

SPACES OF RESISTANCE IN JERUSALEM

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This study explores the relationship between community-based resistance and the nature of state intervention and control in Jerusalem. It focuses on four distinct clusters of struggle in Jerusalem: the ethno-national conflict between Israeli-Jews and Palestinian-Arabs, the cultural conflict between ultra-Orthodox Jews and non-Orthodox Jews, the ethno-class conflict between advantaged groups and disadvantaged groups, and the ecological conflict between the business sector and residents of the city.

The questions underlying the study are fivefold. First, what are the specific features of urban resistance characterizing the four conflicts? Second, what are the reasons underlying the emergence of four distinct types of urban resistance within and between the city's communities? Third, what are the relationships between these forms of resistance and the state? Fourthly, what are the impacts of urban resistance on the city? And finally, what do these impacts indicate about the changing nature of power relationships within the city?

The literature on community development and urban resistance has focused on community characteristics rather than on their evolution over time or space. In an attempt to rectify this shortcoming, some studies have started to explore the identification of social movements, suggesting that specific clusters of protest tend to appear in specific periods.

The idea of temporal clustering of social movements has been well documented by several studies. Tarrow (1983) introduced the concept of 'cycles of protest', and Della Porta and Tarrow (1986) documented the cyclical nature of collective action in Western Europe. Similarly, Hasson and Ley (1994) suggested that general forms of urban grassroots action characterize specific historical eras, defined by the evolution of the welfare state. What seems to be absent in these discussions is the spatial differentiation of social protest during the same period.

Community-based resistance is defined as organized social and political action, which challenges the existing social and political system. In accounting for urban resistance, reference has been often made to the societal structure (Castells, 1983, Pickvance, 1976) where the characteristics of structural conditions denote the probability of political action. The more recent cultural-political literature suggests that to realize the potentialities embedded in the societal structures, the social actors have to assume an active role in interpreting the context of which they form a part (Hasson, 1993: 158). Values, beliefs, meanings and especially a sense of identity come to play a crucial role in informing and shaping the nature of urban resistance. Hall (1982) showed how communities are engaged in the 'politics of signification'.

This study seeks to examine the association between a sense of identity and territorial clusters of protest within the city of Jerusalem. Jerusalem may be likened to a

hybrid space wherein different communities located within specific territories collide with each other and with the attempts of the state to control social relations. Ethnographically, culturally and socially the city is basically divided between different community groups. Additionally, in recent years a new type of group-identity has developed, reflecting the tension between local communities striving to protect environmental assets and politicians and business people seeking to promote urban and economic development. Each group has sought to develop its own common identity, causality, aspirations and actions relevant to community-based resistance. This study explores the different forms of resistance first by examining each community separately and then by drawing a comparison among the different communities.

1. Ethno-national struggles: Israelis and Palestinians

The Palestinian Arab population, which numbered 170,000 people (28 percent of the city's population) in 1994, lives in the eastern section of the city. The Jewish population, which amounted to 406,000 people in the same year (72 percent of the city's population), resides in the western part of Jerusalem (the part that has been Israeli since 1948) and in several neighborhoods in eastern Jerusalem.

The ethno-territorial separation is almost total and with the exception of a small number of Jews in the Muslim and Christian quarters, there are no areas of mixed population. However, because the Israeli government has planned and built Jewish neighborhoods in the eastern part of the city, a checkered pattern of urban residence has developed wherein Jewish enclaves border on Arab enclaves.

Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews both conceive of territory as a strategic asset, a symbol of historical presence and nationhood and a measure of community empowerment. National identity is inseparably linked to holding on to the land and is manifested in conflicting claims to the same territory.

The State of Israel seeks to maintain all of Jerusalem under its sovereignty, while the Palestinians wish to see East Jerusalem as the capital of an independent Palestine. To achieve its goals, the State of Israel expanded the municipal boundaries of West Jerusalem after 1967 by 70,500 dunams, from 38,000 to 108,500 dunams (8,500 to 27,500 acres, respectively) and expanded Israeli law and administration to East Jerusalem. In so doing, the State of Israel annexed to West Jerusalem the 6,500 dunams of East Jerusalem and another 64,000 dunams around East Jerusalem, all of which was previously controlled by Jordan. Of the 70,500 dunams incorporated into the city, the Israeli government expropriated 24,000 dunams to build new Jewish neighborhoods. These neighborhoods, which encircle the city and delineate its new boundaries, are home to 170,000 Israeli Jews, that is, one-third of the Jewish population of the city.

To curtail Arab growth and expansion, large tracts of Arab land, as yet undeveloped, have been zoned as 'green areas' under the city's planning system. In these green areas construction is prohibited. Nevertheless, two large Jewish neighborhoods in the northern and southern sections of the city were built on green areas in contravention of planning controls.

Currently, the Arab population occupies only 13 percent of the city's area. The Jewish neighborhoods enjoy a much higher level of services than the Arab ones and it has been estimated that only 4 to 5 percent of the municipal budget has been directed to

Arab neighborhoods despite them comprising 30 percent of the city's population (Hasson, 1996a).

In the struggle against the Israeli efforts, the Palestinians developed an endurance policy of holding to the land known as *sumud*. As part of this struggle, holy places and historic sites have been transformed into major national symbols, serving as a statement of resistance and control. The Western Wall, the mosque of al-Aqsa, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and other sites that dot the city landscape serve as important symbols of ethno-national and religious identity and political power.

2. Cultural struggles: The Haredim (ultra-Orthodox) and the non-Orthodox population

Haredi Jews, who numbered 128,000 in 1994 (22 per cent of the city's population) live mainly in northern Jerusalem. The Haredi population is characterized by strict adherence to religious commands, voluntary segregation and special dress: the men wear black gowns and black hats. Members of the community define themselves as anti-Zionist, do not serve in the armed forces and some of them boycott the election to the Israeli parliament.

The Haredim live in segregated neighborhoods in the northern section of the city. The core of the Haredi area is associated with Mea Shearim, a neighborhood built in the late 19th century in the north-eastern section of the city to accommodate ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) Jews. Over the years, the Haredi population has spread steadily from its core in Mea Shearim to adjacent neighborhoods, developing an almost contiguous Haredi zone stretching from Mea Shearim in the east, to Har Nof in the west (Friedman, 1991; Shenhav, 1991).

The contiguous Haredi territory in north Jerusalem sets off the Haredim from the rest of society. Within their confines the Haredim have managed to develop their own separate schools, maintain their dietary laws, control the relations between the sexes, socialize the younger generation, close roads for traffic on Sabbath and create a separate cultural identity.

The principal Haredi spatial symbols are religious institutions: synagogues, yeshivas, and ritual baths. Other symbols are associated with spatial division by gender, the closure of roads and businesses on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays, and signs and advertisements with religious content. The Haredim have thus created a defended territorial enclave within which they can produce and reproduce what they regard as the 'holy community' without being threatened by behavioral patterns and conduct of the surrounding secular society (Hasson, 1996b).

The reason for the spatial segregation is cultural. The Haredi community views the secular nature of the city as a threat to its existence, one that endangers it and imperils its way of life. The influences of the modern way of life are regarded as threatening the sacred space that the Haredi community is trying to fashion for itself. Therefore, the Haredim strive to build walls and fences to keep out the influence of modern culture while still depending on the city for its jobs, taxes, services, and products.

Recent demographic trends show clearly that Haredim may soon become one of the largest groups in the city. The proportion of Haredi students in primary schools is already 50 percent, rising to 54 percent among kindergartens. Demographic forecasts

The Power of Planning

Spaces of Control and Transformation

Yiftachel, O.; Little, J.; Hedgcock, D.; Alexander, I. (Eds.)

2001, XII, 226 p. 13 illus., Softcover

ISBN: 978-1-4020-0534-3