Geo-Demographical Outlook for Jerusalem

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1. Abstract

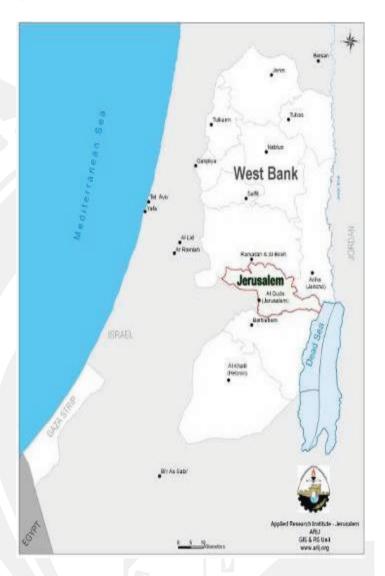
Jerusalem is an epicenter of a series of contested confrontations and events both from the past and throughout modern history; today it is a living paradigm of distinctive apartheid that is epitomized, among many of its other forms, in the urban planning system practiced in the City, where indigenous Palestinian Jerusalemites have substandard living rights. This paper will attempt to demonstrate and expose Israeli Occupation planning and building policies and uncover the systematic discrimination adopted and practiced against Arab-Palestinians. This discrimination is mainly manifested in the prejudiced zoning classifications of occupied East Jerusalem in favor of illegal Israeli-Jewish existence there to that of the Palestinian population, which include, among others: discrimination in building permits and regulations, confiscating and razing land, erecting and expanding illegal Israeli colonies and outposts, paving Israeli designated roads, demolishing Palestinian houses, and now excluding entire Arab-Palestinian communities with the Separation Wall. Furthermore, the paper will work on the delineation of de facto Israeli administrative changes of the demarcated Jerusalem City boundary set within the United Nations

partition plan of November 29, 1947, where the City of Jerusalem comes under "Corpus Seperatum" status and is to be administered by a Special International Regime. The paper will also show the ramifications of the unilaterally and illegally "new municipal boundaries" post the 1967 Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem, which is currently 10 time its original size, ending with the 2005 "Jerusalem" 2020 Master-plan." Jerusalem, according to the Israeli adopted Masterplan-2020, has "NO AREA" for future Arab Jerusalemite development, with more than half of its total area already considered built-up area. According to the master-plan about one-quarter of East Jerusalem is "temporarily" zoned as green areas, thus keeping the possibility for future Palestinian urban expansion to only 6%. The paper studies, analyzes, and projects the *de facto* Israeli planning paradigm, which results in new building styles and a manipulating land-use policy practiced on the basis of unjustified security concerns and demographic considerations in order to manipulate the demographic balance in Jerusalem in favor of the Jewish population. The Israeli presence in East Jerusalem tipped from 0% pre-1967 to 47% in 2007, whereas the Palestinian presence in West Jerusalem plummeted from 23% to 0%. Ostensibly, the carefully enacted demographic policy adopted by the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality was the cornerstone of the planning theme for Jerusalem. Under this planning theme Palestinian existence is confined to a maximum of one-quarter of the city's population with an end goal of the de-Palestinization of Jerusalem, jeopardizing the inevitable destiny of Palestinian statehood with Jerusalem as its sovereign capital.

2. Focus Area: Jerusalem Governorate

The Palestinian Jerusalem Governorate sits in the central part of the West Bank (See Map 1); it has an area of 353.68 Km² and is home to 407,459 Palestinian

Jerusalemites (PCBS, 2006). The city of Jerusalem is the capital and heart of Palestinian statehood. It holds hundreds of the most sacred religious and spiritual sites, such as the church of the Holy Sepulcher, Via Delarosa, Al-Aqsa mosque, the Dome of the Rock and many others. For this reason, Jerusalem and its religious sites became the focal point for pilgrimages from all over the world.



Map (1): Jerusalem's Governorate Location in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.

3. Background

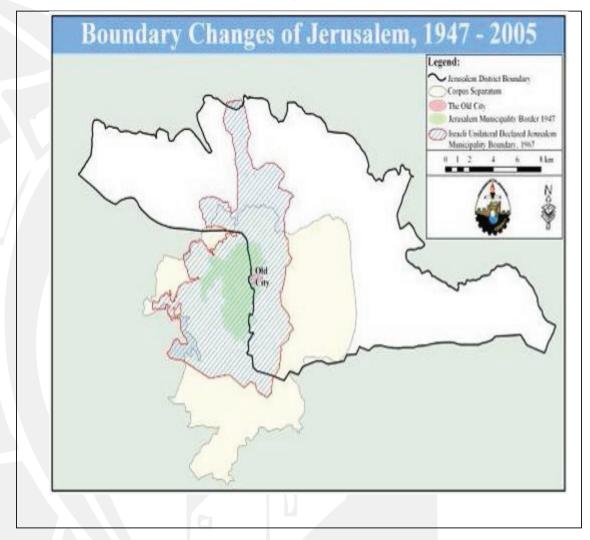
3.1 Chrono(logical) Changing of Boundaries

In the period 1948-1967, Jerusalem was to remain separate under international supervision, a "Corpus Seperatum" in the words of the United Nations (See Map 2). In November, 1947, the United Nation General Assembly, in its 128th plenary session, passed Resolution 181 partitioning Palestine into two states, one for Jews and the other for Arabs. The Arab Palestinians rejected the plan as it confiscated 52.5% of what they owned from Mandate Palestine. The Jews, who owned only 6% of the land, were allocated 55.5% against 44.5% to the Arabs, who owned 94% of the land. However, because of the 1948 War, Israeli conquest overran 78% of Mandate Palestine and destroyed 419 Palestinian villages in the process while at the same time creating an exodus of more than 900,000 Palestinian refugees (ARIJ Database, 2008).



Map (2): Corpus Sparatum – 1947.

Jerusalem, as the sacred City for the three monotheistic religions, has continually drawn the attention of the world over the last forty-one years since the Israelis occupied it after the 1967 War. Since then, the City has been divided into two parts, Jewish West Jerusalem and occupied Arab East Jerusalem. In order to make Jerusalem the country's largest City, the Israelis redrew the administrative boundaries of the Palestinian Governorates, expanding the Jerusalem municipal boundaries from 6.5 km² (including the old City) to 71 km² (See Map 3).



Map (3): The Unilateral Changes on Jerusalem Boundary Prior and After the Israeli Occupation, 1947-2005.

The new boundaries of the City were delineated for security and demographic considerations and in order to create geographic integrity and demographic superiority for the Jewish population in Jerusalem. In order to accomplish this, the redrawing of Jerusalem municipal boundaries excluded the densely populated Palestinian communities (the residences but not the lands) in the north, including Beit Iksa and Beir Nabala, whereas the sparsely populated communities' lands in the south were included (Bethlehem and Beit Sahour)⁽¹⁾. However, the municipal planning deliberations were of secondary importance in setting the new boundaries.

After 1948 Israel acquired control over the Arab properties in West Jerusalem by virtue of the Absentee's Property Law of 1950, where the Arabs were banned from their properties after being driven out in 1948. Paradoxically, the Jews who "lost" their properties after 1948 in East Jerusalem were permitted under Israeli law after 1967 to take back their properties or receive an appropriate compensation. Meanwhile, Israeli occupation authorities after 1967 activated the British Mandate Land Ordinance to expropriate around 85% of the lands included within the illegally expanded East Jerusalem area, leaving no space for needed future natural expansion and for the indigenous Palestinian communities to cope with natural population growth (ARIJ, 2007 a).

3.2 De-Palestianization of Jerusalem – Israeli Practices in Jerusalem:

Since its occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967, Israeli physical domination in East Jerusalem was implemented through thoroughly enacted policies to establish irreversible and exclusive control over land and its resources by confiscating and

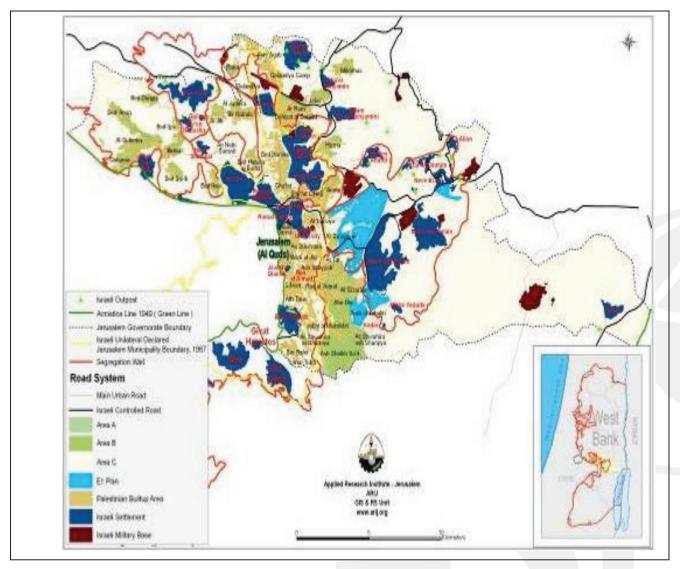
⁽¹⁾ The land confiscated due to the IJM's decision of the expansion of the Jerusalem municipal boundaries are parts of the British division of the middle and northern parts of Palestinian villages and cities, which is totally different than the existing administrative boundaries.

razing lands, erecting and expanding illegal Israeli colonies, paving bypass roads, destroying Palestinian houses, and now building the Separation Wall in and around East Jerusalem. Table (1) indicates some of the Israeli violations in the Jerusalem Governorate after the eruption of the second (Al-Aqsa) Intifada.

Table (1): Israeli violations in Jerusalem Governorate during the years 2000-2008.

Year	Land Confiscated (Dunums)	Land Threatened (Dunums)	Uprooted Trees	
2000	708	1,948	30	
2001	296	1,542		
2002	720	2,364	445	
2003	18,102	27,108	20,100	
2004	2,162	2,162 3,005		
2005	8,151	1,195	820	
2006	1248			
2007	1900	1,186		
June 2008	53	1,242	330	
Total	33,648	40,360	23,750	

Source: ARIJ GIS-Database, 2007



Map (4): Geo-Political Status of Jerusalem's Governorate.

3.2.1. BOX THEM IN: The Land Expropriation/Confiscation:

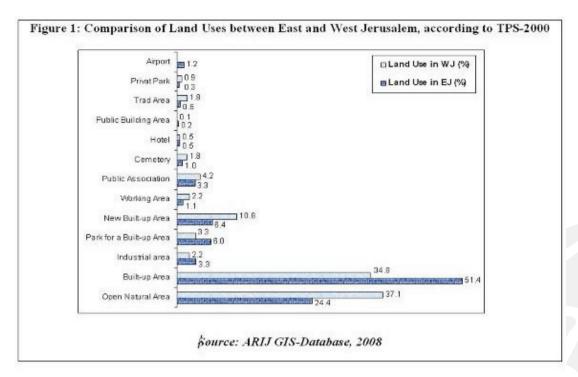
An examination of the policy adopted by consecutive Israeli mayors of Jerusalem, namely Kollek (1967–1993), Olmert (1993–2003), and Lupolianski (2003–to present) against the Arab citizens of Jerusalem is explicitly categorized as a double-standard

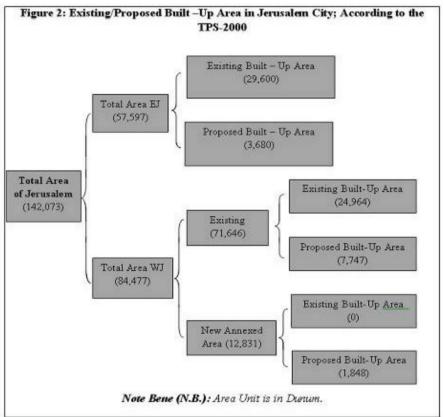
policy. This policy targets the expropriation of Arab lands to build Israeli colonies² where possible, or else "temporarily" zoning lands in the eastern parts of the city as green areas where it is illegal to build.

3.2.1.1 Master Plan 2000 – 2020:

In September of 2004, the mayor of the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality (IJM) disclosed the Town Planning Scheme of 2000 (TPS-2000). Accordingly, Israeli planners extended the boundaries of the western part of the City by 40% and quadrupled the total area of the City. According to the plan, more than half of the eastern part of Jerusalem is zoned as built-up areas at 6.4%. The plan stipulates that 24.4% of the eastern part of the City is zoned as open "natural" areas (See Figures 1 & 2). Roughly, one may conclude that the eastern part of the occupied city is already built-up areas, whereas the western part is an area of open natural zoning. The new annexed land in the western part is mainly zoned as open natural areas with a concentration of new building residential schemes in its center.

⁽²⁾ The Israeli authorities consider these colonies to be Jewish neighborhoods; accordingly they are not listed in the Israeli records of colonies constructed after the 1967 War.





Source: ARIJ GIS-Database, 2008

3.2.1.2 Housing Density:

Average housing density per room among Arab Jerusalemites was 1.65 percent higher than that in Jewish residential areas in 2005. The density among Arabs was 1.4 persons per room, while the density among Jews was 0.85 (Margalit, 2006).

According to the TPS – 2000, the estimated housing unit's capacity in the Arab sector is 40% less than that of the Jewish sector. The assessment revealed that the Arab sector capacity is set to include only up to 96,000 housing units; 58,000 housing units already exist, 38,000 of which are built without building permits, whereas the capacity in the Jewish sector is 250,000 housing units; 142,000 of which already exist.

3.2.2 SQUEEZE THEM OUT: Colonies, Outposts and Bypass Roads:

The IJM deliberately adopted a Land Use policy in Jerusalem that encourages Jewish growth while confining Palestinian growth within the city.

The first Israeli colony in Jerusalem was inside the Old City immediately following the 1967 War, when the Israeli Army destroyed more than 700 buildings to expand the Jewish quarter. Throughout the years of occupation, Israeli colonies mushroomed inside the Israeli defined municipal boundary of Jerusalem and the surrounding area. The colonies in Jerusalem may be classified by administrative association as colonies inside the municipal boundary (in J1 area), and colonies within Jerusalem governorate (J2 area), and they are 18 colonies. Additionally, Israeli settler organizations are infiltrating and initiating colony cores in the hearts of Palestinian neighborhoods, such as the colony in Al- Sheikh Jarrah around Shimon Ha Zadik and the colony core in Silwan, Al-Tur and Ras Al-Ammoud (ARIJ, 2007 a).

The colonies in the Jerusalem Governorate occupy an area of 38,902 dunums (38.902 Km²) with an estimated colonist population of 256,037. Additionally, 18

Israeli outposts were established between 1996 and 2005. Consecutive Israeli governments have also worked to link the established colonies with each other and consequently with Israel proper by creating a network of bypass roads throughout the West Bank that stretches in length more than 800 Km. Jerusalem's share of this network is 91.3 Km in and around the Governorate. An additional 64.164 kilometers of bypass road also awaits approval by the Israeli government before it goes into the execution phase in and around the Jerusalem Governorate. These roads are designed to fit alterations to the new status of roads as created by the Separation Wall (ARIJ GIS-Database, 2005).

Israel hasn't desisted from its colonial expansion program anytime since the signing of the Oslo Accords. In fact, Israel has adopted a more intense approach to developing colonies in Jerusalem. This has resulted in an increase of colony areas between 1996 (25,069 Dunums) and 2005 (44,684 Dunums) of 78% (i.e. 19615 Dunums), which reflects Israeli plans to maintain dominance over Jerusalem by means of creating facts on the ground that will make the Jewish presence in occupied East Jerusalem an irrefutable fact. Plans are also prepared for large annexations to existing colonies. These may be considered new colonies of their own and are located near Har Homa (1,080 Dunums) and near Ma'ale Adumim; this is known as the E1 plan and will confiscate 12,500 Dunums from nearby Palestinian villages.

3.2.3 FENCE THEM OFF: The Separation Wall:

One of the most controversial areas being targeted by the Israeli Separation Wall in the occupied West Bank is East Jerusalem. On this issue Israel is upholding its illegal claim on the occupied City as being part of what Israel calls the "unified City". As they translate their claim into tangible steps they enact plans to selectively enwrap areas considered significant to fulfill the Israeli vision in the occupied City with nearly

71 Km (53%) of the 133+ Km Separation Wall set to enclose the Jerusalem Governorate and separate it from the West Bank (ARIJ, 2007 b).

Upon completion the Israeli Separation Wall in East Jerusalem will confine future development of Palestinian localities to marginal proportions, while including major colonial blocs (Ma'ale Adumim, Giv'at Ze'ev and Har Adar colony northwest of Jerusalem) within the Separation Wall, as well as a range of open spaces and nature reserves that are likely to change in status to become areas reserved for future colonial development projects. Eventually, the affects of the Israeli Separation Wall will hit the entire occupied City, some places harder than others. Of these are eight Palestinian localities listed in Table 2.

Table (2): Palestinian Communities affected by the Separation Wall in East Jerusalem.

Palestinian Communities	Population (2007)		
Al Ram& Dahiyat Al-Bareed	24,838		
Hizma	5,916		
'Anata	9,337		
Shu'fat Refugee Camp	9,616		
Al Sawahereh Al Sharqieh	4,056		
Al Sheikh Sa'd	2,335		
Al Eizariya	16,884		
Abu Dis	11,753		
Total	84,735		

In the Jerusalem Governorate, the Separation Wall's "Jerusalem Envelope" will isolate 151,974 dunums (151.974 Km²) of Palestinian land (west of the Wall), which makes up 43% of the Governorate. Around 230,000 Palestinians (56.5% of the Palestinian Jerusalemites) will be segregated by the Wall and cut off from the West Bank.

Consequently, Palestinians' movement to or from the isolated part of Jerusalem will be controlled completely by Israeli occupation forces, and Jerusalem, which is the main service provider and religious center for most of the population, will be inaccessible to the more than 3.5 million Palestinians living in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Entrance to isolated agricultural lands will be restricted to those who are able to prove land ownership authenticated by the Israeli civil administration, which means that only the owners who have their names listed in the ownership deeds (usually the eldest of the families) will receive permits. Furthermore, issuance of permits by the Israeli civil administration will be on a seasonal basis; hence, the owners will find it difficult to manage their cultivated lands on their own, especially since the permits do not allow for additional labor and/or equipment.

3.2.4 CRACK THEM OUT: House Demolition & Budget Allocations:

3.2.4.1 House Demolition Policy:

As indicated in Figure 3, the number of demolished houses in East Jerusalem in the aftermath of Oslo Accords (1994–2005) has quadrupled compared to that of the previous period (1987–1993). Knowing that 70% of the demolitions from 1994–2005 were executed by the IJM, one can rebut the Israeli allegation that the demolition orders issued against Arab residences of East Jerusalem were issued under the pretext

of those residences being in areas zoned as "open landscape" "shetah nof patuah". In these "open landscape" areas no building permits are given, because the IJM is supposed to demolish in areas zoned for construction, while the Israeli Ministry of Interior is supposed to demolish in green areas only.

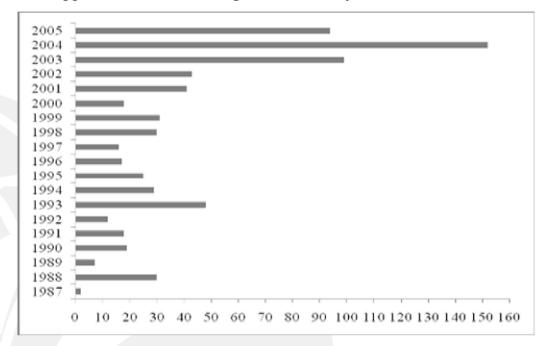


Figure (3): Number of Demolished Palestinian Housing Units in East Jerusalem, 1987-2005.

ARIJ GIS-Data Base (2005)

3.2.4.2 Allocation of Israeli Jerusalem Municipality Budget for the Year 2003:

In 2003 Palestinian residents of Jerusalem were allocated only 12% of the municipal budget although these people make up 33% of the total residents. Due to this discriminatory policy and a shortage in services, 67% of the Palestinian families in Jerusalem live below the poverty line, while the percentage of people living below the poverty line in West Jerusalem is 29%. Overall, Palestinian Jerusalemites' share of the services' budget is less than 12%, meaning a *four-to-one difference in spending per*

person between Jews and Palestinians (Margalit, 2006). As an example, there is one kilometer of paved road for every 710 persons in the western part of the city, compared to one kilometer of paved road for every 2,448 persons in Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, as well as one public garden for every 447 persons in West Jerusalem compared to one for every 7,362 persons in Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem; and there is one kilometer of sewage system for every 743 persons in West Jerusalem compared to one kilometer for every 2,809 persons in East Jerusalem. Furthermore, the municipality neglects basic street sanitation in the Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem (ARIJ, 2007 a).

4. Business-As-Usual Master-Planning in Jerusalem:

4.1 Demographic Engineering in Jerusalem

As prescribed, Israeli policy in Jerusalem is aimed at keeping demographic supremacy in their favour by the initiation of an unprecedented spate of building schemes in the aftermath of the 1967 War. However, this supremacy or "anthropogenic population growth" represents a false reality. Though Jewish gross population density inside the 1947 Jerusalem municipal boundary was almost four times of that of Palestinians in 1948, they remain the minority even including the later illegally declared 1967-Jerusalem municipal boundary.

Due to the fact that Jerusalem is under occupation, the *de facto* Jewish presence in the city came at the expense of the Arab Palestinian presence, especially in the western part (See Figure 4). The exodus of Palestinian Muslims and Christians from historical Palestine in general, and Jerusalem in particular, which began after the 1948 War and accelerated after the 1967 War, has caused a situation in which now a majority of Palestinians are living outside historical Palestine. This has created a demographic de-

cosmopolitanization of the city of Jerusalem, where even Jewish neighborhoods, such as the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, once a "mixed neighborhood," has become exclusively Jewish as settlers illegally took over lands and properties formerly owned by Palestinian Arabs.

In the same vein, Jewish presence in East Jerusalem prior to 1967 did not exceed a few hundred Jews. In 1967, a census revealed that the number of Israeli citizens within the newly expanded municipal boundaries of Jerusalem was 74% of the total population, so an Israeli ministerial decision was taken in 1972 to maintain this ratio. This decision became official Israeli policy.

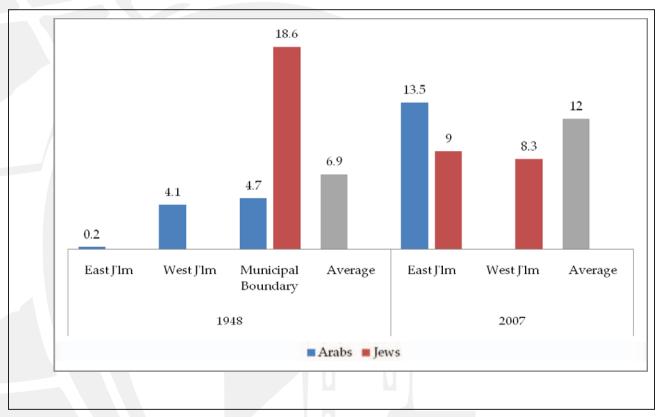


Figure (4): Proportions of Gross Population density Inside the 1967-Declared Jerusalem Municipal Boundary (Inhabitants/Dunums).

ARIJ GIS-Data Base (2008)

Comparing Arab–Jewish existence inside the 1947 Jerusalem municipal boundary represents, according to the revealed figures of the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (ICBS), the possibility of population dominance by Palestinians, who had a 50% higher growth rate than Jews from 1948 to the present (See Figure 5).

To this end, demography was utilized to shape geography. This is intrinsically linked to the "ethnic cleansing; un-mixing of people" concept, which has always been the corollary to unilateral Israeli partition plans, epitomized by the construction of the Separation Wall. Arab Jerusalemites were slowly but strategically cleansed from their own homes and properties. For instance, soon after the 1967 War, Israeli Authorities bulldozed the Palestinian Al-Magharba Quarter, which became later the Plaza of the Wailing Wall, or "Al-Bouraq Wall." However, when taking into account other dimensions of demographic engineering, such as socio-economic rather than merely political and cultural interventions, other factors present themselves. Some of these factors are not unilateral, as in the case of the ongoing Israeli practices, but are actually bilateral, and supposedly could be reconciled with the cessation of Israeli practices and the establishment of a credible Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its sovereign capital.

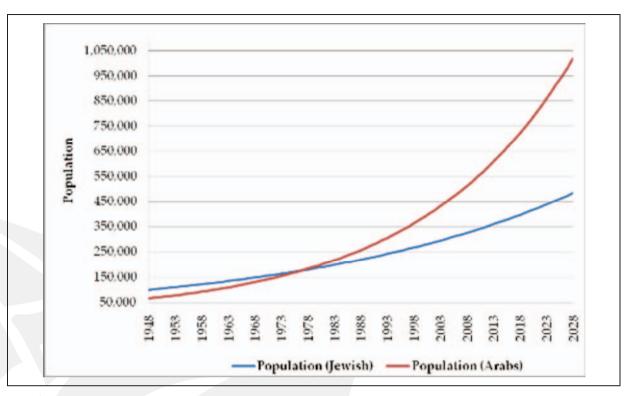


Figure (5): Supposedly Natural Growth Inside the 1947-Jerusalem Municipal Boundary.

Note Bene (N.B.): According to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics the average growth rate for the Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem City, since 1948 to present are 2% and 3.5%, respectively.

Now, with the introduction of the Separation Wall it is expected that the percentage of Palestinians inside the Jerusalem Governorate will plummet to 15%, almost half of the current percentage (See Table 3).

Table (3): Consequences of the Separation Wall on Palestinian Population in East Jerusalem.

Current Status			Following the Construction of the Israeli Segregation Wall			
Jerusalem's Population	Population (thousands)	%	Will be isolated by the Separation Wall (thousands)	Will be annexed by the Separation Wall (in thousands)	Total	%
Palestinians	254	35	130	0	124	15
Jews	470	65	0	210	680	85
Total	724	100			804	100

ARIJ GIS-Data Base (2008).

4.1.1 Gross Population Density:

Jerusalem's Old City, along with East and West Jerusalem, stands today as one of the most rapidly growing cities, mainly due to the Israeli policy of illegally accommodating Jewish immigrants in the City at the expense of the indigenous Palestinian population. Also, it is worth mentioning that the Israeli authorities concentrate on accommodating the ultra-orthodox Jews, who are famous for rapid population growth. Strategically, the IJM and Israeli authorities subsidize the living expenses of this segment of the population to accomplish their Zionist colonization scheme. However, the presence of the ultra-orthodox poses a potential source of

tension in the City because of an increasing tendency to extremism among ultraorthodox communities.

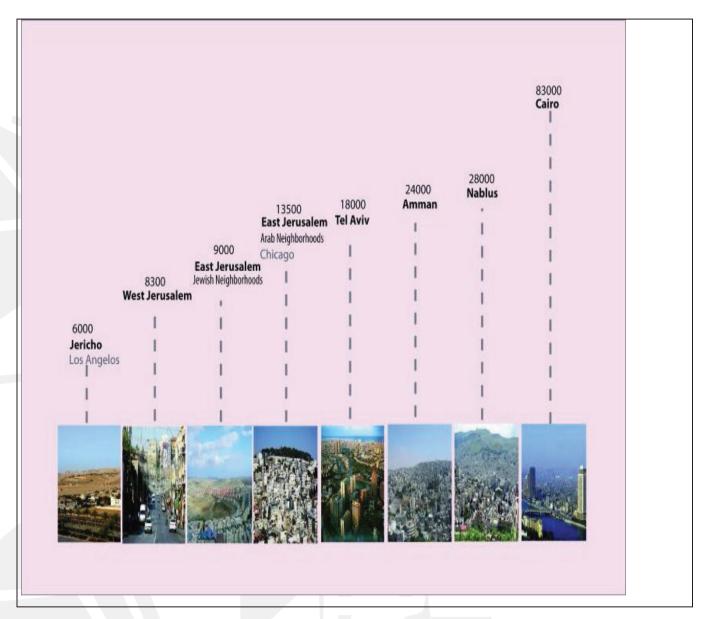
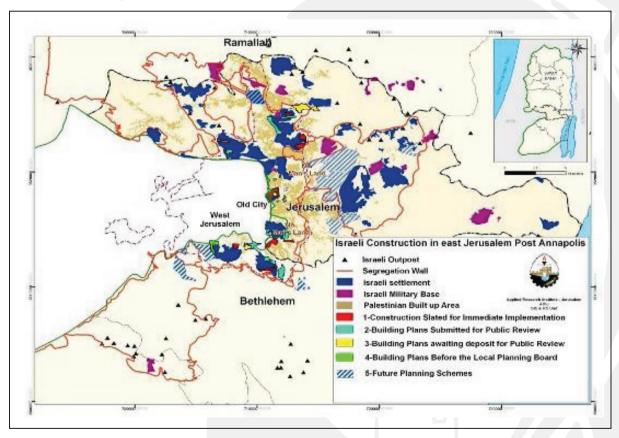


Figure (6): Comparative Population Densities.

Source of Raw Data: ARIJ Database (2007) & PRB (2008)

4.2 Israeli Construction in East Jerusalem Post Annapolis:

In the months following the Annapolis conference, which was held on the 26th of November 2007 in the United States of America, several statements and declarations were announced either by the Israeli Municipality of Jerusalem City or by the Israeli Ministry of Housing & Construction, which included bids and plans to add thousands of housing units to Israeli Colonies in the occupied West Bank. Most of these were in colonies within the City of Jerusalem (See Map5). It is clear from these statements that Israel is not willing to include Jerusalem within any Final Status negotiations as according to the road map, which "obligates Israel to freeze settlement activities in the West Bank, especially in Jerusalem City"



Map (5): Israeli Construction in East Jerusalem Post Annapolis.

Looking at the total number of housing units proposed and planned in Israeli colonies in occupied East Jerusalem, we see that the proposed number exceeds 50 thousand units. This translates to more than 160 thousand Israeli colonists, which goes hand in hand with the IJM expansionist schemes as envisioned in the TPS-2000 for the City of Jerusalem. The scheme includes the addition of 65 thousand housing units to colonies in Jerusalem city and along the city's outskirts by the year 2020; this, in turn, will hinder the implementation of the Safdie plan, which proposes an expansion of Jerusalem built-up areas at the western side of the City, and re-zoning land in Har Harat and Lavan Ridge from open space to construction zones.

On the other hand, Israel is upholding its illegal claim over the occupied city as being part of what Israel calls the "Unified City" as they translate their claim into tangible steps. This includes plans to selectively enwrap areas considered significant to fulfill the Israeli vision in the occupied city.

Eventually, the consequences of the Israeli Separation Wall will affect the entire occupied city, some places harder than others. 183,000 Palestinians living in 15 Palestinian communities will be affected and segregated by the Wall, thus being cut off from the rest of the West Bank; at the same time, the addition of housing units will add a total of over 200,000 Israeli colonists to the current colonial population of the city.

Overall, the process of colony building and wall construction will add up to around 300,000 Israeli colonists to the current population of the city of Jerusalem, which would change the demographic situation in the city and impose a new reality on the ground that cannot be ignored once negotiations over final status issues begin.

5. Concluding Notes

Israel has breached International Law and violated obligations under Humanitarian Law to which it is a State Party. The violated obligations include the prohibition on deportation and transfer of civilian populations, the destruction of civilian property, and the unlawfully impeded liberty of movement and the right to work, health, education, and adequate housing. Furthermore, the pace of construction in Israeli colonies in Jerusalem and the strangulation of the city with a series of Israeli colonies from all directions is one of a successive series of Israeli defiance's of international laws and UN resolutions, including Security Council resolution 446 (1979)), which states that "the policy and practices of Israel in establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 have no legal validity and constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East." Furthermore, Security Council resolution No. 452 (in 1979), which "Calls upon the Government and people of Israel to cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction and planning of settlements in the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem;"

Changing the borders from green to gray-concrete, as expected, hasn't ended the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians that was characterized by Edward Said (1998) as "two separate narratives converging on the same landscape." On the contrary, Israeli occupation practices, epitomized by the building of the Separation Wall, has resulted in resource depletion, shortage of freshwater supplies, degradation of the environment, increases in unemployment, increases in poverty rates, decreases in agricultural production, and in the incapacitation of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) to adequately fund and develop social and physical infrastructures for

Palestinian communities, as it (i.e. PNA) has lost control over land designated for present-day and future development.

The Israeli occupation forces' policy of creating facts on the ground was enacted by employing architectural and planning knowledge. However, these disciplines could also be used as a tool of resistance, as Said affirmed, "*Reality must be approved not accommodated to*" (Said, 2000). These methods of resistance need a more concerted effort from Palestinians in order to take advantage of its value in their struggle against Israeli occupation practices.

It is evident that all facets of Palestinian development, including the social sector, was and are affected by Israeli occupation of Jerusalem in a way that makes envisioning sustainability and viability of the Palestinian community a fairytale.

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