



CONFLICT IN CITIES AND THE CONTESTED STATE

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Jerusalem and Other Contested Cities
International Workshop in Jerusalem
10th - 12th January 2010

**Jerusalem and Other Contested Cities
International Workshop
Notre Dame Centre, Jerusalem
10-12 January 2010**

ORGANISING TEAM

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INTRODUCTION

The question of whether and to what extent one should compare cities experiencing national, ethnic and/or religious conflict continues to be debated. Hepburn, Bollens, Calame and Charlesworth, Varshney and others have offered important investigations into the subject. Yet, one observation which is often made is that each city is different, with its own problems and trajectories, and the discrepancies should not be underestimated. Perhaps it would be fair to say that the similarities and differences need to be brought together more proactively by those who study them in order to develop a more nuanced and accurate, even if sometimes contradictory, analysis. In doing so, certain key questions emerge: is there a comprehensive terminology that describes in a satisfactory way cities that are prone to extreme levels of conflict; are we looking at divided cities, contested cities, fragmented cities, or something else? We can also consider whether research on these cities remains too myopic; to what extent might we be too immersed in the limitations of local conditions to have our attitudes modified by a wider field? And within our own areas of study, are the fissures of prolonged conflict obscuring conditions which could offer new possibilities for change and even for transformation?



Entrance to Issawiya, Jerusalem

In this international workshop held in Jerusalem, the situation of that city will be considered in relation to other contested cities in the region and farther a field. Palestinian, Israeli and foreign researchers will present research on Jerusalem in the context of specialist material on cities that include Belfast, Nicosia, Berlin, Beirut, Sarajevo and Odessa. Whilst Jerusalem is an eminently suitable location for the themes of such a workshop, its own situation continues to deteriorate; a Roundtable in the final session on 'The Cost of Failure' will address this. Our perceptions of Jerusalem may be somewhat skewed as a number of Palestinian scholars and researchers who are not

Introduction



Mural, Belfast

permitted to cross the checkpoints to enter the city will be unable to participate nor to give us their views. Nonetheless, the existence of this embargo is one of the important reasons why we study Jerusalem. We believe that under increasingly extreme conditions it continues to be crucial to learn as much as possible from the place itself as well as by considering it within the contexts of other contested cities.

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge a number of organisations and individuals for their help and support. Since 2003, the UK's Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) has funded Conflict in Cities in both their New Security Challenges and Large Grants programmes; we are grateful for ESRC support of this Workshop in Jerusalem as part of the larger Conflict in Cities project. The British Department for International Development (DfID) is providing funding for the various stages of the Roundtable. We are also grateful to Claire Spencer and Chatham House, London for support for the Roundtable. Conflict in Cities enjoys an ongoing working relationship with the Kenyon Institute (formerly the British School in Jerusalem) and I would like to thank Jaimie Lovell, its Director, for her interest in the project and Maida Smeir, the Institute's secretary, for her pleasant and efficient help. Our project partners in Jerusalem have offered valuable assistance and our researchers in Cambridge, Exeter and Jerusalem have worked with unfailing dedication; especially Karen Smith, the Conflict in Cities administrator, has devoted much time and effort to organising the Workshop effectively.

Wendy Pullan
University of Cambridge

CONFLICT IN CITIES AND THE CONTESTED STATE

Everyday Life and the Possibilities
for Transformation in Belfast,
Jerusalem and Other Divided Cities



Conflict in Cities, Belfast Workshop

'Conflict in Cities and the Contested State' focuses on divided cities as key sites in territorial conflicts over state and national identities, cultures and borders. The research objectives are to analyse how divided cities in Europe and the Middle East have been shaped by ethnic, religious and national conflicts, and conversely, how such cities can absorb, resist and potentially play a role in transforming the territorial conflicts, which pervade and surround them. The project seeks to understand divided cities as arenas of intensified ethno-national conflicts, particularly with respect to the role that architecture and the urban fabric play as a setting and background for everyday activities and events. Phenomena related to creating, maintaining, crossing, transcending, and possibly ignoring ethnic and territorial borders, both physical and symbolic, are central to the study. The main research sites are Belfast and Jerusalem, two very distinctive cities - one firmly embedded in the West and one central to the Middle East - and both at different stages of national conflict and peace building.

A team of researchers from three UK universities, Cambridge, Exeter and Queen's Belfast, are leading the multi-disciplinary initiative that includes: architecture, urban studies, politics, geography and sociology. Teams reflecting the divisions being researched are carrying out work in situ in Belfast and Jerusalem. Seven PhD students have been attached to the programme since September 2008 and, in conjunction with an international network of academics and practitioners, are working on the divided cities of Brussels, Berlin, Mostar, Nicosia, Berlin, Beirut, Tripoli and Kirkuk.

Conflict in Cities and the Contested State is generously funded by the Large Grants Programme of the UK's Economic and Social Research Council. It builds on an earlier project begun in 2003 and supported by the ESRC. Further information may be found on the project's website: www.conflictincities.org.

Jerusalem and Other Contested Cities International Project Workshop Jerusalem, 10th - 12th January, 2010

Sunday 10 January - Tours

08:45 – 09:45

Old City walk: Introduction to Jerusalem meet in the lobby of Notre Dame.

Guide: Wendy Pullan

10:15 – 11:45

Tour of the Haram Al-Sharif
Coordinator: Centre for Jerusalem Studies, Al-Quds University.

Guide: tbc

12:00 – 13:30

Tour of Jewish Settlements in the Muslim Quarter, Old City
Guide: Meir Margalit, Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHN)

13:30 – 14:30

Lunch, Abu Shukri, Old City

14:45 – 17:30

Coach tour of the Holy Basin, Separation Barrier and Israeli settlements.

Meet Damascus Gate

Guide: Danny Seideman, Ir Amin



Settlement in the Muslim Quarter

International Project Workshop in Jerusalem, Notre-Dame Centre

Monday 11th January

8:45 - 9:00

Registration

9.00 – 9.15

Welcome and Introduction, Wendy Pullan

9.15 – 11:15

Session 1: Spaces

Chair:

Bernard Sabella

Sociology,

Bethlehem University

Oren Yiftachel, Geography, Ben Gurion University

From urban divisions to creeping apartheid: gray space and ethno-class relations

Rami Nasrallah, International Peace and Cooperation Centre, Jerusalem

Planning the Divide: Jerusalem Masterplan 2020: a political engineering

Wendy Pullan, Architecture, University of Cambridge

Frontier Urbanism: Spatial Discontinuities in Contested Cities

11:15 – 11.45 Coffee

11.45 – 1.45

Session 2: Histories

Chair:

Adel Manna,

Van Leer Institute

Jerusalem

Caroline Humphrey, Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge

Odessa: Pogroms in a Cosmopolitan City

Max Gwiazda, Architecture, University of Cambridge

Jerusalem's Holy Basin: An idea that has found its time?

Alona Nitzan-Shifan, Architecture, Technion, Haifa

Seizing Jerusalem. Architecture and the Politics of Space 1967-77

13.45 – 15.00 Lunch, Notre Dame

15.00 – 17.00

Session 3: Politics

Chair:

Ashraf Khatib,
Negotiations Support Unit

James Anderson & Ian Shuttleworth

Geography, Queens University Belfast

Problems of Demography in Ethno-National Conflict: The 'divided cities' of Belfast and Jerusalem

Hillel Cohen, History, Truman Institute, Hebrew University

Fatah-Jerusalem, Suicide Attacks and the Israeli Peace Camp

Mick Dumper, Politics, University of Exeter

Security and the Holy Places in Jerusalem:

An Israeli Policy of Incremental Control – “Hebronisation”?

17:00 – 17:30 Coffee

17:30-19:00

Keynote address

Chair:

Allan Cochrane,
Urban Studies,
Open University

Mustafa Akinçi, Former Mayor, Nicosia (North)

Nicosia: Conflict And Cooperation

20:00 Speakers' Dinner

Tuesday 12th January

9.15 - 11.15

Session 4: Ethnographies

Chair:

Nathan Marom
Technion, Haifa

Yannis Papadakis, Social Anthropology, University of Cyprus
Borders as sites of the paradoxical: Lefkosia/Lefkosha (Nicosia)

Madeleine Leonard & Martina McKnight, Sociology,
Queens University Belfast
Childhood, Spatiality and Everyday Life in Divided Cities

Stef Jansen, Social Anthropology, University of Manchester
Division and horizons of (im)possibility in Sarajevo

11:15 – 11.45 Coffee

11.45 – 13:45

Session 5: Divisions

Chair:

Lefkos Kyriacou,
Architecture,
University of Cambridge

Liam O'Dowd & Milena Komarova, Sociology, Queens University Belfast
Territorialities of Capital and Place in 'Post-Conflict' Belfast

Rassem Khamaisi,
Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Haifa
Geo-political division as base for creating dividing cities, lessons from Berlin to Jerusalem

Allan Cochrane, Urban Studies, Open University
Breaking down the walls of heartache: state spaces of division and unification in Berlin

13.45 – 15.00 Lunch at Notre Dame

15:00 – 17:00

Chair:

Haim Yacobi, Politics
Ben Gurion University

Session 6: *Factions*

Sara Fregonese,

Geography, Royal Holloway, University of London

The contested city and the politics of novelty and destiny. Beirut 1975/2008

Craig Larkin, Politics, University of Exeter

Remaking Beirut: Contesting Memory, Space and the Urban Imaginary of Lebanese Youth

Amneh Badran, Politics, Al-Quds University

The future of Jerusalem as envisioned by Israeli (Jewish) Protest/Peace Groups

17:00 – 17:30 Coffee

17:30- 19:30

Chair:

Claire Spencer,
Chatham House, *London*

Roundtable: The cost of failure, Jerusalem's future

Participants:

Ray Dolphin, OCHA

Mick Dumper, Conflict in Cities

Fouad Hallak, NSU, participating in his personal capacity

Menachem Klein, Bar Ilan University

Rami Nasrallah, IPCC

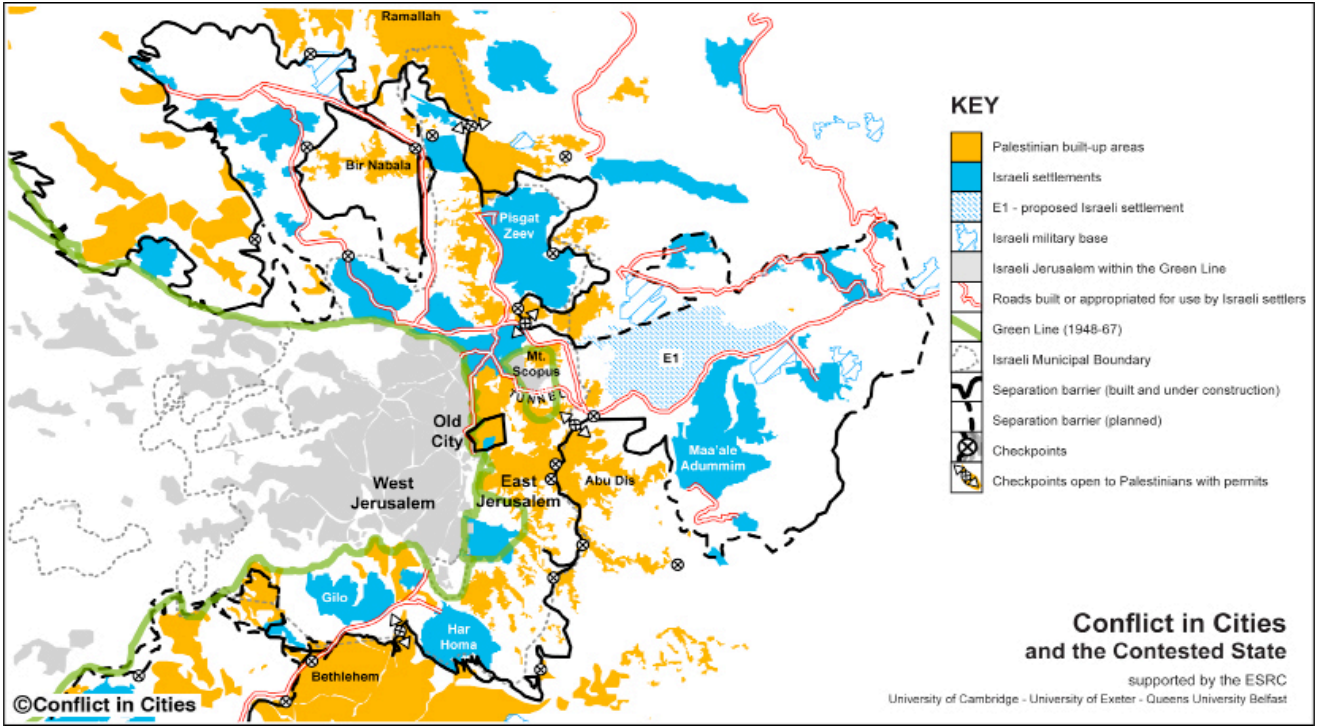
Wendy Pullan, Conflict in Cities

Danny Seideman, Ir Amim

Discussion

Close of Workshop

Greater Jerusalem Map



Greater Jerusalem, 2009

Mustafa Akinçi *Abstract*

Nicosia: conflict and cooperation



Cyprus, an island in Eastern Mediterranean, mainly due to its strategic location, has a turbulent past. Different civilizations have left their traces on this third biggest island of Mediterranean throughout its known 9000 years, while relatively in more recent times, Ottomans were the owners from 1571 until 1878 when the British took over and ruled until the birth of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960.

During specially the second half of the 20th century, Greek Cypriots, who composed the majority of the population, struggled for uniting the island with “Motherland” Greece (ENOSIS), whereas the Turkish Cypriots, who were about 1/5 of the population, countered this with the struggle for TAKSIM (Partition of the island between Greece and Turkey). British Colonial Government sided itself with one community or the other, depending on its own interest and practiced the “Divide and rule” policy in a very fertile political field in this sense. At the end of the day, neither ENOSIS nor TAKSIM policies materialized; but the independent state formed in 1960 survived only for 3 years.

Between 1963 and 1974 Cyprus Republic became a political entity ruled only by the Greek Cypriots. On 15th July 1974 a military coup took place against Makarios and the subsequent Turkish military intervention followed. Since then, the island is divided into two.

In 1882 the British Colonial Government gave the right to the local Christian and Muslim people to elect ‘joint municipal councils’, in proportion to their population (Male adult). The local elections for joint municipal councils were interrupted in 1931 for 12 years, due to the uprising, and in 1955 it came to a halt with the EOKA movement. In 1958, separate Turkish municipalities were formed and since it was in conformity with the British policies pursued then, a legal basis was provided. Later on, separate municipalities in five major towns in Cyprus was envisaged in the 1960 Constitution; but the controversy around this issue continued. Therefore, when the war in 1974 divided

Mustafa Akinçi *Abstract (continued)*

Cyprus in a more concrete form, there were two municipalities in Nicosia without recognizing each other and without any coordination among them whatsoever.

The war and the complete division ironically created the conditions for cooperation. The treatment plant of the sewerage system of Nicosia (Kidneys of the town!) was left incomplete on the Turkish Cypriot side. Therefore, mutual need forced cooperation for mutual benefit. After lengthy discussions, an agreement was reached for the completion of the system, which was a real win-win situation. The agreement reached on sewerage triggered a more challenging project, Nicosia Master Plan, which was also a need for the city.

The master plan which was developed by the TC and GC technical team supported by international experts, envisaged two scenarios:

- a- A plan which takes into consideration the existing realities
- b- A plan which provides solutions when the city reunites (possibly after a solution)

Nicosia sewage and master plan projects which survived under successive mayors and administrations provide certain lessons to benefit:

- * It is possible to cooperate even under conflict situations and difficult times.
- * One of the basic starting points is the existence of mutual need.
- * Leadership qualities and empathy are also very important elements for a successful cooperation.
- * Public support, international interest, attitude of the central government, media coverage is also part of the equation which need to be taken into consideration.

Mustafa Akinçi *Biography*

Mustafa Akıncı was born in Limassol-Cyprus in 1947. He is an architect by profession, yet joined active political life at an early age. He was elected to the Constituent Assembly of Turkish Cypriots which was established after the events of 1974 at the age of 27. At 28, he was elected as Mayor of Nicosia (North) by the Turkish Cypriot residents of the Northern half of Nicosia. Mr Akıncı, was re-elected twice and served for 14 years, during which he established a fruitful dialogue and cooperation with his counterpart Mr. Lellos Demetriades. He was also the leading figure in the formation of the Union of the Turkish Cypriot Municipalities and was its first chairman. The projects –within the framework of the Nicosia Master Plan-which were initiated jointly with Mr. Demetriades, received wide recognition and were awarded by various prestigious international organizations. Between 1999 and 2001 he was Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Tourism in the Turkish Cypriot Government. During his long political career, he also served as Secretary General and later as Party Leader for many years. He was also a member of the Turkish Cypriot Parliament for the last 15 years and has retired in May 2009. He is married and has three children and a grandson.

**James Anderson and
Ian Shuttleworth**

**Problems of Demography in
Ethno-National Conflict: The
'divided cities' of Belfast and
Jerusalem**

Abstract

Demography in 'divided cities' is interesting and relevant for two opposed reasons. Firstly, the numbers, distributions and trends of the different population groups are directly relevant to conflicts between them. Mapping the ways and extent to which they are segregated is one of the most basic and revealing ways of comparing these cities. But, secondly, and precisely because demography is highly politicized by conflict, even quite basic quantitative comparisons can in practice be difficult if not impossible. In addition to normal technical problems, such as very different enumeration systems in different cities, politicization can mean that population statistics are not collected or are not made publically available, or if available are unreliable and/or are misleadingly interpreted. This does not make for easy comparison, but in its own way it too can be very revealing. In this paper some of these problems are exemplified in the ethno-national conflicts in Israel-Palestine and Northern Ireland, and their key cities of Jerusalem and Belfast. Within the limits of their different data problems, we sketch the changing population 'balance' of rival groups, their spatial segregation/mixing, and the different meanings attributed to demographic trends in the two cities.



James Anderson *Biography*

Professor James Anderson joined the School of Geography, Queen's University Belfast in October 1999. Educated at Magee and Queen's, the University of Alberta and the London School of Economics, he headed the post-graduate Department of Urban and Regional Development Planning at the Architectural Association School in London, and then worked at The Open University where he chaired the Social Science Foundation Course. Appointed to the Chair of International Development in the University of Newcastle upon Tyne Geography Department in 1996, he was Associate Director of the Centre for Transnational Studies which he set up jointly with the Department of Politics. His main research and teaching interests are in geopolitics and political geography: state and local territorialities; nationalism and national conflicts; state borders and cross-border processes, particularly with reference to Ireland and the European Union. His more recent interest in conflict in cities in contested states is a direct extension of these interests.

Ian Shuttleworth *Biography*

Ian Shuttleworth is currently a senior lecturer in Human Geography at Queens University Belfast. He was educated at the University of Leicester and Trinity College Dublin before coming to QUB where he has worked since 1993. His main research interests are in measuring social change through time using the census, the politics of demographic change, and various aspects of migration. Living in Belfast since 1990, he is married with three children. Outside his academic life his main hobbies are brass banding and rugby (in a passive viewing sense).

Amneh Badran

The future of Jerusalem as envisioned by Israeli (Jewish) Protest/'Peace' Groups



Abstract

Since 1967, different Israeli protest groups along the political spectrum developed different political positions regarding the future of Jerusalem. Their political platforms encompassed a variety of views, which had not been static. This paper investigates the political positions of mainstream liberal Zionist groups, Progressive liberal Zionist groups, non-Zionist and anti-Zionist leftist groups with focus on the period between 1987- 2003.

It illuminates how preserving the ideological national consensus by the liberal Zionist groups affected their stands. While some of them (the progressive) challenged parts of the political national consensus on selective basis, their commitment to the ideology in power, made their message of peace particularly regarding the future of Jerusalem quite cosmetic. Also, their stands sidelined the related message of the leftists both, the non-Zionist or the anti-Zionist. The latter continued to be a handful group with very limited influence.

Over the years and as the balance of power continued to be in favour of Israel, the proposed solutions to the question of Jerusalem by a majority of Israeli protest groups continued to accommodate in many aspects at their consequent governments' positions. Jerusalem and East Jerusalem in particular was treated differently from the rest of the Occupied Palestinian Territory of 1967 while international law was ignored. As such, the Palestinians are offered a type/s of administration over parts of occupied East Jerusalem, not a sovereign future capital.

Amneh Badran *Biography*

Amneh Badran is a PhD graduate (2007) in political science from Exeter University, the UK. She has an MA in Middle East Politics from the same university. She is also a graduate of Bethlehem University with a BA in English language and its literature.

At present, Amneh Badran is the head of Political Science Department at AlQuds University, Palestine. She is also the Assistant Dean for the Faculty of Arts. She teaches courses such as Introduction to Political Science, Theories of International Relations, Democracy - Theory and Practice and the Arab-Israeli Conflict... Her work experience includes: Director of the Jerusalem Centre for Women (JCW), Palestine (June 2001 – August 2005) and Projects Coordinator at JCW from January 1997 – June 2001. During her work at JCW, she worked on, supervised and/or planned training programs and workshops that address issues of women's empowerment, human rights (with focus on women's rights), and advocacy for a just peace.

Recently, her first book was published by Routledge: Taylor and Francis in London. It is titled: *Zionist Israel and Apartheid South Africa: peace building in ethnic – national states*.

Allan Cochrane

Breaking down the walls of heartache: state spaces of division and unification in Berlin



Abstract

The local experience of Berlin in the second half of the twentieth century was largely defined by the harsh geopolitical realities of the Cold War. The global politics of a bi-polar world also created a divided city, within a divided Germany and a divided Europe. Post-1945 Berlin was very clearly the product of state based contestation, but it was a contestation between world powers (or their surrogates), rather than one driven by ethnic division. Even some of the most mundane realities of urban development (the compact city, the public transport system, the Turkish migration etc.) were rooted in the politics of world power and the divisions generated by it. This paper considers the relationship between Berlin's changing geopolitical position and local experiences of urban life, charting an uncertain and contested path towards a new normality. The shock of German reunification and of the end of the Cold War, the end of the bi-polar world, was also a fundamental shock for the city. Exemplifying its role as a city able to speak the troubled history of the twentieth century, the jubilant media coverage of the Berlin Wall's opening also subsequently became a metaphor for that whole period of historical shift. Nationally, too, it became the dominant metaphor for German reunification – the reunification of Berlin and the reunification of Germany were almost synonymous. Yet it also meant the disruption of the old arrangements, the – admittedly rather peculiar - yet taken for granted conventions of economic and social life, which had defined Berlin for its residents, economic and political actors.

At each step of the way, the processes of rebuilding and redefinition come up against the thickness of history, the obduracy of memory, and even questioning from those Germans who are concerned about the re-nationalisation of German culture through sovereignty and unification. In that sense, at least, Berlin remains contested both as a state space (the space or a key space of the German state and the

Allan Cochrane *Abstract (continued)*

German nation) and as a space within which people live their daily lives. Some of the obvious divisions between East and West have been undermined since 1989, particularly as parts of the former East have become gentrified and parts of the former West have faced their own problems of unemployment, deprivation and ethnic division. The grand ambitions of the world city boosterists from the early 1990s have been replaced by the more recent recognition that (in the words of its Bürgermeister) what makes Berlin the place it is, is that it is 'arm aber sexy' ('poor but sexy').

Biography

Allan Cochrane is Professor of Urban Studies at the Open University. His research interests lie at the junction of geography and public policy, and he has researched and published on a wide range of topics relating to urban and regional policy. He is particularly interested in exploring the connections between policy change, institutional restructuring and wider processes of political and social change. Allan has recently been undertaking research on the reshaping and re-imagining of Berlin, on which he has published extensively, as well as on the contemporary redefinition of British urban policy and the governance of the South-East of England as a 'region'. He was co-author (with John Allen and Doreen Massey) of *Re-Thinking the Region* (Routledge 1998) and joint editor (with John Clarke and Sharon Gewirtz) of *Comparing Welfare States* (Sage 2001) and (with Deborah Talbot) of *Security: Welfare Crime and Society* (McGrawHill/Open University Press 2008). His book *Understanding Urban Policy: a Critical Approach* was published by Blackwell in 2007.

Hillel Cohen

Fatah-Jerusalem, Suicide Attacks and the Israeli Peace Camp

Abstract

Throughout the al-Aqsa Intifada (2000-2005), Jewish Jerusalem constituted the main target for Palestinian suicide attacks. These killed 174 Israelis in the city and wounded more than a thousand. Fatah involvement in these attacks in Jerusalem was relatively high - 43%, in comparison with its share in suicide attacks nationwide (23%). However, none of Fatah's suicide attacks in the Israeli capital was initiated by Fatah-Jerusalem. All of them were planned and executed by Fatah military activists outside the city, mainly from Bethlehem and Samaria. Though there is no reason to assume that all Fatah members in Jerusalem rejected suicide attacks, there is a need to explain the avoidance of Fatah-Jerusalem from taking part in such missions.

My suggestion is that this unique political behavior is a result (among other factors) of the close contacts of Fatah-Jerusalem with the Israeli Peace Camp. Indeed, it is a neglected fact that despite its image as a rightwing stronghold, Jewish Jerusalem has been since the mid-1980s the center of Palestinian-Israeli joint struggle against occupation, and the habitat for most Israeli human-rights associations. Many Fatah members in the city – and almost all members of the leadership - participated in the joint Israeli-Palestinian (failed) struggles against settlements in Silwan, Har Homa and elsewhere. As a result, Fatah leaders in Jerusalem were more aware of the diversity in Israeli society, more reluctant towards killing civilians and doubted the assumption that suicide attacks would lead Israel to surrender.



Hillel Cohen *Biography*

Dr Hillel Cohen teaches Palestinian history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and is a research fellow of the Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace at the same university and in Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies. Published books and articles in Arabic, Hebrew and English on Israeli-Palestinian relations. He is the author of *Jerusalem's Marketplace is Empty: The Rise and Fall of Arab Jerusalem 1967-2007* (2007, Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, in Hebrew).

Ray Dolphin *Biography*

Ray Dolphin has worked as a humanitarian worker, researcher and writer in the West Bank and Gaza for almost twenty years. He is the author of 'The West Bank Wall: Unmaking Palestine', Pluto Press, (2006) and 'Jerusalem: Military Conquest by Architectural Means', Jerusalem Quarterly, 2006. He is currently working as a researcher/writer with UNOCHA Jerusalem, focusing on the Wall, East Jerusalem and related issues.

Mick Dumper

Abstract

Security and the Holy Places in Jerusalem: An Israeli Policy of Incremental Control – “Hebronisation”?

Recent events have highlighted the centrality of the Holy Places of Jerusalem in both the Arab-Israeli conflict and in the stability of the city. This paper traces the evolution of the security framework for the holy sites of the city since 1967, delineating both the formal agreements and the customary and tacit practices that have emerged. It analyses a number of key events which precipitated changes and an increased Israeli security presence: the fire in al-Aqsa mosque in 1969, the opening of the Hasmonean Tunnel, the excavations leading up to the creation of the Marwani mosque under the Haram ash-Sharif and the collapse of the Mughrabi Gate ascent. The paper then discusses these changes in the light of the broader political context such as the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, the activities of the Israeli settler groups, the revived role of Jordan, demographic pressures in the Old City and the impasse in negotiations over the future of the city. Its final section examines the extent to which a circular dynamic of increased militancy around the religious sites and enhanced Israeli security presence is leading towards a collapse of the existing security framework and the emergence of a more interventionist Israeli policy (“Hebronisation”) with significant implications for the future management of these sites themselves.



Mick Dumper *Biography*

Professor Mick Dumper, formerly Middle East coordinator for Quaker Peace and Service, consultant to the Welfare Association (Geneva), and Senior Researcher with the Institute for Palestine Studies (Washington, DC) is a relative late-comer to academia. Since completing his PhD in 1993, under Nazih Ayubi, Professor Dumper has taught in the Politics Department at Exeter University. As well as his academic research, he has participated in a number of academic and policy study groups involving Palestinian and Israeli academics and officials, ranging in subjects from Permanent Status Issues in the Middle East Peace Process, to planning issues for Jerusalem and to the future of Islamic waqfs in Palestine. These were funded, amongst others, by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (USA), International Development Research Centre (Canada), Olaf Palme International Centre (Sweden) and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (UK). He has also conducted consultancies with the European Commission, International Development and Research Centre (Canada) and the Adam Smith Institute International Division on aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In 2002, Professor Dumper was awarded a British Academy/Leverhulme Trust Senior Research Fellowship to work on issues concerning the future of Palestinian refugees. In 2003 and 2005, he received two awards in conjunction with Wendy Pullan, from the ESRC, to work on 'Conflict in Cities: Architecture and the Urban Order in Divided Jerusalem'. In 2007 he was asked to contribute to a project with the University of Windsor, Ontario, entitled the Jerusalem Old City Initiative.

Sara Fregonese

The contested city and the politics of novelty and destiny. Beirut 1975/2008

Abstract

The contested city has been the focus of the emergent field of urban geopolitics. Although calling for case-study approaches, urban geopolitics encourages wider discussion about the relationship between political and geopolitical discourse and its implication with material practices of hostility. One particular aspect relevant to the issue of comparability in urban geopolitics regards the representational politics of the contested and attacked city as either a new phenomenon or its opposite: an urban destiny.

The paper teases apart alternating assumptions about post-1989 cities as either new replacements of nation-states borderlands as pivots of political violence, or as spaces of chronic conflict, following sectarian discourses of 'ancient hatreds' that devour State control and result in barbaric anarchy. This critique operates through the example of Beirut, a city which endured urban conflict before the end of the Cold War, and where the relationship between the national and the subnational are hardly a 'zero-sum game' between State sovereign control and non-state barbarity. I analyse examples from Beirut in two different moments of conflict in 1975 and 2008, showing the production of multi-sited geopolitical meanings, as national, transnational and sub-national geopolitical discourses are renegotiated between State and non-state actors through the everyday geographies of war.

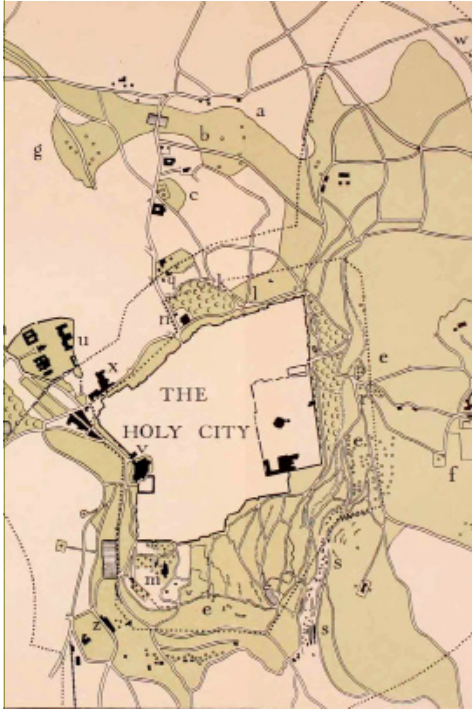
Urban geopolitics, and specifically ideas such as urbicide, is useful to interpret the general links between political violence and physical urban space. However, they should also provide theoretical and methodological tools to investigate contextually specific and multi-sited geopolitical accounts between the national and the subnational, rather than only serve as descriptive categories exclusive to post-Cold War conflicts. Such a focus on the contested city produces as a space where non-commonsensual geopolitical knowledges and opportunities for alternative forms of sovereignty can be elaborated.



Sara Fregonese *Biography*

Dr Sara Fregonese (BA Venice, PhD Newcastle) is currently British Academy Post-Doctoral Fellow in the Department of Geography at Royal Holloway, University of London. She works between London and Manchester, where she recently became Honorary Fellow of the Manchester Architecture Research Centre, University of Manchester. Her academic interest sits within critical geopolitics and urban geopolitics. She is working particularly on the geopolitical purchase of the idea of urbicide; sovereignty and the relations between State and non-state actors; colonial and post-colonial geographies of sectarianism. Her main empirical focus is Beirut, so far.

Max Gwiazda

**Jerusalem's Holy Basin:
An idea that has found its
time***Abstract*

The Holy Basin is a term that is being used with increasing frequency in Jerusalem. Also referred to as the Historic or Visual Basin, it is a geographic zone surrounding the Old City situated in East Jerusalem. This zone contains the majority of sites holy to Islam, Judaism and Christianity in the city, and is considered by some to possess a special aesthetic relationship with the walled city integral to Jerusalem's rich religious and heritage value. The concept of the Holy Basin has featured prominently in Israeli contributions to recent peace negotiations and initiatives, many of which have called for some form or special regime for, and territorial separation of, the Holy Basin as part of possible agreements on Jerusalem in the future. The idea is also increasingly common among western, international peace initiatives. Palestinian negotiators have so far remained sceptical about Israeli proposals relating to the Holy Basin. Despite the pervasive use of the Holy Basin idea in the Israeli and western discourse surrounding the city, particularly in relation to issues of governance and security, there is a general lack of clarity about where the idea of the Holy Basin comes from, where its precise boundaries lie, what the urban or landscape character of this zone should be, and even what it means for a city like Jerusalem that is heavily symbolic and symbolised and even more profoundly disputed. The grounds on which a 'special zone' within Jerusalem is either seen as an urban reality and as necessary or desirable within the city are rarely explored or discussed in detail. Most significantly the implications for the everyday life of Jerusalem with respect to both its relevance for any political agreement and the overall well-being of the city are rarely addressed in any depth. This paper will focus on introducing the uncertainties and ambiguities regarding the Holy Basin, and begin to unpack its historical development, pointing to the underlying urban issues we are concerned with.

Max Gwiazda *Biography*

Max Gwiazda holds a PhD in the History and Philosophy of Architecture from the University of Cambridge. He has been a research associate on 'Conflict in Cities' since 2007, as well as a University Lecturer in architectural history and theory at the Department of Architecture in the University of Cambridge from 2009. His current research focuses on Jerusalem and relates to the visual analysis of the interplay of heritage stewardship, nationalism and urban design in the politics of planning in East Jerusalem.

Fouad Hallak *Biography*

Fouad Hallak is a policy and technical advisor of the Negotiations Support Unit working with the Negotiation Affairs Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization since 2002. Mr. Hallak's primary focus has been the Jerusalem file through which he has become an expert adviser on all issues relevant to Jerusalem including researching and analyzing Israeli interests and assess their impact on Palestinian strategic interests in habitation, urban development, contiguity, and operational arrangements in Jerusalem for final status negotiations on Jerusalem, interpretation of previous proposals for solutions to Jerusalem; and the strategies available to Palestinians when negotiating Jerusalem issues with Israel. Prior to assuming his current position, Mr. Hallak worked for two years at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), as a technical advisor in providing support to governmental and non-governmental organizations in the West Bank in developing problem management strategies for their organizations.

Caroline Humphrey

Odessa: Pogroms in a Cosmopolitan City

Abstract

This paper investigates the case of a city famed for its cosmopolitanism in which nevertheless violent pogroms against Jews occurred. Discussing the pogroms of the late 19th and early 20th century, the focus is not on the causes of pogroms, but on how they took place. The paper pays particular attention to the content of the sociality of crowds and to the transformative relationship between crowds (mobs), public spaces, and the built environment.

Biography

Professor Caroline Humphrey has worked in the USSR / Russia, Mongolia, Inner Mongolia, Nepal and India. Her research interests include socialist and post-socialist society, religion, ritual, economy, history, and the contemporary transformations of cities. She is Rausing Professor of Collaborative Anthropology in the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge. Recently she completed a book on the maintenance of tradition in a Buddhist monastery in Inner Mongolia (China) and currently she is carrying out research on migration, urban life and coexistence in the Black Sea region. Major publications include: *Karl Marx Collective: Economy, Society and Religion in a Siberian Collective Farm* (Cambridge University Press, 1983); *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual, illustrated by the Jain rite of worship, with James Laidlaw* (Clarendon Press, 1994); *Shamans and Elders: Experience, Knowledge and Power among the Daur Mongols, with Urgunge Onon*. (Clarendon Press, 1996); *The End of Nomadism? Society, the State and the Environment in Inner Asia, with David Sneath* (Duke University Press / White Horse Press, 1999); *The Unmaking of Soviet Life: Everyday Economies After Socialism* (Cornell University Press, 2002); *Urban Life in Post-Soviet Central Asia*, edited with Catherine Alexander and Victor Buchli (London: UCL Press, 2007).

Stef Jansen *Abstract*

Division and horizons of (im)possibility in Sarajevo

During the 1992-5 war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the territory of its capital Sarajevo was split into two parts: most of the central zones of the city were controlled by the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (government forces), whereas the outlying areas and the surrounding mountains were controlled by the Army of Republika Srpska, which did not recognise that government and fought to establish a separate, Serbian polity. This was effectively a situation of siege, which lasted for over three years and was ended after the signing of an Agreement that reintegrated most parts into the city but left the wider territory of Sarajevo divided and to a high degree nationally segregated. Provisionally analysing long-term, ongoing ethnographic research, this presentation will discuss this war-produced practical geography of Sarajevo, starting from the perspective of everyday engagements with public infrastructure and material provision in the suburb of Dobrinja. I will try to elaborate on my findings on social life in this suburb on the actual line of division—the location where Sarajevo's famous war tunnel under the airport runway entered the city—in order to address questions of peripherality, directionality and possibility.

Biography

Stef Jansen is Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Manchester. Based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia, his research investigates the making of home and hope with regard to nation, place and state transformation. In addition to a range of articles and chapters, he is author of *Antinacionalizam* (Beograd, XX Vek, 2005) and co-editor of *Struggles for home: violence, hope and the movement of people* (Oxford, Berghahn, 2008).

Rassem Khamaisi

Geo-political division as basis for creating divided cities: Lessons from Berlin to Jerusalem

Abstract

In many cities, ethno-national and cultural segregation and division consist of part of ethno-national and part territorial conflict. In other cases, the conflict in cities between ethno-national and cultural groups is the leading factor for expanding national conflict. The synergy and dialect between national and urban conflict clearly exists in Jerusalem, as it did in Berlin until the unification. The goals of the paper are to discuss the relation between national and urban geo-political division. The paper will demonstrate the impact of national conflict which leads to geo-political division or unification, such as in Berlin, and will then assess what could occur in Jerusalem. In addition, the paper will try to analyze the uniqueness of Jerusalem as a microcosm within the macrocosm of Arab Palestinian and Israeli conflicts. The paper will try to deal with the dilemma of settling the geo-political within the city which might influence national geo-political arrangements and conciliation; the opposite, where the national affects the city, is also considered. The paper will investigate the experience of Berlin, which could provide lessons to Jerusalem/al-Quds.



Rassem Khamaisi *Biography*

Rassem Khamaisi is an Associate Professor in the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of Haifa, Senior researcher at Van Leer Institute, and Head of Academic committee and Planning staff in The International Peace and Cooperation Center (IPCC), East Jerusalem. He is an Urban and Regional planner and Geographer, specializing in urban and rural geography. A strong focus of his efforts is towards geography and planning among the Arabs in Israel and the Palestinians in the Palestinian territories and Jerusalem, as well as a concentration on public administration, public participation and urban management. Khamaisi has published both research and policy pieces which tackle urbanization and planning issues among the Arabs and Palestinians. He publishes in the three languages - English, Hebrew and Arabic.

For further details see: Khamaisi@geo.haifa.ac.il

Ashraf Khatib *Biography*

Ashraf Khatib is the field officer at the Negotiations Support Unit's Communication Department. He joined the NSU in October 2007.

Since Ashraf Khatib joined the NSU, he has established contacts and relations with individuals, groups and different civil society organizations in addition to the official and governmental organizations throughout the Palestinian cities and villages in the West Bank including East Jerusalem. He built and strengthened networks with local, international and Israeli civil society organizations, in addition to journalists and parliamentarians; many of which he meets regularly and coordinates with for advocacy purposes, and the exchange and dissemination of information. He also communicates with diverse community sectors, particularly those affected by Israeli policies in the West Bank. Ashraf collects data and information and works to understand the situation and the needs of the different communities and the problems they face related to the Israeli actions and policies. Moreover he works to maintain the good relation with the community and its organizations through the regular visits including remote villages and Bedouin communities.

Ashraf Khatib organized and led tours for different international, Israeli and Palestinian organizations, parliamentarians and journalists around the West Bank and Jerusalem. The tours included visits to areas affected directly by Israeli policies, including the Wall, checkpoints, confiscated lands, demolished properties, uprooted trees in addition to settlements and bypass roads.

Before joining the NSU, Ashraf worked with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) as a logistics officer. He worked there during the Israeli invasion in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. He was part of an international team who was sent to Gaza during the Beit Hanoun invasion. He managed the assistance pipeline from Amman-Jordan to the warehouses in Jerusalem and Gaza. He was

Ashraf Khatib

Biography (continued)

also managing the ICRC logistic computer system in the oPt, which was later adopted as a world wide program.

Previously he worked both at the Welfare Association and the UN OCHA.

Ashraf Khatib was born in East Jerusalem; he completed his high school diploma in St George School. He has a BSc degree from the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, USA and is fluent in Arabic and English.

Menachem Klein

Biography

Dr. Menachem Klein is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science at Bar-Ilan University, Israel. Dr. Klein studied Middle East and Islamic Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and in 1992-3 and 2001-2 was a fellow at St. Antony's College, Oxford University. In 2006 he was a visiting professor in MIT, and in 2010 he will be Fernand Braudel Senior Fellow in the European University Institute, Florence. Dr. Klein is a Board Member of B'etselem, The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories. In 2000 Dr. Klein was an adviser for Jerusalem Affairs and Israel-PLO Final Status Talks to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prof. S. Ben-Ami, and a member of advisory team operating in the office of Prime Minister Ehud Barak. Since 1996 he is active in many unofficial negotiations with Palestinian counterparts. In October 2003 Dr. Klein signed together with prominent Israeli and Palestinian negotiators the Geneva Agreement – a detailed proposal for a comprehensive Israeli-Palestinian peace accord.

His books are - *Jerusalem: The Contested City* was published in 2001 by C. Hurst (London) and NYU (New York) 2001; *The Jerusalem Problem: The Struggle for Permanent Status*, University Press of

Menachem Klein *Biography (continued)*

Florida, 2003;. *A Possible Peace Between Israel and Palestine- an Insiders' Account of the Geneva Initiative*, Columbia University Press 2007. His other English publications include: " Hamas in Power", *Middle East Journal*, Summer 2007, pp. 442-59; Old and New Walls in Jerusalem", *Political Geography*, Vol. 24 (January 2005) pp. 53-76; "Jerusalem without East Jerusalemites – The Palestinian as the 'Other' in Jerusalem", *The Journal of Israeli History*, Vol. 23 (Autumn 2004) pp. 174-199; and "The Palestinian 1948 Refugees – Models of Allowed and Refused Return", in Michael Dumper (ed.), *Palestinian Refugee Repatriation in Global Perspective*, London: Routledge, pp. 87-106; "The Negotiations for the Settlement of the 1948 Refugees", in E. Benvenisti, C. Gans and S. Hanafi (eds.), *Israel and the Palestinian Refugees*, Springer, Berlin 2007, pp. 465-492.

Lefkos Kyriacou *Biography*

Since 2005, Lefkos has worked as a researcher for Conflict in Cities. His primary responsibility is the production of visual material that is both a tool in communicating the project's findings as well as a method of research and analysis. Lefkos has taken part in several fieldtrips to Jerusalem, and has also worked on the divided city of Nicosia. His areas of interest include the relationship between representation and planning and the role of visual research in the study of divided cities. Lefkos qualified as an architect in 2005 and currently lives in London where he practices at *Cottrell & Vermeulen Architecture*. He has worked on projects for a variety of client bodies, including Camden Council and Clare College, Cambridge. Lefkos is Director of Studies for Architecture at Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge; he holds an MA and Diploma in Architecture from Cambridge and is registered as an architect with the Architects Registration Board of the UK.

Craig Larkin *Abstract*

Remaking Beirut: Contesting Memory, Space and the Urban Imaginary of Lebanese Youth



Throughout the centuries Beirut has had an endless capacity for re-invention and transformation, a consequence of migration, conquest, trade and internal conflict. The last three decades have witnessed the city centre's violent self-destruction, its commercial resurrection and now most recently its national contestation, as oppositional political forces have sought to mobilise mass demonstrations and occupy strategic space. While research has tended to focus on these transformative processes, the principle actors involved and the wider implications for Lebanon's post war recovery (Makdisi, 2006; Khalaf, 2006), little attention has been given as to how the next generation of Lebanese are negotiating Beirut's rehabilitation. This paper seeks to address this lacuna, by exploring how post-war youth are imagining and spatially encountering their city. How does Beirut's rebuilt urban landscape, with its remnants of war, sites of displacement and transformed environs affect and inform identity, social interaction and perceptions of the past? An examination of these themes will draw on relevant sites, such as the restored Beirut Souks and the Barakat building, a sniper stronghold, scheduled to be turned into a war museum; as well as significant temporal moments such as Solidere's redevelopment timeframe and the Lebanese Independence Intifada and Hizb'Allah led 'Tent City' protest. In assembling a complex and contradictory urban imaginary of Beirut, the paper also encourages wider debate concerning post-war recovery and inclusive public space, didactic 'negative heritage', and the therapeutic value of global consumerism.

Craig Larkin *Biography*

Craig Larkin completed his PhD in Middle East Studies at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, Exeter University in February 2009. His thesis title was 'Memory and Conflict: Remembering and Forgetting the Past in Lebanon'. He is an associate research fellow at Exeter Politics department and an academic associate of Exeter Centre for Ethno-Political Studies. His current research relates to Beirut's contested centre, and the politicisation of heritage and influence of Islamic groups within Jerusalem's old city.

**Madeleine Leonard and
Martina McKnight**

**Childhood, Spatiality and
Everyday Life in Divided
Cities**

Abstract

People are likely to experience daily life in divided cities in different ways. While this may seem an obvious statement to make, until recently there has been very little academic reflection on children's lived experiences, specifically in relation to their access to everyday space. Divided cities in contested states often reflect tight knit boundaries where territoriality becomes a core underlying principal influencing the perception and use of everyday space. While geographers, planners and social scientists have become increasingly sensitive to territorial boundaries based on ethnicity, race, class, gender and sexuality, the preoccupation with these categories has clouded over the significance of childhood and its impact on contested urban space. By ignoring young people's 'ways of seeing', accounts of everyday life in divided cities remains partial. The purpose of this paper is to address this neglect by arguing for the need to investigate the myriad of ways in which young people manage space in contested environments and the strategies they utilise to maintain and bridge the boundaries that shape their everyday lives. The paper will draw on research carried out with young people in the divided cities of Belfast and Nicosia.



Madeleine Leonard *Biography*

Madeleine Leonard is a Professor of Sociology at Queen's University, Belfast. Her main research interest is in teenagers' experiences of growing up in politically sensitive societies and she has been researching the perceptions and experiences of Catholic and Protestant teenagers living in interface areas in North Belfast. She has recently extended this research interest to Cyprus where she has carried out research on Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot teenagers' attitudes and experiences of growing up in the divided city of Nicosia. She is currently researching teenagers' perceptions and experiences of Belfast as a 'shared city' as part of the ESRC 'Conflict in Cities and the Contested State' project. She has used a range of research methodologies including writing exercises, maps and focus group interviews.

Martina McKnight *Biography*

Martina McKnight completed her PhD research on gender relations and identities in academia in Northern Ireland at Queen's University Belfast in 2007. Her research interests include feminist theory and methodology, gender and work, identity, choice and reflexivity in late modernity and equality and social inclusion.

Adel Manna *Biography*

Adel Manna is a historian specializing in the history of Jerusalem during the Ottoman time. In addition, he specialized during the last two decades in history of the Palestinians during the 20th century, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the current realities of the Palestinian minority in Israel.

Adel Manna is currently the Director of the academic Institute for Arab teachers training at Beit Berl College. He is also a senior research fellow at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute. Manna published several books and articles in Arabic, Hebrew and English in the abovementioned fields of speciality. Manna is living in Jerusalem since 1973.

Meir Margalit *Biography*

Meir Margalit, Ph.D. (Haifa), is a researcher of the history of the Jewish community in Palestine during the British mandatory period. He serves as a member of the Jerusalem city council, representing the Meretz Party (1998-2002, 2008-Today), and worked for over 20 years in education and community development for the Jerusalem Municipality. He works now as a field coordinator for the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, and is an expert on issues related to municipal policies, especially in East Jerusalem. Recent publications include, *Discrimination in the heart of the holy city* (International Peace and Cooperation Centre, 2006) and *'No place like home'* www.icahd.org/eng/images/uploaded_admin_content/NoPlaceLikeHome_withCover.pdf.

Nathan Marom *Biography*

Nathan Marom is a post-doctoral fellow at the Center for Urban and Regional Studies at the Technion, Haifa. He has recently completed his PhD at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Tel Aviv University. His dissertation focused on the evolution of the field of urban planning and development in Tel Aviv and its relation to processes of exclusion and segregation in the city through several decades. This research was also the basis for a book, *City of Concept: Planning Tel Aviv* (Babel Press 2009, in Hebrew). Prior to that, he has researched and written **The Planning Deadlock*, a report on planning policy and house demolitions in East Jerusalem, published by Bimkom. He holds a B.Arch from Bezalel Academy of Art and Design Jerusalem and an MSc. In Urban Development Planning from University College London.

Rami Nasrallah *Abstract*

Planning the Divide: Jerusalem Masterplan 2020 a political engineering



From the beginning of November until now, 9 buildings in East Jerusalem have been demolished; the municipality distributed another 17 demolition orders in the neighborhood of Silwan; and about 30 settlers entered an additional home in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood.

Today, and under the municipal planning system and obscure authorization, Jerusalem is moving towards an inevitable crisis within the city. The infamous Master Plan 2020's, completed in 2004, objective is to develop 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 residents should be preserved. Yet what seems to be happening today is continuous imposed restrictions on Palestinian development through extremely complex, costly planning, building permit issuance and construction requirements; escalating house demolition actions, and total disregard of the Wall, despite its profound effects on Palestinian lives in the City, as it completely separates Jerusalem from its environs. It is clear that the Israeli planning system is a unilateral one, aiming at monopolizing space for political sovereignty, urban development and expansion, and enforcing Jerusalem as a Jewish capitol. All these issues need to be addressed, as well as the recent adjustments that have been conducted on the Masterplan of East Jerusalem (May 2009) in comparison to the original plan (August 2004), in addition to the changes placed by the Minister of Interior (Dec. 2009), my presentation will include the aspects of separation on the Masterplan, the intensified displacement and conflict within the Holy Basin, the impact of the current planning system, and the need of redrawing interest lines for a prominent future of the City.

Rami Nasrallah *Biography*

Dr. Rami Nasrallah founded the IPCC in 1998 and has since acted as head of the organisation. He is in charge of the overall management of the IPCC and its programme implementation, and is responsible for developing the IPCC's future work plans. From 2003 to the beginning of 2006 he served as the General Director of the Jerusalem Affairs Department in the Palestinian Prime Ministers' Office. Nasrallah has a Ph.D. in Urban Planning from the TU-Delft University in the Netherlands. Since 2003 Nasrallah has been a research partner 'Conflict in Cities'. Recent publications include 'Jerusalem: The Old City: The Urban Fabric and Geopolitical Implications', with R. Khamaisi, R. Brooks, M. Margalit and A. Owais (International Peace Cooperation Centre, 2009); Jerusalem and its Hinterland, with Omar Yousef, Rassem Khamaisi, Abdallah Owais (International Peace Cooperation Center, 2008); 'The Case of Jerusalem: a Study in Complexity.' in The Challenge of Social Innovation in Urban Revitalization (Amsterdam: Techne Press, 2007).

For further details see:
www.ipcc-jerusalem.org/

Alona Nitzan-Shifan *Abstract*

Seizing Jerusalem: the Politics of Architecture in a Contested City



What is the role of architecture in making Jerusalem Israeli? The paper probes this question by colliding two processes. On the one hand it identifies the different agencies and actors competing for the territory, shape and image of Jerusalem following the Israeli conquest of East Jerusalem from Jordan in 1967. On the other hand it describes the fierce competition over the tenets of modernist urban design and planning after urban renewals projects were so vehemently criticized worldwide. By bringing together the political and architectural—the unilateral unification of Jerusalem and the crisis of the modernist city—we can examine the influence of their encounter on the urban space and visual image of Jerusalem. Records of different master plans and outline schemes, deliberations of committees and public debates, demonstrate how discussions that were seemingly internal to the architectural discipline and evolved around its modernist project were, in fact, thoroughly ideological in their own way. I argue that these ideologies entertained such power exactly because architecture bypassed official politics, enjoying instead the aura of a neutral cultural practice. This historical study therefore considers architecture not only as a professional discipline representing meaning external to its practices. Rather, and more acutely, the study reveals architectural knowledge as a political action—a producer of spatial meaning in Jerusalem.

Alona Nitzan-Shiftan *Biography*

Alona Nitzan-Shiftan is a Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning at the Technion, Israel Institute of Technology. She teaches the history and politics of architecture in cross cultural contexts with a focus on post-W.W.II architectural culture. Her research focuses on the city of Jerusalem and on Israeli modernism, as well as on questions pertaining to historiography, cultural heritage, national identity and globalization. Her work was sponsored by MIT, CASVA, the Getty/UCLA program, the Israel Science Foundation, and the Frankel Institute at the University of Michigan. Her work on Erich Mendelsohn, post-'67 Jerusalem, historiography and heritage was published in journals such as *Architectural History*, *Persepecta* and numerous edited volumes. Her forthcoming book is tentatively titled *Seizing Jerusalem: The Politics of Architecture and Urban Beauty 1967-1977*.

Liam O'Dowd and
Milena Komarova

Territorialities of Capital and Place in 'Post-Conflict' Belfast

Abstract

The paper begins by outlining foundational assumptions of the peace process in Northern Ireland. Much of the transnational effort to resolve the conflict and to maintain the settlement which painfully emerged was predicated on enhancing economic development. The idea was to change the substance of zero-sum territorialist politics and replace it with a politics primarily concerned with economic discourse. However, as the politics of the peace process evolved, it became apparent that such developments would not come to fruition without a basic framework of shared governance that forged a precarious balance between recognition of cultural identities and the redistribution of economic and political resources. 'Shared governance' and enhanced economic development, on this reasoning, would gradually dilute and eventually transform the conditions and norms of the conflict as epitomised in the antagonistic territorialisms of Protestant/unionists and Catholic/nationalists.

In this paper, we investigate the extent to which the above assumptions are being realised in 'post-conflict' Belfast. We conceive the city as constituted by spatial assemblages, e.g., different types of spaces that have been historically constituted by the logic of various stages of capitalist development, older imperial and ethnocentric rule and the lived and everyday experience of ethno-national division and struggle. In other words, different types of spaces in the city are transformed into places by centuries of lived experience. We recognise that capital when materialised in urban space has its own contradictory territorialities: 1) predicated on creative destruction, the obliteration of barriers in the interests of the circulation of people and commodities; 2) various forms of locational specialisation which necessarily create barriers and boundaries. In the context of the new political dispensation we explore how signature capital projects, such



Liam O'Dowd

Abstract (continued)

as Titanic Quarter, reveal the interaction between the territorialities of current capital accumulation and existing urban places and identities associated with them.

Biography

Professor Liam O'Dowd's interest in cities, ethno-national conflict and contested states began with his PhD dissertation, entitled, *The Intellectual Image of the City in Irish Social Commentary and Urban Planning*. On moving to Northern Ireland his research began to focus on the contested (British) state in Northern Ireland. His work in the 1980s, involved studying urban politics in Belfast, in particular how housing development, road building and 'enterprise zone' policy intersected with the ethno-national conflict on the ground. His research between 1988-1991, funded by the ESRC, focused on local responses to economic change in two smaller urban centres in Northern Ireland, Newry and Craigavon.

Throughout the 1990s, Professor O'Dowd linked his interest in Northern Ireland to wider issues of colonialism and nationalism (British and Irish). Current research, in collaboration with James Anderson, further develops these interests by re-examining the historical intersection of imperialism, nationalism and ethno-national conflict. From the early 1990s onwards, Professor O'Dowd's interest in the contested state became more focused on the issue of borders. Between 1991 and 1994, he directed an ESRC funded project entitled *Negotiating the British/Irish Border: Cross-Border Co-operation on the European Periphery*. Since 2000, he has worked closely with James Anderson in the Centre for International Borders Research (CIBR) at Queen's which he directs. Since 2000, Professor O'Dowd has been involved in a series of funded research projects on cross-

Biography (continued)

border co-operation in Ireland and the role of grassroots voluntary and community organisations in the Northern Ireland peace process.

Milena Komarova *Biography*

Milena Komarova completed her PhD research on discourses on peace-building in Northern Ireland at the School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work, Queen's University (2007) where she is currently based. Current research interests include civil society and ethno-national conflict in Northern Ireland, public sphere and collective identities, as well as discourse analysis.

Yiannis Papadakis

Borders as sites of the paradoxical: Lefkosia/Lefkosha (Nicosia)

Abstract

Borders are sites of the paradoxical: they are points of division while they also constitute sites that bring into contact. Cyprus itself is variously considered as lying on the border between 'East and West', Christianity and Islam or the two 'motherlands' Greece and Turkey, currently partly inside and partly outside the EU. Some view borders as creative 'third spaces' giving rise to new social configurations, others as sites of extreme nationalism, areas savagely contested for the delimitation and unambiguous expression of the national-self. Both arguments could perhaps be right if borders are indeed paradoxical. Divided Nicosia will be discussed from the perspective of its borderline existence, rather than of division per se.

Biography

Yiannis Papadakis holds a doctorate in social anthropology from Cambridge University and is currently Associate Professor at the Department of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Cyprus. He is author of *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide* (I. B. Tauris, 2005), co-editor of *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict* (Indiana University Press, 2006), and editor of a 2006 special issue of *Postcolonial Studies* on Cyprus.



Wendy Pullan *Abstract*

Frontier Urbanism: Spatial Discontinuities in Contested Cities

In the study of cities that have experienced prolonged and intense levels of ethnic, national and/or religious conflict, a regular query is whether these cities are qualitatively different from other urban centres that are not characterised by such strife, or, rather, they are simply extreme examples of what exists at more latent levels in all cities. A definitive answer is complex and elusive, but one way of engaging the problem is to ask what sort of spatial qualities characterise cities in conflict. This paper will consider some of them. Contested space is often defined by rigid boundaries that separate populations and identify homogeneous population groups so that divided cities, like Berlin was and Nicosia still is, have become the quintessential prototype of cities in conflict. The Peace Lines of Belfast and the separation barrier of Israel-Palestine demonstrate that such a crude articulation of the urban terrain remains a highly visible way of structuring overly politicised space. Buffer zones are often regarded as providing less instrumental solutions, but in the long term they may actually cause more enduring and damaging urban problems. Most of all, these cities appear to experience a collapse of the customary reciprocity of centre and periphery, and frontiers, of varying types, flourish in primary urban spaces.



Wendy Pullan *Biography*

Dr Wendy Pullan is Senior Lecturer in Architecture at the University of Cambridge. She is Principal Investigator for 'Conflict in Cities and the Contested State', a five year multidisciplinary and international research project supported by the Large Grant programme of the Economic and Social Research Council of Great Britain (ESRC). She has published widely on urban issues, especially to do with Jerusalem and the Middle East. In 2006 Dr Pullan received the Royal Institute of British Architects' inaugural President's Award for University Led Research. She is a Fellow of Clare College Cambridge.

For further information see: www.conflictincities.org.

Bernard Sabella *Biography*

Dr. Bernard Sabella is an associate professor of sociology at Bethlehem University and lectures as well with Al Quds Master's Program of Jerusalem Studies. He has researched the demography of Palestinians and in particular the emigration of Christian Palestinians and also contributed to a book on the political socialization of young Palestinians. He is involved in inter-religious dialogue, the most recent of which was the Vatican-Azhar meeting in February 2009 on Catholic-Muslim dialogue. He was elected in January 2006 to the Palestinian Legislative Council representing the Jerusalem district.

Danny Seideman *Biography*

Daniel Seidemann has been a practicing attorney in Jerusalem and a partner in a firm specializing in commercial law since 1987.

Since 1991, he has also specialized in legal and public issues in East Jerusalem, in particular, with regard to government and municipal policies and practices, representing Israeli and Palestinian residents of Jerusalem before the statutory Planning Boards regarding development issues. Key cases have included the takeover of properties in Silwan, the legality of the Har Homa expropriation and town plan, the Ras el Amud town plan, the closing of the Orient House, administrative demolition orders, denial of free education in East Jerusalem, etc. He has argued more than 20 Jerusalem related cases before the Israeli Supreme Court.

Due to this expertise, since 1994, he has participated in many of the Track II talks on Jerusalem between Israelis and Palestinians. In 2000-2001, Seidemann served in an informal advisory capacity to the final status negotiations; serving as a member of a committee of experts commissioned by the Prime Minister Barak's office to generate sustainable arrangements geared to implement the emerging political understandings with the Palestinians

Mr. Seidemann is frequently consulted by governmental bodies in Israel and in the international community on all matters pertaining to Israeli-Palestinian relations in Jerusalem. He has been conducting ongoing discussions on Jerusalem issues within the Arab world and with Christian faith communities in North America and Europe. He has participated in numerous Jerusalem-related projects, colloquia and back channel work, sponsored, by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the French Institute of Foreign Relations (IFRI), UNESCO, The Davis Institute of the Hebrew University, the British Foreign Office, the Olaf Palme Institute, the Organization of Architects and Planners

Danny Seideman *Biography (continued)*

in Israel, the European Parliament, New York University, and others. Mr. Seidemann is a native of Syracuse, NY, and a graduate of Cornell University, immigrating to Israel in 1973, where he has lived since. He is a retired Reserve Major in the Israeli Defense Forces, who engaged in leadership training of senior officers. Mr. Seidemann is a member of the Israeli Bar Association, receiving his degree in Law from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He is married and has three daughters.

Claire Spencer *Biography*

Dr Claire Spencer is Head of the Middle East and North Africa Programme at Chatham House (the Royal Institute for International Affairs), responsible for the oversight of all research, seminars and publications relating to the Middle East. She has written and commented widely on US and EU policy towards Iran, Israel-Palestine and the broader Middle East, in addition to her core research interest in North Africa.

Dr. Spencer has worked on North African and Mediterranean issues since the early 1980s, with particular emphasis on the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and the security dimensions of the EU's relations with North Africa and the Middle East. She has written and lectured extensively on these subjects, most notably as Deputy Director of the Centre for Defence Studies, King's College London from 1995 to 2001. She subsequently worked as Head of Policy for the Middle East and Central Asia for the development agency Christian Aid, and as Senior Research Fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. She has a BSc. (1st Class Hons) in

Claire Spencer *Biography (continued)*

politics from the University of Bristol and a Ph.D in political science from the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London.

Recent publications include 'North Africa: Hidden Risks to Stability' Chatham House/MENAP Briefing paper, April 2009; North Africa: New Challenges,, Old Regimes and Regional Security', International Peace Academy, Africa Working Paper Series, November 2008) and 'Cause and Effect (US & Middle East Policy)' in 'The World Today, Chatham House, February 2009

Haim Yacobi

Dr. Haim Yacobi is a lecturer at the Department of Politics and Government at Ben Gurion University. As an architect and planner who specialized in geography, his academic work focuses on the urban as a political, social and cultural entity. The main issues that stand in the center of his research interest in relation to the urban space are social justice, the politics of identity, migration, globalization and planning. His book, *The Jewish-Arab City: Spatio-Politics in a Mixed Community* was published recently (Routledge, London). In 1999 he formulated the idea of establishing "Bimkom - Planners for Planning Rights" (NGO) and was its co-founder.

Oren Yiftachel

**From urban divisions to
creeping apartheid: gray
space and ethno-class
relations**



Abstract

The paper will attempt to advance the ‘divided cities’ debate, by focusing on an oft-neglected yet critically important aspect – the changing nature of cities within ethnocratic societies. It will trace the urbanization of ethnically contested societies, the impact of growing regional migration, neo-liberalism and persisting politics of identity, and will observe the pervasive emergence of ‘gray space’ and ‘creeping urban apartheid’ as important hallmarks of the new urban/state order. Examples from a variety of cities, most notably Jerusalem and Beersheba, Israel/Palestine, will serve to illustrate the argument. The lecture will conclude by attempting to breathe life into the promising yet vague concept of ‘the right to the city’, as a new political space with a potential to resist the process of ‘creeping urban apartheid’.

Biography

Professor Oren Yiftachel teaches political geography and urban studies at Ben-Gurion University, Beer-Sheva, Israel. Yiftachel has previously taught at Curtin University, Australia; the Technion, Israel; and the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia, UC Berkeley and the University of Venice, and was a research fellow at RMIT, Melbourne; The US Institute of Peace, Washington DC; and the Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem. Yiftachel is the founding editor of the journal ‘Hagar: Studies in Culture, Politics and Identities, and serves on the editorial board member of notable international journals such ‘Planning Theory’ (essay editor), ‘Society and Space’, International Middle Eastern Studies, MERIP, ‘Urban Studies’, ‘Space and Polity’. Yiftachel has worked on theories of space and power; minorities and public policy; ‘ethnocratic’ societies and land regimes; He is currently working on three main research projects: the spatial transformation of

Oren Yiftachel *Biography (continued)*

Israel/Palestine; the geography of ethnocratic power structures; and the various shades of the 'grey city' in a comparative international perspective, focusing on Sri Lanka, Serbia and Estonia as comparative cases to Israel/Palestine. Yiftachel is a founding member of FFIPP (Faculty for Israel-Palestine Peace), a board member of B'Tselem (promoting human rights in the Palestinian Territories), and Adva (promoting social equality in Israel). He is a regular op-ed contributor to leading Israeli newspapers, including Haaretz, Ynet and Ma'ariv. Yiftachel has published over 90 papers and chapters in academic outlets as well as numerous professional and policy reports. Among his recent books: *Planning in Western Australia* (Paradigm, co-ed); *Guarding the Grove – Planning and Minority Resistance* (Van Leer, 1998), *Ethnic Frontiers and Peripheries*, ed. with A. Meir (Westview, 1998); *The Power of Planning*, chief editor, Kluwer Academic (2002); *Israelis in Conflict*, co-editor (Sussex Academic Press, 2004); *Ethnocracy: Land, and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

ROUNDTABLE

Jerusalem: The Cost of Failure

The situation in Jerusalem is volatile and is unfolding at a dynamic pace. In considering the future of Jerusalem, there is the tendency to focus only on solutions, with the emphasis mostly upon 'best case' scenarios, avoiding the fact that the situation could become much worse.

On October 21st, Mick Dumper and Wendy Pullan organised a Roundtable Discussion in Jerusalem focusing on an examination of the future of the city in the event of a failure to come to an agreement over the future of the city which is acceptable to both Israelis and Palestinians. Entitled 'Jerusalem: the Cost of Failure', the Roundtable comprised

- Ray Dolphin, UN-OCHA in Jerusalem.
- Fouad Hallak, PA Negotiations Support Unit (participating in his personal capacity)
- Dr Menachem Klein, Political Science, Bar Ilan University
- Dr Rami Nasrallah, International Peace and Cooperation Centre, Jerusalem
- Danny Seideman, Attorney and Ir Amim, Jerusalem
- Professor Mick Dumper, Conflict in Cities, University of Exeter
- Dr Wendy Pullan, Conflict in Cities, University of Cambridge



Participants in the October Roundtable

The discussion was chaired by Dr Claire Spencer, Head of the Middle East and North Africa Programme at Chatham House, London. It was held at the Notre Dame Centre on the old border between East and West Jerusalem.

The worst-case scenarios were located along a spectrum:

- a) In which the Palestinian population is incrementally but systematically removed
- b) Where the Palestinian presence is recognised but heavily restricted in geographic area, movement and articulation of its interests
- c) In which Israeli control, jurisdiction and services are targeted to specific and more central areas and the others are left in suspension or abandoned (unilateral withdrawal)

Panelists were also asked to flesh out the likely consequences of Jerusalem moving in the directions outlined above in terms of quality of life, economic and political opportunities, infrastructural developments, housing construction, service provision, mutual understanding and personal security. The final session of the discussion looked at constructive interventions that could either halt or reverse or, as is more likely, provide a “less bad” alternative which could provide ideas for the policy-makers, donors, activists and media.

Mick Dumper and Wendy Pullan have written a paper based on these discussions which will be published as a Chatham House Programme Briefing. The findings of the Roundtable will be revisited at the Jerusalem Workshop in January and the Dumper/Pullan paper launched in London at a public meeting in Chatham House. The Department for International Development (UK) will be contributing to the Jerusalem costs of the Roundtable, the paper’s publication and its launch.

CONFLICT IN CITIES AND THE CONTESTED STATE PROJECT TEAM

Project Investigators

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Dr Wendy Pullan, Architecture, University of Cambridge

Co-Investigators:

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Geography, Queen's University Belfast

Professor Michael Dumper, Politics, University of Exeter

Professor Liam O'Dowd, Sociology, Queen's University Belfast

Advisory Council

Chair:

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Professor Stuart Croft, Politics, Warwick University

Professor Nabeel Hamdi, Housing and Urban Development, Oxford
Brookes University

Dr. Rosemary Hollis, Olive Tree Programme, City University, London

Dr Duncan Morrow, Northern Ireland Community Relations Council,
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Nigel Roberts, Principal Adviser and Director, Middle East and North
Africa Region, World Bank.

Professor Emeritus Leslie Sklair, Cities Programme, London School
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Researchers

Dr Max Gwiazda, Architecture, University of Cambridge

Nadera Karkaby, Architecture, University of Cambridge (Jerusalem)

Dr Milena Komarova, Sociology, Queen's University Belfast

Lefkos Kyriacou, Architecture, University of Cambridge

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Razan Makhoulouf, Politics, University of Exeter (Jerusalem)

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Danny Seideman, Lawyer, Ir-Amim, Jerusalem
Dr Haim Yacobi, Dept of Politics, Ben Gurion University, Beer Sheva
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Dr Rami Nasrallah, Director, International Peace and Cooperation Centre, Jerusalem
Professor Salim Tamari, Sociology, Bir Zeit University, Ramallah

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Giulia Carabelli, Sociology, Queen's University Belfast (Mostar)
Monika Halkort, Sociology, Queen's University Belfast Tripoli, (Lebanon)
Konstantin Kastrissianakis, Architecture, University of Cambridge (Beirut)
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Linda Rootamm, Sociology, Queen's University Belfast (Berlin)
Kelsey Shanks, Politics, University of Exeter (Kirkuk)

Administrator

Karen Smith, University of Cambridge

**CONFLICT IN CITIES AND THE CONTESTED STATE
WORKING PAPER SERIES**

Anderson, J. (2008), "From Empires to Ethno-National Conflicts: A framework for studying 'divided cities' in 'contested states' Part 1"

Working Paper n. 1 www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html

Dumper, M. and Larkin, M. (2008), 'The Politics of Heritage and the Limitations of International Agency in Divided Cities: The role of UNESCO in Jerusalem's Old City',

Working Paper n. 2 www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html

Komarova, M. (2008), 'Shared Space in Belfast and the Limits of A Shared Future'

Working Paper n. 3 www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html

Dumper, M. (2008), 'The Multiple Borders of Jerusalem: Policy implications for the future of the city'

Working Paper n. 4 www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html

Murtagh, B. (2008), 'New Spaces and Old in 'Post-Conflict' Belfast'

Working Paper n. 5 www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html.

Pullan, W. & Gwiazda M. (2008), "Jerusalem's 'City of David': The Politicisation of Urban Heritage",

Working Paper n. 6 www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html.

Calame, J. & Pasic, A. (2009), 'Post-conflict reconstruction in Mostar: Cart before the Horse',

Working Paper n. 7 www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html.

C. Larkin (2009) 'Reconstructing and deconstructing Beirut: Space, memory and Lebanese youth.'

Working Paper n. 8 www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html.

Kerr, M. (2009) 'Power-sharing and research in divided societies: A rough guide to collecting evidence in Belfast and Beirut.'

Working Paper n. 9 www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html.

O'Dowd L. & M. Komarova (2009) 'Regeneration in a contested city: A Belfast case study.'
Working paper 10 www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html.

Smyth L. (2009) 'Gender and public space in divided cities: dynamics of everyday urban life.'
Working paper 11 www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html.

Dumper M. & C. Larkin (2009) 'Political Islam in Contested Jerusalem: The Emerging Role of Islamists from within Israel'
Working paper 12, www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html.

Conflict in Cities welcomes the submission of ideas for Working Papers from Workshop participants. All papers will be peer reviewed. The copyright will remain with the author in order that the paper may be published in a further revised version.

For more information please see the Conflict in Cities website: www.conflictincities.org.

