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**ARCHITECTURE AND POLITICS:
The Use of Architecture as a Language of War
in The Case of Jerusalem City**

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ABSTRACT

Architecture always played an important role in the formation of societies, giving us an explanation of the life style of various nations.

In the case of Jerusalem, all through the past century, in parallel to politics and economy architecture had a great influence in changing the identity and nature of Jerusalem architecture, putting it to use in achieving political goals there, which consequently made it synonymous to language of war. Hence rendering the architectural situation in Arabic areas of Jerusalem in a chaotic nature, affecting the Jerusalemite identity.

Therefore in order to preserve the identity of Jerusalem architecture, some sort of transformation in the general architectural facade, should be accrued in between Arab and Israeli areas, and to ensure better urban growth in Palestinian areas as well.

ÖZET

Mimarlık her zaman çok büyük bir rol oynadı toplumları oluşturmak için, ve bu sayede yaşam şekil biçimlerini anlatıyor.

Küçük şehirde mimar geçen yüzyıllar önce politika ve ekonomiyle paralel gitmiştir. Küçük şehirde bu güçlü nüfus imac ve tabiatın değişiminde büyük bir rol oynamıştır. Küçük şehirdeki mimari politik hedefler doğrultusunda kullanılmıştır, bu da dil savaşına benzemektedir.

Bu tür bir savaşın Küçükteki mimardurum Arab bölgelerine huzursuz ve dengesiz ve dağınık bir duruma götürecektir, bu şekilde Küçük şehrinin imacini etkileyecektir.

Buna göre bu nedenleri görerek Küçük kimliğini mühafazada kalmak ve genel mimari değişimin görünmesi, Araplarını ve İsraililerin bölgeler arasında olması gerekiyor ve daha iyi ürbani büyümesini iki tarafta Filistin ve İsrail'de

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Problem

Jerusalem through the history was a stepping point for many civilizations and an area that represents for many nations a holy place, which make it a place to struggle for and to launch military campaigns to take over the city with the same purposes which is to liberate the city from the occupation and to bring back the holy city to the people who have the right to control. Due to the previous reasons the city of Jerusalem faced more than twenty seven occupations and periods which by each new period it changed the image of the city from architectural point of view. It can be said that architecture sector played the second important role beside military campaigns to dominate the occupation in each period in the Jerusalem history.

Hellenic, Roman, Byzantine, Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, Crusader, Ayoubid, Mamluk, Ottoman, British Mandate, and Israeli¹ controlled the city once upon time, and left their cultural heritage as a fingerprint in the city architecture, despite the fact that these civilizations controlled the city of Jerusalem still their aims and targets were not to control the city by using architecture and urban planning elements, instead more to reflect their richness and cultures. In the case of the Israeli occupation over Jerusalem the issues are different, Israeli government in the early days of its establishment in 1948 has assigned a plan to control the city by using architecture as a language of war in order to establish facts on the ground that can not be neglected and to strengthen the Jewish existence in the city. These new policies of neglecting Palestinian inhabitant rights and unjust regulations, towards their neighborhoods, and their identity, brought the struggle to a new level. A struggle forced the Palestinians to try to keep their existence and identity by using the same language and the same elements that the Israeli government is using.

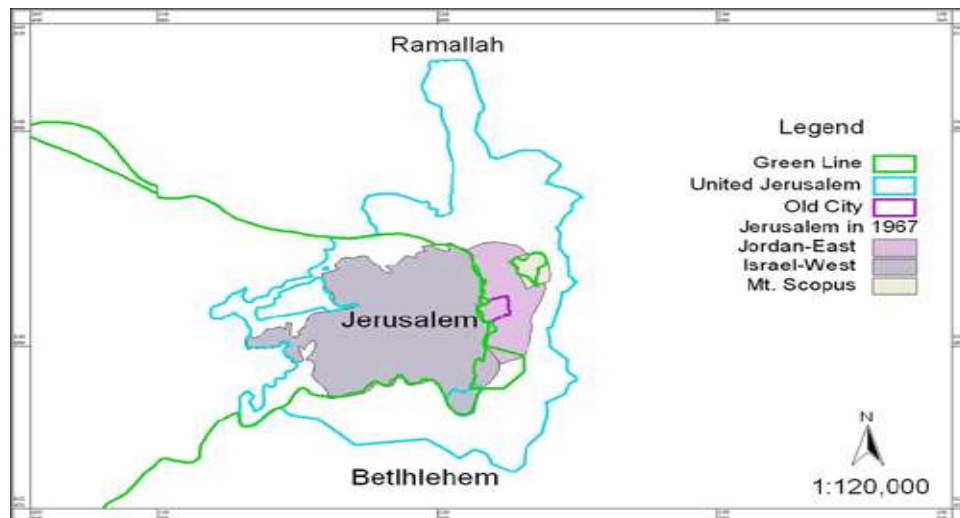
¹ Khasawneh Diala, Palestinian Urban Mansions, Riwaq Center for architectural Conservation/Palestine, p.12

These new facts on the ground and the existence of a new occupation helped the Arab Palestinian inhabitants to be aware of the importance of their presence in the city of Jerusalem. Due to these incidents, unplanned and unorganized Arabic Palestinian neighborhoods appeared as a reaction to the Israeli policies towards them.

Jerusalem today reached a point where a solution has to be found to solve the problems that the city faces, and to be more aware of what can be done to develop it in a way that keeps the identity and the history of the city sustained.

The situation in the West Bank cities is better than the situation in Jerusalem because in these cities the Palestinians have the authority of the land and, the municipalities and they were applying their own rules and regulations without exterior influence. But by observing the situation in West Bank I found out that despite the positive situations in some cases, still the architecture identity is affected by Israeli policies through: (plan 1)

- Enlarging policy for settlements that are located in the West Bank on Palestinian territories.
- Controlling the entrances of the Palestinian cities and not allowing the Palestinians to get their construction materials.
- Occupying more lands from the Palestinian cities to make bypass roads for their settlements in order to be connected with the Israeli side.
- Occupying hill peaks and making their settlements in a way that will not leave a room for normal healthy Palestinian city expansion.
- Building new settlements in the West Bank and near Palestinian areas for security reasons.



Plan 1: Showing the way that Jerusalem city is extended to Ramallah from the north and Bethlehem from the south(http://www.tau.ac.il/jcss/sa/images/v8n1p5Arieli_map1.gif)

All the previously mentioned reasons are causing problems in the architectural identity of the Palestinian cities, In addition the lack of experience that Palestinian authority has makes the architecture sector not directed in the right way.

1.2 Aim and Objectives

This research aims to focus on the following:

- The problems that Jerusalem city are facing from an architectural point of view.
- To figure out the problems in the architecture sectors in the Arabic neighborhoods.
- To suggest solutions and suggestions to the Arab Palestinian areas for futuristic expansion.
- To suggest the ways of how the existing situation can be developed and improved in order to get out from this chaos in the Arabic Palestinian areas.

This research attempts to:

- Evaluate the architectural conditions in Jerusalem city.
- How to deal with the new facts that the Israeli municipality has created through the years.

- What are the relations between Jerusalem city, and other Palestinian cities in the West Bank (Ramalah, Bethlehem) that are affected by the occupation.
- To point out the problems and the causes of these problems.
- To find out available solutions that can be applied by higher authorities.

1.3 Methodology

The under taken study is an empirical research, based on collecting dates and personal observation and experience to extract the architectural situation in the case of Jerusalem city and another two west bank cities Ramallah and Bethlehem.

The first and the second chapter will give a brief explanation and back ground of the problem, and it will demonstrate the situation during the Ottoman Empire period and the British Mandate period over Jerusalem, and the transition of Jerusalem architecture entered at these periods.

The third chapter includes the main studied period (Israeli occupation of Jerusalem) and the role of political agenda that affected the architecture identity of Jerusalem. Information had been collected through books and sited index. In addition, observation of the situation on the ground took place through visits to the studied cities.

As a result, finding and conclusion had been out together in order to come out with suggestions and solutions that can be applied by the responsible authority

CHAPTER 2

2. BRITISH MANDATE PERIOD OF JERUSALEM (1917-1948)

2.1. Historical Background Of Jerusalem In Terms Of Architecture

Jerusalem has a history that goes back as far as the 4th millennium BCE, making it one of the oldest cities in the world. Through the history it became the center of many civilizations and by time it became the capital of Palestine or what was called in the ancient time the Land of Kanan. It is hard to define Jerusalem as a city for specific nation or religion because it refused through the history to be only for a specific religion or a nation, and that can be observed from the history of the city. In 1003 B.C King David made Jerusalem the capital of Jerusalem but it didn't last for a long period, and after couple years and with the Byzantine period (324 C.E) the city were converted to Christianity, churches and impressive street were constructed in the period, but the city didn't reach its glory until the Mamluks period (1250 C.E) where palaces, fountains and schools and public markets were constructed in that period.²

The history of Jerusalem city goes back to hundreds of years, from different periods and civilizations that passed through the city with different architectural styles representing different periods of rule. These periods are very important to understand the value of Jerusalem city for many nations but the thesis will not focus on these periods because it is aiming to focus on the situation of Jerusalem architecture through the last century and to understand the transition of the city from traditional to modernity. And what was the role of politics in changing the city identity through its architecture.

In order to do that most important period that will be focused on is the late Ottoman Period in Jerusalem from the late (1890 to 1917), and that period will help the reader to understand the transforming period that took place in the British mandate period (1917-1948), later on it will discuss the architectural situation and agendas after the Israelis occupation in 1948 and

² <http://www.jerusalem.muni.il/english/tour/history/1250/1250.html>

the effects of politics on reshaping the architectural identity of Jerusalem and where the city reached today from architectural point of view.³

When talking about architecture in Jerusalem and the region architecture, its better to describe it as architecture in Palestine than Palestinian architecture, it refers to all architecture styles found in Palestine and especially in the city of Jerusalem from different historical periods. These architectural styles (Roman, Byzantine, Christian, and Islamic.) are seen in different parts of the old city of Jerusalem and they played an important role in forming Jerusalem through time.

In the end of World War I, (1917) the Ottoman Empire collapsed and the British took over Jerusalem city and overall Palestine by an international treaty to administrate Palestine. When Great Britain's Army and administrators entered Jerusalem they found a fantastic Arabic city of narrow streets lined with lively squares, archways, cool courtyards, and stone pavements.

The old city of Jerusalem is rich with its historical buildings from different periods, with good conditions and shapes despite the fact of the destruction and wars the city faced through its history. These buildings are coming together in a way that shows and reflects the sense of Jerusalem city.

The city was improved and developed from one period to another in terms of architecture; this includes urban planning, landscaping, and building construction. It was during the Islamic period that the city reached its glory; they were trying to show their power in the architecture of the city, in the Ottoman Empire Period the city was more defined as an Arabic city with the respect to other architecture styles such as Via Delarosa Street in the old city where Jesus walked in his last day while he was tortured. (Figure 1).

³ <http://www.jerusalem.muni.il/english/tour/history/1250/1250.html>



Figure 1: Via Delarosa street in the old city

2.2. The End Of Ottoman Empire Of Jerusalem

The late Ottoman Period in Jerusalem was a preparation for the transformation that the city faced after that. These few years were used as a bridge to apply the changing process of Jerusalem identity from traditional identity with its architecture and people and life style to a modern one. Until the 1860's most of Jerusalem residents were living inside the old city of Jerusalem surrounded by the city wall. It was rebuilt during the Ottoman Period by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. During the Ottoman Empire period most of the construction took place inside the old city of Jerusalem due to the following circumstances:⁴

- The Psychological affects made by the existence of the religious buildings such as the Haram Al Shareif and the Holy Sepulcher Church and Via Delarosa Street.

⁴ <http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFAArchive>

- In relation to the Commercial aspects in the old city, has presence of public markets and Bazaar's inside the old city helping the residents to obtain their needs, and an opportunity to work and to live in the same areas.
- There was enough space for all the residents of Jerusalem inside the walled city so Jerusalemites did not see the need to move outside the walled city.

Later, due to crowded conditions in the old city, residents started to look for housing solutions outside the old city and to build new neighbourhoods outside the city walls. However such solutions were applicable to a specific category of people due to the high cost of such Endeavour's. During that time the buildings that were located outside the old city of Jerusalem are the Mantefiore Winmil and the Russian compound. (See Figures 2 and 3).⁵



Figure 2: The Russian church. Figure
(www.passia.org/2000/heritage.html)



3: Mantefiore Winmil. (www.md.huji.ac.il)

By the end of World War I more neighbourhoods had been established, especially in the area located along Jaffa road. One of the house's built outside the old city around 1870 by Rabah al Housieni in Sheikh Jarah quarter, has European neo-classical style with many Middle Eastern embellishments. The building now is used as the American colony hotel and still representing one of the masterpieces of that period. (David Kroyanker, 2000, p21)

⁵ <http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFAArchive>

This building illustrates the beginning of the influence of western architecture in the city of Jerusalem. It could be said that as from that time they started to design their buildings in western styles without eliminating the traditional elements. Their traditional houses; were a mixture of two cultures which still exists until nowadays.⁶

Towards the end of the Ottoman Empire ruling in Palestine and especially in Jerusalem, Jewish immigrants started to settle down in the city of Jerusalem and in other regions in Palestine, without showing their interests in controlling the city of Jerusalem. Due to the bad conditions that the Ottoman Empire had at that time and the effect of World War I, Jews had more freedom in immigrating to Palestine and settling down. Moreover with the help of the British government it became clear that the number of Jews in Jerusalem had been increased in Jerusalem, with the new policy established by British mandate. Jews were able to establish their first settlement which was called Kiputz, in Hebrew, in Palestine.

Year	All religions	Moslems including Druze	Christians	Jews	Samaritans
1800	275,000	246,350	21,800	6,700	150
1890	532,060	431,600	57,400	42,900	150
1914	689,300	525,150	70,000	94,000	150

Table 1: Estimates of the population of Palestine, 1800-1914(Bachi Roberto the Population of Israel, Jerusalem-1974, p31)

With the end of the Ottoman Empire in 1916, the intentions of the new Jewish immigrants in the land of Palestine and in Jerusalem were to take over the land of Palestine and to establish their state. From that time the conflict between the new Jewish settlers and the Palestinians took place in Jerusalem city.

⁶ <http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFAArchive>

2.2.1. Characteristics Of Ottoman Architecture In Jerusalem

During the Ottoman Empire period in Jerusalem there was no great change in the architecture of the city. The Ottoman administration did not give proper attention to architecture sectors in the city because their performance was concentrated on other cities like Cairo and Damascus for their importance as centers of the Arabic world. Jerusalem at that time only represented a holy place, despite all these facts the Ottomans has their touches on the city architecture, especially in the restoration projects that took place in that period for many sites such as Medrassa and Kullia, the landscaping that surrounded Al Aqsa Mosque and the arches on the platform where Dome of the Rock is standing. At that period, more bazaars and public markets were constructed in the old city of Jerusalem and the use of the Islamic elements in architecture was more dominant.

The Ottoman Empire concentrated more on religious buildings, most of the restoration project and new projects were for Mosques and Sabeel's which represent the affect of the Islamic thoughts presents in the Ottoman Empire. It was during the Ottoman Empire period when the sense of military architecture became more dominate on other styles and types of architecture. They wanted to strengthen and rebuild the walls of the city in order to secure it from invasion. One of these examples is the Damascus which was built during the Ottoman Period with a military architecture style for defensive reasons (Figure 4).



Figure 4: Damascus gate, a fine example of military architecture style.
(www.firstworldwar.com/photos/battlegrounds.htm)

Ottoman Empire period gave the city its defensive forms but it didn't affect the styles of architecture that much especially the one that existed in the Mamlouk period. However the importance of that period on the development of architecture can be defined because it was the last period where the Islamic traditional architecture was dominant in Jerusalem architecture.⁷

2.3. Conclusion Of The Late Ottoman Period Of Jerusalem

It can be said that Jerusalem city during the Ottoman Empire, was not affected from the architectural point of view and that was due to the existence of Mamlouk architecture in Jerusalem before that period, which the city reached its glory in terms of architecture. That is why the influence of the Ottoman architecture on Jerusalem is not definite. But at the same time it helped in changing some styles and architectural shapes such as; domes and other decorative elements in the openings of houses and mosques.

Towards the end of the Ottoman period in Jerusalem, the city started getting its historical importance, where the architectural development process appeared on the surface and the ability of using the areas that surrounded the old city of Jerusalem. During Ottoman Period around 1900's the city

⁷- Ingersol Richard, Jerusalem: The City and Memory- Arch 343, Rice University, 1995.

became a stepping point for many campaigns which explain the existence of different architectural styles from that period such as the Russian compound. The absence of great changes in the architectural identity of Jerusalem refers to the religious aspects which were not changed from the Mamlouk Period to the Ottoman Period; at that time Islam was the dominant religion in Jerusalem. It can be said that the Ottomans accepted the city as it is and they did not need to change the identity of the city because somehow it reflected their thoughts and believes with the architecture identity that the city has.

The fact that there were no great changes in the architecture styles that existed in Jerusalem helps keeping the traditional oriental identity of Jerusalem for hundreds of years. The negative effects on the city architecture is that there were no clear Ottoman architectural touches like the one in Istanbul or in Damascus,.

2.4. Early Stages Of The British Mandate Period In Jerusalem (1917-1920)

British rule over Palestine began in December 1917, when General Allenby entered the old city of Jerusalem on foot through Jaffa gate. During these years from the British Mandate Period the city of Jerusalem began its transformation from a provincial town of Ottoman times to a modern administrative, political, and cultural center. Building activity started almost immediately and Jerusalem expanded to the north, south and west. With the beginning of the British mandate period a new way and style entered the city which affected it in general.

The British brought western ideas, technology, and new materials. They determined municipal zones, commercial areas, density of construction, and use of materials and height of buildings. Perhaps their most influential contribution to the character of architecture in Jerusalem was a municipal ordinance which remains until today's, requiring all new buildings to be covered with stone, giving a certain romantic quality to the buildings, creating a new identity of architecture in Jerusalem and in other cities such as Ramalah and Bethlehem.

Under the British mandate, all residential construction was in the hands of private contractors and entrepreneurs.

The British colony brought to the city more planned and designed projects because they were influenced with their cultures and background. In the mid twenties multistory buildings with modern facades started to appear in the areas outside the old city. The city expanded and grew in different directions, for different purposes and different shapes.

In rural areas the style and type of architecture can be referred to Palestinian vernacular architecture which was developed in time and through different periods. During the British Mandate period the typical Palestinian house started to form specific characteristics and features with new materials and techniques but for different design approaches and needs.

The physical and geographical expansion of Jerusalem took place between two extremes, diversity and unity. In terms of territory and volume of construction, it is primarily the state built housing projects and neighbourhoods.

During the British Period and due to climatic considerations the architectural purity was further compromised by the addition of pitched roofs covered with the ubiquitous red Marseilles tiles. The latter aspects brings up problems of rehabilitation and conservation of neighbourhoods, individual buildings and open valleys as well as the city's traditional skyline.

It was during the British Mandate Period that parks and open spaces for public with beautiful landscaping appeared, with great similarities with the ones in Europe such as the rose of garden in Atlbieh in 1920s.

These new rules, styles and new building units influenced the general image of the city and it has changed the shape of the city and the future of urban development in all residential and commercial sectors.

The renovation of interesting architectural private building has also been carried out in various neighbourhoods of the city at that period. In some cases, only the facade of the original buildings could be preserved, in others where walls could be strengthened, additional stories have been added to the original frame, with details and materials matching or complimenting the existing elements. The results are not uniformly successful because in some

of these buildings the effort and the renovation was done without expert teams and qualified labors, but in most of the cases, at least part of the architecture legacy of the older structure has been preserved.

As a result of new rules and the expansion policies outside the old city of Jerusalem new great buildings were built and became one of the examples of that period such as YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) and Rockefeller Museum. (Figures 5 and 6)

List of rules during British Mandate period:

- Compulsion that all building should use Jerusalem white limestone.
- Compulsory supervision by architects and municipality on building,
- Compulsory licensing for building and limiting the actual construction area.



Figure 5: YMCA building model one of the early buildings out side the old city of Jerusalem.
(web.israelinsider.com/.../Article/YMCA_art_1.jpg)



Figure 6: Rockefeller Museum one of the early huge buildings in the city of Jerusalem. (www.dkimages.com/discover/Home/Architecture/P...)

Both YMCA building in west Jerusalem (designed by the same American firm that did the New York City's empire state building) and Rockefeller museum, designed by noted British architect Austin S.B. Harrison, exhibit an interesting mixture of art deco, Byzantine and Islamic themes as a combination of different styles that exist in the city. Architects from all over the world started to come to Jerusalem and design wonderful modern buildings, while keeping in consideration the cultural heritage that the city has in order to keep the historical texture image untouched and protected.

Under the British Mandate the city of Jerusalem started to be more defined as a capital city of Palestine for the first time in over 700 years. This in itself was a major source of urban growth since it meant that most significant British government offices in Palestine established their headquarter in Jerusalem. Jew and Moslem institutions were starting to take place in Jerusalem such as, universities and schools; as an example of these institutions; the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was established on Mount Scopus in 1925 which represented modern styles and new technology that brought to the city.

Jerusalem was a city on the move. Unfortunately at the same time conflict and violence were also brewing, the clash between the national aspirations of Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem and the rest of the country took place.

Architecture in Jerusalem during the British mandate was totally changed from the Ottoman Period. The British Mandate architects dealt with the city from different approaches. A pro-western approach of urban planning and landscaping took place in the city of Jerusalem and their effects still present until today.

2.5. Transition Of Jerusalem Traditional Architecture To Modernity

The old city of Jerusalem is a sacred place and it took its architectural identity by adapting each civilization that settled in Jerusalem and by time it gains its own architectural traditional identity. Most of the houses that existed before 20th century were made of local material in traditional way and techniques.

Architecture that found in the old city of Jerusalem can be defined under the traditional architecture style plan of buildings and their façade and their material all these elements were found in Jerusalem or near by area, and building design were related and a continuation of the surrounding environment that city has such as the religious and the historical places and building in the city. Traditional architecture in Jerusalem was part of the whole mosaic of the historical Jerusalem not a different part. In the beginning of the 20th century and with the movement of Jerusalemites outside the walled city due to the increase of population inside the old city new form and style appeared by the influence of western architects that arrived to the city.

But it was till the beginning of the British Mandate period that the city started the real transition period. New styles and techniques and plan types entered the city with the British Mandate which affected the city architectural identity and changed it. Modern style became the dominant style outside the old city of Jerusalem and British administration made sure that it will remain by putting rules and regulations that will make modern styles the futuristic architectural identity of Jerusalem, which later on made it easier for the Israeli in controlling the city.

2.6. Characteristics Of British Architecture In Jerusalem

During the British Period, architecture had been affected in a way which limits the process of development of the architecture and urban planning. However, the fact that the British Mandate had a positive effect in general on Jerusalem architecture, the political situation in that period played a very important role in limiting these projects to put it in action.

At that period the conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians started to appear on the surface, and the western agenda that was supporting the Jew in making there state in Jerusalem forced the British to concentrate the main projects in the western part of Jerusalem which was occupied later by the Jews in 1948. That leaves the Arabic side not well planned as the western side. This period has a great deal in changing the image of the city and to transfer it from a traditional city to a modern one. These improvements and developments in the city's architecture were growing and destroying the traditional identity of the city and it social life.

Characteristics of the British architecture in Jerusalem are as follows:

- Emergence of new neighbourhoods outside the old city.
- Forming new architectural rules and regulations.
- More organized plans for Jerusalem city.
- The appearance of city centers, and public squares. Mentioning that before the arrival of the British mandate there was no city center as it's defined these days.
- The remoteness of traditional architecture.
- Emergence of modern architectural styles.

2.7. Conclusion Of The British Mandate Period Of Jerusalem

The British Mandate period was not just a normal period that Jerusalem lived through, but it was symbolized as a transitional stage in every possible field, on all levels. On the architectural frontier and urban development, British Mandate period witnessed progression and transformation which lead to a reality that can not be ignored, in addition to political changes which resulted

from that period, architecture was fundamental, where that period witnessed the appearance of neighbourhoods outside the walled city of Jerusalem, which was dramatically different from the traditional architecture of the region and the city.

That period symbolizes a bridge between what is traditional and modern, effected by all the surroundings including social, political, and economical sectors.

This period was crucial in forming Jewish neighbourhoods in Jerusalem city, and it left its negative effects on the city and created a continuous struggle between two nations, however it offered the city in, many modern ways in the architectural sector which drew the map to where the city was lead during this period, which became the base for future architectural development.

CHAPTER 3

3. ISREALI OCCUPATION OF JERUSALEM(1948-Till present day)

3.1. Historical Background Of Israeli Architecture Of Jerusalem

In the late 19th century, Jewish communities immigrating to Palestine started to reach Jerusalem and built their own neighbourhoods outside the old city of Jerusalem replicated the building styles of their homelands that reflect their cultures and the societies that they came from. In Jerusalem, it was the wealthy Jewish philanthropist Moses Montefiore who established the first neighbourhood outside the Old City around 1886-1914 which was made of terraced row house styles, with red roof tiles which were influenced by the Mediterranean vernacular architecture which were called Mishkenot Sha'ananim, it became the prototype of Jewish residences all over historic Palestine which were similar to Me' a Shearim neighborhood outside Jerusalem, built in the early years of the 20th century for Jewish residence to encourage them to live outside the old city.⁸(David Kroyanker, 2000)See (Figure 7)

⁸ David Kroyanker, , The City's Architecture – Periods and Styles Presenter. June 15th, 2000/p3.



Figure 7: Me'a Shearim Nieghbourhood, Jeursalem (www.inisrael.com/tour/jer/more.html)

In 1948, a United Nation partition plan was proposed to divide Palestine into two Jewish and Arab states. The Arabs rejected the partition plan on the ground that Jews who represented at that time 7 % of the total population were not entitled to such a large proportion of historic Palestine. War erupted and the result was that Jewish, in 1948, gained control over 78 % of mandate Palestine.

Parallel of what was happening in Jerusalem; other cities started to appear such as Tel Aviv city which is considered the capital of Israel state located in the costal side of Palestine near java city. Tel Aviv is a city where western architectural styles were more dominant, which were built initially as a reproduction of Eastern European cities like Odessa, Moscow, and Warsaw. During the early stages of the building process, architects did not consider the following aspects:

- The climatic conditions of a warm weather sea-side town and retained the wide windows, attics, turrets and towers of a more temperate environment.
- The historical background of the country
- The location.

This was reflected in their plans and elevations and the forms of buildings, but later on architects and craftsmen of all kinds became influenced by Oriental style and they took in their consideration the previously mentioned aspects.⁹

In the aftermath of the 1948 war, the Israeli government took immediate action to consolidate their hold on West Jerusalem and to plan the foundations for the eventual conquest of the East.

The mid of the 20th century witnessed a rapid spreading in Jewish settlements around the city of Jerusalem; it became the base for futuristic urban planning projects in Jerusalem.

3.2. Israel Architectural Policies In West Jerusalem After 1948

"We cannot lend ourselves to take part in the en-forced separation of Jerusalem, which violates... the historic and natural rights of a people who dwells in Zion." (Ben Gurion, founder of the state of Israel)

Since the creation of the state of Israel the main and the most important question of how the city should be developed and what should be done in order to control the city, has continued to be a matter of debate. As a result of 1948 War, Israeli's took control of more than half of Palestine, destroyed around 419 Palestinian villages, and Jerusalem was divided into two separate entities: An Israeli West Jerusalem and an Arab East Jerusalem.¹⁰

Within the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948 speedy political maneuvers were made to legitimize control of the West. A rapid series of resolutions and legislation ratified by the Knesset in 1949 and 1950 revealed Israeli intentions for the city. The Knesset rejected all calls for internationalization after the war and declared that "Arab aggression" invalidated their obligation to implement the partition plan.

⁹ David Kroyanker, , The City's Architecture – Periods and Styles Presenter. June 15th, 2000/p3.

¹⁰ - [tp://www.jerusalemmites.org/crimes/destroyed_villages/index.htm](http://www.jerusalemmites.org/crimes/destroyed_villages/index.htm)

From the day that Israeli's occupied West Jerusalem in 1948 all the Palestinian neighbourhoods in the west side of Jerusalem were evacuated and their inhabitants sent to the east side of the city, which left all the houses, buildings, in the west side empty from its original owners, as a result of this action, these houses were given to new Jewish immigrants and it was transformed to Jewish neighbourhoods with Arabic traditional style of architecture but with new users from different cultures and societies. Most of these buildings were kept as they are, but the functions and the use purposes changed, as an example of these changes in function. The Israeli prison in the west side of Jerusalem which is called the Maskoubia, was part of the Russian Compound and that was used by the Russian campaign in the city, or the palace which was built by a Turkish architect with an Ottoman Islamic style which was after 1948 used as a governmental administrative building by the Israeli Government. (Figure 8)

Moreover Israeli's took over all the land that was owned by the Palestinians which were located in the west side of Jerusalem which limited the choices for futuristic urban development for the Arabic inhabitants.



Figure 8: Palace built by the Ottomans and occupied by the Israeli after 1948.
(www.geocities.com/josephnow210/palace/1.html)

After dividing the city of Jerusalem, the development and the architectural growth took place in both sides of the divided city. In the arabic side the idea of constructing outside the old city of Jerusalem was already accepted by the Arabic inhabitants in the east side of the city. There was couple of fine examples of Arabic buildings outside the old city such as the new nighbourhood in Shikh Jarah on the north side of the city. Such small nighbourhoods in the arabic side became the example and a starting point for other nighbourhoods. As an example see figure 9 showing Silwan and Abo Tour in the south side of Jerusalem.



Figure 9: Silwan Nighbourhood in East Jerusalem
(www.electronicintifada.net/artman2/uploads/2/0709...)

It was the political situation and 1948 War that pushed the Arabic inhabitants of Jerusalem to accelerate the proccess of constructions outside the old city in order to accomdate the refugees that were displaced from their cities in the land that was occupied in 1948. The growth of the city was going in three directions north, south and east because there was no possibility of building in the west part of Jerusalem, as it was occupied by the Israelis, and that explains the Arabic urban growth in the other three sides of the city.



Figure 10: New neighbourhood outside the old city of Jerusalem 1940s.

The architectural shapes and styles in the Arabic side of the city did not have great changes. There were some changes as a result of the affects of the new modern world that started to exist in that period, however the traditional architecture with its elements and materials and techniques did not have great change, and the same British Mandate laws and regulations were followed at that period in the arabic side of Jerusalem city. This period did not witness great projects such as big neighbourhoods or industrial areas it was more as individual efforts done by the Arabic inhabitants themselves without governmental or studied plans which effected the whole identity of the city especially in the Arabic side later on as it will be explained in the coming section. Figure 11 shows an example of Palestinian houses in the east side of the city reflecting the architectural styles and shapes that were followed at that time.



Figure 11: A fine example of Palestinian architecture from 1940s.
(www.asergeev.com/.../2001/211/browser.html)

Towards the early years of 1960s more Palestinian neighbourhoods were built in East Jerusalem. Buildings in East Jerusalem could be identified as residential buildings, and a Couple of educational buildings which were located outside the old city of Jerusalem. The existance of bigger educational buildings and squares created a different atmosphere in the east side that did not exist before. This side of the city started to be formed and to be considered as a major city, not only as a religieuse one as the Ottomans and British were looking at the city. Markets and Public streets and Comercial areas started to appear in that area such as the Salah Al Din street which is the main comercial Street outside the old city in the Arabic area, or the Mosrara area where shops and restaurant were opened, the thing that created new life outside the city. The areas outside the old city were not anymore empty lands full with olive trees and farms, it became an area full with life.

In the west part of Jerusalem city, under the Israeli controll, from the early years of the occupation of the west side the Israeli goverment established a plan of how the city can be developed and how it can be controlled. Therefore, rapid plans and constructions took place from the begining of the occupation, the aim was to built as much as possible in order to accommodate the new western Jews that are coming to settle down in Jerusalem, and to create new facts on the ground that can not be eliminated in any political solution that may be found in the future, The solution was the sleeping unites policy, which states that buildings have to be built mostly from concrete, which served the new comers and provided them with a shelter and a place to live. These buildings represented architectural forms that did not have any relation with the surrounding nature of the city. The Israeli architects had a duty to built huge anonymous structures such as the one shown in Figure 12. The blocks were all built after 1948, when the government of Israel had to provide, within a very short time, shelters for thousands of new immigrants. This was the easiest way to accomodate as much as possible in the city (Figure 13).



Figure 12: An early housing project that existed in the west side of the divided Jerusalem built after 1948. (www.passia.org/.../meetings/2000/heritage.html)



Figure 13: An early housing project that existed in the west side of the divided Jerusalem built after 1948.(www.passia.org/.../meetings/2000/heritage.html)

The first figure is an Israeli structure invention; a nine-story building without a lift (elevator). You enter into the center of the building through a bridge, and then go up three or four stories or down four or five stories. These types of buildings continue until the end of 1960s, with small changes and improvements over the years.

Moreover it can be said that it's only residential buildings that had this problem, due to previously mentioned reasons. But in other types of buildings there were some good architectural examples such as the Hadassah hospital which was built in the 1940's and continued in enlarging after 1948, by one of the most important architects of the 20th century, Eric Mendelson. He incorporated no oriental motifs whatsoever in his buildings, except in this building, Figure 14 shows the entrance of the Hadassah hospital on the Mount of Scopus, it shows the use of traditional oriental elements in this building which are represented by the use of domes and courtyards in that building.



Figure 14: The entrance of Hadassah hospital on Mount Scopus.
(www.passia.org/.../meetings/2000/heritage.html)

Later on, Israeli architects started to give more attention to design better buildings that fit people's needs without neglecting the context and the historical background of the city and its heritage. The main idea was how to build for the Israelis in the city in a way that does not show a great difference with the existing architectural styles. The western Jewish architects brought

their own experiences and the styles that existed in the countries they came from such as the Bauhaus styles that was used in a couple of buildings in Jerusalem and other Israeli cities like Tel Aviv. Figure 15 below shows a typical Bauhaus International Style architecture of the 1930's and 1940's, terraces, the glass windows and cylinder type elements on top of the roof.



Figure 15: Bauhaus building style in Jerusalem (www.fotocomunity.de/.../6794/)

As it was mentioned previously, there is no certain type or architectural style that Israeli's follow from the beginning. It could be said that the early years after the establishment of Israel State in 1948 were an experimental stage for the Israeli government and the Israeli architects. Somehow it was a period of time where they were looking for their identity. They were from different countries and societies. This reflected in the story of the Israeli parliament building (the Keenest) which took time and a lot of changes on the main design to be approved by the committee from the government, because their parliament members had different points of view and they were affected with the architecture styles that they had in their original country. (Figure 16)



Figure 16: parliament building of state of Israel (the keenest)
(commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Knesset_in_Jerusalem-israel)

Furthermore, in time the Israeli architects started adapting local styles from Islamic and Mediterranean styles, using Islamic domes and traditional architectural elements in their design as a combination of two styles, such as the synagogue of the University Campus at Givat Ram. This case represents a modern interpretation of the traditional stone dome which is typical of Islamic architecture.(Figure 17).This is a modern version, made from a very thin concrete structure and built in the late 1950s.¹¹

¹¹ David Kroyanker, , The City's Architecture – Periods and Styles Presenter. June 15th, 2000/p3.



Figure 17: The synagogue of the University Campus at Givat Ram.
(www.passia.org/.../meetings/2000/heritage.html)

After 1948 War, architecture in Palestine was affected by the new neighborhoods and architecture styles, which were brought by western architects to the region.

Palestinian inhabitants used the new styles and combined them in their own traditional architectural style, at the same time the Israeli state found, in these modern styles, a way to establish their own identity by using architecture. It is clear that Palestinians and Israelis used architecture to accomplish their plans in the city of Jerusalem. Between the years 1948 and 1967 there was no direct, real architectural clash of both sides due to the division of Jerusalem city.

3.3. The Israeli Occupation Of East Jerusalem In 1967

In 1967, Jerusalem Israeli municipality borders were expanded on the east side of Jerusalem after the six day war. As a result of the war Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza strip. The West Bank including East

Jerusalem covers an area of 5,845 km², while Gaza strip covers an area of 365 km².¹²

The new situation in Jerusalem resulted in new changes due to the following circumstances:

- End of city division.
- Superiority of one administration
- Israeli ruling started after 1967 all over Palestine.
- Appearance of new Jewish immigrants to the east side of the city.

From the early days of the occupation of East Jerusalem the Israeli Government established a special committee, and the purpose was:

- To analyze the situation in the east side of Jerusalem.
- To know what should be done in the east side of Jerusalem.
- To assure the sovereignty of Jewish inhabitants in the future. With such an action it became clear that the city will face great changes with affects on the image of Jerusalem.

3.3.1. The Early Years Of The Occupation And The Architectural Plan Of Jerusalem (1967-80)

"I think it is a mistake to establish it before we have filled Jerusalem. In another five years, we will fill Jerusalem and then we will go there [to Ma'aleh Adumim]. In Jerusalem we took upon ourselves, as Jews, a very difficult urban task, in that we received distant neighbourhoods, and we had to connect them; Ramot Neve Ya'akov, and Gilo, for example. It will take us years before we can swallow all that."

Jerusalem Municipality president 1967-1992: Tedi kollek

Since 1967 Israel's objectives in Jerusalem were to establish exclusive control over the Holy city. From the early days of the occupation Israeli Government put a plan in order to take over the city of Jerusalem and to assure; that the existent architectural identity that reflect the Islamic Arabic culture and history will not affect the plan of unification of the city. Policies

¹² <http://www.arij.org>

have been developed and implemented in order for Israel to create geographic integrity and demographic superiority in favor of a Jewish Jerusalem. Since 1967, Israel has adopted a policy of colonizing the West Bank and Gaza hindering the prospect for a viable Palestinian State over the remaining 22% of historic Palestine.

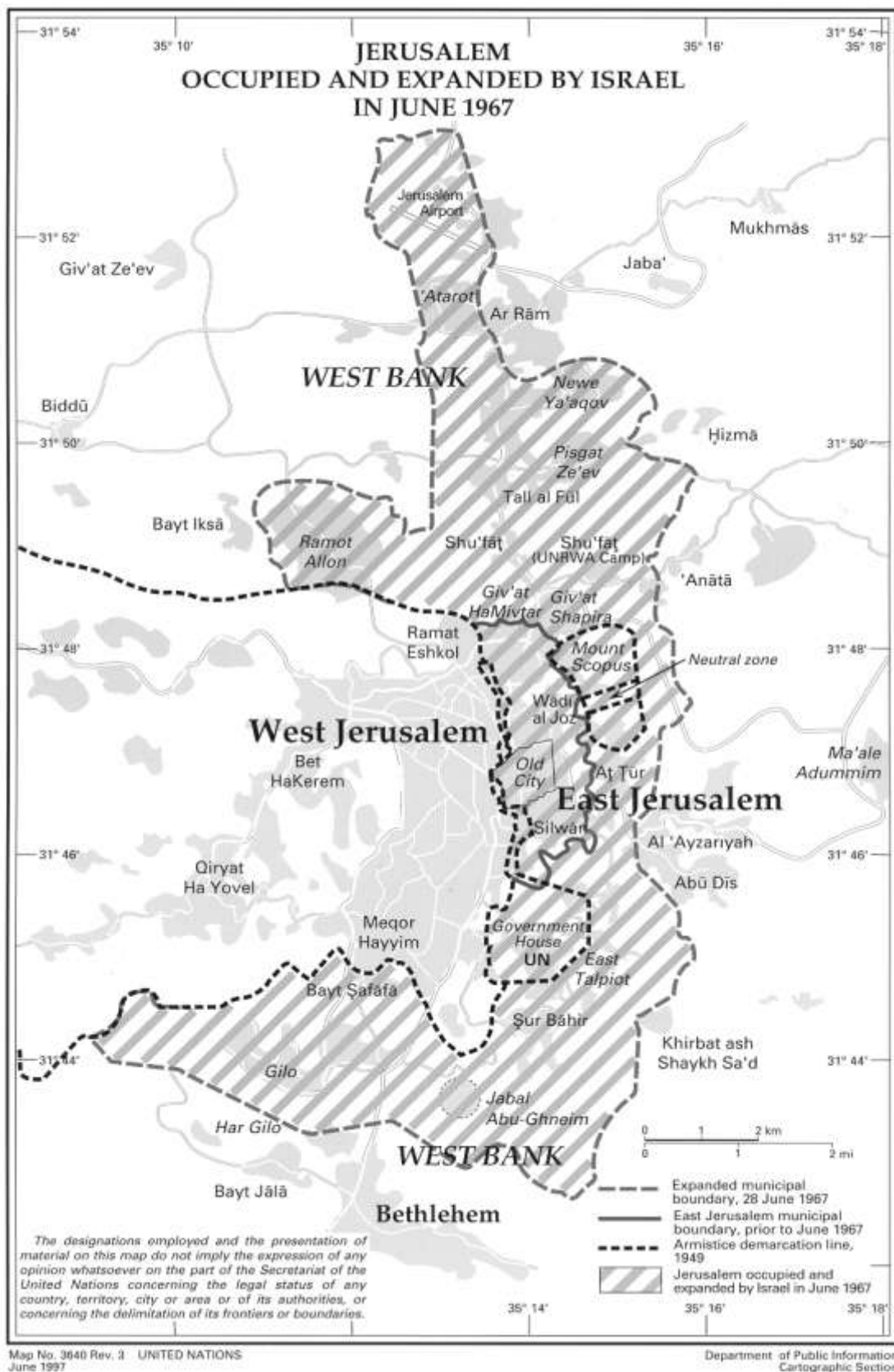
Israel has run a pervasive public relations campaign designed to secure national and international legitimacy for both their practices in East Jerusalem and their sole sovereignty over the whole of the city. Israel Government policies on Jerusalem were clearly defined immediately preceding the 1967 War and have been carefully and consistently implemented by subsequent national and municipal governments ever since.

From the early years of the establishment of the Israeli State in 1948 an organized plan including new resolutions and legislations were ratified by the *keneset*, to help controlling and Implementing their policies, which revealed the Israeli entention on the city of Jerusalem.

With the occupation in 1967 the following acts were undertaken by the Israeli government: to:

- To redefine the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem.
- To apply their rules and regulations on th east side of Jerusalem.

Israeli Goverment wanted to enlarge the city boundreis from the begining in order to build a greater Jerusalem. Before the war of 1967, the Palestinian municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, comprising 6,5 square kilometers, which were expanded after 1967 to include an additional 70,000 dunums. (plan 2)



Plan 2: Jerusalem boundaries after the War in 1967(www.bu.edu/mzank/Jerusalem/mp/periodic/index.html)

The purpose of this new configuration of municipal Jerusalem was to include:

- The maximum contiguous territory with the minimum nonjewish population into the city's boundaries.
- To take over as much as possible for futuristic plans to settle down the new comers in the city.
- To insurre the superiority of jewish settlers in the future.
- To eliminate any threat of repartition of the city of Jerusalem.

Inside the old city of Jerusalem, Israeli Goverment rapidly took over the Magerbah Quarter beside the wailing wall and demolished the houses in that area inorder to create a huge plaza to accommodate the presumed influx of Jewish pilgrims, more than 619 inhabitants became homeless and lost their houses in the old city.¹³

Moreover the Israeli State with its new resolutions was able to take over more houses inside the old city claiming that these houses have no owners or their owners are absent. In both cases the aim was to make sure the sovereignty of jews inside the old city. Figure 18 is an example of such an act:

¹³ www.passia.com



Figure 18: One of the houses that the Israeli municipality controlled after the War in 1967
(www.smev.de/flags/spiegel2001-1.html)

The Israeli policies towards the traditional architecture was either to stop this kind of architectural style or to transform it into the Jewish identity. In order to do so, Jerusalem municipality started to take over not only the houses and empty spaces but even the smallest elements of traditional architecture that the city has. Stones and opening decorations such as metal bars and locks were taken to be reused in Jewish houses by adding religious elements that are related to their religion, in order to help their claim over the houses.

Outside the old city the plan was to make a circle, from 15 settlements around the city of Jerusalem constructed in four major phases starting from the top points of the hills and the mountain peaks that surrounded the city in order:

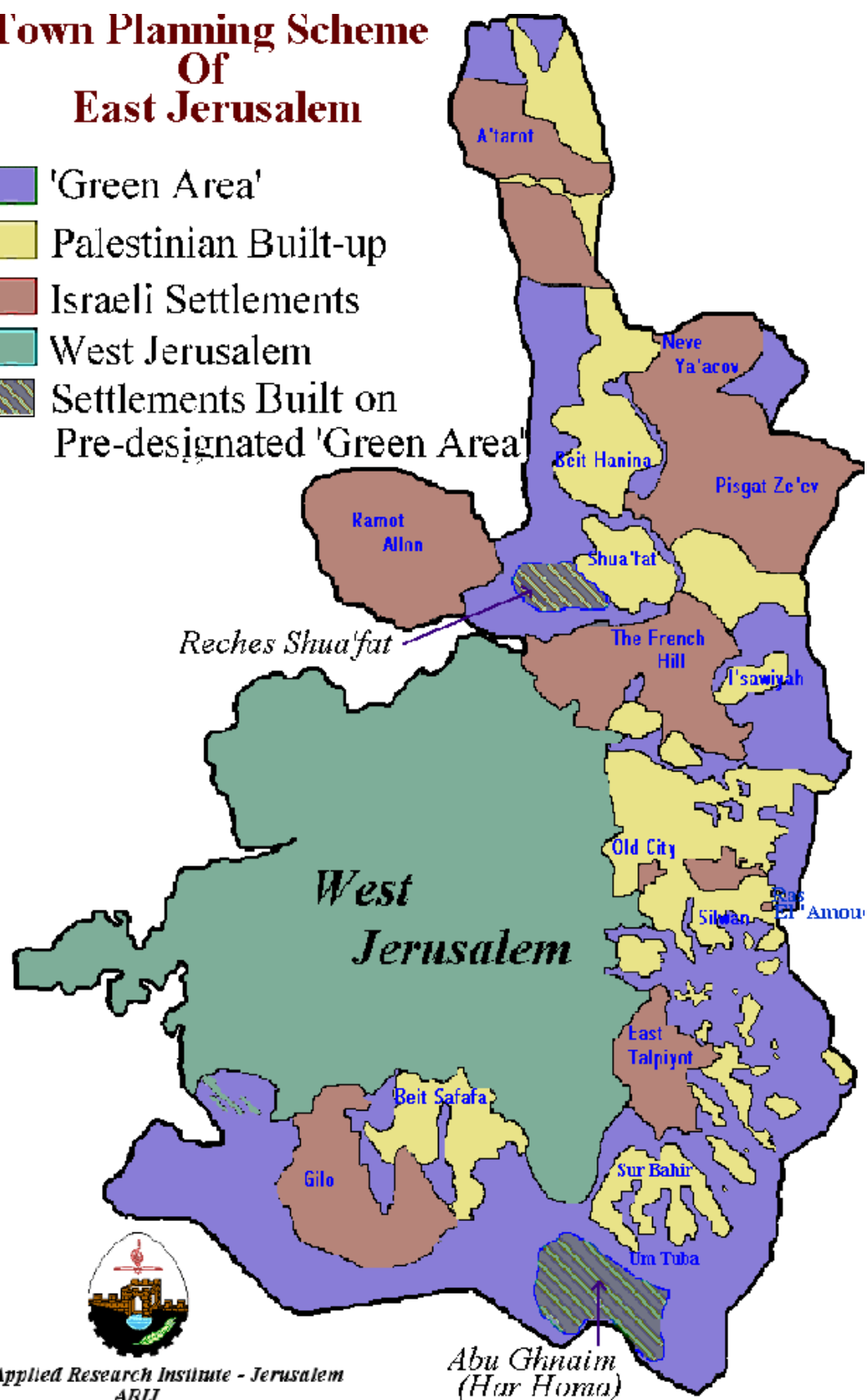
- To enlarge settlements over Palestinian land with modern architectural styles.
- To prevent the spreading of the traditional architecture in the Palestinian neighbourhoods.
- To take over as much as they could from the land in the east side of Jerusalem.

- To separate the east side of Jerusalem from the West Bank and the nearest cities such as Ramalah and Bethlehem.

The second plan was to fill these gaps between settlements and to connect them by bypass roads or by expanding the building process in the empty areas; another purpose of the plan was, to decrease the percentage of Arabic Palestinian neighbourhoods outside the old city. In addition to the previously mentioned plans, citizenship legislations and rules were announced to help in moving the Palestinian inhabitants outside the city border, and a new rules related to the land disruption in the Arabic areas has been issued. As a result of such policies appeared the green areas and the semi green areas which make the urban development in these areas difficult for the Palestinian regions. (Plan 3).

Town Planning Scheme Of East Jerusalem

- 'Green Area'
- Palestinian Built-up
- Israeli Settlements
- West Jerusalem
- Settlements Built on Pre-designated 'Green Area'



Plan 3: Green areas surrounding Jerusalem that can not be used by the Palestinians.
(Applied Research Institute-Jerusalem, www.arij.org)

Another act was taken in parallel to previous acts which is to occupy the Arabic Palestinian towns and villages outside the old city forcing their residents to leave, as in the case of Al Malha village or Lifta village in Jerusalem. (Figures 19 and 20)



Figure 19: Al Malha village in Jerusalem which was occupied by Israel and it became a Jewish village and later on a town. (<http://www.palestineremembered.com/Jerusalem/al-Maliha/index.html>)



Figure 20: Al Malha at present time it shows the new neighbourhood at the right side of photo. (<http://www.palestineremembered.com/Jerusalem/al-Maliha/index.html>)

These acts were done to ensure the sovereignty of jews in the city and their towns. On the other hand organised supported plans took action to increase

housing units in the settlements to accommodate more new comers to the city from all over the world.

According to Palestinian sources, Israeli government organized the land use as follows:

- 34% expropriated for "public" use.
- 40% Green Areas.
- 7% unzoned.
- 6% roads and infra-structure.
- 3% frozen.
- 10% for Palestinian use.

Furthermore, the remaining 10% is almost completely utilized. Planning and permit requirements demanded by the Israeli municipality have made it nearly impossible for Palestinian owners to utilize their land. The municipal planners followed a strict policy of keeping Palestinian lands in East Jerusalem empty until they could be expropriated for the construction of housing and infrastructure for the exclusive use of Jewish-Israeli residents.¹⁴

The Land Confiscation occurred in 5 main phases since 1967 and they are as follows:

- The first phase occurred immediately after the city's conquest when the Israelis confiscated over 120 dunums of land in the Old City. More than 5,000 Palestinian residents of the Old City were evicted and lost their property.
- The second phase began in January of 1968, when 4,000 dunums of prime real estate were taken from the Palestinian neighbourhoods and villages of Sheikh Jarrah, Shu'fat, Lifta and Issawiya.

¹⁴ Hodgkins Ison, *The Judaization of Jerusalem – Israeli Policy Since 1967*, (Jerusalem, Passia, 1996), Chap. 2, p21

- The third phase, which took place in the early 1970s, 14,000 dunums were taken from Malha, Sur Baher and Beit Jala, as well as additional territory from Lifta and Shu'fat.
- The fourth phase began in march 1980, with the confiscation of 4,500 dunums from Beit Hanina and Hizma.
- The fifth, and most recent phase, occurred in 1991 with the expropriation of an additional 2,000 dunums, with such a policy Israel has been able to obtain direct control of 42.5% of the land in East Jerusalem for settlements or road construction.¹⁵

The Israeli municipality of Jerusalem came up with new plans for the Palestinian inhabitants in the city in order to control their urban growth in Jerusalem. The new plan was called: Build your own home. One of few examples of municipal planning and development of housing for Palestinians is; The Nusseibeh compounds located on the Ramallah-Jerusalem road. While these units have provided a modicum of desperately needed housing in East Jerusalem, the final result of such a project was a couple of blocks with four storey height, in each floor there are four small flats with modern functional plans.

These projects did not satisfy the Palestinian inhabitants due to the nature of Palestinian families which like to live in bigger independent houses to have their privacy which came from their Islamic culture, plus the fact that the Palestinian families are a nuclear type of family which prefers to live with a big number of family members. Their construction has been used in reinforcing the mythology of the benign nature of Israel actions in Jerusalem. (Figure 21)

The Israeli government claimed that the expansions of their settlements in east Jerusalem is natural however, this opposes the fact of growth rates in the Israeli colonies that reach 8.5% which is four times the Israeli growth rate (Graph 2).¹⁶

¹⁵ Hodgkins Ison, The Judaization of Jerusalem – Israeli Policy Since 1967, (Jerusalem, Passia, 1996), Chap. 1.

¹⁶ <http://www.arij.org>

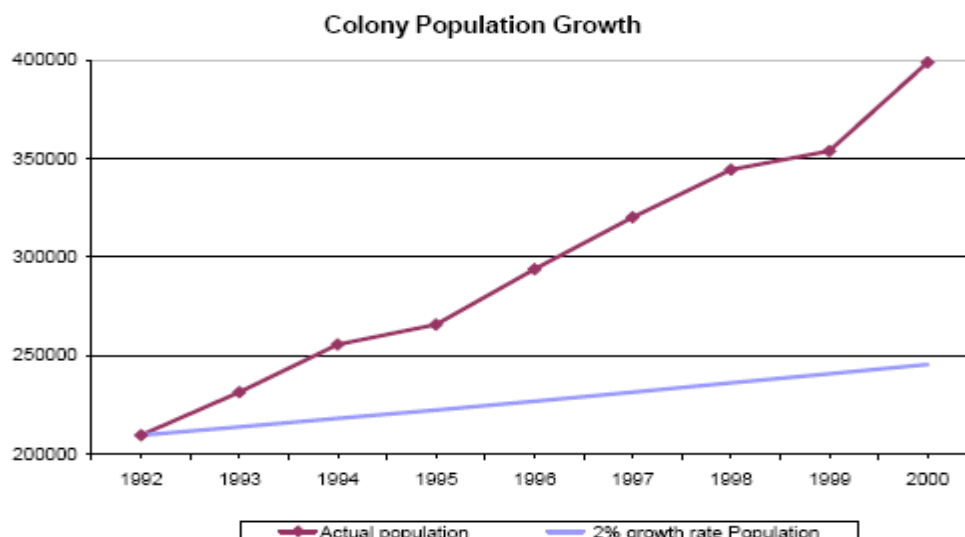


Table 2: A comparison between the Israeli population growth and the actual colony Population growth

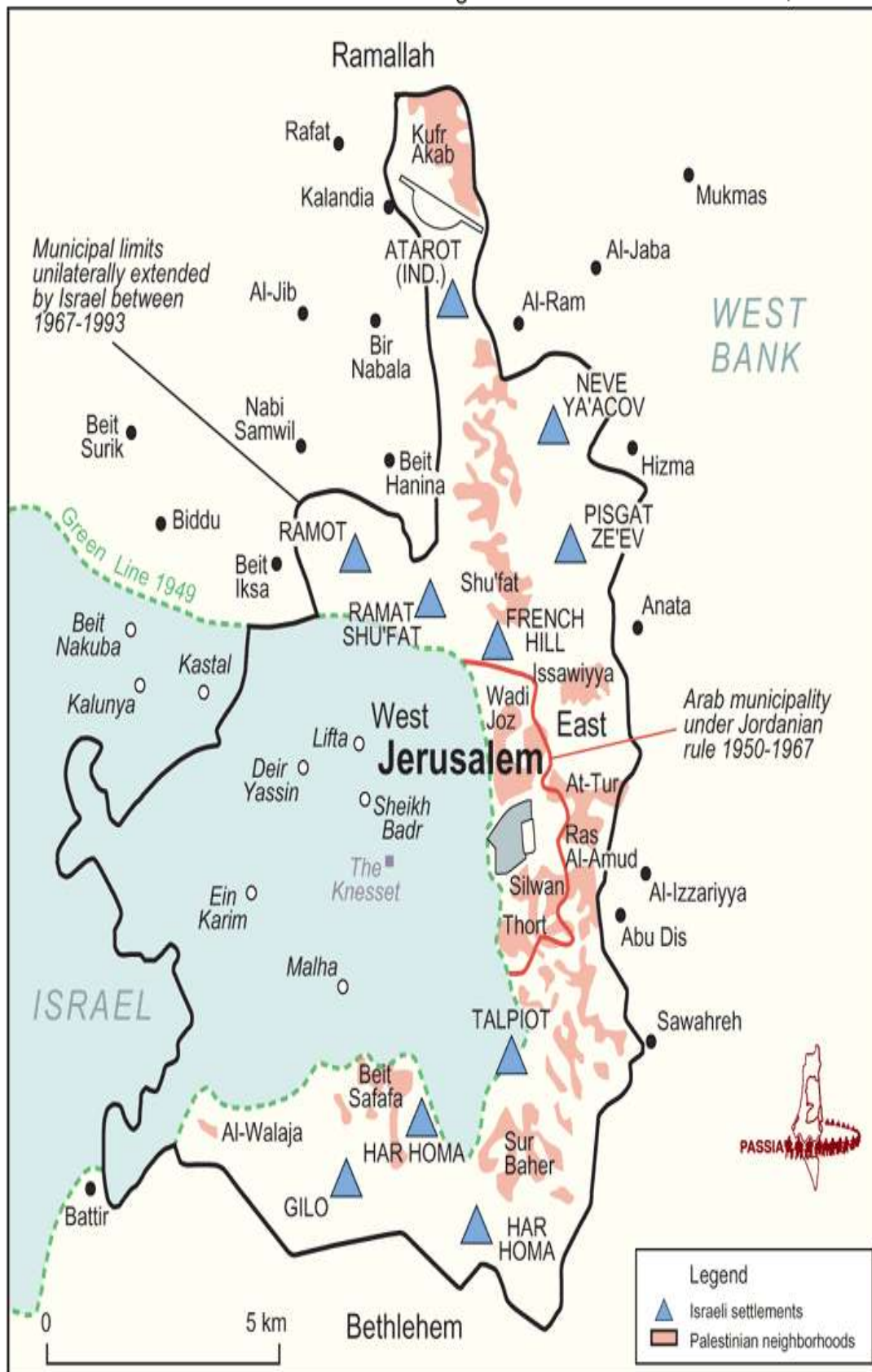
In order to control the east side of Jerusalem and to make sure that this is an Israeli land the Israeli governments moved many governmental offices after 1967 to the east side of the city such as the police head quarters which was moved in to a pre-existing building in Sheikh Jarrah area, which was used as a hospital before 1967.

Plans and policies were developed from the first years of the occupation designed to impose exclusively Jewish facts in occupied Jerusalem at the expense of the indigenous Palestinian population. Under the guise of protecting the city from the danger of redivision, the municipality president enacted a long series of policy initiatives designed to irreversibly integrate East Jerusalem into one city united under Israeli sovereignty.¹⁷

Israel has employed numerous strategies to control Palestinian lands in East Jerusalem. Through discriminatory zoning practices and complex planning stipulations, Israel has managed to block Palestinian development of available land leaving it vacant until it is expropriated for "public purposes." However, the key element in Israel's plan to completely integrate occupied East Jerusalem into pre-67 Israel has been the construction of more than 15 settlements in and around the boundaries, illegally established in 1967. (plan 4)

¹⁷ Hodgkins Ison, *The Judaization of Jerusalem – Israeli Policy Since 1967*, (Jerusalem, Passia, 1996), Chap. 2,1.2.

Israeli Settlements and Palestinian Neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, 2000

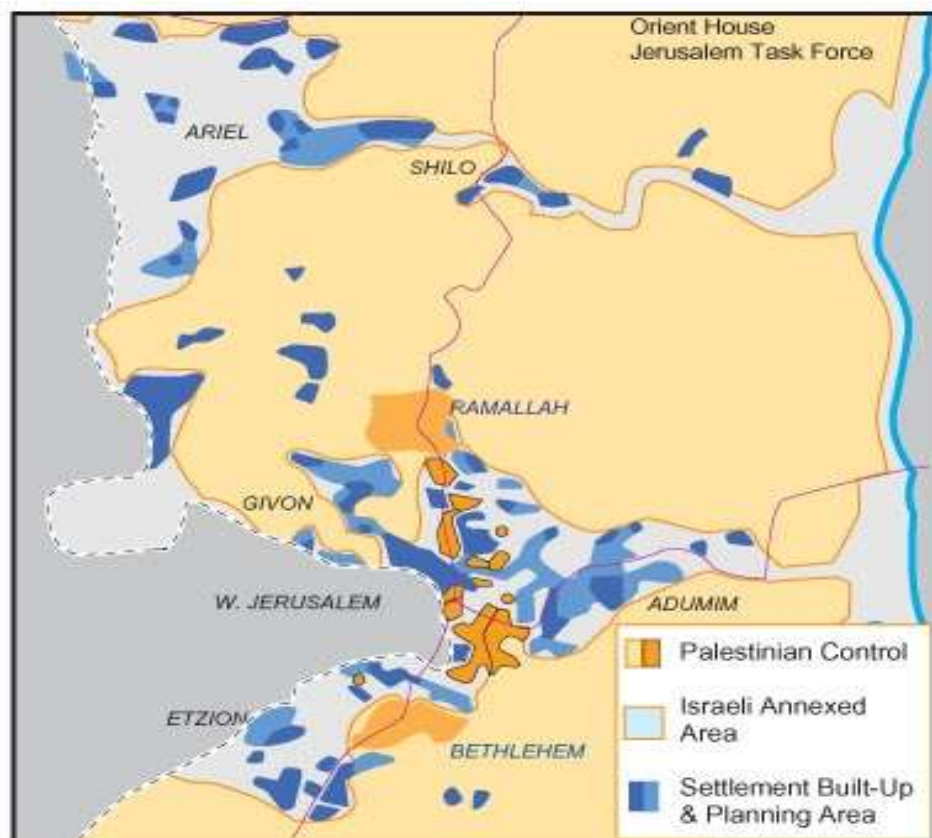


Plan 4: Settlements surrounding the city of Jerusalem.(www.passia.com)

These settlements, were constructed in four major phases, have created a chain of settlements separating East Jerusalem from the West Bank. The strategic placement of each new neighbourhood on the map of East Jerusalem unquestionably reflects a desire on the part of the municipal planners to meet the national objective of manufacturing geographic integrity for the undivided capital of the State of Israel.

The plans and policies that were assigned after 1967 to control the city of Jerusalem were based on four ways:

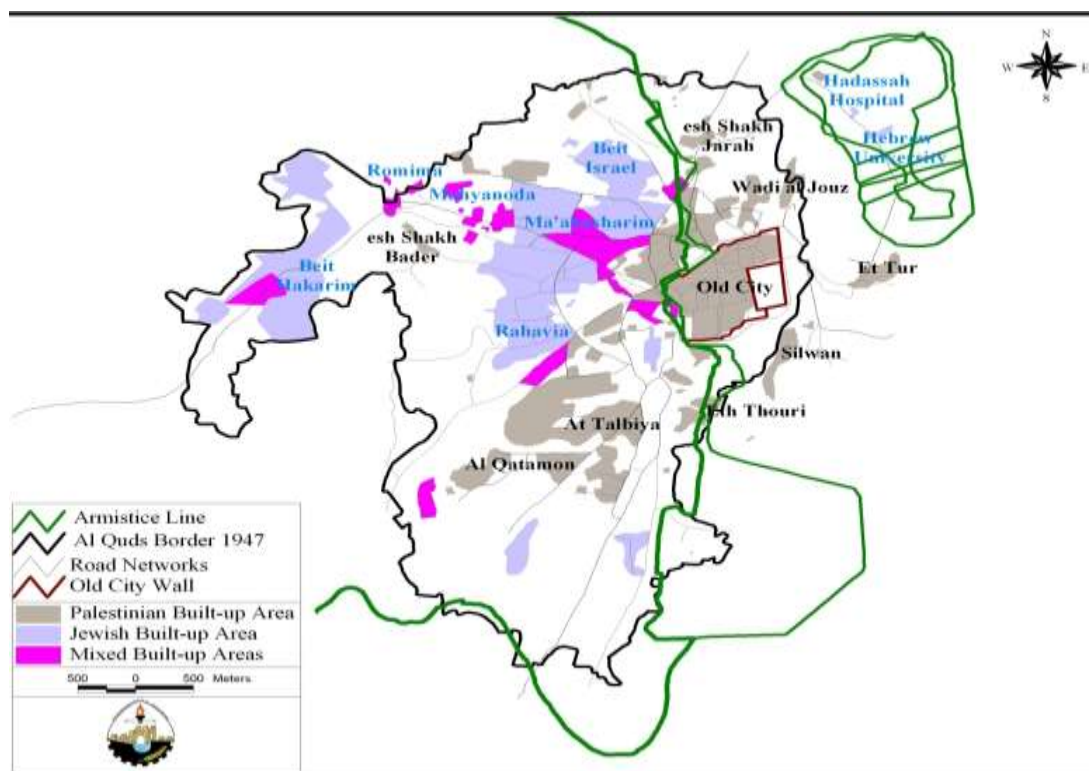
- Land Control: Securing control of the undeveloped lands in East Jerusalem has been an essential element in Israel's race to create irreversible facts in the city. The Israeli government was able to control most of the land that was occupied in 1967, which left to the Palestinian only 9,400 dunums for development, which make 10% of the land in east Jerusalem for Palestinian use.¹⁸ (plan 5)



Plan 5: Different colors show the areas that each nation is controlling in Jerusalem.
(www.mideastweb.org/campdavid%20orient.htm)

¹⁸ Isaac, Jad & Abdel Latif, Fida, Jerusalem: the strangulation of the Arab Palestinian city, Palestine, July 9, 2005.

- Land Confiscation: Land expropriation occurred in 3 main phases since 1967. The first phase occurred immediately after the city's conquest when the Israelis confiscated over 120 dunums of land in the Old City. The second phase began in 1968, when 4,000 dunums of prime real estate were taken from the Palestinian neighbourhoods and villages of Sheikh Jarrah, Shu'fat, Lifta and Issawiya. The third phase, which took place in the early 1970s, 14,000 dunums were taken from Malha, Sur Baher and Beit Jala, as well as additional territory from Lifta and Shu'fat.(plan 6)¹⁹



Plan 6: This plan show the situation till the year 1967 after that the Arabic built up areas in brown were confiscated and became Jewish neighbourhoods. (Applied Research Institute-Jerusalem, www.arij.org)

- Blocking Palestinian Development: Municipal planning and zoning restrictions were carefully drafted to facilitate Jewish plans while thwarting Palestinian construction. Israel has relied upon zoning restrictions, Town Planning Schemes and tight control of building

¹⁹ Hodgkins Ison, *The Judaization of Jerusalem – Israeli Policy Since 1967*, (Jerusalem, Passia, 1996), Chap. 2, 2.2

permits to keep Palestinian lands undeveloped until the time was ripe for the construction of a Jewish settlement.

Another act by the Israeli government that can be defined under this topic is the demolishing policy that started from the early years of occupation, Israel destroyed many Palestinian houses in Jerusalem claiming that they did not fit the regulations, and they are not suitable for living, on the other hand they are following a policy to transfer Palestinians outside city borders by building residential projects for them, and in this way they will make sure that the majority of inhabitants of Jerusalem are Jewish.²⁰ (Figure 21)



Figure 21: This is a project outside the old city of Jerusalem and due to the Israeli Government regulations it will be demolished because the government claims that it does not go with the municipality regulations. (Rami Mushasha, 2008)

- **Settlement Construction:** Land expropriation however, was only the first step in reaching Israel's objective of securing the geographic integrity of the city. Since 1967, the municipality has planned and overseen the construction of 13 major Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem. These settlements have completely altered the landscape of East Jerusalem. If the additional settlements current on the municipalities agenda are built, East Jerusalem will be completely

²⁰ Hodgkins Ison, *The Judaization of Jerusalem – Israeli Policy Since 1967*, (Jerusalem, Passia, 1996), Chap. 2, 2.3

separated from the West Bank and completely integrated into Israel's vision of a unified city.²¹

Other aspects were taken by the Israel government to assure the sovereignty in Jerusalem city such as encouraging Jewish Immigration, and Attacks on Palestinian Residency Rights highly taxed and special building taxes that the Palestinians should pay to Jerusalem municipality, all these aspects were applied in Jerusalem in order to give the city a modern western image related to the western jewish culture more than the Arabic Palestinian Islamic culture so it will be easier to cntroll and apply their own solutions and point of veiw.

3.4. Urban Israeli Growth And The Open-door Policy In East Jerusalem

The history of urban development in Jerusalem is part of a larger conflict that has arisen this last century in the context of a rapidly changing political landscape. And it took the form of religious and national struggles to control Palestine and particularly Jerusalem. The war of 1967 has led to aggressive policies today of inequitable land development and planning in Jerusalem, fueling the fire of this conflict.²²

In 1969 thousands of acres were taken from Palestinians in Jerusalem city and given to the Jewish new comers to provide for vast blocks of government-subsidized flats that would allow 25,000 Israelis to move into new settlements which force more than 100000 Palestinians to move to refugee camps around the city such as Anata camp. (Figure 22)

²¹ Hodgkins Ison, The Judaization of Jerusalem – Israeli Policy Since 1967, (Jerusalem, Passia., 1996), Chap. 2, 2.4

²² Smith Ian Rocksborough (September 17, 2001) Inequity and Conflict: The history of urban development in Jerusalem, 3. vol 109.



Figure 22: Anata camp inside the municipality borders, the photo shows the critical situation that this camp is facing.
(http://www.palestineremembered.com/GeoPoints/_Anata_552/Picture_11903.html)

As it was mentioned previously Israel's government has established committees and institutions to implement urban development in Jerusalem. These institutions developed a number of programs to promote Israeli expansionism and to further entrench the rapidly developing apartheid system in Jerusalem. One of the programs implemented consists of a development strategy in which high-rise apartments were to surround the eastern part of the city, effectively creating what has been referred to as a security belt around Palestinian East Jerusalem. These housing developments expanded vertically to create a physical barrier on top of the already existing spatial barrier between East and West Jerusalem. (Figure 23)



Figure 23: Building compounds making security belt surrounding East Jerusalem.
(<http://blog.dennisfox.net/wp-content/harhoma.jpg>)

Israeli's in parallel to such project controlled the infrastructure of the city (water, electricity etc...) which make the Palestinian towns and neighbourhoods isolated and monitored by Israelis all the time. Such neighbourhoods can be seen almost in every place inside the boundary of Jerusalem as a result of occupation and Israeli government's policy towards the Palestinian areas. It created areas that are not developed and unorganized, with very poor infrastructure.

The Israeli settlements were built on top of mountains so it as to connect later on together, that will create a ring of buildings surrounding the city of Jerusalem, separating the Arabic population living in Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank cities. These settlements were designed similarly to American suburbs where separated houses with gardens, coming together in an organized way creating blocks which work as protection, and a division from the surrounding environment. This reflects the way they were living in western countries, living in specific areas, creating their own societies.

One of the Israeli policies towards the Palestinians neighbourhoods in Jerusalem is to reduce the horizontal expansion in their areas and specially the areas that surrounding the old city of Jerusalem or what is called the holly valley, where horizontal expansion is not allowed which leaves these areas without any possibilities for any futuristic urban development.

In addition the rest of Palestinian district that exist within the municipality borders have a great limitation in any horizontal expansion plan. Moreover the total area for Palestinian neighbourhoods in Jerusalem is only 2320 dunum from the total areas of Jerusalem which leaves for the Jewish districts more than 10680 dunum. Which makes a difference between Palestinian neighbourhoods and Israeli neighbourhoods of 8360 dunum in the favor of the Israeli districts which makes four times bigger than what the Palestinians is allowed to have.²³

²³ The Hebrew newspaper of Ha'aretz 13/9/2004

Table 3 is showing the increasing in the horizontal area in the Palestinians districts:

Area	The increase of the area) donum)
Kufor A'aqab	No increase
Beit Hanina	770
Sho'fat	158
E'sawiyeh	128
Sheikh Jarrah	No increase
Wadi Al-Joz	No increase
Sowwaneh	No increase
Tour	No increase
Shiyyah	No increase
Ras Al – A'moud	454
Silwan	62
Al – Thoury / Abu Tour	149
Jabal Al-Mukabber	325
The western Sawahreh	86
Sour Baher / l'im Touba	185
Beit Safafa	No increase
Sharfat	No increase

Table 3 showing the increasing in the horizontal area in the Palestinians districts.

Such an act in Jerusalem will leave the Palestinian with 18% from the land for their horizontal expansion and 82% for the Israeli districts. Pointing out that Jerusalem population in 2020 according to the Israeli plans should reached 950,000 with as Israeli majority out of 665,000 and 285,00 Palestinians as the minority in the city of Jerusalem.²⁴

This means for every 62 Israeli per dunum and 123 Palestinians per dunum around 50% of the land goes to the Israeli districts. This leaves no place for the Palestinian neighbourhoods for urban expansion. Table 4 shows the increasing on the horizontal areas in both areas.

²⁴ Maroum Nithan, Planning Trap, Bimkom, Page. 16

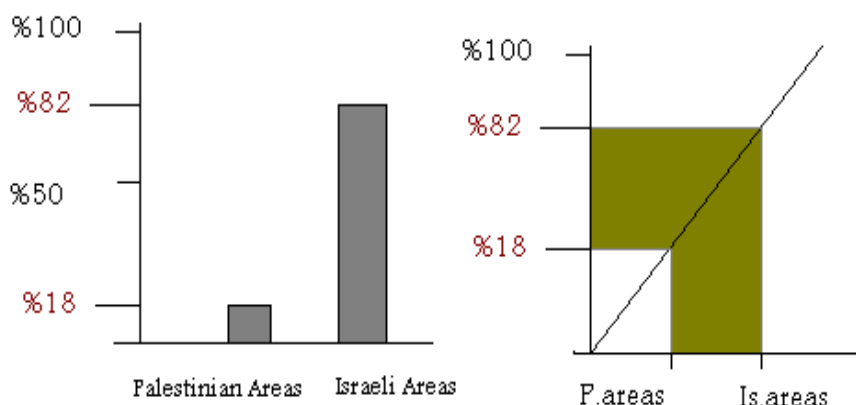


Table 4 shows the increasing on the horizontal areas in both areas.(Rami Mushasha,2008)

On the other hand Palestinian areas were designed with buildings integrated in each other creating unstudied plans, showing more the sense of Islamic Arabic societies which is more open to social life. In general the situation of urban development in the Arabic areas is facing great difficulties in regards to any expected urban growth and these difficulties can be summarized as follows:

- Municipality rules and regulations.
- Land separations laws, most of these laws are working against Palestinian urban development.
- Lack of funds and budgets for the Arabic sector.
- The absence of plans and institution related to urban development.

As a result of the Israeli policy of land confiscation from Palestinians, and settlement construction on these lands, and the plans of linking these settlements together by filling the gaps between them in order to bring more facts on the ground that can not be neglected, made urban growth development and improvement of Palestinian neighbourhoods in Jerusalem very difficult without professional supervision.

3.4.1. Jewish Neighbourhoods In Jerusalem After 1967

In the early years of occupation of Jerusalem after the war of 1967, the Israeli neighbourhood design was affected by the political situation accrued in the region, which forced the Israeli government to appoint Israeli architects and contractors to build new neighbourhoods with low budgets and specific shapes, in order to accommodate the huge numbers of new comers to the city. As a result of that policy these neighbourhoods contained four storey buildings with highly populated densities in small areas, including small commercial spaces and shops, just to cover the basic needs of the users such as Kiryat Hayovel and Ganen neighbourhoods as it is shown in Figure 24 and 25.

As a sample of new neighbourhoods, Ramat Eshkol located on the borderline between western and eastern parts of divided Jerusalem. (See figure 24) It contains:

- A Couple of small parks.
- Tree-lined streets and avenues.
- Health clinics.
- Small commercial centers.
- Four to five storey height buildings.



Figure 24: Ramat Eshkol neighbourhood in Jerusalem. (www.israel-mfa.gov.il)

The Israeli contractors used prefabricated elements to build these blocks especially in the interior. The exterior walls were covered with the local white lime stone similar to the British Mandate period. The new neighbourhoods were considered more up-scale than the old housing projects but faced the same problem of high population density.

Some other developments were added to the Israeli neighbourhoods like:

- Educational buildings.
- Bigger commercial centers
- Governmental and service offices.
- Bigger parks and public spaces.

Despite these efforts to develop these neighbourhoods it remains very much a bedroom suburb dependent on vehicle transportation even for local shopping, which means that these new neighbourhoods did not cover the resident's needs as it should.²⁵

The new neighbourhood buildings distinguished with flat roofs, unornamented, sheer façade. Shows how they were influenced by western architectural styles such as Bauhaus.

In the following years the Israeli neighbourhoods were much more developed than the first neighbourhoods in Jerusalem. The Israeli architects started to improve their designs taking in consideration previous mistakes. They started combining the traditional styles with the modern ones by using the traditional elements such as domes, arches in new buildings (Al Malha city mall, the Supreme Court in Jerusalem which represents one of the finest examples of the present Israeli architecture).

It was built from local limestone and was taking into consideration the Jewish religious thoughts and the surrounding environments as it is shown in Figure 25.

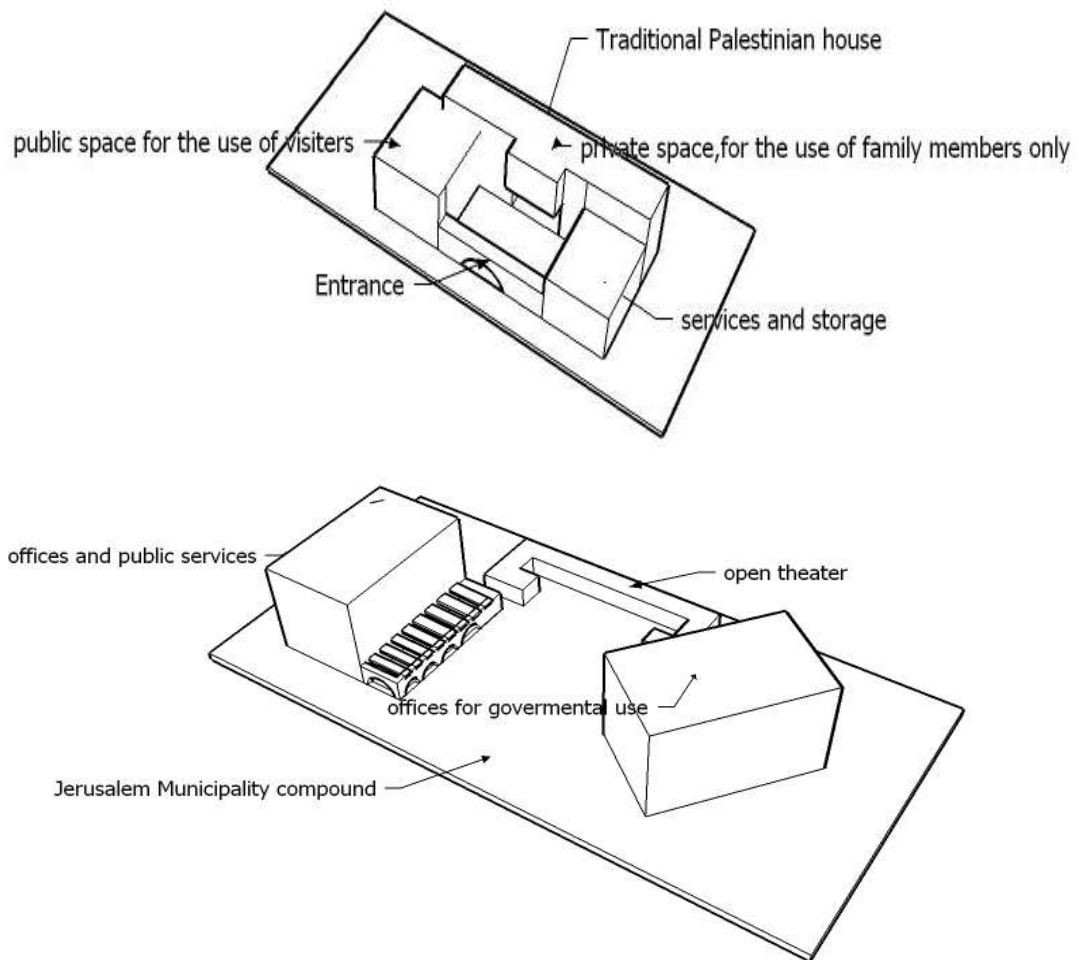
²⁵ Jessica C. Kraft, High Rise versus Urban Sprawl



Figure 25: Supreme Court of Israel. (www.isr-info.dircon.co.uk/images/supremec.jpg)

Another example from present Israeli architecture is the municipality of Jerusalem compound, just outside the old city of Jerusalem. It reflects everything good in traditional and modern architecture. Architects considered the smallest detail, such as the decorative elements using the Mamlouk traditional style in decorating the buildings; they decorated the building with red and white limestone on the exterior walls, and they designed shaded small gardens with pergolas inside the buildings taken from the same style.

The compound was built in the same way as the traditional buildings. It was built in “U” shape leaving the space in the middle as a plaza for public services and activities, influenced by traditional houses in the old city of Jerusalem. It is formed from a few rooms with different functions located around a small courtyard used for meetings and visitors, a connecting space for all the rooms in the house. (Plan 7) shows the similarities of both examples:



Plan 7: Sketch showing the similarities between municipality compound and traditional Palestinian houses.(Rami Mushasha,2007)

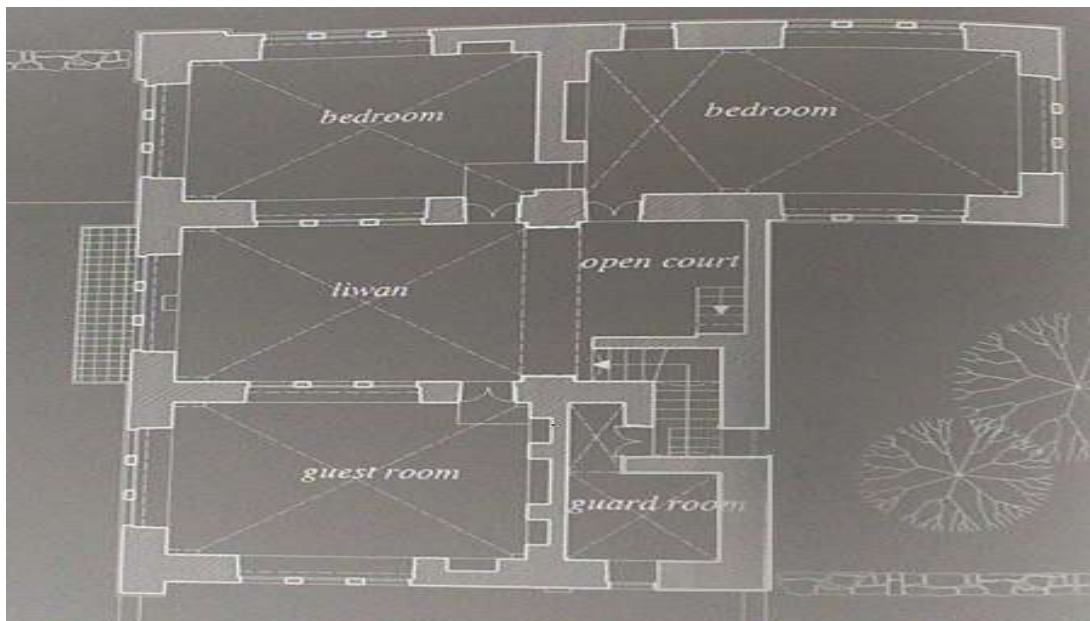
Nowadays the Israeli architecture is developing towards creativity and eliminating the mistakes of the previous periods, that are related to the political situation and to the level they reached in controlling Jerusalem city, the thing that Israelis did not have before, because they were feeling unsafe due to the facts on the ground which were in the interest of Palestinian inhabitants in the city.

There was a need of constructing buildings in any shape, and in anyway just to accommodate and to control the biggest areas they can, concentrating on function more than form and style, later on with all the policies the Israeli government followed to create new facts on the ground that go with their interests, their architects and designers became more free to show their creativity without the rules that they followed after 1967.

3.5. Comparison Between Palestinian And Israeli Houses In Jerusalem

There is a great difference from architecture point of view between the Palestinian houses and the Israeli houses, starting from the plans of the house and the use of the spaces in each house, due to the background of each nation.

The traditional Palestinians house does not differ from its surrounding environment or the traditional Arab house that exist in the region, where houses matched and complied with life's needs and the abundance of resources and materials. Roofs were made of wood and tree twigs above that a layer of small stones mixed with bamboo, above it a layer of mud fixed with jibs. In most of the cases in the traditional houses the plan took a rectangular shape, rooms were situated on the angels, separating the rooms with an open gallery without front wall which is called "Lywan", decorated with layers of stone. See plan 8.



Plan 8 shows the space organization in the Palestinian houses in Jerusalem. (Khasawneh Diala, Palestinian Urban Mansions, Riwaq Center for architectural Conservation/Palestine)

Traditional architecture style were dominant in Jerusalem as it mentioned previously but due to the cultural and political changes in the city it starting in changing and developing from the early years of the twentieth century for many reasons which are mentioned previously.

Despite these changes and events and the appearance of new style, Palestinian houses kept a special characteristics that distinguished it from the Israeli houses in Jerusalem.

The Palestinian houses in the early years of the 20th century in Jerusalem old city were marked by:

- 1- High privacy.
- 2- Bigger spaces
- 3- High ceiling
- 4- Separation of spaces
- 5- Highly decorated specially with religious symbols
- 6- Small openings for privacy reasons
- 7- Thick walls
- 8- Courtyard in the center of the house

For the facade of the houses in the old city of Jerusalem there were no clear separation between the houses, it is a continuation of walls along the street and every couple of meters there is a door with a small window above it, and that due to privacy reasons. For the upper floor there are more openings decorated with wooden elements and in some cases it is projected from the wall to give more space for the inside and to ventilate the house, the projected element called Mashrabia in Arabic and it usually seen in the old cities in the Mediterranean countries.

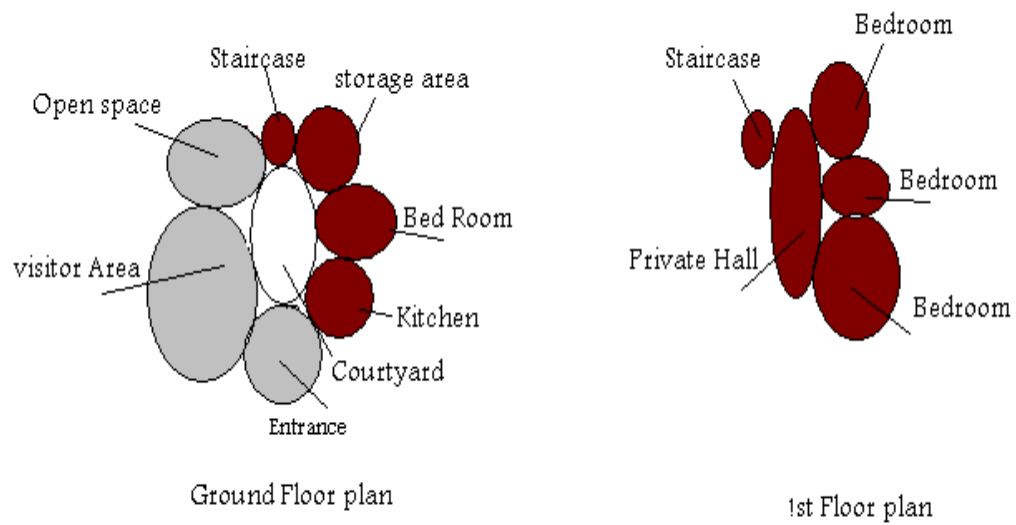
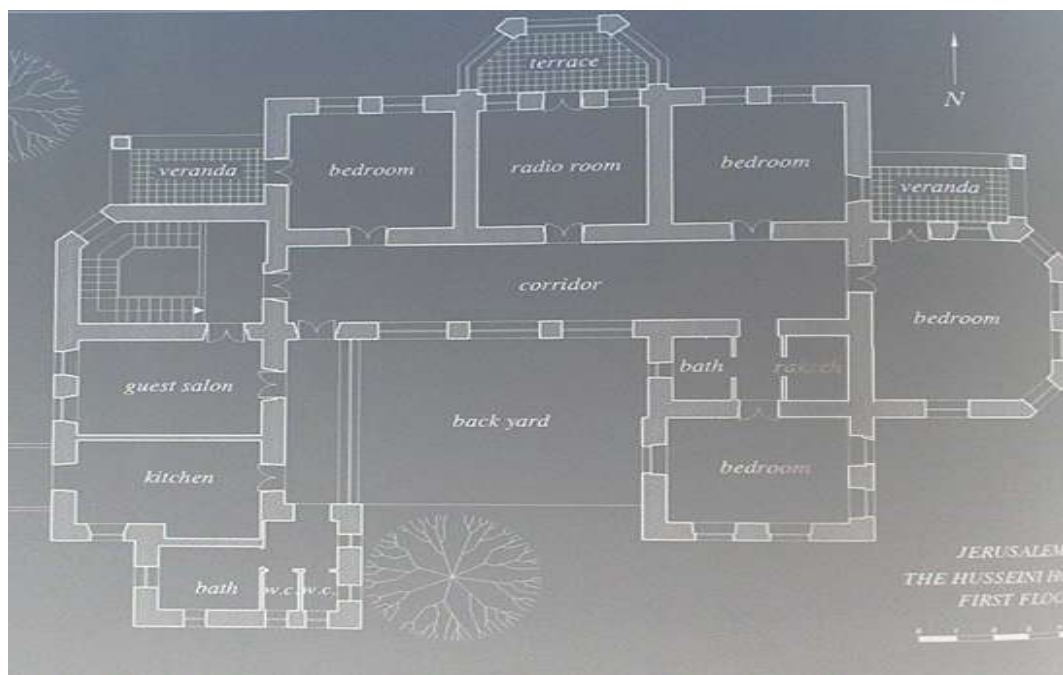


Diagram 1 show the traditional old city house spaces organization.(Rami Mushasha, 2007)



Plan 9 is an example of traditional house plans in Jerusalem. (Khasawneh Diala, Palestinian Urban Mansions, Riwaq Center for architectural Conservation/Palestine)

During that period there were only few Jewish inhabitants in Jerusalem and they were using the same traditional houses that exist in the old city of Jerusalem.

Later on and with the increasing of Jewish inhabitants in Jerusalem they settled down outside the old city of Jerusalem and they were somehow

isolated from the surrounding environment their houses were built with a western architecture style and that due to the environment that they came from.

The early Jewish neighborhoods in Jerusalem distinguished by:

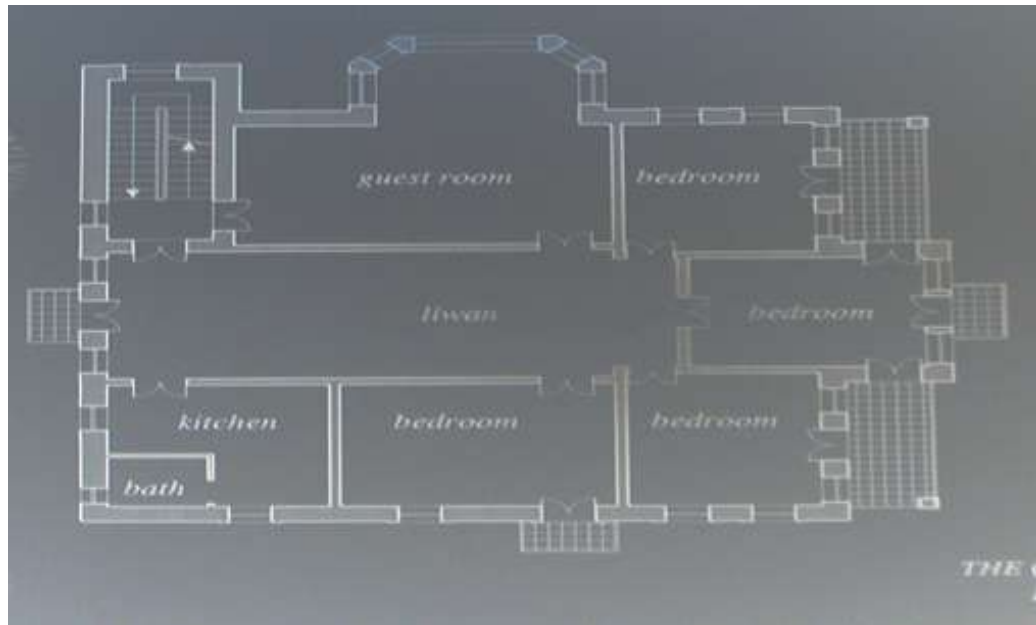
- 1- Pitch roofs.
- 2- Clear Facades and Elevations
- 3- Long openings, public gardens for each couple of houses
- 4- Linear plans
- 5- Small rooms
- 6- Red roof tiles
- 7- Lime stone as a main construction material.

In the other hand Palestinian houses outside the old city of Jerusalem were built with a patrician architecture style which it was the classical style if that era.²⁶(See plan 9)

Houses of that period were distinguished by:

- Symmetrical elevations
- Bigger openings
- Framed windows
- Highly decorated floor tiles
- High ceiling
- Local stones with different colors
- Better landscaping

²⁶- Khasawneh Diala, Palestinian Urban Mansions, Riwaq Center for architectural Conservation/Palestine,p.98



Plan10: An example of early Palestinian house plans, outside the old city of Jerusalem.
(Khasawneh Diala, Palestinian Urban Mansions, Riwaq Center for architectural Conservation/Palestine)

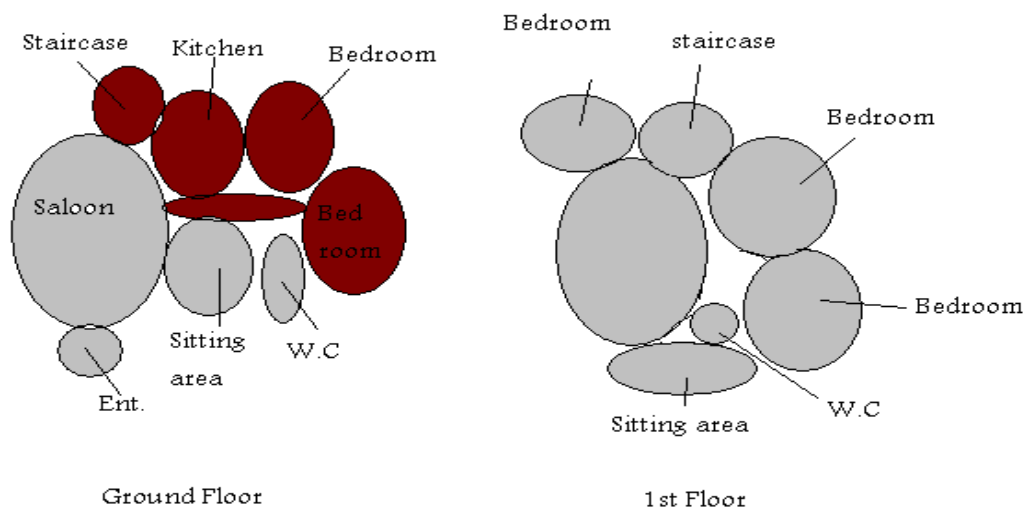


Diagram 2 showing Palestinian houses space organization outside the old city of Jerusalem.
(Rami Mushasha, 2007)

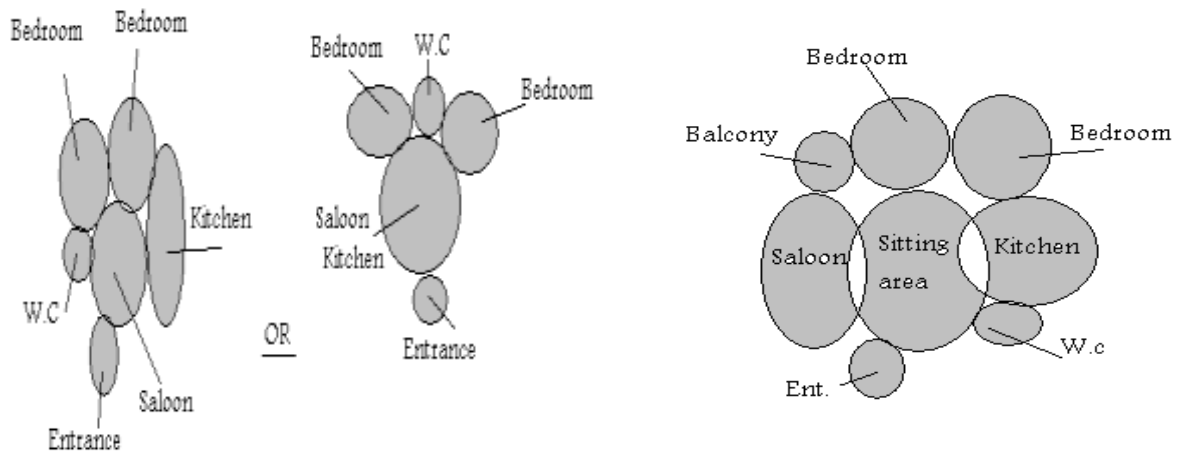
In the other hand, the Israeli houses from that period distinguished by:

- Small openings
- Low ceiling
- Small spaces
- Prefabricated material
- Rigid shapes
- Following analytical approach

Later on it improved to:

- Bigger openings
- Different architectural styles
- More relation with the surroundings
- Using local stones
- Bigger spaces
- Following aesthetical approach

The Israeli architects later on understand the need of following the aesthetical approach in their design rather than following an analytical approach which means they gave more importance to the individual expression,²⁷ because from the year that Israel was established to early 1970s they were more concentrating in the social concern of architecture.



Diagrams 3 and 4 shows the early Israeli houses space organization in Jerusalem. (Rami Mushasha, 2007)

For the Palestinian areas in Jerusalem the changes and in the architectural styles and shapes affected the social life of the Palestinian inhabitants, it already changed the meaning of the family and the relation in the Jerusalemite society. It changed the society from the simple conservative life that exists in the old city of Jerusalem to a modernized life style with all what it brings of changes and reformation of any society that it appears in.

These changes and affects were represented in:

- Separation of family members

²⁷ - Murotani Bunji, Contemporary Israeli Architecture, Process Architecture Publishing Co, Tokyo, p9

- Changing in the conception of privacy the thing that were reflected in the houses plans
- Openness to different thought and ideas and life styles
- Understanding the term urban expansion and its role in the political agenda
- Changing the users needs towards the spaces

Now a day the difference between Palestinian and Israeli houses in Jerusalem is not only related to their differences of beliefs and background but moreover related to the political agenda and goals that each side want to achieve on the ground. Where these agenda control the urban development in the Palestinian districts.

3.6. Comparison Of Israeli Use Of Architecture As Apposed To Nazi Use Of Architecture

The most significant impact of politics on architecture establishment can be seen on dictatorship period, it can be said that where is dictators there is great changes in architecture and there is always the need of expansion which what makes architecture very important to these regimes.

The concept of expansion and controlling others lands and making new states and facts that can not be neglected where the common aims between Israeli state and Nazi Germany. Despite the fact their ideological differences and thoughts, both wanted to create new facts on the ground that assure their control on the land, Nazi's in Germany and Jewish in Palestine both nations dealt with modernism in a different way and with a different point view. Which may leaves crucial changes on architecture.

In the 1920's Germany was a centre for modern art and forward thinking architecture. It presents the liberal and free thinking period where architecture styles and schools developed. However this all changed in 1933 due to the rise to power of the Nazis.

The Nazis believed that architecture would be an important factor in the large propaganda operation they planned to operate. Once Nazis came to power they took control of society and began to spread their influence to

many different art forms. The styles of architecture disliked by the Nazis were modern architecture because they believed that they could not be liked by the masses because they had no clear message. The Nazis also believed that modern architecture was "foreign".

Hitler uses his fascination with architecture and sculpture to his advantage within Nazi Germany. Hitler aim was to restore Germany to its former glory by replacing Germany semi-contemporary architecture with the ancient classical architecture that he regarded which will not only recreate the past but will bring and build the ideals of the German nation.

In general there were 2 different forms of Nazi architecture. The neo-classical style was usually used on imperial and state buildings and on buildings in urban areas. In the countryside a more relaxed form of Völkisch was often used with a focus on folklore and the organic. Both of these styles also embodied the Aryan culture.²⁸

The "wall and the tower" theory remains prevalent in tangible application decades after the creation of the state of Israel and its military might. This was most clear in the savage cancerous spreading of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza strip.

In practical application, the wall is first built to secure the interior, and then comes the tower preceding after security the outer borders against enemies; they commence building the houses in the vast space inside the borders of the wall. These houses as well are influenced by the occupational theory of security and defense.

The interior design is constructed in away that the bedrooms are located in the part of house closer to the heart of the settlement, where as the living rooms and such are the areas facing the exterior environment adjacent to the wall serving as well as miniature versions of watching towers.

But most importantly in the wall and tower theory is military in origins, categorized under military construction, as apposed to civilian, this type of construction is under taken when it is present on hostile and enemy grounds, not in owned safe ones.

²⁸-Akameaty Andy, Nazi Use of Architecture in WW II, May 24, 2007, P56.

The application of this theory in Israeli architecture implies of a deeply seeded confession although unspoken, that all this construction is being under spoken on unsafe lands that do not belong to Israel in the first place. Because if it was not so, construction wouldn't be done in this hostile manner.

The modernity in construction came paired with the social improvement project. To better the quality of life, especially for the working class of the society, which in hand gave, most European architects:

- Pioneering in modernity in the early 1900's.
- Socialist tendencies.

This explains the anti-modernization of architecture campaign, which occurred in Germany after the arrival of the Nazis into power.

This approach was swayed into the modernization direction, towards abstract shapes, from any ornamentation and constructed molds, which were used for the time, of windows, doors and other architecture appliances, with the goal of reaching industrial architecture, capable of full filling big city needs and its occupants.

It was only natural that the Nazi's would face this type of modernization in Germany. The socialist print was accompanied with this project since the beginning with the aim of giving a new face to the German identity replacing the existent original nationalist persona "Heimmat" with a model that does not rely on identity and heritage.²⁹

The refusal of this modern style was expressed clearly after the success of the architects Mies Van De Rohe in organizing the first residential exhibition in one of Stuttgart's suburbs in 1927, is a metonymy of collection of models for residential use, constructed in collaboration with various architects, comprising the young elite of modernized architects in Europe. The majority of which were German in addition to some foreigners.

Here we came to the exploitation of modern architecture to serve the Zionist project in Palestine. For the same architecture criticized in Nazi Germany is

²⁹ - Sigal Rafi, Weizman Eyal, A Civilian Occupation, Ferso/London 2003, P57.

the same that played a role in formation of the architectural stepping stone in Palestine under British Mandate.

The Jews coming from western countries to Palestine, under the influence of the idea "people without land coming to a land without people" as promoted by the Zionist propaganda, found in this modern architecture a perfect match, as it contains socialist ideas that could be turned and shaped to fit a new architectural identity to a people that had of its own in recent history.

Moreover, the majority of the Zionist movements at that time were also a global movement that put socialism in the core of the Zionist enterprise.

The Israeli architect's mission did not stop at designing basic institutions for the upcoming state, but also developing the new home concept in the Jewish people replacing the foreign home or Diaspora which defined Jewish existence for the past 2000 years. This explains the over excitement that modernized architecture met as an essential irreplaceable part in the ideology of creating the new home.

This modernized architecture met a high degree of liking in the Zionist movement, for the fact that it's not connected to the past, meeting the needs of the Zionist hopes of creating a New Home for themselves.

3.7. The Effect Of Occupation On Architectural Development In The Arabic Areas

When we are talking about the development in the Palestinian areas we can not neglect the role of the Israeli government in putting obstacles to stop the development process or to slow it down.

Architecture development in Arabic areas is facing, beside the rules and the regulations that were established by the municipality and the lack of land that the Palestinians can use; the lack of services in the Arabic areas, the service sector that is supposed to serve the city in order to make better architectural development, does not exist in most of the Arabic areas, (water, electricity, sewage, etc...) which effected the architectural identity of the city. (Figure 26)



Figure 26: Palestinian neighbourhood just outside the old city of Jerusalem from the south.
(www.electronicintifada.net/v2/article7007.shtml)

Public parks and landscaping elements can rarely be seen in the Arabic areas in Jerusalem city despite the fact that the Arabic inhabitants are paying the same amount of taxes that the Israeli inhabitants are paying, but due to the racist policy that the Israeli government is exercising towards the Palestinian residents it is nearly impossible to make any development.

City centers in Arabic areas are neither better than the residential nor the educational sector. In the case of Jerusalem city it can be said that there is only one commercial area, it was established during the British Mandate period, and it did not develop much since that time. While in the Jewish neighbourhoods the situation highlights the differences between Arabic and Israeli areas, the Jewish neighbourhoods are well planned, well organized, and supported by the government; the architectural images were taken in consideration. At the same time these support systems and services do not exist in the Arabic neighbourhoods.

In Jewish neighbourhoods architecture is given a great importance. It has been developed through the years according to the needs and demands of the users. In addition architecture styles and types with different elements can be seen in Jewish neighbourhoods. (Figure 27)



Figure 27: Different shapes and uses in Israeli neighbourhoods.

In the case of the old city, it is clear that the Israeli policy of renovating houses present there, is trying to create an oriental atmosphere around it in new projects. Figure 28 presents a new neighbourhood integrating with the traditional architecture in the old city of Jerusalem.



Figure 28: Israeli neighbourhood inside the old city of Jerusalem. (Murotani Bunji, contemporary Israeli architecture, Process Architecture Publishing Co, Tokyo)

Other policies that were put in motion by the Israelis are occupying houses inside the old city of Jerusalem in the Arabic areas, and to settle in these houses and start spreading around by force and by creating an atmosphere that forces Palestinians who are living around to leave the area. That helped

the Israelis in creating small neighbourhoods in the middle of the Arabic areas to assure the unification of the city.

On the other hand the Arabic houses inside the old city are in a situation which allows them to be demolished, if they don't get restored, this is because the Israeli municipality is allowing restoration projects to take place, there were only few cases that some houses were restored which can be seen in (Figure 29).



Figure 29: Restored house inside the old city of Jerusalem.
(http://www.akdn.org/agency/akaa/ninthcycle/page_05txt.htm)

Another threat in the old city traditional architecture in Arabic areas is bad infrastructure, and lack of awareness of users to the traditional cultural areas that they are living in, which sometimes end up in an architectural disaster due to the kind of use of these houses, by adding rooms, closing openings, or destroying several walls for enlargement purposes which effect the value of these traditional buildings.

There are great differences between the two inhabitants of Jerusalem city and they are reflected in the architecture sector of each side.

In the early years of occupations over Jerusalem, the Israeli neighbourhood designs were affected by the political situation at that time, that is why the Israeli government appointed Israeli architects and contractors to build new neighbourhoods with low budgets and specific shapes In order to

accommodate their huge numbers of new comers to the city. As a result of this policy, neighbourhoods contained four storey high buildings with high densities of population in small areas, including small commercial spaces and shops just to cover the basic needs of the users.

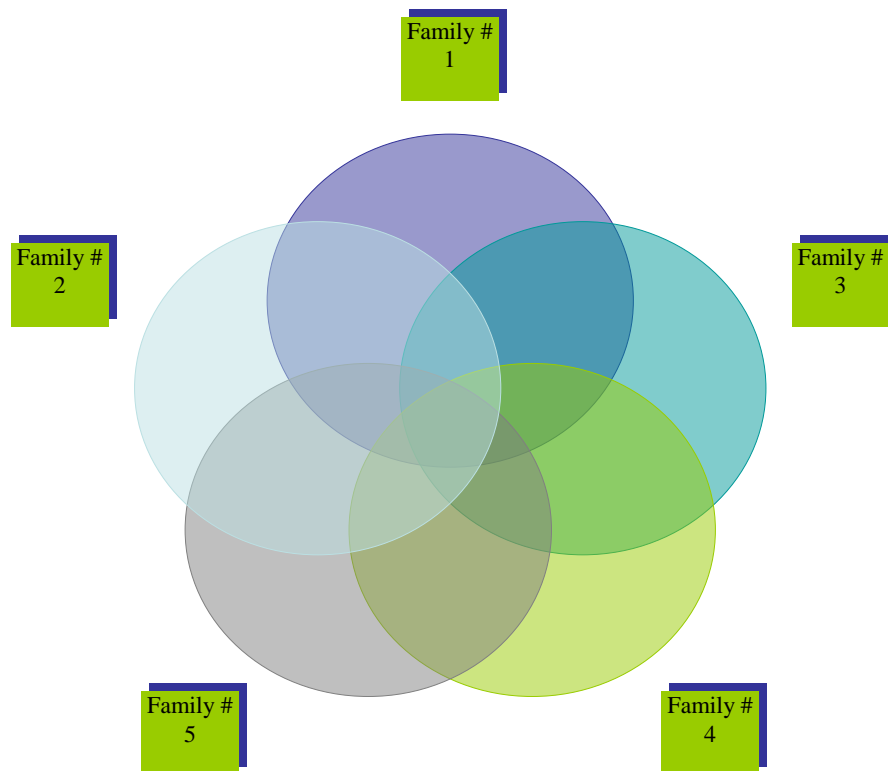
3.7.1. Palestinian Neighbourhoods In Jerusalem After 1967

It was mentioned previously how the Palestinian neighbourhoods outside the old city started to appear, and how they developed until the war in 1967. In the early years of occupation after 1967, Palestinian neighbourhoods in Jerusalem continued developing and spreading outside the city, but due to the political situation at that time and after the unification of the city it was normal that these neighbourhoods will get affected. The Israeli government, from the beginning, put a great deal of effort in stopping these neighbourhoods from expanding in a normal way and to have normal urban growth like any other neighbourhood.

In addition of taking lands from original Palestinians owners, transferring many of these into green areas rendering them illegal to build upon, moreover cutting through lands to provide highways roads and such.

Moreover Israel assigned new rules to stop Palestinian neighbourhoods from any possible urban growth in the future, as a result of these actions unorganized dense Palestinian neighbourhoods appeared in the city of Jerusalem.

Palestinian neighbourhoods in Jerusalem took the shape of family gathering areas where few buildings were constructed for one family called, (Al Hamula) in Arabic creating small neighbourhoods and others creating similar structures and these small neighbourhoods come together to create a bigger one, based on individual efforts from these families without any support that can lead them or provide them with specific plans. Plan 11 below shows the starting shapes of these neighbourhoods:



Plan 11: This diagram shows how the Palestinian families are coming together individually to create small neighbourhood.(Rami Mushasha,2008)

These neighbourhoods have their own characteristics counter to the Jewish ones, these characteristics are:

- High population density.
- Bad Services sector.
- Built by single efforts, meaning lack of funds and poor budgets.
- Lack of architectural knowledge.
- Narrow Streets.
- Lack of public areas.
- Bad infrastructure.
- No continuity of buildings.

Despite these negative facts, some Arabic Palestinian neighbourhoods are good examples of neighborhood projects which kept the sense of traditional architecture and respected the surrounding environment. Such as Al Sheikh Jarah neighbourhood which was built during the British mandate period and

kept on developing and improving until today, but again it was an individual effort and the reasons why it stayed this way can be referred to the economical level of these families in that area.

Palestinians tried to keep, somehow the styles and traditional architecture that the city had by using the elements of traditional architecture in their buildings and neighbourhoods such as arches, columns and openings (doors, windows) decorations which can be seen in every house in corners, that reflects how they are affected by these elements, but due to Israeli policy, low budgets and lack of knowledge the finale outcome was a complete chaos which threatened traditional architecture in Jerusalem and took it to the point of disappearance. (Figure 30)

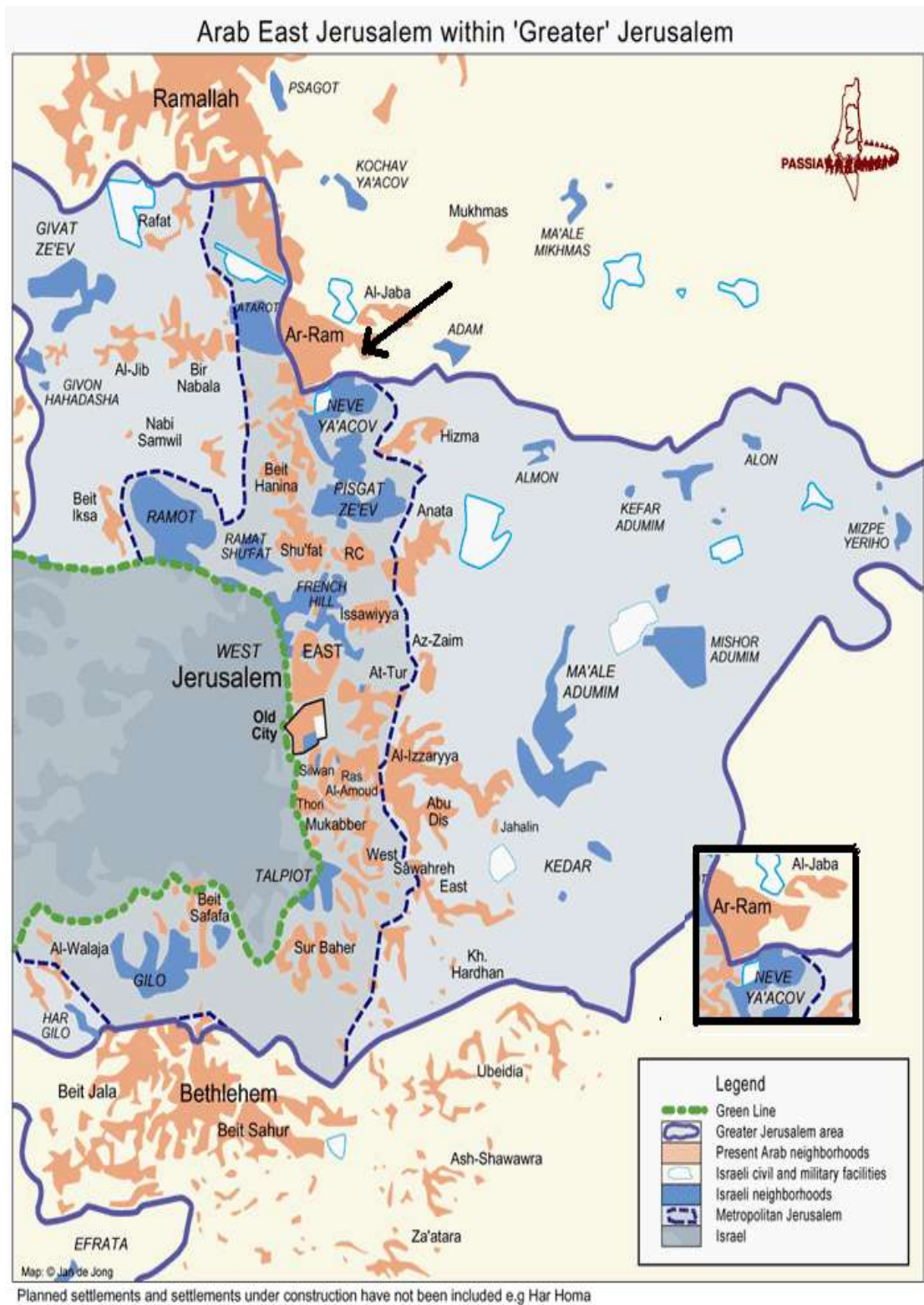


Figure 30: Silwan neighbourhood outside the old city of Jerusalem.
(www.electronicintifada.net/artman2/uploads/2/0709...)

The Israeli government sought to push Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem to settle down in areas away from the city center in order to separate them from the old city, and then later on fill these gaps between their new neighbourhoods and the old city with Jewish settlements. Such an act will

stop Palestinian urban growth towards the city center, like the situation in Shoufat, Balet Hanina and Al Ram neighborhoods.

In the case of Al Ram neighbourhoods, they became already separated after being surrounded by walls, 12 meters high and closing all roads leading to Jerusalem's city center. It became nearly impossible to reach AL RAM neighbourhood or to connect them with Jerusalem city. As it shown in the plan below:



Plan 12: Plan of Jerusalem borders and showing Al Ram neighbourhood how it was separated from the rest of the city with the wall.(www.passia.com)

This situation need urgent solutions and great efforts to keep these neighbourhoods connected to the city of Jerusalem and to improve and develop their urban growth in order not to have an architectural disaster, and to keep the traditional image of the city.

Despite the bad situation in some neighbourhoods, the Palestinians were able to keep a social atmosphere in their houses and in their neighbourhoods; some of the designs are nice examples where they made integration between traditional and modern architectural styles.

3.8. Suggestions And Solutions For Urban Developments In Palestinian Areas In Jerusalem

In order to improve the situation of Arab neighbourhoods in the city of Jerusalem, a number of steps and acts should be carrying out by the responsible Palestinian authority and responsible communities. Some of these suggestions and solutions are:

- Enlarging the Arabic neighbourhoods in an organized way.
- Using unused spaces that surround the Palestinian neighbourhoods.
- Establishing legal committees to educate Jerusalemites and to work with them to get building permissions from the municipality.
- Making new spaces for public use.
- Giving more attention to the infrastructure sector.
- Working on new plans and taking into consideration any futuristic urban growth
- Focusing on the use of architectural elements that reflect the traditional Islamic heritage of the city.
- Separating residential areas from other types of areas in order to have clear vision of the future.
- Working in the horizontal expansion of Arabic areas in Jerusalem in order to protect the lands from being controlled by the Jerusalem municipality.
- Giving more attention to environmental issues.

- Working on breaking the settlement's ring that surrounds the city of Jerusalem by accommodating people between settlements to stop their expansion.
- Connecting the Arabic neighbourhoods such as Al Ram with the city center.
- Working with international organizations to stop settlement expansion by making campaigns and conferences to present the problematic issues that the city faces.
- Establishing special committees to give legal advice to the people and to collect funds for architectural projects in Arabic areas.
- Using the surrounding environment in architectural plans.
- Creating architectural databases for Arabic areas in Jerusalem.
- Taking into consideration the scale of buildings and the relation between the old and New Jerusalem.
- Making all the previous suggestions and putting them into action will need a great effort from the Arabic inhabitants of the city, that will be difficult due to them being in contradiction with Israeli plans of controlling the city, its not only architecture that the Israeli are using to control the city, especially if we mention that architecture plays only 15% of the whole Israeli policy to control the city and the rest 85% goes to politics.³⁰

So there will not be great changes and improvements in the Arabic areas unless there is a political solution for the Jerusalem issue, but until that time some of the previous suggestions have a chance to be implemented, mentioning that some of these suggestion are general and can not be applied individually and that due to the huge mission and efforts that suppose to take action in order to be able to get out from the critical situation that Arabic areas are facing.

³⁰ Kroyanker David, The City's Architecture – Periods and Styles Presenter, June 15th, 2000

3.9. Conclusion Of Israeli Occupation Of Jerusalem

Architecture during the Israeli occupation over Jerusalem faced a great of changes from the early days since it began, starting with the sleeping unites projects that was built in the early years of the occupation in Jerusalem which had no relation with the surrounding environment and without a specific architectural style, moving to adapting different architectural styles at the same time and building new neighbourhoods with less architectural mistakes. Later on the Israeli architecture started to mold it own identity and be more definite.

In the Arabic areas, architecture from the early days of the Israeli occupation faced negative affects, due to Israeli policies towards this side, land confiscation, land control and unjust rules and regulations that were applied in these areas. That effected the urban growth developments in the Arabic areas and lead to a chaotic architectural situation.

Today architecture in Jerusalem reached a turning point where measures should be taken to solve the problematic architectural issues, in order to keep Jerusalem's traditional identity and to have a better architectural environment in it.

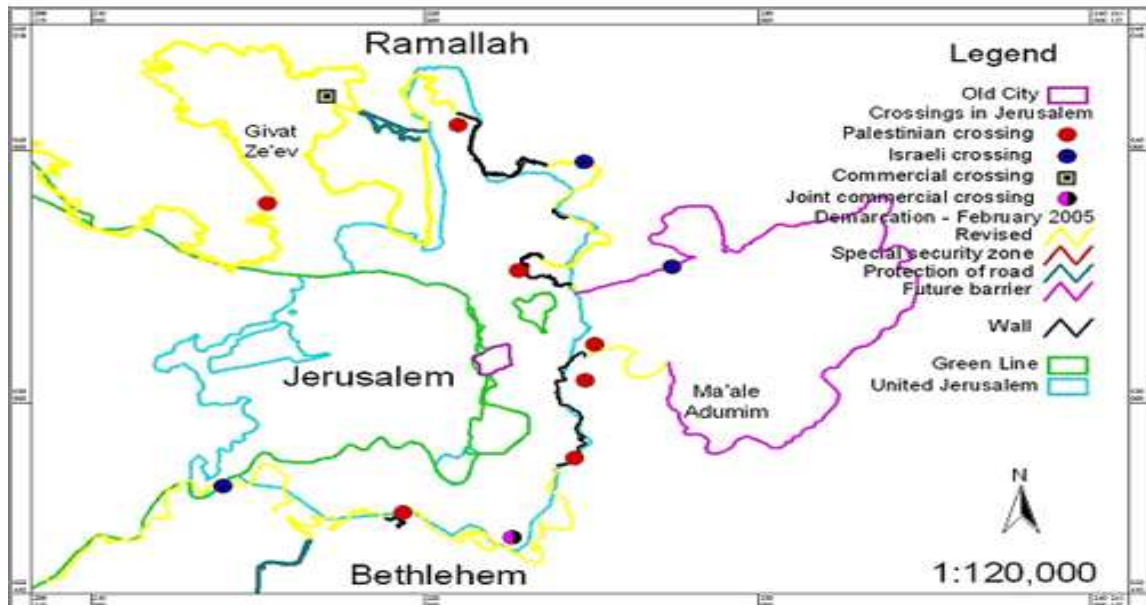
CHAPTER 4

4.1. OCCUPATION IN WEST BANK IN THE CASE OF RAMALAH AND BETHLEHEM CITIES AND ITS RELATION WITH JERUSALEM CITY

As a result of 1967 War, Israel occupied west bank and Gaza strip, as an example of new cities that were occupied in 1967, Ramalah and Bethlehem in the west bank which surround the city of Jerusalem, were affected from the early years, because Israel's government applied its rules and regulations in the west bank.

The Israeli government was dealing with the West Bank and Gaza strip as military areas and did not give attention to the development of the architectural sector of these cities; the main aim for the Israeli government was to minimize urban extension in the Palestinian cities in order to force the Arabic inhabitants to leave the country. The Israeli government with its superior control on the West Bank was able to:

- Confiscate more Palestinian lands to build new settlements to confirm the rights of Jews on this land.
- The Israeli government's policy in the West Bank was a continuation of its policy in Jerusalem, due to the geographical relation between the West Bank cities such as Ramalah and Bethlehem with Jerusalem. Israel from the early days of occupation of West Bank, confiscated lands that were located on the boundaries of these two cities and near Jerusalem in order to be able to separate Jerusalem from the west bank and from any near Arabic city. As it show in (plan 13)
- To establish Jewish communities that can be enlarged and connected in the future to other communities to establish new towns and cities.



Plan 13: The Map shows the geographical relation between the 3 cities.
(www.tau.ac.il/jcss/sa/v8n1p5Arieli.html)

It can be understood from the previous reasons why do Ramallah and Bethlehem play an important role in forming and molding Jerusalem. It is clear that the geographical location of these two cities, the short distance that separates them from Jerusalem and the historical connection between them made any separation plan hard to be completed.

4.2. The Effect Of Occupation In The Urban Development In Ramallah And Bethlehem

As it is the situation in Jerusalem, occupation played a great role in affecting the urban development of Ramallah and Bethlehem and other Palestinian cities. Urban development faced in Palestinian cities has clear problematic issues which appeared as a result of occupation. In the case of Ramallah and Bethlehem the importance of these two cities comes due to Israeli plans to confiscate more lands from these cities, because they do believe that the main threat that they are facing in Jerusalem is urban growth of these two cities and the possibility of futuristic interconnection with Jerusalem city.

Starting with the case of Ramallah city, it is located on a hilly site to the north of Jerusalem, where it started appearing in the mid 19th century as a small

town with a majority of Christian Palestinian inhabitants, with a small city center containing small Bazaars and markets. (Figure 31)



Figure 31: The early years of Ramallah city.

(http://www.palestineremembered.com/GeoPoints/Ramallah_527/index.html#Pictures)

The city houses were built with a traditional architecture style similar with the ones in Jerusalem's old city, constructed from local limestone and wooden roofs covered with red tiles, with Islamic small opening style due to climatic conditions, because Ramallah has cool weather in summer and cold in winter, so the inhabitants did not use large openings in order to control the energy inside their house, with a small courtyard for circulation and a gathering area. As it is shown in (Figure 32)



Figure 32: Traditional Palestinian house from Ramallah city built in the early 20th century.

(http://www.palestineremembered.com/GeoPoints/Ramallah_527/index.html#Pictures)

During the British mandate period, the city continued in developing and improving according to the users needs and without exterior influence. Plan 14 shows the early stages of Ramalah.



Plan 14: Ramalah city in the year 1918.

(http://www.palestineremembered.com/GeoPoints/Ramallah_527/index.html#Pictures)

In 1948 and after the withdrawn of British troops from Palestine the city became part of the Jordanian kingdom and governed by Jordanian rules. (Plan 15)



Plan 15: Ramalah city in 1948.

(http://www.palestineremembered.com/GeoPoints/Ramallah_527/index.html#Pictures)

In that period the city's position became clearer and the city started to be considered not as a small town but as a major city due to the following reasons:

- Location
 - It is located at the center of Palestine.
 - Closeness to Jerusalem.
 - Nice natural landscape.
 - Peaceful atmosphere.
- Climate
- Agriculture

Building types were more related to residential type of buildings and they were based on individual efforts, without following a certain style, buildings were constructed in the traditional styles or what is called architecture without an architect.

Later on and due to the expansion of the city a few houses appeared with western architecture styles similar to the one in Jerusalem in sheikh Jarah area as it is shown in (Figure 33)



Figure 33: One of the houses that appeared in Ramalah city in the early 20th century.
(http://www.palestineremembered.com/GeoPoints/Ramallah_527/index.html#Pictures)

As a result of the war in 1967, Ramalah was occupied and controlled by Israel and it was no longer under Jordanian rule. (Plan 16).



Plan 16: Ramalah city in 1967.

(http://www.palestineremembered.com/GeoPoints/Ramallah_527/index.html#Pictures)

The Israeli government saw Ramalah as a military base, used to separate Jerusalem from the west bank cities, located north of Jerusalem, and an area to be controlled, and in the same time to enlarge Jerusalem's municipality boundaries. Israel confiscated thousands of dunum's from Ramallah for 4 reasons:

- Enlarging Jerusalem boundaries.
- Making bypass roads for settlers to connect the settlements in the West Bank with Israeli cities.
- Building new settlements on hilltops to control the area, building up military bases and prisons.
- Stop Palestinian urban development.

Through the years that follow the occupation, the Israeli government governed Ramalah and the West Bank without giving any attention to the architectural sector and the urban development of these cities, it even

worked to stop any possible urban development by assigning restricting rules concerning building permits.

From 1967 to 1995; The Palestinian Liberation Organization took control over the city based on the Oslo agreement in 1993.³¹ The city of Ramalah was developing and spreading in a chaotic way, with poor services and infrastructure.

In addition, to the bad economical situation that the West Bank faced during that period, the same rules and regulations as in Jerusalem were applied in the West Bank, where buildings were covered with local white stone and specific building areas that can built over were assigned.

Despite these obstacles Palestinians were able to build some nice buildings in Ramalah in a modern way, which showed their ability to create a better environment in their areas, for instance Masioun neighborhood and Al Tira neighborhood. These neighborhoods contain small parks and good infrastructure, and nice architectural elements in buildings, but the main problem that can be found in these neighborhoods is irrelevance between buildings as a whole, which destroys the general image of the city. (Figure 34)

³¹ Israel's land colonization policy and the viability of the Palestinian State.



Figure 34: General view of Ramallah city.

(http://www.palestineremembered.com/GeoPoints/Ramallah_527/index.html#Pictures)

Since 1995, the Palestinian Authority took over the city and started applying new rules to improve the architecture situation in the city, and from that time there were some changes related to urban developments of the city:

- New regulations that go with the people's needs.
- Organization to control and improve the architecture sector.
- Separate budget for new projects.
- Proposals for new projects
- Restoration projects to protect the traditional houses.
- Improvements in the services sector.
- New town planning schemes.
- New zoning plans.

At the same time there are some obstacles in the process of urban development that should be taken care of:

- The lack of experience.
- The corruption in some Palestinian institutes.
- The Israeli policy towards the Palestinian Authority.
- The unjust Oslo agreement.

All these obstacles played an important role in the development of Ramallah city or directed it in the wrong direction.

In the case of Bethlehem city located 6 k/m to the south from Jerusalem city, Bethlehem represents a holy place for Christians, because it is the place where Jesus was born. The city of Bethlehem somehow is connected to Jerusalem city more than any of the other cities in Palestine due to the historical background that both cities have.

The old city of Bethlehem represents a unification of many ancient styles i.e., Roman, Greek and Ottoman, due to the religious position that the city has. Similar to the old city of Jerusalem with small changes, Bethlehem's traditional houses reflect the nature of the Arab families and their needs: more independent houses with nice elevations and terraces, constructed of local limestone with a variety of decorative elements, high ceilings and roofs covered with red tiles in most cases. (Figure 35)



Figure 35: Bethlehem old city.

(http://www.palestineremembered.com/GeoPoints/Bethlehem_536/Picture_10566.html)

During the following years after 1967 Israel confiscated many lands from the city's territory to build settlements especially in the area near Jerusalem. From that time Israel constructed thousands of new housing units in more than 30 settlements in the south part of Jerusalem and in Bethlehem, in the region known as greater Jerusalem.³²

32% of the settlements were constructed in Bethlehem area that means more land from Palestinians were taken which blocked their urban development and expansion, and these settlements are as follows:³³

- Betar Illit (Bethlehem): 4,832 new housing units.
- Har Homa (Bethlehem): 3,692 new housing units
- oliG raH (Bethlehem).
- uvhS nolA

One of the best examples of Israel policy towards Bethlehem city is Har Homa settlements or Abo Ghneim, which were properties of Bethlehem municipality, and Israel controlled them to build what is known now as Har Homa settlement which contains hundreds of housing units. (Figure 36)

³² Isaac, Jad & Abdel Latif, Fida, Jerusalem: the strangulation of the Arab Palestinian city, Palestine. July 9, 2005.1.4

³³ Isaac, Jad & Abdel Latif, Fida, Jerusalem: the strangulation of the Arab Palestinian city, Palestine. July 9, 2005.1.4



Figure 36: The 1st photo of Abo Ghenim Mountains before starting the construction of Har Homa settlement. The second photo shows the situation after confiscating the mountains from Bethlehem municipality.

(http://www.palestineremembered.com/GeoPoints/Bethlehem_536/Picture_10566.html)

In this case Israel confiscated thousands of dunm's owned by Palestinians in order to make bypass roads, to connect with other settlements. In this way it will control the city of Jerusalem by use of a ring of settlements and bypass roads from the south, and it will stop any futuristic urban growth from this side of Bethlehem city towards Jerusalem.³⁴ The city architecture nowadays is similar to the one in Ramalah city and it is facing the same problems that are related to this sector and the urban development side. This policy leads the Palestinian areas to an unplanned construction process.

As a result of the new situation, a rapid unplanned construction process took place in Palestinian cities. The urban growth of these cities were not organized because of political and economical situations at that time ,which is reflected on city development today, infrastructure and basic needs in many areas are not satisfying the needs of the public, due to the absence of

³⁴ Isaac, Jad & Abdel Latif, Fida, Jerusalem: the strangulation of the Arab Palestinian city, Palestine, July 9, 2005.1.5

invigilation on the building process. Not only the absence of authority lead to reach this point but also the lack of support and funds to these cities, new images of the Palestinian cities started to appear after 1967 and continued until the present time:

- Dense areas and unorganized neighborhoods where the dominant image of Palestinian areas in the West Bank.
- A new form of houses appeared in these cities to fulfill the needs of these new refugees, built from concrete and without government attention to the architectural identity of these houses or to the relation with the city and the futuristic urban growth.
- Rigid building consisting of one or two floors with less openings and no attention to healthy aspects or privacy that should be taken into consideration in any building process lacking any identity in its architecture.

4.3. The Appearance Of New Forms And Spaces As A Result Of Occupation (Refugee Camps, Bypass Roads, The Segregation Wall)

Due to the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip including Jerusalem after the war in 1967 not only the urban development of these areas was affected but as a result of the occupation new forms and spaces accrued in the West Bank and Gaza Strip: refugee camps, bypass roads and segregation walls. These new forms and spaces could be considered as new architectural forms.

Due to the political situation in Palestine, thousands of Palestinians were forced to leave their towns and villages and move to other Palestinian cities in the West Bank.

They settled down in these cities and built small houses, in addition to the absence of building supervision, sufficient budgets, and due to the political situation, these families were forced to speed up the process of construction which affected their architectural identity.

These areas transformed to highly dense neighbourhoods, where houses were built over each other without any architectural standards and without

giving any importance to urban development that left a bad influence on the social life of these areas. (Figure 37)



Figure 37: Palestinian refugee camp in the west bank.
(www.merip.org/.../graphics/palestinian-camp.jpg)

Due to the situation accrued after 1967 War these camps ended up with the following results:

- Highly dense areas.
- Houses made out of poor construction materials.
- No consideration for environmental issues.
- Unhealthy houses and spaces.
- Blocks of boxes without any landscaping elements or courtyards.
- Narrow Streets.

Other forms that appeared after 1967 are, bypass roads in the West Bank built to connect the settlements with each other and with the main Israeli cities. In addition, the Israeli government used these bypass roads to control and to confiscate more land from the Palestinian cities, affecting them Palestinians cities by blocking urban developments.

These roads carved up the Palestinian areas into isolated ghettos and often deprived Palestinians of vital agricultural land. These practices have fragmented both land and people. The situation is very serious within the major cities of the West Bank where by-pass roads form asphalt boundaries that limit the expansion and development of the Palestinian communities, and further disconnect Palestinian communities from each other. The Israeli

bypass roads so far built in the West Bank exceed 228 km in length, whereas the planned roads are estimated up to about 565 km. The construction of bypass roads in addition to the 75-meter buffer zones on each side of the road has destructive impacts on Palestinian lands and their economy. Complementing the bypass roads is a complex system of military checkpoints. Together, they allow the Israelis to be cut off from Palestinian areas.³⁵

Another form that appeared in the west bank and Gaza strip cities, is the segregation wall, planned by the Israeli government to surround the Palestinian cities in order to, prevent any development, and to separate the Palestinian cities from each other and at the same time to control the rest of the Palestinians lands.³⁶

Thousand of dunm's were confiscated, which caused:

- Separation of the West Bank from Jerusalem.
- Separation of cities from each other in the west bank.
- Separation of villages from city centers.
- Blocking the West bank cities urban growth.
- Affecting the agricultural sector in the West Bank.
- Creating negative space around it and blocking the architectural image of the areas near it. As it is shown in Figures 38, 39.



Figure 38: Palestinian house in west bank facing the segregation wall.

(www.stopthewall.org)

³⁵ Israel's land colonization policy and the viability of the Palestinian State.

³⁶ The apartheid wall campaign.



Figure 39: Segregation wall in the West Bank destroying the agricultural areas and separating it from the village. (www.stopthewall.org)

4.4. Suggestions And Possible Solutions For Futuristic Urban Development In Both Cities

The current situation in the West Bank cities and especially in Ramallah and Bethlehem reached a very critical point which should be dealt with in order to improve the architectural situation of these cities and to develop their urban plans. The improvements and developments can be summaries as follows:

- To form new architectural plans for both cities.
- Making new studies and analyzing the mistakes of the past.
- Pinpointing the priority that should be solved first from an architectural point of view.
- Restoration of the traditional buildings in these cities.
- Finding solutions to be able to control the unused lands in order not to be confiscated by Israel.
- Educating people of the important role that architecture plays in their lives and in their struggle.
- To document architecture in Palestine.
- Getting back the confiscated lands through campaigns and international organizations.
- Establishing institutes that specialize in Palestinian architecture.
- Improving the architectural image in Palestinian cities.

- Constructing new roads to connect the villages and cities with each other.
- Fixing specific budget for the architectural sector.
- Launching campaigns against the segregation wall.
- Developing the architectural sector in refugee camps.
- Finding ways to connect the city of Jerusalem with the cities in the West Bank.
- Encouraging building with walls made of cement and bricks instead of stones
- Reduce the sizes of new houses
- Promote the production of prefabricated homes

The results of these improvements and suggestions should affect the urban issues in Palestinian cities and will help to put Palestinian facts on the ground which can not be neglected and eliminated by the Israeli government. In order to do so these suggestions should be under the responsibilities of the highest authorities in Palestine and a independent community should be responsible in following up all the details and working plans.

CHAPTER 5

5. CONCLUSION

Jerusalem city is privileged with a lot of architectural advantages, and that is due to being the stepping place of several cultures which richened architectural insight of the city moreover imprinted these cultures finger print on its walls and building blocks.

This fact has not always been positive for various political changes repeatedly effects the city architectural face, which was largely seen during the 20th century, with the end of the Ottoman Period and suppressing the city to the British Mandate. It was obvious that it is a transitional stage instead of a stable one.

However, that particular period lay down the foundations of modern architecture, where the British started the laws and progression and transformation of the city's urban growth. Moreover that period was the period of moving and spreading outside the walls

At the same time, this imposed Mandate brought several negative effects on the city and its architecture, from that time Jewish movements started infesting the city, and constructing neighbourhoods with a western styles on Palestinian Arabic land.

Hence laying the foundations of an invented Israeli state, without taking into consideration traditional architecture and its Jerusalemities qualities, this oppressed the eastern identity.

With the end of the British Period over Palestine, and the formation of the Israeli state in 1948 over half of Palestinian land, including the western part of Jerusalem were occupied and separated from the rest of Palestine. The Israeli government speeded up its control grip over Jerusalem, and created a new reality which helps it achieve control over Jerusalem. These occupied areas were designed to house the largest number possible of foreign western aliens, to achieve its goals; Israeli intentionally confiscated Palestinian lands and imposed impossible laws, and closed down any future plans for buildings in the Palestinians areas.

This was done to more firmly strengthen their grip on the city. By the year 1967, Israel had occupied and controlled all the Palestinian lands including Jerusalem, which made Israel act even faster in building and progressing the architectural image.

That period and what followed it, witnessed noticeable evolution in Israeli architecture, which transitional from housing alien immigrants to constructing superb neighbourhoods which take into consideration the surrounding environment and needs of future tenants.

Such procedures lead to creating a state in the city and to the robbing of Palestinians lands and rights in the city.

For more that 50 years Israel initially pushed Palestinians outside Jerusalem, and the best way of doing that was to cripple Palestinians urban growth. In the past century, architecture took on a political role to achieve the Israeli goals, which are establishing their capital Jerusalem, and give it a Jewish identity, which is clear comparing to the architectural state between Jewish and Arabic building taking into consideration, infrastructure, public areas and the over all quality of architecture.

As for architecture in Jerusalem, it should not be taken from the artistic point of view as much as the socio-political one, which influenced on the actual social political state of the city and its inhabitants which as all things left its negative marks as well.

Here the importance of this study shows it self in putting Jerusalem case and architecture under the microscope, and that is to clarify the lack of urban developments in Palestinian areas in Jerusalem and what lead to this situation, and explore ways to solve it.

It can be said that where political expansion there will be architectural expansions too and changing in architectural identities, and that what happened in Jerusalem, the thing that will change the shape of the city for ever. The effect of political agenda and the use of architecture to apply it end up neglecting the real identity of the city in general. This study was meant to clarify what was mentioned previously, so that Arabic neighbourhoods can withstand this attack, because if this problem finds no solutions in the near future, it will lead to chaos in terms of urban development in the Arabic

area, which will make it more difficult to solve and will lead to the isolation of Arab neighbourhoods and eventually they will disappeared.

For further research this study can be extended to cover other issues which are more specific and absolute, this study will be conducted from both points of view and compare to develop these examples and analyze the problem in order to reach and establish more detailed explanations.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: construction completion in East and West Jerusalem

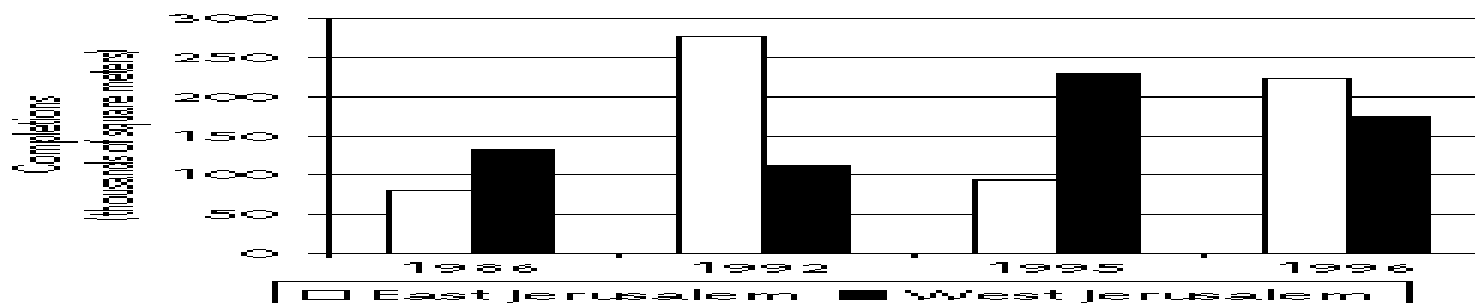


Table 2: Number of housing unites built in settlements in Jerusalem

	Year	Israel and Settlements (units)	Settlements* (units)	Settlements*/Israel (%)
Housing Starts Initiated by Ministry of Construction and Housing - Urban and Rural Areas	2002	7,695	772	11.2
	2003	7,258	1,141	17
Housing Starts Initiated by Ministry of Construction and Housing - Urban and Rural Areas	2002	10,376	1,110	12
	2003	8,840	1,258	17.4
New Dwellings (Privately-Sponsored Construction)	2001	14,535	733	5.3
	2002	14,483	239	1.7
	2003	10,383	269	2.7
Transactions of Land Designated for Residential Development by the Israel Lands Administration	2000	22,466	2,804	14.3
	2001	14,083	1,950	16.1
	2002	14,375	1,017	7.36
	2003	15,205	1,242	8.9

Table 3: Construction Starts in Dwelling Units, 1989 - 2003

Year	Israel			West Bank and Gaza Strip ¹		
	Total	Total Public	Total Private	Total	Total Public	Total Private
1989	19,850	3,490	16,360	1,470	680	790
1990	42,410	19,380	23,030	1,810	830	980
1991	83,510	61,730	21,780	8,110	7,040	1,070
1992 ²	44,900	21,820	23,080	6,210	5,000	1,210
1993	33,630	4,760	28,870	980	410	570
1994	43,320	10,460	32,860	1,290	550	740
1995	62,020	27,700	34,320	2,430	1,870	560
1996	52,870	19,040	33,830	1,660	1,010	650
1997	50,850	15,950	34,900	1,630	1,020	610
1998	42,920	9,720	33,200	3,900	1,740	2,160
1999	37,210	9,120	28,090	2,510	1,550	960
2000	46,409	14,343	32,066	4,683	2,567	2,116
2001	31,736	6,949	24,787	1,508	709	799
2002	31,475	6,763	24,712	1,024	446	578
2003	29,672	7,358	22,314	1,849	1,154	695

Table 4: Jerusalem populations 1967-2005

Year	Total (000s)	Jews (000s)	Jews (%)	Arabs (000s)	Arabs (%)
1967	266.3	197.7	74.2	68.6	25.8
1977	376.0	272.3	72.4	103.7	27.6
1987	482.6	346.1	71.7	136.5	28.3
1997	622.1	429.1	69.0	193.0	31.0
2001	670.0	454.6	67.9	215.4	32.1
2002	680.4	458.6	67.4	221.9	32.6
2003	693.2	464.5	67.0	228.7	33.0
Increase	160.3%	135.0%		233.4%	

Table 5: land use by Palestinian and Israeli inhabitants and populations rates

	Palestinian population (as percentage of the total):	
1967		25.8 %
1995		28.6 %
	Population Growth Rate 1967-1995:	
Palestinians		144 %
Israelis		105 %
	Israeli population in West Jerusalem:	
1967		198,000
1995		240,000
	Israeli population in East Jerusalem:	
1967		--
1995		160,000
	Palestinian population (as percentage of the total):	
1967		25.8 %
1995		28.6 %
	Population Growth Rate 1967-1995:	
Palestinians		144 %
Israelis		105 %
	Israeli population	

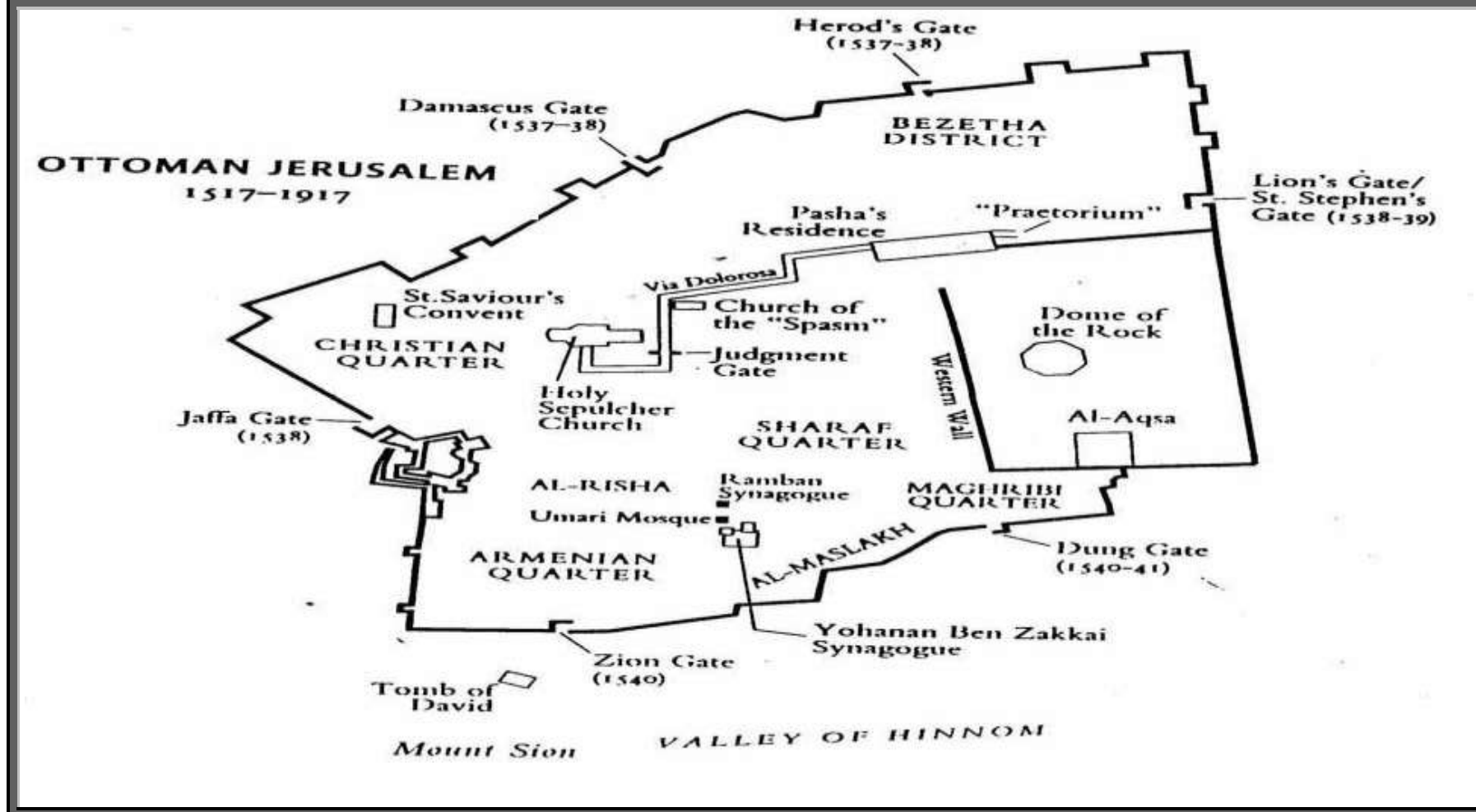
	in West Jerusalem:	
1967		198,000
1995		240,000
	Israeli population in East Jerusalem:	
1967		--
1995		160,000
	Housing completions for Israelis in East Jerusalem:	
1992		3,116 units
1993		2,720 units
	Land expropriated for Israeli settlements (1968-1995):	
6,000 acres		34%*
	Land marked for expropriation (now frozen):	
1,500 acres		8.5%*
	Land where construction is prohibited:	
(zoning restrictions) 7,750 acres		44.0%*
	Palestinian residential land:	
2,375 acres		13.5%*
	Housing completions for Israelis in East Jerusalem:	
1992		3,116 units
1993		2,720 units
	Land expropriated for Israeli settlements (1968-1995):	
6,000 acres		34%*

1,500 acres	Land marked for expropriation (now frozen):	8.5%*
(zoning restrictions) 7,750 acres	Land where construction is prohibited:	44.0%*
2,375 acres	Palestinian residential land:	13.5%*

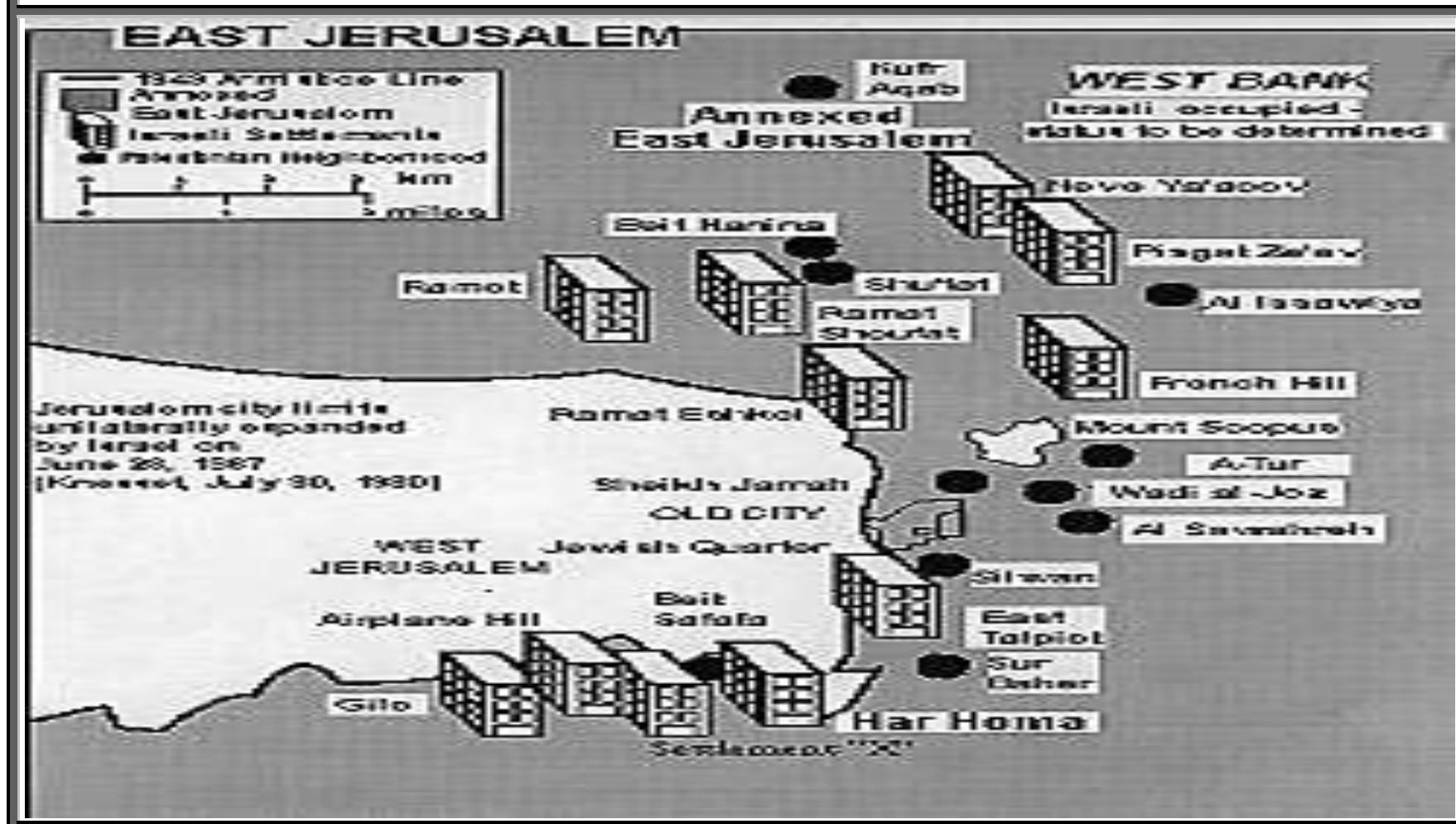
Table 5: Israeli settlements with in Jerusalem boundaries

Settlement name	Date of establishment	Area in 2005 (in dunom)
Mamilla	1997	52.7
Jewish Quarter	1968	135.7
Atarot	1970	1377.5
East Talpiyot	1973	1829.4
Gilo	1971	2749.8
Givat Hamatos	1991	287.7
Givat Shappira	1968	687.6
Hebrew University (Har HaTzofim)	1968	957.5
Neve Yaacov	1972	1240.9
Pisgat Amir	1985	2515.9
Pisgat Zeev	1985	1545.6
Ramat Eshkol	1968	1118.3
Ramot	1973	3343.4
Rekhes Shuafat	1990	1624.9
Ras al A'mud (Ma'ale Ha zeitim)	1998	10.8
Har Homa	1997	2205

Jerusalem boundaries during the Ottoman empire period. The map shows that there were no neighborhoods outside the old city during the Ottomans period. (www.bu.edu/.../Jerusalem/mp/periodic/ottoman.jpg)

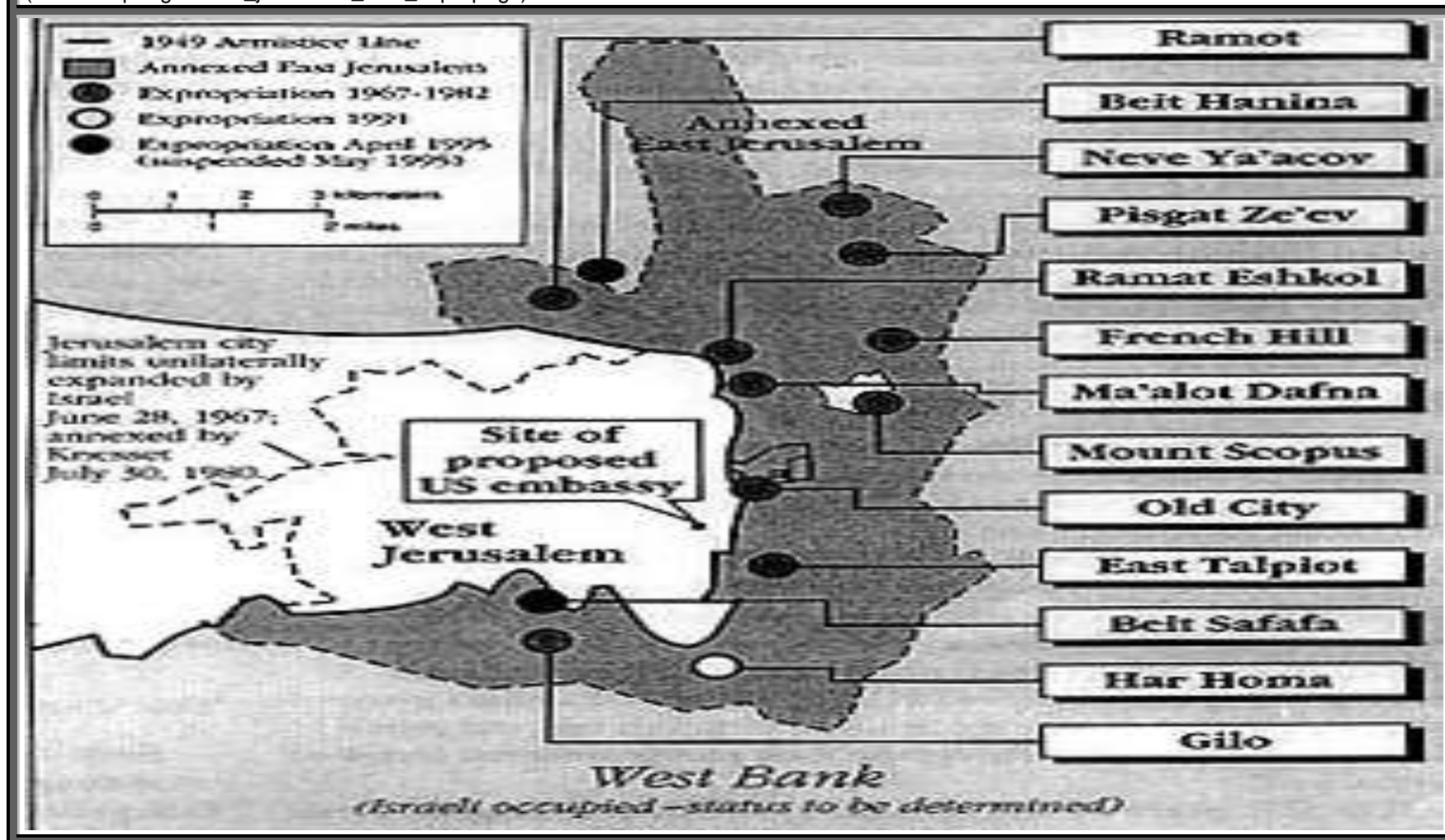


Settlements distribution in the east side of Jerusalem city.(Foundation For Middle East Peace, 1995)

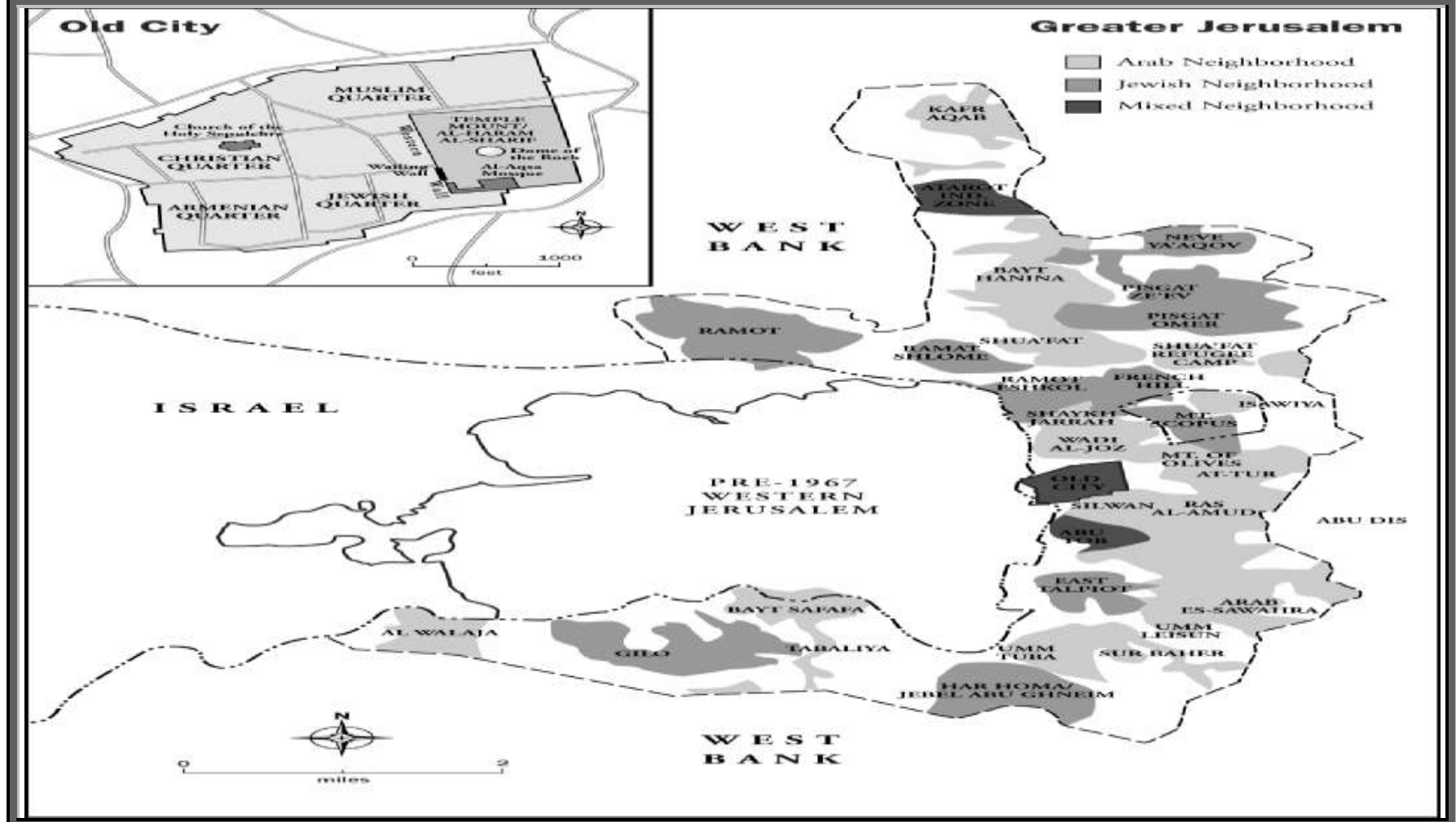


A plan explains the land expropriations in east Jerusalem between the years 1967-1995.

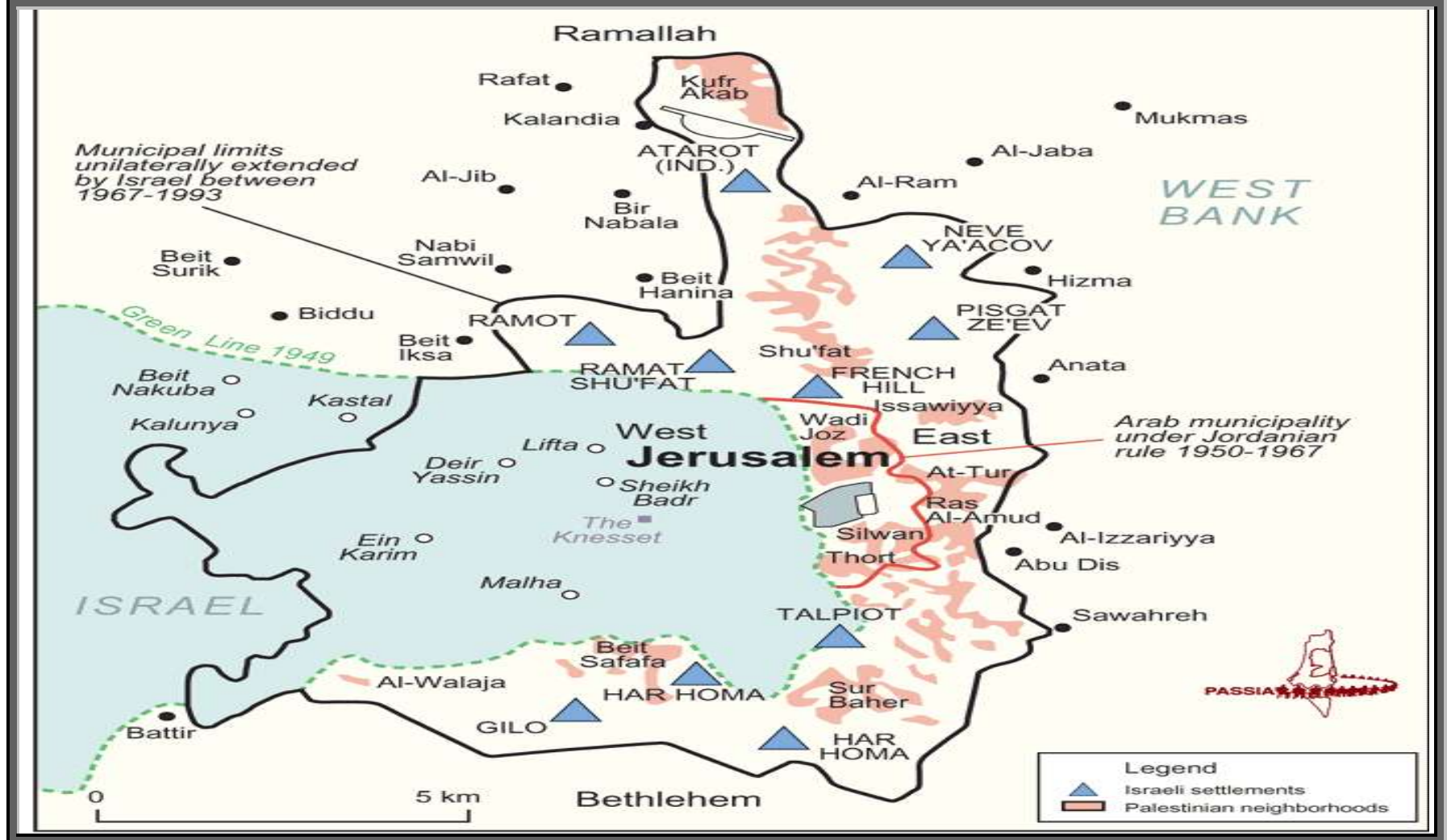
(www.fmep.org/.../east_jerusalem_land_expropr.gif)



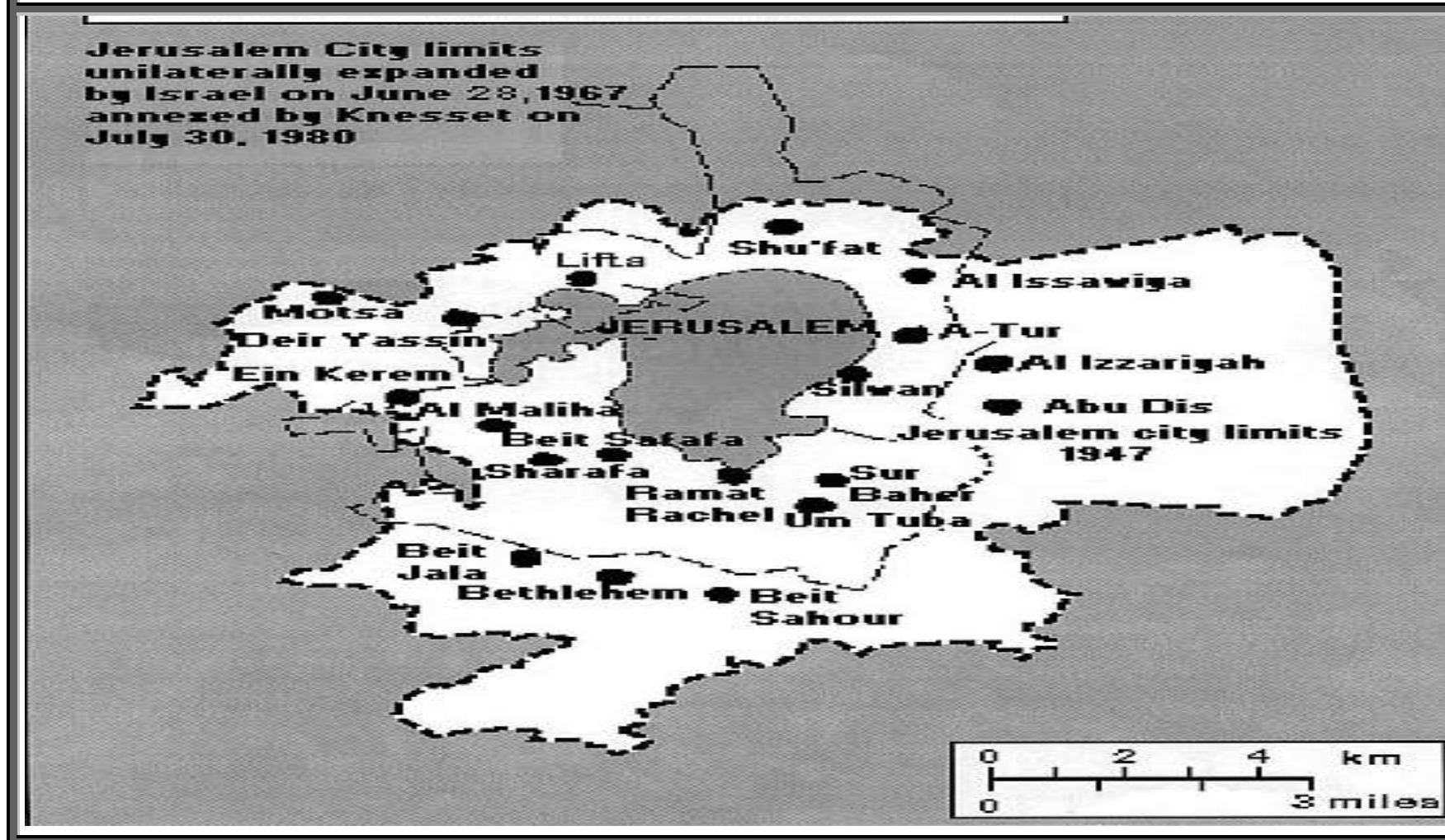
The areas that includes the boundaries of greater Jerusalem. Pointing out that too many lands were confiscated from the boundaries of Ramalah and Bethlehem. (<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/mapImages/41de98e058452.jpg>)



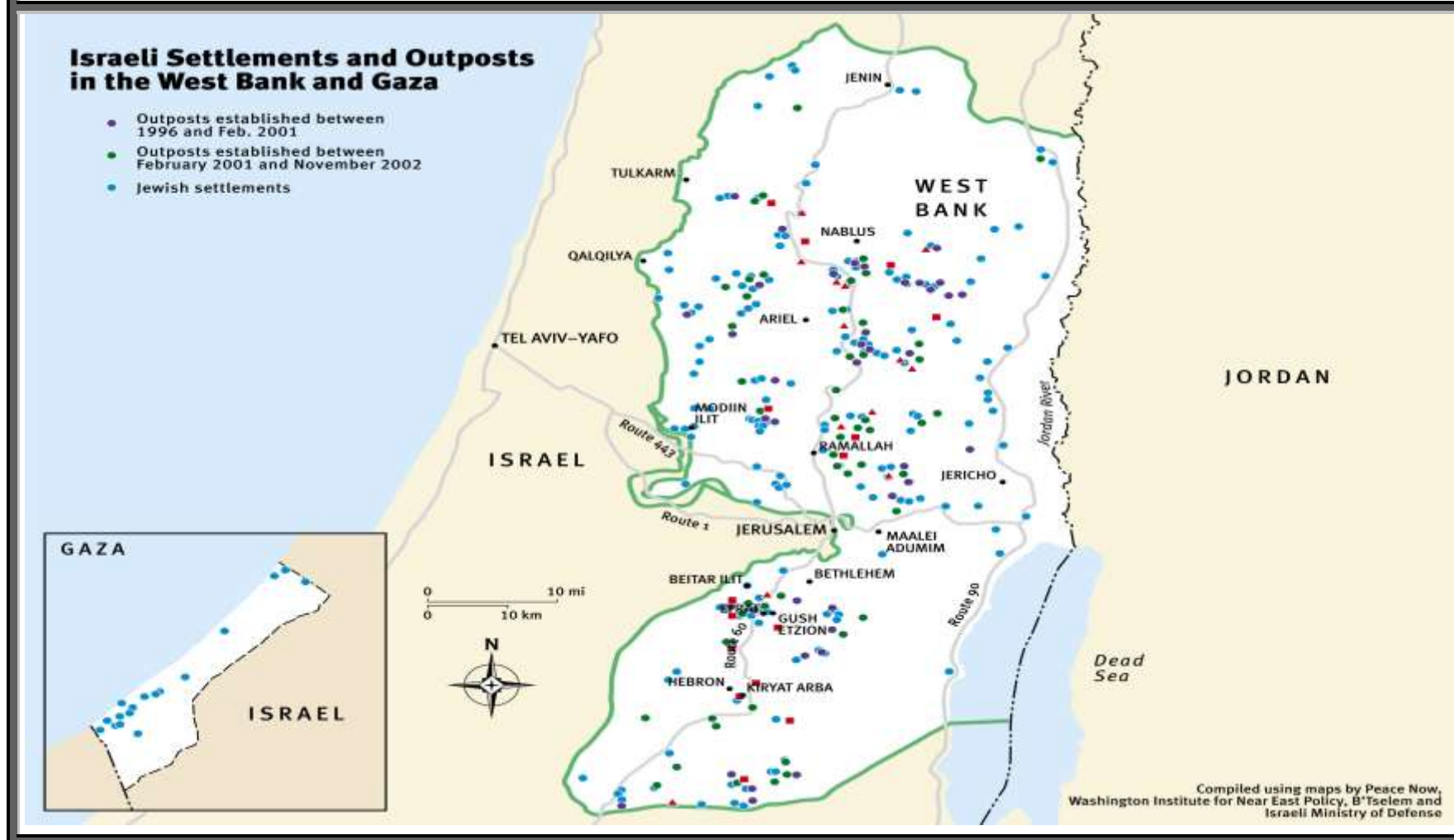
Israeli settlements and Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, 2000 (www.passia.org/jerusalem/maps/0_M_A_P_S.htm)



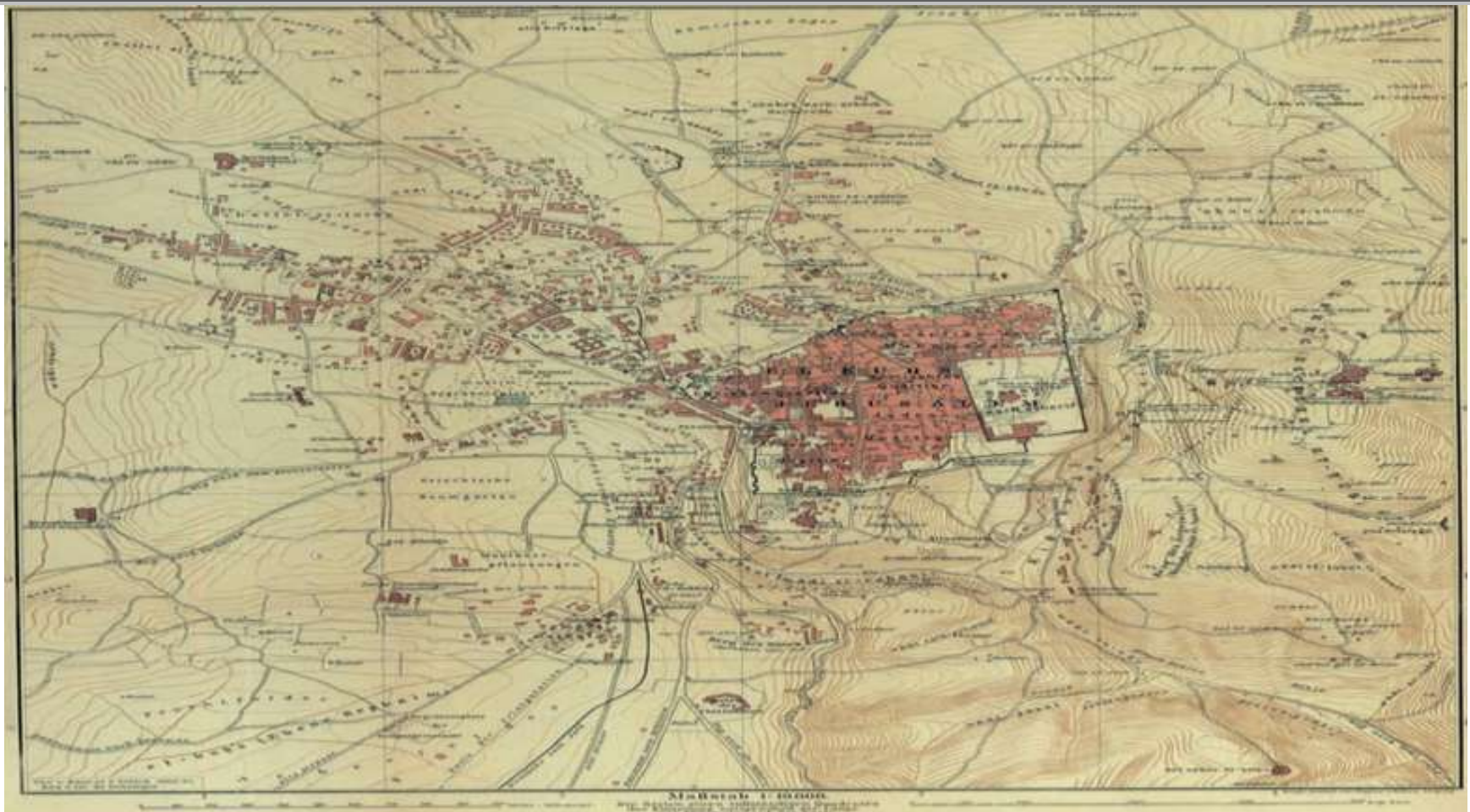
UN proposed boundaries for Jerusalem in the year 1947. (The Statue Of Jerusalem, United Nations, New York, 1979)



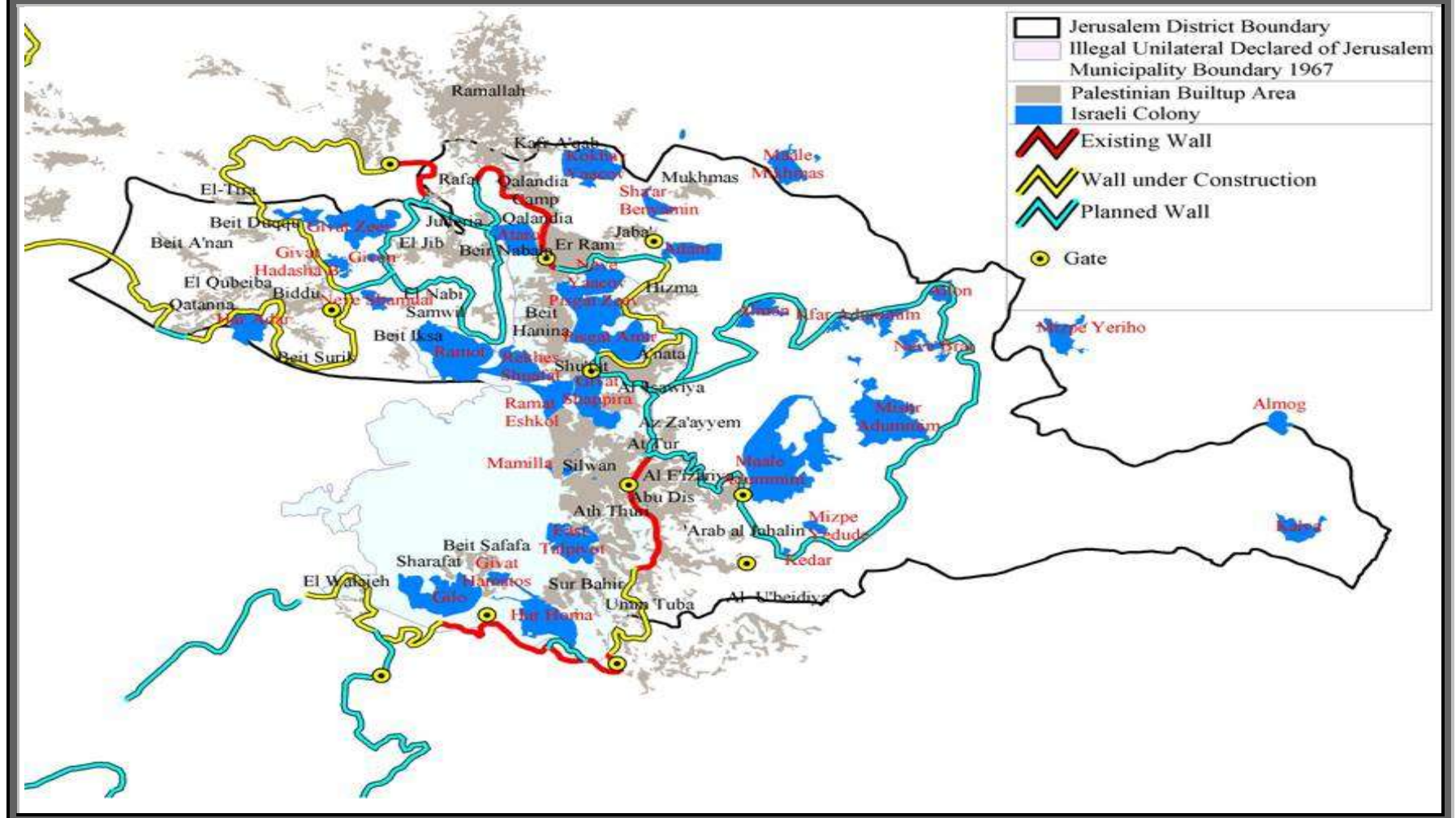
Israeli settlements inside West bank and Gaza strip, which blocking urban development in the Palestinian cities
(www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateS03.php)



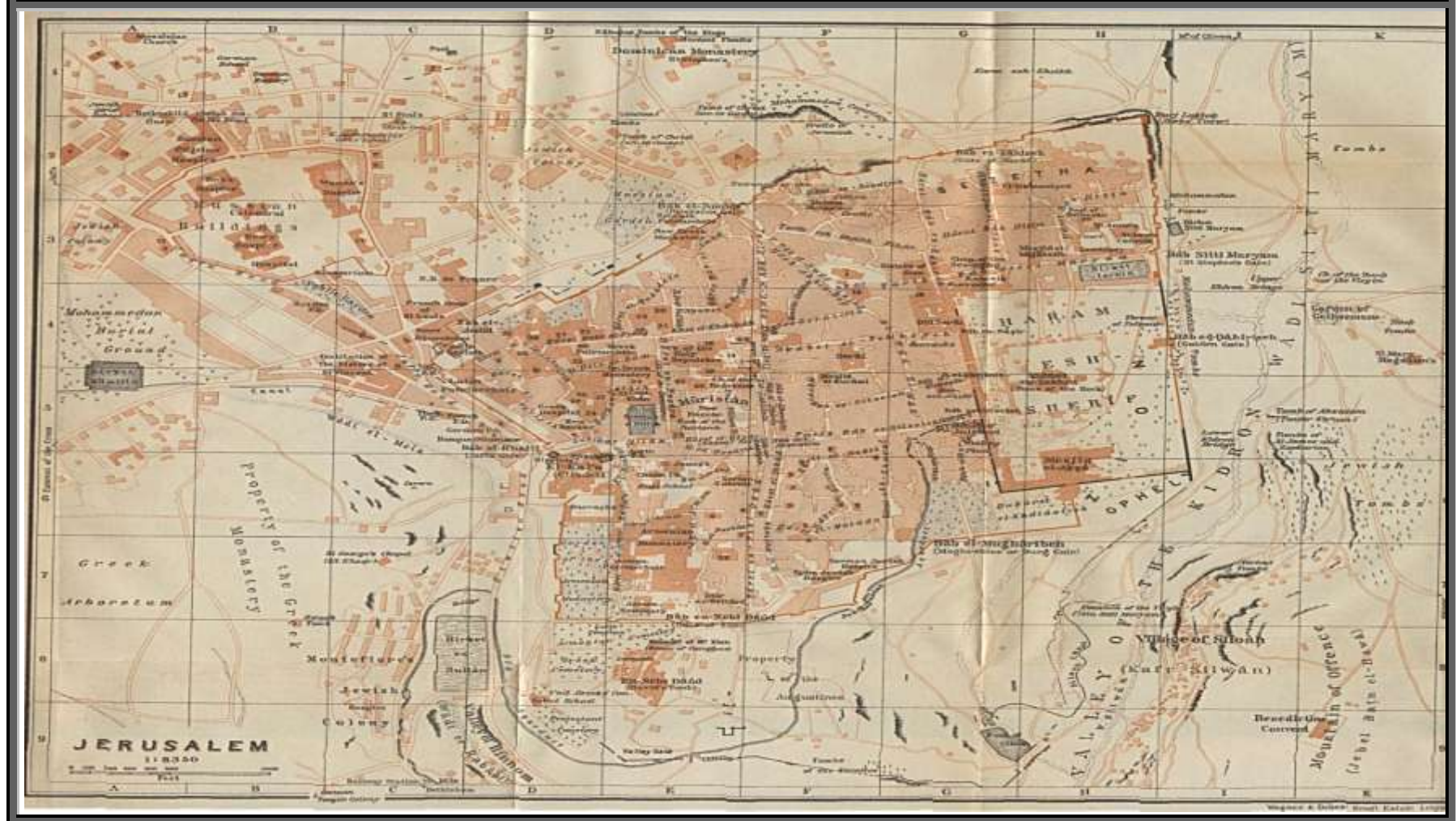
United Jerusalem after 1967 War.(www.justjerusalem.org/Portals/0/images/map1.jpg)

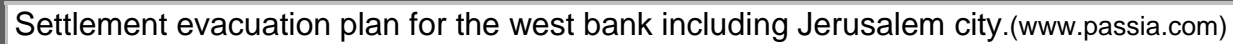


The plan of the Separation wall in West Bank, which it explains how the wall will separate the city from the surrounding Palestinian cities (Ramalah and Bethlehem).(http://www.poica.org/editor/case_studies/image021.jpg)



Plan showing the spreading of buildings outside the old city of Jerusalem. (middle-east-info.org/links/index.htm)

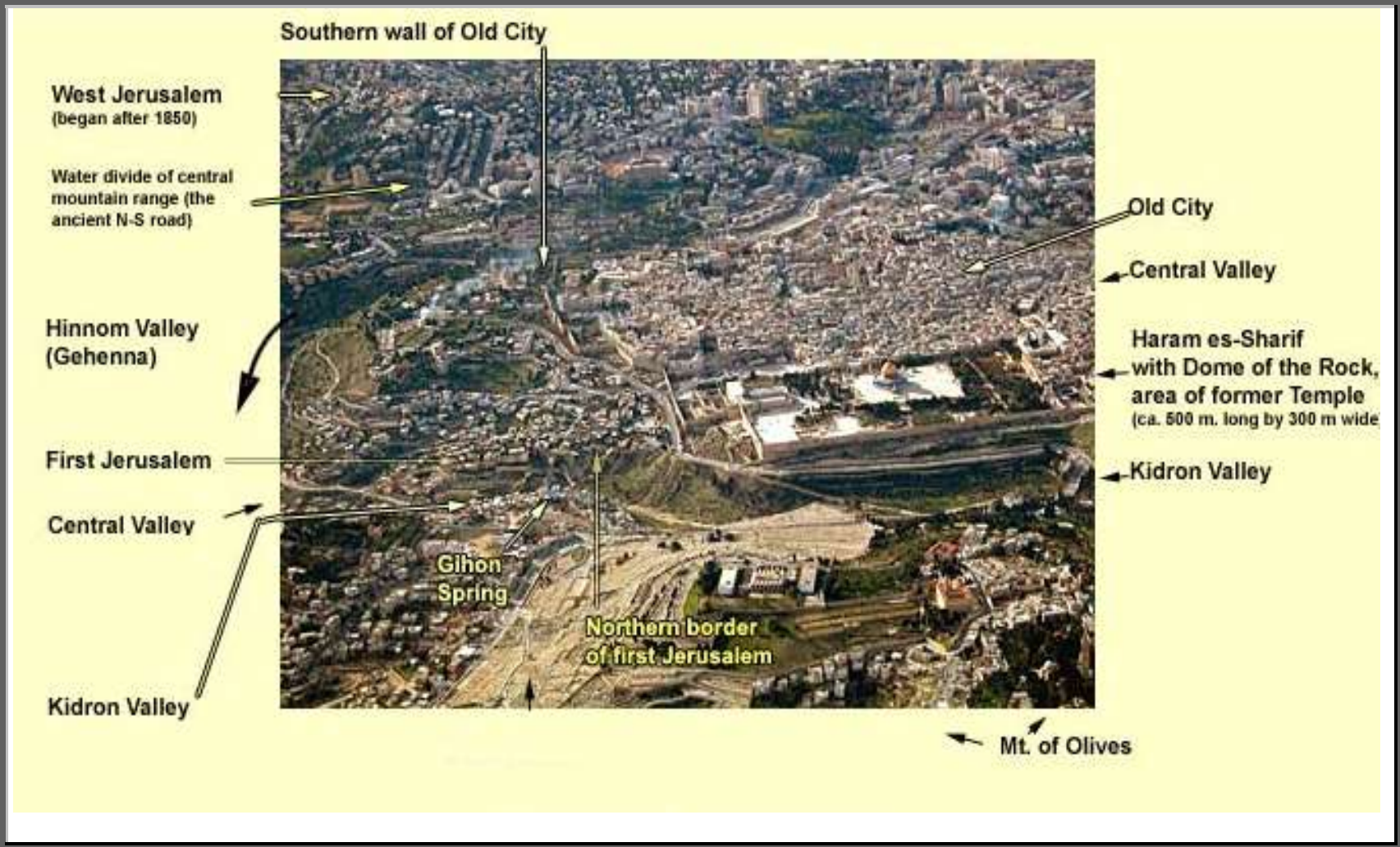




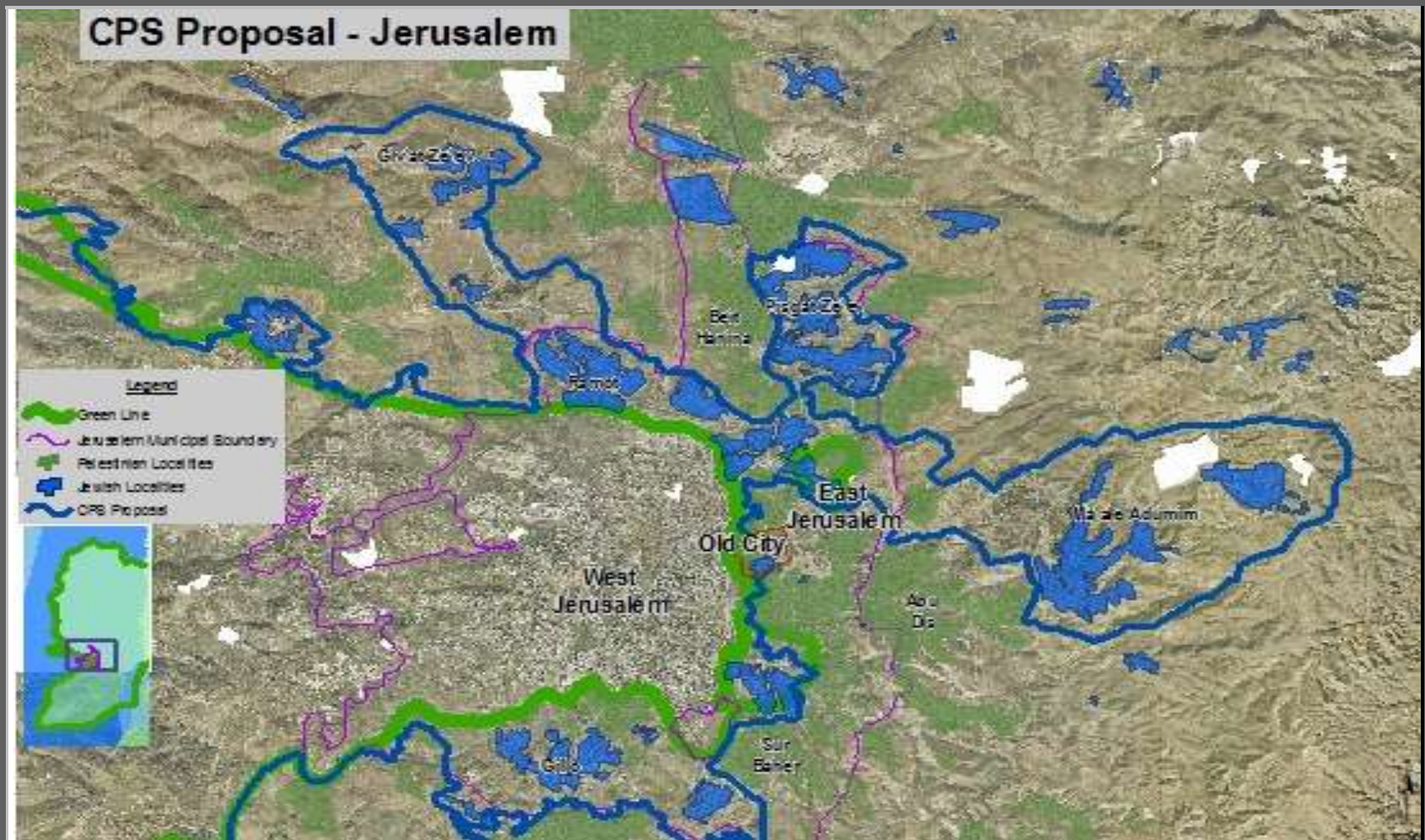
Aerial image of Jerusalem. (www.netours.com/jrs/2003/mt-olives-first-jm.htm)



Arial image of Jerusalem. (www.middleeastprogress.org)



Arial image of Jerusalem. (www.netours.com/jrs/2003/mt-olives-first-jm.htm)



Aerial image of Jerusalem. (www.netours.com/jrs/2003/mt-olives-first-jm.htm)

