. In a few houses there is a tank and then a bucket is used in transferring the water.

Electricity

The community owns a generator operated by diesel. The community needs the electricity mostly for lighting (87.5%) and television (75%).

Sanitation & Solid Waste

Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket. Only one household in the community actually has a toilet; it has a modified cesspool.

Economic Status

There are 13 males in the community who are capable of work, 35% of which (7 people) are currently unemployed. Most of the working males work full time in herding (4 people), another 3 people work as workers, 2 people work in farming in Jericho, 3 people work in the settlements nearby as janitors, while only one person has a grocery shop in al Eizarieh.
Az Z’aiem Zir’ee Bedouin Community

Population
There are 108 people in Az Z’aiem Zir’ee community; 53 males and 55 females. 44.5% of the population is under the age of 15. 51.1% of the population are between 15–60, and just 5 people are above 60. The community has a very high population growth rate of 4.21% for the last decade.

Educational facilities
There are 21 students in the community; 13 males and 9 females. The students have to go to Z’aiem town to study; an average of 1.5 kilometres walk (20 minutes walk) on a rocky dirt road.

Health facilities
Most of the families in the community have a UN welfare refugee card, those who do not have the UN card have the Intifada health insurance provided by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). They use the health center in Aqbet Jaber refugee camp.

Other facilities
The community has no mosque, but has a public guest-house “maddal”, and no schools in the community.

Water
The community gets its water from the Palestinian Authority Water network; they have one connection for one part (the more recent one nearer to Az Z’aiem) of the community.

Electricity
The community used to own a generator but it’s out of order now; so currently they get the electricity from the main electricity lines from the house of a relative living in Az Z’aiem town.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket. Some of the houses have a modified cesspool; it is a barrel buried in the ground, open from below so it leaks its contents in the ground, it has never been emptied.

Economic Status
There are 11 men work only, 9 as workers, 2 work other professions. The women in the community take a major role in raising the livestock; they feed the livestock, clean underneath them, milk the sheep and make the dairy products. In many occasions some children drop out of school to help in these chores.
Az Z’aiem Jahalin Bedouin Community

Population
There are 94 people in Az Z’aiem Jahalin community; 44 males and 50 females. 49.0% of the population is under the age of 15. 49.0% of the population are between 15–60, and just 2 people are above 60. The community has a very high population growth rate of 4.96% for the last decade.

Educational facilities
There are 35 students in the community, 15 are females, and 20 male. Students have to go to Z’aiem town to study, an average of 1.5 kilometres walk (20 minutes walk) on a rocky dirt road.

Health facilities
Most of the families in the community (55%) have health insurance provided by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA).

Other facilities
There are no schools in the community, and no mosque; they go to Az Z’aiem especially for the Friday noon prayer, but has a public guest house.

Water
The community gets its water from the Palestinian Authority Water network; they have one connection coming from az Z’aiem town, and a hose (half an inch) reaching each part of the community, the further parts added a tank in mid way.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket. Some of the houses have a modified cesspool.

Economic Status
There are 15 men work only, 9 as workers, 1 as a farmer and 5 as drivers and patrons. The women in the community take a major role in raising the livestock; they feed the livestock, clean underneath them, milk the sheep and make the dairy products. In many occasions some children drop out of school to help in these chores.
Abu Nuwar Bedouin Community

Population

There are 91 people in the Abu Nuwar community; 46 males and 45 females, the community is considered young since over 47.3% of the population is under the age of 15. 48.4% of the population are between 15–60, only 3 of the inhabitants are above the age of 60. The community has an above average growth rate of 8.54% for the last decade.

Educational facilities

There are 40 students in the community, 18 are females and 22 are males. The little children studying outside the community go to school in Eizaria and Arab al Jahlin camp and Abu Nuwar.

Health facilities

Most of the families in the community have a intifada health insurance provided by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA).

Other facilities

The community, but has a public guest-house “madafe”.

Water

The community gets its water from the PA water network and then paying the bills. the community built its own slightly deep underground -half an inch- temporary network.

Other facilities

Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket. Have a modified cesspool, others use the hose.

Economic Status

There are 20 males in the community who are capable of work; 10 of which are currently unemployed. 10 people work as workers. The women in the community take a major role in raising the livestock; they feed the livestock, clean underneath them, milk the sheep and make the dairy products.

Electricity

The community owns a main line of electricity, but it's in a bad shape and out of order most of the time. Some of the people don't have a line of electricity.

% Demography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% Male Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Worker</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abu Nuwar Bedouin Community

Qedar

Ma’ale Adumim
**Al Muntar Bedouin Community**

**Population**

The largest Bedouin community in the Periphery EJ, there are 265 people in Al Muntar community; 133 males and 132 females. The community is considered young since over 45.6% of the population is under the age of 15. 49.9% of the population are between 15–60, only 12 of the inhabitants are above the age of 60. The community has an above average growth rate of 4.38% for the last decade.

**Educational facilities**

There are 81 students in the community, 32 are females and 49 are males. The little children go to school in Al Sawahra and Arab el Jahalin camp 15 and 10 minutes respectively by car.

**Health facilities**

Most of the families in the community have the Intifada health insurance provided by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). Those who do not have the Intifada health insurance have a UN welfare refugee card.

**Other facilities**

The community, but has a public guesthouse “madafe”, and no elementary school.

**Water**

The community gets its water from the Palestinian water network, who charges the PNA for it; the community built its own slightly deep underground 1/2 inch temporary network.

**Sanitation & Solid Waste**

Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket; others use the hose.

**Economic Status**

There are 39 males in the community who are capable of work; 21 of which are currently unemployed. 14 people work as workers and 25 in herding. The women in the community take a major role in raising the livestock; they feed the livestock, clean underneath them, milk the sheep and make the dairy products. In many occasions some children drop out of school to help in these chores.

**Electricity**

The community is not connected to electricity so they need the electricity mostly for lighting, so the people in the community use gas lighting “shamber”.

---

**Legend**

- Main Roads
- Constructed/Under Construction Wall
- Planned Wall
- Road Network
- Jerusalem Municipality Border
- Palestinian Built up area
- Israeli Settlement Built up
- Israeli Settlement Outerlimit

**Table**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Occupation %</th>
<th>Female Occupation %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepherd</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Demography</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are 152 people in Wadi el A’waj community: 68 males and 84 females, the community is considered young since over 44.7% of the population is under the age of 15. 52.6% of the population are between 15–60, only 4 of the inhabitants are above the age of 60. The community has an above average growth rate of 2.77% for the last decade.

Population

Educational facilities

There are 33 students in the community, 18 are females; have to stand and wait on the main road (no. 1) to commute to Jericho, Eizaria or Abu Dis to go to school.

Health facilities

Most of the families in the community have the Intifada health insurance provided by the PNA. They use the health center in al Eizarieh. A mobile clinic offers the community health services once a week.

Other facilities

The community has no mosque, but has a public guest house “madafe”, but no schools since the Israeli authorities forbid them to build a school.

Water

The community just two gets water from the Palestinian water network who charges the PNA for it, and they pay the bills. The community built its own slightly deep underground –half an inch- temporary network, it reaches all the houses in the community, and each house distributes it around the house as needed to the kitchen, shower and toilet, mostly by a hose or pipe, which can be moveable sometime. In a few houses, there is a tank and then a bucket is used in transferring the water.

Electricity

The community owns main line of electricity despite some of the people in the community does not have a line. However, it is in a bad shape and out of order most of the time.

Sanitation & Solid Waste

They has minimal solid waste discharge, each family burns its waste separately in a designated site. Some of the houses have a modified cesspool.

Economic Status

There are 36 males in the community who are capable of work; 27% of which are currently unemployed. Most of the working males work full time in herding (8 people), another 17 people work as workers, 2 people work in farming, 1 as a driver. The women in the community take a major role in raising the livestock.

Legend

Main Roads

Constructed/Under Construction Wall

Planned Wall

Road Network

Jerusalem Municipality Border

Palestinian Built up area

Israeli Settlement Built up

Israeli Settlement Outerlimit

Kilometers
Jabal el Baba Bedouin Community

There are 175 people in Jabal el Baba community; 89 males and 86 females, the community is considered young since over 46.8% of the population is under the age of 15. 50.8% of the population are between 15–60, only 4 of the inhabitants are above the age of 60. The community has an above average growth rate of 4.38% for the last decade. There are 27 households in the community. The community has an average of 6.48 people per household.

Educational facilities
There are 53 students in the community. 27 are females and 26 are males. The little children studying outside the community would have to wait on the road and wait to reach their schools in Eizaryeh and Abu Dis.

Health facilities
Most of the families in the community have the Intifada health insurance provided by the PNA. those who don’t have the Intifada health insurance have a UN welfare refugee card since they are refugees from Tal Erad in Naqab. They use the health center in al Eizarieh.

Other facilities
The community has no mosque, but has a public guest house “ madafe ”, and an elementary school.

Water
The community just to gets water from the Palestinian water network who charges the PNA for it. The community built its own slightly deep underground -half an inch- temporary network, it reaches all the houses in the community, and each house distributes it around the house as needed to the kitchen, shower and toilet, mostly by a hose or pipe, which can be moveable sometime. In a few houses, there is a tank and then a bucket is used in transferring the water. There is also a few water tanks used in the community to get the water to the animals when they are distant from the homes of their owners.

Electricity
The community has a main line of electricity the line was withdrawn from neighbors and they pay bills. The community needs the electricity mostly for lighting, so when electricity cut o the people in the community who depend on it use gas lighting “shamber”. The people in the community have minimal appliances that need electricity, other than fans in summer.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
Some of the houses have a rudied cesspool; it is a barrel buried in the ground, open from below so it leaks its contents in the ground, it has never been emptied. They have minimal solid waste discharge, mostly when compared with urban people.

Economic Status
There are 37 males in the community who are capable of work, 14 of which are currently unemployed. Most of the working males work full time in herding (3 people), another 18 people work as workers. The women in the community take a major role in raising the livestock; they feed the livestock, clean underneath them, milk the sheep and make the dairy products. In many occasions some children drop out of school to help in these chores.
Um al Asawij Bedouin Community

Population
There are 167 people in Um al Asawij community: 85 males and 82 females. The community is considered young since over 55.8% of the population is under the age of 15. 40.8% of the population are between 15–60, and just 6 people are above 60. The community has a very high population growth rate of 5.85% for the last decade.

Educational facilities
There are 45 students in the community, 20 females and 25 males. They go to school in Arab al Jahalin camp and Eizaria.

Health facilities
Most of the families in the community have an Intifada health insurance provided by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). Those who do not have the Intifada health insurance have a UN welfare refugee card use.

Other facilities
The community has no mosque, but has a public guest house “madafe”, and no elementary school.

Water
The community gets its water from the Palestinian water network who charges the PNA for it; the community built its own slightly deep underground—half an inch—temporary network, it reaches all the houses in the community, and each house distributes it around the house as needed to the kitchen, shower and toilet, mostly by a hose or pipe, which can be moveable sometime. In a few houses there is a tank and then a bucket is used in.

Some of the houses have a modified cesspool; it is a barrel buried in the ground, open from below so it leaks its contents in the ground; it has never been emptied. They have minimal solid waste discharge, mostly when compared with urban people.

Economic Status
There are 36 males in the community who are capable of work of which (14 people) are currently unemployed and 1 female works. Most of the working males work full time in herding (3 people), another (17 people) work as workers. The women in the community take a major role in raising the livestock; they feed the livestock, clean underneath them, milk the sheep and make the dairy products.

Electricity
The community owns main line of electricity. The community needs the electricity mostly for lighting. The people in the community have minimal appliances that need electricity, other than fans in summer; more than ten houses have a small fridge.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
Some of the houses have a modified cesspool; it is a barrel buried in the ground, open from below so it leaks its contents in the ground; it has never been emptied. They have minimal solid waste discharge, mostly when compared with urban people.
Population
There are 204 people in Wadi Abu Hindi community; 98 males and 106 females, the community is considered young since over 44.12% of the population is under the age of 15. 54.90% of the population are between 15 – 60, and just 2 people are above 60. The community has a very high population growth rate of 2.77% for the last decade.

There are 204 people in Wadi Abu Hindi community; 98 males and 106 females, the community is considered young since over 44.12% of the population is under the age of 15. 54.90% of the population are between 15 – 60, and just 2 people are above 60. The community has a very high population growth rate of 2.77% for the last decade.

Wadi Abu Hindi Bedouin Community

Educational facilities
There are 65 students in the community, 33 females and 32 males, most of them go to school in inside the community. There are also 6 students who have to go to school outside the community –Aqabet Jaber and Jericho.

Health facilities
Most of the families in the community have the Intifada health insurance provided by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) those who do not have the Intifada health insurance have a UN welfare refugee card.

Other facilities
The community has no a mosque, but has a public guest house “madafe”, and an elementary school which teaches 130 students.

Water
The community gets it water from the Palestinian water network who charges the PNA for it, the community built its own slightly deep underground –half an inch- temporary network, it reaches all the houses in the community.

Sanitation & Solid Waste
They have minimal solid waste discharge, mostly when compared with urban people. Households in the community collect solid waste in a thick nylon bag that is reused frequently or in a large bucket. Some of the houses have a modified cesspool.

Economic Status
There are 42 males in the community who are capable of work, (17 people) are currently unemployed. Most of the working males work full time in herding (14 people), another 10 people work as workers. The women in the community take a major role in raising the livestock.

Electricity
The community is not connected to electricity; the community needs the electricity mostly for lighting, so depend on it use gas lighting.
About IPCC

The International Peace and Cooperation Center (IPCC) is a Palestinian research, training, and planning organization based in Jerusalem. Founded in 1998, IPCC's activities have focused on Jerusalem issues; many IPCC projects seek to establish data and information bases that bear on the complex problems that will inevitably impinge on future negotiations on the final status of Jerusalem; these projects frequently result in publications that are distributed to a broad array of local, national and international decision-makers within governmental and NGO organizations. IPCC also conducts training projects designed to raise the information, competency and involvement levels of various civil society groupings, including journalists, urban architects and planners, youth, labor and women.

IPCC is a nonprofit organization whose efforts are supported by various international foundations. IPCC frequently partners with European and American universities and Middle East institutions in its projects.