The Shifting Green Line: The Institutions that Shape the Definitions and Expansion of Metropolitan Jerusalem

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Jerusalem: the ultimate contested city

- Not one city but many metropolitan Jerusalems
- Definitions: outcomes of history, culture, politics, and institutional decision making
- “Making Place Project:” looks at institutions at work on shaping the direction of growth of Jerusalem
Making Place Project

- Theoretical reference point: Metropolitan development shaped by local growth actors
- U.S. Context: Local coalition of public and private institutions who benefit economically and politically from growth
- Jerusalem research: uncover the key institutions that shape the development of Jerusalem
- Project: Ongoing
- Talk: describe methods, orientation and preliminary findings
Relevance of the Making Place Project

Provide understanding of the institutional mechanisms that shape and reinforce different attachments to Jerusalem that underlie the conflict.
Making Place Key Informant Interviews

- Over 40 in-person open ended interviews with place based Israeli and Palestinian informants
- Interviewees: planners, politicians, government administrators, academics, journalists, United Nations and World Bank representatives, finance and bank personnel, NGOs, and settlers
- Interviewees: represent various Israeli, Palestinian and international perspectives
- Missing perspective to date: U.S. perspective. U.S. consulate did not consent to be interviewed. Project too “political.” Also missing rabbinical perspective.
- Particular emphasis on people who participated in the shaping of Jerusalem directly at various points in time
Interview Topics

- Changing definitions of “greater metropolitan Jerusalem” and designation of Jerusalem suburbs
- Role of government and finance capital in Jerusalem expansion
- Perspectives on East Jerusalem, settlements, the wall (security fence)
- Contrasting definitions of Jerusalem by religiosity/secular, Palestinian/Israeli, political spectrum
- Jerusalem geographic forces and impediments to peace solutions e.g., bi-national state and the two state solution
Other Data

- Maps and historical documents
- Israeli and Palestinians census
- Data collected at multiple and overlapping geographic units (e.g., Palestinian Governorates, Israeli West Bank Settlements, Israeli defined Jerusalem municipal boundaries, internationally defined Jerusalem municipal boundaries)
Shifting Green Line, Many Jerusalems

An Overview
Uniform agreement that Old City is the uncontested Jerusalem. Remaining Areas of Jerusalem all established within some kind of political and economic
United Nations defined Jerusalem, 1947 boundaries

- Boundaries established “authentic” metropolitan Jerusalem
- Inclusive of:
  - West Jerusalem (Jewish and Palestinian neighborhoods)
  - East Jerusalem
  - North to Shufat but south of Ramallah
  - South to Beit Jala, Bethlehem and Beth Sahur
On 20 November 1947, as part of its resolution on Palestine (Resolution 181 (II)), the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the proposal that "The City of Jerusalem shall be established as a corpus separatum under a special international regime and shall be administered by the United Nations." Under this plan a referendum was to be held after ten years to seek the views of the City’s residents as to whether the international regime should continue, or be modified.

Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA)
Main outcome: redrawing of UN boundaries to reflect the "Green Line."
What is the Green Line?

- Refers to the 1948 cease fire lines at end of 1948 Arab–Israeli War]
- Established boundaries between Israel and its Arab neighbors (Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria)
- Established “divided” Jerusalem.
  - East Jerusalem part of Jordan
  - Old City (original 1 kilometer City of Jerusalem shared by Jews, Armenians, Arabs and Christians) part of Jordan
  - Israeli Jerusalem: Western part of city
  - Mount Scopus (site of Hebrew University and Hadassah Hospital) from West Jerusalem as island surrounded by Arab neighborhoods
Green Line: historical reference to pre–1967/post 1948 boundaries

- 1967 Six Day War: Israel gained control of areas outside of Green Line
- Shifting Green Line:
  - reflects political and institutional efforts to mobilize support for different definitions (boundaries) for a “legitimate” Jerusalem
  - Mobilization over boundary definitions established via:
    - conflict
    - political domination
    - assertions of historical and cultural legitimacy
    - land use and physical occupation
Shifting Green Line

Battle for Jerusalem
Competing definitions: defined by identities, shaped by culture, history and political decisions

- According to an Israeli attorney working with a human rights NGO, “Jerusalem is more complex than any ideology that purports to explain it. Is Jerusalem two cities? Yes, but it also one city and three cities. And it is really two metropolitan areas. It is really complicated.”
- A Palestinian working for the UN said, “One cannot divide Jerusalem as a thing. It is too many things to many people.”
- Yet an Israeli planner said, “How to divide Jerusalem? It is already divided. Everyone knows where the border is.”
- And an Israeli geographer commented that “Sharing Jerusalem is the only possibility, socially, morally and politically.”
According to a former city official: “The year 1967 was a breaking point for Jerusalem... The government of Israel said that Jerusalem will never be divided again. The government used money as the power to insure that Jerusalem would remain united.”

1967
- Jerusalem United. Changing municipal borders and annexation of areas formerly under Jordan

Late 1960s
- Jerusalem new “neighborhood” (suburb) development (North: Ramot Eshkol, Givat Hamivtrar, French Hill)

1970s
- Neve Ya'akov, Ramot Alon (north)
- Gilo, East Talpiot (southern parts of new city)
- Gush Etzion (South to the city; "edge neighborhoods" or "Block of settlements"; major growth taking place from the 1990s)
- Ma'ale Adumim (east to the city; "edge neighborhood"; major growth taking place from the mid 1980s)
United Jerusalem Development Phases continued

1980s
- Efrat (South to the city; part of the Gush Block; major growth taking place from 1990s)
- Givat Ze'ev (north to the city; a new Block of settlements; major growth from 1990s)
- Betar Illit (South to the city; enlargement of the Gush Block; ultra-Orthodox; major growth since the 1990s)

1990s
- Har Homa (south east)
- Ramot Shlomo (ultra-Orthodox; northern parts)
- Modi'in Ilit (north western to the city; ultra-Orthodox; major growth since)

- Construction of Security/Separation Fence/Wall/Barrier – what is known as the “Jerusalem Envelope”: 143 km long, out of which 18 km is the 8 meter concrete wall

Planning beyond 2000
- Enlargement of existing urban areas
- Two new ultra-Orthodox neighborhoods planned in northern areas of the city.
- E1?
Massive building by Israeli government

- Outside Green Line: on land politically annexed to Israel
- Outside Green Line: on land considered outside of Israel (based on Israeli defined boundaries)
- All development on land outside of Green Line
  - not internationally recognized
  - classified as settlements
  - majority of population of what is considered Israel by Israel considered to be occupied land
From prominent Israeli planning official: “Development occurred over the Green Line. But this was political, not planning.”

A journalist said, “Over the Green Line, it is much easier to get development approved. This reflects the power of the army and the civil administration. The Defense Department has the power to wield anything anywhere.”
Definition of Metro Jerusalem

- Mono-centered: Jerusalem major central city
- Cities: Beth Shemesh, Betar Illit, Jerusalem, Modi’in-Makkabim-Re’ut, Ma’ale Adumim
- Regional Councils: Matte Yehuda, Matte Benjamin, Gush Etzion
- Towns: Abu Ghosh, Efrata, Bet El, Giv’at Ze’ev, Har Adar, Mevasseret Ziyyon, Modi’in Illit, Qiryat Arba, Qiryat Ye’arim–Telz
# Population changes of Jerusalem United

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<tr>
<td>Jerusalem City</td>
<td>291,799</td>
<td>407,100</td>
<td>524,500</td>
<td>657,600</td>
<td>733,329</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jerusalem Metro</td>
<td>324,314</td>
<td>447,671</td>
<td>618,871</td>
<td>916,984</td>
<td>1,102,683</td>
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<td>% City to Metro</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>72%</td>
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The Pre–First Intifada Metropolitan Jerusalem

- Define according to traditionally apolitical conventions
- Focus on transportation and economic integration of region
- Development of 1984 Jerusalem master plan based on metropolitan integration model
Map from Unpublished and Unapproved 1984 Jerusalem Master Plan
Seemingly apolitical

One region defined by an integrated economy

No names of places

No political ownership of place

Movement of people, goods and services throughout the region

According to a principal planner involved in the plan: “The planning principle was to treat metropolitan Jerusalem as one interdependent region without regard to being Palestinian or Jewish.”

Another involved in the plan said: “We found that the area of Jerusalem was a truly functional area. But this changed with the first and second intifada.”
Fast forward to 2002, post first and second intifada.

Security fence/wall built as barrier to physical entry from West Bank

Security fence defines another Jerusalem

Belief that security fence boundaries will be final solution Israeli boundaries

Fence goes far beyond the Green Line into the West Bank and through East Jerusalem, cutting off Palestinian Parliament from rest of East Jerusalem
According to an Israeli lawyer, “The wall in Jerusalem is an economic border. The border between the West Bank and Jerusalem is akin to a border between the U.S. and Mexico.”

A Palestinian UN worker said, “The security fence is different in Jerusalem than in the rest of the “territories.” In Jerusalem, 90% of the security fence is a concrete wall and 10% is a fence. In the territories, 10% is a concrete wall and 90% is a fence.”
The Ultra Orthodox Jerusalem

- Defined in terms of religious practice: keeping of Shabbat. Parts of Jerusalem circumscribed by one’s ability to carry things in these areas during Shabbat
- Ultra orthodox institutions (e.g., transit allocated specifically for the ultra orthodox) own and claim different parts of Jerusalem as theirs.
Core Ultra Orthodox Neighborhood Defined by Ultra Orthodox Telephone Directory

Ultra Orthodox Bus Route to Ramot Shomo
Palestinian Metro Jerusalem: El Quds

- Post Oslo Palestinians geographic governing areas: 16 Governorates
- El Quds Governorates
  - Ramallah and Al-Bireh
  - Jerusalem
  - Jericho
  - Bethlehem
- Polycentric metropolitan area
- Major central cities
  - East Jerusalem
  - Ramallah
  - Bethlehem
JERUSALEM MAPS
The Jerusalem District according to the Palestinian Authority

Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA)
El Quds: fragmented

- Coherence of metro area reveal through Palestinian public transit lines
- Ramallah de facto major central city area because of separation fence and check points
- Transit map lays out mechanism for commuting outside the “disconnected” East Jerusalem (e.g., take bus to checkpoint and change buses at checkpoint).
Palestinian Transit Map Through East Jerusalem Connecting It to Ramallah, Bethlehem, Beit Jala and Abu Dis
# Population and Housing Growth by El Quds metro Jerusalem Governorate

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Governorate</th>
<th>1997</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>320,809</td>
<td>360,710</td>
<td>367,003</td>
<td>388,443</td>
<td>402,900</td>
<td>389,663</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>31,089</td>
<td>36,209</td>
<td>37,066</td>
<td>40,053</td>
<td>42,057</td>
<td>40,909</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bethlehem</td>
<td>130,361</td>
<td>150,537</td>
<td>153,954</td>
<td>165,951</td>
<td>174,033</td>
<td>169,190</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total El Quds</td>
<td>687,015</td>
<td>787,017</td>
<td>803,456</td>
<td>860,405</td>
<td>898,891</td>
<td>872,444</td>
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<tr>
<td>% Jerusalem To El Quds</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>45%</td>
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Growth of Palestinian Jerusalem

- Jerusalem Governorate constant proportion of overall Palestinian Jerusalem metro. No decline in share.

- Belief that Jerusalem is actually gaining Palestinians because of security fence. According to one Palestinian political activist, “The separation wall has encouraged Palestinians to move back to Jerusalem to keep their Israeli identification cards.”
Conclusion and Next Steps

- Continue our field work on the many Jerusalems