Sustainable Planning in a non-Sustainable Situation: The Case of Jerusalem

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Introduction

Sustainability in planning and development consists one of the main issues placed on the agendas of planners, development and decision makers. Since the beginning of the 1990's, and particularly after Rio de Janeiro summit 1992 and, later, Agenda 21 of the UN, public awareness has grown. The notion of sustainability is based on environmental and ecological considerations which lead us as people, communities and states, to look at what is happening to our environmental system in a holistic approach. Part of this environment is the urban system, which includes the environmental, physical, social and economic fabrics.

The question of how to develop a sustainable urban system is one of the main topics that engage planners and developers in cities which do not suffer from national conflict. Conflicts as such threaten any possibility of sustainable planning and development. Thus, the challenges for securing sustainable urbanization and urbanism, particularly in polarized and segregated cities and communities facing ethno-national conflict, is a topic that engages and acquires the consideration of urban planners, managers and developers. There are two approaches to deal with sustainable planning and development in cities in conflict;   one is calm, directed towards solving the conflict or finding a way for ethno-national conciliation to the conflict, which is a precondition for sustainable planning and development in such cities, the second approach is using sustainable planning and development as a way of thinking or an approach for conflict conciliation. Every approach based on implementation of sustainable activities in cities has its logic and justifications.

The first approach suggests that the ethno-national conflict, on the national and urban levels, has a direct impact on any component of the city fabric and activities, therefore we cannot secure any sustainable planning and development without considering the geo-political conflict. In this situation, the individual, the community and urban activities are influenced by the conflict, and the possibility of achieving sustainable development is unrealistic;a waste of time and effort.

The second approach suggests that in every city you can find conflicts. The difference between conflicts in different cities is the nature of those conflicts, their levels, their deepness and size, as well as the relation of the urban conflict to others conflicts.

In many cities we may find conflicts, through which people live. In these cases there are no contradictions between planning, management and development according to sustainable notion and principles in the micro and mezzo levels, which may lead to some acceptance between the parties involved in national conflict on the macro level. The synergetic and dialectical relations between the micro, the mezzo, and the macro may lead to conflict conciliations, or, at least, create an environment which helps reach sustainable development in the current situation and in the future when the situation changes.

There are different theories and guidelines about how to cope with rapid urbanization in order to reach the point of sustainable development in cities. However, there still remains a constant theoretical and practical vacuum about how to secure urban spatial planning which can create the basis for a sustainable urban environment in cities or urban regions under conflict. One such city is Jerusalem. The main themes of this paper include a discussion about the aforementioned vacuum shedding some light and insight onto the reasons and the factors of the non-sustainable situation which lead urban planners and managers to suggest plans that cannot provide sustainable development to all the citizens and residents of the city.

The paper's main argument is based on the notion of applied practices which sustain urban development in situations of partisan planning (Bollens, 2000) that ignores the rights of all its residents to the city (Khamaisi, 2007). These practices common in divided, segregated and conflicted cities in fact avoid the principles of development of urban sustainability. In other words, the right to city in such situations does not exist. Meanwhile, sustainable planning and development are limited and threaten environmental resources.

This paper will address environmental sustainability joined with geo-political, socio-economic and spatial sustainability. It will discuss this argument through describing the case of Jerusalem, a city undergoing a rapid urbanization process as a result of the geo-political, demographic and ethno-national competition and conflict over the city. The paper will discuss how the planners of the last city outline Plan "Jerusalem 2000", dealt with sustainability in a non sustainable situation.

The paper opens its argument with a short theory which discusses the relation between sustainability and the right to the city concepts. Later, a short description and discussion of the existing situation in Jerusalem is discussed. It represents a platform for preparing outline planning to the city. The third part will show the problem between reaching sustainable planning and development in the city under rooted geo-political conflict and socio-economic disparities and gaps between different parts of the city. The paper concludes by discussing the presented argument and previous approaches , and draws some policy guidelines for securing planning and development sustainability in the city.

General theoretical framework

The topic of sustainability has been a main topic of international and national conferences and political agendas, particularly to cope with the environmental and urbanization challenges and problems. One of the matters is to raise public awareness and rationalize natural resources consumption, alongside internalization of trans-border considerations of development (Dasgupta, 2007).

The threat of limited natural resources caused by rapid urbanization, growing population and consumption leads to more pollution (water, air, landscape, noise ets.) (Hasna, 2007). Pollution is not an aspect that ends at state or city boundaries; it has global, regional, national and local implications. Various literatures try to define sustainability, but there is still not one common definition. The common general definition of sustainability is: "A sustainable society meets the needs of the present without sacrificing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"(www.sustainable-city.org/plan/into/intro.htm). According to this definition, equilibrium has to be found between the needs of the society and complying their provision in the present, and

preserving resources for the future to accommodate the needs of the next generations. This society behavior leads to sustainable development defined as: "Sustainable development is a pattern of resource use that aims to meet human needs while preserving the environment so that these needs can be met not only in the present, but also for future generations." The term was used by the Brundtland Commission which coined what has become the most often-quoted definition of sustainable development as development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Sustainable development). Sustainable development depends on two major factors: development and preservation. It is a wise utilization of recourses in a 'smart' way toward growth and development. Sustainable development *upholds two key concepts:*

- *the concept of **needs**, in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and*
- *the idea of **limitations** imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs."*

All definitions of sustainable development require that we see the world as a system—a system that connects space; and that connects time (http://www.iisd.org/sd/). Part of this system is including the place. The place contains the human activities in the space, which include cities where the majority of the humanity lives today. Population growth and concentration of human activities in cities depicts the needs for planning and development of sustainable cities. During the preparatory meetings for the 21st URBAN Conference (Berlin, July 2000) the following definition was developed to define sustainable urban development: *"Improving the quality of life in a city, including ecological, cultural, political, institutional, social and economic components without leaving a burden on the future generations; a burden which is the result of a reduced natural capital and an excessive local debt. Our aim is that the flow principle that is based on equilibrium of material, energy and also financial input/output, plays a crucial role in all future decisions upon the development of urban areas."* (http://archive.rec.org/REC/Programs/Sustainablecities/What.html). Another definition: "Sustainable community development is the ability to make development choices which respect the relationship between the three "E's"-economy, ecology, and equity":

- ***Economy*** - Economic activity should serve the common good, be self-renewing, and build local assets and self-reliance.
- ***Ecology*** - Humans are part of nature, nature has limits, and communities are responsible for protecting and building natural assets.
- ***Equity*** - The opportunity for full participation in all activities, benefits, and decision-making of a society."*Mountain Association for Community Economic Development (MACED):* Hart Environmental Data (http://archive.rec.org/REC/Programs/Sustainablecities/What.html).

These definitions include different components of the city which lead to creating economic activities, considering ecological characters of the place, by giving equal opportunities to the individuals and communities to participate is shaping their space, place, and considering providing their needs for a better quality of life in healthy environments. Some institutions set forth efforts to crystallize characters of a sustainable city (Jarrar and Al-Zoabi, 2008). Some of the sustainability characteristics outlined by the Centre for Sustainable Development include:

- the formulation of goals that are rooted in respect for both the natural environment and human nature, and that call for the use of technology in an appropriate way to serve both of these resources;
- the placement of high values on quality of life;
- respect of the natural environment;
- infusement of technology with purpose;
- optimization of key resources;
- maintenance scale and capacity;
- adoption of a systems approach;
- support of life cycles;
- responsiveness and proactiveness;
- value for diversity; and
- preservation of heritage. (see: Centre of Excellence for Sustainable Development).

Other definitions of sustainable indicators (Boulanger, 2008) were placed by the Jerusalem Institute for Israel studies, and the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (http://www.cbs.gov.il/statistical/pituach_bar82.pdf). The indicators include environmental, social and economic components. Some of these indicators are used to investigate the sustainable situation in Jerusalem (Moriyah, Feuer and Shahin, 2006). Most of these indicators provide limited consideration to the geopolitical conflict situation in Jerusalem and for its sustainability development, which include limited right of the Palestinian residents to the city. Securing the right to the city consists one the main components of planning and development processes of creating a sustainable city.

The concept of the right to the city stems from guaranteeing people's rights in the city as equal citizens who should have the ability to move spatially and functionally within the city's surroundings without impediments or administrative, physical or cultural/national barriers (Fenster, 2004). This concept evolved in response to the deliberate and direct restrictions of global geo-political and economic transformations, which imposed political, economic and functional structures that handicap an individual's rights in the city space as it is controlled by the central government, multinational companies, or globalization (Falk, 2000). This central national control may lead to stripping citizens of their right to participate in formulating decisions concerning designing, planning, managing and producing the city space (Mitchell, 2003).

The urbanization process the whole world is undergoing and the sharp population increase in cities, in addition to the concentration of economic resources and governance and decision-making centers in cities, have attracted researchers interested in attempting to understand the formation of urban spaces and people's movements within these spaces, and those who monitor the nature of the relations evolving among city residents in states of stability and conflict (Harvey, 2003). Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city evolved from a reality in which the city represents the society's ramifications on the ground in accordance with the tangible physical meaning, the intangible discrete meaning, and to taking decisions and formulating ideas which determine the city's model and its structure formation. The right to the city concept presents itself as a noble form of rights: the right to freedom and individual and personal rights within the scope of participation and involvement in the various societal structures, which include the rights to living, housing and work. The right to the city idea also includes the right to creativity, participation and allocation (Lefebvre, 1996).

Moreover, the concept of the right to the city originated from the *production* of the city space; therefore, whoever lives in the city and interacts with it (which is to say, *produces* it) is entitled to demand the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre and other researchers who discussed the concept of the right to the city summarized it in two major principles: The right to participation and the right to appropriation (Salmon, 2001; Lefebvre, 1991; 1996; Khamaisi, 2007). These two rights include equality of participation in using the city space and formulating and producing it culturally, spatially and ideologically. Based on the above, the metropolitan space was defined as an urban space enjoying structural contiguity, divided politically and administratively but integrated functionally and economically, and enabling an individual, a family or an investor to settle freely wherever they deem appropriate, taking into consideration their abilities, available economic resources, and cultural, national and ethnic desires and preferences (Heinelt, 2005). If we add to this definition the right to the city by participating in managing and formulating the space and appropriation in it, then this concept forms a theoretical foundation for understanding the contradiction between the reality of Jerusalem, the ramifications of the wall construction, and truncating and fragmenting the urban space on one hand, and denying the right to the city of the Palestinian people and society, who presently do not enjoy their rights on the urban and national levels, on the other (Khamaisi, 2007).

Regardless of the Palestinians non-participation in formulating and producing the urban space in Jerusalem, what is the nature of the space they have produced as an alternative, and how did Israel influence the creation/production of such space? Is participation in the space the only means for realizing the Palestinian right to the city or do the Palestinians have their own space, which existed before Israel? If so, how did they deal with this space since the occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967 and how did they create alternative spaces in Jerusalem's surroundings? And how did the construction of the separation wall contribute to weakening those spaces and exacerbate the problems in Jerusalem by generating a population movement into the city which settled in poor and densely populated neighborhoods that are characterized by the phenomenon of random construction? Discussing the answers for these questions may give us an indicator for the level of sustainable planning and development in Jerusalem.

Sustainability in Jerusalem form One Side

In Jerusalem, such as in other cities, the topic of sustainability in planning and development began to appear on the public agenda in the last two decade, particularly after organizing about fifty Israeli NGO's called "The Sustainable Jerusalem Coalition" (http://www.sustainable-   jerusalem.org/old_site/jerusaleme/jerusaleme.html).   The coalition defines sustainability as "*A sustainable city is one whose community achieves a balance in social, economic, cultural and environmental issues; each generation handing down a place of quality*". The coalition's awareness to the uniqueness of Jerusalem is represented by their statement: "*Jerusalem is a sacred city for Jews, Moslems and Christians. The spirituality of its people has always been reflected and influenced by the beauty of its landscape, light and stone. Jerusalem's urban fabric appears as a mosaic of historic layers telling the uninterrupted adventure of eastern and western civilizations. In Jerusalem, the "Place" appeals to religious and secular alike. It is a city of outstanding universal value - and it is essential for the identity of Israelis, the Jewish people and citizens of the world to make sure this uniqueness is sustained*". However, the coalition assumption and standpoint is "The status of Jerusalem as Israel's capital must be…."; by

this ignoring the Palestinians geo-political right and claim of East Jerusalem as the capital of the future Palestinian state. This lead to an all-Israeli NG's coalition, and the issue of a sustainable Jerusalem to be treated as an internal Israeli issue; with limited say for the Palestinians and international stakeholders, which have direct interests in planning and development of Jerusalem. The coalition produced planning guideline for sustainable Jerusalem. This initiative came after evaluating existing planning and development in the city which was a threat towards sustainable development in Jerusalem according to the coalition's standpoint. The coalition's activities ran side by side to the preparation of a general outline plan for Jerusalem named "Jerusalem outline plan 2000". "*The absence of a comprehensive urban master plan for Jerusalem, combined with the socio-economic problems currently facing the city*" was a catalyst for Israeli individuals and NGO's to organize themselves as a bottom-up taskforce which influenced the planning and development of the city. These NGO's felt they had the right to the city which motivated them to organize and force impact on the planning and development of the city through the Israeli system which controls Jerusalem. These define their purpose as: "*The purpose of the coalition is to establish a planning agenda, which will generate an ongoing public dialogue. The idea is to cultivate an active public community that will take an active role in all processes that determine the future character of the city*". The coalition describes the problematic situation in Jerusalem which threatens the sustainability in the city and its surroundings as follows: *The political reality in Jerusalem complicates and burdens the development process. The Sustainable Jerusalem Coalition is composed of Israeli citizens who do not want to control or manage the lives of their Arab neighbors. While the coalition cannot ignore the tradition and history carved into the stones of the Old City and its historic skyline, sustainable development must strive to foster social equality and pluralism among the different social groups living in the area. Sustainable Jerusalem upholds the belief that whatever the political solution may be, Jerusalem will always remain an open city, promoting respect for different lifestyles, and assuring the maximum participation of all of its different population groups. The development concepts behind a Sustainable Jerusalem will contribute to physical and social growth, while promoting coexistence, tolerance, and mutual understanding between different groups. With this goal in mind, the Arab residents of East Jerusalem were invited to take part in the organizing activities of the Sustainable Jerusalem Coalition, and the coalition hopes to keep these channels of communication open in the future as well*" (http://www.sustainable-jerusalem.org/old_site/jerusaleme/coalition.htm).

The coalition members are aware of the existing geo-political conflict over Jerusalem which places many constraints upon any possible sustainability in the city. However, they do consider some components required by the city for sustainability, despite the unilateralism of these components, yet they try to enhance the sustainable planning and development of the city alongside possibilities of changing of the geo-political and ethno-national conflict of the city by placing the "open city" concept as base for securing sustainable development of the city.

Beside the aforementioned activities, the Palestinian activities for sustainable development are limited and not organized well enough. The status of Palestinians as permanent residents in the occupied territories, suffering from partisan planning, Israeli control and hegemony of city and its surroundings, limited power and resources, has limited them in terms of organizing and collectively acting in the public space which is fully controlled by the Israelis. Additionally, most Palestinians in East Jerusalem are undergoing urbanization, whilst trying to provide their basic needs, as a result of the

Israeli policy which aims at securing the legitimacy of Israeli sovereignty on the east and west parts of Jerusalem. This situation pushed them to reacting and trying to survive as individuals and community, meanwhile Israelis have full citizenship, residency and control of the place and the public space. The different status of the peoples, and the difference between the Palestinian and Israeli populations in Jerusalem, created gaps and disparities relating to the notion of sustainable city and how to create and secure sustainability in the city.

Existing situation in Jerusalem… barriers for sustainability

The above short theoretical framework provides few guidelines and indicators for sustainable planning and development in the city. The question raised is; how does the existing situation threaten planning and development of a sustainable city in Jerusalem? Below a short description and analysis of the situation in Jerusalem which has created barriers before securing the sustainability in planning and development of the city. The two main issues affecting sustainability are the territorial and demographic considerations. Thus, a brief focus will concentrate on the existing situation and the two main problematic issues leading to multiple barriers.

Divided, polarized and segregated… City within the wall

The territorial dimension consists one of the main issues in the conflict of controlling and managing the city. The planning and zoning used by the Israeli authority as an effective partisan tool to secure territorial fragmentation and limitation of Palestinians in the city and its surrounding. The territorial consideration created a divided, polarized, segregated city, which today is separated from its surroundings consisting of catchment areas, physical separation wall, including the internal mental and political walls based on ethno-national, cultural, religious affiliations and socio-economic gaps.

In 1948, the city of Jerusalem was divided into two parts, West Jerusalem declared by the new state of Israel as its capital, and East Jerusalem which joined Jordan. This physical and geo-political division ended in the week of Israel's occupation of the entire West Bank including East Jerusalem in 1967. Following the occupation, the Israeli authorities officially controlled Jerusalem and sought to judaize the space by the establishment of Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem. The Israeli settlements isolated the center of East Jerusalem and the Old City from the surrounding Jerusalemite neighborhoods and the villages that were annexed to East Jerusalem space in accordance with a decision by the Israeli authorities, e.g., Beit Hanina, Kafr Aqab, Issawiya, Sur Bahir, etc. Israel annexed those villages and their lands to Jerusalem in an effort to expand the lands under its control (Khamaisi and Nasrallah, 2003). The Israeli authorities also confiscated more than 25,000 dunums of Arab Palestinian lands for the purpose of establishing Jewish settlements which was part of their policy to fragment and truncate Palestinian spatial continuity. Moreover, the Israeli authorities used spatial planning as a legalized means of control by controlling and inhibiting Palestinian expansion (Khamaisi, 2003). Hence, the Palestinian right to the city was minimized to the level of the neighborhood and the village, while the public space fell under Israeli administrative control and became subject to the Israeli authorities' decisions (Khamaisi and Nasrallah, 2006).

Since the Israeli occupation in 1967, Palestinian Jerusalemites have refused to take part in the local government and in managing, formulating or producing the space by participating in the Jerusalem Municipality. Although Israel granted the Palestinian

Jerusalemites the right of permanent residency in the frame of its unilateral annexation of occupied Jerusalem under its official sovereignty in contradiction to international legitimacy resolutions, it has refused to grant Palestinians in Jerusalem the right of citizenship. The goal sought by Palestinian Jerusalemites is to end the occupation, not to attain equality under Israeli control as citizens in the state of Israel. Thus, official and public Palestinian participation in producing the public city space, as a major component of ensuring their right to the city, is unthinkable through Israeli occupation institutions because occupation makes it impossible to realize this right since occupation itself, by definition, is imposed. Nevertheless, the Palestinian Jerusalemite society witnessed significant economic prosperity and relative housing growth between 1967 and 1993. This included a population increase from 68,000 to over 200,000, and an increase in housing in the Palestinian villages annexed by Israel in 1967, an area which is known today as East Jerusalem.

This relative prosperity and housing expansion occurred without the formation of an urban housing network in which public space is provided to ensure the right to the city for the city's inhabitants as well as those who interact with it. The goal formulated by the Israeli authorities, including the Jerusalem outline plan 2000,   was to ensure judaization of all of Jerusalem to become the capital of the state of Israel and its political center, and even the world capital of the Jewish people. In order to realize this goal, administrative, planning and geo-political restrictions were imposed on the Palestinian existence in Jerusalem to achieve a geo-demographic goal to limit the Palestinian population in Jerusalem to 30% or less of the total population of Jerusalem Municipal area as defined by Israel (Misselwitz et. al., 2006) which will be discussed later in more detail.

Planning the route of the wall took this geo-demographic objective as a central component, as we shall illustrate later. It is worth noting here that between 1967 and 1993, the Palestinian freedom of movement and settlement in the city space of East Jerusalem was restricted, especially from the villages surrounding the Old City.

In the meantime, Palestinian settlement in West Jerusalem was prohibited for geo-political reasons. This was done by Israeli prohibition and Palestinian reluctance. This means that the concept of a functional metropolis was not realized in the Jerusalemite reality, although the regional spatial concept and the political and administrative divisions were realized as the Jerusalemite urban space extended from Bethlehem in the south to Ramallah in the north (Khamaisi, 2008).

The year 1993 witnessed a truncation of the Palestinian right to Jerusalem following the city's closure and the denial of free Palestinian movement into it from its surroundings which nourish the city. This closure occurred through the imposition of permanent and mobile (flying) military checkpoints on the roads leading to and out of Jerusalem. Those checkpoints weakened Palestinian movement into Jerusalem and inhibited its development. They allowed Israeli settlers to travel from the settlements surrounding Jerusalem into the city, while Palestinians who did not possess the right of permanent residency in the city were not allowed to enter it except after obtaining special permits which are, in most cases, impossible to obtain for either security or bureaucratic reasons.

In the year 2003, those checkpoints began a transformation into a separation wall undermining functional and administrative extension and continuity between Jerusalem and its Palestinian surroundings. The wall fragmented Palestinian neighborhoods located within the administrative borders of Jerusalem which were determined by Israel

in 1967. It must be pointed out here that the closure and truncation of the Palestinian right began to worsen at the beginning of the First Intifada (uprising) in 1987, which resulted in the closing the city for free Palestinian movement by means of military barriers and checkpoints on the roads. Later, the Second Intifada broke out in 2000 and eventuated in the decision to establish the separation wall in 2003, a wall that surrounds Jerusalem and effectively annexes the surrounding Israeli settlements to the city while fragmenting the Palestinian neighborhoods on its outskirts.

The wall has also caused a division between the heart of the city -- the Old City and its surroundings -- and the nearby Palestinian neighborhoods which had become parts of the city's urban and functional network (Brooks, 2007). In 2006, a wall was constructed in the northern perimeter, isolating Kafr Aqab and Qalandiya from the Atarot Industrial Zone, and divided the main Jerusalem-Ramallah Road from Qalandia to Dhahiyat Al-Barid into two separate parts along its midline. Furthermore, construction works are now underway that will divide Dhahiyat Al-Barid into two areas -- one in East Jerusalem and another on the West Bank side of the wall. Similar divisions include isolating the Abu Dis area from Ras Al-Amud (see figure no. 1).
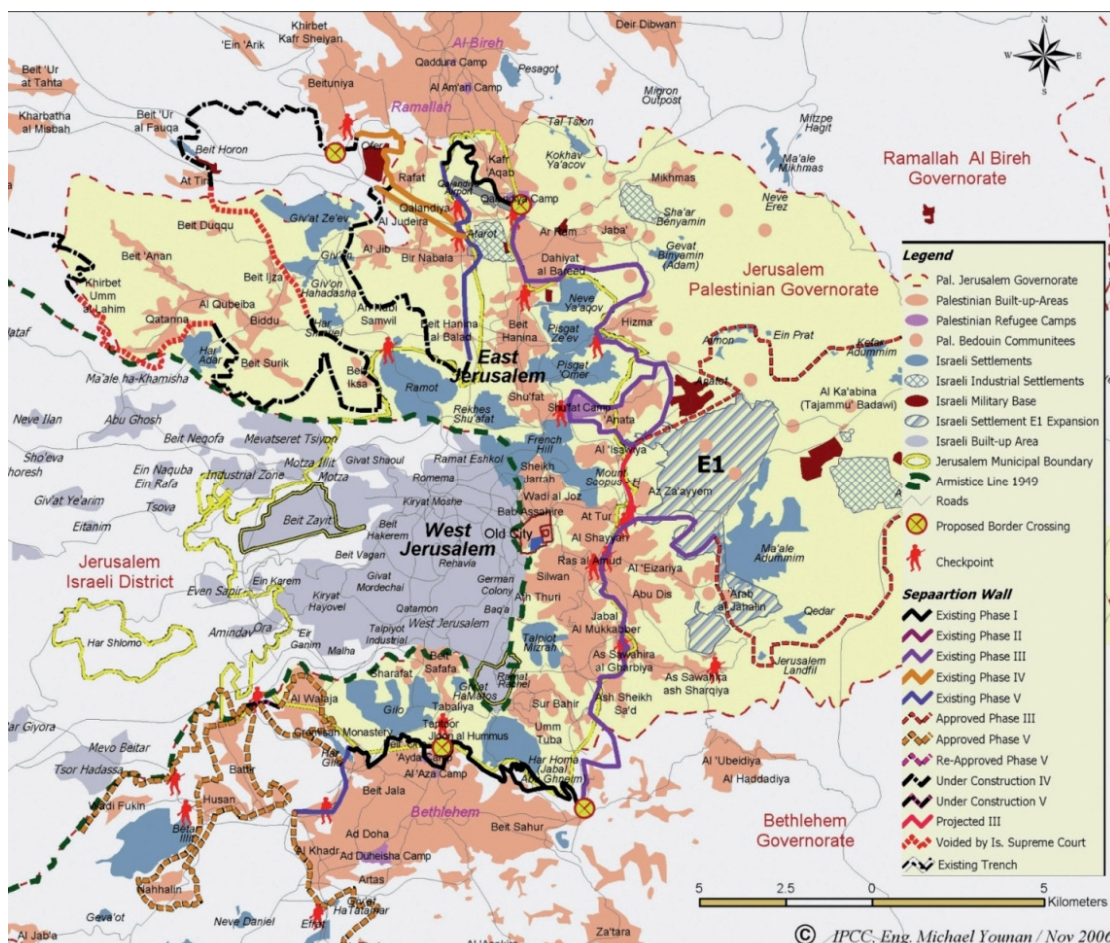
Figure no. 1: the Jerusalem area divided, fragmented according ethno-national affiliation and separation from it surrounding

Based on the above, it is clear that the Palestinian right to the Holy City underwent a process of control and restriction until it was substantially truncated. In spite of the Israeli "unification" attempts following occupation of the Palestinian areas in 1967 and the annexation of occupied East Jerusalem into the state of Israel, this rhetorical, official, selective unification on the basis of ethnic affiliation did not realize the right to the city. In fact, the attempt to annex the area kept it divided and fragmented even though the physical barriers between the Palestinian and Israeli sections were of abolished following the city's occupation in 1967. The enforced ethno-national fragmentation continued and inhibited any free participation pertaining to movement, and settlement within the city borders, or in the formulation of the urban space (Cohen, 1980).

The First Intifada marked the beginning of developing a spatial separation, which eventually became military/security closure by means of the wall construction. During this period, the security and trust space within the city and its surroundings shrank, while fear space and areas of distrust expanded. The security and trust space shrank to the level of the neighborhoods, while the fear space included seam areas between the Palestinian and Israeli neighborhoods. Following the closure, the wall was constructed to isolate the city from its surroundings and exacerbate the city's fragmentation and division on ethno/national, demographic and spatial bases.

The Israeli claim concerning providing personal and public security in addition to national geo-demographic security was a major motivator for constructing and determining the path of the separation wall, but also undermined the possibility of providing and developing the right to the city for its citizens and residents, as well as whoever else claimed that Jerusalem is their city and center. Hence, Palestinian Jerusalemites have not enjoyed the right to citizenship since Israel's occupation of Jerusalem in 1967 which led to their absence and exclusion from taking the official collective decision in formulating and forming the city space and producing Jerusalem's structure and network in response to their requirements and desires.

The geo-political and ethno-demographic transformations in Jerusalem's reality inhibited local participation in devising, formulating and shaping the space and its urban network. Thus the formation of the Jerusalemite space has been imposed on the city from above (the central authority) in response to geo-political considerations and by means of Israeli governmental intervention; the role of the citizens/residents in participating in forming the space has been limited and differs between the Israelis and the Palestinians; Israelis participate in electing their representatives in the local government and in reviving their civic society, while the Palestinians refuse to participate in shaping and forming the space, and even resist the decisions imposed on them. This imposition of decisions affirms the Israeli rejection of a Palestinian right to the city, which is enforced and underscored by the wall construction.

The Israel territoriality, which includes land confiscation, shrinks the territorial existence of the Palestinians in Jerusalem, and separates Palestinians from the surrounding Palestinian cities and villages in West Bank by physical walls and administrative regulations based on what Israel claims to be security considerations, created a *limited* area where Palestinians are allowed to live and move.

The concept of the "open city", sought by the "Jerusalem sustainability coalition" does not exist. Today, Palestinians in Jerusalem cannot move freely in the city, and cannot connect to the surrounding Jerusalem. Palestinian accessibility into and within the city are limited. Just about ten percent of Jerusalem municipality today is used by the

Palestinians, and about eighty percent from the area of Jerusalem allocated for housing, according to planning, is prohibited to be owned and inhabited by Palestinians Jerusalemites. This, alongside all the Israeli controlled and managed public space, excluded Palestinians from participating in shaping and managing this public space.

Ethno-national Demographic-phobia consideration guide planning the city

Aside from territorial conflict, the demographic dimension has direct impact on city planning considerations. The planning policy is to shrink and limit the Palestinian population in Jerusalem. In 1967, the Israeli government drew the border of the city considering maximum territory annexed with minimum Palestinian residents. Therefore, after the war and occupation in 1967, Israel annexed about 70,500 dunums from the occupied Palestinian territories to West Jerusalem totaling in 38,100 dunums of municipal areas. This means, an additional approximation of 62 percent increase to the municipal area which, today, is about 126 thousand dunums.

The Palestinian population in the annexed area was about 68 thousand persons (see table 1 below). Since 1967, the government of Israel has adopted a policy of ensuring a "demographic balance". The purpose is ensuring Palestinian minority in Jerusalem no larger than one-third of the city's inhabitants. The formula of 30% Palestinians versus 70% Israelis has guided the spatial planning policy, the housing policy, the political arrangements and the outlining of the city limits (Khamaisi, 2006; Khamaisi & Nasrallah, 2006; Margalit, 2006, Shrgay 2010). The concept of "demographic balance" is misleading, as it implies a neutral policy intended to preserve the balance between the two populations in the city. In fact, as mentioned, it is intended to preserve the demographic supremacy of the Jewish population of the city (B'tselem, 1995), and thus contradicts the principles of the idea of the right to the city, by not entitling all of the inhabitants of the city to participation in and appropriation of the city.

The adoption of the principle of "preserving the demographic balance in the city" constitutes one of the central aims of the new outline plan for Jerusalem known as "Jerusalem 2000", whose objectives are projected to be fulfilled by 2020, and which include, for the first time, West and East Jerusalem (Jerusalem Local Outline plan 2000; Report no. 2, Current Status Survey and Analysis of Trends, June 2002, p. 26). This demographic objective and principle is derived from the grand objective of the outline plan, which is "establishing the status and continued development of the city as the capital of the State of Israel, as a center for the Jewish people, and as a city holy to the three monotheistic religions." The "Jerusalem 2000" outline plan states that a demographic balance "according to government decision" is the objective presented by the municipality and adopted in government meetings (950,000 residents), preserving the ratio of 70% Jews versus 30% Arabs (Jerusalem Outline plan 2000: Report 4, chapter 7: 202). The planners, after presenting a demographic analysis based on existing trends and forecasts regarding the city, determine that "it is very reasonable to assume that if the demographic trends of recent years continue without substantial change, the situation in 2020 will be one of approximately 60% of the general population living in the Jewish areas and approximately 40% living in the Arab areas.

(in thousands and in percents)

Population	1967	2002	2020	Population increase between 2002-2020
Jews	197,700 (74.2%)	458,600 (67.4%)	570,000 (60%)	111,400 (24.3%)
Arabs	68,600 (25.8%)	221,800 (32.6%)	380,000 (40%)	158,200 (71.3%)
Total	266,300 (100%)	680,000 (100%)	950,000 (100%)	269,600 (39.6%)

Table no. 1: Distribution of the Demographic Balance between Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem in 1967 & 2002, and Forecast for 2020
Source: based on the Jerusalem 2000 Outline plan, report no. 4, p. 202, 1967 data, Central Bureau of Statistics.

In order to cope with that forecast, the planners propose enlarging the Jewish population, concluding:

"The discussion above leads to the following conclusion: **the demographic trends predicted in the various scenarios for 2020 are fundamentally affected by the layout of political, economic, social, and cultural forces, as they have been expressed in practice over the recent years. In order to prevent the occurrence of those scenarios, or worse ones, far-reaching changes are needed in the way of dealing with the central variables affecting the immigration/emigration balances and the gaps in birth rates, which ultimately create the demographic balance. Those variables include many subjects regarding personal security, employment, housing, education, the quality of the environment, cultural and social life, municipal services, *et al*. Due to the sensitive and special situation of Jerusalem, the ability to affect the variables is in the hands of the Government of Israel** (*ibid*: 2004; emphasis in original).

The planners of the outline plan were aware of the connection between the borders of the city and the preservation of the demographic balance:

"The Municipal Borders – the forecast relates to the city limits as they are. Future changes in the city limits can affect the demographic balance if other municipalities or other undeveloped territory are added to the territory of the city, or if territory is removed from the city's municipal territory" (*ibid*: 201).

Examination of the route of the wall constructed around Jerusalem shows that it will include undeveloped territory, remove neighborhoods inhabited by Palestinians, add urban Jewish settlements such as Ma'aleh Edumim in the east and Giv'at Ze'ev in the northwest, and create Palestinian enclaves, such as the Bir Nabala enclave and the

Anata enclave. This route for the wall was approved by the government against the opinion of the inhabitants of the city, especially the Palestinians, and thus their basic right to participate in creating their urban space was denied them. In fact, inspection of the path of the separation wall between Jerusalem and its Palestinians hinterland reveals that ethno-demographic considerations and the residents' housing locations in accordance with national affiliations represented a basic tenet in charting the wall route.

Residency and the "Center of Life" Policy

Israel used the 1952 Law of Entry to Israel and the 1974 Entry to Israel Regulations as "legal" instruments to control the number of Palestinians who reside in the city. This was done through implementing what is called the "Center of Life policy." Under this policy, anyone is subject to losing his or her right to live in Jerusalem if he or she cannot prove that municipal Jerusalem is his or her "center of life." That is, every Palestinian resident must pay residence taxes, amongst other taxes, and prove that he/she works and lives within the municipal boundaries and sends their children to schools inside Jerusalem in order to prove that Jerusalem is their 'center of life'. The status of resident of Jerusalem provides certain social net and entitlement benefits including health insurance and the welfare system.

Prior to 1996 (the year of approval of the law of "Jerusalem as a Center of Life" in the Israeli Knesset), this policy only affected Palestinians who had lived abroad for more than seven years. However, since 1996, it applies just as well to Palestinians who live outside of the Jerusalem municipal boundaries, encompassing those who live in the suburbs of Jerusalem and within the West Bank. Palestinians from East Jerusalem live in these suburbs because of the attractiveness of the availability of land and housing, lower taxes and fewer building restrictions.

Thus, following the promulgation of the above-mentioned law, many Palestinian Jerusalemites who had moved to suburbs and Palestinian cities in the West Bank, lost their right of residence in the city. Since 1967, over 10,000 Palestinians have had their right to reside in East Jerusalem revoked. This has caused thousands of Palestinians, who were unwilling to lose their residency rights, to panic and return to living within the municipal boundaries of East Jerusalem. This has increased neighborhood densities, because many of these Palestinians returned to live with relatives in the same house, or were forced to live in hastily constructed houses without obtaining the required building permits, a process which would have required too much time and money. In 2003 alone, 272 people had their "legal" right to reside in Jerusalem revoked, and 16 in 2004.

Another "legal" policy, which is also meant to control the demographic balance for the benefit of Jewish superiority, is the Israeli government's decision to put a halt to the process of all "family unification" applications submitted by non-resident spouses in May 2002. In July 2003, the Knesset approved a bill which prevents Palestinians who marry Israeli citizens or Israeli residents from receiving Israeli permanent residency status or citizenship. This new law will turn many Palestinians living in the city with their families into illegal residents. As a consequence, they will be subject to arrest and many may be deported from the city to the West Bank areas.

This demographic and spatial policy is reflected in the spatial planning policy, land designation, and allocation of land for housing (Bimkom, 2006). Marom (2004), who discussed the planning "trap" in East Jerusalem, as expressed in planning policy, land settlement, building permits, and house demolition, stated:

"The attempt to preserve the 'demographic balance' amidst the faster natural growth of the Palestinian population violates accepted planning considerations and distorts them. The 'demographic balance' leads, *de facto*, to restrictions on building for the Palestinian inhabitants of East Jerusalem" (Marom, 2004: 19; emphasis in original).

The local planning outline plan for the Palestinian neighborhoods, as a program, is derived from the principle of preserving the "demographic balance". Thus, the scope of territory allocated for the development of housing, public buildings, and for economic use is limited, and no larger than 7.1 percent of the area of municipal jurisdiction, which is 12.7 percent of the area of East Jerusalem, despite the fact that the population there constitutes approximately 36 percent of the inhabitants of the city (Khamaisi, 2006). In addition, despite the fact that Jerusalem is a city, and that the Palestinian population is supposed to be urban in its patterns of behavior (its housing patterns, building rights, and planning direction in the approved outline plans), the Jerusalem 2000 plan actually preserves their rural configuration. Its objectives, therefore, are territorial and demographic, not functional. It appears from analysis of the housing plan for the Palestinians population that the plan proposes one central tool for solving housing needs: increased density in existing neighborhoods. The data in report No. 4 of the Jerusalem 2000 outline plan shows that for the Jewish population, the outline plan allows for the allocation of 47,000 housing units (real capacity, Report No. 4: 137) and 9,500 dunums for development, whereas for the Arab population the plan allocates 26,000 housing units (real capacity for densification of neighborhoods according to table No. 1, Report No. 4: 139) and approximately 2,300 dunums for development. The inequality is also manifested in comparing the allocation of building rights in Jewish neighborhoods and adjacent Palestinian neighborhoods. The policy of increased density, intended to limit the area designated for Palestinian development, which is also the declared municipal and government policy toward the Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, contradicts the planners' claim regarding the preservation of the present character of the city. In addition, there is no real possibility of densification in most of the areas in which Palestinian inhabitants live due to the limitations on building rights, building height, and the scarcity of public land (for public buildings and streets), restrictions on private ownership of land and complicated arrangements regarding proof-of-ownership. All the outline plans, including the "Jerusalem 2000" outline plan, have been forced top-down with little participation on the part of the inhabitants, and without adaptation to current socio-cultural and sociopolitical circumstances.

This outline plan "Jerusalem 2000" is the first statutory plan which deals with the city as a single unit since 1949. The main goal of the plan, as stated in its report, is "to introduce new modes of thought in planning and an inclusive plan which aims to continue developing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and as a metropolitan center for the benefit of its residents and their quality of life."

While the outline plan does not provide for the allocation of lands or the possibility of creating new neighborhoods for the Palestinians, the detailed plan for the Old City states that new neighborhoods will be built if residents are forced to relocate. The detailed plan also articulates the goal of ending the demographic crowding in the Old City, which is mainly Palestinian, and discusses developing planning tools for the renovation of Old City residential areas, raising them to sufficient standards. In addition, the plan refers to the need to assemble an administrative organization to enforce rules and regulations in the Old City.

Despite the major effect of the wall on the Palestinians, and the cutting off of some neighborhoods from the city and from the West Bank, the plan totally ignores the existence of the separation wall and its social and economic impact on the city and its surroundings.

Demographic consideration is part of sustainable consideration. But in the case of Jerusalem, the relation to demography is considered selectively and according to ethno-national affiliation. The governmental and municipal planning and development is directed at attracting more Israeli Jews to city, and the opposite policy towards the growth of the Palestinians. The creeping "transfer" of the residency among Palestinians through the prohibited family unification, implementing the center of life policy, limitation on allocation of planed land for housing, and promoting urbanization among the rural Palestinians in Jerusalem. All such activities and policies are not an output of sustainable consideration, but of Israeli demographic-phobia which dictates overthrowing the issue of planning in order to maintain a Palestinian minority under "Demographic balance". This situation contributed to un-sustainable planning and development in Jerusalem.

The Effect of the separation Wall on sustainable planning and development   in Jerusalem

The wall has serious demographic, social and economic ramifications that will seriously impact East Jerusalem and its hinterland. The urban space of the city will also be severely affected. In reality, for the Palestinians, Jerusalem is no longer the center of the West Bank; it has become an isolated peripheral city and its neighborhoods have been fragmented by a physical barrier and internally divided along national/ethnic, economic and social group lines. The wall is a unilaterally imposed spatial regime which will (Khamaisi, 2007):

1. Disrupt East Jerusalem's role as the hub linking the northern and southern West Bank, transforming the city from a service, commercial, social, and religious center of the West Bank and Gaza into an isolated enclave cut off from the entire Palestinian territories.
2. Create more "facts on the ground"; in this instance, it will change the municipal boundaries of the city by excluding Palestinian neighborhoods and by annexing, to West Jerusalem, lands of Israeli settlements east, northwest, northeast and southwest of the city. All in all, the wall will annex an area of more than 164 square kilometers to Jewish metropolitan Jerusalem. It will strengthen the Israeli continuity at the expense of East Jerusalem's integrity.
3. Change the demographic balance of the population by excluding Palestinian demographic concentrations: 55,000 Palestinian East Jerusalem residents effectively will be removed from the city. More than 130,000 Palestinians living in East Jerusalem suburbs and villages within the Jerusalem Governorate will be directly affected.

4. Separate East Jerusalem from its hinterland, restricting its natural development and its relationship to surrounding satellite cities and villages. Bethlehem is the clearest example of a city cut from its "mother city", and has suffered badly. Bethlehem relied on East Jerusalem services and its economy was totally dependent on East Jerusalem.

5. Cause real harm to the economy and the role of the secondary commercial and industrial centers in the Jerusalem suburbs (such as Eizariya, Bir Nabala and Ar Ram) by isolating them from their center city.

6. Divide families on both sides of the wall. This, obviously, will seriously impact the social life and the family ties between Palestinians who live on different sides of the wall, and also those who live in one of East Jerusalem internal enclaves such as Shu'fat Refugee Camp.

7. Cause severe deterioration in East Jerusalem's economy by isolating it from its supporting surroundings and by denying access and limiting mobility of people and goods. The wall clearly affects trade and the ability of the city to create an image or conditions that will attract tourists or investors. Ultimately the failed economy will exhaust the residential population and lead to eventual emigration that will constitute soft ethnic cleansing.

8. Cause security threats to the Palestinians in residential areas close to the barriers.

9. Reduce the possibility of the birth of a viable and capable Palestinian state enjoying geopolitical contiguity with East Jerusalem as its capital.

The outline plan Jerusalem 2000 and sustainability of the city

The Jerusalem municipality and government of Israel developed the outline plan despite the geo-political conflict over Jerusalem as a plan that constitutes principles and guidelines of sustainability. Our claim is countered through the notion that the plan continues the situation of un-sustainable development in relevance to the Palestinians. The plan:

• is the first Plan since the last approved plan (number 62) in 1959. (There has been separate Town Plan Schemes but never an overall integrated Plan). The new plan imposed the "unification" of the two part of the city, and try to get legitimacy to occupation to Eat Jerusalem from Israeli viewpoint, which refused by the Palestinians and most of the international community.

• is based on the strategies of the TAMA 35 Plan, the Israeli "national" plan that the government approved in Dec 2005. The goals of this plan regarding Jerusalem are: 1. Deepening and increasing the Israeli Control over Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.2. Enforcing Jerusalem as a JEWISH City. 3. Maintaining a Jewish majority in the City.

• assumes that Jerusalem within the municipal boundaries is one urban unit under Israeli sovereignty.

• totally ignores the Wall and does not deal with it although it is a main affect on the Palestinian lives in the city.

• is a strategic statutory plan (outline plan for zoning) and still needs sectorial detailed plans.

• does not take into consideration the Palestinian migration and panic return into the city.

- was completed in August 2004, but is not yet approved and has no statutory or legal status

The Mission Statement of this outline plan is "the preparation of an inclusive Plan with the aim of developing the city as a capital of Israel and a metropolitan center, provided that the image of the city and the standard of living of all its resident should be preserved". This mission is not accepted on the Palestinians and international community.

An outline plan, such as "Jerusalem 2000" outline plan, is a tool in the hands of the planning system to allocate resources (land, financing, development opportunities), translate vision, and strategize geo-political arrangements for policies and mechanisms to allow or confine development.

In Israel, there are various official institutions involved in the spatial planning and organization of space. The Israeli planning system considers spatial organization and redistribution the Jewish population to be part of the national security.

The outline plan "Jerusalem 2000" translates the national and regional strategies and polices for reaching the Israeli geo-political vision and socio-economic goals alongside securing belonging and symbolic characters.

The overall objectives of the plan are:

- Strengthening and empowering Jerusalem as a capital of Israel

- Introducing high quality of life, economic stability, social justices, and viable environmental values

- Creating economic conditions for efficient urban functionality (on the metropolitan level)

Projected population of the plan can be summarized in the following:

- The population of Jerusalem is currently 730,000. The plan ignores the wall so the Palestinians excluded by the wall still count in the number).

- The expected population by the year 2020 is 950,000 (Palestinians:38%, Israelis:62%)

- The total area of Jerusalem is 126,000 dunums (to be expanded to the West)

- The construction capacity in Jerusalem is 131,200 building units on the Jewish side, and 35,400 on the Palestinian side.
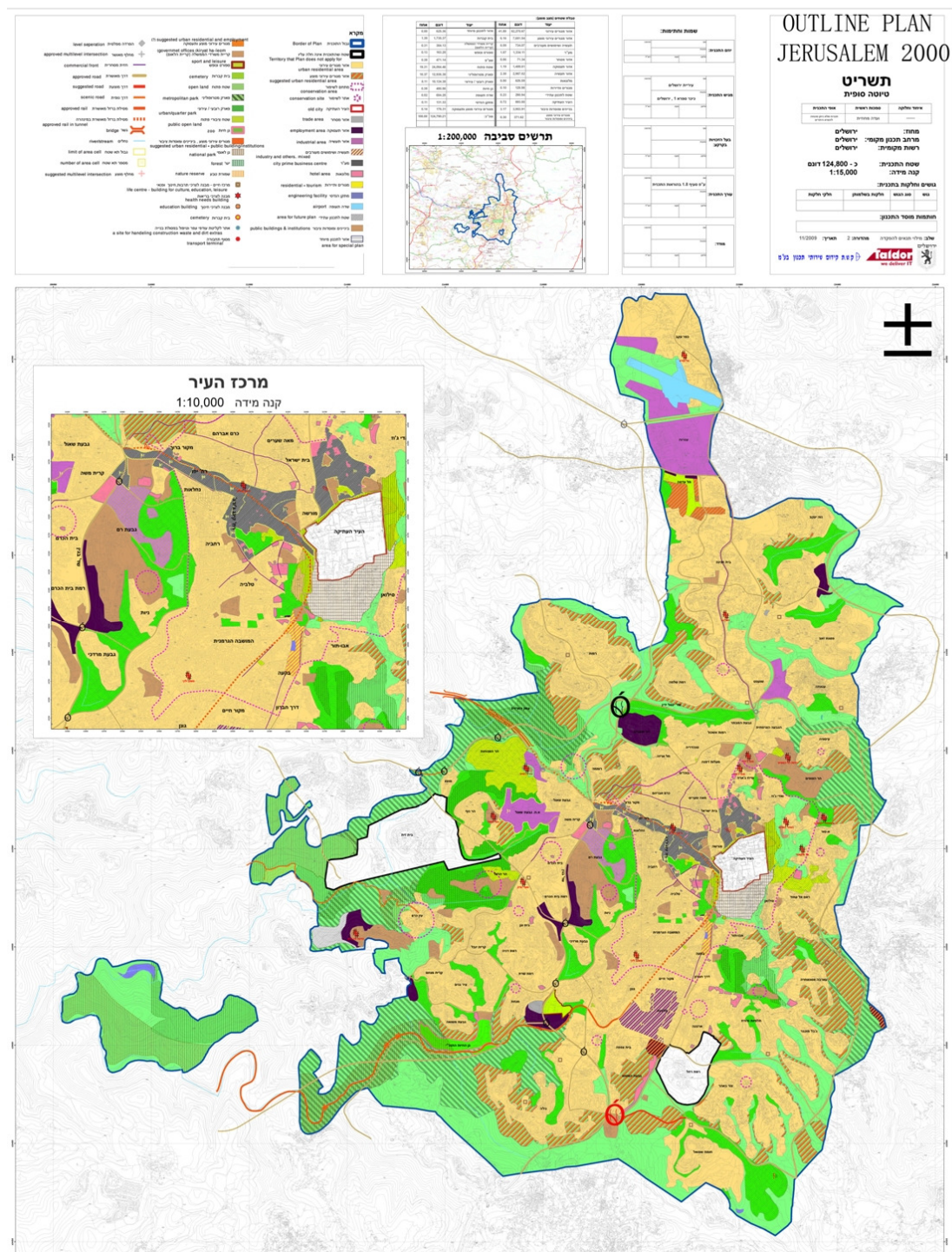
Figure 2: The proposed outline plan "Jerusalem 2000" includes West and East Jerusalem without considering the separation wall and the geo-political conflict over the city

The main components of the plan to achieve its objectives can be summarized as follows:

- To enhance quality of life and urban fabric.

- To attract a strong population (especially young couples and students) and to minimize the negative migration.

- To build 120-200 thousand housing units: - 57,000 under planning(between the years 1990 and 2002, 125,500 Jews moved into Jerusalem while 207,400 left).

- To build a new settlement between Gilo and Har Homa of 13,000 residential units.

- Revitalization of the West Jerusalem center (CBD).

- Upgrading living conditions in Ultra-Orthodox neighborhoods.

- To build new neighborhoods in the West (this expansion will include 23,000 residential housing units).

- To develop functional areas of employment and economic activities close to the city center and Road # 4.

- To develop the public transportation system by developing new train trails o create a fast connection between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv (fast train), and a new road system that connects the city with Gush Dan (Tel Aviv area) and the south west (Kiryat Gat).

- The construction of a light train that connects the Israeli neighborhoods, to the settlements in East Jerusalem and the West CBD.

- To upgrade the Jerusalem airport to a regional airport to serve tourism, and to allow the landing and maintenance of private jets, to strengthen the Jerusalem population.

- Attracting a strong population by encouraging international research and hi-tech companies.

The main plan components for Palestinians in East Jerusalem can be summarized in:

- Land registration

- Enforcing law and order (Wari, 2010)

- Increasing density in "villages" and urban neighborhoods and filling of empty space.

- Upgrading the physical infrastructure.

- building regulations.

- Rehabilitation of Shu'fat Refugee Camp.

The impact of the plan on Palestinians can be summarized as follows:

- Turning the Palestinians into a minority in the Israeli Metropolitan Jerusalem due to the fact that the plan is coordinated and well integrated with the Israeli plans of expansion and annexation of the settlements around Jerusalem, in spite the fact that it does not refer to the Wall. (the plan is also based on the Town Planning Scheme of the settlements and their future expansion).

- Limitation of expansion of Palestinian neighborhoods to the boundaries of the approved Town Planning Scheme, preventing any territorial and functional continuity among the neighborhoods themselves as well as their continuity with the suburbs and the rest of the West Bank.

- Empowering the Jewish metropolitan on the cost of the occupied Palestinian territories, and turning East Jerusalem from a Palestinian urban center to a fragmented one (unlike the considerations for the Israeli urban functionality – both on the city and the metropolitan levels- Palestinian urban functions were totally neglected, and Palestinian neighborhoods were totally disconnected from their hinterland.)

Conclusions

The planning and development in Jerusalem, under the exiting situation and status, are highly affected by the geo-political and ethno-national conflict over the status and future of the city. Dealing with sustainability of the city while ignoring the conflict threatens the future of the city.

In cities were conflict exists, the main component of sustainability is solving the conflict and conciliation. Part of sustainability, and may be a pre-condition for securing it, is reducing the geo-political and ethno-national tensions. In the meantime, securing the right to city is a first step for sustainable planning and development.

The preparation of Jerusalem outline plan "Jerusalem 2000" occurred within the context of the conflict and without considering the right of the Palestinian residents to the city. The Palestinian population did not participate in preparing the plan which was imposed on them. Needles to say that some projects, at the local level in neighborhoods in West Jerusalem and some places in the east, give hope and pave the way for implementing principles of sustainability in local planning and development side by side for reaching geo-political solution.

Yet and throughout different negotiations of Palestinian-Israeli discussions over Jerusalem, the two sides have approached the city through categorization according to their political thinking, where they numerously have agreed and disagreed on various issues related to its symbolism. This process, which is already running since the 1990s, seems to continue for several more years or decades in order to deal with the geo-political importance of this spot. At the same time, the urban situation in the city continues to deteriorate; where the politically interested sides succeeded in offering the city a tremendous amount of neglect, and in increasing the urban disorder.

The result is clearly visible in the general atmosphere on the urban level which is chaotic, unorganized, and hopeless. The Israeli policy towards the city, together with the Palestinian social reaction in light of it, has created very critical life quality for the Palestinians in the city. The housing and neighborhood densities are increasing in a

tremendous manner, the economy of the city is in a state of comma, and the social structure of the city is becoming more fragmented as a result of the physical isolation of the Palestinian neighborhoods from each other and from the West Bank.

In this scene, it seems that new actions have to be taken in order to rescue the situation as much as possible based on raising the notion of planning and development of a sustainable city under the current situation, which could open the door for ethno-national trust, accommodate the needs of its existing residents and their futures, and the possibility of creating opportunities for geo-political solutions to secure sustainability in the city.

The aim is to sustain our city and promote ways of living, working and being that enable the people of the world to lead healthy, fulfilling, and economically secure lives without destroying the environment and without endangering the future welfare of the people and the planet. This action will be optimal when it is on the professional level, for two reasons; that it ensures public participation and awareness; and that the professional level can also ensure the implementation and the promotion of the idea of sustaining the city via practical and pragmatic steps. In this perspective, professional engineers, planners, lawyers, social scientists, and other field researchers are seen as the most responsible for sustaining their cities.

It is proposed to develop a planning doctrine for sustainable development in Jerusalem. This has to be proceeded by studying the living situation in the city profoundly, and by shaping guidelines for aspects of development in the city. The guidelines will follow UN Agenda 21 of sustainable development, and will develop into a doctrine of sustainable planning in the city which will be based on solving the existing problems while crystallizing a vision for sustainable development in the city.

Because the case of Jerusalem is very unique in terms of cultural, social, and national structure, and because there are strong senses of belief and belonging for every community in the city, the guidelines will try to be comprehensive in including the different aspects of planning and the existing problems. In this manner, the doctrine will address various aspects in the urban life of the Palestinian population in the city, while following the concept of sustainable development. It will consider Jerusalem as an "open city" that involves cooperation and integration in specific aspects between East and West-Jerusalem.

Knowing the fact that political agreement will not deal with the detailed level of functional and spatial aspects of the city, professional agreement between Palestinians and Israelis on developing a planning doctrine for Jerusalem could serve as a "trigger" to identify mechanisms of implementing a peace agreement on the local level and to contribute to its sustainability and viability in the city's urban fabric regardless whether the city will be one urban unit or a divided one.

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