



The Role of Israeli Planning Policies on Controlling Arabs in East Jerusalem

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East Jerusalem**

**دور السياسات التخطيطية الإسرائيلية في السيطرة على السكان العرب
في القدس الشرقية**

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Dedication

F or my parents and my family who were the source of inspiration through out my life

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Working in this study has been a wonderful and significant opportunity for me that widened my scope of knowledge and enriched my sense of meditation. My study would not get to light without the valuable support, help, and comments of my supervision Dr.Jamal Amro. My special thanks for the Arab Studies Society institution and its head master Mr.Khalil Tafakji for supplying me with the maps that was important to accomplish my study.

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ملخص البحث

جاء هذا البحث لدراسة دور السياسات التخطيطية الإسرائيلية - و التي فرضت و طبقت بعد حرب 1967 على القدس الشرقية- من أجل السيطرة على السكان العرب في القدس الشرقية. حيث يهدف البحث إلى إثبات أن السياسات التخطيطية في القدس لم تكن تهدف إلى رفع جودة الحياة في القدس لدى السكان العرب وتحسين معيشتهم. إنما جاءت لفرض الهيمنة والسيطرة الإسرائيلية على القدس. لقد عمل المخططون الإسرائيليون على استغلال التخطيط لتحقيق أهدافهم السياسية و التي تهدف إلى خلق واقع ديموغرافي لصالح اليهود على حساب السكان العرب بحيث لا تزيد نسبة السكان عن ثلث سكان المدينة.

لتحقيق هدف البحث، فإن الدراسة تستعرض وتحلل السياسات التخطيطية الإسرائيلية بشكل تفصيلي المستخدمة لتأمين السيطرة والهيمنة على المقدسيين. بالإضافة إلى ذلك ولفهم المشكلة بشكل أعمق، تناولت الدراسة مقارنة تحليلية بين حي يهودي وحي عربي داخل حدود القدس الشرقية، فتمت المقارنة مابين حي صور باهر وأم طوبا من جهة وحي أبو غنيم (هارحوماه) من جهة أخرى.

تقسم الدراسة إلى ستة أقسام موزعة على سبعة فصول، يشرح القسم الأول منهجية البحث أما القسم الثاني فيتناول النظريات التي توضح: العلاقة مابين السياسة والتخطيط، دور واستخدام التخطيط كأداة للهيمنة والسيطرة وأنواع التخطيط المستخدم في المجتمعات المتعددة الإثنية. يستعرض القسم الثالث موقع الدراسة بحيث يشمل لمحة تاريخية، التطور الديموغرافي للمنطقة وتطور الحدود الإدارية للموقع (القدس). يتناول القسم الرابع ويحلل بإسهاب السياسات التخطيطية الإسرائيلية اعتمادا على الإطار النظري الذي شرح وفصل في القسم الثاني، و يشمل التحليل المقارنة بين الحي العربي والحي اليهودي. يناقش القسم الخامس نتائج التحليل ويوضح علاقة النتائج بالنظريات الموضحة بالقسم الثاني من البحث. القسم السادس والأخير يلخص نتيجة الدراسة ويطرح التوصيات التي تعمل على إيجاد تخطيط معاكس ومقاوم للتخطيط الإسرائيلي الحالي والتي تهدف إلى تعزيز الوجود العربي في القدس.

بعد تحليل السياسات التخطيطية في القدس كانت نتيجة البحث أن التخطيط في القدس هو تخطيط مجند يستخدم لتحقيق الأهداف السياسية الإسرائيلية وتستمر إسرائيل بفرض سياساتها التخطيطية المتحيزة لليهود على حساب السكان العرب لتهويد المدينة وجعلها مدينة يهودية وبغياب التخطيط العربي الفلسطيني المضاد فان هذا الهدف يبدو سهل التحقيق. لذلك كان لابد من وضع توصيات عملية تطبيقية، تعمل على خلق معوقات أمام التخطيط الإسرائيلي المجند معززة الوجود العربي الفلسطيني في القدس.

Abstract

This research examines the role of Israeli planning policies that were imposed on East Jerusalem after the 1967, and aims to prove that these planning policies were not directed to improve the living standards and life quality of Arabs but to control them not to exceed one-third of the whole population under the dominancy and control of the Israel.

The Israeli planning policies are investigated in details in order to achieve the goals of this research and to have a deep understanding of this dilemma. In addition to that a comparison between an Arabic neighborhood (Sur-Baher and Um-Tuba) with a Jewish one (Har-Homa) is derived also to illustrate this problem.

This study is divided into six main parts distributed into seven chapters. The first part discusses the methodology of the study, the second part deals with the theories that discuss the relationship between politics and planning, in addition to the role of planning as an important tool of control and dominancy and the type of planning used in the multi-ethnic societies. The third part explores the research study site from its historical background, the demographic development of Jerusalem, and the development of the administrative borders of Jerusalem. The forth part analyzes the Israeli planning policies depending on the theoretical frame discussed in the second part. This analysis includes also a comparison between an Arabic and Jewish neighborhood. The fifth part discussed the results of the analysis and illustrates the correspondence between the hypothesis and the results. The sixth part explores suggestions and recommendations that work on creating a new policies counter to the present Israeli planning system and that aims to strengthen and reinforce the Arabic dominance in Jerusalem.

In the whole, it is concluded that Israeli planning in Jerusalem is a political biased planning system that provide advantage for the sake of Jews on the expense of the Arabs. Thus, recommendations become a necessity to establish some practical realities on ground to stand in the way of the Israeli planning strategy.

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1.1 Introduction

After the industrial revolution, planning emerged out as an organized field of study as a reaction upon unhealthy conditions resulted due to the revolution. Many theorists wrote extensively about; the good and utopian city that the man imagine to live in, how human being can use knowledge to create a suitable and workable city, how can planners increase the living standard and the life quality for human being. The planners worked hard to achieve these goals. However, there are many cases especially in multi-ethnic communities in which planners took the role of deceivers and control role; they use planning as a statutory tool to achieve control of one dominant group upon weaker groups. Jerusalem is considered one of those cases where planning is used as a control tool.

1.2 Problem Identification

Jerusalem is a very well-known city. Indeed, it is one of the oldest and holiest cities in the world. In addition to its religious, cultural and historical importance, Jerusalem has a high symbolic value for all the Palestinians and is considered the most valuable city in Palestine.

Nowadays, a walk in the city can clearly reveal to the beholder the great difference between its Eastern and its Western sides: the prosperity and development in the part inhabited by the Jews but negligence and deprivation in the part inhabited by Arabs. No sign is needed to indicate that this is an Arab neighborhood and the other is Jewish neighborhood. The urban fabric deteriorations, the lack of street furniture, the lack of

gardens, and the unpaved streets are obvious issues facing the Arab neighborhoods. “*In the Jewish sector, new neighborhoods were emerging, roads were being paved, schools and synagogues were opening to meet the needs of the surging Jewish population, Arab neighborhoods remained without sewage and paved roads, not to mention sidewalks and street lights.*” (Cheshin, 1999). The most significant example of that is the great difference between French Hill settlement which known by its well organized urban context and Al Isawiya neighborhood which is known by the unorganized urban fabric and the unpaved streets (fig. 1.1) (fig. 1.2).



Fig. 1.1: The organized streets and urban fabric in French Hill settlement
Source: Researcher, 2006



Fig. 1.2: The Unpaved Streets in Al Isawiya
Source: Researcher, 2006

City of Jerusalem passed through many conflicts, since the beginning of the history. It was ruled by many nations. From the beginning of the century, Jerusalem experienced three wars, in 1917, in 1948 and in 1967. The root of the problem appeared when Israel occupied the west side of the city in 1948. More than 22,000 Palestinians in the western sector of Jerusalem, which was occupied by Israel in 1948, are no longer residing there (Mustafa, 1997). Then Israel occupied the other side in 1967. Immediately after the occupation, Israeli law was imposed on East Jerusalem and the city borders were expanded from 6 Km² to 70Km² at the expense of the West Bank land (Mustafa, 1998). Israel also tried to control the city by imposing its policies that aims to change the demographic situation of the city.

Having a quick glance over the uses of the approved master plan of Jerusalem, it shows that 33.2% of the land was expropriated for Israeli building settlements to cut the way for Arabs expansion and development, and to narrow Arab's living space. *"Thus approximately one-third of East Jerusalem has been removed from the reserves of land available to the Arab population"* (Hurwitz, 1997).

Moreover, the municipality's effort to keep East Jerusalem down is symbolized clearly in the municipality's budget. We can observe the municipality's inequity and prejudice in allocating the budget between Arabs and Jews. Palestinians Arabs consist about 33% of the population scale and less than 12% from the budget (Margalit, 2006) regardless that they are obliged to pay taxes equal to those paid by the Jews. In addition to what previously mentioned, the policy of house demolition still symbolize the municipality policy for Arabs to move and leave Jerusalem. As Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (2004) indicated that more than 622 houses were demolished between the years 1987 to 2004 in East Jerusalem.

Based on the literature review and my own observation and as a citizen who live in Jerusalem, it is noticeable that since the occupation, Israel has implemented many policies to achieve its aim of control trying to legitimize its techniques, tools, and methods. These policies, through planning regulations, aim to increase the number of Jewish residents in Jerusalem city and its district and also at the same time to limit Palestinian population growth. The main objective of these policies is to maintain an absolute Israeli majority within the boundaries of Jerusalem, and to push Palestinian Jerusalemites to establish new neighborhoods and commercial centers outside the current

municipal borders of Jerusalem. This phenomenon continued to grow until Jerusalem is now threatened to lose its identity and to become a Jewish city.

Jerusalem municipality, being the legitimate and overwhelming foundation of the city that draws its future, plays a great role in developing Jerusalem Western side and supplying it with every possible public service so as to encourage the Jewish to settle in the city. On the other part of the city, Jerusalem municipality does its best to reserve the status quo to keep its dominance and control over the city.

All that emphasizes the municipality perspective to the Arabs regarding their growth and development as a real threat to the demography of the city and its urban sovereignty, so it employs every possible means to maintain its dominance and control over them.

According to all above, this study comes to prove that the planning and policies of Jerusalem is not used to the welfare of Arabs but it is a powerful means of oppression and control. Furthermore, this study will suggest suitable and applicable recommendations to enhance the Arab existence in Jerusalem. Moreover, it will open visions for the decision maker to construct a new strategies regarding Jerusalem.

1.3 Study Goal

The main focus of this study is to investigate and analyze the links between Israeli planning Policies -that practiced by Israeli government in East Jerusalem– with controlling Arab residents in East Jerusalem and also to recommend tools of action for Palestinian Jerusalemites in three levels; international, institutional and public level

which will support their existence in Jerusalem. Moreover, it will open visions for the decision maker to construct a new strategies regarding Jerusalem.

1.4 Study Objectives

- Proving that planning in Jerusalem is used to control Arabs in East Jerusalem.
- Examining the Israeli planning policies in East Jerusalem.
- Suggesting suitable recommendations to consolidate Arab existence in the city.

1.5 Methodology

In order to examine how planning in Jerusalem is used as a control tool not as a reform tool, the main approach adopted in this study was the investigation of Israeli planning policies in details, that is used not to develop Arab life but to control them, according to a conceptual frame work discussed in chapter two. The analysis depends on declarations of Israeli politicians, examination of town planning scheme of Jerusalem, a comparative statistical data between Jews and Arabs residing Jerusalem. In addition to that a comparative study between two neighborhoods within the borders of East Jerusalem (Jewish neighborhood ,Abu Ghneim (Har-Homa), and Arab neighborhood ,Sur-Baher,) was conducted. From my point of view, it is very important to compare the two adjacent neighborhoods which have been mentioned in-order to crystallize the difference of policies within the same municipality area.

To make a depth comparative study, the master plans of the two neighborhoods were reviewed and analyzed. Spatial data such as aerial photos, maps from Jerusalem

municipality were also used. In addition to that, some photos were taken to capture the difference.

1.6 Study Data

This study relies on the various Palestinian and Israeli sources. The analysis are based on data and information published by Palestinian Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) in 2004, Israeli Bureau of Statistics, Arab Studies Society, Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem (ARIJ), Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of the International Affairs (PASSIA), the Israeli Municipality of Jerusalem, field study conducted by the researcher, in addition to interviews with Hassan Abu Assalah who was employed for more than thirty years in Jerusalem municipality and the engineer Radi Hamada who was employed for almost fifteen year as a civil engineer in Sur-Baher Engineering Office were conducted.

1.7 Structure of the Study

This study is divided into sixth main parts, distributed into seven chapters. The first part is the research approach that describe, research problem, hypothesis, goals and objectives, research questions, in addition to the research methodology. The second part is the literature review, in which the relationship between planning and politics are described and some theoretical concepts that explain how planning can be used as a regressive and control tool rather than a reform and progressive tool is derived. The third part, found in chapter three, concerns about study site and diagnosing the problem by providing a background of the study area, and reviewing demographical and border

development of Jerusalem. This chapter will present facts and figures about demographic developments in Jerusalem to understand the current situation. The fourth part is devoted for the analysis and investigation of Israeli planning policies (tools and methods) discussed in chapter four and five. Chapter four presents details about the Israeli discriminatory and controlling policies imposed since the annexation of East Jerusalem in 1967 depending on the conceptual framework described in chapter two. The fifth chapter is a comparative study between two neighborhoods; Um-tuba and Sur-baher neighborhood with Har-Homa settlement (Jabal-Abu Ghneum), describing an analysis of the two master plans of both neighborhoods, depending also on the theoretical framework discussed in chapter two. The fifth part found in chapter six is discusses the results and investigates the range of conforming the results with the hypothesis explained in chapter one, paving the way to the final chapter which includes the conclusion and the recommendations. The seventh chapter which is the sixth part of this study summarizes the findings of the analysis and provides recommendations in two levels, institutional and public level, that aim to enhance the existence of Arabs in Jerusalem. The recommendations target several actors, such as; Palestinian government, residents in Jerusalem, and NGO's.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses several theoretical concepts relating to the ability of a planning system to act as either a progressive or regressive agent of change. It also concentrates on how planning can be used as a control tool instead of reforming tool especially upon ethnic minorities. This chapter will also identify the type of urban policy strategies in polarized consisted cities.

This chapter will answer the following Questions:

- What is the relation between planning and politics?
- How can urban policies be employed to achieve political goals?
- Is there any relation between urban planning and policies and ideology of the regime, is government ideology part of planning?
- Is the planning a reform tool or a control tool?

2.2 Planning and politics

The relation between planning and politics is an important issue in this study, understanding this relation reveals the range of influence of politics upon the objectives and role of planning. So, it is an essential matter in this study to know if the planning is a reflection or free of politics.

Town planning was a series of reformist ideas about changing and improving the city. The basis of these ideas lay in land reform, housing reform, equity, justice, enhancement of community, and protection of amenity (Ward, 1994). Even that the planner can

achieve equity and justice through planning, there is another approach began to appear in the work of Michael Facult and Cullen who argued that political sector in the eighteenth century began to bracket land and space (town planning) together with control and power (Kivell, 1993).

Then other theorists developed this approach like Friedmann who argued that planning is a primarily ideological activity. As Friedmann (1966) wrote, "*Planning is done by individuals whose fundamental motivations derive in part from an ideological interpretation of the function of planning in society. This influences the choice of problems, method of work and proposed solutions*" (Simmie, 1974). In fact planners represent some groups in society and they have definitely a political ideology so they are likely to serve their own interest and ideology rather than those of other bodies.

Thus, Friedman pointed out in 1987 that "*modern planning practice is apolitical process*" and "*Planning was regarded as an alternative to politics*" (Friedmann, 1987). Many researchers like Simmie, and Anthony Catanese have shown that there is a strong relation between planning and politics as Simmie (1974) writes, "*Town planning is political in three senses. First it was set up by government presumably to execute political wills on the subject of land use and regulation. Second, as an executive branch of government it is directly linked to the political power structure Third, the way town planning decisions are taken is political*". Moreover planners have political roles, they take the politician perspectives into account in their planning so there are many cases in which planning –the preparation and implementation of plans by central government- reflects the political ideologies of the members of the governmental

institutions (Bilski, 1980). So planners bring knowledge to the service of politics and control. But how they do that, this will be described in the following sections in this chapter.

2.3 Planning as a control tool

During the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, a huge and rapid movement of urbanization took place, producing the emergence of large industrial cities and causing, unhealthy living conditions, social problems, and environmental hazards. All these consequences affected both workers and residents. As a reaction to all unacceptable conditions, planning emerged out – as an organized field of human activity– as an exigent need of a reforming movement to recover the ills of urbanization (Cherry 1988).

The first planners brought with them the concepts of utopianism, equity, public interest, maximizing economic growth, and improving living conditions. These basic thoughts formed the foundations of planning theories. These concepts aimed to reform and improve cities, regions and society in order to meet the demands of cities growing population. Thus *“Most of the theories and concepts developed in planning during subsequent decades focused on two key questions: What is a good city or region? What is good planning?”* (Yiftachel, 1995).

Interest in the role of planning has expanded since the last two decades, from two perspectives; policy makers, and researchers, generating intensive debate on its relation with the government ideology. Many researchers considered planning as a reform tool that enhances living conditions for human being. However, some theorists like yiftachel

argued that this view of planning is narrow, too idealistic and often unrealistic. Theoretically, it has ignored the position of planning as an arm of the modern nation state, and empirically it has overlooked the numerous instances in which planning functions as a form of deliberate social control and oppression exercised by elites over weaker groups.

Planners could act as apolitical actors, and they may seek to achieve, maintain, and strengthen the domination of one ethnic group that is related directly to the government, and to control segments of the population (Smootha, 1990). Thus, the planners could be servants to the interests of the state that expect them to promote the goal of government. The municipality and the planners get what they want by playing the game of power covered up as technical reasoning (Flyvbjerg, 1996) .

As an example of using planning as a control tool J. Thomas (1994) provides examples from America how housing, zoning, and development policies have systematically excluded and distanced blacks from opportunity and wealth. Yiftachel (1996) similarly demonstrates the profoundly regressive impact of Israel's regional development and settlement policies, which have rapidly shifted land and economic resources from Palestinians to Jews. These examples show that "planning as oppression" does exist in a variety of settings and that it affects a range of social relations in space.

2.4 The Four Dimensions of planning

In order to understand how planning can be exercised as a control tool. The dimensions of planning should be examined. This examination will show how planning within this

dimensions are used as social control. These four dimensions – territorial, procedural, socio-economic, and cultural dimensions- represents the aspects of planning as an organized field of policy and professional practice: its spatial content (the territorial dimension), its power relations and decision-making processes (the procedural dimension), its long-term material consequences (the socioeconomic dimension), and its repercussions on identities and ways of life and thinking (the cultural dimension).

2.4.1 The Territorial dimension

The territorial dimension of planning is concerned with issues of space, geography, and land use that shaped of plans and policies. Territorial Dimension includes:

- Location of functions on lands, such as allocation of settlements, industrial areas, factories, and infrastructure services ... etc.
- Demarcation of administrative boundaries.
- Land use regulations, such as types of lands, property rights, and housing densities.

Reform is the master part where the territorial dimension could be used sufficiently to serve the need of the public in the society. Planning measures should regulate land use and should improve living and environmental standards (Badcock, 1984). The original role of planning is land reform and improving the living environment (Ward, 1994). The territorial dimension should be effectively employed to serve the need of all people, improve their ways of living, facilities their daily lives, and reduce the gap between the society and the minor groups.

The perfect utilization of the territorial dimension would enable every part in the society to enjoy the workable and efficient system of service delivery and citizen-authority relations. But according to Yiftachel (1995) “*territorial policies can also be used as a most powerful tool of control over minorities, particularly in deeply divided societies, where ethnic group often reside in “their own” regions*”. Thus, land use policy which is a tool of this dimension is an active instrument that can be used for either for the progress or for retardation in society (Haider, 1994; Ward, 1994).

Using this dimension the government can make laws related to land ownership in which limiting minority landownership, blocking their housing and growth expansion, which leads to a symmetrical social and economic development with the community in addition to a spatial fragmentation (Badcock, 1984).

The territorial dimension could be negatively utilized by the powerful and the wealthiest class in the society especially in the deeply divided ethnical ones for the benefits and profits of the elites. It could also facilitate social division between groups within same society, create walled cities within one city, and above all segregate and prevent inhabitant belonging to poorer weaker and different ethnic groups from power-sharing, land-ownership, and the full share of the city’s benefits and opportunities.

2.4.2 The Procedural Dimension

This dimension concentrates on the formulation and implementation plans and policies of the government (Yiftachel, 1998). Planning here is deeply connected with the process of decision-making through the access of power relations in the society.

The role of the weaker parts of the society is clearly activated by allowing them to share in the process of decision-making perfectly enhance the act of social reform, genuinely empowers the disadvantaged groups, and creates a kind of balance to the scattered parts of the society.

On the other hand, this dimension could be wickedly used to serve for the segregation and the exclusion of - various groups in the society – from the active and real participation in the process of decision-making, therefore to their marginalization in society (Friedmann, 1992).

The procedural dimension covers the formulation and implementation processes of plans and policies. The procedural dimension includes statutory aspects that determine the formal relationship between authorities and the public. It also includes less-formal aspects such as public participation, information dissemination, consultation, and negotiation in policy making, and the ongoing relationships between authorities and communities (Yiftachel, 1998).

Planning processes also exclude various segments and groups from meaningful participation in decision making and thereby contribute to the marginalization and repression of these groups. This form of control can be applied explicitly in decisions imposed from above or implicitly through sophisticated methods of information distortion and meaningless forms of public consultation (Friedmann, 1992).

According to Yiftachel (1995) “ *This form of control can be explicit, as in the case of decisions imposed “from above”, or implicit through sophisticated methods of information distortion and meaningless forms of public consultations*”.

2.4.3 The Socioeconomic Dimension

“*The procedural dimension of planning is expressed as the long-term impact of planning on social and economic relations in society*” (Yiftachel, 1995). That impact can ameliorate the quality of economic condition, improve social relationships, and achieve progress in the communities. But it is a double edged weapon, land use changes for example affect negatively or positively the relations among neighboring people, ethnicities, and communities.

This dimension also could be used as a control tool to illustrate and widen socioeconomic gaps in the society. The costs and benefits could be developed to serve the interests of the dominant party (McLoughlin, 1992), creating weaker groups depended mainly on the system and powerful group that manipulates the system to increase their power and control.

2.4.4 The Cultural Dimension

This dimension deals with the influence and effect of planning on the various cultures and collective identities within a city or a state. Planning here is of great importance to shape and reshape minor and multi-ethnic identities and to help them to preserve their own and unique culture. Instead of isolating and clustering themselves in separate corners, Planning can be used to activate them and their culture (Yiftachel, 1998).

Again, cultural dimension could be progressively or oppressively employed. On the other hand, the elites might insist on imposing their own version and perspectives on nation strategies. While on the other part, planning could be the outcome of a plural effort having the legitimacy and respect of all.

On the ground, the process of planning and decision-making which are supposed to be a collective team work is in fact practiced by major ethnic culture which often works to minimize and alienate other ethnic cultures (Ibid).

2.5 Models of Urban Policy Strategies in Polarized Contested Cities

Urban policies play an important role in achieving political goals especially in polarized cities. It can alter the spatial distribution of ethnic groups, and also can shape the distribution of economic benefits. A polarized contested city is a city in which groups from multiethnic origins live under the regime of one dominant ethnic group. This kind of cities usually embraces within its suburbs the willingness of violence and instability and consist a host of urban conflict and tension (Bollen, 1998).

According to Bollen (1998) there are four urban planning strategies that urban government regime can adopt to govern in a polarized city. The first strategy is a neutral urban strategy which keeps itself apart from issues of ethnic identities, power inequalities, and political exclusion. It seeks to solve problems on land ownership and territory by dealing with them as technical issues solvable through planning procedures and professional norms. Problems emerge because of different ethnic backgrounds can always be solved by day-to-day service delivery away from political consideration (Ibid).

The second strategy is partisan urban strategy which seeks to enrich the dominant role of the superior ethnic group over the disenfranchised group (Lustick,1979), and to legitimize the maintenance of existing realities by shifting the interest away from the subject of territorial control to issues related to city management (Bollen,1998).

The third strategy is an equity strategy which is interested in decreasing the ethnic group inequalities within the same city by allocating the urban services and expenditure forward with the ethnic group needs. An equity planner is so much aware that ethnical conflicts and tension can be gradually resolved through equal distribution of economic resources and urban landscape (Ibid).

The final strategy is a resolver strategy that makes its own duty to suggest practical proposals to decrease and eliminate the root causes urban polarization, power imbalances, competitive ethnic group identities and disempowerment. It seeks to reshape the form of the urban polarized cities in order to facilitate political-sharing, policy-making, and mutual tolerance of co-existence (Ibid).

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I tried to clarify the relation between planning and politics and also to describe the four dimensions of planning upon which the modern city rely to reach to a state of social progress and reform. The four dimensions of planning: territorial, procedural, socioeconomic, and cultural may act as a useful instrument of the government for the reformation and prosperity.

Regressively, planning may also facilitate the elite domination and control on space, power, wealth, and identity. The modern planning may often be incomplete and misleading, advancing the interests of social elites and dominant groups at the expense of weaker groups.

Studying the previous four dimensions, we can conclude that planning has the ability to affect social change in a wide range of social aspects. It also can be manipulated to serve the interest of the most powerful group in society. In the end, planning is in fact a vital device to achieve political goals and to exert control and oppression so, decision makers should be aware of the fact there is a wide distance between theory and practice.

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a general overview of the study site (Jerusalem). It introduces a brief description about Jerusalem historical context and geographic location. In addition to that demographic development, and border development will be described to touch the changes occurred between previous eras and recent period. This chapter is vital as an introductory for the following chapter which focuses on the analysis and investigation of Israeli planning policies within East Jerusalem after 1967 war. Moreover, understanding the demographic development situation is very essential to realize the goals and objectives of planning policies.

3.2 Historical Background

Jerusalem, stretching back about 5,000 years, is considered as one of the oldest and holiest cities in the world. Excavations showed that the first human civilization settled Jerusalem in the closing Stone Age was the Cana'anies tribes, who gave it the name Ur-Salem or Urishalim meaning peace. On the other hand, the first recorded name for Jerusalem, dating back to the 18th and the 19th centuries B.C, was discovered in the Egyptian manuscripts, in Tall Al-Amarna, Egypt (Sha'th, 1995).

Jerusalem has been the scene of many dramatic events and the cause of many wars during its known history. It suffered more than 20 sieges, changed hands more than 25 times, and was destroyed 17 times. Jerusalem was held by the Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. After that, Jerusalem was ruled by Muslims under the regime of wise Caliph Omar Bin Al-Kattab (15 AH. / 638 A.D) who was given the keys of the City

from Saphronious without war. The City remained under Muslim rules till 1917 except, during the Crusader occupation (1099-1187 AD) (Al-Aref, 1986).

In 1855, the Ottoman Sultan gave a decree to Lord Montefiori in order to establish the first residential neighborhood outside the old walls. By the end the nineteenth century, the Palestinian Jerusalemite elite had moved from the Old City to newly constructed neighborhoods north to the Old City principally Bab Assahirah and Seikh Jarrah (Tamari, 1999).

On December 9, 1917 Jerusalem fell to the hand of British. The establishing of the British Mandate caused great changes on the ground; British government promised to aid the establishment of a Jewish “homeland” in Palestine under the leadership of the Zionist movement and planned for a national home for the Jewish in Palestine through the Balfour Declaration (Al-Aref, 1986). The mandate state in Palestine implemented a policy whose main objective was to help with the creation of the Jewish homeland and faster Jewish immigration. It also enable them to purchase and own land in Palestinian territories. The world Zionist was allowed to open up offices in Palestine and to pursue agricultural, cultural, and educational activities as a prelude to the establishment of the future State (Khamaisi, 2003).

At the end of the British Mandate in Palestine, the united nation in November 1947 adopted the proposal that Jerusalem should become an international city that would be administered by the UN when Palestine became divided into two separate states. The Jews agreed in principle but the Palestinian refused to accept that any part of their

country should be given over the Israelis or that Jerusalem should be internationalized (Tamari, 1999).

On the day before the end of the Mandate, the Jews declared the State of Israel. On 15 May 1948, the British mandatory forces withdrew permitting the Israeli military to enter the city and to force the Arab residents to leave the western side of the city (Maguire, 1981), which resulted in the division of Jerusalem into western part ruled by Israel state and eastern part ruled by Jordanian state.

In 1967 Israel occupied the eastern part of Jerusalem. On June 25th the Israeli government decided to come out with a legal cover for its political decision, and declared the annexation of Jerusalem, so the two parts were united under Israeli rule. In 1980 the Israeli kenasset declared Jerusalem (Eastern part and Western part) as a capital of Israel (Ibid).

3.3 Geographical Location

Jerusalem is located in the center of Palestine. It is located at 350°, 13 minutes E longitude and 310°, 52 minutes N latitude. It lies at an altitude of 820 meters above sea level, and is constructed on four mounts: Mt. Moriah, Mt. ‘Akra, Mt.Beit-Zeta, and Mt. Zion. The old city of Jerusalem is surrounded by three valleys, which facilitates the task of defending it (Sha’th, 1995).

Fig. 3.1: Jerusalem location within West Bank
Source: Arij, 1997



It is 52 Km from the Mediterranean Sea, 22 Km from the Dead Sea, and 250 Km from the Red Sea. From Jerusalem to Amman, Beirut, Damascus, and Cairo, the distances are respectively 88, 338, 290, and 528 Km (Ibid).

The location of Jerusalem in the region, as regards altitude, can best be illustrated diagrammatically by the cross section given below.

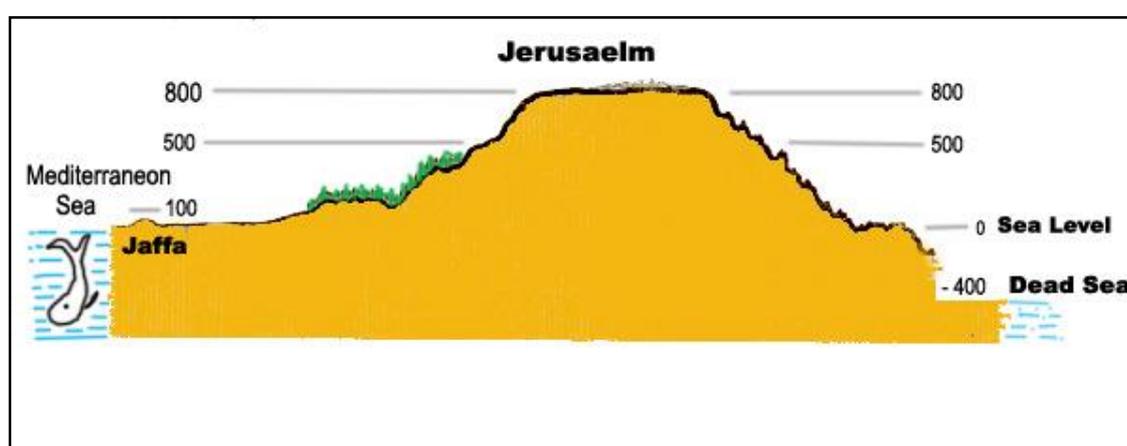


Fig. 3.2: The location of Jerusalem in the region
Source: Kendall, 1948. Edit by researcher

3.4 Population Development

To have a profound understanding about the existing demographic situation in Jerusalem, it is important to discuss the demographic development in Jerusalem and the Jewish presence in the city during past centuries, especially in the nineteenth century.

3.4.1 Population Development from the Late Nineteenth Century to 1967

Jerusalem was inhabited by the Jebusites, a Canaanite subgroup. It was one of the oldest and most illustrious cities in the country. And for some 800 years it remained a purely Canaanite city. According to Ottoman statistics, the Sulimaniyats, the number of inhabitants in Jerusalem in the year 1526 was 2,807 (Khamaisi, 2003). This number rose

to 8,471 in 1597. At the end of 1947, the number of residents in Jerusalem reached 164,500, 60.4 percent of whom were Jewish (Ibid). Table 3.1 below shows population development in Jerusalem from 1920 to 1967.

Year/affiliation	1920		1931		1947		1961		1967	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Arabs	31000	50.8	39229	43.4	65100	39.6	60488	26.7	66000	24.8
Jews	30000	49.2	51222	56.6	99400	60.4	166300	73.3	200000	75.2
Total	61000	100	90451	100	164500	100	226788	100	266000	100

Table 3.1: Population development in Jerusalem (1920-1967)
Source: Khamaisi, 2003

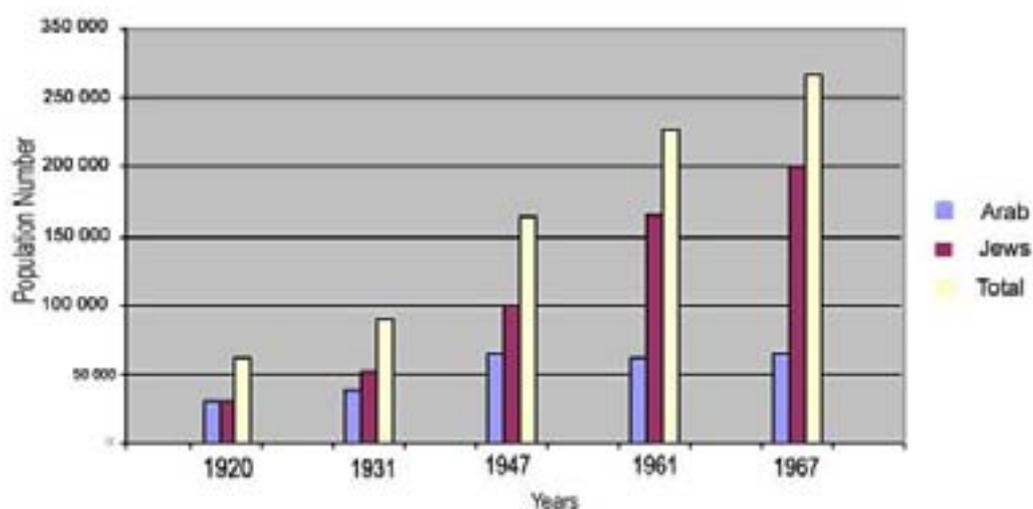


Fig 3.3: Jewish and Arab population development during: 1920-1967
Source: Ibid. Edit by researcher

The influx of Jews to Palestine in general, and Jerusalem in particular, was partly a function of their persecution of the Jews in Western Europe and their expulsion from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1496), some of them sought refuge in Palestine and in other

Mediterranean countries (Cattan,1987). As a result, some Jews came to live in Jerusalem. According to Rappoport (1932), there were 70 Jewish families in Jerusalem in 1488, 200 families in 1495 and 1,500 families in 1521.

The issue of Jerusalem's population in the nineteenth century was a consistent subject of debate among historians due to the different estimated numbers. According to Edward Robinson, professor of Biblical literature at Union Theological Seminary in New York, who visited Jerusalem in 1838, recorded that the population of the city was 11,000, made up of the following:

Muslims	4,500
Christians	3,500
Jews	3,000
Total	11,000

Table 3.2: Population of Jerusalem in 1838
Source: Cattan, 1987

The other wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine especially to Jerusalem, permitted by the British Mandatory government, caused the number of Jews population to escalate rapidly reaching 33,971 out of total population of 62,578 in 1922 (Cattan,1987).

3.4.2 Population Development after 1967

After the 1967 war the number of Jerusalemite people in both West and East sides was around 266.5 thousand: around 68.8 thousand Palestinians consisting 25.8 of the percentage and around 197.7 thousand Israelis consisting 74.2 of the percentage (Khamaisi, 2003). It should be noted that upon the eve of 1967 war there were no Jews settling in East Jerusalem.

Through the passing of years, the percentage of Palestinian population in Jerusalem has noticeably increased while the other belonging to Jews has declined, but still the percentage of the number of Palestinians is estimated to be 33.0% and 67.0% for the Jews in 2003.

From the available data listed in table 3.3, it can be observed that the number of residents in Jerusalem rose by 160 percent from 1967 to 2003. The Jewish portion from this percentage is 1.35 whereas the Palestinian's is 2.33.

Year	Number of residents (thousands)			Percentage	
	Palestinians	Israelis	Total	Palestinians	Israelis
1967	68.6	197.7	266.3	25.8	74.2
1972	83.5	230.3	313.8	26.6	73.4
1983	122.4	306.3	427.7	28.6	71.4
1985	130.0	327.2	457.7	28.4	71.6
1990	146.3	378.2	524.5	27.9	72.1
1992	155.5	401.0	556.5	27.9	72.1
1995	181.8	420.9	602.7	30.2	69.8
1998	196.1	433.6	633.7	30.9	69.1

2000	208.7	448.8	657.5	31.7	68.3
2001	215.4	454.6	670.0	32.2	67.8
2002	221.9	458.6	680.4	32.6	67.4
2003	228.7	464.5	693.2	33.0	67.0

Table 3.3: Population development (1967-2003)
Source: Statistical yearbook of Jerusalem, 2004

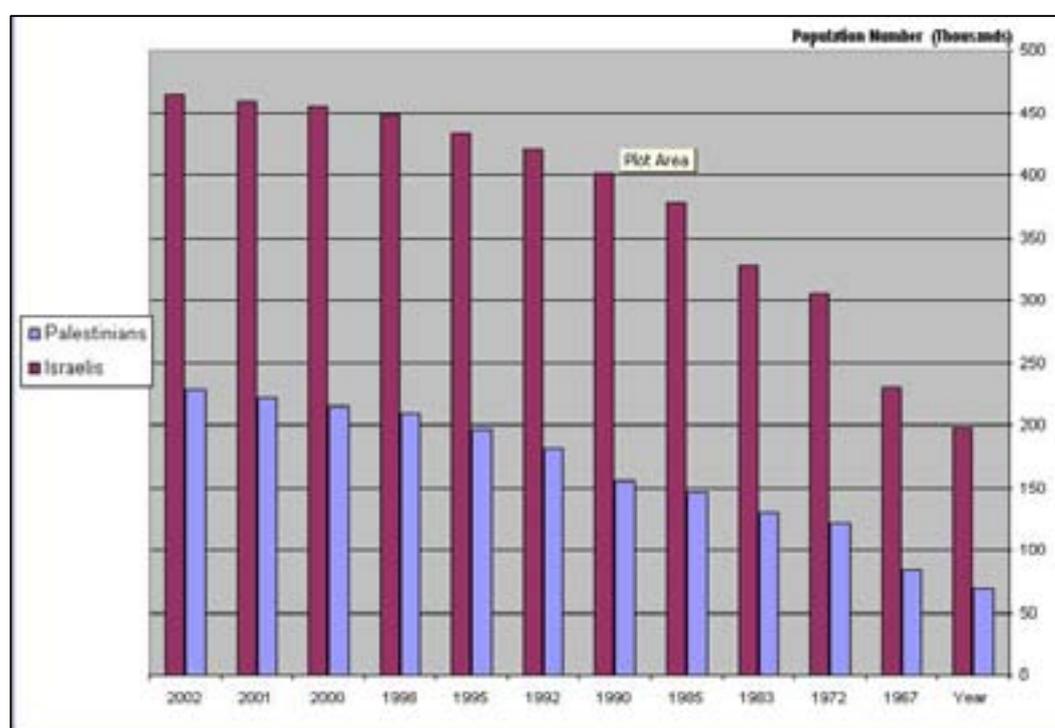


Fig. 3.4: Population development (1967-2003)
Source: Ibid. Edit by researcher

3.5 Administration Border Development

The old city was occupying about 871 dunams with its high surrounding walls that was built by the Ottoman Sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent in the year 1542. Nowadays, Jerusalem occupies an area of 126,000 (Statistical year book, 2004), a space that expanded 141 times more than its original space.

The development of the geographical boundaries of Jerusalem could be categorized into the following eras:

- The Ottoman time.
- The British mandatory 1917-1947.
- The Jordanian period 1947-1967.
- The Israeli occupation period 1967 till now

Being a walled city, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, continued to live within its massive walls till the 19th century. Up to that time, no building or inhabitants existed outside its ramparts. In the second half of the 19th century, the various quarters of the city became incapable of absorbing the increasing number of population and establishing new residential areas became a necessity. The new generations tended to build their homes outside the city walls resulting in the foundation of new neighborhoods from both Arabs and Jews.

In 1863 a city council consisting of ten members was established to run the daily issues, responsibilities, and the activities related to the city and its inhabitants like paving, sanitation, and building permits. Later these responsibilities were gradually extended

beyond the city walls as new neighborhoods were being built whereas the territorial boundaries of the council's authority were not strictly defined (Ibid). Because of the growing significance of Jerusalem in the 19th century, the Ottomans carved the district (*Sanjaq*) of Jerusalem in 1874 out of the govern of greater Syria and placed it under rule from Istanbul (Tamari, 1999). The municipality border of Jerusalem has been changed since British Mandate till now. Each ruler of the city annexed the city border according to its political and socioeconomic goals.

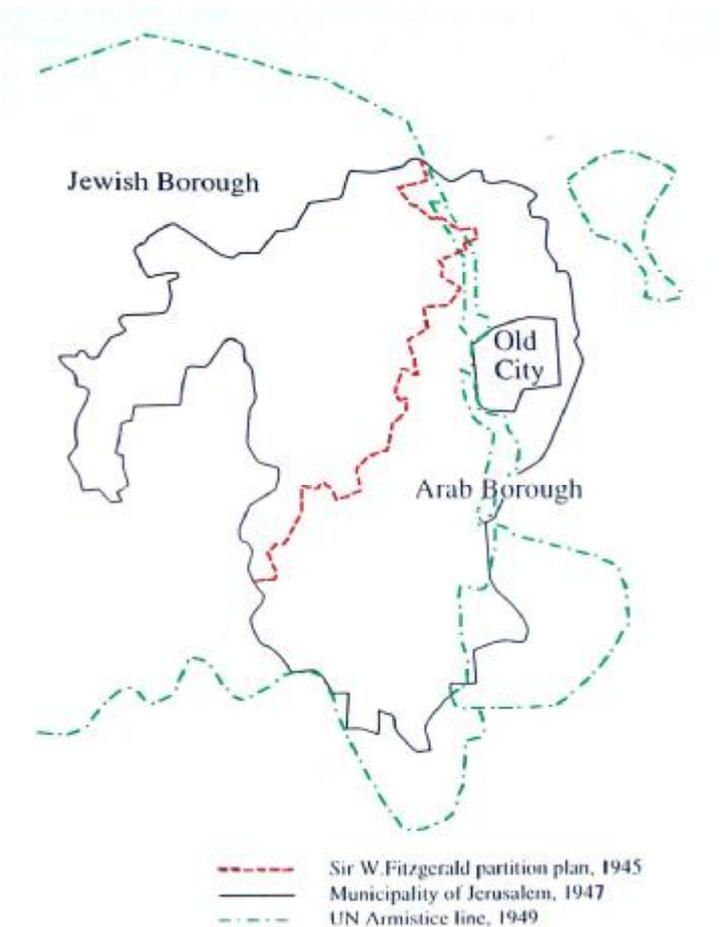
3.5.1 British Mandate period

As a result to the Ottoman's defeat in World War I and its withdrawal from the *Sanjaq* of Jerusalem, Jerusalem became under the control of the British military. During the mandatory, the building and construction expansion were put under restricted and specific regulations within defined borders drawn by the British authority.

During mandatory period, the city's border was extended twice. In 1927, the municipal boundaries were extended to reach an area about 15,000 dunams to include surrounding lands mostly to the west. Then in 1947, the municipal boundaries were also enlarged to contain more and more land from the west till it was a bout 20,199 dunams (Tafakji, 1998). In this new expansion, land ownership distribution was 40% for Arabs, 26.12% for Jews, 13.86% for Christians, 2.9% government and municipal property, the remained 17,21% were roads and railways (Ibid).

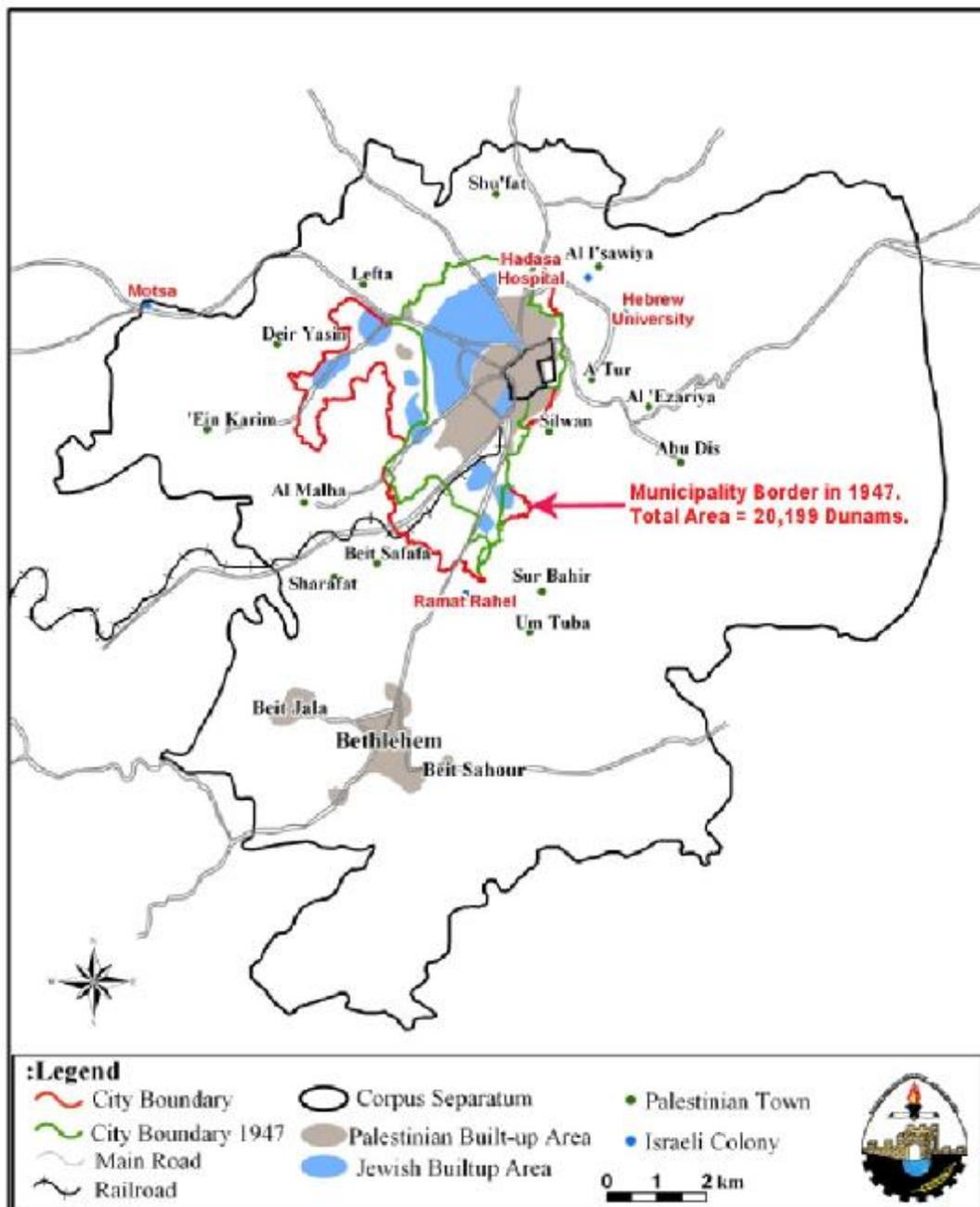
Upon the end of the mandatory regime, commission headed by Sir W.Fitzgerlad suggested new borders according to ethnic distribution between Arabs and Jews (map. 3.1). In addition of establishment of an administrative council to organize the city issues (Dumper, 1997).

In 1947 Britain turned the problem of Jerusalem and the problem of Palestine's future over to the United Nations. The new formed world body accordingly appointed a special committee, the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP).



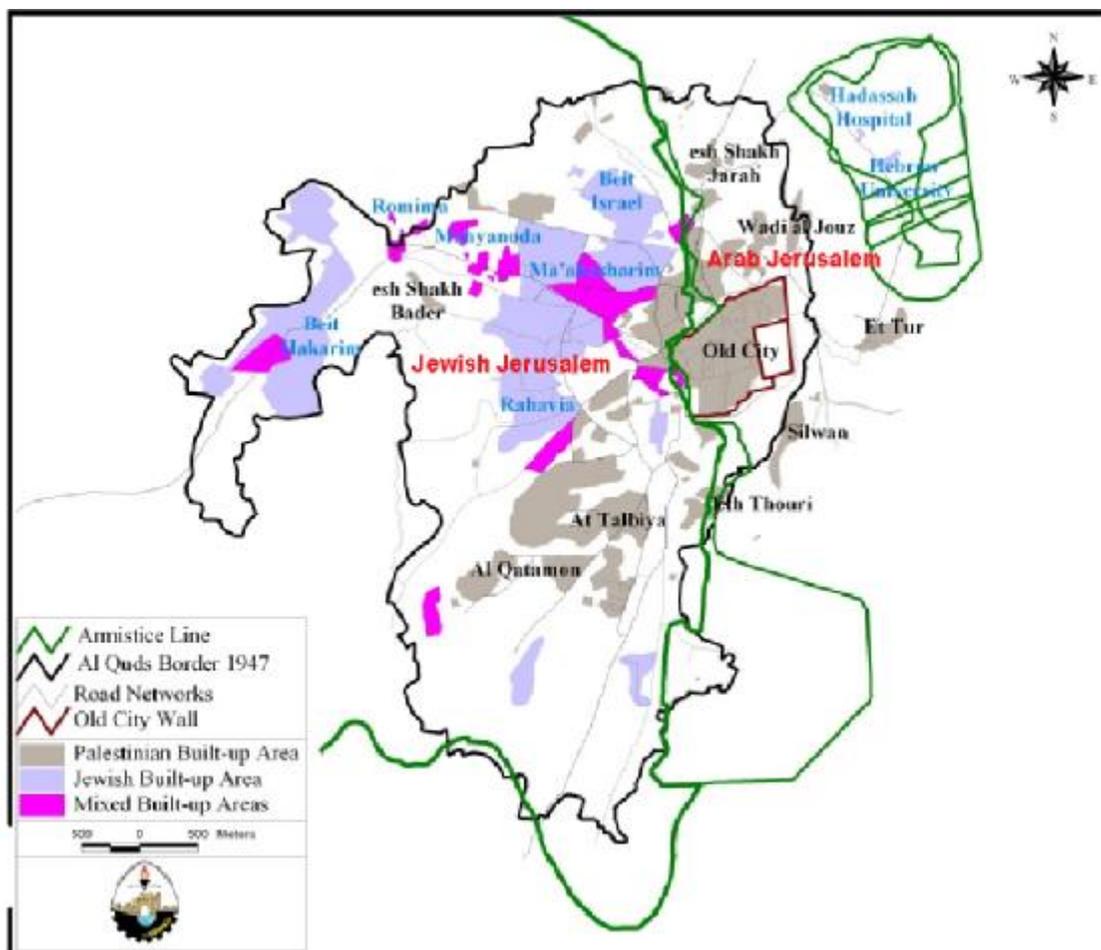
Map 3.1: The Fitzgerald plan (1945)
Source: Dumper, 1997. Edit by researcher

In Nov. 1947, the UN voted by 33 – 13 with 10 abstentions for the majority scheme (Res. 181), recommending the partition of Palestine into Arab and a Jewish state (A'rori, 1998). The general assembly of the United Nations adopted the proposal that, the city of Jerusalem shall be established as a *Corpus Separatum* under a special international regime and shall be administered by the United Nations (Ibid).(Map. 3.2).



Map 3.2: UN suggestion about Jerusalem.
Source: Ariq, 1997. Edit by researcher

This decision had ever been applied as 1948th war broke out between Arabs and Jews. After the war, the Jews gained the dominance over the western part of the city while the other part was put under the rule of the Arabs. At that specific time, new idioms were created to indicate the existence of two parts of the city: (Jewish Jerusalem) to describe the sectors occupied by Jews and (Arab Jerusalem) for sectors ruled by the Arabs (map 3.3).



Map 3.3: Jerusalem in Mandate Period
Source: Arij, 1997. Edit by researcher

3.5.2 Jerusalem Borders 48 - 67

In April 1949, an agreement (called later Armistice agreement) was signed between Arabs and Israelis under the auspices of the UN. This agreement dictated that the city was to be divided into two: Eastern ruled by the Jordanian Authority, and Western ruled by the Israeli Authority (Maguire, 1981).

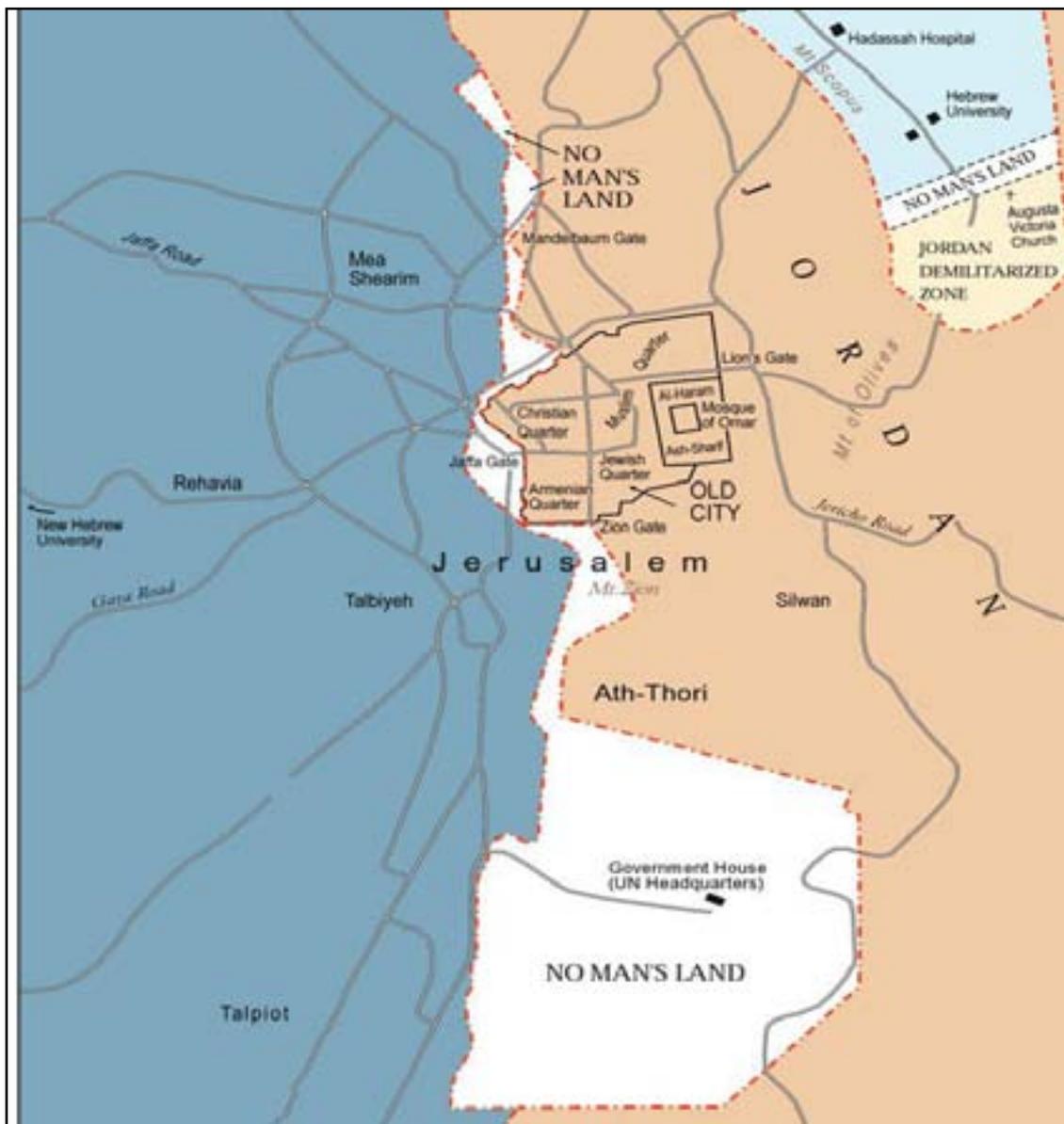
The separation between the two parts would be illustrated through the Armistice lines running from north to south Jerusalem including a band of “No man’s Land” in the contiguous lands of the Old City. There was also an Israeli-held enclave on Mt.Scopus (including Hebrew University and Hadassah Hospital) (map 3.6) (Ibid).

On December 5, 1949, David Ben-Gurion declared in the Knesset “*We regard it our duty to declare that Jewish Jerusalem is an organic and inseparable part of the state of Israel, as it is an inseparable part of the history of Israel*” (Benvensiti, 1976).

Later, Israeli presence in the city stretched after 1948 following Arabs withdrawal from their neighborhoods in West Jerusalem and the Jewish replacement instead. It was the intention of the Israeli government to increase the number of Jews in Jerusalem by focusing on building settlements and to strengthen the relation between Tel-Aviv and West Jerusalem (Westmacott, 1968). Israel also extended the municipality area three times which till it reached about thirty-eight square kilometers by 1967 as table 3.4 indicates.

Date	Area (Thousands dunams)
14.8.1952	33.5
16.5.1963	36.0
26.7.1964	38.1

Table 3.4: The municipal area of West Jerusalem (1952-1967)
Source: Statistical Year Book of Jerusalem, No. 20, 2004



Map 3.4: Partitioned Jerusalem (1948 – 1967)
Source: <http://www.poica.org>

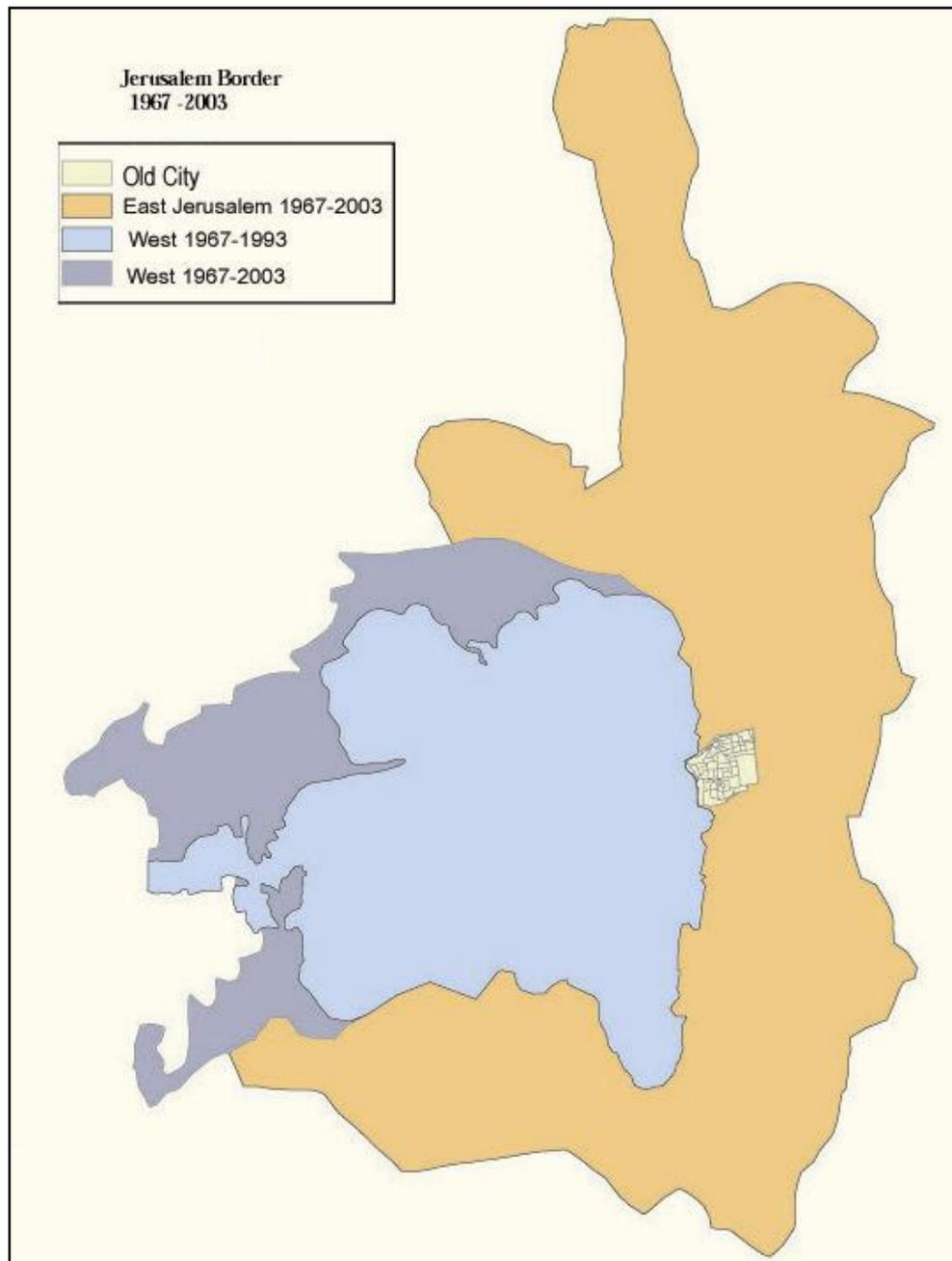
East Jerusalem, being a city with a province affiliate with Jordan, ceased to play a role in national politics and became a national administrative center. The dilation of the Arab municipality extended to an area of six square Kilometers but the built up area was only three square kilometers (Mustafa, 1998). There were number of reasons that limited buildings in only half of Jerusalem municipal area. First, the restrictions made by Kendall plan which banned building on western slopes of Mount Scopus and the Mount of Olives and left the Kidron slopes as open spaces. Second, the huge amount of lands that was under the ownership of churches and other Christian bodies. In addition to the presence of so many un-parcellated plots of lands owned by dozens of people resulted in the deprivation of building process in large space of lands (Benvenisti, 1976).

Early in 1958, the municipality discussions concentrated on expanding the northern boundaries of the city to reach Kalendia airport. The debate on this issue continued even after the master plan of the year 1959 was laid down and recommended that the municipality borders should be expanded to 75 Km², but the eruption of the 1967th War prevented the project from being fulfilled (Tafakji, 1998).

3.5.3 Jerusalem after 1967

After the occupation of Arab East Jerusalem by Israeli military forces in June 1967, The Knesset began to pass new laws related to annexation, in order to give the legality for the Israeli authority to control lands. Thus, Israeli government made an annexation on June, 1967. The area annexed encompassed a total of 18,000 acres (about 70 km²), of which only 1,500 acres (about 6 Km²) were within the boundaries of Jerusalem's Arab municipality. After this expansion, the area of Jerusalem municipality (East, and West)

was 108 Km². In February 1992, the municipality, enlightened by Kubersky's recommendations, enlarged its borders westward by 15,000 dunams (Dumper, 1997), to be as it now 126 Km² (map 3.5).



Map 3.5: Jerusalem Border after 1967
Source: Arabic Studies Association, G.I.S Dept.

3.6 Conclusion

A brief overview about historical background and geographical location of Jerusalem city has been introduced. This chapter has given a clear view about demographical and border developments of Jerusalem from Ottomans eras reaching to the current status. This has paved the way to the next chapter to analyze and examine Israeli planning policies.

Through this chapter, we can observe that Jerusalem has passed many stages since the dust of history. It was destroyed 17 times and ruled by many nations. However, the current planning and policies situation in Jerusalem had been affected strongly by British Mandate era. It is noted through a clear view to the development of Jerusalem borders during British mandate, the great extension of the city's boundaries toward the west to embrace the Jewish neighborhood, whereas the eastern borders were drawn very close to the wall to avoid joining Arabs neighborhoods as silwan, Ras-Alamud, Al-Tur and Abu-Tur.

4.1 Introduction

Depending on the theoretical framework and historical background of Jerusalem in the previous chapters, this chapter focuses on examination and evaluation of the Israeli planning policies that were imposed to control Arab citizens in East Jerusalem, using the discussed dimensions of planning in chapter two.

4.2 Israeli Policies:

Since Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967 the Israeli government has adopted a number of systematic policies against Palestinian population, aiming to strengthen Israeli control throughout the city by creating demographic and geographic reality on the ground.

Many Israeli officials declared their politics of demography in Jerusalem. As in Municipal Council Meeting that held in August 13, 1967 Rabbi Cohen declared *“And dare I say frankly that we have to do everything within our power to make Greater Jerusalem the largest Jewish city in the world, a real Jewish city, both in terms of the population numbers and in giving a permanent Jewish character to the whole city.”* And also Mordechai Ish-Shalom, former Mayor of Jerusalem, City Councilor also declared in 1967 *“ What is required- and quickly- is Jews, many Jews in Jerusalem. No, more trickles of immigration.”* (Dumper, 1997). Moreover, in July 1980, Israel made a crucial and critical step by declaring Jerusalem (West and East) as the permanent capital of Israel.

Palestinian development is considered as a "demographic threat" to Israeli control of the city. Thus, Israeli policies blocked Palestinian developments and limited the number of Palestinians residing in Jerusalem in order to create an Israeli demographic superiority over Palestinians who were intentionally made to form only one third of the population. As Amir Cheshin, who was former Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek's adviser on Arab affairs from 1984 until 1993, wrote " *Since 1967, Jerusalem was considered to be the largest city in Israel, The decision to strengthen the Jewish population was accompanied by another government decision: to also preserve a demographic balance between Jews and Arabs in the city. This required several measures, namely, considerably increasing the number of housing units available for Jewish residents in the city and taking any steps possible to prevent a significant increase in building aimed Arab population*" (Cheshin, 1998). Actually, Israel has succeeded in achieving its goal which is consolidating its territorial control over all parts of the city, and preserving the demographic dominance of the Jewish population by the dimensions of planning; territorial, procedural and socioeconomic dimensions that described in chapter two of this study. The territorial dimension includes; expanding Jerusalem's municipal border, land confiscation, housing demolition and the apartheid wall. The procedural dimension includes; the sophisticated planning process in Jerusalem and the neglecting of Arab participation in planning process.

4.3 Territorial Control:

4.3.1 Expanding Jerusalem's Municipal Boundaries.

This tool is considered, the first tool of territorial dominance and a powerful means of spatial control. In June 1967, Israel extended its administration to East Jerusalem and redefined the borders of the city; the annexed city was expanded from 38 to 108 Square kilometers under the approving of the Knesset and the area of new east Jerusalem became 70 Square Kilometers including 6 Square Kilometers of Jordanian Municipality (In 1993, Jerusalem's boundary was to expanded to the west till it was about 126 square kilometers) (Mustafa, 1998). East Jerusalem became including the old city, Kafr 'Aqab, Beit Haninah, Shu'fat, Wadi Aljuz, Al Isawwiya, At Tur, Sheikh Jarrah, Bab Assahirah, Silwan, Ath Thuri, Jabal Al Mukkabber, Arab As Sawahira, Ras Al Amud, Sur-Bahir, Beit Safafa and Sharafat.

Two principles were taken into consideration as the expansion of the borders took place. First, the new boundary was drawn to maintain a large Jewish majority in Jerusalem and to include as much land as possible without Palestinian concentrations. Meron Benvenisti (1976) says in his book "Jerusalem the Torn City" *"From an urban point of view the municipal boundaries of the city were demarcated in totally arbitrary fashion. Demography was one of the determining factors the inclusion of the most land with fewest number of Arabs"*.

For this reason, the land of many villages such as Abu Dis, Al-Azariyah, Al Ram, and Hizma were appended to the municipal boundary while the villages themselves inhabited

by Palestinians residents remained outside the boundary of Jerusalem. Thus, the new extended boundary was drawn so as to include as much land as possible from Palestinian villages, but to exclude concentration of Palestinian population. In other words, the Israeli policy has been to maximize the annexed land while minimize the Palestinian population. In addition to that, the newly appended lands would be connected in every way to Israel and totally detached from the West Bank.

The second principle is to expand northern borders of Jerusalem in order to include Qalandia airport which was considered as an important feature at that time (Cheshin, 1998). As in drawing the borders of Jerusalem none of the social consideration was taken into account, but only the two previous dimensions were taken into consideration. As an example Anata, a small town in the surrounding of the towns was divided into two parts, one within Jerusalem borders while the other was out this artificial border line. Few meters away from Dahiyat Al-Salam, the Jerusalemite part of Anata, was the part related to the West Bank where friends and relatives of the first side reside. In some ridiculous cases, one can find houses in which one part of them is within the borders of Jerusalem while the remaining parts are out-side this borders.

4.3.2 Land Confiscation for Jewish Settlements

Confiscation of lands for Israeli settlement is considered the main method of control through territorial policies exercised by Israeli authorities. The aims of these settlements are, to achieve the Israel's strategy to guarantee its continued sovereignty through increasing Jewish people number and shrinking the area available for Palestinian, to control the spatial development of Arab communities in East Jerusalem, to cut off the

natural development of the Arab suburbs likewise the Jews settlements unification were enhanced as being said by Teddy Kolek in one of the municipalities sessions “ *In Jerusalem we took upon ourselves, as Jews, a very difficult urban task, in that we received distant neighborhoods, and we had to connect them; Ramot Neve Ya’akov, and Gilo, for example.*” (Flener, 1995).

After the year 1967, Israel dedicated every possible effort to build Jewish settlements creating facts on the ground, It confiscated about 25,000* dunams and started building up these settlements on the newly occupied lands. Thirteen Israeli settlements were built within these lands and about 175,617 settlers inhabited it as table 4.1 indicated (Statistical yearbook of Jerusalem, 2003).

Name of Jewish Settlement	Date of Expropriation	Population 2002	Number Of Housing Units ¹	Size of neighborhood (in dunams) ²	Area of land taken (dunums)
Giv'at Shapira (including Hebrew University)	Jan.8 1968	6,631	2,108	2,019	2,018
Giv'at Ha-Mivtar	Jan.8 1968	2,948	1,153	588	588
Ramat Eshkol	Jan.8 1968	3,046			397
Ma'alot Dafna, Kiryat Arye	Jan.8 1968	3,617	907	380	380
Neve Ya'akov	April 14 1968	20,250	4,735	1,759	1,759
Old City-Jewish Quarter	April 14 1968	2,348	556	122	122
Ramot Allon	Aug. 30 1970	38,992	8,687	2,066	4,979
Ramat Shlomo	Aug. 30 1970	12,822	2,165	----	1,126
East Talpiot	Aug. 30 1970	12,591	4,299	1,196	1,195

¹ Data from B'tselem, 2005.

² Data from B'tsalem, 2005.

* Statistical yearbook of Jerusalem 2003.

Gilo	Aug. 30 1970	27,569	8,911	2,859	2,859
Sanhedriyya Ha-Murhevet		4,994	5,018		378
Har Ha-Hozvim (industrial zone)		-	-		653
Pisgat Ze'ev	March 20 1980	38,684	10,799	5,468	5,467
Giv'at Ha-Matos and Har Homa	May 16 1991	1,125	763	2,523	310/2,523
Total		175,617	44,610	22,571	24,754

Table 4.1: Number of Israeli settlers within East Jerusalem

Source: The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, 2003. From (http://www.fmep.org/settlement_info/stats_data/east_jerusalem_settlements.html)

According to Adnan Abdelrazek (2004) about 24,193 Dunums of 71,055 Dunums were expropriated, which means that about 33.2 percent of the master plan of East Jerusalem is devoted for Israeli settlement.

Settlement Construction has been occurred in a series of phases. The first one happened immediately after 67 War, Israeli demolished the Mugrabi quarter in the old city to make a huge plaza in front of Al-Burq wall and expropriated about more than 120 dunums in the area of the old city evacuating 5,000 Palestinians from their houses for the sake of Jewish settlers. Moreover, Israel enlarged the campus of Hebrew University and established French hill (fig. 4.1), Ramot Eshkol settlements which was built on 3,345 dunams that expropriated from Arab land owners and Ma'alot Dafna on another expropriated 486 dunams that set-up in the No-Man's land between East and West Jerusalem (Chesin, 1999), to secure a land bridge between Hebrew University campus and Western Jerusalem.

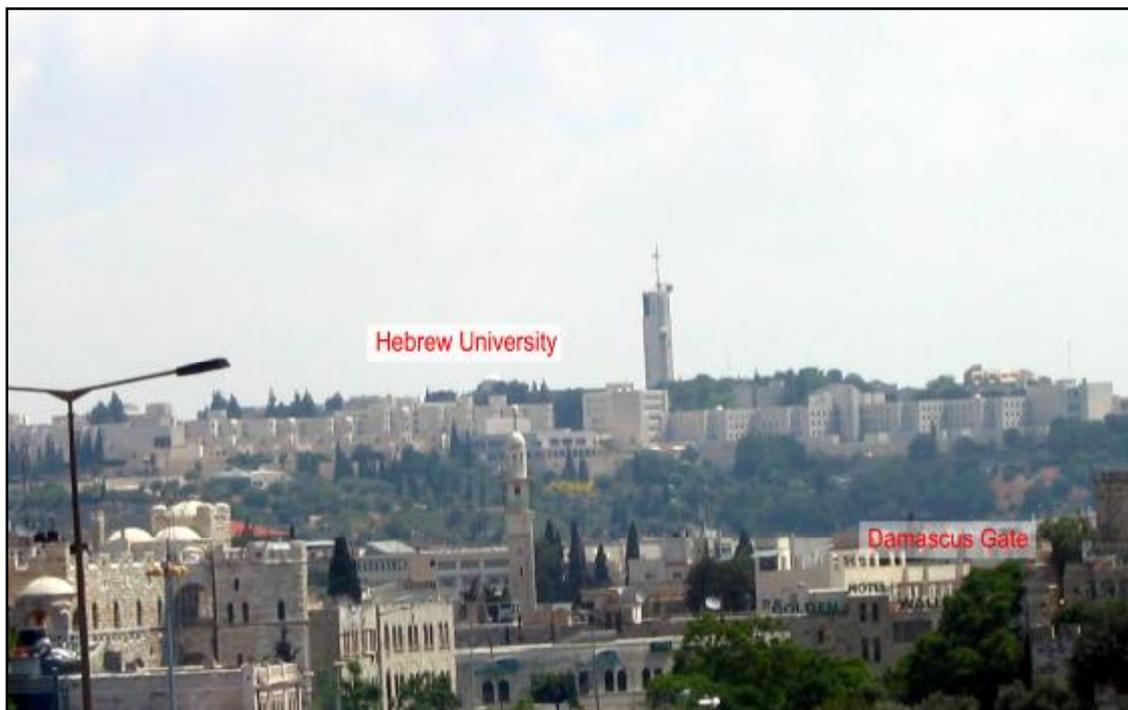


Fig. 4.1: Hebrew university
Source: Researcher, 2006

The second phase, starting from 1970 till 1975, was to control hill tops and to establish a second ring of Israeli settlements around the city center. During this phase five major settlements were established: Atarot constructed on 1,337 dunams of land which was confiscated from Qalandia lands and Neve Ya'acov established on 1,235 dunams of Beit Haninah and Shu'fat Lands (fig. 4.2), Gilo built on 2,700 dunams of Beit Jala, Beit Safafa, and sharaft lands, East Talpiot in the south that constructed on 2,240 dunams of lands expropriated from Sur-Baher, and Ramot Alon to the west on Lifta, Beit Eksa Lands (fig. 4.3, fig. 4.4). All the expropriations in the second phase occurred at the end of August 1970(Ibid).



Fig. 4.2: Neve Ya'acov settlement
Source: Researcher, 2006



Fig. 4.3: Ramot Allon settlement
Source: Researcher, 2006



Fig. 4.4: Ramot Allon settlement
Source: Researcher, 2006

After that in 1985, Pisgat Ze'ev was established on about 4,400 dunams of Shuf'at, Beit Hanina, Hizma and Anata lands which was expropriated in 1980 (fig. 4.5). According to Jerusalem master plan, construction in Pisgat Ze'ev would eventually meet with Neve Ya'akov to the north and Reches Shufat in the south (fig. 4.6) (Hodgkins, 1996).

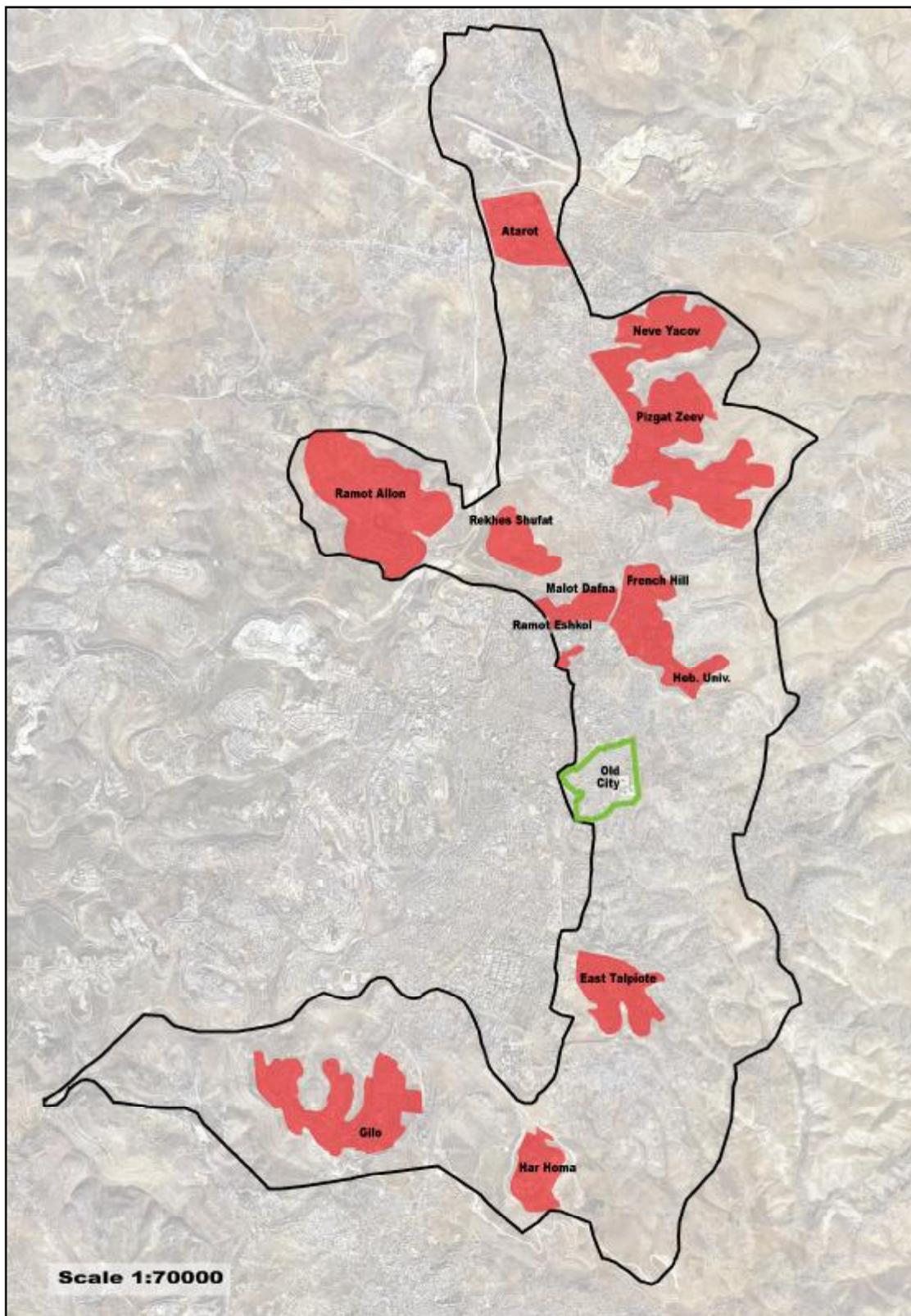
The forth phase began in 1991 when the municipality of Jerusalem decided to construct Har-Homa settlement on about 2,130 of the land confiscated from Palestinian communities of Um-Tuba, Sur-Baher and Beit Sahour to encircle the city of Jerusalem. The site of the settlement was cleverly chosen on Jabal-Abu Ghnaim in order to cut any hope of future Palestinian territorial continuity between the West Bank Palestinian town of Beit-Sahour and the East Jerusalem village of Um-Tuba contrasting a physical barrier between West Bank and East Jerusalem (Ibid).



Fig. 4.5: Pisgat Ze'ev settlement
Source: Researcher, 2006



Fig. 4.6: Reches Shufat settlement
Source: Researcher, 2006

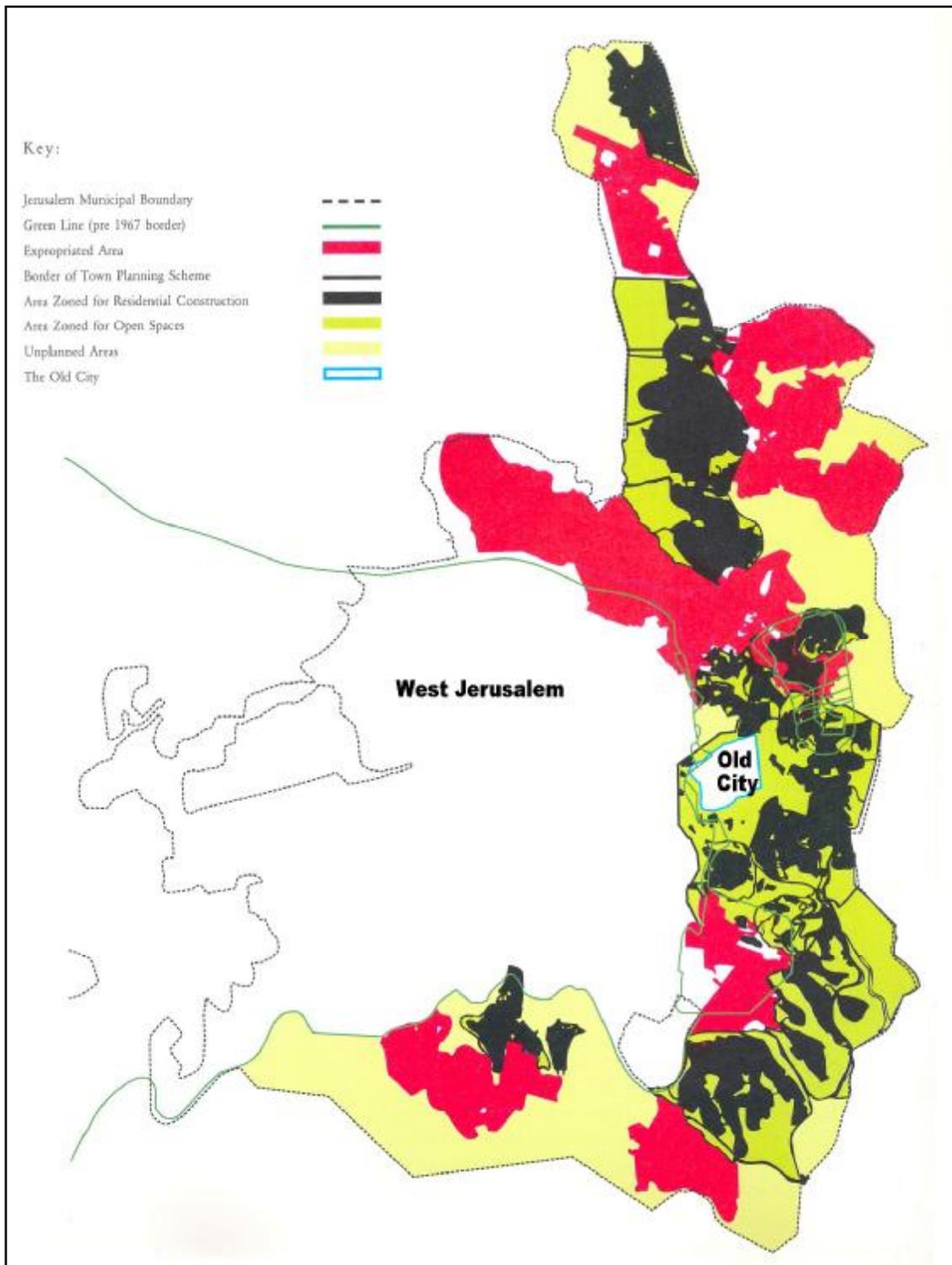


Map 4.1: Israeli Settlements within East Jerusalem master plan
Source: Aerial map taken from Jerusalem municipality, Nov.2002.
Analyzed by researcher

In fact, British Mandate paved the way for Israeli Authority to expropriate Palestinian lands and covered this with legitimization. The British mandatory Land Ordinance was an effective tool for expropriating Palestinian lands which permit for the Minister of Finance to expropriate private land for the public purpose. Israeli Authority expropriated Palestinian-owned land not for public benefit but for Israeli settlements. According to Allison B. Hodgkins, *“Between 1967 and 1995, five major expropriations were enacted under this ordinance, affecting two thirds of the land incorporated into the area within the Jerusalem municipal boundaries in 1967. These expropriations totaled in excess of 5,750 acres.”* (Hodgkins, 1998). Israel has continued to expropriate lands after the end of the British mandate till the percent of confiscated land for Jewish settlements reached about 33.2% of the total land of East Jerusalem. Israel used different tools and methods to legitimize its control which are: planning scheme of Jerusalem, Green land Policy and law of Absentee’s property.

4.3.2.1 Jerusalem Planning Scheme

Palestinian development is strongly minimized through the land use law and zoning policies forced by planning scheme of Jerusalem. Israeli planners preserved the Palestinian lands virgins and prevented any kind of development until they expropriated it for Jewish settlement. In order to legitimize their steps of expropriations, the master plan is used as a most powerful means to achieve their control as the next analysis indicates.



Map 4.2: The master plan of East Jerusalem
Source: Ir Shalem, 1998. Edit by researcher

The total area of Jerusalem (West and East) is about 126,000 Dunams. The area of East Jerusalem master plan is 71,055 Dunams of lands which is annexed to the city, after 1967 War, including 6,000 Dunams of Jordanian Jerusalem.

After the War, Israel confiscated about 24,193 Dunams to build Jewish settlements, exploiting the British mandatory land ordinance put in 1943 that permit the expropriation of the private lands for public purpose (Abdelrazek, 2004). This means that 46862 Dunams remained after the expropriation from the total area of the master plan. Of the 46862 Dunams, Planning schemes have been approved for 26 neighborhoods consisting of 26,141.3 dunams, whereas another 7 planning schemes consisting of 2,754.1 dunams have not yet been approved. About 9,995 dunams is defined as a green area shaping 35% of the total area of the planned schemes. While residential area constitute approximately 32% of the total planned area, some of 9178 dunams. The following figure, which presents the percentages of approved, unapproved plans, unplanned zone and confiscation lands according to the total area of East Jerusalem, and chart indicate the process of minimizing lands for Arabs development.

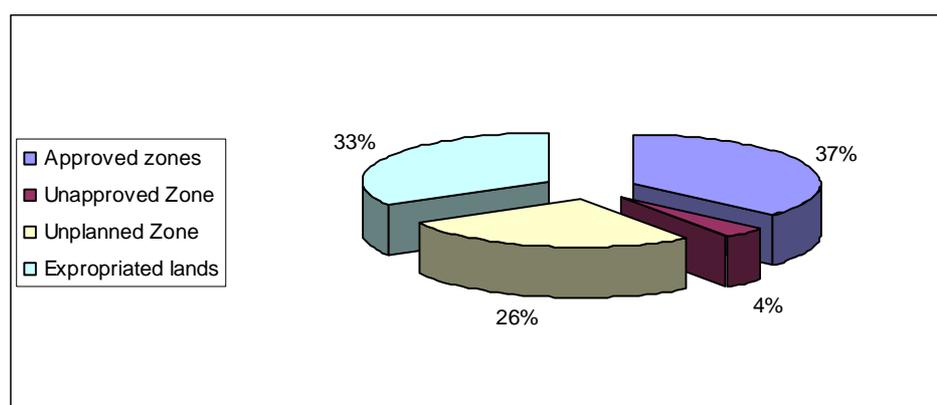
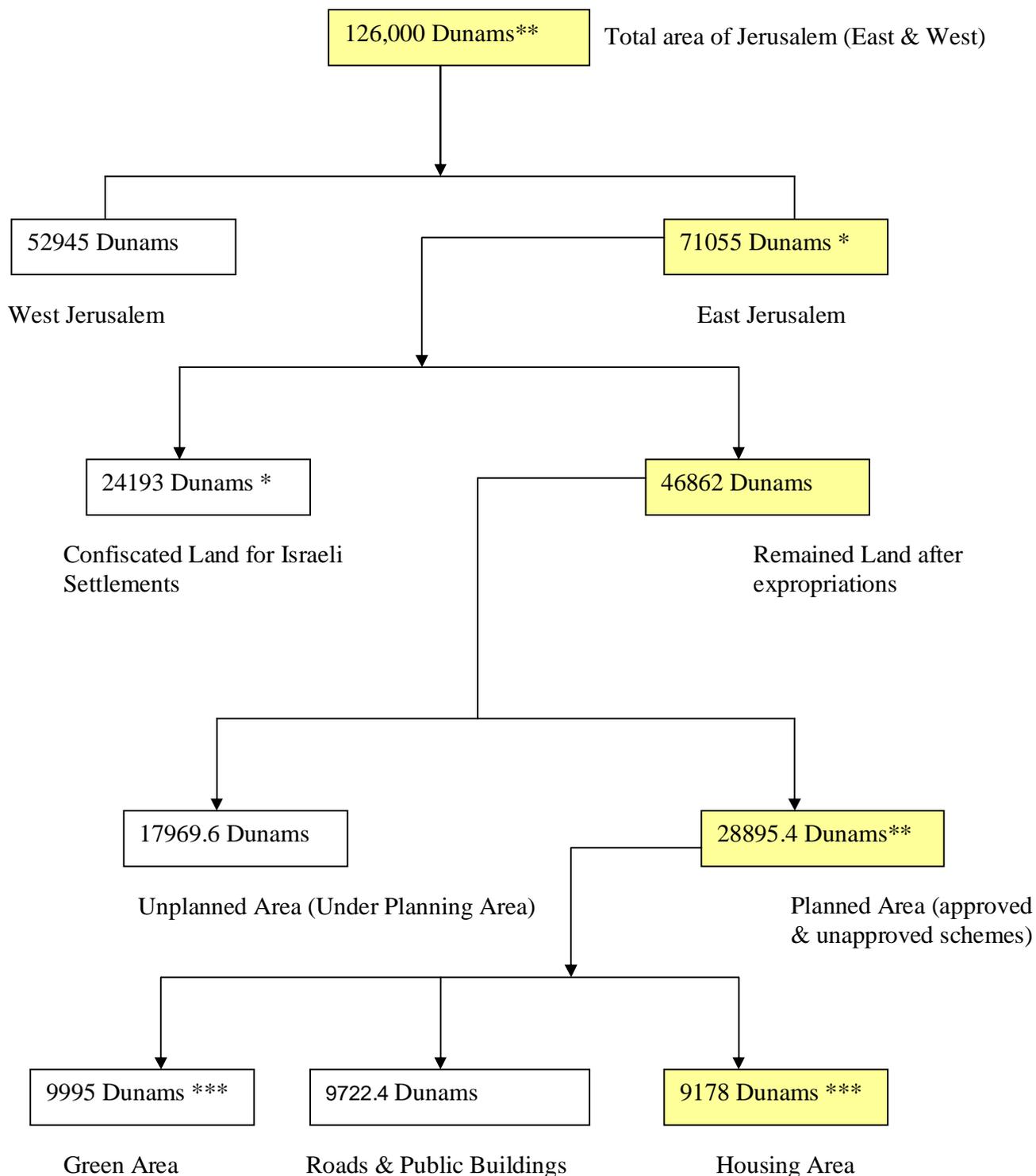


Fig. 4.7: The percentage of approved, unapproved, unplanned and expropriated Land in East Jerusalem

Source: Researcher



* (Abdelrazek & Tafakji, 2004).
 ** Jerusalem Municipality, 2005.
 *** Ir Shalem Institution, 1998.

There is still seven planning schemes forming an area about 2,754.1 dunams do not approved till this day, like Anata mater plan (No.6131) which has an area about 353 dunams and Kafr Aqab (No.2521B) which has an area about 1933 dunams (Jerusalem municipality, 2005). In addition to that, most of planning schemes permits a low rate housing density (25%-50%) meaning one or two stories. However, the building density in the Jewish areas can reach 200 percent and eight stories. For example a plan for building a Jewish neighborhood in the heart of the Palestinians Ras Al-Amud neighborhood allows for a building percentage of 112 percent and four stories while the plan for the Palestinians in Ras Al-Amud permits only 50% percent or two stories (B'tselem, 1995). The absence of a town planning schemes and the restrictions of housing density towns form obstacles for residents to obtain building permit.

In normal conditions planning scheme guarantees proper and efficient development for residential areas and acts for the prosperity of people's life, but unfortunately in our case, planning schemes are utilized in hindering and limiting the Palestinian development in East Jerusalem as seen in this section.

4.3.2.2 Green Land Policy

Israeli government created sly mechanisms and methods to achieve expropriating Palestinian Lands. One of the main methods is green land method. Green area zone in the master plan of Jerusalem is about 12.7 percent of total land of East Jerusalem (map 4.3) (Abdelrazek, 2004). The master plan of east Jerusalem (map 4.2) shows that all the Arab neighborhoods are surrounded with lands regarded as green zone except Beit Safafa and Kafr 'Aqab. This means that these lands are to remain park zone or agricultural lands. On

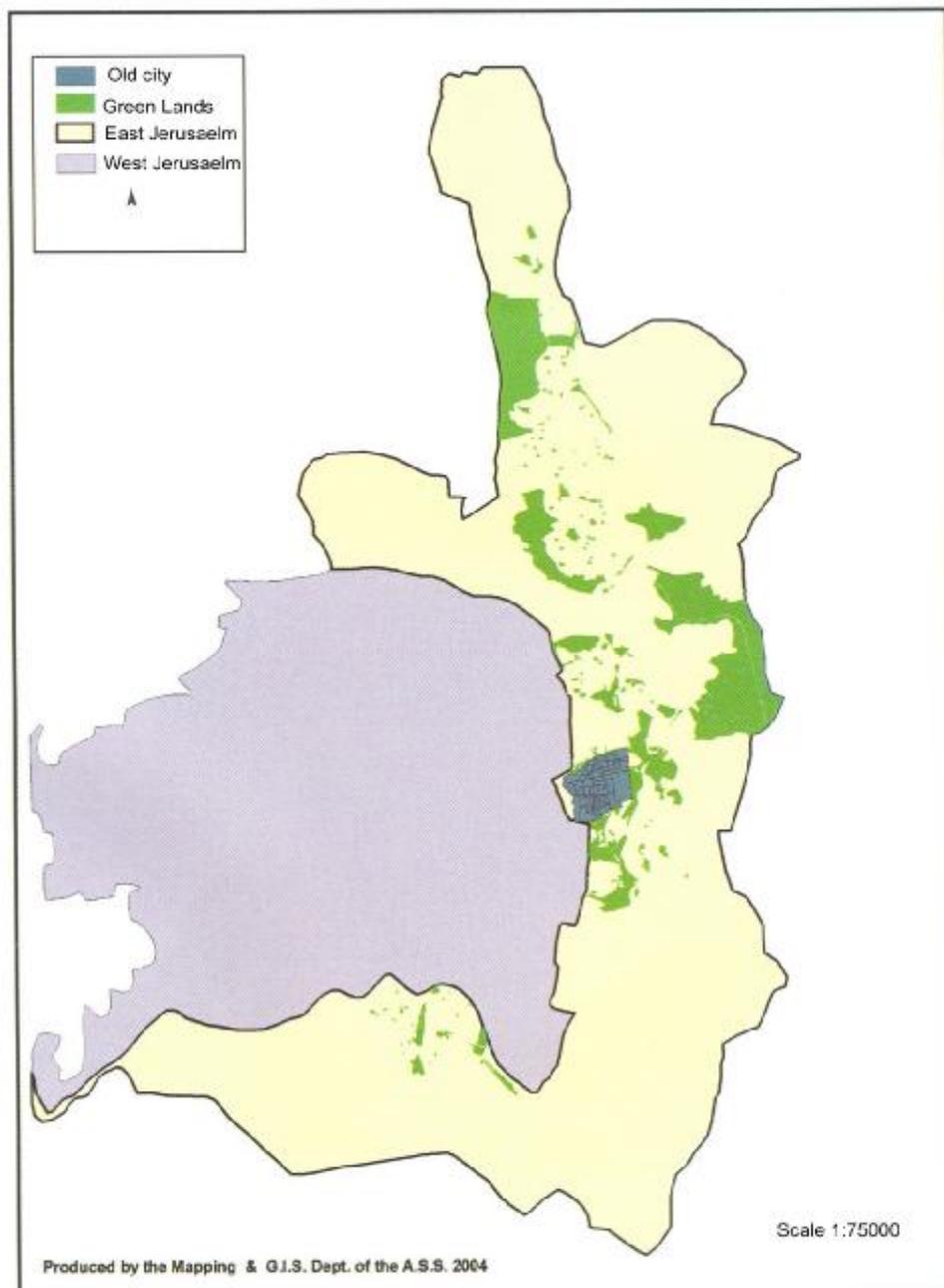
the other hand, lands surrounding Israeli settlements are classified under planning zone which permit a future possible expansion. In practice, lands that were classified as green area in the planning schemes would eventually be confiscated for Israeli use in building new Jewish settlements. This policy is used to block the Palestinian development in one hand whereas to expand the Jewish growth on the other.

For example, 500 acres from shu'fat village were designated as green area in 1968. The area was planted with cypress trees and remained untouched for many years till in 1994 when a new settlement were approved to be built on these lands. Reches Shu'fat, consisting 2,500 units, was built as new neighborhood for religious Jews (fig. 4.8) (Hodgkins, 1996).



Fig 4.8: Reches Shufat settlement that was built on confiscation land from Shufat town
Source: Researcher, 2006

An another example of lands that were regarded as green area but then were expropriated to establish new settlements is Har-Homa settlement which will be discussed and analyzed in the next chapter. These two examples clearly show that green areas in East Jerusalem are reserved lands saved for Israel to devour.



Map 4.3: Lands declared green within East Jerusalem
Source: Mapping & G.I.S Dept. of the A.S.S., 2004

4.3.2.3 Law of Absentee's Property

Many Palestinians were evicted from their original villages and cities after the establishment of the state of Israel to the neighboring Arab countries or to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The properties left by Palestinian refugees were used to house Jewish immigrants. In order to legitimize the expropriation of this property, Israeli government made a law to expropriate Palestinian land which is called Law of Absentees' Property. This law was approved by the Israeli parliament, Knesset, in 1950." *This law stated that any person, who at any time after November 29, 1947, had been a citizen of any Arab state or an inhabitant of one of them or of any part of Palestine outside the boundaries of the State of Israel, was an (absentee,) and his property was entrusted to the Custodian of Absentee Property* "(Benvenisti, 1976).

Under this law, all the lands, homes and properties belonging of about 20,000 Palestinians who left their homes after the 1948 War were expropriated by Israel. Some Evaluations state that nearly 60 percent of West Jerusalem properties were categorized as absentee property, most of which belong to Palestinian refugees(Hodgkins, 1996).

After the year 1967 this law was formally utilized to drive Arabs out of the city and Israeli settlers also utilized this law with full co-operation with their state in-order to acquire Palestinian properties.

4.3.2 Housing Demolition

Both years of 2003 and 2004 could be regarded as the most difficult years to Arabs that owned unlicensed houses compared to the number of houses that were demolished in previous years. In these two years more than 210 houses were demolished whereas an average about 24 houses had being demolished per year from 1987 to 2002 as table 4.2 indicates.

Year	Number
1987	6
1988	30
1989	21
1990	22
1991	23
1992	12
1993	48
1994	29
1995	25
1996	17
1997	16
1998	30
1999	31
2000	16
2001	41
2002	45
2003	96
2004	114

Table 4.2: Number of Demolished Housing Units in East Jerusalem (1987-2004)
Source: Statistical Year Book of Jerusalem no. 7, 2005

The Jerusalem municipality statistics (2004) shows that 5,300 residential units were built in east Jerusalem by Arab residents between the years 2000 to 2004 but only 481 of which had been licensed. In the year 2004 about 1238 houses were built; 49 of which were been licensed while the remaining units were without any license. These numbers do not show that these buildings were left without penalty. In fact, many orders of demolition, stayed of execution, were pronounced (ICAHA, 2005).

As mentioned, only 49 houses were given building permits however the majority left remained unlicensed but still a high fine was imposed on their owners. About 37.5 Million Shekel was collected as housing fines from Arabs by Jerusalem municipality in the year 2004 (Ibid).

Worthy to mention that in Jerusalem there are two bodies responsible for giving demolition orders, the first is Jerusalem municipality which is the main authorized party, while the other is the ministry of interior. According to ICAHD (2006)* institution, in 2005 about 73 houses were demolished by orders published by Jerusalem municipality while other 20 houses were demolished by orders published Ministry of Interior. The area of the building demolished consisted about 12,000 square meters.

According to the previously mentioned facts, it is noticed that the policy of housing demolition in East Jerusalem is not new but rather it is an old new one, on the eve of 1967 War, Israel demolished Al-Mugrabi quarter, expelled the Arabs and replaced them with the Jews. Israel continued its policy to evacuate the city from its original residents and Palestinians continued to build without building permits because obtaining one is

* ICAD is an abbreviation of The Israeli Committee against House Demolitions

really a very difficult task. On the other side, the Israeli municipality and interior ministry continued to give demolition orders for Arab houses built without Israeli permit, but at the same time it encouraged Jews to settle in the city by building apartments ready to settle in.

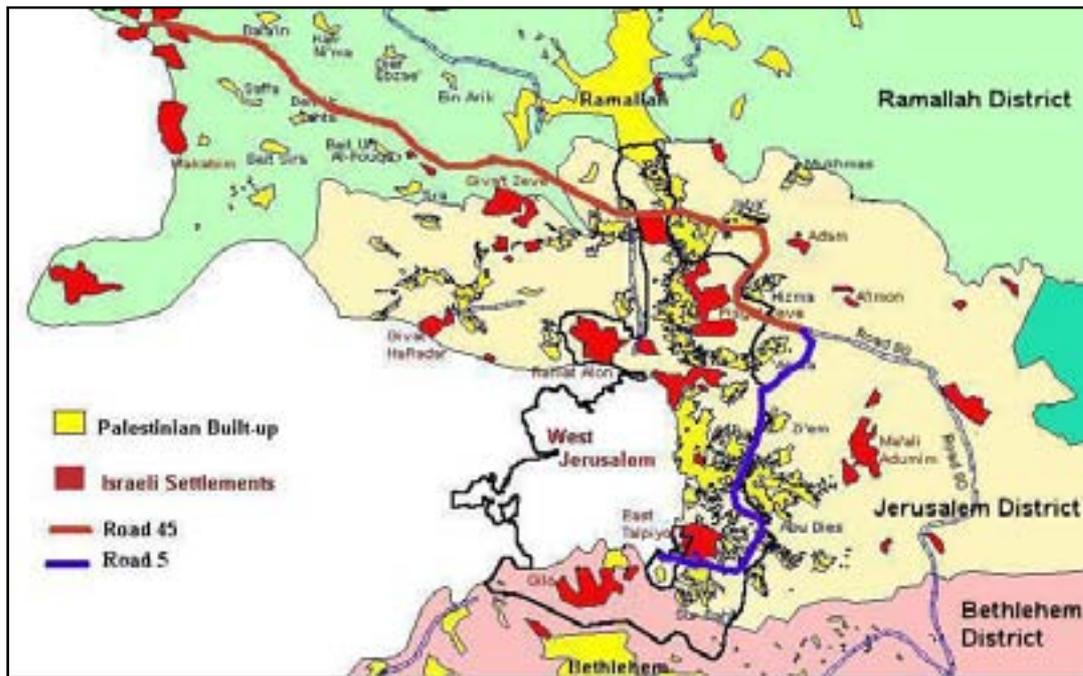
4.3.3 Bypass Roads

The idea of bypass roads means that constructing roads which enables access to Israeli settlements and travel between settlements without having to pass through Palestinian communities. In other words bypass roads mean creating a separate infrastructure road from the existing Palestinian road network.

Israeli municipality started thinking of constructing such roads in the mid of eighties. Israeli government confiscated Arab lands in various locations to establish these roads around and inside the city such as road 45, road 5, road 1, road 16 and road 4.

- **Road Number 45 & Number 5**

Road number 45 and road number 5 are two obvious examples of bypass roads in Jerusalem (map 4.4, fig. 4.9). These two roads connect northern Israeli settlements of Jerusalem with those in the Southern part. For the purpose of constructing the mentioned roads, Israeli state expropriated lands from Palestinian towns and villages like Anata and Beit-Hanina Town (Arij, 1997).



Map 4.4: Bypass road in Jerusalem
Source: Arij, 1997

Road 45 and 5 enhance the separation between West bank and Jerusalem, they separate the villages and towns of Abu Dies, Hizma, Jaba', Mukmas, Zi'em, Qalandia and Rafat from Jerusalem.



Fig. 4.9: Road No. 45
Source: Researcher, 2006.

- **Road Number 1**

Road number 1 connects between the French Hill and Neve Yacov settlement in the north passing through Pisgat Ze'ev (map 4.5). This road is parallel to road number 13 and Ramallah-Jerusalem road, separating between the building area of Shu'fat and Beit Hanina and their agricultural lands (fig. 4.10, fig. 4.11) (Ibid) .

Map 4.5: Road Number 1
Source: Arial map from Jerusalem Municipality, Nov. 2002. Analyzed by researcher

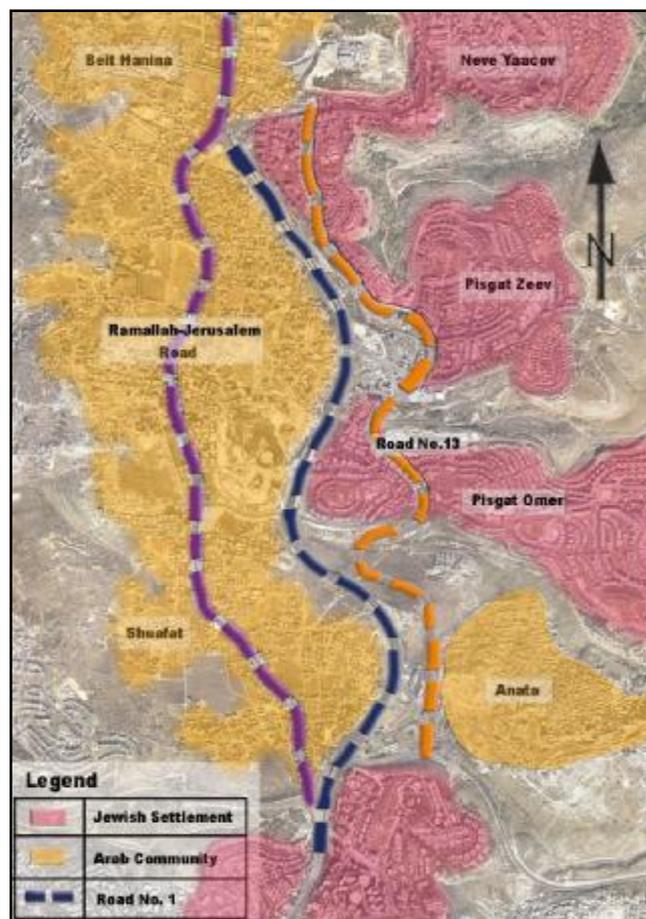


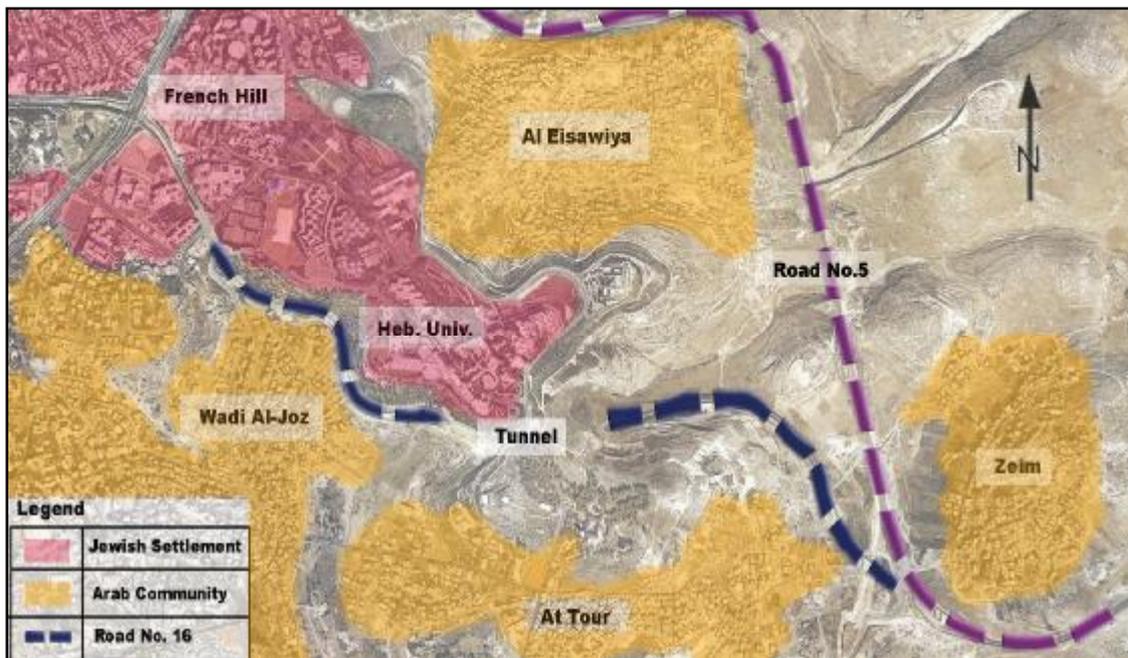
Fig. 4.10: Road number 1, separating between the town and its lands
Source: Researcher, 2006



Fig. 4.11: Road number 1
Source: Researcher, 2006

- **Road Number 16**

This road stretches out through a tunnel that penetrates Al Tur mountain till it reaches the French Hill connecting it with the road number 5 which leads to Giv'at Ze'ev and Male Adumim settlements (map 4.6, fig. 4.12).



Map 4.6: Road number 16

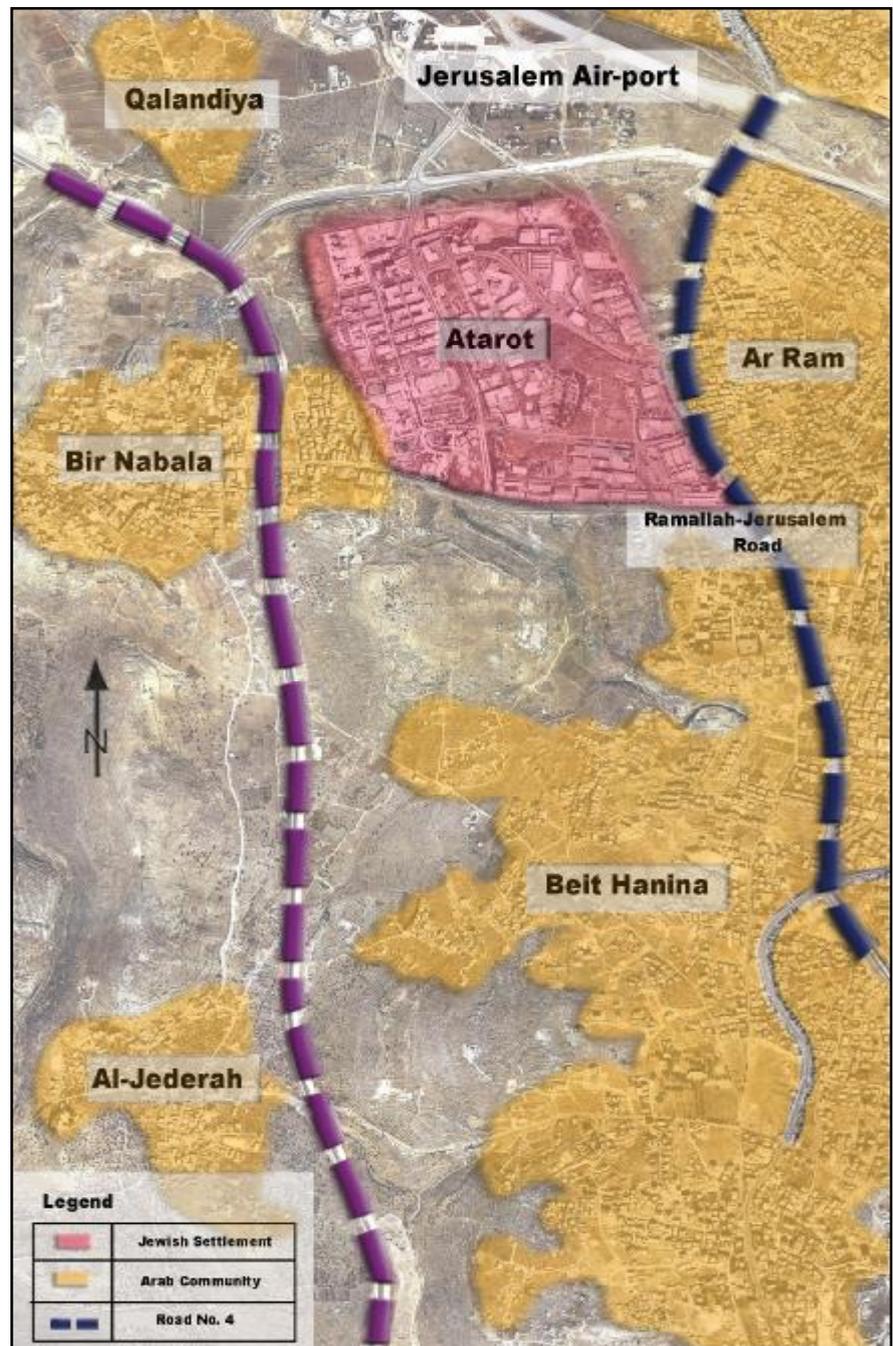
Source: Aerial map from Jerusalem Municipality, Nov. 2002. Analyzed by researcher



Fig. 4.12: Road number 16
Source: Researcher, 2006

- **Road Number 4**

This Road links between Atarot district and Almatar on one hand and Reches Shu'fat on the other till it reaches Gillo settlement in the south. This road in fact has negatively affected building expansion in both Beit Safaf and Beit Hanina villages by cutting off the hope of any future horizontal expansion (map 4.7).



Map 4.7: Road Number 4 within Beit Hanina Lands
 Source: Aerial photo from Jerusalem Municipality, Nov. 2002.
 Analyzed by researcher

From all above, it is noted that all the lands shaped the bypass roads were confiscated from Arabs villages in East Jerusalem like Beit Hanina and Shu'fat, leaving the least of lands for the Palestinians to utilize.

4.3.5 Apartheid Wall

In June 2002, Israeli state began to implement a wall all around Palestinian cities and villages that had been located inside 67 border and lands occupied by Israel after 67 wars. Israeli officials stated that the goal of the wall is to maintain security for their state (map 4.8). However, a deep observation to the actual situation points out that Israel continues to achieve its political and demographical policies by



this tool especially in Jerusalem.

Map 4.8: Apartheid wall in East Jerusalem
Source: PNGON, www.palestinehistory.com, 2004. Edit by researcher

* PNGO is an abbreviation of Palestine NGO Network

In August 2002 Israeli cabinet approved constructing the first phase of the wall including 22 Kilometers around Jerusalem, in two segments. The first Segment runs from the Ofer army base to Qalandiya checkpoint. The Second segment extends from Ras Beit Jala to Dour Salah Village southeast Jerusalem. The two segments were completed in July 2003 (Nasrallah, 2005).

After one month of implementing the isolation from south and north, Israeli cabinet approved the third and fourth stages of the wall which includes three sub sections. First section – seventeen kilometers long- extends from the eastern edge of Beit Sahur on the south to the eastern edge of al-'Eizariya on the north. The second section – fourteen kilometers long- runs from the southern edge of 'Anata to Qalandiya checkpoint on the north. The third section isolates five villages northwest Jerusalem (Bir-Nabala, al-Judeireh, al-Jib, Beit Hanina al-Balad, and Nebi Samuel). In February 2005, the Israeli state approved the final stage of the wall that will surround Ma'aleh Adumim settlement and settlements near it (B'tselem, 2005).

The wall has enormous negative impacts on Palestinian lives; prevents them from reaching, work places, daily need services, and health service centers and cuts villages and towns from their land, and changes the whole life for Palestinian people. Actually, it is a continuation of Israeli policies and goals of stealing Palestinian lands and maximizing the expropriation of empty land (Ibid).

The following points will detail the goals Israeli state by implementing wall policy:

- Redraw the Israeli state borders, especially in Jerusalem region.

- Excluding some Palestinian communities (Kafr 'Aqab and Samira Mis, 'Anata, Dahiyat As Salam, Shu'fat Refugee Camp) from east Jerusalem, even that they are within Jerusalem borders.
- Including Some Israeli settlements to Jerusalem even that they are not within the Jerusalem borders which are Ma'ale Adumim, Giv'at Ze'ev, Bet Horon, Giv'on Hadasha, Har Shumuel , Betar Illit, Ghosh Etzion. This means increasing about 80,000 Israeli settlers to Jerusalem population (statistical yearbook of Jerusalem, 2004).
- The wall will pave the way for Israeli state to annex the borders of Jerusalem to include settlement that just adjacent to the city.
- The wall was planned very close to the existing build-up area, preventing future residential expansion.
- The wall will change the demography of the city, reducing the percentage of Palestinian population. As Rami Nasrallah (2005) explains in his essay, "The concept of Separation" "*The wall will place outside the city borders 40,000 Palestinian Jerusalemites who presently live within the city*".
- The wall completely isolates Jerusalem from the West Bank increasing the marginalization of the most important city for Palestinians which expected to be the future capital for them. In addition to that the city become a weak service center erasing the hope of Palestinian as a future capital of Palestinian state while west Jerusalem become a strong center enhancing its potential as a capital of Israeli state.

In conclusion, Israel continues its *de facto* policy by constructing the wall to be in the future the separation border between Israeli state and Palestinian state taking in consideration its old new policy “More land less people”. The route of the wall permit an extension of the Israeli settlement while limit the Palestinian community development not as Israeli officials declares that is a security fence, but it is a tool to achieve their geopolitical goals and this is a clear and practical application for the territorial control.

4.3.6 Municipal Budget

On the first consideration, we could not notice any link between budget policy and the territorial dimension because it has no direct relation with spatial regulations but in fact it is a strong factor that affects the distribution of services, so it is regarded as one territorial dimension.

The municipality budget for communities all around the world depends on three factors. First demography which is based on the total number of residents. Second, Geography that is based on the area of community, and final factor is society which is based on social needs and distress in the field (Margalit, 2006).

In this section, the examination of the distribution of municipal budget between Jewish neighborhood and Arabic neighborhood will be conducted, and the municipality spending will be evaluated to see if the budget’s distribution is relative to demographic, geographic, and social needs criteria or not. Thus, the Arabs neighborhoods budget within East Jerusalem should be compared with the total municipality budget.

The following table shows the municipality spend of services department in 2003 such as education, welfare, health, and sport departments.

Department	General Budget (NIS)	East Jerusalem (NIS)	Percentage
Welfare	342,784,401	41,603,273	12.13 %
Education	637,550,984	94,042,000	14.75 %
Health	46,253,551	9,531,039	20.60 %
Society & Youth	64,395,662	2,055,536	3.19 %
Cultural	81,866,002	970,698	1.18 %
Sport	19,252,145	308,557	1.60 %
Art	13,275,982	158,800	1.19 %
Youth Development	20,878,710	1,858,809	8.90 %
Religious Affairs	22,813,050	0	0
Cleanliness	206,341,684	35,038,562	16.98 %
Beautification	83,396,089	810,000	0.9 %
Fire Engine	38,270,150	7,654,030	20 %
Engineering Services	81,936,798	6,535,000	7.97 %
City Planning	9,807,539	1,285,927	13.11 %
Municipal Supervision	24,187,966	2,273,914	9.40 %
Parking Department	46,333,640	0	0
Absorption	4,651,229	0	0
Buildings	6,773,150	1,990,360	29.38 %

Irregular Budget	727,378,654	95,805,365	12.46 %
Total	2,566,052,204	302,542,764	11.79 %

Table 4.3: The municipality budget of services department in 2003
Source: Margalit, 2006.

Referring to the statistics published before the year 2003, it is noted that the percentage of the municipal budget for Arab neighborhoods are less than 11.79%. In 1995, East Jerusalem received less than one percent (NIS 1.5 million) of the NIS 175 million allocated by the government to Jerusalem. Most of this money was spent on opening a new highway that ran through a Palestinian neighborhood, but which would serve large numbers of Jewish settlers (www.jcser.org). In 2000 the total amount of money spent in East Jerusalem was NIS 229,475,277. This was 8.7 percent of the total municipal budget which was NIS 2,640,320,000 (Ibid).

The number of Arab population in East Jerusalem according to 2003 statistics is about 228.7 thousands, forming 33% from the total population in Jerusalem. While the Arab territories shapes about 38% from the total area of Jerusalem. This means that the municipality should spent about 35% from their budget for the sake of Arab neighborhoods. However as table 4.3 indicates it spent less than 12% of the total budget regarding Jerusalem as the following figure indicates.

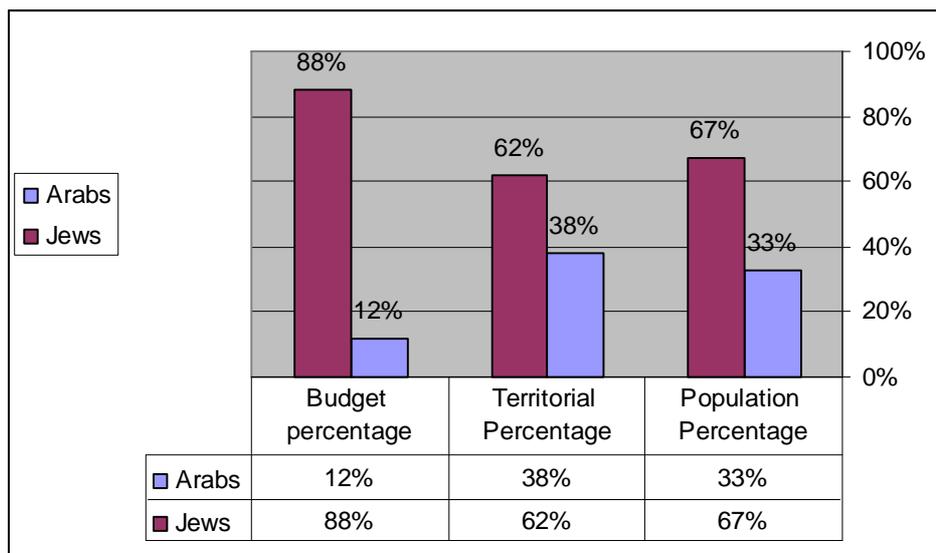


Fig. 4.13: The municipality budget for Jews and Arabs in 2003
Source: Researcher

4.3.7 Public Services

Arab Residents in East Jerusalem has to pay taxes as any citizens in the world. In fact they do but Jerusalem Municipality does not provide them with convenient public services to meet their need in different sectors like sport, entertainment, and culture.

Palestinians represents about a third of city's residents, and Jews represents a seventy percent. Even that the services are not divided according to existing percentage between west and east Jerusalem. B'tselem (2005) explains the difference in allocation of services as the following:

- West Jerusalem has 1,000 public parks, East Jerusalem has 45.
- West Jerusalem has 36 swimming pools, East Jerusalem does not have even one related to the municipality.
- West Jerusalem has 26 libraries, East Jerusalem has two.
- West Jerusalem has 531 sports facilities, East Jerusalem has 33.

These statistics indicates that Jerusalem Municipality is following a biased policy based on ethnicity.

4.4 Procedural Dimension

The procedural dimension investigates the range of Arab participation in the process of planning regarding Jerusalem. It also deals with the connection between Arab citizens and planning authorities in East Jerusalem. In this section, it is very important also to throw a light with a quick glance on the mechanism of preparing and approving planning schemes.

The 1965 law decrees that every cluster should have an outline plan that organizes its development*. There are three steps to approve the town planning scheme.

- 1- A master plan should be put by planners, and then a local committee would study to give it an approval.
- 2- After being approved on, the plan would be submitted to public objections
- 3- Then, the plan would be modified according to the objections received. Then, the plan would be signed by the local committee, the district committee, the national committee and the minister of interior.

In addition to all these committees, the plan should be approved by agricultural committee and Israeli land authority.

* If the out-line was in the preparation process, building permits could be given by the District Committee

The District Planning Committee; the supreme body approving town plans in Jerusalem, consists of 18 members. Those members are ten government representatives from several ministries concerned with land affairs, five representatives of local authorities; four of whom are from Jerusalem and one from the Judea district, and three representatives of organizations engaged in environmental affairs such as the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel.

There are two major points regarding Arab role in the planning process; first, there is no Arab representation in the act of preparing and issuing the plan. For example, only one Arab representative was in a committee of 49 member participated in preparing the new master plan of Jerusalem (No. 2020) (Margalit, 2006). Planning Arab lives is dealt without any effective presentation of Arab as if they did not exist.

The second point is that Arab neighborhoods process plan takes along period of time to be accepted, an act that hinders the process of development and growth. For example, the master plan for Issawiya neighborhood initiated in 1979 and took 12 years to be approved and the plan of Abu Tor also took 12 years to be passed (1977-1989) (Cheshin, 1998).

From above, it is worthy to note that in planning process, Arab are marginalized to a great limit as they are not regarded as partners that should be asked or cared for. Thus, the mechanism of preparing plans for Arab neighborhoods takes years and years to be passed. We can conclude that Jerusalem in the eyes of the planners is purely Jewish and there is no need to ask any party about its opinion.

4.5 Social Dimension

In fact, the territorial dimension and the procedural dimension have been strongly impacting social dimension especially upon housing sector.* planners play an important role in providing adequate houses for a society taking into consideration the two dimensions of housing sector: quantitative related in providing a sufficient number of housing units according to natural growth, qualitative concerned with providing a suitable kind of housing that serves the needs of citizens.

One of the major tasks of the municipalities in the world is to ease residential housing development. In contrast, Jerusalem housing authorities contribute to create a housing dilemma for the Palestinians by limiting their development, reducing the areas designed for building.

According to statistical yearbook of Jerusalem (2004), between the years 1990-2001 about 42.3 thousand houses units were built in Jerusalem, only 13 thousand of which were for Arabs forming as 30% of the total households built as that time and 29.3 thousands units for Jews consisting about 70% of the total number of household. At the same period the number of population registers about 46.4 thousand (52% Jews, 69.1 Arabs as the fig. 4.14 indicates). Passia institution (2002) also points out that Between 1967-2001, some 100,654 housing units were built in Jerusalem, of which 82,237 by Israelis (82.7%) and 17,417 by Palestinians (17.3%).

* This study just focuses upon housing sector which is considered one consequence of territorial and procedural dimension.

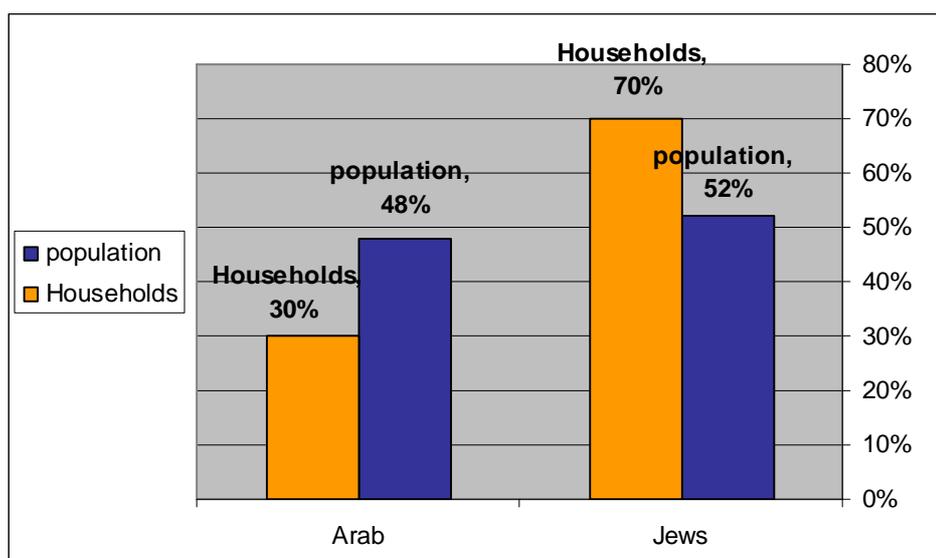


Fig. 4.14: The growth of houses and population of Jews and Arabs between 1990-2001
Source: Researcher

In 2002, the number of residential units in Palestinian neighborhoods were about the half of residential units in Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem as tables 4.4 and 4.5 indicate. Even that the number of Arabs in East Jerusalem according to 2002 statistics equals 221,900 and the number of Jewish settlers equals 175,617 (i.e. 58 % of persons residing in East Jerusalem) (Statistical year of Jerusalem, 2004).

Locality	Number of Housing Units
Old City	5,192
Beit Hanina	4,679
Shu'fat and Shu'fat Camp	3,823
Al Isawiya	1,513
At Tur and Ashayah	2,855
Wadi al joz and As Sawwaya	992

Sheikh Jarrah	761
Bab as Sahira	760
Silwan	2,357
Ras Al'Amud	2,708
As Sawahira al Gharbiya, Jabal al Mukabbir and Al-Thuri	3,007
Sur-Bahir and Um-Tuba	1,986
Beit Safafa and Sharafat	1,023
Total	31,656

Table 4.4: Number of Housing Units in East Jerusalem, 2002
Source: Statistical year book of Jerusalem number 7, 2004.

Settlement's Neighborhood	Number of Housing Units
Ma'a lot Dafina	2,097
"Mamila"(David Village)	155
Old city (Jewish neighborhood)	556
Ramot Allon	8,687
Neve Ya'aqov	4,735
Pisgat Ze'ev	10,799
Mount Scopus, Hebrew University and Givat Shapera ³	4,643
East Talpiyyot	4,299

³ Housing Units for university students are not included

Gilo	8,911
Sanhedriyya Ha-Murhevet	1,789
Ramat Ashkol	2,359
Har-Homa	6,500
Raketz Shu'afat	1,984
Giv'at Ha-Matos	119
Ras Al-Amoud	300
Sheih Jarrah	4
Beit Oret	2
Shabred	1
Total	57,940

Table 4.5: Number of housing Units in East Jerusalem by the Jewish settlement Neighborhoods, 2002
Source: Statistical year book of Jerusalem number 7, 2004.

According to Palestinian Central Bureau of statistics 2004, at the end of 2001, the average housing density for the Palestinian population was 1.8 person per room, while the average housing density of the Jewish population was 1.1 person per room. According to the same source, the average number of persons per housing unit for Palestinian was 6.5 persons per houses whereas the average number of persons for Jewish population was 3.2 persons per housing unit. Khamaisi (2004) points out that the average of living space for a Palestinian is 12.1 sq. meters compared to 24.2 sq. meters for a Jewish person.

All these statistics data shows a huge gap in housing between Arabs and Jews resulted from Israeli planning policies. On ground, it is clearly noticed that this gap is a spontaneous result for the Israeli discriminatory planning policies.

4.6 Conclusion

After the Six Day War of 1967, the Israeli government tried to achieve its sovereignty by imposing different policies on Jerusalem. These discrimination policies aimed at Judaizing Jerusalem, strengthening the presence of Jewish people, weakening the presence of Palestinian by controlling the percentage less than 30% of the total number of population.

Jerusalem Municipality has been utilizing planning to achieve its political goals and using it as a control tool not as a reform tool. Thus, it has taken many steps under the umbrella of planning to force Palestinian peoples to leave the city of Jerusalem and to attract Israeli immigrants to live in the city. These steps aimed at making life difficult for Arabs. Therefore, the Israel authority followed the listed policies:

- Expanding Jerusalem's Municipal Boundaries to maximize empty land with the minimum non Jewish population.
- Land Confiscation for Jewish Settlements.
- Biased housing policy by making the building permits in Jerusalem very expensive and complex.
- Biased Service policy.
- A partied wall.

- Biased budget distribution.

As a result of Israeli planning policies, many Palestinians are suffering to find a suitable shelter for them. The shortage of households and the gap between Jewish and Arabs is a clear result of the systematic Israeli policy. According to the analysis of the planning scheme of East Jerusalem, it is found that only 9178 dunams from 126 thousands dunams has been left for Arabs housing development after the expropriation and preparation of master plan of Jerusalem had been occurred. Actually the game of planning is efficiently employed to chock the Arab developments.

This shortage of houses forced the Palestinians families to live in a miserable condition, in overcrowded and inadequate units, or migrate out side the city seeking for better living conditions.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sheds light on a comparative study between Sur-Baher neighborhood and Har-Homa Settlement (Abu-Ghnam). The analysis will follow mainly the theoretical frame work that discussed in chapter two. Based on chapter two, territorial dimension of planning will be investigated by analyzing the two master plans for the two communities. In addition, procedural dimension will also be analyzed by taking an example of building in Sur-Baher that need building permit. The process of obtaining the construction permission (steps and cost) will be investigated.

5.2 Sur-Baher and Um Tuba Location

The village of Sur-Baher and Um Tuba are located in southern part Jerusalem. before the Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967, Sur-Baher & Um-Tuba were villages inside Jerusalem Governorate, but not inside Jerusalem municipality. After the occupation, Israel expanded the border of Jerusalem to include the two villages inside Jerusalem municipality borders.

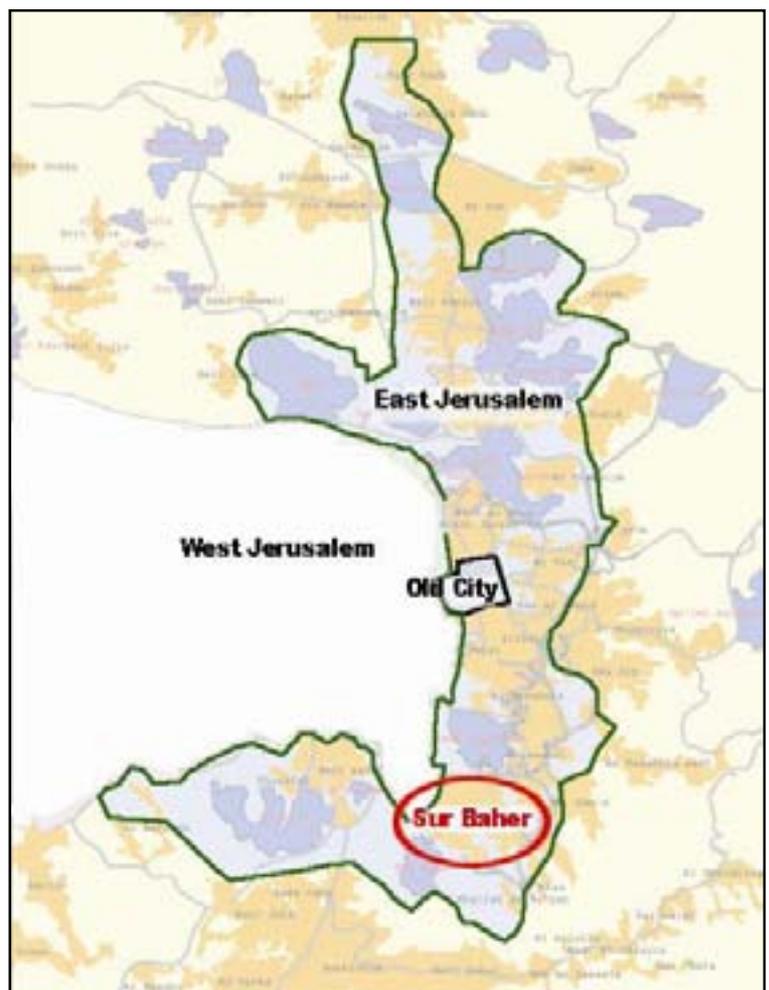


Fig. 5.1: Sur-Baher & Um Tuba location
Source: Mapping & G.I.S Dept. of the A.S.S. 2004. Edit by researcher

5.3 Sur-Baher and Um Tuba Master plan Analysis*

Before 1967, Sur-Baher was not considered as a neighborhood inside Jerusalem Municipality. However, it was always related to Jerusalem Governorate. The chief of Jerusalem Governorate was responsible for the needs of Sur-Baher in term of education, health, and planning. Thus, in-order to obtain a building permission, citizens had to apply a form to the governorate office to study the request then to permit the construction.

After 1967, Israel occupied West-Bank including East Jerusalem and annexed the border of Jerusalem to include Sur-Baher and other Arab communities. Till 1999, there had not been a master plan for Sur-Baher. Therefore, obtaining a building permission, citizens had to apply a form which had been studied by formal committees; local committee, and district committee according to a section 78 of the planning and building law, which allows giving building permits for citizens until the preparation and the approval of the master plan.

After 1975, the need of building extensions both horizontally and vertically increased in East Jerusalem and building permission requests were increased too. Consequently, local and district committees decided to prepare master plans for such Arab communities like, Isawiya, Bait-Hanina, Shu'fat, Jabal Al-Mukabir in addition to Sur-Baher and Um-Tuba.

In early eighties Jerusalem municipality began to prepare master plans for all East Jerusalem neighborhoods. In 1999, the master plan of Sur-Baher and Um Tuba that covered an area about 3,300 dunams, holding the number 2302A was approved (map 5.1)

* The data of this section depends on the interview conducted with Hassan Abu Assalah in the year 2006.

(Jerusalem municipality, 1999). The main body of the plan consists of 1514.5 Dunams as residential zones of two types (class 5, class 4). Almost all residential areas are defined as “class 5”, with construction density of 50%, while the rest area of residential zone are classified as “class 4”, with construction density of 70%. The plan earmarks approximately 162.5 dunams for public buildings that includes; five elementary schools, a junior-high school, 14 plots for kindergartens, 3 day-care centers, a community center and two clinics. The Green area and under planning area occupy about 1221 dunams, i.e. 37% of the total planned area. Regarding roads, most of them are new connecting the residential zones which are located on summit and versant of the hill together. The total proposed area for roads is 402 dunams- 12% of the total planned area.

	Area (Dunams)	Percentage of Planned Area
Total Area of the Plan	3300	
Residential area Class 4	350	11%
Residential area Class 5	1164.5	35%
Total Residential Area	1514.5	46%
Public Buildings	71	
Institutions	18	
Open Public Area – Gardens-	40.5	1.2%
Sport Area	15	
Cemetery	18	
Total Public Area	162.5	5%
Roads	390	
Paths for Pedestrians	12	
Total Roads	402	12%
Under Planning Area	270	8%
Open Landscape (Green Area)	951	29%
Total	3300	100%

Table 5.1: Land use areas and percentages of Sur-Baher and Um-Tuba
Source: Jerusalem Municipality,1999

5.4 Building Permit (Process and Cost)

Getting a housing permission within the borders of Jerusalem, including Sur-Baher & Um Tuba, is one of the most complicated issues that faces the Jerusalemite Palestinian either for the sophisticated routine or the huge amount money that should be paid as a permit fee.

It is important to mention the steps that one should follow to obtain a building permission from Jerusalem municipality*:

- 1- Having a registration form proving land property (Tabo Document).
- 2- Applying a request for initiating a design process that usually costs about 1155 NIS (267\$).
- 3- Starting the design process.

The permission should be taken after the complete set of drawings from the following authorities:

- Civil Defense.
 - Traffic Department
 - Israeli Land Authority
- 4- Opening file in municipality in order to obtain building permit

The file of building permit now would be submitted to the local committee in the municipality so as to give a green light for the owner to pursue his case in the following bodies (i.e. to have their approval).

* The source of data obtained was collected from Jerusalem municipality

- The final approval of the Civil Defense committee should be done in this stage.
- The approval of Sewage & Water Departments

The price of water fee depends on the area of the land and the area of the designed building (for each one square meter of land, 10 NIS (2.3 \$) should be paid and 70 NIS (15.5 \$) are taken per one meter square of building. As for the price of connecting water pipes to the building, 15% of the total water fee is usually taken. While the sewage fee is calculated according to the area of land (30 NIS (6.7 \$) is taken per one meter square of land) and to the area of the building 40 NIS (8.9) is taken per one meter square of building).

- The approval of Sanitation Department
- The approval of Archeology Department
- Betterment Levy Tax (i.e. a tax taken upon preparing master plan and improving the environment of the city)

It is worthy mentioning that in Sur-Baher & Um Tuba this tax reaches to 90 \$ per one square meter of building.

- The approval of the Electricity Department.
- The approval of the Authority of Environment.
- The approval of the Roads Department.
- The approval of the Administration of Communication.
- The approval of the Fire Department.

- The approval of municipality to use their dump sites for in order to drop the waste materials of the construction sites.

After obtaining all the signatures of all the departments and the bodies mentioned above, these approvals would be turned over to the municipality to pay the final receipt of the building permit which is 36 NIS (8 \$) for every one square meter.

For having an explicit idea about the cost of building permit in Sur-Baher & Um-Tuba, the following building model is taken as an example*. The area of the designed building is 966 m² distributed into three floors. The below table clarifies the cost of the given permit (see appendix 1). The cost does not include the payments for the lawyer, land surveyor, engineering office and construction.

Opening file	1155 NIS
Betterment levy fee	365,395 NIS
Fire department fee	1,025 NIS
Archeology fee	1630 NIS
Sewage and water fee	344,419 NIS
Dump site fee	5,120 NIS
Final payment to the municipality	62,000 NIS
Total	780744 NIS (173500 \$)

Table 5.2: Cost of building permit in Sur-Baher and Um-Tuba
Source: Jerusalem municipality, 1999

* The data related to building was taken from Eng. Radi Hamada

It is noted that the cost of getting building permit for 966 m² building in Sur-Baher and Um Tuba equals about 780,750 NIS (173500 \$). This means that every 100 square meter costs about 80,000 NIS (17778 \$) as a building permit fee in Sur-Baher and Um Tuba.

It is important to mention that these are the same procedures that are followed by Jews, however the housing supply sector in Jewish neighborhoods depends mainly upon governmental housing in addition to that the average monthly income for Jews is higher than the average monthly income for Arabs.

5.5 Har-Homa Settlement (Abu-Ghnaim)

Har-Homa (Abu Ghnaim) is located about six and a half Kilometers south of the old city of Jerusalem, between Um-Tuba and Bethlehem. Abu Ghnaim which has an area about three thousand Dunams was forested with pine trees before 1967 and was protected and preserved after 1967. The site has been considered by Israeli Jerusalem Municipality as a 'Green Area'; in which any kind of construction is prohibited due to its ecological diversity and the preservation of the natural beauty of the city.



Fig. 5.2: Abu Ghnaim pre March, 1997
Source: Arij, 1997



Map 5.2: Ariel map of Abu Ghnaim mountain pre March, 1997
Source: Arabtic Jordana office, 1997

On 6 June 1991, Israel's Minister of Finance, Isaac Modu'ee, ordered the expropriation of land on and around the forested mountain of Abu-Ghnaim in order to construct Har-Homa settlement which will include about 6,500 housing units. The new settlement is expected to accommodate thirty to forty thousands Jewish settlers (Arij, 1997).



Map 5.3: Ariel map of Abu Ghnaim mountain in Nov. 2002
Source: Jerusalem Municipality



Fig. 5.3: Abu Ghnaim in May, 2006
Source: Researcher

5.6 Har-Homa Master Plan analysis

In 1992, immediately after the order of expropriation, the municipality of Jerusalem began to prepare a master plan for Abu Ghnaim that had the number 5053 and approved on 23 /10 /1995 (map. 5.4). The settlement was planned as an urban neighborhood of 2056 dunams with high-density construction. The residential area constitutes approximately 38% of the plan area with high density of about 175%, allowing eight floor construction for each building the plan of Abu-Ghnaim earmarks 344.3 dunams (16.8%) for public buildings including hotels, institutions, and public services. Approximately 48.2 dunams is devoted for commercial zone while industrial zone has 71.5 dunams from the total area of the master plan.

	Area (Dunams)	Percentage of Planned Area
Total Area of the Plan	3300	
Residential Zone	777.4	38 %
Public Buildings	232	11.3 %
Public Institutions	70.6	3.4%
Public Services	13.4	0.7%
Hotels	28.3	1.4%
Total Public Area	344.3	16.8%
Roads	377.4	18.4 %
Private Commercial Zone	48.2	2.3%
Industrial Zone	71.5	3.5%
Forest Zone	332.5	16%
Gardens	104.7	5%
Total	3300	100%

Table 5.3: Land use areas and percentages of Har-Homa Settlement
Source: Jerusalem Municipality, 1995

5.7 Territorial Control imposed On Sur-Baher & Um-Tuba

5.7.1 Expropriation for Israeli settlements*

The total area of Sur-Baher and Um-Tuba was about 9672 Dunams based on geographical borders drawn by British Mandate authority in 1934, as the following map indicates (map 5.5). Immediately after 1967, Jerusalem municipality put about 2053 Dunams outside municipality borders from Sur-Baher and Um-Tuba original area; this means that about 7619 Dunams from 9672 Dunams remained to the citizens of the two villages to use for future development. However, the story of control did not stop here. On 30th of August 1970, the minister of economy (Banhas Safeer) announced that East Talpiot settlement would be built on 1997 Dunams from Sur-Baher and Um-Tuba lands (fig. 5.4).

In 1999 the master plan of Sur-Baher and Um-Tuba was approved with a total area about 3515 Dunams. The plan neglected about 2107 Dunams which remained as unplanned area to not be used or developed. The following chart describes how the area of Sur-Baher is minimized to 3515 Dunams from its original area (9672 Dunams).

* The source of data in this section is the interview with Mr. Hassan Abu Assalah

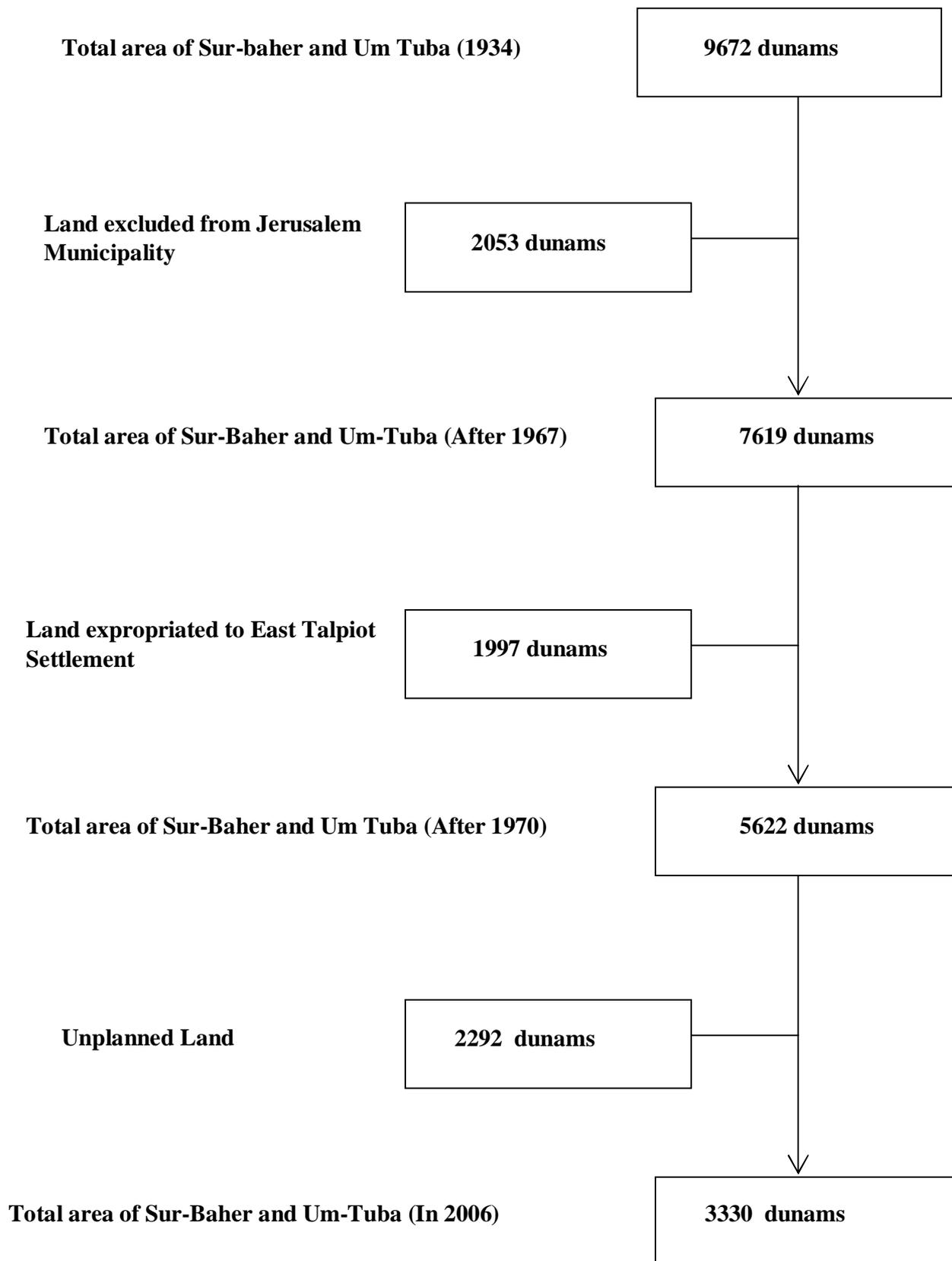




Fig. 5.4: East Talpiot settlement
Source: Researcher, 2006

It is noted from the mentioned chart that approximately 64% of Sur-Baher lands has been expropriated from the reserves of land available to the development of the town. Only 46 % of the remained area is devoted for residential construction.

5.8 Results & Discussion

It is noted that discrimination policy was taken into consideration while preparing the scheme of Sur-Baher. After the analysis of the planning schemes for the two neighborhoods, we can obviously conclude the following points:

- It took about fifteen years to prepare and approve the master plan of Sur-Baher and Um-Tuba. While Har-Homa master plan took about five years.
- There is a high percentage of the green area zone within Sur-Baher master plan which earmarks 29% of the total planning scheme for open landscape, in which any kind of construction is banned and no building permit could be issued. This zone is not due to design considerations but it is used to restrict Arab housing expansion. On the other side, Har-Homa settlement was built on an area which was originally categorized as a green zone by Jerusalem municipality and the remaining green area was invested in beautifying the settlement and developing it for tourist purposes as classy hotel is be built overlooking this green site.
- The capacity of housing sites in Sur-Baher and Um-Tuba are less than housing capacity in Har-Homa. In master plan of Sur-Bhaer, the capacity for housing units is approximately 3,100 * units which means the planned average density is 0.94 housing unit per dunum. While Har-Homa plan covers an area about 2,056 dunums, the capacity of which is about 6,500 units, with a density average of 3. 2 units per dunum.
- The master plan of Sur-Baher proposes has a low rate construction density (residential type 5 & type 4); 50%, 75%. About 35% of the total planned land is allocated for residential zone with density 50%, and 11% of the total planned area is zoned for residential zone with density 75%. These densities allow up to three floors (fig. 5.5) whereas the density of residential zone in adjacent Har-Homa Jewish

* Source: Ir Shalem, 1998

settlement which was built on land expropriated from Sur-Baher & Um-Tuba reaches a density of 120%, allowing six to eight floors (fig. 5.6, fig. 5.7, fig. 5.8). The goal of this is to keep the ratio between Arab and Jews 3:7. According to a discussion of the Local Planning and Building Committee held in Jerusalem municipality in 1993 to discuss the town planning scheme for Sur-Baher and Um-Tuba, committee member Shulderman, referring to the low building percentages stipulated in the plan, asked when it would become necessary to prepare an additional plan for the neighborhoods. In reply, Ms. Elinoar Barzaki, then the City Engineer, stated:

“There is a government decision to maintain the proportion between the Arab and Jewish populations in the city at 28 percent Arabs and 72 percent Jews. The only way to cope with that ratio is through the housing potential. On this basis the growth potential is defined, and the capacity is a function of that here as well”(Flener, 1995).



Fig. 5.5: Low housing density in Sur-Baher
Source: Researcher, 2006



Fig. 5.6: High housing density in Har-Homa settlement
Source: Researcher, 2006



Fig. 5.7: High rise building in Har-Homa settlement
Source: Researcher, 2006

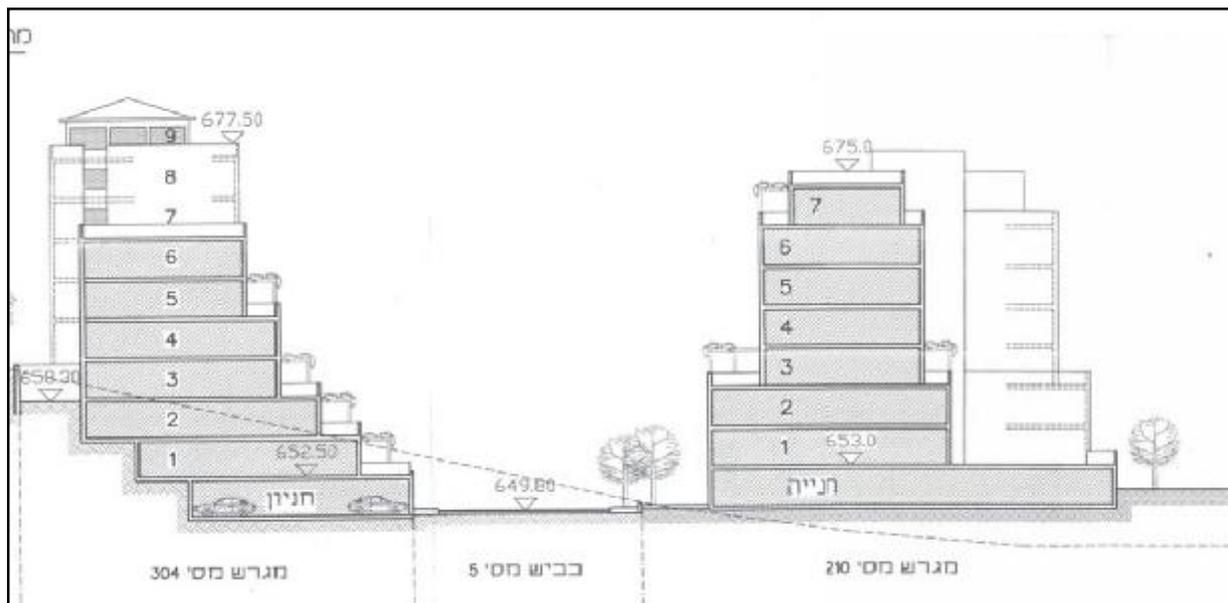


Fig. 5.8: Section within buildings in Har-Homa settlement
Source: Jerusalem municipality. Edit by researcher

- There is a sharp difference between the percentage of public buildings of Sur-Baher and Abu Ghnaim; about 16.8% of the total land in Har-Homa scheme is zoned for public buildings while 5% percentage of the total planned area in Sur-Baher earmarked for public buildings.
- There is a little area allocated for gardens (about 1.2%) and there are no parks in Sur-Baher due to the large area that is zoned as an open landscape, while in Har-Homa, about 5% of the mater plan is earmarked for gardens.
- In Har-Homa Settlement about 48.2 dunams is allocated as a commercial use, while in Sur-Baher there is no zone for commercial use. As a result, citizens in Sur-Baher & Um-Tuba must shop out-side their community.
- There is no allocation of area for industrial use in Sur-Baher. However, about 71.5 dunams is devoted for industrial zone. This strengthens the Jewish economic sector, but at the same time keeps the Arab economic sector related strongly to the Jewish economic sector.

5.9 Conclusion

According to all above the policy of discrimination and control is crystallized by confiscation policy, capacity of housing sites, building percentages, the gap between the two neighborhoods concerning services like commercial and industrial services and the high percentage of open landscape which is utilized to check the development of Sur-Baher and Um-Tuba.

It is strongly noted also that Jerusalem Municipality do not use master plan of Sur-Baher & Um-Tuba to develop their communities and achieve Arab citizen's requirements in terms of housing, commercial, and industry. However, the municipality makes plans to control their land and their future development.

6.1 Introduction

After illustrating, explaining and analyzing the Israeli planning policies and after discussing the comparative study in previous chapter. This chapter discusses the results shaped after pre-analysis forming a deeper understanding to this dilemma and investigating the range of conforming the results with the hypothesis explained in chapter one which states that the Israeli planning policies are biased to Jews and the Jewish planners are twisting planning approaches to serve the Israeli political goals to achieve the majority and sovereignty of Jews in Jerusalem, while chocking the natural expansion of Arab suburbs to the minimum keeping them lingering stages behind the Jews.

To achieve the goal of this chapter, the discussion will be based theories mentioned in the second chapter which can be summarized into two theories:

- A- First theory which states that planning has a direct relation with politics and has a great role in actualizing and implementing the governmental policies. Therefore, planning is a vital political instrument as John Friedman writes “*Modern Planning practice is a political process* “ (Friedmann, 1987) (see 2.2)..

- B- Second theory which is about planning as a control tool. In this theory the dimensions of planning can be utilized to control a specific group or party in society as been illustrated elaborately before (see 2.3).

6.2 Discussion of Study Results

The planner in our case is practicing his own political ideology and planning field is regarded as un-substitutable opportunity to achieve political goals. Planning as a result is

not free from politics but in fact it is act of practicing politics. As Anthony Catanese points out “*The planner is playing politician* “(Catanesse, 1984) (see 2.2).

This is clearly manifested in our case of Jerusalem when the Israeli politicians declared immediately after the end of the six days war that the scale of the population majority in Jerusalem should always be for the benefit of the Jews at the expense of the Arab demography in order to keep Jerusalem the united Jewish capital of Israel (see 4.2).

The Israeli Planners have been working under this political shadow and took advantage of planning to fulfill their political goals and dreams. The three planning dimensions were being exploited to the utmost limit to keep the Israeli superiority and control over the Arab Jerusalemite residents. According to Yiftachel (1998), the various dimensions of planning (Territorial, procedural, and social dimensions) can be used as controlling tools or as reforming tool.

According to the territorial dimension which includes demarcation of administrative boundaries, location of functions on lands, and land use regulations is not used to achieve prosperity and progress of future development for Arabs, but it is strongly invested in implementing exclusive control over East Jerusalem.

In the demarcation of municipal boundary of Jerusalem after 67 War, the Israeli planners annexed the uninhabited Arab lands to the boundaries of Jerusalem to make them potentials for future Israeli settlement while on the other hand they exclude the inhabited Arab Lands clusters such as Abu Dis and Al-Azariyah towns and keep them out of

Jerusalem boundaries so as to fulfill the Israeli policy of gaining more land with less people (fig. 6.1).

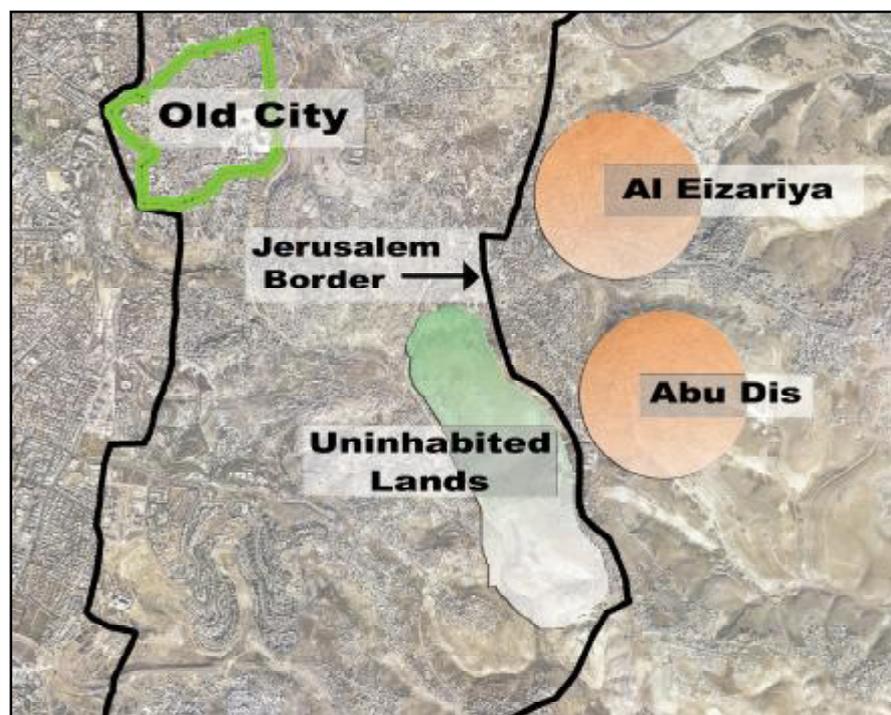


Fig. 6.1: Excluding Arab populated towns from Jerusalem
 Source: Aerial map taken from Jerusalem municipality, Nov.2002.
 Analyzed by researcher

After the expansion of Jerusalem borders, Israel prepared a master plan for Jerusalem. The main component of the master plan was Arab towns, green areas, unplanned areas, and Israeli settlements which constructed upon confiscated Arab lands. More than 10000 dunams was devoted for green area which means that these land should remain parks or agricultural zone, but Israel expropriated some of green land to build Israeli settlements. Har Homa and Reches Shufat are the most appropriate examples of this policy (see 4.3.22).

The mater plan of Jerusalem has created new facts on ground for Jerusalemites, their town became separated islands surrounded by Israeli settlements with no hope for future horizontal expansion due to green zones, Israeli settlements and bypass roads. Furthermore, the vertical expansion is usually restricted to three floors utmost in most Arab districts. Beit Hanina and Shufat are example for this as sown in (fig 6.2).

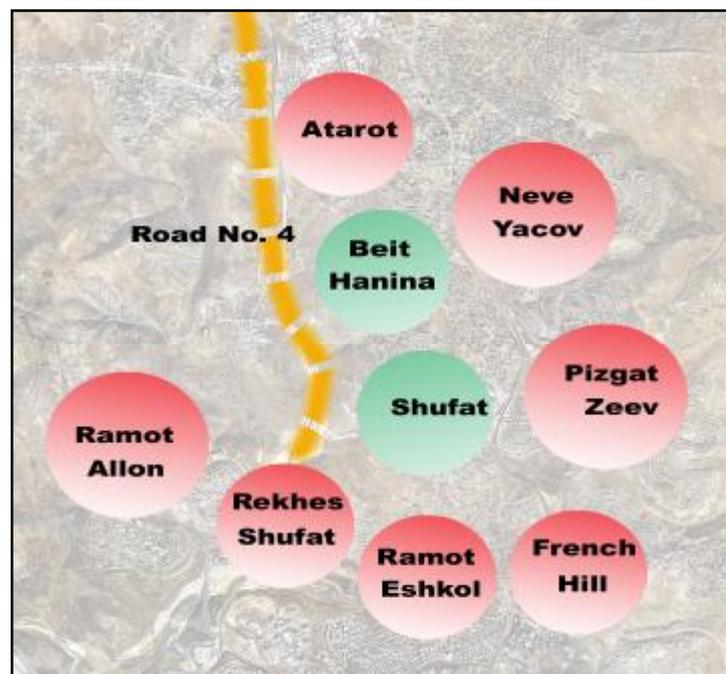


Fig. 6.2: Arab tows surrounded with Israeli settlements
Source: Researcher

According to the procedural dimension which also was used ,beside territorial dimension to control Arabs and annotate them and exclude them from the participation, in planning process in the following ways.

- The long period of time taken to prepare and to certify planning scheme projects for Arab areas compared to that taken for a Jewish planning schemes. For example, the planning scheme project of Sur-Baher and Um Tuba was

accomplished in 15 years while it took only five years to prepare and certify the planning scheme project of Har-Homa.

- The mechanism of attaining a building permit in the Arab region areas is very sophisticated and expensive. A building with an area of 966 costs about 780,750 NIS as fees for the permit (i.e. every 100 square meter costs about 80,000 NIS) regardless the money that the owner has to pay for the lawyer, the surveyor, and the engineering office.
- There is no Arab representation in preparing the planning schemes projects. For example, the planning scheme of Jerusalem 2020 was prepared by 49 planners with only one Arab representative among them (see 4.4).

As a result of territorial and procedural control the social gap between Arabs and Jews was widen especially in the housing sector as the analysis conducted in this study showed that the number of housing units for Arabs enumerated only about half of the housing units dedicated for Jews in East Jerusalem in 2002, although Arabs compromised about 42% of population in this area at that time. The analysis also showed that the housing density differs between Arabs who suffer from over crowdedness and Jews, as the statistics of 2004 published by Palestinian Central Bureau of statistics institution showed that:

Item	Jews	Arabs
Housing density	3.2 Person / House	6.5 Person / House
Room Density	1.1 Person / House	1.8 Person / Room
Area devoted per person	24.2 m ² for Jewish person	12.1 m ² for Arab person

Table 6.1: Comparison between Arabs and Jews in housing sector
Source: Statistical yearbook of Jerusalem, 2004

These policies obliged the Arab resident to choose one of the following:

- A- To live in tuff and hard housing conditions. Rassem Kamaisi points out that there are 6000 families suffering from unsuitable housing units (Kamaisi, 2004).
- B- Building without attaining building permit (see 4.3.3).
- C- The third choice for the Jerusalemite Arab, who has the Israeli ID, is to build in the suburbs of Jerusalem outside the municipality boundaries.

Worth mentioning is the fact that the policy of ID confiscation and the apartheid wall which were supposed on minimizing the Arab demography within the city borders, gave reversed results as hundreds of Palestinian families return to live inside the city boundaries, fearing for loosing their citizenship (Cheshin, 1998).

According to Boolean (1998), there are four urban planning strategies the planner could adopt to facilitate the life in multiethnic communities: neutral, partisan, equity, and resolver (see 2.5). From the previous discussion and analysis, it is noted that the Israeli planner adopted the partisan policy that aims to further an empowered ethnic group's values and rejects the claims of the disenfranchised group.

It is of great importance to mention that despite all the Israelis political obstacles exercised on Palestinian and the organized Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Ethiopia, and East Europe who were encouraged and directed to settle in Jerusalem, the disparity in the growth between Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem is for the interest of the Palestinians due to their high rate of natural growth (see 3.4.2).

6.3 Conclusion

This patently shows that the Israeli planners had in mind special political values concerning Jerusalem according to which the Arabs natural expansion should be minimized to the least whereas the doors should be left open to the Jewish future expansion.

Briefly, an examination of planning policies in Jerusalem clearly shows that the planning policies is not based on reform base and real planning considerations instead it is based on discrimination and control platform, Even that planning emerged out to improve people's life style and to create better environment. Israel used planning, to consolidate its control over the city and to judies Jerusalem, trying to legitimize its control and discrimination by planning.

The Discrimination policies affected directly the Arab residents in Jerusalem. There are two obvious results of this policy. First, the gap between Jews and Arab in housing sector is so obvious, these policies forced them to live in overcrowded shelters. Second, the migration outside Jerusalem borders in order to find adequate housing conditions is also noted. In conclusion, East Jerusalem can no longer be used as any kind of center for the

Palestinian nation as the discussion Israeli planning policies showed that the sovereignty and control upon Jerusalem will be Israeli nothing else.

7.1 Research Main Findings

Through this study, based on the analysis of data and the discussion of its results, it appears clearly without doubt the trueness of the hypothesis assumed in chapter one stating that since the Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967, Israel has been using planning as a control tool over Jerusalemite Arabs in East Jerusalem. Control in this study means increasing the Jewish demography in Jerusalem over Arabs making them a majority in-order to make the city a Jewish city, neglecting its original Arabic roots.

To achieve this dominance and to grant the validity on its control, Israel exploited planning with its three various dimensions (territorial, procedural, and social). Regarding the territorial dimension –the most important dimension to actualize this control-, Israel after the 67 expanded the boundaries of Jerusalem from 38 km² to 108 km² making the area of East Jerusalem 71 km². The municipality annexed the uninhabited Arab lands to its borders excluding lands and centers populated by Arabs as Ar-Ram, Abu Dis and Al-Azariyah so as to establish Israeli settlements later. It is registered that nearly 25,000 dunams of East Jerusalem lands (i.e. 33.2% of whole East Jerusalem area) were used to build Israeli settlements on. Israel also encouraged the Jewish emigrants to settle in these settlements, meanwhile obstructing and hindering the Arab progress and development in their area through the approved planning schemes.

The planning schemes of Arab neighborhoods offers a minimum building density in the residential areas that reaches to (50% - 75%) while in the Jewish neighborhoods as in Har- Homa, the density reaches 120% of lands obstructing the Arab urban development. Moreover, Israel carried out the projects of the bypass roads and the apartheid wall on

Arab lands excluding more Arab residential areas from the boundaries of Jerusalem. Nasrallah (2005) pointed out that the apartheid wall would result settling 40,000 Jerusalemite Arabs out of the boundaries of the city.

The procedural dimension is used to marginalize Arabs participation in the planning process and decision making. In addition, the Arab plan schemes require a long period of time to be approved, on the contrary the plan schemes for Jewish neighborhood are accomplished in a standard period of time. For example, Sur-Baher & Um Tuba plan scheme took 15 years to be approved while the one for Har-Homa took only 5 years to be approved.

The social dimension affected by the procedural and territorial dimension especially in housing sector resulting in a huge gap between Arab and Jewish people concerning; the rate of dwelling area for each individual, density of people per room, and the number of housing units distributed between Arabs and Jews.

All of these forced the Arab Jerusalemites either to live under hard living conditions in overcrowded housing units or to migrate outside the boundaries of Jerusalem seeking for much more comfortable housing substitutes.

The continuity of these Israeli policies without any presence of future strategy or suitable reaction from Arab residents would eventually lead to only Jewish “Yurushaliem” city.

7.1 Suggestions and Recommendations

It is clearly shown in the discussion chapter that the Israeli's consideration towards Jerusalem is not arbitrary. It is to them the united capital to the state of Israel, never to be divided. It is also shown in this study that Israel succeeded to impose new geographical and demographical facts on the ground. On the other part, there is no counteractive practical strategic program performed to create reversed results turn to the benefit of the Palestinians Arabs.

In this section, several recommendations will be suggested to reinforce, as a whole, the Arabic presence in Jerusalem. These recommendations will be on three levels: international level, institutional level in which there are two targets groups; the Palestinian National Authority the Jerusalemite institutions. The second level is a public level.

The recommendations will deal pragmatically with the political status quo of Jerusalem. This is not of course an admission of the existing Israeli occupation of Jerusalem, nor is it a negation of the Arab Palestinians rights in Jerusalem.

International level

The international community consists of two main parties: the Arab and Islamic countries from one hand and the foreign countries from the other (the United States and Europe). The recommendations regarding the international community has to contain two major issues:

- The basic issues concerning Jerusalem such as: the occupation, settlements and sovereignty.
- Issues related to enhance and support the Arab existence in East Jerusalem.

These recommendations are the following:

- 1- Establishing Arab council devoted to Jerusalem affairs and has a consistent communication with Palestinian institutions that deal with the issue of Jerusalem to negotiate any emerging issue regarding Jerusalem.
- 2- This council works to activate the issue of Jerusalem as a central issue and an essential crucial case to the Arab and Islamic countries.
- 3- This council will establish a fund especially to Jerusalem to encourage the Arab and Islamic governments institutions and people to donate for creating new projects that enhance and strengthen the Arab existence in Jerusalem.
- 4- To communicate with the international community (foreign countries) in order to push Israel to solve the basic crucial issues regarding Jerusalem as the apartheid wall and settlements.

Institutional level

First Target Group: Palestinian National Authority

1- Establishing a Palestinian research center under the supervision of the Palestinian National Authority, similar to the Orinet House which was locked out in 2001 by the Israeli authorities.

2- Forming a well designed strategic plan that aims to secure suitable and sufficient housing units for Arab and to expand their housing sector range to the utmost limit available. The following points are suggested to take them into consideration while preparing the housing strategic plan:

A- Making use of the vacant lands in east Jerusalem by getting building permits.

B- Make use of the available Israeli planning schemes by modifying the capacity of those plans to include more Arab residents.

C- Designing plans schemes for the unplanned areas in the master plan of Jerusalem as a preliminary step for transforming those areas to residential Arab areas.

D- Purchasing houses and apartments in The Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem as Har-Homa and Pisgat Ze'ev.

Second Target Group: Jerusalemite Institutions

To activate the public sector in providing more housing units within Jerusalem borders, which in fact requires inviting some Jerusalemite institutions such as the Electricity

Company and the Engineering associations in order to establish a housing units for the Arab Jerusalemite because it is really hard for an Arab residents to obtain a shelter for himself individually.

1- To urge the Supreme Islamic Council which runs Al-Waqf affairs to use Al-Waqf lands for building housing accommodations and to reside the Jerusalemite Palestinian in these lands which constitute a very good potential to take profit from.

2- To encourage the contracting companies to build new accommodations in Jerusalem for the Palestinians to purchase or to rent in order to increase housing supply.

3- To encourage the lending and financing institutions such as the Palestinian Housing Council established in 1990 to grant a long term loans for low income people.

4-To establish a body from qualified staff of lawyers to object on house demolition, land confiscation, and Israeli projects that lead to Judies Jerusalem, and also to give legal consultation to Arab Jerusalemite.

Public Level

Several courses, workshops and discussions should be held to enlighten Palestinian Jerusalemite of the following:

1- Using the un-reside apartments and houses in Jerusalem in amore effective way rather than leaving these properties empty.

2- Encouraging the property owners in Jerusalem not to demand excessive prices for rental purchase.

3- Encouraging the owners of the vast land areas to parcel them into smaller ones in order to use them in urban developing expansion.

4- Enlightening the Palestinian Jerusalemite residents for their rights decreed to them by the law from the municipality.

5- Encouraging the private sector to build multi-story buildings.

Finally, I believe that the application of these recommendations would grant the preservation of the Arab identity of the city regardless the obstacles put by the Israeli planners and government, and would also derive the Jerusalemite ID holders who live outside the city to return to their roots and home town in the holy city “Jerusalem”.

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