

MSc thesis in Urbanism - P5 Report

Title Jerusalem: Dynamic Planning and Decolonization

Subtitle Transportation Infrastructure in Conflictual Territory

Author Dor Cohen Student number 4904419 Contact Dorl.co188@gmail.com

First supervisors Luiz Marcos de Carvalho Filho Second supervisors Dr. Franklin van der Hoeven Studio coordinator Verena Balz

Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment MSc. Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences - Department of Urbanism

Research studio Planning Complex Cities

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أَمِنْ حَجَرٍ شحيحِ الضوء تندلعُ الحروبُ؟ 'في القدس', محمود درويش.

הַמָּן אֶבֶן דָּלַת אוֹר זוֹ פּוֹרְצוֹת מִלְחָמוֹת? 'בירושלים', מחמוד דרוויש.

Is it from these dimly lit stones that wars burst?

'In Jerusalem', Mahmoud Darwish.

Mahmoud Darwish (1941-2008) was a Palestinian poet who is considered by many as the Palestinian national poet. The poem 'In Jerusalem', quoted above, was published in the book 'Do not apologize for what you have done' (2004). The Hebrew and English translations brought here were translated by the author of this thesis.



Acknowledgment

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Content

	Preface	11
	Motivation	13
01	Introduction	15
1.1	Historical Background	17
1.2	Problem field: Divided cities, conflict and urban planning	2
02	Methodology	2
2.1	Problem Statement	2
2.2	Research Aim and Outputs	2
2.3	Research Question	2
2.4	Methodological Framework	31
03	Theoretical Framework	3;
3.1	Conceptual Framework	3,
3.2	Planning in Conflictual Territory: Jerusalem	31
0.2	Training in commettal remtory, cerusalem	0.
04	Analysis: What Kind of a Divided City is Jerusalem?	4
4.1	Demography and Development	5
4.2	Infrastructure and Form	5
4.3	Economy and Resources	5!
05	Urban Planning and Governance in Service of Colonization	5
5.1	The Structure of the Governance System in Israel: A general review	58
5.2	The Role of Urban Planning in the Colonization of East Jerusalem	6
5.3	Israeli Planning in East Jerusalem since 1967	6
5.4	'Masterplan 2000': A new masterplan for Jerusalem	6
06	Dynamic Planning: A new approach for feasible planning in East	7!
	Jerusalem	,
6.1	Insufficient Planning, Limited Realization	76
6.2	Dynamic Planning: Implementation strategy	78
6.3	Dynamic Planning: Principles	81
6.4	Conclusion: Implementing 'Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision'	8

07	Jerusalem 2050:Urban Vision – An alternative vision for Jerusalem	91
7.1	The Role of Urban Planning and Design in the Decolonization of Jerusalem	92
7.2	Alternative Planning - Imagining a different future	95
7.3	Goals and Principles	97
7.4	Regional Reflection	98
80	Key Projects: From urban vision to local implementations	101
B.1	Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision – Key projects	103
8.2	Jerusalem-North Station: A new gateway to the city	104
8.3	Damascus Gate Terminal: Reconfiguring the city center	116
09	Conclusion	131
9.1	Conclusion	133
9.2	Reflection	139
	Bibliography	146

Preface

Jerusalem, a city of great historical and religious importance, is an arena of urban conflict for almost a century. During this period, the city was subjected to wars, divisions, colonization, urban expansion, and development. This thesis will focus on the contemporary reality in Jerusalem, analyze the spatial and urban consequences of its urban conflict on the city and its inhabitants. Finally, it will explore the potentials of Transit-Oriented Development strategy as an instrument for reconciliation and decolonization, and imagine an alternative future for the city.

Motivation

13

Ever since 1967, the conventional model for a political solution in Israel-Palestine was the two-state solution – a solution based on Jewish and Arab nation-states, and in which Jerusalem will be re-divided to West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine. However, the geopolitical changes in the region in the passing decades, as well as the urban changes that Jerusalem had gone through under Israeli rule since 1967 have made this model practically impossible.

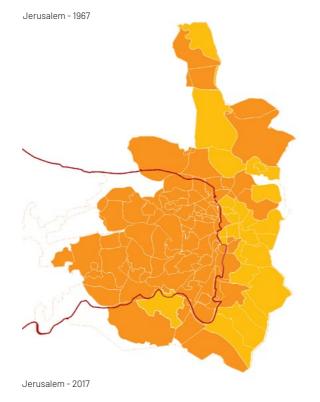
The motivation for this thesis is to explore the spatial and urban manifestation of a possible reconciliation and political solution in Jerusalem. A solution that is not based on division, segregation, and exclusion but of integration and inclusion. In order to do so, this thesis takes the approach of alternative planning, grounded on the existing physical and social conditions of the city while exploring alternative urban planning and design given a different political framework. Alternative planning allows imagining beyond contemporary political constraints. It stimulates critical discussion on existing narratives and provides tools to imagine a different future, coming from the belief that the ability to imagine a different future is an important tool for political change.



01 Introduction

FIG. 1.1 The Holy Basin, Jerusalem. View westward from the Mount of Olives.
Photography: Author, 2017.





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1.1 Historical Background

mandatory rule, the UN General Assembly had passed 'Resolution 181 (II)', better known as the 'Partition plan for Palestine'. This resolution recommended the creation of independent Jewish and Arab states in the territory of Mandatory Palestine. However, the resolution was never fulfilled. A full-scale war between the newly founded state of Israel and all its Arab neighbors broke when the British colonial rule have left, and the outcome of that war had shaped the region's borders, with little consideration to resolution 181(II).

1.1 On November 29, 1947, after 30 years of British mandatory rule, the UN General Assembly had passed 'Resolution 181 (II)', better known as the 'Partition plan for Palestine'. This resolution recommended the creation of independent Jewish and Arab states in the territory of Mandatory Palestine'.

In recent history, Jerusalem was subjected to several geopolitical changes and divisions: In 1947, the United Nations 'Partition Plan for Palestine'. In the aftermath of the 1948 war between the newly founded state of Israel and all its Arab neighbor-ing countries, Jerusalem was divided between the state of Israel and the kingdom of Jordan^{1.2} [Fig. 1.3], having a closed and hostile international border running across the city.

for Policy Research, 2018.

Israeli-Jewish population

FIG. 1.2 Mapping of urban expansion in

Made by author.

Jerusalem from 1967 to 2017.

Source: Jerusalem Institution

Palestinian-Arab population

1949 Armistice line

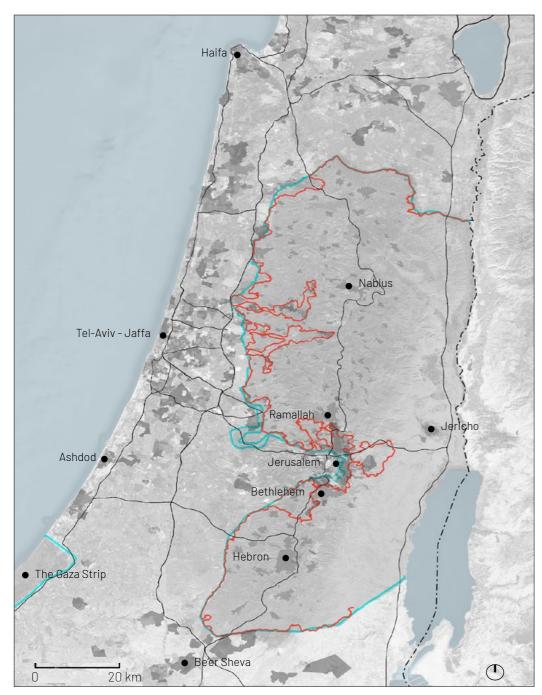


FIG. 1.3 The West Bank and the Separation Barrier. Made by Author.

Legend: International border 1949 armistice line Separation barrier Urban area Main road

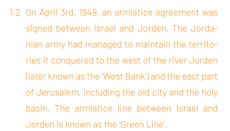
18







- FIG. 1.4 The separation barrier, outside a crossing checkpoint in south-east Jerusalem. Photography: Serena Abbondanza, 2017.
- FIG. 1.5 The separation barrier crossing residential area, East Jerusalem. Photography: Moath Khatib, 2015.



- Jerusalem: Its Legal Status and the Possibility of tored crossing. [Fig. 1.4–1.6]
- raeli authorities, 'The Apartheid Wall' by the Pal-

19



FIG. 1.6 The separation barrier is separating the Palestinian neighborhood of Isawiya and the Palestinian refugee camp of Shu'afat, East

Photography: Serena Abbondanza, 2017.

On June 7th, 1967, the Jordanian ruled part of the city was conquered by the Israeli army during a war between Israel and Egypt, Jordan and Syria, later known as 'The Six Days War'. The city was once again under one rule. The municipal borders were expanded to the former Jordanian part of the city and the surrounding Arab villag-1.2 On April 3rd, 1949, an armistice agreement was es, and in 1980 the Israeli government had officially annexed the city. However, the Arab inhabitants of the former Jordanian territory were not granted with full Israeli citizenship, but a status of 'residents of Jerusalem'. 4, a temporary status that leaves ries it conquered to the west of the river Jorden the Palestinian communities of Jerusalem vulnerable and in an inferior legal position.

The last physical division that Jerusalem was subjected to was the construction of basin. The armistice line between Israel and the 'West Bank Separation Barrier'^{1,5} by the Israeli government in the years 2002-2006, as a response to the violent Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation and 1.3 The Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem is not oppression. The separation barrier is crossing the entire West Bank, and in Jerusalem, it separates most of the Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem from the 1.4 For further information on the legal status of rest of the west bank. It is built of a high concrete wall in the urban areas, an inductive Palestinians in Jerusalem, see: R. Shuqair, 1996, high fence in rural areas, and an array of guarding towers and checkpoints for moni-

All of these geopolitical changes and divisions had a great impact on the city's multiple communities and the relations between them. It created political division, ethestinians, and The West Bank Barrier' by main no-national segregation, and highly unequal distribution of power and resources. international media (BBC, The Economist, PBS, This conflictual relationship is often translated into violence and hostility between the city's communities.

FIG. 1.7 Improvised checkpoint, Beirut during the civil war, mid-1970s.

Photography: An-Nahar.



FIG. 1.8 Temporary barricades in Belfast, 1969. These temporary divisions became semi-permanent "peacelines".

Photography: Henry Bell, 1969.



FIG. 1.9 Barricades in Jerusalem constructed during the war in 1948 along the line that will become the armistice line.

Photography: Israeli Govern-

ment Press, 1948.

20



Source: Charlesworth, E. & Calame, J. (2012), Divided Cities: Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar and Nicosia, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, p. 52, 72, 93

1.2 Problem Field: Divided cities, conflict and urban planning

All cities are divided. Multiple groups of people and stakeholders have multiple, sometimes contradicting interests, and different access to positions of power and resources. Those multiple groups are distinct by class, ethnicity, gender, and other circles of identity, sometimes overlapping, and sometimes in complete contradiction. The multiple, often competing groups within a city form social and spatial divisions, and those divisions are often translated to divisions in the urban space (Geffikin, F. & Morrissey M. 2011).

All cities are divided, yet some cities are more divided than others. Deep economic inequalities, religious or ethnic tensions, internal or international violent conflicts are all factors that can create significant divisions in the urban space. Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia are examples of divided cities that long-lasting urban conflicts have deepened their divisions and inflicted significant urban damage [Fig. 1.7–1.9]. These cities, although being an extreme example of a divided city, represent a global condition of polarization, sectarianism, and deep economic inequity (Charlesworth, E. & Calame, J. 2012). These divided cities are different from one another, each rooted in its specific historical and cultural context, however, they all share similarities in the spatial manifestation of their urban divisions. In many cases, the eruption of violence has created the need for physical separations and divisions that became the permanent reality of the city.

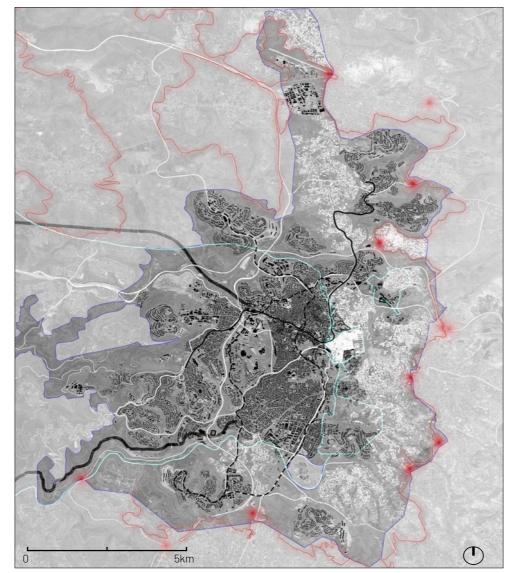
The great challenges that the reality of these divided cities poses are far beyond the narrow scope of urban planning and design, however, when incorporated with a larger frame of governance transition and conflict resolution process, urban planning and design is a key element in facing these challenges (Geffikin, F. & Morrissey M. 2011).

This thesis will examine the urban division and conflict in the city of Jerusalem. It will review the historical context of the urban conflict in Jerusalem, and examine its implication on the urban planning and development of the city. Finally, this thesis will explore the potentials of transit-oriented development as a planning strategy to address the challenges posed by the urban conflict and division in the city and to serve as an instrument for decolonization, mediation, and inclusion in Jerusalem. The potentials that transit-oriented development can offer in Jerusalem will be explored in the field of urban planning and design, as well as governance and political transition, from an understanding that the combination of the two is the only viable way to achieve the desired transformation. Despite of the uniqueness of the conflict and the urban division in Jerusalem, and the specificities that this thesis will address, a broader conclusion about transit-oriented development in divided cities may be drawn on other conditions of urban conflict and division, and further research can be made to examine it in different contexts.



02 Methodology

FIG. 2.1 Jerusalem public transport map, posted on a sign at a bus terminal in the Damascus Gate area, East Jerusalem.
Photography: Author, 2020.



Road and railway infrastructure in Jerusalem. Made by Author.

2.1 Problem Statement

In the past two decades, two big processes have changed the urban configuration of Jerusalem. The first was the construction of the controversial separation barrier^{2,1}, as a response to the violent uprising known as "the second intifada" and the heavy blood toll it waged upon Israeli and Palestinian civilians. The barrier, crossing the entire West Bank, is also dividing Jerusalem, leaving the majority of the Palestinian population of Jerusalem completely cut out from the rest of the West Bank. The second process, which is still ongoing, is the planning and construction of the light rail system in Jerusalem. The light rail project is a part of the transportation infrastructure upgrade that came as a response to the city's urban sprawl and its heavy traffic problem. [Fig. 2.2]







2.4

FIG. 2.3 The light rail passing through Jaffa Street in the city center. The light rail project has transformed this central street from a busy motorway to a pedestrian and light rail street, bustling with activity.

Photography: Navot Miller, 2011. FIG. 2.4 Jaffa Street, city center, West

Photography: Serena Abbondanza, 2017.

2.5

Light rail stop, Jerusalem. After several vehicle-ramming and stabbing attacks that were conducted by Palestinian attackers against passengers waiting at the stop, the municipality placed concrete blocks and security personal around the light rail stops in the east part of the city.

Photography: David Asaf, 2014.

These two processes seem to be of a contradictive nature: one is of absolute separation and segregation, and the other is of interconnection and integration. The truth, as always, is more complex. Since 1967, the urban planning and development of Jerusalem are completely subordinated to the political aspirations of the Israeli governments to colonize East Jerusalem and prevent any future possibility of re-dividing the city. This subordination of urban planning and development to political aspirations for so tion system, the light rail itself became many decades has inflicted significant urban damage to the city as a whole and created a divided, segregated, and city. [Fig. 2.3-2.5]

25

unjust city. Thus, the light rail project in Jerusalem became primarily a political instrument for the Israeli government to deepen its control over East Jerusalem. However, the light rail project also had a surprising result: public spaces that were developed along the new tramline became shared spaces for Israeli and Palestinians, in a city that lost most of its shared spaces due to the separation barrier and the increasing violence. Moreover, as a main public transportaa space that is shared by the different, seldom interacting communities of the

This thesis will examine the role of urban planning and development in the colonization process of East Jerusalem, particularly the role of transportation infrastructure, and will explore the possibility of reversing the trend, harnessing the potentials that appear with the light rail project and transit-oriented development as an instrument for decolonization and inclusion.

2.1 See footnote 1.5 p. 19

24

Legend:

Main road

1949 armistice line

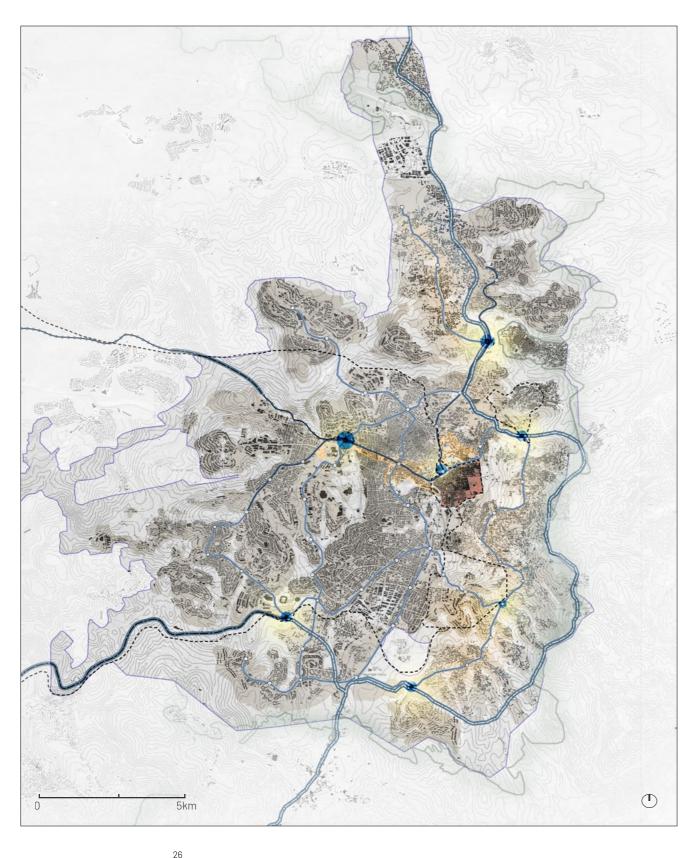
Israeli population

Palestinian population

Heavy railway Light railway (existing) Light railway (construction)

The Separation Barrier

Jerusalem municipal border









2.9

Damascus Gate and the Old City of Jeru-Photography: Serena Abbondanza, 2017. FIG. 2.8 The light rail passing by the Old City walls. Photography: Author, 2019. FIG. 2.9 The Monastery of the Cross and the Israel Museum, West Jerusalem. Photography: Serena Abbondanza, 2017.

◆ FIG. 2.6 Urban vision for Jerusalem 2050. Made by author. For further elaboration see chapter 07 p. 91-99.

27

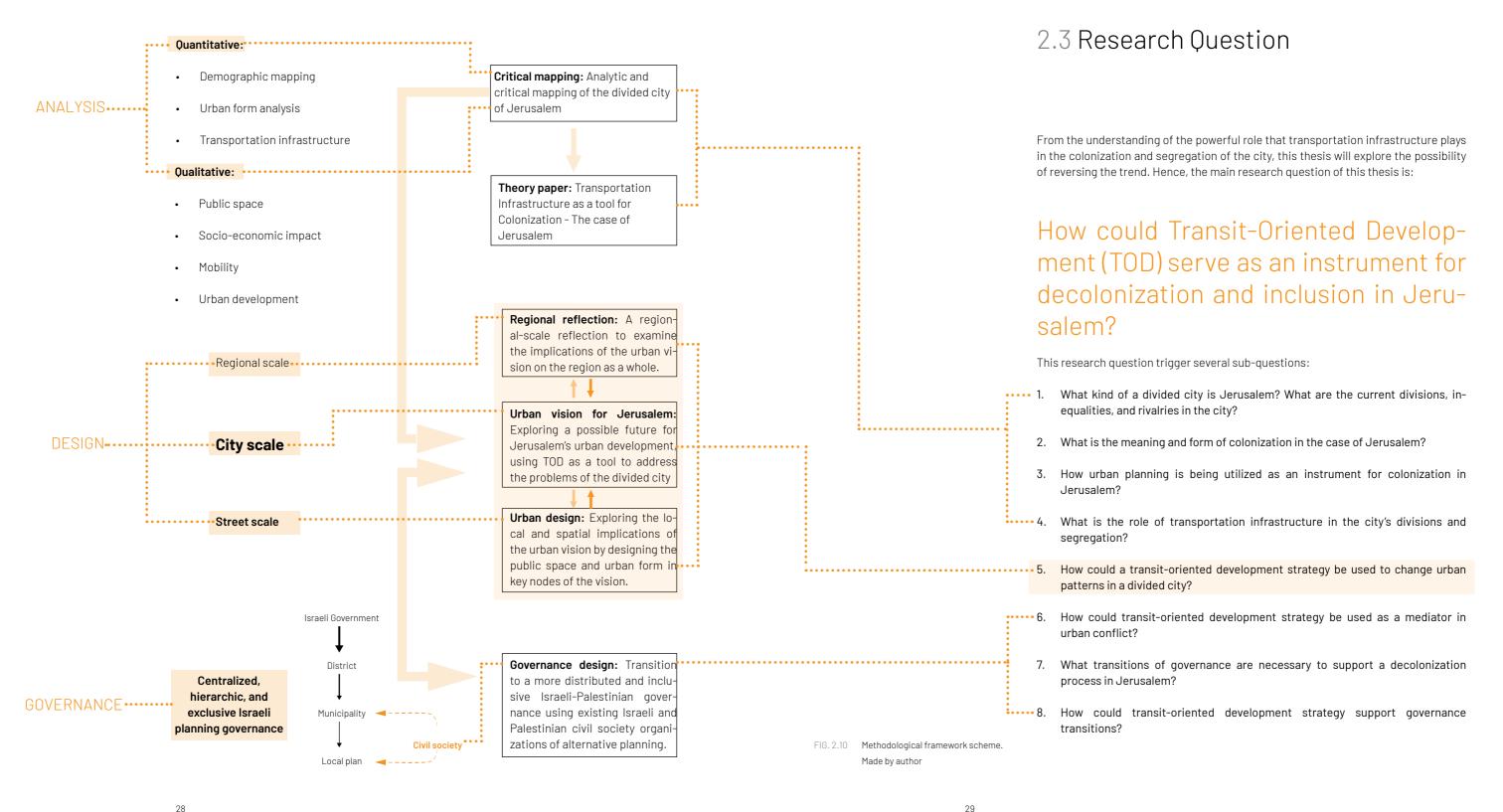
2.2 Research Aim and Outputs

This thesis aims to provide an alternative vision for the future of Jerusalem as a viable, multicultural city that will serve as a cultural, economic, and political center for the region as a whole [Fig. 2.6]. The thesis will explore transit-oriented development strategies as means for decolonization and reconciliation in a divided city. It will offer a comprehensive strategy to address the inequalities, segregation, and exclusion caused by colonialism, occupation, and conflict in Jerusalem in the past decades. The vision for the future of Jerusalem will be an urban vision for 2050, that will have implications and influence in the regional-scale, as well as local impacts on the urban form and public space. In addition to the design of the urban vision, two smaller-scale key projects will be designed to explore the implementation of the vision and the impact it will have on the urban form and public space, in order to verify it corresponds with the goals of the vision.

The urban vision for Jerusalem, using transit-oriented development, will offer three major transitions:

- 1. A transition from a low-density urban sprawl that derives from political aspiration of colonization to a compact, dense, and transit-oriented urban pattern that promotes cooperation and interaction between the city's communities.
- 2. A transition of the Palestinian areas of the city from fragmented, underdeveloped, and segregated enclaves to a viable Palestinian urban center that is integrated into the urban grid of Jerusalem and well connected to the neighboring urban centers.
- 3. A transition from a central, top-down, and hierarchiv planning system and governance that is designed to exclude communities from positions of power and influence to a more distributed, bottom-up, and inclusive planning system and governance, using and empowering existing mechanisms of alternative planning and civil society organizations in the Israeli and Palestinian societies.

This thesis is taking the approach of alternative planning. Being very concrete about the current spatial and social conditions of the city, while speculating about alternative planning and urban development, given a different political framework. From the belief that imagination is a vital instrument in any political change, this thesis hopes to give tools for imagining a different future for the city, a future that seems to be politically impossible for the last decades.



2.4 Methodological Framework

This thesis aims to examine transit-oriented development in divided cities and urban conflict and to explore its potential as an instrument for reconciliation and decolonization. The methodological framework that supports this thesis includes three dimensions that complement each other and relate to different stages of the research: Analysis, design, and governance.

Analysis - the analytical framework of this thesis consists of quantitative and qualitative data analysis of the current socio-spatial reality in Jerusalem and build-up of three layers:

- Historical analysis: reviewing the geopolitical changes of the last decades and analyzing how these changes influenced the current spatial conditions of the city. The historical analysis will focus on the relation between the urban conflict and the urban planning policies that brought about the city's current spatial conditions.
- Spatial analysis: The spatial analysis will examine and compare the current spatial conditions in East and West Jerusalem, focusing on transportation infrastructure and urban form. In addition, it will analyze the relations between the spatial conditions in East and West Jerusalem and the official plans and planning policies of the city, their spatial manifestations and influence over the city.
- Social analysis: examining the demography, economics, and political status of the city's communities and the relations between their social conditions, the spatial conditions, and the governance of the city.

Design - This thesis will use design as a research method, and the process of designing and imagining an alternative future for the city of Jerusalem as a way to explore and research the potentials of transit-oriented development in divided cities. Implementing research by design methods, the design of an alternative urban vision for Jerusalem that is based on transit-oriented development strategies will first define the goals it sets out to achieve, and the objectives that will serve to achieve it. Second, it will examine the regional and local implications of the urban vision, verifying it is aligned with the vision's main goal in both local and regional scales, informing and adjusting the three scales accordingly. The main outputs of the design part of this thesis will be:

Urban vision for the future of Jerusalem: This urban vision, which will serve as a
strategic development framework for the city, will set main goals and objectives
for 2050 and define the spatial manifestation of decolonization in the context of
Jerusalem ^{2.2}. Transit-oriented development will be used as the main strategy
for the desired transitions, answering the main research question of this thesis.

• Regional reflection: A regional-scale reflection on the urban vision will examine the implications of the vision on the region as a whole, exploring the potentials and limitations of the urban vision on the regional scale.

Key projects: Urban design of two key projects in the city will allow exploring
the implications of the vision on the urban form and public space in important
nodes of the urban vision. The key projects that will be designed will implement
the strategies defined by the urban vision and use to verify, inform and adjust it.

Governance – Planning and designing in a divided city that is subjected to a conflict over sovereignty cannot be limited only to spatial intervention. It must be a part of a larger frame of governance transformation and reconciliation process (Gaffikin, F. & Morrissey, M. 2011). Therefore, governance and planning policies will be an essential part of this thesis.

First, it will review the governance planning policies in Jerusalem, analyzing the relations between the Israeli government's aspirations to colonize East Jerusalem and the planning policies in the city and compare its implications on the spatial and social conditions on East and West Jerusalem.

Second, this thesis will explore the possible transition in governance that a transit-oriented development strategy can support as an instrument for decolonization and mediation in a divided city. It will link between the proposed urban vision for Jerusalem and a possible transition in governance from a centralized, hierarchic, and excluding governance mechanism to a more distributed and including governance in Jerusalem.

31

2.2 See chapter 7.1 p. 02-03



03 Theoretical Framework

FIG. 3.1 Former social housing blocks and luxury apartment towers, West Jerusalem.
Photography: Author, 2015.



FIG. 3.2 Henry Kendall plan for Jerusalem, 1944. Commissioned by the British Mandate authorities and designed by a British urban planner that worked mainly in the colonies, this outline townplanning scheme was part of a colonial mechanism that shaped the urban space in the British colonies.

Source: Jerusalem Municipality Archive.

34

3.1 Conceptual Framework

The conceptua framework of this thesis is based on concepts and ideas that were developed in three main discourses:

Post-Colonialism - The term post-colonialism is a vast and complex term, covering various discourses such as philosophy, history, literature, and arts. In general, it describes theories that are related to the post-colonial regions of the world (mainly Africa, the Middle East, and Asia) and the different colonizer-colonized experiences







Kiryat Shmuel, West Jerusalem. Photography: Serena Abbondanza, 2017.

FIG. 3.4 Silwan, East Jerusalem. Photography: Serena Abbondanza, 2017.



A view over the Jewish Quarter, the Old City of Jerusalem. Photography: Serena Abbondanza, 2017.

that influence post-colonial regions and thinkers. With relevance to this thesis, the post-colonial concepts and theories that will be used are those which are related to the criticism of the various ways of conceptualizing and mediating knowledge, exposing the power structures that create them. Mapping and spatial representation are the primary tools for planners and designers to shape the urban space and are essential for the development and realization of urban planning theories and methods. The understanding that these so-called professional methods are tools to manifest structures of power (Huggan, G. 1989) forces us to re-interpret the urban space that was created by and the urban space will be used to

35

these tools as a materialization of the power structures in society.

The debate on whether Zionism and the State of Israel are forms of colonialism is controversial and still ongoing (Penslar, D. J. 2017; Golan, A. 2001), and it is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the similarities between the processes and mechanisms that are shaping the urban space in Israel-Palestine and other colonial projects (Weitzman, E. 2007) suggests that the post-colonial discourse is relevant for the understanding of the urban reality in Jerusalem. In this thesis, the post-colonial approach that links between colonial power structures examine how colonialism is manifested in the particular case of Jerusalem. How are urban planning and design practices being used as an instrument for colonization? And how does it shape the urban space, infrastructure, and governance system?

The design part of this thesis, including a city-scale urban vision, governance and implementation strategy, and local key projects, will explore the possible manifestations of decolonization in Jerusalem. What are the spatial implications of decolonization in the context of Jerusalem? What is the role of urban planning and design in the process of decolonization?

The Divided City - All cities are divided. Various groups of inhabitants and stakeholders have different (sometimes contradicting) interests and different access to resources. Those various groups are marked by distinctions of class, ethnicity, gender, and other circles of identity, and those divisions are often been translated to physical divisions in the urban space [Fig. 3.6]. The concept of 'Divided Cities' and the discourse that evolved around it research and analyze the various divisions that exist in the urban realm, and try to understand, interpret and conceptualize these divisions and their impact on the city.

Cities that are subjected to urban conflicts such as Jerusalem, Belfast, Nicosia, or Mostar are extreme cases of divided cities, and their urban space is often a contested space. There are two main forms of urban contested space: the first form of contested space derives from the concept of 'Pluralism', which is the co-existing and juxtaposition of different groups in the city, and where the antagonism and rivalries among the groups are related to an imbalance of power, welfare, and resources. The second form of contested urban space is about 'sovereignty'. Here, there are similar pluralist disputes about equity, resources, and power, but these are a part of a larger ethno-national conflict about the legitimacy of the sovereign (F Geffikin & M. Morrissey, 2011). In a city that is divided on an ethno-national base and disputed over issues of sovereignty, any attempt for reconciliation by urban and spatial interventions must be a part of political and governance-related processes. Therefore, urban planning and design in a sovereignty-contested city must be re-conceptualized beyond the narrow ambition of spatial intervention. It must conceptualize the process of planning as interwoven within a larger frame of governance transformation and conflict resolution process.

In this thesis, the concepts of the divided city will be used to analyze and understand the forms of divisions in the city of Jerusalem, and the necessary mutuality between spatial planning and design and governance transition will be a key concept in the exploration of a possible future for Jerusalem.

Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) - Transit-oriented development is a strategy for urban development that emphasizes transportation infrastructure (mainly railway and other means of mass transportation) as the base for land use development in cities. Transit-oriented development offers a re-configuration of the urban patterns according to the development of the transportation infrastructure. It creates a correlation between the transportation system and the intensity of land use in the city, making station areas important centers for urban development (L. Bertolini, 1996). Currently in Jerusalem, the transportation infrastructure is being upgraded with the introduction of the new heavy railway and the light railway system. [Fig. 3.7-3.8]

In light of this ongoing upgrade of the transportation system in Jerusalem, this thesis will use transit-oriented development strategies to explore alternative planning for the city. It will examine the possibilities of Transit-Oriented Development strategy in the context of the urban conflict in Jerusalem, and the potential that this type of development strategy may hold as a tool of reconciliation and decolonization.







3.8

FIG. 3.6 A child looking beyond the border to the Jordanian part of Jerusalem, 1963.

Source: A shot from the film 'In Jerusalem' by David Perlov, (1963).

FIG. 3.7 The light rail station next to the Jerusalem Central Station. Photography: Author, 2020.

FIG. 3.8 Jerusalem City Center - Urban renewal plan: Densification along the light railway.

Source: Mann-Shinar Architects & Planners Ltd.

37

3.2 Urban Planning in Conflictual Territory: Jerusalem

Transportation infrastructure as an instrument for colonization and the potential of the light rail project in the city of Jerusalem - Theory paper.

Abstract: In the decades following the 1967 war and the annexation of East Jerusalem by the State of Israel, the city, once again united under one national rule, has developed and expanded significantly. Since 1967, urban planning in Jerusalem has been subordinated to the political aspirations of the Israeli government to settle and dominate the eastern part of the city, with the clear intention to make any possibility of re-dividing Jerusalem unfeasible. This political subordination of urban planning and development has created a divided, segregated, and unjust city. This chapter will examine the urban development and expansion of the city since 1967. It will focus on the process of suburbanization, the transportation infrastructure, and the public transport system as instruments for colonization. Finally, this paper will contemplate the possibilities of reversing the current role of transportation infrastructure as a tool for segregation and colonization, proposing the new light rail project of Jerusalem as a possible instrument for inclusion, decolonization, and spatial justice.

Keywords: Urban Conflict, Divided Cities, Transportation Infrastructure, Decolonization, Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Introduction

Jerusalem, a city of great historical and religious importance, has been an arena of urban conflict for almost a century. During this period, the city has been subjected to wars, divisions, colonization, urban expansion, and development. The urban conflict in Jerusalem is a conflict over sovereignty. As such, antagonism and disputes that concern rivalries over territory, the balance of power, and equity are interwoven with ethno-national conflict over the very legitimacy of the state (Gaffikin, F. & Morrissey, M. 2011). This conflict has a spatial manifestation - it is shaping the physical form of the city, which in turn, is shaping the conflict.

The long-lasting urban conflict in Jerusalem has created a divided, segregated, and unjust city. It seems as if Jerusalem, the city that was once told to be "Built up as a city united together "3.1, has become the archetype of a divided city. Urban planning and infrastructure play a key role in the Israeli efforts of colonizing East Jerusalem. The subordination of urban planning to the political aspirations of one side of the conflict is inflicting urban damage to the city as a whole. This chapter will examine three layers of urban planning that are being used as instruments for colonization: urban development and expansion, transportation infrastructure, and public transport systems. Finally, this chapter will contemplate the potentials of the new light rail project in Jerusalem to reverse its role and serve as a tool for inclusion and decolonization.

Shifting Borders - Historical review

In recent history, Jerusalem was subjected to several geopolitical changes and divisions: In 1947, the United Nations 'Partition Plan for Palestine' 3.2 recommended that Jerusalem should be governed by a 'special international regime'. In the aftermath of the 1948 war between the newly-founded State of Israel and all its Arab neighboring countries, Jerusalem was divided between the State of Israel and the Kingdom of Jordan^{3,3}. The armistice line between Israel and Jordan, known as 'the Green Line', was a closed and hostile international border that divided Jerusalem. 18 years later, on June 7th, 1967, the Jordanian ruled part of the city was conquered by the Israeli army during a war between Israel and Egypt, Jordan and Syria, later known as the 'Six-Day War'. The city was once again under one rule. The municipal borders expanded to the former Jordanian part of the city and the surrounding rural Arab villages, and in 1980, the Israeli government had officially confirmed the annexation of East Jerusalem^{3.4}. However, the Arab inhabitants of the former Jordanian territory were not granted full Israeli citizenship, but a temporary status of 'residency'. This legal status has left the Palestinian inhabitance of the city in an inferior legal position to their Israeli neighbors^{3.5}.

rusalem is not recognized by the international In the early 1990s, a peace process between Israel and the Palestinians resulted in an interim agreement known as the 'Oslo Accords', which constitutionalized temporary sub-divisions of the West Bank to Israeli areas (Area C) and Palestinian areas (Areas A&B), and established a Palestinian self-governance in the Palestinian cities, as a first step towards an independent Palestinian state. However, the status of Jerusalem was not a part of the agreement, and the question of the city's governance was postponed to future negotiations. Future negotiations never took place, and the peace process was never accomplished. The then-Israeli prime-minister was assassinated the West Bank. They are allowed to work in Israel by an Israeli citizen who opposed the peace process, and a series of Palestinian violent attacks on Israeli cities by faction opposing the peace process had escalated to a full armed uprising in the year 2000. The aftermath of this uprising, known as the 'Second Intifada', was the construction of the 'West Bank Separation Barrier' 5.6 by the Israeli government in the years 2002-2006. The separation barrier is crossing the entire West Bank, and in Jerusalem, it separates most of the Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank. The separation barrier consists of an array of high concrete walls and barbwires in the urban areas, inductive high fence in rural areas, petrol roads, quarding towers, and checkpoints for regulated crossing. The barrier completely separated the Palestinian areas of Jerusalem from its rural hinterland and disconnected the city from neighboring Palestinian urban centers like Ramallah in the north and Bethlehem in the south.

- community, and according to international law, belligerent occupation, along with the rest of the
- without a special permit and are allowed to vote this legal status is temporary and fragile, and a es his place of residence for a long period, or by a

The urban conflict in Jerusalem in the past century shaped the city and its physical form. In turn, the development of the city and the changes in its physical form shaped the urban conflict.

Colonization and urban development in Jerusalem

In the decadesthat followed the Six-Day War and the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem, the city went through significant expansion and development. The urban development of Jerusalem was heavily influenced, if not led by, the political aspirations of the Israeli governments to settle and dominate the eastern part of the city, with the clear intention of making any possibility of re-dividing the city unfeasible^{3,7}.

The Israeli belligerent occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem can be interpreted as a colonial project within the scope of international humanitarian law (Tilley, V. 2012). However, there are a few essential exceptions that have a crucial impact on the form and urban development patterns of the Israeli settlement of the West Bank.

Historically, colonization was a process in which a 'mother country' encourages its civilian population to settle in occupied territories, and by doing so gradually replacing military rule with a quasi-civilian form of administration, backed by a heavy military presence. This process resulted in the creation of first-class citizens - the colonizers, who enjoyed full legal and economic rights, while the local population is excluded from major positions of power and bound to a subsistence economy. In this sense, the Israeli occupation and settlement of the West Bank have many similar outlines with 'classic' colonialism, and many colonialist practices have been used by Israeli governments throughout the years. However, a major difference between 'classic' co-Ionialism and the Israeli settlement of the West Bank, which has a direct impact on the spatial patterns of Israeli colonization, is the proximity of the occupied territory to the existing urban centers. This meant that settlers could change their place of residence while keeping their place of employment in the city. The spatial impact of this proximity is that the pattern of colonization took a form of suburbanization (Newman, D. 2006).

Suburbanization is a process that has social and spatial characteristics. In the social aspect, suburbanization occurs when middle-class families are looking for a place where they can have larger houses, gardens, and a sense of community while keeping their place of employment and connection to their urban center. In the spatial aspect, suburbanization is usually a process of urban sprawl that is dictated by the land market and often results in the building of homogenous dormitory neighborhoods or satellite towns around existing urban centers. Hence, colonialization as suburbanization means that the settler movement has largely been a middle-class phenomenon. In most land markets in metropolitan areas, land prices change according to the distance from the urban center. However, since the 1980s, due to government subsidies, land prices in Israel dropped significantly when crossing the 'Green Line', regardless of the relative proximity to an urban center.

In the case of Jerusalem, this meant that suburbanization was used as an instrument for colonizing East Jerusalem. Since 1967, suburban sprawl in the form of dormitory







3.11

neighborhoods rapidly filled the territory beyond the 'Green Line' in Jerusalem. These new suburban expansions, such as Gilo in the south, Ramot in the north and Ma'ale Edomim in the east, were built on the hilltops surrounding Jerusalem, not following a logic of urban planning but a military logic of seizing the high grounds to gain maximum control of territory (Weitzman, E. 2007). This pattern of urban expansion, made possible by expropriation and nationalization of private Palestinian lands in East Jerusalem^{3,8}, has created fragmentations and disconnections in the Palestinian areas at the expense of growing Israeli neighborhoods.

Transportation infrastructure plays a key role in the process of suburbanization as colonization, and it serves a dual function - it connects and integrates the Israeli areas while fragments and segregates the Palestinian areas.

Lack of urban infrastructure and roads in poor physical conditions, East Jerusalem.

Photography: Serena Abbondanza, 2017. FIG. 3.10 The construction of road 50, connecting north Jerusalem to the south. It crosses the Palestinian neighborhood of Beit Saffafa but does not connect to it.

Photography: Anna Wachsmuth, Jerusalem Landscape.

FIG. 3.11 Highway 60, connecting Jerusalem and the settlements to the south. It bypasses runs under it in two long tunnels.

Transportation infrastructure as an instrument of colonization

The planning of transportation infrastructure does not only address the aesthetics and technical requirements that are needed for a good and functioning city. It also manifests the political structures of a given society in the broader sense: it spatializes the relations of power between different groups of interests (Groaq, S. 2006).

In Jerusalem, the relation of power between the Israeli and Palestinian communities is highly visible when examining the transportation infrastructure, particularly the road network. First, it is necessary to understand the urban structure of the city: The urban structure of East Jerusalem is based mainly on the 17 rural villages that the Palestinian town of Beith Jallah and surrounded the Jordanian part of the city, and later became part of Jerusalem with the expansion of its municipal borders by the Israeli government after 1967. The road Photography: Serena Abbondanza, 2017. network in the Palestinian areas in East Jerusalem is still based on the old rural roads

3.7 As it is evident in the words of the planner of the previous (1978) masterplan of Jerusalem, the architect Yossi Schweid: "The first and cardinal principle in the planning of Jerusalem is to ensure will prevent polarization into national communities and prevent possible repartition along the

3.8 For further information on the expropriation of Palestinian lands in East Jerusalem for the F. Eitan, (1995), A Policy of Discrimination: Land

that served the formerly rural area under Jordanian rule. Therefore, the Palestinian neighborhoods in Jerusalem lack any major urban axis that binds them, and from which it is possible to develop public institutions, commercial centers, and new residential areas (Groag, S. 2006). Furthermore, the roads in the Palestinian areas are often in poor physical conditions, most of them are narrow, lacking sidewalks or infrastructure systems and generally suffer from neglect [Fig. 3.9]. In the Israeli areas in the west and the Israeli settlements in the east, however, the road system is highly developed. It is interconnecting the Israeli neighborhoods with a hierarchy of primary, secondary, and residential roads, it is incorporated with infrastructure systems and it is well maintained.

The road system in the Palestinian areas is not only underdeveloped and intentionally neglected, but also actively transformed and downgraded by the Israeli planning authorities. For example, the Abu Dis road, formerly being the main road from East Jerusalem to the Palestinian city of Jericho, has been transformed from an important transportation route to a dead-end road. Highway 60, the main road that crosses the West Bank from north to south and connects the cities of Nablus, Ramallah, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron, was diverted and transformed to bypass the Palestinian areas and it is now serving mainly the Israeli areas of Jerusalem, the Israeli settlements, and the Israeli military [Fig. 3.10-3.11]. The goal of this planning policy is two-fold: First, to connect the Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem (and the settlements surrounding the city) to West Jerusalem, integrating them into an Israeli metropolis. Second, to limit and control Palestinian urban development, expansion, and growth. The Israeli transportation infrastructure is designed to be completely segregated from the urban fabric of the Palestinian areas, although crossing through it, by a costly array of bridges, tunnels, and bypasses (Groag, S. 2006). Thus, it does not serve these areas and the Palestinian communities living there, but only inflicts urban damage and fragmentation upon those communities. [Fig. 3.10]

The underdevelopment of East Jerusalem and the heavy segregation of the city create general urban destruction, which takes its toll from the Israeli areas as well. Rapid urban sprawl, driven by a military logic of seizing the hilltops to control maximum territory, is inflicting extensive damage to the environment and the city's remaining green areas. Jerusalem's scattered and low-density urban patterns that this urban sprawl created are causing heavy traffic problems. furthermore, the deep and constitutionalized inequality between the Israeli and Palestinian communities is creating political unrest, social tensions, and violence in the friction points between the communities.

One of the ways that the Israeli government and the Jerusalem municipality are trying to address the problems of urban sprawl and heavy traffic, is by upgrading the public transport system, mainly the bus networks and the new light rail project. However, like any other large-scale project in Jerusalem, the public transport systems in Jerusalem are primarily used as a tool to deepen Israeli colonization of East Jerusalem, before any other consideration.

42







3.13

Public transport and 'soft power'

3.14

Just as 'hard' transportation infrastructure such as roads and railways has a political dimension and addresses more than the mere technicality of mobility and transport, so does 'soft' transportation infrastructure, such as the bus system, public transport operators, and regulations. In the case of East Jerusalem, municipal services and public transport services are used by the Israeli government as 'soft power', which enables it to regulate and govern the Palestinian areas of the city (Shlomo, 0. 2017).

The use of municipal services and public transport as 'soft power' by the Israeli government in East Jerusalem has changed since 1967. In the first decades of Israeli rule in East Jerusalem, the city had two separated systems of municipal services and public transport, one operated by the Israeli government serving the Israeli population, and one operated by Palestinian locals, based on the former Jordanian systems and operators. After the Oslo Accords, the Palestinian public transport system was gradually replaced by new systems, operated by the newly founded Palestinian Authority (PA). These co-existing two separated municipal service systems were under unequal conditions - the system serving the Israeli population enjoyed governmental support and the ability to develop and expand, while the Palestinian system was limited and underdeveloped. However, the existence of a separate Palestinian system and the Palestinian unwillingness to use the Israeli system was perceived by the Palestinian community as an act of resistance (Shlomo, 0. 2017). The gradual collapse of the Oslo Accords, the eruption of the armed Palestinian uprising, and its aggressive suppression by the Israeli military in the early 2000s inflicted massive damage to the Palestinian operated municipal service systems. The construction of the separation barrier and the total separation of East Jerusalem from the West Bank had brought to its total collapse.

FIG. 3.12 The Palestinian central bus terminal outside of the Damascus Gate, East Jerusalem.

Photography: Author, 2020.

FIG. 3.13 A Palestinian bus driver entering the terminal, East Jerusalem.

Source: Magazine +972. Photography:

Maya Guarnieri Jaradat, 2012.

FIG. 3.14 Informal public transportation, East
Jerusalem.
Photography: Serena Abbondanza, 2017.

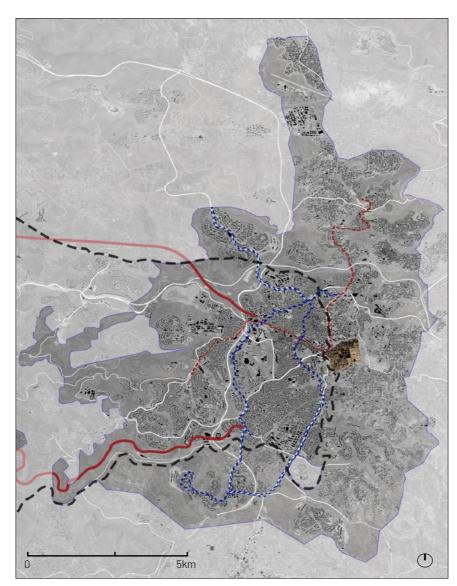


FIG. 3.15 Road and railway infrastructure in Jerusalem. Made by Author.

1949 armistice line

Jerusalem municipal border

Light railway (existing)
Light railway (construction)

The Old City

Main road Heavy railway

In order to prevent urban chaos, and to deepen its control over the Palestinian neighborhoods of the city, the Israeli government took advantage of the situation to regulate and reorganize the public transport system in East Jerusalem under Israeli governmental rule. The transport system reform for East Jerusalem that was initiated by the Israeli government included the establishment of new bus companies, operated by Palestinians but fully regulated by Israeli law. Due to the lack of alternatives, the reform was a success. In the early 2000s, more than 80% of the public transport daily passengers in East Jerusalem used various unauthorized and informal public transport vehicles [Fig. 3.14]. By 2010, the usage of the new formal and authorized public transport system had risen to 88% of the total public transport passengers in East Jerusalem (Shlomo, 0. 2017). This Israeli 'governmentalization' of the Palestinian public transport system is used by the Israeli government to penetrate Palestinian

in 1967 and the granting of Israeli residency to the Palestinians living in the city, the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem are boycotting the municipality and do not take part in the municipal elections. Therefore, the Palestinian community of Jerusalem is consistently not being represented in the municipality, which they perceive as a representative of Israeli illegal occupation.

45

Since the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem in 1967 and the granting of Israeli residency to the Palestinians living in the city, the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem are boycotting the murrecognize^{3.9}. communities in East Jerusalem and impose its rule. It has intensified the separation of East Jerusalem and impose its rule. It has intensified the separation of East Jerusalem from the West Bank and has deepened the dependency of Palestinian communities in Jerusalem on the municipality, which it's legitimacy they do not recognize^{3.9}.

Although the public transport system in East Jerusalem has been 'governmentalized' by the Israeli government and now operates under the full control of the Jerusalem municipality, it does not mean that the Palestinian communities of the city are better integrated into the urban grid. The Jerusalem municipality is still keeping two separate and parallel public transport systems, which, like the road infrastructure, are segregated and highly unequal. The Israeli and Palestinian public transport systems are operated by different companies, they use different terminals in different locations in the city and use different vehicles [Fig. 3.12–3.13].

Thus, just like the road system, the underdeveloped Palestinian public transport system is used by the Israeli government to limit and regulate Palestinian urban development in Jerusalem.

The light rail project - New potential for change?

The light rail project in Jerusalem is a part of a large plan for upgrading the transportation infrastructure in the city. Like all urban developments in Jerusalem since 1967, this project is being used by the Israeli government as a tool to deepen its colonization of East Jerusalem. Surely, it can be seen as yet another layer of the Israeli colonization mechanism. However, the urban form and function of a light railway system may offer other possibilities.

The masterplan of the light rail project was authorized by the Israeli government in 1998, and construction work first started in 2000. The first phase of the project consisted of the 'red line' – a tramline connecting the Israeli neighborhood of Beit HaKerem in West Jerusalem to the Israeli neighborhood of Pisgat Zeev in East Jerusalem, passing through the city center. The light rail started to operate in 2011, with the red line as the only line. In 2018, construction works have begun for the second phase, consisting of the green and blue lines. Both will connect the southern Israeli neighborhood of Gilo with the city center, Mount Scopus, and the northern Israeli neighborhood of Ramot [Fig. 3.15].

The use of the light rail project as a tool for colonization can be seen in the planning of the tramline routes: The red line is connecting West Jerusalem with an Israeli suburban neighborhood far in the north part of East Jerusalem, integrating it to the city. The blue and green lines both connecting Israeli suburban neighborhoods in East Jerusalem with the city center in the west. Moreover, the red line runs through the Damascus Gate area, a Palestinian area that is serving as a Palestinian commercial, cultural, and transportation center. The construction of the red line in that area necessitated the separation of the commercial and transportation center from the old city, weakening this vital Palestinian hub.

Due to these reasons, the light rail is being perceived by many Palestinians as a symbol of occupation, and the light rail stations, tracks, vehicles, and even passengers have been targeted by Palestinian violent attacks multiple times [Fig. 2.5]. However, unlike the separated bus systems or the high-speed motorways, the light rail project also has a surprising outcome: public spaces that were developed along the new tramline have become shared spaces for Israeli and Palestinians, in a city that lost most of its shared spaces due to the separation barrier and the increasing violence. Moreover, as a shared public transport system, the light rail itself became a space that is shared by the different, seldom meet communities of the city.

Previously, this chapter examined different layers of urban development and infrastructure as instruments for colonization. The separation barrier, highways that dissect Palestinian areas, and a segregated, underdeveloped public transport system are all means of containment and restriction. The light rail system, however, is of a different nature. In contrast to a wall, it does not prevent movement. In contrast to a high-speed motorway, it does not necessarily create local barriers, and if designed properly it can co-exist with pedestrian movement and urban activities, and even trigger urban development and renewal. Finally, unlike the two separate bus systems in Jerusalem, the light rail is one system and it has the potential to serve all the communities of the city.

Conclusion - Changing the Paradigm

46

Since 1967, the urban planning and development of Jerusalem are completely subordinated to the Israeli government's political aspirations and shaped by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Jerusalem's urban development, its transportation infrastructure, and public transport systems, all serve primarily as instruments of colonization before any professional consideration. This has created a divided, segregated, and unjust city, and inflicts damage to all of the city's communities.

As for today, the light railway project of Jerusalem is yet another layer of the Israeli colonization of the city. However, the nature and form of a light railway system offers a potential to reverse these processes of segregation and colonization. It could integrate the highly segregated Palestinian communities into the urban grid. It could start a defragmentation process of the Palestinian areas of the city, interconnecting them into a viable urban system. Finally, the light rail project can trigger urban development and renewal projects on the local scale, a development that can address the acute problems that the Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem are suffering from after decades of underdevelopment and neglect

However, urban planning and design in a divided city that is subjected to a conflict over sovereignty cannot be limited to the narrow aspect of spatial interventions. It must conceptualize the process of urban planning and development as part of a larger frame of governance transformation and conflict resolution process (Gaffikin, F. & Morrissey, M. 2011). As long as the dominant paradigm is that of the nation-state, which holds national or ethnic identity as the only political frame of sovereignty, the priorities of urban planning in Jerusalem will always be dictated by the nation-state, therefore continuing the colonization and the disposition of its Palestinian residents.

Maybe when the nation-state paradigm will be overcome, a reconciliation process can truly begin. On that day, perhaps, the light rail project of Jerusalem could serve as a tool for inclusion and decolonization, and be an important element in the city's transition to a truly united Jerusalem.

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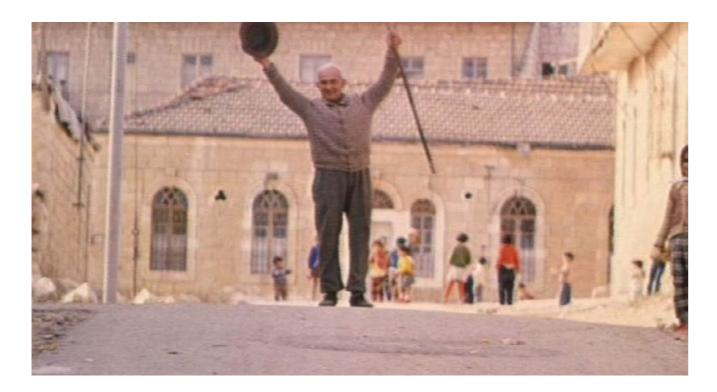


FIG. 4.1 A man in the neighborhood of Nachlaot, West Jerusalem, 1963.

Source: A shot from the film 'In Jerusalem' by David Perlov, (1963).

Commissioned by the Israeli government in the early 60s, 'In Jerusalem' was meant to portray Jerusalem in a positive light. However, the film was shelved due to its realism and the unflattering image of the city it has portrayed. 'In Jerusalem' is a rare cinematic documentation of West Jerusalem and its people in the time that the city was divided between Israel and Jordan.

04 Analysis: What kind of a divided city is Jerusalem?

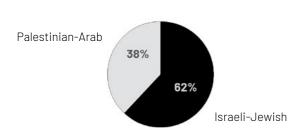


FIG. 4.2 Ethno-national division and density mapping. Made by author. Source: Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research, 2019.

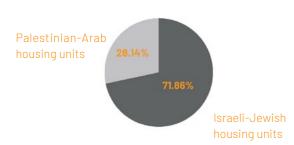
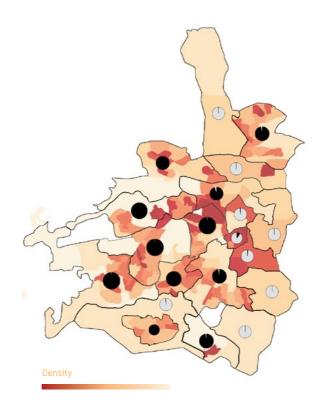
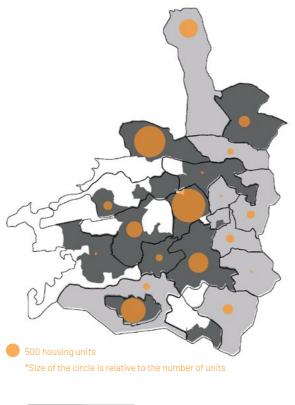


FIG. 4.3 Construction of housing units that were built in 2015-2018 according to districts (percentage). Made by author. Source: Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research, 2019.

50





4.1 Demography and Development

4.1 Updated to 2017.

Jerusalem: Facts and Trends 2019 - The State of

4.2 The term West Jerusalem is referring to the territory within the municipal borders of Jerusalem, excluding all territories that were annexed to the municipality after the 1967 war. The term East Jerusalem is referring to the territories annexed to the city's municipal territory after the 1967 war. For further details, see "Shifting Borders - Historical review", chapter 3.2 p. 39-40.

Since 1967, the population of Jerusalem has more than tripled [Fig. 4.4]. Today, Je-Source: Korach M. & Choshen M. (Eds), (2019), rusalem has a population of 901,300 residents^{4,1}. 558,800 of its residents are Israeli -Jews (62%), and 342,500 are Palestinian-Arabs (38%).

> 343,900 Israelis and 3,900 Palestinians live in West Jerusalem, while 215,900 Israelis and 337,400 Palestinians live in East Jerusalem^{4,2}.

> Jerusalem is a segregated city, the different neighborhoods of the city are highly homogeneous in respect to its resident's ethno-national identity, and there are no significant mixed neighborhoods in Jerusalem. In almost all neighborhoods, residents are over 90% Israeli or Palestinian. [Fig. 4.2]

> In addition, the city's neighborhoods have non-homogeneous density patterns [Fig. 4.2]. Jerusalem's municipality area consists of only 47% built area, while the rest is open space. The built areas vary in density and spread all around the municipal area in separated clusters. This urban pattern is a result of two processes: First, a long tradition of not building in the valleys, first for agricultural reasons, later manifested as an urban regulation by the British Mandatory rule for maintaining open spaces in the city. Second, the Israeli suburbanization patterns after 1967 that follow the logic of spreading and building on strategic hilltops to control the largest territory as possible (Weitzman, E. 2007).

> Fig. 4.3 shows a mapping of the number of housing units that were built in the city in the years 2015-2018. It shows the unequal development of the city, with less than 30% of the new housing is built in the Palestinian neighborhoods, while Palestinians consist of almost 40% of the city's population.

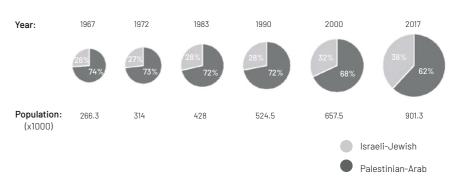


FIG. 4.4 Population of Jerusalem since 1967. Made by author. Source: Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research, 2019.

4.8

FIG. 4.5 Topography.

FIG. 4.6 Israeli and Palestinian population.

FIG. 4.7 Transportation Infrastructure.

FIG. 4.8 West Bank separation barrier.

52

Legend

1949 armistice line Greater Jerusalem municipal border Altitude above sea level



Palestinian population Israeli population Jerusalem Old City Separation barrier Checkpoint



Main road Heavy rail Light rail (existing) Light rail (construction)

4.2 Infrastructure and Form

The historic urban layout of Jerusalem has always been a city surrounded by higher hills [Fig. 4.5]. The historic skyline of the city was characterized by the iconic Holy Basin rising above the Old City, and the higher hilltops surrounding Jerusalem in the background. Today, this is no longer the case. Since the expansion of Jerusalem outside the Old City walls in the late Ottoman times, and more drastically since the vast urban sprawl from 1967 onwards, the hilltops surrounding the city have been heavily urbanized.

The urban sprawl and the expansion of Jerusalem is a key element in the political conflict between Israelis and Palestinians in Jerusalem, and suburbanization is being used as an instrument by the Israeli government to colonize and deepen its rule over East Jerusalem (Newman, D. 2006). Since 1967, Israeli suburban neighborhoods were built on strategic hilltops to the south, east, and north of the city, creating discontinuities and fragmentations in the Palestinian areas [Fig. 4.6]. The transportation infrastructure, mainly the roads and recently also the new light rail system [Fig. 4.7], play an important role in this political urban expansion. The role of transportation infrastructure in Jerusalem is two-fold: it is integrating and interconnecting the Israeli neighborhoods in East Jerusalem to the west, while creating barriers and disconnections in the Palestinian areas, preventing it from developing and expanding (Groag, S. 2006).

The separation barrier, with its array of checkpoints and crossings [Fig. 4.8], have created restrictions of movement and huge economic damage to the Palestinian communities of the city. Moreover, on the regional scale, the separation barrier has altered the role of the city in the West Bank. From an important Palestinian urban center, well connected to neighboring Palestinian cities and with a significant rural hinterland, Palestinian Jerusalem became a disconnected, poor and underdeveloped Palestinian enclave.

■ Made by author. Sources:

Jerusalem Municipality: https://www.jerusalem.muni.il/ he/residents/planningandbuilding/cityplanning/

Forensic Architecture & B'Tselem, Conquer and Divide: https://conquer-and-divide.btselem.org/

53

The Humanitarian Data Exchange: https://data. humdata.org/

FIG. 4.9 Jerusalem municipality budget distribution between neighborhoods in East and West of the city, 2013:

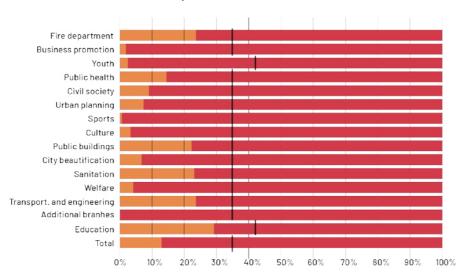


FIG. 4.10 Number of members in an average household in Jerusalem:

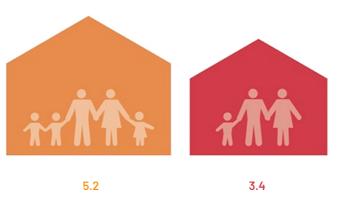


FIG. 4.11 Percentage of population under the poverty line in Jerusalem:



FIG. 4.12 Percentage of population under the poverty line in Israel:



Source: Ir-Amim (2019), East Jerusalem - general statistics; Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research, (2019).

54

Palestinian population Israeli population

52% 14%

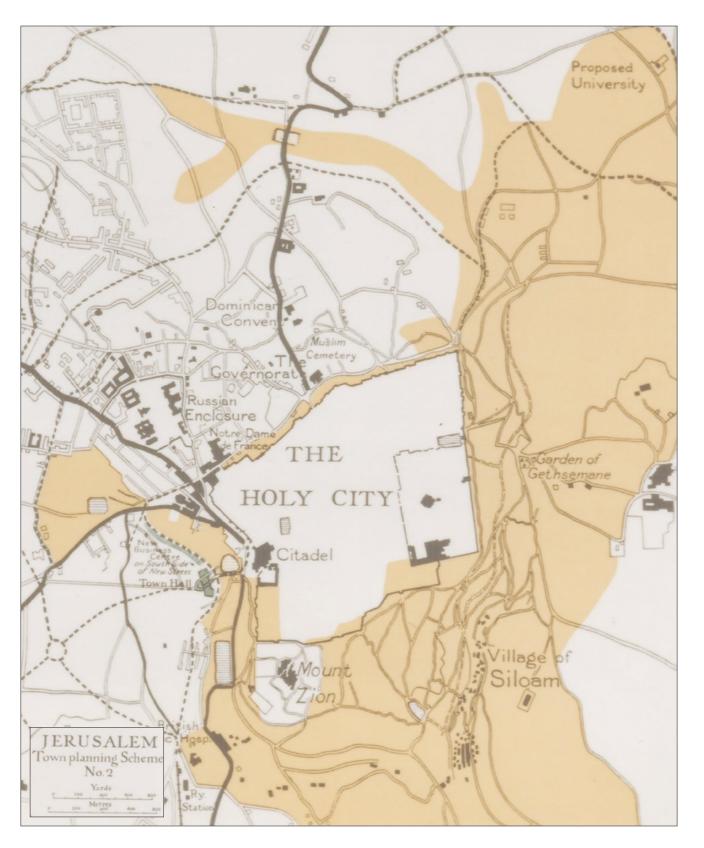
4.3 Economy and Resources

4.3. The poverty line, or poverty threshold, is the minimum level of income deemed adequate in a particular country. The poverty line is usually calculated by finding the total cost of all the essential resources that an average human adult consumes in one year.

55

Demographic and economic statistics [Fig. 4.9] illustrates the unequal distribution of resources in the city. One of the consequences of this significant inequality, in addition to decades of dispossessions of Palestinian property and lands by Israeli authorities and an inferior legal status of Palestinians, is that 75% of the Palestinian residents in the city are living under poverty line $^{4.3}$ (!), in comparison of 29% of the Israeli residents.

As a form of resistance to Israeli occupation and an expression of the illegitimacy of the Israeli municipal system in Jerusalem in their eyes, the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem are traditionally boycotting the elections for the city council. As a result, there is practically no representation to the Palestinian communities in the city council, albeit the fact that they constitute almost 40% of the city's residents.



05 Urban Planning and Governance in Service of Colonization

This chapter reviews and analyzes the urban planning and governance in Jerusalem since 1967. It examines the ways urban planning and governance are serving as an instrument of the Israeli government to colonize East Jerusalem and analyzes the ways it affects construction and development in the Palestinian neighborhoods of the city.

(The chapter is based mainly on three reports made by 'Bimkom - Planners for Planning Rights'. See bibliography)

FIG. 5.1 The "Geddes Plan": a Town-Planning Scheme for Jerusalem. Commissioned by the British Mandatory rule in Palestine and made by the town-planner Sir Patrick Geddes.

This town-planning scheme, though never realized, was one of the first British urban plans in Jerusalem, and set the foundations for the later British urban plans for the city.

Source: Ashbee R. C. (1921), Jerusalem, 1918-1920; being the records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the period of the British military administration, The Council of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, London.

5.1 The structure of the governance system in Israel

A general review

5.1. For the full law (in Hebrew), see: https://www.nevo.co.il/law_html/Law01/044_001.htm

In order to understand the role of urban planning and governance in the Israeli colonization of East Jerusalem, a general review of the Israeli planning governance hierarchy and mechanism is needed.

Planning and governance in Israel is a highly centralized and hierarchic system [Fig. 5.2], in which the national government has a great deal of authority over the municipal level in the field of spatial planning and construction. Under the Israeli Law of Planning and Construction, established in 1965^{5.1}, there are three levels of planning institutions:

National Committee for Planning and Construction – The National Committee for Planning and Construction is a government level institution and it is the highest planning authority in Israel. The majority of the national committee members are government representatives [Fig. 5.3], and the committee, along with other committees, operates directly under the Israeli government. The National Committee for Planning and Construction is responsible for approving National Outline Plans (NOP) – plans that apply to the entire country, and regulate land uses and large infrastructure on the national scale. NOPs determine land uses on the national level such as natural reservoirs, natural resources, agriculture, main urban areas, coastlines, national industry areas, national infrastructure, military uses, etc. NOPs usually focus on the national scale, but in some cases, it can be very detailed. NOPs are legal and binding documents for any plan lower on the planning hierarchy, and every deviation from it in lower level plans must be approved by the National Committee.



FIG. 5.2 The hierarchy of the governance system in Israel

National Committee for Planning and Construction:

- 15 Government representatives
- 11 Professional representatives from academia and civil society
- 7 Local and regional councils representatives
- 3 Mayors

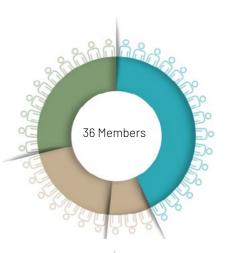
District Committee for Planning and Construction:

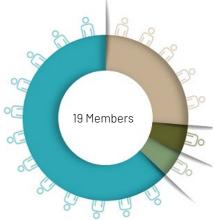
- 12 Government representatives
- 1 Representative from the Association of Engineers, Architects and Graduates in Technological Sciences in Israel
- 1 Representative from nature protection organization
- 5 Local councils representatives

FIG. 5.3 The members of the National and District Committees.

Source: Life & Environment: Infrastructure Organization for the Israeli Environmental Movement.

https://www.sviva.net/about/vision-eng/





Planning and construction districts of Israel:

- 1. Tel-Aviv District
- 2. Central District
- 3. Jerusalem District (Including East Jerusalem)
- 4. Haifa District
- 5. Northern District
- 6. Southern District
- 7. Judea & Samaria District (Occupied West Bank, Excluding East Jerusalem)



FIG. 5.4 Planning and construction districts of Israel. Made by author.

60

District Committees for Planning and Construction – There are seven district committees responsible for seven planning districts in Israel: Northern District, Haifa District, Central District, Tel-Aviv District, Judea and Samaria District (the occupied territories of the West Bank excluding the annexed territories of East Jerusalem), Jerusalem District (including annexed territories of occupied East Jerusalem) and Southern District [Fig. 5.4]. Like the national committee, the seven district committees are also governmental level institutions. The majority of the committees' members are government representatives and the District Committees operate under the National Committee [Fig. 5.3]. The District Committees for Planning and Construction are responsible for approving Regional Outline Plans (ROP). ROPs are used mainly to mediate the national-level plans and the local plans made by the municipalities. ROPs detail and specify the land uses determined by the NOPs, determine municipal borders and approves or decline changes and deviations proposed by the municipal level.

Local Committees for Planning and Construction – The Local Committees for Planning and Construction are municipal level committees, appointed and operate under local municipalities. The local committees are responsible for approving Local Outline Plans (LOP) – plans that apply on some or the entire territory of a municipality. Being local level plans, LOPs are much more detailed than regional or national plans. LOPs allocate and detail land uses planned by the regional and national plans, define plots, determine land allocation for public uses, determine architectural and urban design principles, and plan the urban infrastructure. Although the local plans allocate and determine the spatial distribution of land uses, it is not authorized to deviate from the planned quantity and purposed of the various land uses planned by regional or national outline plans, and every deviation must be approved by the district or national committees – hence, by the governmental level.

Detailed outline plans and building permits - According to the Israeli Law of Planning and Construction, any construction project - from a small house renovation to a large and complex project - must obtain a building permit from the local committee before starting the construction works. A building permit can only be given if the relevant plot or plots are within the borders of an approved Outline Plan that is detailed enough to understand the architectural form that is permitted in that area. This means that the approved Outline Plan of that area must include building lines, maximum building height, etc. Although some Local Outline Plans, and in special cases even regional or national plans, are detailed enough for that matter and a building permit can be given by the existing outline plan, in most cases an approved Detailed Outline Plan is necessary in order to get a building permit for a specific plot or plots. Detailed Outline Plans, like Local Outline Plans, are planned or commissioned by the local municipality or another public institution, and it needs to be approved by the Local Committee. However, the 43rd amendment to the Law of Planning and Construction, approved in 1995, permitted a private party to initiate and produce a local or a detailed plan and submit it to the Local Committee for approval. This amendment had a significant influence on the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem as well as on the latest Local Outline Plan of Jerusalem ('Masterplan 2000 for Jerusalem') as will be elaborated on in chapter 5.4: 'Masterplan 2000 - A new masterplan for Jerusalem'.

FIG. 5.5 Jerusalem municipal territory. Made by author.

5.2 The role of urban planning in the colonization of Fast Jerusalem

Israeli army during the 1967 war, later known as the 'West Bank', are considered to be under occupation according to international law.

5.2 The territories conquered from Jordan by the After the 1967 war, a territory of 7,100 hectares was added to the municipal borders of Jerusalem. The additional territory included the 640 hectares of the former Jordanian municipal territory of Jerusalem, and a vast territory of the city's rural hinterland, belligerent occupation and Israel is governing including entire villages and part of villages that surrounded the city^{5.2}. Due to this significant expansion, the municipal territory of Jerusalem had tripled its size, from Israel excluded the territories that were annexed 3,800 hectares before the war to a 10,900 after the expansion (Later, the municipal to the municipality of Jerusalem (territories borders were further expanded to the west, and currently the municipal territory of referred to as 'East Jerusalem'), regards them the city is 12,600 hectares [Fig. 5.5]). This rapid and vast expansion of Jerusalem's as an official part of the State of Israel and it is municipal territory was not the result of urban planning and development considerations, but of strictly political interest of the Israeli government to determine the powas further confirmed by the Israeli government litical status of the city after the war. Thus, the principle that guided the redrawing of the city's municipal borders was not a planning principle, but a political principle not recognize the Israeli annexation of East of "maximum territory, minimum population". A principle that dictated seizing large areas, controlling strategic hilltops, and adding minimum Palestinian population to of the West Bank, and therefore under belligerent the city^{5.3} (Efrat, E. 2002). The new municipal borders, guided by the principle of "maximum territory, minimum population", created multiple problematic situations such as dense urban Palestinian neighborhoods left out of Jerusalem municipal borders despite their proximity to the city and vast empty areas far away from the city but included within its municipal borders.

> Since the expansion of Jerusalem, two main principles dictate planning and development policies in the city: the principle of 'Demographic Balance' and the principle of 'Territorial Integrity'. The principle of demographic balance is intended to maintain a Jewish majority in Jerusalem, and the principle of territorial integrity is intended to guarantee an Israeli territorial continuity in the city while preventing any Palestinian territorial continuity. These two principals have had a crucial influence on the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem, and they had shaped the planning and developing policies of the entire city ever since. The Israeli government's attention to Jerusalem's demography and its attempt to influence it through urban planning have exceeded reasonable proportions and became the main criteria for every development plan regarding the city of Jerusalem (Cohen-Bar, E. 2014).

West Jerusalem - 5500 hectares East Jerusalem - 7100 hectares 1949 Armistice line

5.3 Israeli urban planning in East Jerusalem since 1967

- 5.4 For further information on home demolitions in East Jerusalem see: U.N OCHA Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, (2009), The Planning Crisis in East Jerusalem: Understanding the phenomenon of "illegal" construction (report),
- 5.5 For further statistics on average household sizes, densities, and housing units construction see chapter 04 p. 49-55.

After the annexation of East Jerusalem, the Israeli authorities bore the responsibility of producing appropriate outline plans for East Jerusalem in a way that will allow proper construction and development to continue. However, the Israeli authorities failed to do so and tended to leave the Palestinian neighborhoods of East Jerusalem without proper outline plans for many years. The lack of planning in the Palestinian neighborhoods meant that only very few building permits could be issued, forcing the Palestinian residents of the city to build their homes illegally [Fig. 5.8]. This has served the Israeli colonization of East Jerusalem in several ways: first, the threat of home demolitions due to illegal construction served the Israeli authorities and created constant political pressure on the Palestinian population^{5.4} [Fig. 5.6-5.7]. Second, the lack of planning left large unplanned open areas between the Palestinian neighborhoods and villages, open areas that will be later used for the construction of Israeli neighborhoods, deepening Israeli control over the territory, and fragmenting Palestinian areas.

A brief review of urban planning in East Jerusalem since 1967 reveals that the first two decades since the annexation were characterized by a policy of intentional neglect and limited and restrictive planning (Cohen-Bar, E. 2014). During those years, only a few general outline plans were made for East Jerusalem, mainly around the Old City, aiming to limit construction and development and to preserve the area. In addition, a few very limited plans were issued to the surrounding Palestinian neighborhoods, restricting development according to the principle of the 'demographic balance'. During the 1990s, Outline Plans were made for the Palestinian neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city. These partial and limited plans failed to address the growing need for housing and infrastructure in these neighborhoods, but they allowed Palestinian landowners to build and develop their property in a legal way to some extent. Another important change that occurred during the 1990s and had a significant impact on Palestinian urban development in East Jerusalem was the 43rd amendment to the Law of Planning and Construction. The amendment, passed in 1995, allowed for the first time for a private party to initiate and produce a local or a detailed plan and submit it to the Local Comity for approval. This meant that Palestinian landowners in East Jerusalem are far less dependent on the goodwill of the municipality for planning and developing their property, and are free to submit their own plans to the Local Comity. The impact of the 43rd amendment was later limited by the new masterplan for Jerusalem, which restricted any privately initiated plans to a minimum total area of one hectare, limiting landowners of smaller plots from planning their land on their own.







5.7

5.8

FIG. 5.6 Jerusalem municipality demolishes homes in the Palestinian neighborhood of Isawiya, East Jerusalem. 11 July 2017.

Source: U.N Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.

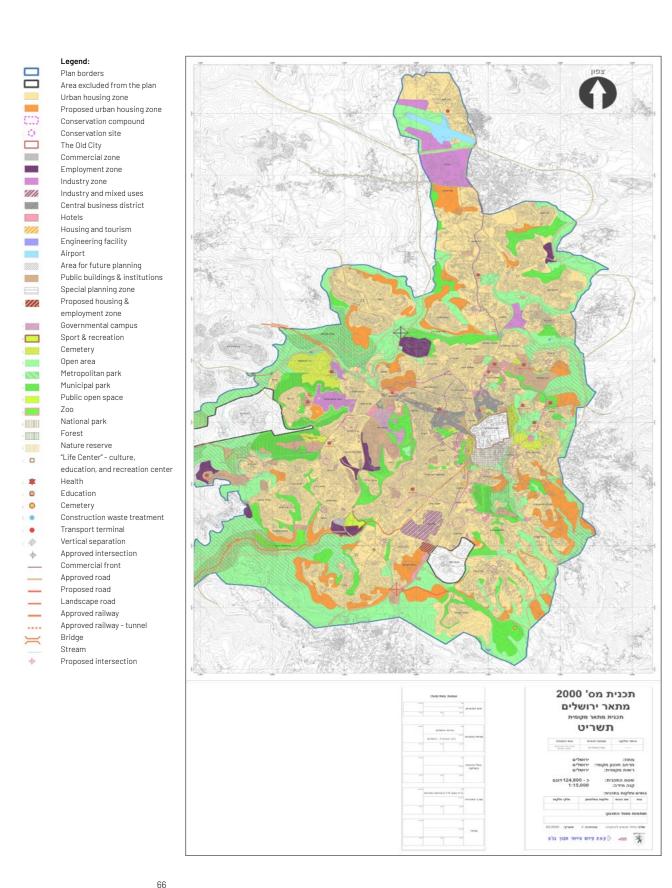
FIG. 5.7 The ruins of Fatna and Azan Idris home, after it was demolished by the municipality. Beit Hanina, East Jerusalem. 27 January 2014.

Source: B'Tselem - The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories.

FIG. 5.8 Informal highrise buildings in Shuafat refugee camp, East Jerusalem. Although the refugee camp is within Jerusalem's municipal borders, it is located beyond the separation barrier, where the municipality does not enforce construction regulation. This has led to massive informal housing construction.

Photography: Serena Abbondanza, 2017.

Despite the 43rd amendment and the partial planning in East Jerusalem, years of neglect and insufficient planning left the Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem underdeveloped, fragmented by growing Israeli neighborhoods and infrastructure that are constantly being developed around them, and under a threat of house demolitions due to illegal construction caused by the lack of planning. A general examination of urban planning in Jerusalem since 1967 reveals significant inequalities between the Israeli population and the Palestinian population of the city. The total area of approved plans in Palestinian parts of the city is 2,300 hectares, some 30% of East Jerusalem, and 18% of the whole city. Out of more than 200,000 housing units in Jerusalem, only 50,000 are in the Palestinian neighborhoods of East Jerusalem. This means that 39% of the population is living in 25% of the housing units.^{5,5}



5.4 Masterplan 2000 - A new masterplan for Jerusalem

- 5.6 The District Committee has the authority to reject or order significant alterations in an outline plan after the discussions on the public's objections. However, due to the fact that the government has the majority members in the District Committees, and the fact that it is the same Committee itself that approves an outline plan before submitting it to public objections, it is extremely rare that an outline plan is being rejected or significantly altered after submission.
- 5.7 In April 2013, a petition against the illegal use of 'Masterplan 2000' by the Jerusalem municipality was submitted to the Israeli Court of Administrative Affairs by 'Bimkom Planners for Planning Rights' and the 'Association for Civil Rights in Israel'. The court rejected the petition, arguing that it is too general and that the court will only discuss the matter when a petition over a specific case will be submitted.
- 5.8 See footnote 1.5 p. 19

◆ FIG. 5.9 'Masterplan 2000' - The new masterplan of Jerusalem. The plan is leaving out any information that can be politically controversial, such as the 1949 armistice line, the separation barrier, or any distinction between Palestinian and Israeli neighborhoods. By doing so, the plan is hiding its significant political implication.

> Source: Municipality of Jerusalem. https://www.jerusalem.muni.il/he/ residents/planningandbuilding/ cityplanning/masterplan/

> > 67

Background - At the beginning of the 2000s, the Jerusalem municipality was facing an overload of private planes waiting for the Local Committee's approval, and an outdated masterplan for the city that applied only to West Jerusalem (Cohen-Bar, E. 2014). Due to this planning chaos, the Jerusalem municipality initiated the planning of 'Masterplan 2000' - a new Local Outline Plan that will cover the entire municipal territory of Jerusalem and serve as the new city's masterplan. Masterplan 2000 was the first outline plan that would apply to the entire city, East Jerusalem included. The municipality's statements regarding 'Masterplan 2000' held a great promise to the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem, hoping for comprehensive planning of their neighborhoods for the first time. However, the principles of 'Demographic Balance' and 'Territorial Integrity' were once again the main considerations behind the plan. Hence, 'Masterplan 2000' became yet another instrument of the Israeli government to deepen its colonization of East Jerusalem and to continue the dispossession of its Palestinian residents.

The legality of the plan – According to the Israeli Law of Planning and Construction, every outline plan must be submitted for public objections. Within 60 days from the official submission, any individual is entitled to submit his or her objections to the plan. After the objections period, the District Committee must hold a discussion about every specific objection. It is only after the committee made a decision about every objection raised by the public that the outline plan is officially approved, and becomes a legal and binding document 5.6. In order to avoid these inconveniences, the Jerusalem municipality is avoiding submitting 'Masterplan 2000' for public objections. Instead, the municipality adopted the plan as a "policy document", which allows it to avoid discussions over public objections. Hence, the Jerusalem municipality is regarding 'Masterplan 2000' as a valid masterplan de-facto, according to which detailed outline plans are being approved or rejected, while in fact 'Masterplan 2000' has no legal status and is not officially approved 5.7.

The separation barrier – The first problematic aspect with the content of the plan is that it completely disregards the separation barrier 5.8. The barrier, constructed in the years 2002-2006 as a response to the Palestinian violent uprising during the early 2000s, is a massive array of high concrete walls, fences, and checkpoints that separates the city from the West Bank. The barrier disconnected the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem from the neighboring Palestinian rural areas and urban centers. Moreover, as a continuation of the "maximum territory, minimum population" policy, the barrier left a few highly dense Palestinian neighborhoods, such as Shu'afat Refugee Camp and Kafr 'Aqab neighborhood, in the other side of the barrier despite the fact that these neighborhoods are within the city's municipal borders, causing heavy mobility restrictions for their residents [Fig. 5.8]. The new masterplan of the city is completely ignoring this massive spatial element that crosses the city and has a huge impact on its Palestinian residents.

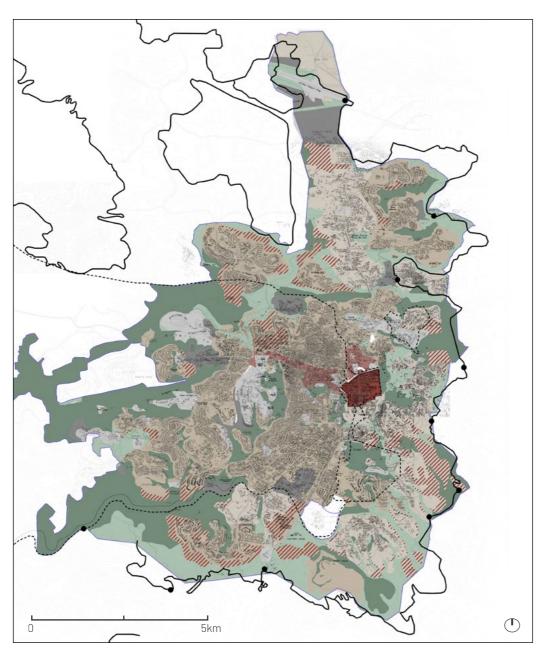


FIG. 5.10 Interpretation drawing of 'Masterplan 2000'. In this drawing, the political aspects of the plan are revealed. Made by author.



Open spaces - 'Masterplan 2000' allocates vast areas in East Jerusalem for various 'Open Space' land uses such as 'Nature Reservoir', 'National Park', 'Municipal Park', etc. The common feature of these land uses is that they are all prohibiting further building, and all cannot be changed to a different land use without the approval of the district committee. The various 'Open Spaces' are surrounding the Palestinian neighborhoods and preventing the use of their land reserves for further development. Thus, open spaces are being used in East Jerusalem not for the benefits of local residents, but to restrict Palestinian urban development and create fragmentations in the Palestinian urban areas. [Fig. 5.12]

Housing – 'Masterplan 2000' is addressing the issue of housing in Jerusalem with two approaches: densification of the existing urban areas by permitting more construction rights (number of floors and building expansions) and expanding existing neighborhoods. Close examination of the two approaches reveals that the solutions they provide are suitable for the Israeli neighborhoods of the city but unfeasible in the Palestinian neighborhoods.

First, the densification of existing urban areas is very limited when it comes to the Palestinian neighborhoods. According to 'Masterplan 2000', a maximum of two additional floors for an existing building is permitted. However, due to years of restrictions and limitations, many buildings in the Palestinian neighborhoods have only one or two floors. That means that even if the new masterplan permitted a maximum of six floors in a particular area, many Palestinian residents will only be able to fulfill their construction rights by demolishing the existing building and building a new one instead, which, in many cases, becomes economically unfeasible. Another limitation that makes the densification of Palestinian neighborhoods impractical is the lack of urban infrastructure. According to the new masterplan, a new building of six floors must be adjacent to a statutory road that is at least 12 meters wide, and any largescale housing project must include a connection to existing urban infrastructure (mainly sewage, water and electricity systems). However, years of underdevelopment in the Palestinian neighborhoods created a reality that statutory roads of 12 meter wide barely exist, even if they appear on the statutory plans, and urban infrastructure such as sewage treatment facilities are insufficient. These conditions are preventing the Palestinian residents of the city from realizing most of the urban densification possibilities provided by 'Masterplan 2000'.

Second, a closer examination of the areas allocated for the expansion of existing neighborhoods reveals that while the expansion of Israeli neighborhoods is permitted in open space areas, the expansions permitted for the Palestinian neighborhood is located mostly in areas that already have a significant presence of informal buildings. These so-called 'expansions', however important for the legalization of existing informal Palestinian homes, fail to address the need for additional housing that is so needed for the Palestinian communities of Jerusalem. [Fig. 5.11]

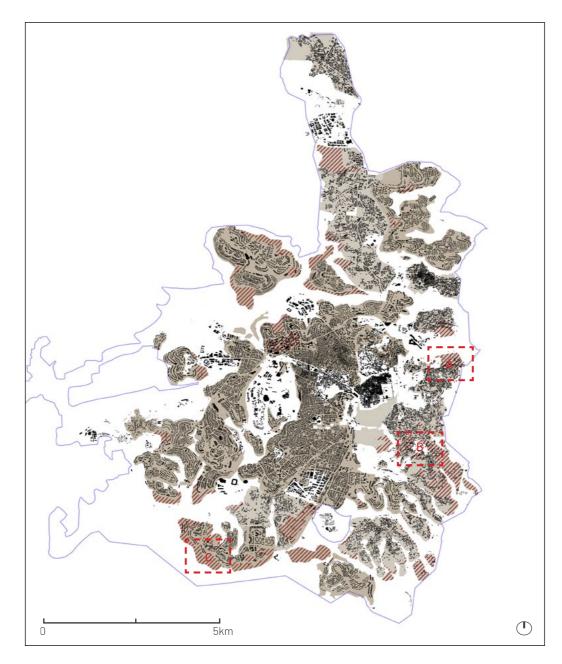
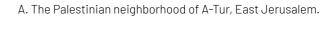


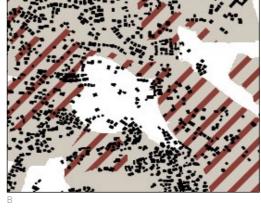
FIG. 5.11 Neighborhood expansions proposed by 'Masterplan 2000'.

While the expansion of Israeli neighborhoods is permitted in open space areas, the expansions permitted for the Palestinian neighborhood is located mostly in areas that already have a significant presence of informal buildings.

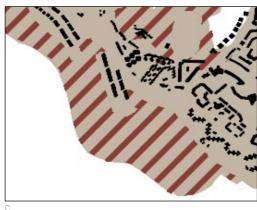
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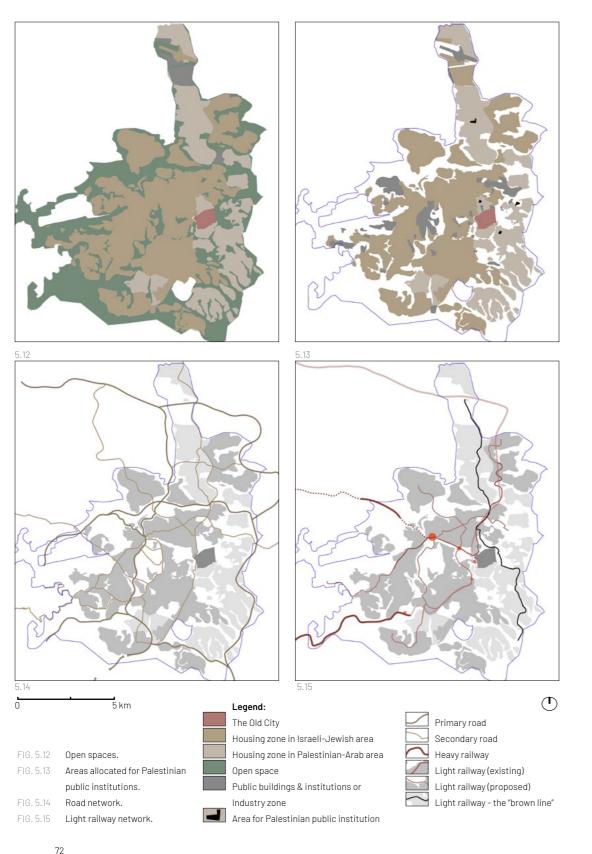




B. The Palestinian neighborhood of Jabal Mukaber, East Jerusalem.



C. The Israeli neighborhood of Gilo, East Jerusalem.



Public buildings - The Palestinian neighborhoods of East Jerusalem suffer from a severe insufficiency in public spaces, and particularly in public spaces allocated for public buildings such as schools, culture centers, libraries, etc. The new spaces allocated by 'Masterplan 2000' for public buildings in the Palestinian neighborhoods are transport in Jerusalem see: "Public Transport" scarce and far from answering the community needs. In many cases, these new public spaces are limited only for education buildings, and often located in plots with a steep slope, significantly increasing the construction costs. [Fig. 5.13]

> The road network - The road network in East Jerusalem is based on the old rural road network that served the area when it was still a rural hinterland of the city under the Jordanian rule (Groag, S. 2006). This road network is underdeveloped, fragmented, and in poor physical conditions. The lack of a main urban axis that connects the Palestinian neighborhood is limiting the possibility of significant urban development. Moreover, basic urban infrastructure such as sewage, water and electricity are based on the road system and the lack of it prevents landowners from developing their plots, even if further development is permitted by the new masterplan. The new road system planned in 'Masterplan 2000' is insufficient, and more importantly, it ignores the existing informal roads that exist on the ground, making the realization of the planned new roads much more difficult to realize. [Fig. 5.14]

> The light rail project - The light rail project is part of an ongoing large-scale project to upgrade Jerusalem's transportation system and address the soaring traffic problems of the city. The light rail project was authorized by the Israeli government in 1998, and the first tramline started operating in 2011. The light rail project, like any other large infrastructure projects in Jerusalem since 1967, is serving as a tool for deepening Israeli colonization of East Jerusalem and further fragmenting the Palestinian areas in the city^{5.9}. Unlike the two separated public bus systems in Jerusalem^{5.10}, the light railway is a shared public transport system serving both Israelis and Palestinians. Currently, there is only one tramline operating and two more under construction, but according to plans, the light rail system will consist of 8 tram lines that will serve the entire city. Examination of the light rail plans in 'Masterplan 2000' reveals that while all lines are connected and integrated to the urban grid, the one tram line passing through the Palestinian neighborhoods (the "brown line") is designed to have minimum connections with the rest of the network, and is not well integrated into the urban grid. This kind of design for segregation, rather than integration, clearly shows that the new masterplan of Jerusalem is no different than the former plans of the city, and is bound to keep the Palestinian neighborhoods of East Jerusalem underdeveloped and fragmented. [Fig. 5.15]

FIG. 5.12-5.15 Interpretation drawings of different layers of 'Masterplan 2000' reveals the ways the new masterplan serve as an instrument for colonizing East Jerusalem, rather than developing the city for the benefit of its entire population.

73

Made by author.

To conclude, despite the municipality's declarations about equality and development that 'Masterplan 2000' is offering to the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem, an examination of the plan and its implications on East Jerusalem imply otherwise. The principles of 'Demographic Balance' and 'Territorial Integrity', dictated by the political aspiration of the Israeli government to colonize East Jerusalem, are still the two leading principles of 'Masterplan 2000', and like former Israeli urban plans for Jerusalem since 1967, the new masterplan is yet another instrument of colonization used by the Israeli government in East Jerusalem.

6.1 Mainly on the report: Cohen-Bar, E. & Ronel, A. Key project II - Damascus Gate Terminal: Outline plan (See chapter 8.3 p. 116-129). Made by author.

06 Dynamic Planning

A new approach for feasible planning in East Jerusalem.

This chapter is based on reports and studies made by 'Bimkom: Planners for Planning Rights'6.1. 'Bimkom: Planners for Planning Rights' is an Israeli human rights organization founded in 1999 by a group of planners and architects to strengthen democracy and human rights in the field of spatial planning and housing policies in Israel and the Palestinian occupied territory. During the years since it was established, 'Bimkom' has assisted and accompanied multiple communities in their struggle against unjust plans and planning policies. In Jerusalem, 'Bimkom' was involved in many local initiatives of alternative planning by different Palestinian communities, assisting them in the legal and statutory struggle against unjust plans and planning policies.

In addition, this chapter is based on interviews with four architects and planners, each has significant experience and knowledge about planning in East Jerusalem:

- Arch. Efrat Cohen-Bar, a senior coordinator at 'Bimkom'. During her work in 'Bimkom', Cohen-Bar worked with Palestinian communities in East Jerusalem on multiple alternative planning projects and legal struggles against unjust plans promoted by the planning authorities.
- Prof. Arch. Ayala Ronel, a senior staff member at the Azrieli School of Architecture, Tel Aviv, and an active architect with vast experience in various planning projects with Palestinian communities in East Jerusalem.
- Prof. Arch. Senan Abdelguader, a senior staff member at the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design and an active architect. Throughout the years, Abdelquader was involved in numerous and various projects in East Jerusalem, from small-scale architecture projects to large-scale urban planning projects, and he has a vast experience in working with local communities and the planning authorities in East Jerusalem.
- Arch. Gil Krivine, an experienced architect with extensive knowledge and experience in working with the planning authorities in Jerusalem, in particular with the municipality's Transport Masterplan Team and the light rail project.



Shuafat neighborhood, East Jerusalem. Photography: Author, 2020.

6.1 Insufficient Planning, Limited Realization

The long-lasting neglect in East Jerusalem, the severe lack of infrastructure and public spaces, and the stressing housing shortage have created a reality that is limiting the realization of any large-scale outline plan made by the municipality. This chapter will propose tools and methods that will help the planning process in the informal urban reality of East Jerusalem, both from the spatial planning perspective and the governance perspective in order to create feasible outline plans to develop East Jerusalem and to address it's stressing urban problems. The tools and methods proposed in this chapter will be used for the implementation of a comprehensive development strategy proposed in this thesis^{6,2}, as it will be explored by two local key projects in East Jerusalem^{6,3}, illustrating how the large-scale urban vision is translated to the







Sur Baher neighborhood, East Jerusalem.

Photography: Author, 2020. FIG. 6.4 Wadi Qadum, East Jerusalem.

Source: Jerusalem Municipality, 2011.

FIG. 6.5 Wadi Joz neighborhood, East Jerusalem. Illegal waste burning is common in East Jerusalem due to lack of waste treatment facilities and municipal services.

Source: Jerusalem Municipality, 2011.

local, smaller-scale urban development projects.

Background - Unfeasible planning

Since 1967, the Palestinian neighborhoods of East Jerusalem are suffering from neglect and lack of planning, and large parts of East Jerusalem lacked a comprehensive outline plan, a fact that significantly limited the possibility to obtain a construction permit and prevented landowners from legally developing their property. In 1995, the 43rd amendment to the law of planning and construction permitted a private party to submit outline plans to the local planning committee^{6.4}. This has resulted in multiple very small outline plans (often including just

77

a single plot) that were submitted to the municipality by Palestinian landowners in East Jerusalem. De-facto, development in East Jerusalem became dependent mainly on the residents. However helpful, this type of small-scale private development is far from addressing the general planning problems of East Jeru-

In the early 2000s, the Jerusalem municipality was overloaded with private smallscale plans pending for approval, and large-scale comprehensive planning was needed to avoid planning chaos. Thus,

when the municipality started working on a new masterplan for the city - 'Masterplan 2000'6.5 - it was decided that, for the first time, it will include the entire municipal territory of Jerusalem, East Jerusalem included. Despite the fact that for the first time East Jerusalem neighborhoods will have a comprehensive masterplan, the municipality largescale plans for East Jerusalem were often unfeasible and almost none of them were realized ('Bimkom' & 'Ir Amim', 2010; Cohen-Bar, E. & Tatarsky, A 2017).

6.2 See chapter 07 p. 91-99. 6.3 See chapter 08 p. 101-129. 6.4 See chapter 5.3 p. 64-65.

6.2 Dynamic Planning: Implementation strategy

Planning in East Jerusalem - Conditions for realization

There are several preconditions needed for an outline plan to be realized in the East Jerusalem context:

- In East Jerusalem, a great majority of the lands are privately owned by the local residents. Therefore, the realization of any outline plan requires agreements and cooperation between the landowners. Self-organizations by residents are vital, and any planning process must reach out to these local organizations as one of the first steps of the process, support them, and incorporate them into the planning process.
- The deep lack of trust between the planning authorities and the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem requires effort and trust-building measures from the planning authorities to gain the trust of the local communities in order to be able to work together.
- The unique reality in East Jerusalem, as described above, requires flexibility from the planning authorities to find creative and dynamic solutions outside the standard solutions and procedures applied in West Jerusalem. This often means that general planning principles and regulations that apply to the whole city will at times have to be put aside when necessary (for example, the principle of keeping the valleys as open spaces, a regulation made to preserve open spaces in the city, will sometimes have to be forfeited at the expense of a new public building).
- Another systemic change that the planning authorities in Jerusalem must take when approaching a planning process in East Jerusalem is changing the way new plans are referring to existing statutory plans. As described above, most of the statutory plans that applied to East Jerusalem since 1967 were incomplete, insufficient, and unfeasible, and the reality on the ground has little to do with these plans. Therefore, pragmatic analysis of the existing plans must be conducted by the municipality, and when the existing statutory plan is unfeasible and irrelevant, the basic reference of the new planning must be to the existing reality on the ground rather than the existing statutory plan.

To conclude, in order to create feasible and sustainable outline plans for East Jerusalem and starting a process of urban development that will address the stressing issues of the Palestinian communities of the city, the Jerusalem municipality and the planning authorities must refer to the existing urban reality, informal and 'chaotic' as it is, as a potential for rich and complex urban development, rather than a problem to be solved (Cohen-Bar, E. & Ronel, A. 2013).

Dynamic Planning: Feasible planning in East Jerusalem

In the informal urban conditions of East Jerusalem there is a constant contradiction and tension between the large-scale outline plans of the municipality and the existing urban reality. As previously described, in many parts of East Jerusalem, urban

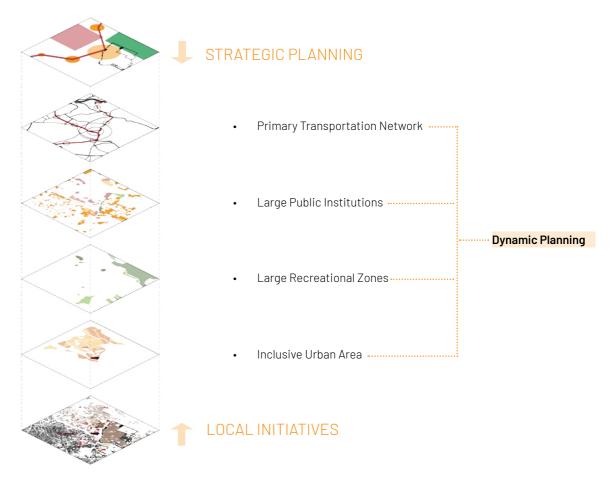


FIG. 6.6 'Dynamic Planning' strategy to mediate between top-down strategic planning and bottom-up local planning initiatives. Made by author.

development is dependent upon local initiatives of residents and landowners. but these initiatives often contradict the municipality's large-scale planning and lack of any support from the municipality planning institutes. For feasible planning in East Jerusalem, there is a need in mediation between the top-down planning and the existing urban reality in a way that will promote bottom-up planning and empower existing initiatives, incorplanning process.

79

To achieve synergy between a desired large-scale outline plan and bottom-up planning initiatives and to create feasible planning in East Jerusalem, a new planning strategy is proposed: Dynamic Planning [Fig. 6.6]. With the Dynamic Planning strategy, the planning process in the Palestinian neighborhoods of East Jerusalem will perform in two interdepended levels: a top-down, large-scale outline plan, usually in the neighborhood porating them into the municipality's scale, and locally initiated small-scale detailed plans, in which the plan's scale and complexity will be determined by the size and nature of the local initiative.

The large-scale planning must be limited only to the vital issues that cannot be addressed in a small scale bottom-up planning. It must create the urban structure while leaving flexibility and freedom for bottom-up plans to be developed. As it will be further elaborated on later, the large-scale outline plan will not be sufficient for obtaining construction permits in most of the plan's areas, and it will require a detailed small-scale plan initiated by local residents, thus encouraging and empowering local initiatives and bottom-up planning, creating a dynamic

6.3 Dynamic Planning: Principles

Dynamic Planning: Principles for large-scale, top-down planning

In order to limit the large-scale planning only to the necessary urban structure, leaving flexibility to local initiated detailed plans, it must consist only four main elements: 'Primary Transportation Network', 'Large Public Buildings', 'Large Recreational Zones' and 'Inclusive Urban Area':

 Primary Transportation Network: This element, determined and allocated by the large-scale outline plan, will consist of the primary transportation network along with the vital urban infrastructure incorporated in the transportation network. [Fig. 6.7]

A functioning transportation network is a base for urban development. It organizes the urban space, determines hierarchies, and provides access and infrastructure. The transportation network is incorporated with vital urban infrastructures such as water, sewage, electricity, and communication. Years of neglect created a reality in which the transportation network in East Jerusalem is underdeveloped, in poor condition, and in need of a significant upgrade. Moreover, it created a gap between the statutory transportation systems as it appears in former large-scale outline plans and the existing informal network that has been developed throughout the years. Therefore, a large-scale outline plan in East Jerusalem must address the issue of re-configuring the transportation network. It must be based on an analysis of the existing informal transportation network rather on the irrelevant transportation network marked in previous statutory plans and never realized. It is important to restrict the large-scale outline plans only to the primary transportation system – light railway, highways, and primary roads, leaving secondary and tertiary networks to the smaller-scale bottom-up planning.

- 2. Large Public Institutions: Years of insufficient planning in East Jerusalem have created a significant shortage in large public institutions such as schools, health centers, or cultural centers. Many of the plots that were allocated in previous outline plans for large public institutions were never realized because they were already occupied with informal housing, located in hard topographic conditions, or lack any access. In the urban reality of East Jerusalem, poor infrastructure and a dense informal building have made the task of allocating a suitable plot for a new large public institution within the built-up area almost impossible. To overcome these problems and to make sure that a new large-scale outline plan will properly address the need for public institutions, areas for large public institutions should be allocated as follows:
 - First, all the large plots that were allocated for public institutions in previous plans but were not realized must be analyzed. When the realization is possible, the plot will remain allocated for a public institution.
 - Since it is almost impossible to allocate new large plots for public institu-

80

6.6 See chapter 5.4 p. 67-73.

tions in the densely built Palestinian neighborhoods, new large plots must be located within the edges of the neighborhoods. When needed, plots that are located in an area allocated as 'open space' in previous plans will be changed to 'large public institution', even if that is contrary to a city planning principle such as not building in the valleys. If there is a large plot in an unbuilt area that is allocated for new housing in a previous plan, this area can be swapped for a plot allocated for a public institution but occupied with informal housing.

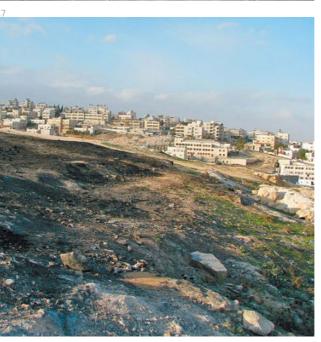
- The Jerusalem municipality must work with the Ministry of Education in order to acquire a governmental budget that will be dedicated to the excess costs that building in a steep topography will require, thus enabling the realization of some of the existing plots allocated for public institutions but not realized due to steep topography.
- 3. Large Recreational Zones: Since 1967, vast areas in East Jerusalem were allocated by outline plans for various types of open spaces where construction is prohibited (national parks, archeological park, nature reserve, etc.) regardless of the actual quality of the area, and as a way to restrict and limit Palestinian urban development^{6,6}. In reality, these vast areas (much of it still privately owned by Palestinian residents) have deteriorated and have become neglected areas, where informal housing, illegal waste dumps, and other informal activities are taking place [Fig. 6.9]. In a new, feasible outline plan for East Jerusalem, these areas must be analyzed and mapped according to the actual functions that evolved informally and re-allocated according to the needs of the neighborhood. These areas can be used for neighborhood expansions, large public buildings, parks, etc. All restrictive "open space" land-uses should be replaced with a single 'Large Recreational Zone' that will be limited to the neighborhood edges and valleys, according to the resident's needs rather than restricting the urban development.

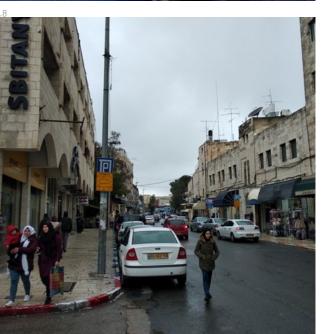
The current approach to public open spaces in Jerusalem, as it manifested in existing outlines plans, is a preference for large parks outside the living areas, shared by the surrounding neighborhoods. This approach may be fitting for West Jerusalem, but it is not suitable for the needs and lifestyle of the Palestinian neighborhoods of East Jerusalem. Dialogues with Palestinian residents have shown that women and children will rarely venture outside of the neighborhood to a faraway park. The consistent preference of the Palestinian residents in East Jerusalem is for multiple, small-scale gardens within the neighborhoods themselves (Cohen-Bar, E. & Ronel, A. 2013). Therefore, 'Large Recreational Zones' will allocate the necessary large open areas outside the living areas, while small-scale open public spaces will be allocated in the detailed local plans in the 'Inclusive Urban Areas' that were allocated in the large-scale outline plan (see next section).

4. Inclusive Urban Area: In the large-scale outline plans, a single and inclusive land-use will replace the various, over detailed land-uses detailed in the existing outline plans such as the different types of housing, commerce, services, etc. (Cohen-Bar, E & Ronel, A, 2013). 'Inclusive Urban Area' will consist of the existing built-up areas and open areas that will be dedicated to future development. 'Inclusive Urban Area' will determine maximum densities and the ratio between housing and other uses, however, being general and not detailed, it will allow a wide range of urban functions to be allocated during the small-scale, locally initiated planning [Fig. 6.10]. Functions such as various types of housing, commerce, working and services, public spaces, small gardens, small public buildings, etc. 'Inclusive Urban Area' allocated in a large-scale outline plan will not be sufficient for acquiring construction permits and will require a smaller-scale detailed outline plan initiated by the local community, thus encouraging and empowering local initiatives. 'Inclusive Urban Area' will provide the large-scale outline plan the flexibility it needs to become feasible and relevant and encourage detailed bottom-up initiatives that will be needed for the realization of the plan and the development of the area.









6.10 6.9

83

FIG. 6.7 The light rail, West Jerusalem. Photography: Miriam Alster/Flash 90,

Jerusalem.

Photography: Jerusalem Education Administration, 2016.

FIG. 6.9 "Mount Scopus Slopes National Park", Isawiya, East Jerusalem. Photography: Yuval Ben-Ami, 2012.

FIG. 6.8 School of Technology, Beit Hanina, East FIG. 6.10 Mixed uses in Salah a-Din street, East Jerusalem.

Photography: Author, 2020.

Dynamic Planning: Principles for small-scale, locally initiated planning

As previously described, the large-scale outline plans will not be sufficient for obtaining construction permits. A locally initiated, small-scale detailed outline plan is required in order to obtain a construction permit and develop a property. This fact, along with the flexibility of the large-scale outline plan and supporting mechanisms by the planning authorities, will promote existing local initiatives and encourage new initiatives to plan and develop the Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem. These detailed outline plans, initiated by local landowners and residents, will differ in scale and complexity according to the size and nature of the initiative. A small initiative of a single family or a small group of residents can promote a small-scale plan to develop their plots, building another floor to add a housing unit, developing the ground floor for commercial use, etc. A large initiative of multiple landowners or the entire neighborhood can promote a larger and more complex detailed plan, allocating plots for small public facilities, developing the public space in the neighborhood, and promoting large housing or commercial projects [Fig. 6.11]. These types of initiatives can attract investments from the private sector and contribute to the development of the neighborhood.

Most of the flexibility enabled by the top-down large-scale outline plans are focused on the areas allocated by the plan as 'Inclusive Urban Area'. During the detailed planning process, these areas should be planned according to the following principles:

- Densification and public space: One of the problems of the urban space of East Jerusalem is the scarcity in small-scale public space within the living areas. In the existing planning approach in Jerusalem, building capacity, building heights, and densities are determined uniformly for entire neighborhoods. In the reality of East Jerusalem, where the majority of the land is private, this approach makes it hard to create incentives for landowners to excrete a percentage of their plot for public space in the form of added building rights. In a Dynamic Planning strategy, building capacity and densities will be determined in a relatively flexible way under the definition of 'Inclusive Urban Area', following simple guidelines such as denser areas along transportation lines and hubs and lower density in the periphery, maximum and minimum capacities for specific areas, etc. The detailed outline plans, initiated by the local community, will have relative freedom to determine the exact densities within the detailed plan, a freedom that will allow the detailed plan to create incentives to landowners to excrete some of their plot for public space in return for added construction rights.
- Commerce, work and services: Apart from the Palestinian business center in the Damascus Gate area ('Eastern Business Center'), most of the existing plans in East Jerusalem do not address the issue of commerce, work, and services within the neighborhoods, and the majority of the areas in the neighborhoods are allocated for housing only. 'Inclusive Urban Area' will promote mixed uses areas and will allow the detailed small-scale outline plans to allocate commercial, work, and services land-uses within the neighborhoods. When allocating areas for commerce, work, and services within the 'Inclusive Urban Areas' during the detailed small-scale planning, the planning process must address the issue in three ways:



- **a)** Locating areas for small-scale industry and employment in the edges of the neighborhoods.
- **b)** Identifying and reinforcing existing (formal and informal) commercial trends and initiatives (often along main transportation routes).
- **c)** Allowing various small-scale trade, work, and services functions within the neighborhoods.

When addressing work and services functions, multiple small plots for work and services distributed around the living areas are better than centralizing these functions in one large area. The distribution of these functions must base on existing trends and transportation routes. When addressing commercial functions, the detailed planning must identify existing formal and informal commercial functions and reinforce it by allowing commercial functions on the ground floor along the main routes and densifying around existing commercial areas.

85

Trust building between planning authorities and Palestinian communities in East Jerusalem

6.7 For statistics on the demolition of houses

6.8 For further information on the Israeli house

U.N OCHA - Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, (2009). The Planning

Crisis in East Jerusalem: Understanding the

phenomenon of "illegal" construction (report). The

built without permits in East Jerusalem in the

Decades of colonization, occupation, violence, and urban neglect have created a deep lack of trust between the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem and the Israeli authorities, planning authorities included. Creating trust and cooperation between Palestinian communities and the planning authorities in Jerusalem is a process beyond the scope of urban planning, and the scope of this thesis. However, the strategy of Dynamic Planning, being an instrument to implement a large-scale urban vision of decolonization as it is explored in this thesis, may play a role in the larger process of trust building between Palestinian communities and planning authorities in Jerusalem. Dynamic Planning is dependent on and encourages local planning initiatives, and it promotes cooperation between the planning authorities and local communities. Two additional actions must be taken to start a viable trust building process and support the Dynamic Planning strategy, thus helping to create feasible urban planning in East Jerusalem:

First is the complete stop of the house demolition policy in East Jerusalem. In the existing urban situation in East Jerusalem, decades of insufficient planning and neglect forced people to build on their property without a construction permit and not according to the municipality's plans. This informal construction is followed by a house demolition policy of the Jerusalem municipality, a policy that has been dramatically increasing in the last decade^{6.7}, and is being used as a political tool against the Palestinian communities in the city^{6.8} [Fig. 6.12-6.13]. A complete stop of the home demolition policy in East Jerusalem is the first and most important action that Israe-li planning authorities must take in a trust building process. Focusing on planning, development and the regulation and legalization of informal buildings will be a trust building step that will promote cooperation with the local communities, cooperation that is vital to the success of the Dynamic Planning strategy.

The second action that the Israeli planning authorities must take to build trust with Palestinian communities and landowners in urban development projects is the establishment of an alternative mechanism for land appropriation and compensation. Urban development in the dense, informal urban reality that exists in much of the Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem requires concessions, compromises, and dialogue between the local community and the planning authorities. To develop a good quality public space in a dense urban area that is largely privately owned requires landowners to excrete a percentage of their plots for public use. In East Jerusalem, the lack of trust between the Palestinian residents and the Jerusalem municipality is a major obstacle, and landowners are rarely willing to transfer the ownership of their land to the municipality. However, as it is evident from multiple bottom-up planning processes and interviews with local residents all around East Jerusalem, landowners are more than willing to excrete a percentage of their plot for public use, as long as it is a part of a reliable development process and it will enable them to develop the rest of their property (Cohen-Bar, E & Ronel, A, 2013). In order to overcome this obstacle and enable the Dynamic Planning strategy, there is a need for an alternative mechanism of land appropriation and compensation, one that will gain the trust of the residents and is not dependent solely on the goodwill of the Israeli authorities. A possible mechanism is a public fund created by the local community during the detailed planning process and dedicated for this purpose. In this mechanism, a local







FIG. 6.12 House demolition in Al-Walaja, East FIG. 6.14 Residents meeting during an alternative Jerusalem. planning project for an outline plan of

Photography: Ir-Amim, 2018.

FIG. 6.13 Confrontations between Palestinian residents and Israeli forces during a house demolition in Al-Walaja, East Jerusalem.

Photography: European Pressphoto Agency (EPA), 2018.

6.14 Residents meeting during an alternative planning project for an outline plan of Isawiya neighborhood, East Jerusalem. Photography: 'Bimkom: Planners for Planning Rights', 2004.

The project was initiated by the local community and the organization 'Bimkom: Planners for Planning Rights'.

It was done in full coordination with the formal planning authorities. However, in 2009 the Jerusalem municipality published 'Masterplan 2000' as the new masterplan of Jerusalem. The new masterplan completely contradicted the agreements made between the Isawiya planning team and the municipality, and the Isawyia plan was shelved.

fund will be established when a locally initiated detailed planning will require land excretion for public use. This fund will be managed by neighborhood representatives, and any land excretion will be owned and managed by this fund. This way, lands will remain in local ownership. In addition, this fund will be responsible for collecting money from all residents involved in the plan with which planning costs will be covered, as well as any additional compensation to any landowner

87

whose property will be compromised due to the planning. This mechanism will encourage local cooperation between landowners and contribute to the cooperation between Palestinian communities and the planning authorities.

This mechanism is somewhat similar to the Islamic Waqf – a local charitable endowment that owned and managed all public properties such as schools, hospitals, and mosques under Islamic law. The Waqf system, which dates back to the 9th century A.D, was common in Palestine under the Ottoman rule, and later under the British Mandate. It is still present in some places under Israeli rule. Therefore, this type of land excretion mechanism proposed here is well familiar to local communities and it is not foreign to the local tradition and culture.

6.4 Conclusion: Implementing 'Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision'

In the next chapter, 'Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision' will be presented as an alternative development framework for Jerusalem that uses a transit-oriented development strategy and the upgrade of Jerusalem's transportation infrastructure as an instrument for decolonization. It addresses the strategic issues and problems of the Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem created by decades of colonization, occupation, and conflict, and proposes a vision of reconciliation through urban development that will benefit the city as a whole.

Reconciliation process and urban development

The Dynamic Planning strategy that was introduced in this chapter is proposed as a strategy for implementing 'Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision' in the neighborhood scale, confronting the city-scale urban vision with the specificities of the urban reality of East Jerusalem, translating it to practical guidelines and principles and proposing a strategy to realize and implement it. By defining two interdependent levels of planning – top-down outline plans and the locally initiated detailed plans – Dynamic Planning promotes cooperation and synergy between the planning authorities and the local communities, thus making the planning process flexible, feasible, and just. This planning process will allow urban planning and development to be a part of a larger political process of trust building and reconciliation in Jerusalem.

Across the scales: From urban vision to local implementations

Following the chapter 'Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision', two key projects will explore the potentials and limitations of the 'Jerusalem 2050: Urban vision' by focusing on two key locations, translating the urban vision to the neighborhood scale and using research by design methods to explore its implications on the public space and urban form. In addition, the Dynamic Planning strategy will be used in each key project as the theoretical framework to explore the implementation and realization of the urban vision.



07 Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision

An alternative development framework for Jerusalem

7.1 Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision

The role of urban planning and design in the decolonization of Jerusalem

7.1 See chapter 08 p. 101-129

92

Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision that is introduced in this chapter, along with the design of the local key projects^{7,1} explores the potential role of urban planning and design and transportation infrastructure in a possible decolonization process in Jerusalem.

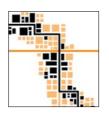
In the previous chapters, this thesis explored the role of urban planning and design, and particularly the role of transportation infrastructure, in the colonization of Jerusalem. Decades of colonization in Jerusalem have created a divided, segregated, and unjust city. The political power imbalance between the city's communities is manifested in the urban structure and development of the city. The Palestinian neighborhoods of Jerusalem are underdeveloped, fragmented, poorly integrated into the urban grid, and excluded from taking part in the city's urban development.

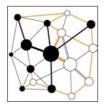
Decolonization is a process that aims to deconstruct the mechanisms of colonization and oppression that operate in a territory. It is a broad, comprehensive process that must include political transformation and social reconciliation, and it is beyond the scope of urban planning and design. However, when incorporated with a larger frame of governance transition and conflict resolution process, urban planning and design is a key element in facing these challenges (Geffikin, F. & Morrissey M. 2011).

Colonization processes and mechanisms vary according to the historical, cultural, political, and social specificities in a given territory, and so does the decolonization processes that attempt to counter them (Jansen, J. C. & Osterhammel, J. 2017). Therefore, the role of urban planning and design in the decolonization process and its spatial implications must be defined according to the specificities of the context and territory it addresses.

In order to explore the potential role of urban planning and design as an instrument for decolonization in Jerusalem, the spatial and urban aspects of decolonization in the context of Jerusalem must be defined:









93

Urban rehabilitation – The physical conditions of the Palestinian neighborhood in Jerusalem are significantly poor in comparison to the Israeli neighborhoods. The Palestinian communities of the city suffer from a severe housing shortage, underdeveloped infrastructure, insufficient public facilities, and lack of public space. The first spatial and urban implication of a decolonization process in Jerusalem must include urban rehabilitation that will address these problems and develop the Palestinian neighborhoods.

Defragmentation – A significant means in which the Israeli colonization in Jerusalem is restricting Palestinian urban development is by imposing fragmentations and discontinuities on the Palestinian urban space. Thus, the urban structure of the Palestinian neighborhoods of Jerusalem and their relations to the rest of the city is highly fragmented. Therefore, the spatial aspect of decolonization must strive for defragmenting the Palestinian neighborhoods and provide them with a comprehensive urban structure that will enable a viable urban development.

Integration into the urban grid – The fragmented nature of the Palestinian neighborhoods in the city and the underdeveloped transportation infrastructure that serves them have contributed to the segregation and exclusion of the Palestinian communities from the urban grid. Daily commutes from the Palestinian neighborhoods to important urban centers in West Jerusalem, as well as the transportation between different Palestinian areas in the city, are inefficient and slow in comparison to the mobility and transportation in the Israeli areas. The integration of the Palestinian areas into the urban grid is an important element in the spatial and urban aspects of decolonization in Jerusalem. It will create interconnections between the different Palestinian neighborhoods and the city's important urban centers and strengthen the city as a whole.

Multiple narratives – The term 'narrative' in the urban context is not a spatial term. It is related to the way that different people and communities interpret the urban space, function in it, and influence it. It is the image that derives from collective or individual history and memories that gives an urban space its sense of place (Augé, M. 1995).

Decades of colonization have excluded the Palestinian-Arab narrative from taking part in the development of the city. The divided and segregated nature of Jerusalem have created a reality where urban spaces that are shared between both communities are rare and usually limited only to essential uses. In a city with a rich history and diverse and multiple narratives, there are only a few places left where people are experiencing the other narrative and where multiple narratives coexist. As part of a larger decolonization process, urban planning and design must strive to empower local narratives by creating connections between places with different narratives. For example: when a Palestinian urban center with a strong Arab identity becomes significant in the urban scale and interconnected with other urban centers, its narrative exceeds the local context and becomes part of the city's narrative. Instead of a single hegemonic narrative, the city will include multiple narratives, coexisting and all play a role in the image of the city as a whole.

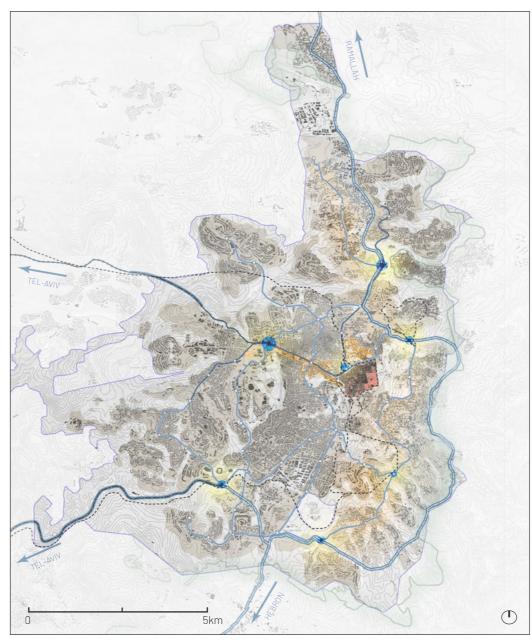
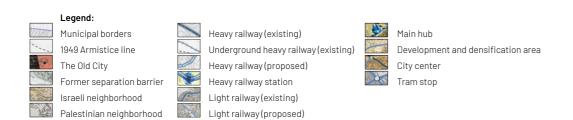


FIG. 7.1 Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision. Made by author.



7.2 Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision

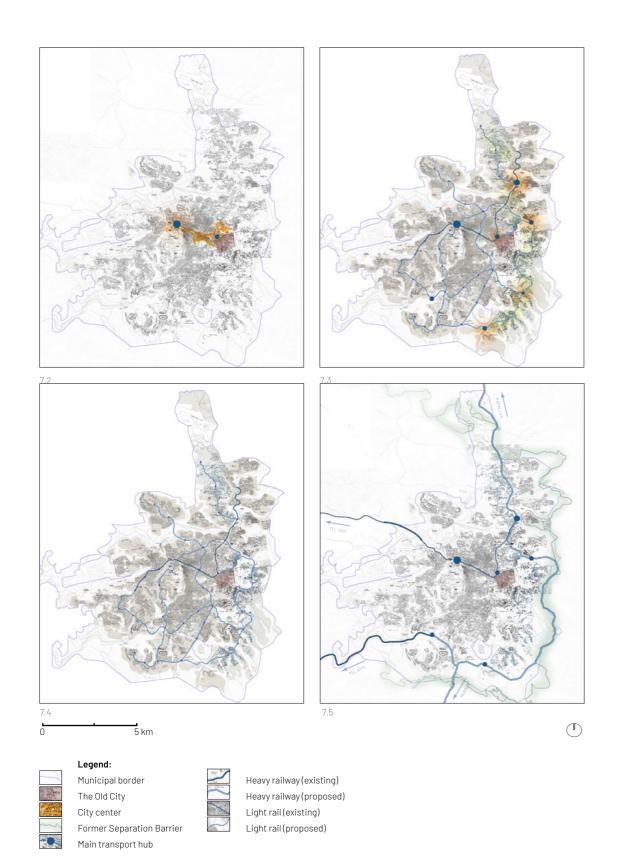
Alternative urban vision - Imagining a different future

Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision [Fig. 7.1] is an alternative development framework for Jerusalem, planning for the next three decades. Unlike all urban plans for Jerusalem since 1967, this urban vision is not subordinated to the current political frame of Israeli occupation and colonization in East Jerusalem. 'Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision' is taking the approach of alternative planning – being very concrete about the current spatial and social conditions of the city while imagining a different political framework. From the belief that imagination is a vital instrument in any political change, this vision is intended to give tools for imagining a different future for the city free of contemporary political constrains, exploring its spatial and urban implications. It is a vision that is very concrete – spatially and physically, but requires a major political transition.

The aim of Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision is to provide an alternative vision for the future of Jerusalem as a viable, multicultural city that will serve as a cultural, economic, and political center for all its communities and the region as a whole.

Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision offers three major transitions:

- A transition from a low-density urban sprawl that derives from political aspiration of colonization to a compact, dense, and transit-oriented urban pattern that promotes cooperation and interaction between the city's communities.
- A transition of the Palestinian areas of the city from fragmented, underdeveloped, and segregated enclaves to viable Palestinian urban areas that are integrated into the urban system of Jerusalem and well connected to the neighboring urban centers.
- A transition from a central, top-down, and hierarchic governance system that
 is designed to exclude communities from positions of power and influence to a
 more distributed, bottom-up, and inclusive planning governance, using and empowering existing mechanisms of alternative planning and civil society organizations in the Israeli and Palestinian societies.



7.3 Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision

Goals and principles

There are several goals set by Jerusalem 2050: Urban vision:

- 1. Increase the accessibility and connectivity in the different areas of the city.
- 2. Improve the regional connections between Jerusalem and the neighboring urban centers, Israeli and Palestinian alike.
- 3. Provide a viable, light rail-based public transport system that will serve as the main transportation system in Jerusalem, reducing car dependency in the city.
- 4. Decreasing the urban sprawl and achieving a compact, dense, and vibrant city.
- 5. Defragment the Palestinian neighborhoods of the city and integrate them into the urban grid.
- 6. Improving the quality and accessibility of public spaces in the Palestinian neighborhoods and the city as a whole.

Main principles

In order to achieve its goals, 'Jerusalem 2050: Urban vision' brings forth a development framework that addresses the inequalities, segregation, and exclusion caused by colonization, occupation, and conflict in the past decades. 'Jerusalem 2050: Urban vision' is using a transit-oriented development strategy, and sets a number of planning principles:

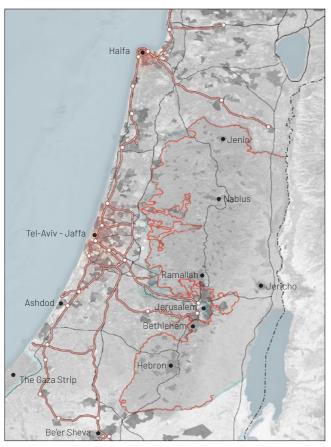
- Promoting two main urban hubs: the Central Station and the Damascus Gate Terminal. The two hubs, well-integrated into the light rail system, and the space connecting them will be the main city center where all major urban functions can be found. Densification and development will be the most intensive around the two main hubs and along the light rail route that connects them. [Fig. 7.2]
- By densifying along the light railway, the new light rail system will help defragmenting the Palestinian neighborhoods, interconnecting them and creating a clear main axis to develop and densify along. [Fig. 7.3]
- Improving public spaces along the light railway, and developing public functions around the stations to address the great necessity for public spaces and public functions in the Palestinian neighborhoods, and to improve the public space in the city as a whole.
- Using the light rail system to integrate the Palestinian neighborhoods into the urban grid, and developing the heavy rail network to reconnect the city to other Palestinian urban centers in the West Bank, as well as the Israeli urban centers in the coastal area. [Fig. 7.4-7.5]
- Removing the separation barrier and using its route and infrastructure for the new heavy railway crossing the city from north to south, reconnecting it with its neighboring Palestinian cities. [Fig. 7.5]

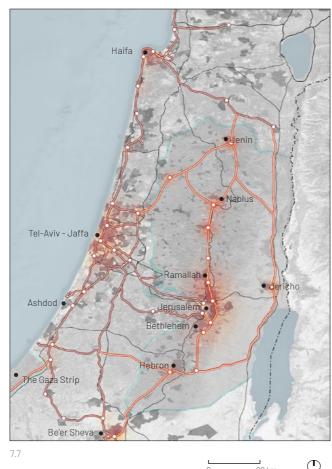
- FIG. 7.2 The city center between the Central Station and the Damascus Gate.

 Made by author.
- FIG. 7.3 Densification along the light rail route will help defragmenting the Palestinian urban structure in East Jerusalem.

 Made by author.
- The light rail network as the primary means of transport, serving all communities of the city. Made by author.
- FIG. 7.5 A new heavy railway, using the route of the former separation barrier, will cross the city from north to south, reconnecting it with the Palestinian cities in the West Bank, as well as the Israeli cities on the coast.

 Made by author.





Legend:

1949 Armistice Line The separation sarrier Israeli railway (existing) Palestinian railway

Regional Reflection

Israel and the West Bank - Current state. Made by author.

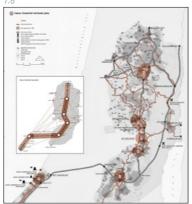
FIG. 7.7 Jerusalem 2050: Regional reflection. Made by author.

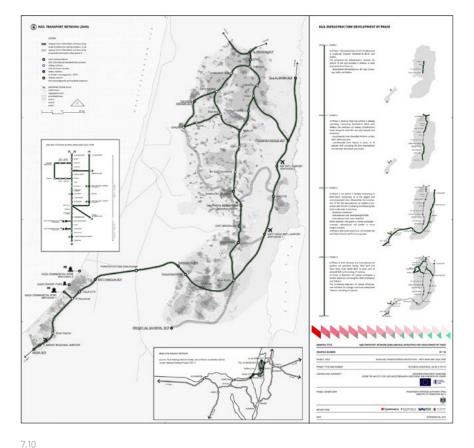
In the current state, Jerusalem is functioning as an Israeli frontier city, at the end of the fast train railway, surrounded by its own made separation barrier. In the service of political aspirations of colonization and occupation, the Israeli city is bound to unsustainable and failed development. From the Palestinian perspective, Jerusalem is a poor, underdeveloped and segregated enclave, restricted and restrained by the Israeli occupation. Deprived of access to its Palestinian surroundings, it is a mere shadow of the urban and cultural center it once was. [Fig. 7.6]

7.4 Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision

On the regional scale, Jerusalem 2050: Urban vision offers a glimpse to the potential of the region given a political frame that serves all people in the region, and not based on national, ethnic, or religious identity. Jerusalem 2050: Urban vision draws the







National Transport Masterplan for Palestine (NTMP) - Air and maritime transport network (2045).

Source: http://www.mot.gov.ps/ntmp/

FIG. 7.9 National Transport Masterplan for Palestine (NTMP) - Public Transport Network (2045).

Source: http://www.mot.gov.ps/ntmp/

FIG. 7.10 National Transport Masterplan for Palestine (NTMP) - Rail Transport Network (2045).

Source: http://www.mot.gov.ps/ntmp/

importance of Jerusalem in the regional network as a center for both Israelis and Palestinians [Fig. 7.7]. The regional railway network presented in this reflection is based on the existing Israeli heavy railway network and the National Transport Masterplan for Palestine (NTMP) [Fig. 7.8-7.10]. Currently, Jerusalem is networks, positioning Jerusalem as the the endpoint of the Israeli heavy railway system, and it does not connect to other areas of the West Bank. The Palestinian

masterplan for the future heavy railway proposes a railway network that crosses the West Bank, connect to other regions like the Gaza Strip and Jordan but completely ignores the Israeli network. The Jerusalem 2050: Urban vision proposes an integration between the two main connecting link between them.



08 Key Projects

From urban vision to local implementations

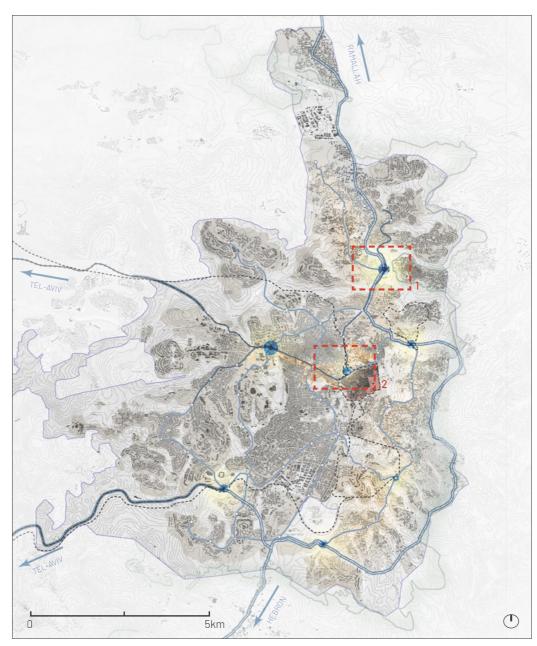


FIG. 8.2 Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision. The locations of the key projects. Made by author.

Legend: Heavy railway (existing) Municipal borders 1949 Armistice line Underground heavy railway (existing) Development and densification area The Old City Heavy railway (proposed) City center 0 Tram stop Former separation barrier Heavy railway station Israeli neighborhood Light railway (existing) Palestinian neighborhood Light railway (proposed)

8.1 Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision

Key Projects

The design of two key projects will be used to research the implications of the alternative urban vision on the urban form and public space in important nodes of the vision. The design of the key projects will help to explore the implementation of the urban vision throughout different scales and will be used to verify, inform, and adjust the urban vision.

The two key projects will all be on the local scale, dealing with the public space, the built form, and street-scale urban design. The locations of the key projects are [Fig. 8.2]:

- Jerusalem-North Station The heavy railway crossing the West Bank from north to south, interconnecting its urban centers, will use the route of the former separation barrier to cross Jerusalem from Ramallah in the north to Bethlehem in the south. The neighborhood of Shuafat and the Shuafat refugee camp, once separated by the separation barrier will now connect through a central railway station that will be the northern gate to the city. Housing projects, densification, and various urban functions will be developed around this important hub, and it will be connected to the city center and the other transportation hubs with the light rail network. [Fig. 8.3]
- The Damascus Gate Terminal The Damascus Gate area is an important and vibrant Palestinian center in Jerusalem. It is the location of the main Palestinian bus terminals in the city, markets, a large commercial area, offices, and other important urban functions. In addition, it is a place of great historical importance and one of the main entrances to the Old City and its holy sites. The Damascus Gate Terminal will be upgraded from a bus terminal to a main light rail hub, with fast tram connections to the Jerusalem Central and the Jerusalem-North heavy railway stations, as well as to the Palestinian neighborhoods in the East and the Israeli neighborhoods in the west. The new Damascus Gate Terminal will create continuity and connection between the Israeli city center and the Palestinian city center, promoting interdependency between the two. The high accessibility of the terminal, along with the abundance of urban functions and high-quality public spaces that will be developed around it will support the development and densification of the entire area. [Fig. 8.4]





FIG. 8.3 Jerusalem-North Station, Shuafat. FIG. 8.4 The Damascus Gate Terminal.

103

8.2 Jerusalem-North Station

A new gateway to the city

8.1 See chapter 7.3 p. 97.

8.2 See chapter 7.4 p. 98-99.

8.3 See chapter 7.1 p. 92-93.

The **Jerusalem-North Station**, designated to be a main hub along the West Bank heavy railway^{8.1}, is an important key project in the realization of the **Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision**.

Jerusalem-North Station will become a new gateway to the city, and the main transportation hub that connects the city with Ramallah in the north and Bethlehem in the south, reconnecting the city with the neighboring Palestinian urban centers^{8,2}. As an important transportation hub, well connected to the city center and the neighboring cities of Ramallah and Bethlehem, Jerusalem-North will promote the development of a new business center in Jerusalem.

Jerusalem-North Station will be located between the Palestinian neighborhood of Shuafat and the Shuafat refugee camp. On the local scale, the development of Jerusalem-North Station as an important transportation hub and a new business center will contribute to the integration of these two Palestinian neighborhoods into the urban grid, and the urban development enabled by the project will contribute to the urban rehabilitation and defragmentation of the area.

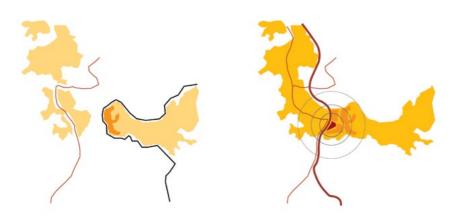


FIG. 8.5 Jerusalem-North key project - conceptual drawing. Made by author.

The separation barrier
Light railway
Heavy railway
Built area - underdeveloped
Built area - high density
Built area

104

The spatial and urban aspects of decolonization in the context of Jerusalem, as defined by the **Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision**^{8.3}, are the main principles that guided the planning and design of The **Jerusalem-North Station** project:



Urban rehabilitation – The outline plan for the Jerusalem-North Station area will include the heavy railway station, a new business center in the station area, and a development plan for the Shuafat neighborhood and refugee camp. The outline plan will address the issues of housing, work, and infrastructure upgrade both in the existing built area and in the new business center to promote the urban rehabilitation and development of the area.



Defragmentation – Due to decades of restrictive and unfeasible planning, the Shuafat neighborhood is underdeveloped and fragmented. Large areas in the neighborhood are deteriorated and empty, and many landowners are unable to develop their lands due to restrictive planning regulations. The outline plan for the Jerusalem-North Station area will upgrade the light railway line that crosses the neighborhood and will enable intensive development along its route. This will create an important urban axis that will be the backbone of the neighborhood's urban structure, changing it from a fragmented to a continuous and coherent urban structure.

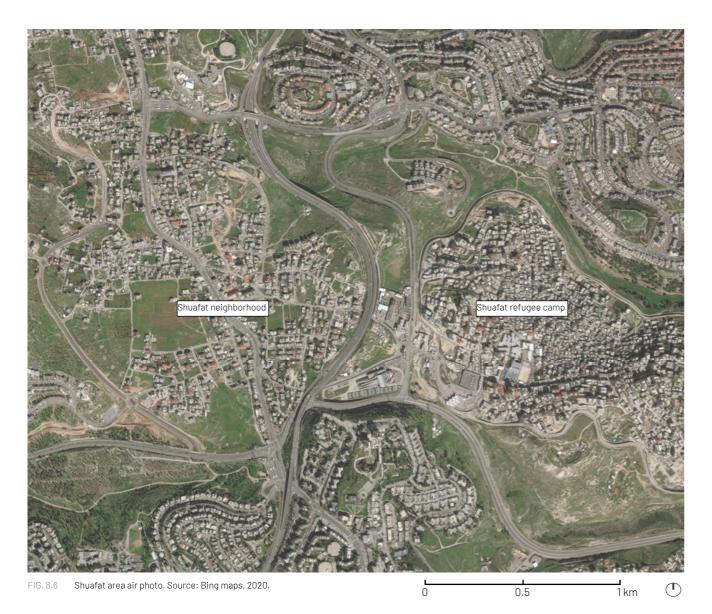


Integration into the urban grid – The residents of the Shuafat refugee camp suffer from severe movement restrictions due to the separation barrier that cut-off the camp from the rest of the city. The removal of the separation barrier as part of the Jerusalem 2020: Urban Vision will allow easy access to the light and heavy railway networks, integrating the residents into the urban grid. On the regional scale, the West Bank railway and the Jerusalem-North Station will reconnect Jerusalem with the Palestinian urban centers in the West Bank, making Jerusalem a major connecting link between the Israeli and Palestinian heavy railway networks.



105

Multiple narratives – Jerusalem-North Station will be the main station of the West Bank railway in Jerusalem and will serve as the central transportation hub connecting Jerusalem and the Palestinian cities in the West Bank. The light railway network will connect Jerusalem-North with the city center, Jerusalem Central Station, and other important hubs. Its position as the new gateway of Jerusalem, connecting it with the Palestinian cities in the West Bank, as well as its location in a Palestinian area in East Jerusalem, will give the Jerusalem-North Station area a strong Palestinian identity. Its importance in the city and regional scale as the northern gateway to the city will make Jerusalem-North and its identity an integral part of the Jerusalem metropolis, contributing to the multiple narratives that compose the city of Jerusalem.



Analysis - Shuafat area

the Palestinian refugee camps, see: Bocco, R. (2010), UNRWA and the Palestinian refugees: A history within history, Refugee Survey Quarterly

8.4 For further information on the unique history of The Shuafat area consists of two very different urban units: The Shuafat neighborhood and the Shuafat refugee camp. Shuafat neighborhood is a Palestinian neighborhood located along the Ramallah road, in the north part of Jerusalem. Since 2011, the light railway is crossing the neighborhood and connecting the city center with the Israeli neighborhood of Pisgat Ze'ev in East Jerusalem. However, the light railway line that crosses the neighborhood is poorly integrated into its urban structure: public spaces are not developed along the tracks and the built area is not densified [Fig. 8.7]. Like many other Palestinian neighborhoods in Jerusalem, Shuafat is suffering











FIG. 8.7 The existing light railway crossing the neighborhood along Ramallah Road, Shuafat.

Source: Google Streetview, 2011. FIG. 8.8 Poor infrastructure and undeveloped plots, Shuafat neighborhood. Photography: Author, 2020.

The separation barrier separating the Shuafat refugee camp from the city. Photography: Author, 2020.

FIG. 8.10 Highly dense and unregulated building inside the Shuafat refugee camp. Photography: Al-Jazeera, 2017.

FIG. 8.11 A narrow passage under highway 60 connecting Shuafat neighborhood and the refugee camp.

Photography: Author, 2020.

FIG. 8.12 The light rail depot - a large technical facility located in the space between the highway and the separation barrier. Photography: Author, 2020.

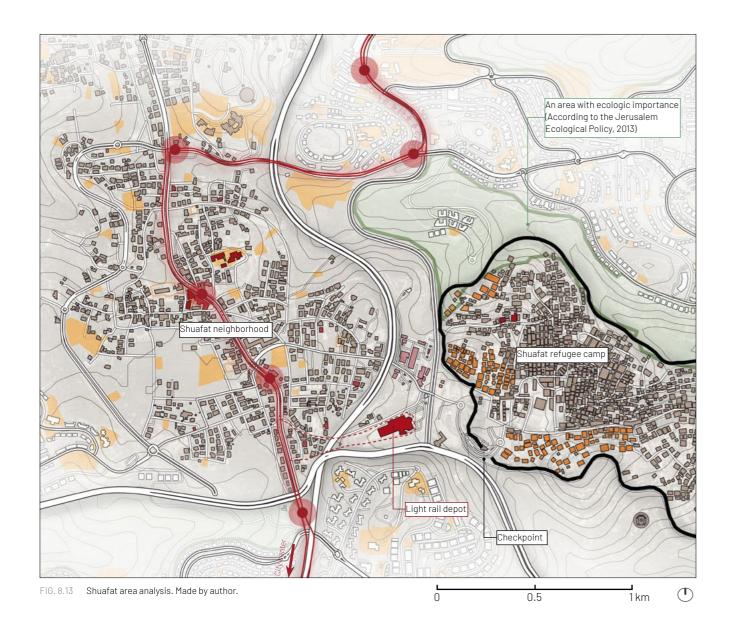
from a housing shortage, poor and underdeveloped infrastructure, and scarcity in public facilities and good quality public space. Decades of unfeasible and insufficient urban plans make it hard for landowners to develop their property in a legal way, and much of the neighborhood suffers from low density and is undeveloped. [Fig. 8.8]

The Shuafat refugee camp was established by the Jordanian authorities in 1965 to house Palestinian refugees that lost their homes in 1948 and settled in the Jordanian part of Jerusalem^{8.4}. After the 1967 war and the annexation of East

107

Jerusalem, the Shuafat refugee camp became part of the Jerusalem municipality. The construction of the separation barrier in 2002-2006 separated the Shuafat refugee camp from the city, and created an enclave that is part of the Jerusalem municipality but physically separated from it, with only one checkpoint for regulated crossing [Fig. 8.9]. The Jerusalem municipality, although officially responsible for the area, is neglecting the enclaves beyond the separation barrier. No municipal services are provided to the Shuafat refugee camp, as well as no regulations are enforced.

The housing shortage for the Palestinian communities in Jerusalem and the area, along with the lack of building regulation enforcement of any kind, have created a chaotic situation of highly dense unregulated construction, extreme insufficiency in urban infrastructure, and a severe shortage in essential public facilities and open spaces in the refugee camp. [Fig.



Analysis - Infrastructure as a barrier



The separation barrier Highway Primary road Light railway Plot for public building (Allocated by existing plans)

Public building Informal highrise buildings Informal small industry Waste treatment facility

In the Shuafat area, large infrastructure creates significant barriers that fragment the area, restrict its development, and separates it from other parts of the city. The separation barrier has cut-off the Shuafat refugee camp from the Shuafat neighborhood and the rest of the city, leaving a single checkpoint to

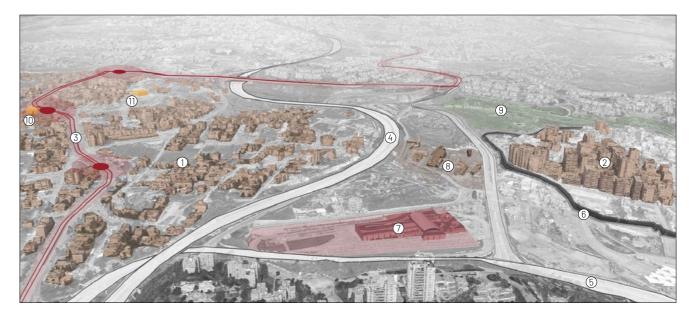


FIG. 8.14 Shuafat area analysis - Birdview. Made by author.

- Shuafat neighborhood

- The Separation Barrier
- Light rail depot
- Informal small industry
- Area of ecologic importance
- Mosque
- 11. High school



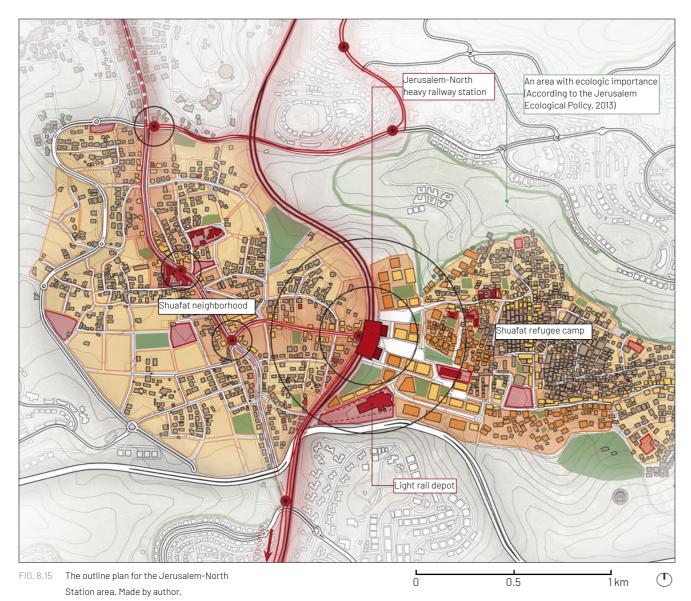
cross and imposing serious movement restrictions on its residents [Fig. 8.9]. Highway 60, a large highway that crosses the West Bank from north to south and connects Jerusalem to the Israeli settlements, is creating a major barrier between Shuafat neighborhood and the Shuafat refugee camp [Fig. 8.11]. Moreover, the neighborhood and the refugee camp does not have good access to the highway, which does not serve their residents in any case.

In the deteriorated space that was created between the highway and the separation barrier, the Jerusalem municipality

built a light rail depot - a large technical facility that serves for storage and maintenance of the light rail carriages [Fig. 8.12]. The depot is a large facility with multiple light railway tracks and roads for vehicle access. As important as it is for the light rail network as a whole, on the local scale it creates a large barrier, which contributes to the fragmentation of the Shuafat area.

The existing line of the light railway, connecting the city center with the Israeli neighborhood of Pisgat Ze'ev, is crossing Shuafat neighborhood along the Ramallah road. The Ramallah road is a central

street in the neighborhood, and apart from being an important transportation route, many urban functions are located along it such as the neighborhood mosque, a high school, and many shops and businesses. However, unlike in Jaffa street in the city center, the light railway is poorly integrated into the street and no public space was developed along it. Currently, the light railway and the two lanes motorway function more as a barrier in the neighborhood scale, and the potential of the Ramallah road as a vibrant urban street is far from being realized.



Vision:Jerusalem-North Station

Primary road Heavy railway Light railway (existing) Light railway (canceled) Waste treatment facility Light railway (extension) Tram stop

Legend

Urban structure:

Land uses:

Inclusive Urban Area Inclusive Urban Area (high density) Large Public Building Large Recreation Zone

An important element in the Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision is the new West Bank heavy railway8.5 that will reconnect Jerusalem and the Palestinian cities in the West Bank. The main station of the West Bank heavy railway in Jerusalem will be the Jerusalem-North Station, located between the Shuafat neighborhood and the refugee camp.



FIG. 8.16 Jerusalem-North station area - Birdview. Made by author.

- Shuafat neighborhood

- West Bank heavy railway
- Jerusalem-North Station
- Business center

- 7. New housing projects
- New development -Shuafat refugee camp
- New development -Shuafat neighborhood



8.5 See chapter 7.3 p. 97. 8.6 See chapter 06 p. 75-89.

Using the **Dynamic Planning** strategy for feasible planning in East Jerusalem8.6, will work in two interdependent levels the top-down level, which determines the urban structure and large-scale strategic planning, and the bottom-up level, that enables local initiatives by local stakeholders to develop the area.

The top-down level will determine the urban structure and include the station area, consisting of the station itself and the business center east of the station, the new heavy railway, the light railway, and the primary roads. Jerusalem-North, being the main train station in Jerusalem for passengers coming from the West

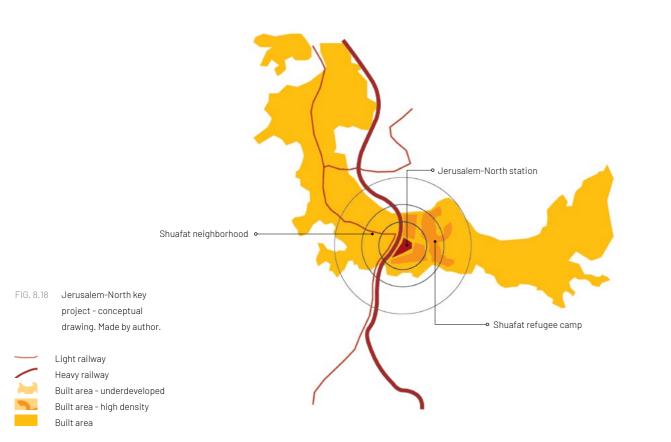
Bank, will become an important Palestinian center and will host thousands the outline plan for the area [Fig. 8.15] of daily passengers. This, in addition to the existing dense built area in the west part of the refugee camp, will provide the critical mass of human flow that will allow the development of large working and housing projects in the station area that will become a new Palestinian business center. [Fig. 8.16]

> Due to the densely built-up area in the refugee camp and the difficulty to find plots for public facilities and open spaces, development around the station area will also serve the residents of the camp. Schools, parks, and other urban functions that are needed for the camp

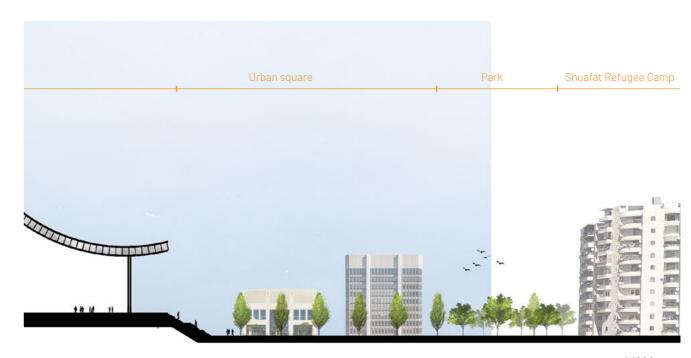
residents will be developed as part of the station area.

The existing light railway will extend north to integrate the northern Palestinian neighborhood of Beit Hanina, and in the Shuafat neighborhood, the route will be diverted to reach the heavy railway station, creating a new tram and pedestrian street in the neighborhood, based on an existing road. The Ramallah road that serves the light rail will be restricted for car traffic and will be dedicated to tram and pedestrians, and a new road in the west of the neighborhood will replace the Ramallah road as a main motorway across the neighborhood.





112



113

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Jerusalem-North Station and the integration of the Shuafat refugee camp

The removal of the West Bank separation barrier, followed by the introduction of the West Bank heavy railway and the development of the Jerusalem-North Station area, will create new relations between the Shuafat refugee camp and the Shuafat neighborhood, as well as the refugee camp and the rest of the city [Fig. 8.18]. The Shuafat refugee camp, once segregated by the separation barrier and a large highway, will now enjoy direct access to the Jerusalem-North station and the city's transportation network. The urban development around the station will aim to address the needs of the refugee camp in the form of parks, public facilities, employment, and housing. The separation barrier and the highway that once confined and segregated the refugee camp from the neighborhood will be replaced with a large recreational park, an urban square, and the Jerusalem-North station [Fig. 8.17], connecting the Shuafat refugee camp and the Shuafat neighborhood.

The development of the station area around the Jerusalem-North station will have an important role in the urban rehabilitation of the Shuafat refugee camp, transforming it from a segregated, underdeveloped and dense refugee camp to an integrated and vibrant neighborhood in Jerusalem.

The light railway and the development of the Shuafat neighborhood

The bottom-up level of the outline plan will be focused in the areas allocated by the plan as 'Inclusive Urban Areas' and will rely on local initiatives by the residents and landowners. Similar to most of the Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, much of the lands in Shuafat are privately owned by residents. Decades of restrictive, rigid, and unfeasible top-down planning prevented landowners from developing their property and left the neighborhood underdeveloped^{8.7}. The areas allocated by the plan as 'Inclusive Urban Areas' will allow a wide range of urban programs to be developed such as housing, commerce, work, or recreation, thus promoting a diverse urban environment. However, as elaborated on in the chapter on Dynamic Planning^{8.8} the areas allocated for 'Inclusive Urban Areas' will require further detailed planning to acquire a building permit. The detailed planning will be initiated by and dependent on the landowners, residents, and potential stakeholders. The nature and complexity of the detailed plan will be determined by the size of the initiative [Fig. 8.19]. Some initiatives can be very small and simple - a small group of residents, together with the municipality, can plan small gardens in the public space, addressing the need of small open public spaces within the living area of the neighborhood, or a landowner can add another floor to his property for an additional housing unit. Other initiatives can be more complex - landowners can develop commercial or leisure businesses on the street level along the main tram and pedestrian streets, and a larger group of residents and business owners can initiate with the municipality an upgrade of the public space along the tram and pedestrian streets. Large initiatives of landowners and investors from the private sector can plan large working and housing projects, attracting investments from the private sector to develop the neighborhood.

The **Dynamic Planning** strategy that is implemented in the development of the Shuafat neighborhood creates interdependency between the large-scale strategic planning and the small-scale local initiatives. By relying on local initiatives for the development of the areas allocated as 'Inclusive Urban Areas' and the flexibility given by the outline plan in the detailed planning of these areas, the plan is mediating between bottom-up initiatives and the top-down planning, encouraging residents and landowners to take part in the development of the neighborhood, making sure that the needs and ambitions of the local community will reflect in the development of the neighborhood while giving guidelines to ensure the realization of the large-scale strategic planning.

FIG. 8.19 Potentials of local initiatives along the Ramallah road, Shuafat. Made by author. 1. Upgrade of the public space along the light railway route. 2. Small-scale gardens in the public 3. Leisure and commerce on the street SIZE level along the tram and pedestrian street. NITIATIVE 4. Added housing units on existing buildings. 5. Large housing and working projects in the densified areas along the light PROJECT COMPLEXITY railway.

115

8.7 See chapter 05 p. 57-73. 8.8 See chapter 06 p. 75-89.

8.3 Damascus Gate Terminal

Reconfiguring the city center

8.9 See chapter 7.1 p. 92-93.

The Damascus Gate Terminal will be a main light rail and bus terminal in the Damascus Gate area - an area that functions as the Palestinian city center. The project will connect the Damascus Gate area to the nearby Israeli city center, promoting interdependency between the Israeli and Palestinian centers as an important element in the realization of Jerusalem 2050: Urban vision.

The Damascus Gate Terminal will integrate the light rail network into the Palestinian city center and become an important transportation hub. By improving mobility and becoming an important node on the light rail and bus networks, the project will enable the development of the Damascus Gate area and upgrade the Palestinian city center.

A key aspect of the Damascus Gate Terminal project is the development of the public space around it. Despite its proximity, the Palestinian city center is separated from the Israeli city center, and the two centers function separately. The development of the public space around the Damascus Gate Terminal will connect the two centers and create continuity between them. The new relations between these important urban centers will promote interdependency and cooperation between the city's communities.

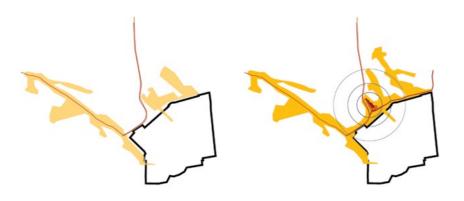


FIG. 8.20 Damascus Gate Terminal key project - conceptual drawing.

Made by author.



116

The spatial and urban aspects of decolonization in the context of Jerusalem, as defined by the **Jerusalem 2050: Urban Vision**^{8,9}, are the main principles that guided the planning and design of The **Damascus Gate Terminal** project:



Urban rehabilitation – The integration of the light rail system into the Palestinian city center, as well as the upgraded light rail and bus terminal, will increase the capacity of passenger flow in the area. This will allow the densification of the Palestinian city center and the development of housing, working, commerce, and other urban functions. The development of this important urban center, along with the upgrade of its transportation infrastructure, will be an important step in the urban rehabilitation of the Palestinian city center.



Defragmentation – Although it functions as the Palestinian city center, the Damascus Gate area is not well connected to most of the distant Palestinian neighborhoods in Jerusalem. The new light rail network and the Damascus Gate terminal will ensure a fast and viable connection between the Palestinian neighborhoods and the city center, promoting the defragmentation process of the Palestinian neighborhoods of Jerusalem on the city scale.



Integration into the urban grid – The Damascus Gate terminal will be an important transportation hub in the light rail network, connecting the Palestinian city center with other Palestinian areas in the city. Its position as a main transportation hub in the light rail network, connected both to Israeli and Palestinian hubs in the city, will contribute the integration of the Palestinian neighborhoods into the urban grid. Furthermore, the Damascus Gate Terminal will have a fast light rail connection to the Jerusalem-North station and the Jerusalem Central station, the two main heavy rail stations that connect the city to the Palestinian cities in the West Bank and the Israeli cities in the coastal area, thus becoming an important transportation hub in the regional scale as well.



117

Multiple narratives – A key element of the Damascus Gate Terminal project is the development of the public space around it, creating a continuous connection between the Israeli city center and the Palestinian city center. The new relations between these two urban centers will promote interdependency and cooperation between the city's communities. From the reality of two separate centers, each with a clear and exclusive narrative and community orientation, the city center of Jerusalem will be transformed into a single continuous space, consisted of two focal points with two different narratives that coexist and function as one urban center.



Analysis - Damascus Gate area

8.10 See chapter 5.4 p. 67-73.

The Damascus Gate is one of the most important gates of the 16th century Ottoman walls that surrounds the historic Old City of Jerusalem [Fig. 8.22]. It serves as one of the main entrance to the Old City and its holy sites for pilgrims and visitors from around the world. The Damascus Gate area [Fig. 8.21] is the area north of the Old City walls and it is part of the Palestinian neighborhood Bab a-Zahara. The area functions as the Palestinian city center, and it is the location of Palestinian cultural centers like the Palestinian national theatre, the Orient House, and the Hind al-Husseini collage. In addition, it is the location of many tourist attractions like the Gar-









FIG. 8.23 The market outside of Damascus Gate, with shops on the street level and hotels and tourism-oriented businesses on the upper levels. Photography: Author, 2020.









FIG. 8.24 Jaffa Street and the light rail. The FIG. 8.26 Salah a-Din Street. The urban space public space in the Israeli city center is pedestrian-oriented.

Photography: Author, 2020.

FIG. 8.25 When it reaches the Damascus Gate area, the light rail becomes a part of a primary motorway and is not integrated with the public space. Photography: Author, 2020.

in the Palestinian city center is car-

FIG. 8.27 The light rail stop outside of the Damascus Gate is not integrated into the public space and it is hard to

Photography: Author, 2020.

Photography: Author, 2020.

den Tomb, the Rockefeller Archeological

However, despite the fact that 'Masterplan 2000' recognizes its urban impor-

from poor infrastructure, lack of public space, housing shortage, and planning restrictions which prevent its development. The existing outline plans for the area are insufficient and permit significantly low construction rights in comparison to the Israeli city center, failing to address the needs of the Palestinian community (Cohen-Bar, E & Kronish, S,

The Israeli city center, located to the west of the Old City, is focused mainly along Jaffa Street from the Jerusalem Central Station to the Jaffa Gate located in the west part of the Old City walls. Although the existing light railway is passing through the Israeli city center in Jaffa Street and the Palestinian city center in the Damascus Gate area, there is a significant difference in the way the light railway is integrated into the urban structure. In the Israeli area, the light rail route became the main axis of the city center, transforming Jaffa Street to a pedestrian and tram street and promoting the development of public spaces along with it [Fig. 8.24]. On the other hand, when the light railway reaches the Damascus Gate area it becomes part of a primary motorway, separated from the Palestinian urban structure and lacking any kind of public spaces along with it. [Fig. 8.25]

Museum, and the American Colony Hotel. The Bab a-Zahara neighborhood, along with the neighborhoods of Wadi al-Joz to the east and Sheikh Jarrah to the north, are the Palestinian economic center of Jerusalem. It is a vibrant urban area, characterized by mixed uses and where commerce, work, and leisure activities function alongside housing [Fig. 8.23]. 2013). In the municipality's 'Masterplan 2000', this area is defined as 'Eastern Business Center'8.10.

tance, the Damascus Gate area suffers

FIG. 8.28 The "Geddes-Ashbee Plan",
1922. This plan was the
first modern town planning
scheme for Jerusalem, made
by the town planner Sir Patrick
Geddes and the architect
Charles Robert Ashbee.

Source: Ashbee R. C. (1921), Jerusalem, 1918-1920; being the records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the period of the British military administration, The Council of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, London.



Analysis - Historical context

FIG. 8.29 Damascus Gate, 1989-1914.

Photography: American
Colony Photography. Source:
Library of Congress Prints
and Photographs Division,
Washington D.C

FIG. 8.30 Damascus Gate, 2020. Photography: Author.

FIG. 8.31 The northern part of the old city walls in Jerusalem is separated from the new city by a park, a motorway, and the light railway.

Source: Google Streetview, 2019

FIG. 8.32 The western part of the old city walls in Jerusalem is separated from the new city by a major highway.

Photography: Author, 2020.

FIG. 8.33 The market street leading to Damascus Gate, the old city of Jerusalem.

Photography: Author, 2020.

The Damascus Gate was the main gate to the city during the Ottoman times, and the street leading to it from inside the Old City is a busy market [Fig. 8.33]. During the 19th and early 20th century, Jerusalem began to expand beyond the walls, and the market street leading to Damascus Gate extended to the other side of the walls. Shops were built outside the walls as a continuation of the existing market [Fig. 8.29]. During the 1920s, the British administration of Mandatory Palestine ordered the demolition of all structures surrounding the Old City walls, including the shops outside the Damascus Gate, as part of a new town planning scheme for Jerusalem [Fig. 8.28]. The British plan proposed a 'green belt' around the Old City walls that will serve as an open public space, separating it from the new city, perceiving the Old City and its walls not as a functioning element in the city but as a historical artifact to be preserved (Mazza, R. 2018).

The British town-planning scheme for Jerusalem was never fully realized. During the Israeli development of the city in the decades after 1967, the 'green belt' surrounding the Old City walls gradually shrank at the expense of highways and major infrastructure, which increased the segregation of the Old City [Fig. 8.31-8.32]. The market outside the Damascus Gate was separated from the Old City by a motorway. [Fig. 8.30]

Other historical cities in the world provide examples for different approaches regarding historical city walls and public space. Some cities like Vienna or Krakow have removed the old defense walls entirely, replacing them with a continuous public space with various urban functions. In Istanbul, the ancient Theodosian Walls are separated by a wide strip of open space and a major highway, separating it from the modern part of town similarly















FIG. 8.34 The Theodosian Walls in Istanbul are separated from the new city by a park and a major highway.

Source: Ozer Urger Architects, 2016.

FIG. 8.35 The park surrounding the ancient walls of Tallinn, Estonia.

Photography: Author, 2015.

FIG. 8.36 The Viru Gate, Tallinn, Estonia.
Photography: Author, 2015.

to Jerusalem [Fig. 8.34]. An interesting approach can be seen in the city of Tallinn, Estonia. In Tallinn, the ancient medieval walls are surrounded by an open park meant to separate the Old City and highlight the historical walls [Fig. 8.35]. However, the street crossing the main gate of the Old City of Tallinn is continu-

ing outside the ancient walls, connecting it to the new city with a main commercial street and creating a continuation of the urban structure between the old and the new city. [Fig. 8.36]

The new outline plan for the Damascus Gate area will take a similar approach. It

will define the space along the Old City walls as an active public space with penetrations points into the urban structure of the Old City and the modern city, creating a new relationship between the old and new city of Jerusalem, emphasizing the importance of the Damascus Gate and its surrounding area. [Fig. 8.42]

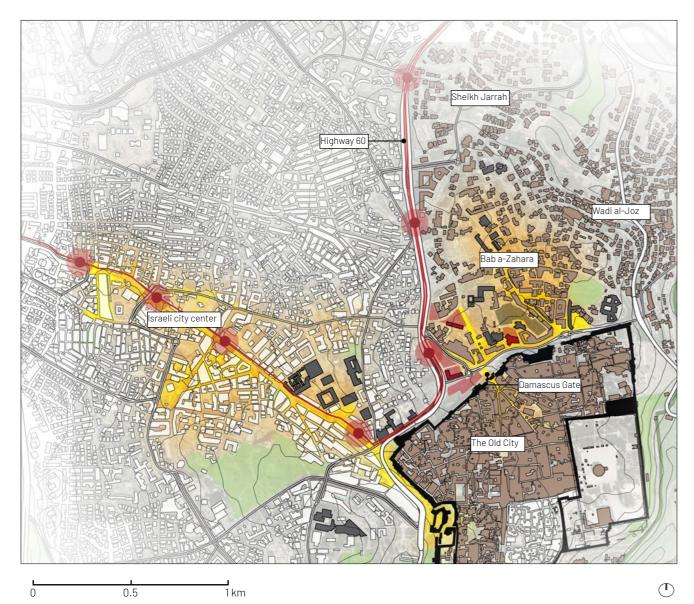


FIG. 8.37 Damascus Gate area analysis.

Made by author.

Legend:

The Old City walls Primary motorway Light railway Light rail stop Public building Israeli area Palestinian area



Analysis - Separated centers

Transportation infrastructure plays an important role in creating the separation and distinction between the Israeli and Palestinian city centers. The Palestinian city center, located in the Damascus Gate area, is an urban unit that functions separately from the Israeli city center, located only a few hundred meters away. The line separating these two centers used to be the border dividing the Israeli and the Jordanian parts of Jerusalem in the period between 1948-1967, and today it is the route of major

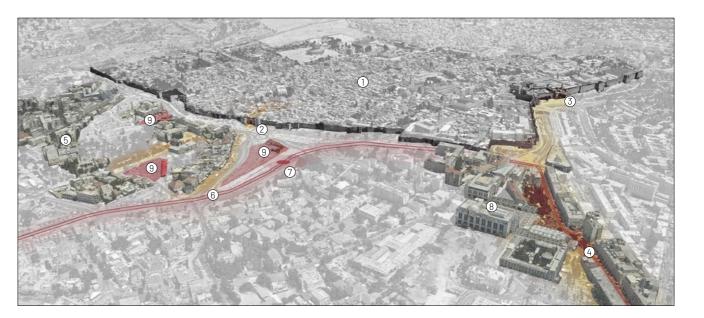


FIG. 8.38 Damascus Gate area analysis - Birdview. Made by author.

Jarusalam Old Cit

Bab a-Zahara neighborhood

- 2 Namascus Gate
- Jaffa Gate
- 4. Jarra Street
- 7 Trom oton
- . Iram stop
- 8. Jerusalem municipality

6. Highway 60 with light

9. Bus terminal



transportation infrastructure - the light railway and Highway 60, that crosses the city from north to south.

Jaffa Street is the backbone of the Israeli city center. It is composed of a linear public space, facilitating pedestrian street, the light railway, and various public buildings and urban functions. The Israeli city center is highly accessible by foot and the public spaces composing it are pedestrian-oriented. On the other hand, The Palestinian city center, separated from the Israeli center by a major motorway, is far less accessible by foot and its public spaces are much more car-oriented.

123

Although connected by the light rail, the pedestrian-oriented public space that composes the Israeli city center is not connected to the Damascus Gate area. Once the light railway is leaving Jaffa Street towards the Damascus Gate area, the public spaces along it deteriorate, and the light railway integrates with the highway [Fig. 8.25]. Therefore, the tram stop that serves the Damascus Gate area is located by the highway, separated from the public space of the Palestinian city center. [Fig. 8.27]

Not only that transportation infrastructure is functioning as a barrier between the Israeli and Palestinian centers, but ment of the Palestinian city center. The configuration of the public transport network in the Palestinian city center is inefficient, and it is not contributing to the quality of the urban space. It is composed of three separated bus terminals and the tram stop, scattered across the Damascus Gate area. The locations of the three terminals are unsuitable for busy bus traffic and create heavy traffic problems. Moreover, the bus terminals are separated from each other and the light rail stop that serves the area is not well connected to the bus network.

it is also a factor in the underdevelop-

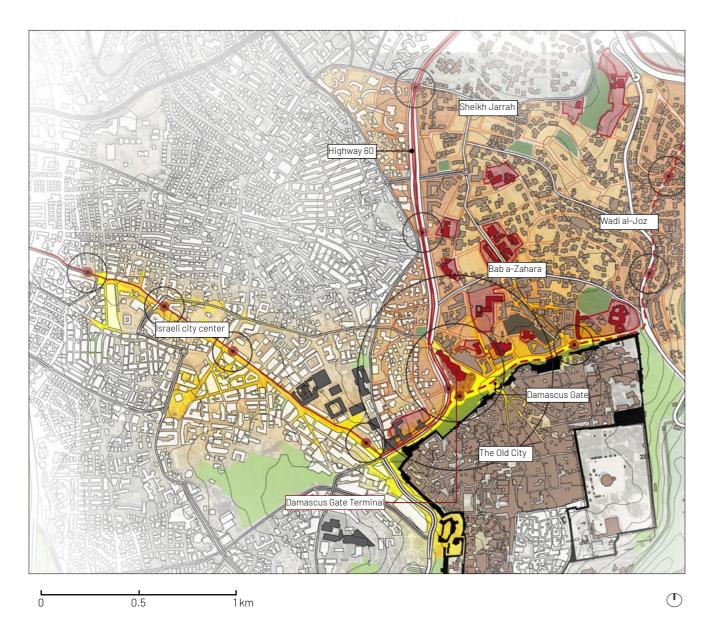


FIG. 8.39 Damascus Gate area - Outline plan.

Made by author.

Vision: Damascus Gate area

Legend Urban structure:

The Old City walls
Highway
Primary road
Light railway (existing)
Light railway (extension)
Light rail stoo

Land uses:

Inclusive Urban Area
Inclusive Urban Area (high density)
Large Public Building
Large Recreation Zone
Cemetery

An important element in the **Jerusalem 2050: Urban vision** is creating connection and cooperation between the Palestinian and Israeli city centers^{8,11}. The Damascus Gate terminal project is a key project that will be used to promote connection and interaction between the two centers and to develop the Palestinian city center.



FIG. 8.40 Damascus Gate Terminal - Birdview. Made by author.

- . Jerusalem Old City
- Damascus Ga
- Jaffa Gat
- 4. Jaffa Street
- 5. Bab a-Zahara neighborhood
- . Highway 60 with light railway
- 7. Damascus Gate Terminal
- Jerusalem municipality
- . Sultan Suleiman Street
- New development projects
- 8.11 See chapter 7.3 p. 97.
- 8.12 See chapter 06 p. 75-89. 8.13 See chapter 7.3 p. 97.
- 8.14 See chapter 06 p. 75-89.



The project consists of three main elements: The terminal, the development of the public space along the Old City wall, and the development of the Bab a-Zahara neighborhood and the Palestinian city center.

Suleiman Street and the Old City wall, passing through Wadi al-Joz and finally reaching the Hebrew University and the Palestinian neighborhood of Isawiya^{8.13}. The extension of the light rail and the development of the public space

Using the **Dynamic Planning** strategy for feasible planning in East Jerusalem^{8.12}, the outline plan for the Damascus Gate area [Fig. 8.39] will work in two interdependent levels - the top-down level, which determines the urban structure and large-scale strategic planning, and the bottom-up level, that enables local initiatives by local stakeholders to develop the area.

The top-down level is based on the upgrade of the transportation infrastructure in the area: it will include an extension of the light railway along the Sultan

125

Suleiman Street and the Old City walls, passing through Wadi al-Joz and finally reaching the Hebrew University and the Palestinian neighborhood of Isawithe development of the public space along it will be used to create continuity and connection to the Israeli city center. The Sultan Suleiman Street will be transformed from a busy motorway to a pedestrian and tram street, connecting to Jaffa Street and functioning as the main pedestrian boulevard from which people could enter the Old City and the Bab a-Zahara neighborhood through different entry points along the boulevard. [Fig. 8.42]

The terminal building, located at the intersection of Highway 60 and Sultan Suleiman Street, will serve as a light rail station for both the tramline going north

on Highway 60 and the one going east on Sultan Suleiman Street. In addition, it will replace the three bus terminals scattered in the Palestinian city center, serving as an important transportation hub for both the light rail and the bus networks. Finally, it will consist of two large underground parking facilities, replacing the multiple parking lots in the area and serving as a 'park-and-ride' compound.

The bottom-up level will include most of the Palestinian city center. According to the outline plan, most of the area will be allocated for 'Inclusive Urban Area'^{8,14}. Dependent on local initiatives, it will allow landowners and stakeholders greater flexibility than previous outline plans and promote the densification and development of the area.

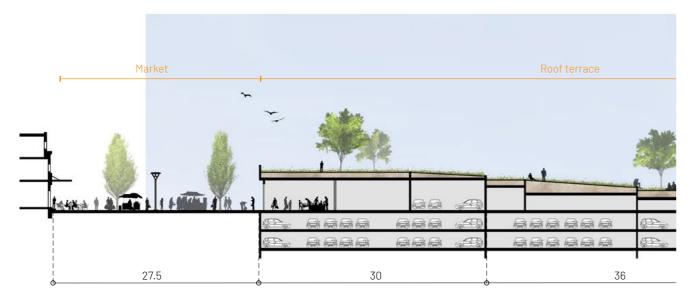


FIG. 8.41 Damascus Gate terminal - Cross section.
Made by author.

Vision: Damascus Gate Terminal

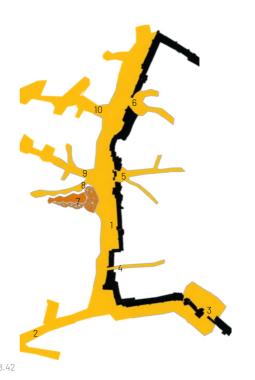
The Damascus Gate Terminal building will function in three different aspects - transportation, public space, and commerce, each has an essential part in the Damascus Gate area outline plan.

First, it will play a key role in the reconfiguration of the transportation infrastructure in the Damascus Gate area. It will centralize the public transportation of the area and provide an underground 'park-and-ride' compound, becoming an important node in the transportation network of the city. In the aspect of public space, the terminal will be part of the public space developed along the Sultan Suleiman Street. The terminal building will slope downwards toward the light rail tracks and bus lanes, where the bus and tram stops will be located. It will create a sloped, elevated park watching over Sultan Suleiman Street and the Old City walls, continuing the public space developed along the street [Fig. 8.42]. On the other side of the terminal section, the terminal building will function as a second façade of the existing market street, providing commercial space to facilitate shops, cafes, restaurants, and other commercial activities. [Fig. 8.43]

The two-sided nature of the building - one of continuous public space and the other of a busy market place [Fig. 8.40], will strengthen the market as an active urban attraction along the Sultan Suleiman Street. By creating a second façade for the market and connecting it to the public space along the light railway, the terminal will emphasize the character of the public space developed along the light railway as a linear boulevard with distinct entry points penetrating the Old City and Bab a-Zahara neighborhood. [Fig. 8.41]

Tram & bus stops Light railway Motorway

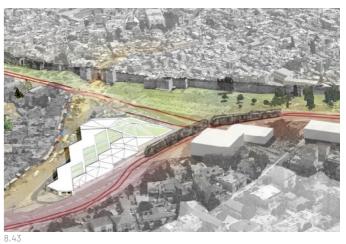
1:500



- 6. Herod's Gate
- Jaffa Street 7. Damascus Gate Terminal

Damascus Gate

- 8. Market
- 9. Nablus Road
- 10. Salah a-Din Street





- FIG. 8.42 Linear public space conceptual drawing.
 - Made by author.
- FIG. 8.43 Damascus Gate Terminal birdview.

 Made by author.
- FIG. 8.44 Damascus Gate terminal view of the market.

 Made by author.



128

Vision: Sultan Suleiman promenade

An essential element in the Damascus Gate terminal project is the development of the public space along the light railway, creating a continuous pedestrian-oriented public space from the Israeli city center along Jaffa Street to the Palestinian city center in the Damascus Gate area.

Sultan Suleiman Street, leading from Jaffa Street to the Jericho road along the Old City walls, will be transformed from a busy motorway to a pedestrian and tram street [Fig. 8.45-8.46]. It will function as the main boulevard of the Palestinian city center, defining entrances to Bab a-Zahara neighborhood (the market, the Nablus road, Salah a-Din Street) and the Old City (The New Gate, Damascus Gate, and Herod's Gate) [Fig. 8.43]. The public space along the street will be designed as a promenade along the



FIG. 8.46 Sultan Suleiman Promenade - principle street profile. Made by author.

129

1:100

Old City walls. The street profile will be composed of a linear park at the foot of the ancient walls and an active urban raelis and Palestinians, as well as tour-'façade' on the opposite side, facilitating commercial and leisure activities. center of Jerusalem not as two separate, The light railway will be integrated into sometimes contradicting entities, but as the center of the street, dividing the two a continuous space with two focal points parts of the promenade. [Fig. 8.46]

The Sultan Suleiman promenade, continuing Jaffa Street, will increase the pedestrian movement between the Israeli and Palestinian centers and promote cooperation and interdependency. Isists and visitors, will experience the city - Israeli and Palestinian, that coexist as a functioning and vibrant city center.



09 Conclusion

FIG. 9.1 A view westward to the Old City and
West Jerusalem from the Palestinian
neighborhood of A-Tur.
Photography: Author, 2017.



FIG. 9.2 Roofs of the Old City, Jerusalem. Made by author.

9.1 Conclusion

This thesis researches the relations between urban planning and the process of colonization, and, in particular, the role of transportation infrastructure in manifesting colonization patterns in the urban space in the city of Jerusalem. It analyzes the dynamics which influence urban planning in a divided city that is subjected to urban conflict, and examines the problems, urban damage, and social injustice that are caused by it. The design part of this thesis explores the potential of urban planning and design as a means of a decolonization and reconciliation process and proposes a transition to a transit-oriented development framework to support it.

Urban planning and design in divided cities

On the city scale, this thesis stresses the key role of transportation infrastructure in the segregation and colonization of Jerusalem, as well as their importance in the process of decolonization and inclusion. The analysis part of the thesis reveals how deeply the urban planning policies in Jerusalem are subordinated and dedicated to the colonization aspirations of the Israeli government. The design part of the thesis illustrates that a significant change in the urban planning framework of the city necessitates a deep political transition. This understanding elucidates the damage of urban conflicts on the urban development of divided cities and reveals the stagnation and degeneration in urban development that these cities suffer from. On the other hand, it demonstrates the potential of spatial and urban planning in the process of urban rehabilitation in divided cities, and the importance of interweaving urban planning in a larger political process of reconciliation.

On the local scale, the design of two key projects is used to explore the implications of the urban vision on the built form and the public space, and to explore the implementation of the large-scale urban vision. The design of the two key projects illustrates that the re-configuration of transportation infrastructure is far broader than a mere technical act and that it has wide social implications on the communities of the city. It can empower or undermine a community, and it has the potential to change spatial and social relationships between different communities, re-configuring the social structure of the city.

Transit-oriented development in divided cities

The main research question of this thesis is:

'How could Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) serve as an instrument for decolonization and inclusion in Jerusalem?'

The design of the large-scale urban vision and the local key projects, as well as the policy and governance design, is an attempt to answer this question with a research-by-design method, using strategic planning, spatial design, and governance design to articulate a decolonization process in Jerusalem and explore the role of urban planning and design in this process. The design part of this thesis takes the approach of alternative planning – grounded on the existing spatial and social conditions of the city while exploring alternative urban planning and design given a different political framework. This approach enables a critical debate about existing narratives and assumptions, stimulates discussion, and imagines a different future beyond existing political constraints.

Transit-oriented development is a general term for urban planning theories that position transportation systems and mobility as the base for urban development and creates a correlation between the development of transportation infrastructure and land use development (Bertolini, L. 1996). Although such development strategies were practiced in different contexts and various places well before the term 'transit-oriented development' was phrased, in the last few decades, it became a prominent term in contemporary theories of sustainable urban planning and design (Bertolini, L. & Curtis, C. & Renne, J.L., 2009; Cervero, E. & Sullivan, C. 2011).

In the design part of this thesis, the **Jerusalem 2050: Urban vision** proposes a new development framework for Jerusalem that is based on a transit-oriented development strategy. It focuses on transportation infrastructure and mobility and creates a correlation between the development of transportation systems and land use development. The use of this strategy as the theoretical framework of the urban vision is an attempt to explore the potential of transit-oriented development in the context of divided cities and urban conflict.

Albeit the fact that it provides the theoretical framework and the entry point to the design, the conclusion emerges from the research is that urban planning and design is a necessary yet insufficient element in the process of decolonization and urban rehabilitation in divided cities, and political transition and governance transformation are the key elements in that process. Transit-oriented development could serve as a solid framework for a good urban development strategy, and its qualities of creating interdependency and interconnections between different urban hubs are valuable in the context of divided cities. However, the relevance of this strategy in divided cities and urban conflict is far more dependent on the governance system that will allow its implementation rather than on the qualities of transit-oriented development.

Governance transition and Dynamic Planning

The chapter 'Dynamic Planning' (chapter 6) focused on the governance transitions necessary to support the large-scale urban vision and to implement the local key projects as part of alternative planning and a decolonization process in Jerusalem. This chapter was based largely on the research and reports made by 'Bimkom: Planners for Planning Rights' – an Israeli human rights organization that promotes democracy and human rights in the field of spatial planning and urban policies in Israel and the Palestinian occupied territory. The research and the reports made by 'Bimkom'^{9,1}, as well as interviews made with Israeli and Palestinian planners and architects, were the base for the governance and planning strategy proposed in this chapter.

9.1 Mainly on the report: Cohen-Bar, E. & Ronel, A.
(2013), Resident-Initiated Dynamic Planning:
Feasible plans in East Jerusalem, Bimkon:
Planners for Planning Rights, Jerusalem.

This chapter emphasized the essential role of governance and political transition in the process of decolonization. It explored possible governance instruments and policies that will support the urban vision and enable the realization of its local implementations. This chapter underlines the fact that decolonization is a far broader process than a mere physical-spatial transformation. In order to be relevant for a significant and comprehensive decolonization process, urban planning and design must be integrated into a larger scope of political transition that includes reconciliation and governance transformation. This conclusion is consistent with other processes of decolonization that happened in the past. For example, the transition that took place in urban planning in South Africa in the 1990s, when the country was moving from an apartheid regime to a democracy, required the removal of legislated instruments and urban policies of apartheid and creating new governance and urban policies. These changes served as a basis for large urban development and urban rehabilitation projects all across South Africa (Harrison, P. & Todes, A. & Watson, V. 2008).



FIG. 9.3 Alleys in the Old City, Jerusalem. Made by author.

138

9.2 Reflection

139

This thesis addresses colonization, urban conflict, and urban division in the context of Jerusalem through the scope of urban planning and design. It analyzes the relations between political power structures and the spatial and urban conditions in the city, revealing the role of urban planning and transportation infrastructure as an instrument of colonization. The research-by-design part of this thesis consists of the Jerusalem 2050: Urban vision, the Dynamic Planning implementation strategy, and the local key projects. It is an attempt to explore the potentials of urban planning and transportation infrastructure in the process of decolonization. This thesis explores the potentials of transit-oriented development as an important tool for urban development in divided cities and as a significant element of a reconciliation process in urban conflicts. This thesis aims to imagine an alternative future for Jerusalem, to explore possible means of reconciliation and decolonization, and to understand the spatial and urban implications of such a process, coming from the belief that the ability to imagine a different future is a fundamental tool for any political change.

This reflection will address several aspects: The methods that were used in this thesis and its outcomes, the potentials and limitations of this research, recommendations for future research, and finally it will address the societal and scientific relevance of this research.

Methods and Outcomes

9.2 For more information on the interviews conducted in the field research - see p. 75

140

The methods used in this thesis, consisting of the analytical and theoretical framework, the field research, and the design process, provided the context for this thesis, the argumentation for the alternative planning approach that was taken, and the base for developing the designs projects and implementation strategy.

The analytical framework is constructed of four layers: historical analysis, spatial analysis, social analysis, and governance analysis. The historical analysis (chapter 3.2) provided a context for the existing urban conditions in Jerusalem and the evolution of the processes that shaped them. The spatial and social analysis, (chapter 3.2 and chapter 4), formed the base to the understanding of the spatial and urban conditions in Jerusalem – its divisions, fragmentations, inequalities and tensions, and particularly the role of transportation infrastructure in the colonization of East Jerusalem. The governance analysis (chapter 5) revealed the means in which urban planning and policymaking serve as instruments for the colonization of East Jerusalem. It demonstrated how it was developed throughout the years and examined the way it shaped the spatial conditions in East Jerusalem, exposing how political power structures are manifested in the urban space.

The theoretical framework (chapter 3) provided an understanding of the colonization process in the context of Jerusalem and the ways it has shaped the city's development and urban space. Further, the theoretical framework examined the specificities that characterize the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the post-colonial discourse and suggested a way to define the meaning of decolonization in Jerusalem.

The field research formed an important empirical component and contributed to this thesis in several ways: five interviews were conducted with Israeli and Palestinian planners and architects, some working with local communities on alternative planning projects, some working on public projects for the Jerusalem municipality and some are researchers in the academia^{9,2}. The interviews focused on the experiences of these planners and architects regarding their work with the municipality on projects of different scales in Jerusalem, their work with Palestinian communities on locally initiated projects, and their knowledge and insights regarding the implications of the Israeli governance system in East Jerusalem. These interviews provided important insights and knowledge that derived from years of experience in planning in the Jerusalem context, revealing aspects that otherwise would remain unknown to the author of this thesis and contributed largely to the governance analysis (chapter 5) and the development of the Dynamic Planning implementation strategy (chapter 6). Site visits in various places in East and West Jerusalem had a significant role in choosing the sites and developing the design of the key projects (chapter 8).

The design process (chapter 6-8) was used to explore the possibilities, potentials, and limitations of transit-oriented development strategy as a new framework for urban development, and to explore the spatial implications of decolonization in the context of Jerusalem. The governance design, as addressed in the Dynamic Planning strate-

gy (chapter 6), is a policy development derived from the transitions proposed by the large-scale urban vision. It proposes a governance transformation that can support a decolonization process in Jerusalem, translating it from a city-scale urban vision to feasible, local-scale implementations. Although it addresses the issues and specificities that characterize the Palestinian neighborhoods of East Jerusalem, it proposes a governance transformation that is relevant to Jerusalem as a whole and it is an important element in the city's decolonization process. It proposes new relations between centralized planning authorities and local planning initiatives, introducing an interdependent, multi-layered governance system where mediation between overall strategies and local initiatives is essential.

The Jerusalem 2050: Urban vision (chapter 7) defines goals, determines ways of action, and translates the decolonization process to a city-scale urban development strategy. It underscores the potential of transportation infrastructures, when utilized as the main urban development framework, as an essential element of mediation and cooperation that can serve as a common ground for the coexistence and mutual development of the city's different communities. The vision's regional reflection (chapter 7.4) reflects on the possible implications of the vision on the regional scale, implying the key role that Jerusalem can take in a larger scale decolonization process.

Finally, the key projects (chapter 8) explore the spatial implications of the urban vision on the public space and the urban form in important nodes of the vision. In each key project, the urban vision is translated to a specific spatial design, developing different spatial manifestations of decolonization in Jerusalem and reflecting on its potentials and limitations. The design process of the key projects is used to verify, inform, and reflect on the urban vision.

Potentials and Limitations

Decolonization is a deep and comprehensive process. It involves multiple aspects in various disciplines (Jansen, J. C. & Osterhammel, J. 2017) and it is far beyond the narrow scope of urban planning and design. Albeit urban planning and design are essential in this process, they are far from sufficient and must be intertwined with a larger frame of reconciliation and political transformation (Geffikin, F. & Morrissey M. 2011).

Coming from this understanding and the fact that decades of political stagnation regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has driven any reconciliation process beyond a foreseeable future, this thesis focuses on two main aspects: First, revealing and analyzing the role of urban planning, and in particular transportation infrastructure, in the colonization process of East Jerusalem, and understanding the ways it has shaped the city as a whole. Second, this thesis takes the approach of alternative planning, grounded on the existing physical and social conditions of the city while exploring alternative urban planning and design given a different political framework. Using the existing physical and social conditions as a reference point for the design while "ignoring" the existing political reality allows the design to exceed the rigid boundaries posed by current political reality. However, this approach is limited to the existing conditions, and by the time a political change may enable any strategies or designs developed with this approach, the physical or social conditions it was based on might lose its relevance. This means that the design and development strategy proposed in this thesis should not be understood as a practical strategy for decolonization. Instead, it is an attempt to explore the spatial meaning of decolonization in the context of Jerusalem and the potential of transit-oriented development in such a process. Decolonization in Jerusalem is then translating to an urban vision, providing a realistic, though not politically feasible, image of an alternative future.

Recommendations for future research

142

The utilization of transit-oriented development as a spatial strategy for decolonization leaves a potential for future research in different contexts: In the Israeli-Palestinian context, comparative research that uses different cases in Israel-Palestine can examine the specificities of each case, reflecting on the potentials and limitations of transit-oriented development as a spatial strategy for decolonization. On the regional scale, broader research about transit-oriented development as a strategy for mediation and decolonization can be conducted, exploring the meaning and possible manifestations of decolonization in Israel-Palestine as a whole, and the potentials and limitations of transit-oriented development as a spatial strategy in a large-scale process of decolonization.

Different cases from other divided cities and contested regions can serve as a base for future research that explores the potentials of utilizing transit-oriented develop-

ment as a spatial strategy in decolonization and reconciliation processes. Contributing to a broader understanding of the term decolonization and its spatial manifestations.

The 'Dynamic Planning' strategy as an instrument for governance transformation and mediation between overall strategies and local initiatives leaves a potential for future research on several scales: In the case of the Palestinian neighborhoods of East Jerusalem, extensive fieldwork that includes existing local initiatives and actors, as well as the official planning authorities, could develop this strategy further for mediation between overall planning strategies and local initiatives, contribute empirical data and explore its conditions and limitations. Comparative research that uses different cases in both East and West Jerusalem, as well as other conflictual cases in Israel-Palestine, could explore the potentials and limitations of 'Dynamic Planning' strategy as an instrument for governance transformation and decolonization in the Israeli-Palestinian context. In addition, the chapter 'Dynamic Planning' (chapter 6) focuses mainly on the governance aspects necessary to support the large-scale urban vision and to implement the local key projects, but it does not cover other important elements such as the financial aspects and economic feasibility. There is a potential for future research about the economic aspects of urban planning in divided cities and urban conflict, exploring strategies for the economic feasibility of urban development as part of a decolonization process.

Finally, the results and outcomes of this thesis cannot be directly transferred to a development strategy for Jerusalem, as it is previously described in the potentials and limitations section. However, this approach can be used to research the meaning and implications of decolonization processes in different contexts, underlining the specificities that distinguish each case and exploring a common ground that links decolonization as a spatial and political process in a global context.

Relevance and Considerations

Scientific relevance

Transportation infrastructure and the concept of transit-oriented development are proven an important element in contemporary theories of sustainable urban planning (Cervero, C. & Sullivan, C. 2011). The spatial and political conditions created by urban conflicts often impose serious difficulties to achieve a sustainable and viable urban development, thus compromising the ability of those cities and regions to address the global challenges of accelerated urbanization and the climate crisis, where a sustainable urban development strategy is vital. By examining transit-oriented development concepts in the context of divided cities and urban conflict, this thesis is positioning urban conflict conditions not as a disruption that stands in the way of sustainable urban development, but as an integral element in the array of challenges that the contemporary city must address in the effort for sustainable and viable urban development.

This thesis contributes to the field of divided cities and urban conflict. Although it is a wide field, and divided cities and urban conflicts are very different from each other, they often result in similar urban phenomena such as underdeveloped enclaves with different levels of informal development, social exclusion and spatial injustice (Calame, J. & Charlesworth E. 2012). The scientific relevance of this thesis derives from these spatial and urban similarities. The alternative planning approach taken in this thesis to articulate the specificities of decolonization in Jerusalem can be used in processes of decolonization in other places. Further, the 'Dynamic Planning' strategy can be examined as a strategy to mediate between centralized planning authorities and local planning initiatives in other areas where political conflict created a significant lack of trust between marginalized communities and the authorities.

Societal relevance

Urban conflicts, contested territories, and various forms of colonization have created divided cities around the world. These divided cities and conflictual territories can be very different from each other, each rooted in the historical, cultural, and geopolitical specificities of that particular region and conflict. However, there are many similarities and connecting lines between these different places – unequal power structures, manifested by unjust governance systems and planning policies that create spatial divisions, social exclusions, and injustice. By using Jerusalem as a case study, this thesis explores the relations between urban planning and design and the urban conflict in Jerusalem. It seeks to develop an urban planning and design framework that

addresses the outcomes of urban conflict and to create an image of an alternative future that will help draw the way we define decolonization in the Jerusalem context.

In the broader sense, the alternative planning approach that is taken in this thesis can be relevant to other divided cities and conflictual territories, and the ways it is being used to define the spatial manifestation of decolonization can be applied in other contexts of urban conflicts and forms of colonization.

Ethical Considerations

145

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an active, ongoing, and violent conflict that affects all people living in the region. The political and symbolic importance of Jerusalem in this conflict intensifies the sensitivity of the issues dealt in this thesis. Being a Jewish, Israeli architect, born and raised in Jerusalem and who has studied and practiced architecture in the city, it is clear to me that my position cannot be neutral or 'objective'. Albeit a planner, designer, or scholar's position will always be subjective, I have strived to 'intersubjectivity' – a subjective position that is aware of its subjectivity and in constant reflective dialogue with other subjective positions. Reaching out to both Israeli and Palestinian architects, planners, and residents during the fieldwork was an attempt to broaden the scope of my limited position and engaging this dialogue while accepting the fact that my position can never be unbiased.

I believe that by striving to intersubjectivity, academic research offers the opportunity to question and reflect on complex issues in a meaningful way, notwithstanding one's position and identity. I hope that this thesis, although rooted in my particular position within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, can contribute to the discourse of urban planning and design in divided cities and conflictual territories.

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146

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