HOUSING POLICY, DESIGN, AND STRUGGLE:

THE COLONIAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE

OF ISRAEL/PALESTINE, ONE NEW CITY AT A TIME

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ABSTRACT

Housing policy and housing design have a long history as instruments of colonial domination in Israel and as strategies for shaping the Jewish state as such. This thesis examines how a 'housing crisis' framework, including local struggles for the right to housing, may be utilised by the Israeli Zionist regime to counter insurgent practices of Palestinians in the country and simultaneously appropriated for the Palestinian national struggle. The thesis originally compares state planning by Israel and by the Palestinian Authority: a state-initiated plan for an 'Arab city' in Israel, *Tantour*, and a privatised Palestinian housing development in the West Bank, *Rawabi*. This comparison enables me to explore how local 'solutions' to the housing crisis shape and recast colonial relations in Israel/Palestine, seen from the perspective of the colonised.

The study focuses on a struggle by a group of Palestinian activists in the *Tantour* case who are fighting to shape the new 'Arab city' according to local housing needs and to incorporate it in their town's jurisdiction. Their struggle is examined in comparison to a small group of Palestinian citizens of Israel who chose to obtain homeownership in *Rawabi* in the West Bank. I deploy mixed methods designed to explore urban space as co-produced by state power and inhabitants. Among these: a critical review of planning documents, site visits, and in-depth interviews with planners and inhabitants. Foregrounding the narratives of Palestinian citizens of Israel, I argue that neoliberal 'solutions' to the housing crisis are changing the relationship between Palestinian *sumud* praxis, meaning resistance by remaining on the land, and the Zionist colonial strategy of 'Judaising space'. In both cases I discover how Palestinian *sumud* has found new ways to endure in neoliberal times. The case of *Rawabi* in the West Bank sheds light on homeownership as a new mode of remaining and helps to place the *Tantour* case in Israel on a spectrum of *sumud* that ranges from individual economic resilience to collective anti-colonial struggle. Thus, I offer a conceptualisation of the 'right to housing' as a struggle to de-colonise housing, and advocate for a case-based, grounded theorisation of the housing crisis itself. The thesis makes a substantial contribution to scholarship of settler-colonialism, to the study of the political geography of Israel/Palestine, and to developing a critical agenda in housing studies.

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> … The truth in your heart is stronger,
>
> As long as you resist in a land
>
> That has lived through raids and victory…
>
> (Tatour, 2015)

Four months in prison was the sentence given to Palestinian poet Dareen Tatour, an Israeli citizen, for publishing her poem *Resist them my people* (قاومهم يا شعبي) on social media.[1] Poetry has always been a powerful medium for anti-colonial resistance among Palestinian intellectuals, especially those living within the state of Israel (Sazzad, 2016; Salti, 2010). This tradition demonstrates the versatility and flexibility of the praxis of *sumud* (steadfastness): Palestinians' collective and individual determination to remain on the land both physically and symbolically in face of displacement and dispossession attempts by the Jewish state.

This dissertation examines recent transformations in the Israeli development strategy for Palestinian citizens that is purposed to alleviate the local 'housing crisis', in order to discover what to 'resist in a land' (Tatour, 2015) could mean when the land is utilised for increasing housing supply in the market. Centring housing development in between settler colonialism and *sumud*, I ask: How are housing policy, design, and struggle appropriated simultaneously as settler colonial strategies and as platforms for de-colonisation, and how might this dynamic inform a politicised concept of the 'right to housing'? My main objective is to understand the role of proposed solutions

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[1] Dareen Tatour's conviction was reversed on appeal, when the Court ruled her poem was a form of 'artistic expression' i.e. not 'incitement' (Mekomit, 2019).

to the housing crisis in maintaining colonial relations in Israel/Palestine, in light of recent major development projects that are meant to provide 'affordable' homeownership specifically to the Palestinian 'middle-class' – defined as such by the state.

I look at two new cities that mark an intent to integrate Palestinian citizens of Israel (PCI) into the national housing markets of Israel and the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). In Israel, the ***Tantour*** project is led by the government as the 'first Arab city' to be established since the state was founded, and it is currently planned in the highly contested Galilee region (which coincidently is Dareen Tatour's homeland). In the West Bank, the privately-funded quasi-'gated community' of ***Rawabi*** is hailed as the 'first Palestinian city' (under the PNA rule) but has been criticised due to a high level of collaboration with Israel (Haddad, 2016; Grandinetti, 2015; Rabie, 2014). Both housing projects, in their own terms, are aimed to address the local housing crisis with a neoliberal approach of increasing market supply and creating so-called 'affordable housing'.[2]

In order to consider the political potential of the right to housing in these two cases – the right of inhabitants to co-produce housing according to their needs – I foreground narratives of Palestinians who are involved in each of the urban development projects: a group of activists in the Galilee who demand to participate in the planning process of Tantour, and PCI who have obtained homeownership in Rawabi. These voices of PCI echo the endurance of Palestinian *sumud* and guide my analysis of the two cities. In the case of Tantour, interviewees explain how neoliberal solutions to the 'housing crisis' embody ethnic segregation but also create opportunities for making

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[2] In both the Tantour and Rawabi cases, state planning conceives of the 'housing crisis' as a technical problem in the housing system that can be addressed by improving people's access to affordable and adequate housing mainly through private homeownership. While acknowledging the housing crisis is a political-economic problem, my emphasis is on its reflection of struggles between different groups (Marcuse & Madden, 2016) and specifically among Israel's ethno-class hierarchy.

radical political claims. In the settler colonial context, the right to housing necessarily points to the question of de-colonisation. The case of Rawabi then sheds light on the risks and potentials of private property and especially land ownership as a platform for de-colonisation, challenging some coloniser/colonised dichotomies while assimilating into the settler colonial land regime.

The decision to investigate cases on the opposite sides of the Green Line[3] was motivated by a resemblance in the design of Tantour and Rawabi and in the novelty in housing options they each bring to their respective environments. A comparison between the two cities enables me to examine settler colonial strategies and *sumud* resistance in the context of Israel/Palestine *as a whole*, thus undermining approaches that replicate the settler narrative in research. The inner contradictions of each case, namely the risks and potentials of a privatised *sumud*, invite an Indigenous perspective that illuminates a colonial relation that is shaped by the changing dynamics between the colonised and the coloniser (Porter & Yiftachel, 2019; Coulthard, 2014). I seek to locate the bearing of this present dynamic on the right to housing, especially given the centrality of housing to Zionist colonisation of Palestine.

For the Jewish state, housing policy and design have always been instruments for shaping the nation and its territory (Allweil, 2012; Yacobi, 2008; Shadar, 2004). Prominent examples include the racialised dispersion of Jewish immigrants across the national territory after the establishment of Israel, militarised enforcement of 'illegal' construction in non-Jewish localities, home demolitions in the West Bank as a form of collective punishment to Palestinians, and whitewashing Israeli illegal settlements in the occupied territories as commuter suburbs. The

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[3] The 1967 demarcation line between Israel and the occupied West Bank.

state's initiative for the new 'Arab city', Tantour, seems curious in this context.[4] However, my research shows through a comparison with Rawabi that the state's response to the housing crisis creates new modes of ethnicised spatial segregation, thus confirming that neoliberalism and settler colonialism are interlocked in the urbanisation processes promoted by the Jewish state (Yacobi & Tzfadia, 2019). What is further revealed is how *sumud* resistance is affected by the Jewish state's framing of the Palestinian national struggle as a housing issue.

Theoretical, historical, local context of investigation

The Production of Space

Examining housing policy, design, and struggle as processes that could be appropriated simultaneously by inhabitants and state institutions relies on a conceptualisation of space as socially produced. In *The production of space* (1991 [1974]), Henri Lefebvre theorises space as not merely a container for social activity but rather as produced by social forces. This understanding of space as produced has been extremely influential in, as Edward Soja puts it (1989), revealing the explanatory power of space and animating the *spatial turn* in social theory.

To develop the idea that space is produced socially, Lefebvre proposes that each mode of production produces its own form of space. In modern times, for example, the production of space is heavily influenced by the capitalist mode of production (Goonewardena, 2012). Under capitalism, the urbanisation process, for example, is closely tied to capitalist dynamics of production and reproduction. Thus, urbanisation becomes an avenue through which space is

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[4] As I explain below, Tantour is labeled 'a new Arab city' by the Israeli government and planning institutions, as well as in media reports on the project. 'New' signifies here the fact that Tantour is the first post-1948 settlement in Israel that is meant specifically for Palestinians.

commodified and consumption becomes controlled and administered markedly through the spatial separation of functions, the privatisation of public space, and the creation of a clear spatial order characterised by differentiation and segregation (Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]). In other words, *spatialisation* denotes the production of specific types of spaces that support specific (capitalist) social relations (Brenner & Elden, 2009).

For Lefebvre (1991: 399), then, the 'truth of space' is that it is never a given object but always produced and reproduced through a social process of spatialisation. This process takes place in three dimensions simultaneously. Perceived space refers to the materiality of spatial practice, or the aspect of space that is generated by practices of (re)production and that we can grasp and interpret as an object. Conceived space denotes how space is represented in society ('representations of space'), e.g. land use maps and urban design schemes and policies conceived by planners. And lived space ('representational space') is the space generated by everyday experience, aspirations, and imaginaries; it represents the ways we as inhabitants (wish to) use it. Since space is produced concurrently in all these dimensions, the relations and contradictions between them bring to light the process of production, allowing us to see space for what it is. The dissonance between how space is planned, the way we use it in practice, and how it is imagined means that space is always political (Massey, 1994; Lefebvre, 1991).

Since space is co-produced by conflicting powers; hence its production is a dialectical process that always produces space along with its own negation (Jabareen, 2015b; Schmid, 2008). In this process, the state has the power to produce hierarchal relations between centres and peripheries (Allegra, 2013), and to demarcate national territory according to a specific ideology (Brenner et al., 2003; Poulantzas, 2003). 'State-space' then represents territoriality and the relations of domination that permeate it (Lefebvre, 2009). The capitalist state strives to produce

abstract space for the capitalist economy. Homogenous, fragmented, and hierarchical, abstract space integrates ('minimal') differences (Lefebvre, 1996; Harvey, 2009 [1973]). Of course, the process through which the state produces hierarchal state-space through the homogenisation of differences creates sites for political struggle. 'Arab Villages' or the new 'Arab city' (Tantour) in Israel are good examples for this process, as we will see in greater detail later.

Lefebvre's (1991: 378, 399) concept of 'centrality' refers to the tendency of the capitalist state to concentrate and peripheralise simultaneously, to establish relations of power and production through dominant and peripheral social spaces. This mutual production of centre and periphery is not only geographical; it denotes relationships of domination and subordination that can take various spatial forms, including a spatial hierarchy of developed and underdeveloped areas that sustains economic growth in some areas more than others (Schmid, 2012; Smith, 2008). Peripheries are therefore always present in central spaces, which depend on them even as they exploit and subordinate them, and centrality of power embodies struggles between social and geographical centres and peripheries. In the following chapters, I trace some transformations in the forms and expressions of centralities of Zionist colonisation and *sumud* resistance.

It is necessary to clarify that Lefebvre did not think of settler colonialism when writing about the production of space. For him, 'colonisation' denotes a form of organising hierarchical territorial relations that facilitate political domination.[5] However, 'colonisation' is not only a cheap metaphor for colonialism. In the course of the 1960s and 1970s, the realities of actual-existing imperialism and colonialism became increasingly visible in Lefebvre's work, first in his urban

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[5] In volume IV of *De l'Etat*, Lefebvre (2009 [1978]) contends that colonisation emerges once a political power ties a marginalised social group to a specific territory. It is a territorial organisation of political domination and productive activity. Any relations of centre and periphery thus constitute colonisation.

work, then in his work on space and state (Kipfer & Goonewardena, 2014). Following the events of May 1968 in Paris, Lefebvre (2009, 2003) witnessed the failure of socio-spatial peripheries (working class and immigrant suburbs, suburban university campuses, African-American ghettos, Latin American barrios) to converge at a worldwide scale. He understood these peripheries as dominated territorially (also) in neo-colonial fashion. In addition, Lefebvre thought that segregation was an important medium through which urbanisation renders socio-spatial peripheries. Insights like this make it possible to build links between Lefebvre's work and anti-colonial scholars such as Fanon, who made similar observations about the relationship between spatial organisation, racism, and colonialism (Kipfer, 2011). For this purpose, the limitations of Lefebvre's work must be emphasised. While Lefebvre did not restrict his discussion of peripheralised groups to the working class, he did not theorise adequately the relationship between class and other social relations or the variousness of centralities. Doreen Massey (1994) has pointed this out with particular force with respect to gender relations, for example. In this light, we can say that the relationship between central and peripheral social space can include any marginalised, dominated or exploited group of inhabitants and their struggles to produce space in and against multiple oppressive forces (Massey, 1994; Purcell, 2002).

Ethnocracy

Perhaps the most systematic analysis of how Zionist colonisation in Israel/Palestine has been producing state-space is Oren Yiftachel's (2006) theory of *ethnocracy*. Yiftachel proposes three pillars that support an ethnocratic regime: an ethno-national ideology manifested in a political aspiration for a nation-state; a settler society; and an ethnic logic of capital. The latter underlies an 'ethno-class' hierarchy that determines the distribution of political and economic power. This hierarchy is composed of three ethno-classes that are socially and spatially differentiated in Israel's

national territory by Zionist ideology: (i) the settler group of Ashkenazi-Jews; [6] (ii) later immigrants into the state of Israel, predominantly Mizrahi Jews (mainly from the Middle East and North Africa) but also the massive emigration from the former Soviet Union in the 1990s and a much smaller population from Ethiopia; and (iii) the lower ethno-class, the indigenous group of Palestinians. Therefore, in ethnocracy the allocation of resources is determined according to ethnic rather than political 'citizenship'. [7]

Other scholars of the spatial dimensions of Zionist colonisation have followed Yiftachel in utilising the theory of production of space either explicitly (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003) or implicitly (Jabareen, 2014b; Shlomo & Fenster, 2011) to show how Israeli urbanisation processes reproduce specific colonial relations. In accordance with the dialectical production of space, ethnocratic urbanisation is an inherently contested process (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003). The state-space that is shaped by and for ethnocracy is dynamic and always already contains spaces for resistance. This resistance can find modes of expression in the thin layer of liberal democracy that is essential for sustaining ethnocracy (Yiftachel, 2006). Such is the case in the two housing development projects I compare, where the private housing market and the planning process itself provide opportunities for recognition in PCI's housing needs, for PCI participation and, arguably, for resistance.

Debating the 'right to housing' in colonial context

The right to housing is a concept inspired by Lefebvre's (2003) compelling formulation of 'the right to the city' – a collective struggle to co-produce space according to people's needs and

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[6] The 'settler group' refers to Jews who emigrated mainly from Eastern and Central Europe before 1948, and their descendants. It includes several waves of Jewish immigration to Palestine (five *Aliyot*), each with its own immediate causes and political context in Europe.

[7] The concept of ethnocracy has travelled beyond the boundaries of Israel/Palestine, to research in/on other geopolitical contexts. See the special issue of *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies* (Anderson, 2016).

wishes, as an alternative to the capitalist mode of production. Indeed, critical urban theory in the Marxist tradition identifies the crucial role of commodification of housing in overcoming inherent crises in the capitalist state. Harvey (2013) asserts that land rent is one of the most direct ways in which capitalism shapes the everyday. On the one hand, housing provides an outlet for investment of surplus capital and opens up new markets through uneven development (Aalbers & Christophers, 2014; Harvey, 2012).[8] On the other hand, housing is always concurrently consumed and used by inhabitants and hence open to alternative co-production by inhabitants, a production of housing for people rather than for profit (Marcuse & Madden, 2016; Aalbers & Gibbs, 2014).[9] Lefebvre's (2003) conception of housing as inhabitant practice, not just as the production of things (built environments), allows us to make this point about alternative production forcefully. In this light, the right to housing is a powerful concept in theorising on-the-ground struggles for social justice in housing provision, for participation in housing production, and against displacement by housing development (Pattillo, 2013; Lawson, 2012; Marcuse, 2012).

Acknowledging the centrality of housing to capitalist political economy is crucial for understanding housing policy, housing struggles, and the right to housing worldwide. However, recent critiques of the global housing crisis draw our attention to how neoliberal development is given analytical precedence over other factors that shape housing struggles (Heslop & Ormerod, 2019). Seeing housing as a product of relations between state, market, and society, the right to housing must be informed by the particular politics that is involved in shaping this relationship (Lancione, 2020; Heslop & Ormerod, 2019). The unique position of housing as a social good

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[8] This involves the financialisation of housing and the use of housing as 'value storage' in the second circuit of capital.

[9] I refer here to the dialectic of use value and exchange value of space (Harvey, 2009[1973]: 155; Smith, 2008[1984]: 111; Lefebvre, 1991[1974]: 356), and specifically housing (Aalbers & Christophers, 2014).

provided via the market (Kemeny, 2006) enables us to trace the particular political economy of the state mechanisms that produce it.

Therefore, I submit three main reasons for studying the current state of colonial relations in Israel/Palestine by focusing on solutions to the local 'housing crisis'. First, housing has definitively been integral to the Zionist political project and to the implementation of the ethnocratic regime, whether in social policy, the geography of uneven development, or architectural manifestations of contested local culture. Allweil (2012) discusses a 'state-citizen contract,' in which the boundaries of inclusion in (and exclusion from) the Jewish nation, society, and national territory are demarcated by housing policy and design. In this context, the Tantour case of a new 'Arab city' ostensibly indicates a drastic change in the terms of said contract in favour of Palestinian citizens. Given the ideology and politics that reproduce a specific society can be revealed through the housing typology it produces (Kemeny & Lowe, 1998), the case of Tantour would shed light on the current state of colonial relations. Second, the state's definition of a 'housing crisis' and its 'solutions' reflects the powers and ideology that created the crisis in the first place (Marcuse, 2012). Examining local struggles would reveal how the relationship between the state and its Palestinian citizens has changed and how inhabitants (strive to) appropriate the state's response to the crisis for making political demands against ethno-class oppression. Third, methodologically, foregrounding the narratives of PCI about housing and homeownership in Tantour and Rawabi – the most personal interpretations of the built environment – enables me to examine solutions to the housing crisis while engaging all dimensions of the production of space. Listening to voices from the lower ethno-class is crucial for exposing the role of housing policy, design, and struggle in reproducing settler colonialism in Israel/Palestine and allows us to consider a politicised interpretation for the right to housing in light of debates about de-colonisation.

Lefebvre in Palestine: from settler colonial to Indigenous perspective

Considering the conflicting powers that produce space, the tension between the settler colonial political economy and Indigenous perspectives on land (and housing) is where one should look for a politicised conceptualisation of the right to housing in Israel/Palestine. The Judaisation of space, which is a specific spatialisation of the ethnocratic regime, and *sumud*, as land-based de-colonial praxis, are the main entry points for my investigation of housing as an expression of state-space and simultaneously a platform for resistance.

The Judaisation of space

National territory is an important outcome of the capitalist production of state-space. Among other things, it makes possible the creation of internal, national markets. One of the strategies for producing national territory is the spatial demarcation of social distinctions within the nation-state, which sustains power in the hands of a specific class (Brenner & Elden, 2009). Poulantzas (2003) and Jessop (2007) further clarify that, in a colonial context, capitalist economy is an insufficient characterisation of the contradictory powers that produce state territoriality. Specifically, we must also consider racialisation as a process that shapes state-space (Lipsitz, 2011; Wacquant, 2008; Goswami, 2004). In Israel/Palestine, Yiftachel's (2006) concept of ethno-class encapsulates how contested territory is manipulated for the benefit of the dominant settler group (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003).

The production of Israeli national territory (and to some extent the Occupied Palestinian Territories or hereafter OPT) as the space of the Jewish state has been referred to as 'the Judaisation of space' (Jabareen & Mustafa, 2013; Monterescu, 2011; Tzfadia & Yacobi, 2011; Yiftachel, 2009; Falah, 1989). The Judaisation of space is an ongoing, dynamic process of alienating Palestinians

from the landscape and erasing Palestinian identity off of the landscape (Tzfadia & Yacobi, 2011; Hanafi, 2009). This alienating process is advanced through the shaping of spaces that maintain power in the hands of the higher ethno-class at all scales, from domestic space, neighbourhoods and cities, to the national scale (Weizman, 2012; Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003; Falah, 1991). How? By various means that can be as broad as an ethnicised legal land system and as particular as culturally exclusionary housing design (Yacobi, 2008) or selectively enforcing building regulations on the ethno-national minority (Yiftachel, 2009).

The Judaisation of space is founded on the Zionist rationale that formed during the pre-state *Yishuv* (the Jewish 'settlement' period in Palestine) and prevailed in the second *Aliyah*, of 'conquest of labour' and 'conquest of land': to annex all land and labour to settler Jews.[10] Towards the end of the 19th century in Palestine, there was an aspiration to create a new Jewish society that would be rooted in land, contrasted with the anti-Semitic image of Jews in Europe as people without roots.[11] In terms of labour, the Jewish working class was thus rendered by Zionist leadership a nationalist class, separate from the Palestinian working class, while the latter was made vulnerable to dispossession by global Imperial powers (specifically, the British Mandate on Palestine) and Zionist settlers alike (Salamanca et. al., 2012; Nitzan & Bichler, 2002; Graham-

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[10] It is important to note that there were multiple, competing strands of Zionist ideologies (some did not support the establishment of a Jewish state at all). Here I focus on the principles formed mainly during the second *Aliyah* (~1904-1914) when approximately 35,000 Jews emigrated to Palestine, mostly due to persecution and economic hardship in Eastern Europe. These principles connected between land and labour for creating the 'new Jew', an antithesis to the un-rootedness of Jews in Europe, and were the pillars of Jewish settlement in Palestine.

[11] The 'conquest of labour' and its implicit 'conquest of land' refer to the redemption of the individual by working the land, the collective nationalism achieved by working the land, the legitimation of Jewish people's connection to the Land of Israel, and the rejection of Arab labour, which had been a significant component of the Jewish settlement. These principles were the foundation for the Zionist practices against which *sumud* had been forged.

Brown, 1990). As for land, Zionists utilised local mechanisms of land valorisation from earlier colonial projects to assume Jewish ownership over territory (Kimmerling, 1983).[12]

To reiterate Massey's (1994) argument about multiple oppressive powers segregating groups that are not limited to 'working class', the struggle of Palestinians against Judaisation of space is a struggle "based on an ethnic segregation and not [only] a class one" (Alkhalili et al., 2014: 258). In fact, the idea of the right to the city as an ethno-class struggle by Mizrahi-Jews and PCI over the production of space has been repeatedly employed for the study of resistance to the Judaisation of space (e.g., Alkhalili et al., 2014; Jabareen, 2014b; Yacobi, 2011; Fenster, 2005). Indeed, various practices by inhabitants, such as local activism or shaping residential spaces to accommodate cultural identity, may be considered appropriation of space (Misgav & Fenster, 2018; Yiftachel & Tzfadia, 2014).

Therefore, the Judaisation of space – the spatialisation of Zionist settler colonial political economy – should be regarded as a dialectical process. The inherent possibilities for undermining ethno-national exclusivity in ethnocracy stem from both the imperatives of capitalist economy (e.g. free flow of goods, availability of cheap labour power) and the democratisation of planning procedures. The latter is meant to absorb resistance and thus protect the Judaisation of space from potential crises.[13] As this dissertation shows, it is precisely the homogenising process of the Judaisation of space that creates sites for undermining colonisation.

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[12] This was enabled by the British Mandate (1919-1948), which supported Zionist settlement in Palestine according to shifting British imperial interests.

[13] Lefebvre (2009) emphasised that a democratic regime does not preclude colonisation led by state interest.

Sumud: de-colonisation as a frame of reference

Originally referring to a specific housing pattern that is based on attachment to the land, *sumud* has also been understood as resilience expressed through everyday resistance. *Sumud* ties together the centrality of land to Palestinian nationalism and the praxis of remaining on the land. It emerged as a concept in the days of the British Mandate on Palestine and became common in national discourse in the 1960s for describing the determination of Palestinian refugees in the face of displacement (Rotem & Gordon, 2017). At the same time, *sumud* is connected to a history of an international liberation movement (Nassar, 2011). I follow the work of scholars of Palestine who interpret *sumud* as inclusive and flexible, incorporating various practices of 'remaining' in face of continuous displacement and dispossession that emanate from the *nakba*. These practices are as dynamic as the state strategies of colonial domination (Marie et al., 2018; Johansson & Vinthagen, 2015; Ryan, 2015).

Sumud denotes non-violent resistance and embodies a wide range of everyday expressions of steadfastness. These expressions include, inter alia, maintaining cultural traditions such as poetry or clothing (Larkin, 2014; Nassar, 2011), economic resilience as in working one's land, 'ideational resistance' i.e. maintaining a sense of hope and normalcy (Larkin, 2014), habits of domesticity (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2015), or simply existing in face of attempted annihilation (Rijke, & Van Teeffelen, 2014). *Sumud* has been interpreted to embrace both *passive* protective tactics of remaining on the land (for instance, one can think of the re-constructions of demolished homes) and *active* resistance tactics, such as Day of Land protests (Rotem & Gordon, 2017; Larkin, 2014; Meari 2014; Rijke & Van Teeffelen, 2014). In studying the 'mixed' city of Jaffa, Monterescu (2015: 101) quotes the Palestinian poet Furani's grasp of *sumud* as a "tragic sensibility that claims ethical form of power (and freedom) through powerlessness", and he finds an intrinsic

ambivalence in *sumud* that is articulated in concurrent community life and political struggle. As such, it is an everyday struggle for the right to the city.

As a national struggle, *sumud* is forged by a range of collective and individual persistence by Palestinians not to be physically, culturally, or symbolically alienated from Palestine. It is thus a useful concept for considering a relationship between private homeownership and political opposition to Zionist colonisation, from the point of view of the colonised. In this dissertation, I use *sumud* as the axis of comparison between the cases of Tantour and Rawabi, exploring their potentials as privatised housing solutions to become sites to exercise the right to 'remain' on the land.

From settler colonial to Indigenous critique of de-colonisation

De-colonisation can be understood in spatial terms, as a struggle against the reproduction of colonial power mediated, for example, by urbanisation. Such understanding of de-colonisation is informed by counter-colonial texts after WWII that show how direct territorial rule has been shaping the subjectivities of the colonised and the coloniser both, and how racialisation is a specific spatial strategy (Kipfer, 2011).[14] It is through the shaping and ordering of space that settler colonial relations are formed as such (Salamanca et al., 2012; Piterberg, 2008; Kimmerling 1983; Rodinson, 1973[1967]). This analysis lends itself to the context of Israel/Palestine where, as Shafir's (1989) influential work shows, racialised territorial control has been essential in establishing a settler

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[14] This is in opposition to de-territorialised postcolonial theory. Austin (2010) follows Fanon's formulation of the coloniser and colonised identities as mutually produced through an imbalance of power. While the coloniser is merely looking for labour, the colonised is looking for self-recognition that is essential for emancipation. Césaire (2000[1950]: 73) terms racial colonisation as 'thingification': colonised societies are denied their essence through proletarianisation that stems in Western, essentially unequal, liberal humanism. Everyday experience of racialised and gendered colonisation objectifies the colonised, thus preventing a possibility of de-colonisation (Kipfer, 2011).

society. Accordingly, present neoliberal urbanisation and its housing crisis 'solutions' can only be understood through the colonial condition of the Zionist political economy (Hanieh, 2013).[15]

However, in a similar way to how global capitalism takes supremacy in urban theory and washes over particular political struggles that are embedded in urbanisation and co-produce it (Ruddick et al., 2018) [16], as in the case of the right to housing mentioned above, the settler colonial critique of Israeli political economy is imperative for understanding the Judaisation of space but also generally fails to acknowledge perspectives of the colonised (Piterberg, 2008). First, the connection between counter spatial practices to the state and the collective Palestinian national struggle is downplayed. Few exceptions are found in discussions of instances of ethno-national resistance in the 2011 housing protests in Israel, for example (Monterescu, 2015; Marom, 2013; Monterescu & Shaindlinger, 2013). Second, the production of space within Israel's national territory is treated as separate from the OPT. Two exceptions in this context (which I come back to in Chapter 2) are the study of the Israeli illegal settlements as part of Israeli suburbanisation processes (Newman; 1996) and the diffusion of militarised control over Palestinians from the OPT into Israel 'proper' (Yiftachel, 2012a). Otherwise, Palestinian urbanisation is usually analysed as either passively affected by or isolated from Israel (Abu Helu, 2012).

The supremacy of the settler narrative in research is further reflected in arguments about a 'successful' settler colonial project in Israel or an 'unsuccessful' one in the occupation of the West

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[15] The Jewish settlement in Palestine has been an attempt at 'pure settlement colony': a social-political structure that involves the permanent presence of European settlers, their separation (albeit never really fulfilled in Palestine) from racialised native populations and the supremacy of their narrative regarding land ownership (Piterberg, 2008).

[16] In Lefebvre's (2003) formulation, the 'urban revolution' refers to the urbanisation of the world as a particular capitalist path to *mondialisation*, the experience of something becoming worldly, as well as to the concurrent struggle over the essence of what urbanisation is, or what ideologies shape it.

Bank, implying that attempts at de-colonisation are either futile or lead to neo-colonial relations respectively (Veracini, 2013). Against that approach, (mostly) Palestinian scholars have put forward an agenda to de-colonise the settler colonial perspective in research. This means considering de-colonisation from the experience of the colonised (Barakat, 2018; Rouhana, 2018).

In this view, for example, the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and the 1967 Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories (from Syria, Jordan, and Egypt) must be understood as (admittedly significant) moments in the continuous colonisation of Palestine since the 1920s *Yishuv* (Salamanca et al., 2012). The occupation of the West Bank is then seen not as an isolated moral deviation from an otherwise historically justified Zionism (Gans, 2008)[17], but rather as an "ongoing, now in slow motion" *nakba* (Hanieh, 2013: 120). Moreover, the occupation has been deepening the interdependency of the Israeli and Palestinian societies for over 50 years and counting, mainly through the proletarianisation of Palestinians (Hanieh, 2013; Nitzan & Bichler, 2002). Although the employment of Palestinians from the OPT in Israel has fluctuated over the years, linked to instances of violent resistance and the rise of the immigrant workers sector, exploitation has not decreased (Hever, 2012).[18] In the West Bank, these relations have been cultivating a capitalist class dependent on collaboration with Israel (Hanieh, 2013). An Indigenous perspective is therefore useful in this case, defining de-colonisation against ongoing and present colonialism that is intertwined with racial capitalism (Rouhana, 2018; Coulthard, 2014).

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[17] 'Historically-justified' Zionism refers to the historic, political, and geographical conditions in which Zionism evolved as a movement for Jewish self-determination, mainly in the face of European anti-Semitism (Gans, 2008).

[18] Palestinian agricultural production has been diminished by settler violence, land-grabbing, and multiple physical and administrative restrictions. This violence has led to semi-proletarianisation, in which workers were alienated from the land but still attached to it through social ties and informal networks (Graham-Brown, 1990). It further created a thin social layer of Palestinian capitalists, whose role in the local political economy resembles the *Yishuv* period, when Palestinians were hired to manage Palestinian labour power in Jewish plantations (Hever, 2012).

Such an Indigenous perspective makes it clear that ending the occupation does not necessarily involve de-colonisation. What follows is that political solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that rely on continued reproduction of space according to nationalist aspirations cannot transform settler colonial relations. The two nation-states solution means a reconditioned ethnic exclusion and evades some of the core issues of the conflict, such as the 'right of return' (Masri, 2015; Karmi, 2011). Presumably for this reason, it has become acceptable to many Zionist and some Palestinian politicians.[19] At the same time, the one-state solution does not in itself mark an alternative to ethnic exclusion either (Pappe, 2014; Karmi, 2011).

A political solution to the conflict would require first to acknowledge that a capitalist settler colonial regime is currently dominating Israel and Palestine (Yacobi & Tzfadia, 2019). On this basis, Israeli (Palestinian and Jewish) and Palestinian activists have recently proposed the following scenario: a two-states confederacy that grants Israelis and Palestinians residency rights to the whole of the land, that is to say, what is now Israel, the Golan Heights, the West Bank, and Gaza.[20] This suggestion echoes previous proposals for alternative ways of organising Palestine as a whole (e.g., Mossberg & LeVine, 2014; Yiftachel, 2012b; Shenhav, 2012).

In a 2014 conference on 'Arab cities' in Israel, Yosef Jabareen (2014a) aptly framed the 'Palestinians question' as an 'urban question', highlighting the importance of the production of space to settler colonialism and de-colonisation.[21] By highlighting narratives of inhabitants regarding urban development in the cases in question, as outlined in the following section, this

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[19] For critical discussion on the two states solution, see O'Malley (2015).

[20] The 'Land for All' movement delineates overlapping spatial arrangements that would balance some of the core issues of the conflict, for instance, facilitating the Return of Palestinian refugees who as citizens of 'Palestine' could legally reside in 'Israel' (A land for all, n.d.).

[21] Jabareen (2014a) evokes Manuel Castells' *The Urban Question* (1977), referring to a Marxist approach to the 'urban' as a mode of reproducing capitalist relations of production (rather than a geographical definition, city).

research shifts the analytical focus from questioning how anti-colonial struggle may undermine the settler colonial regime to exploring the everyday life of the colonised as a foundation for de-colonisation, thus explicating urbanisation as a colonial relation.

Methodology

As a Jewish-Israeli scholar in North-America and an activist in Israel, examining Israeli ethnocracy has enabled me to immerse myself in a "pedagogy of discomfort" (Boler, 1999: 176-77): a methodology that acknowledges how personal emotions and ethics shape the subject of research and that also stresses the collective responsibility of critical inquiry. Sharing this approach, I see my research as a form of "witnessing" how others are affected by political power (Head, 2020: 87). This approach has guided me in choosing to foreground the voices of Palestinians in Israel and highlight their interpretation of the production of space, a choice that facilitates the unraveling of "the truth of space" (Lefebvre, 1991: 399) as well as maintaining Palestinian presence on the land (Larkin, 2014). The dissertation is therefore undetachable from my intent to act and write in solidarity and as an ally with the Palestinian national struggle. It expresses the conviction that de-colonisation, while led by Palestinians, must ultimately become a common struggle by everyone living in, writing about, or otherwise attached to the area between the River and the Sea.[22]

Composing comparisons: Tantour and Rawabi

Robinson (2016a) and Roy (2016) draw our attention to a link between the main locations of knowledge production in the Global North and the sidelining of local political conflict in theories of global capitalist urbanisation. As an alternative, Robinson (2016a: 26) urges us to "compose

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[22] Referring to the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea, nowadays Israel and the OPT.

comparisons" in ways that expose connections and conflicts between the powers that produce particular cases, so as to not see them as mere manifestations of overarching neoliberal urbanisation. Alkhalili et al. (2014) call for explicitly South-Eastern-based theories that examine the production of space in non-Western colonial and post-colonial situations – hence my decision to investigate Tantour, the so-called new 'Arab city' in Israel, in comparison to Rawabi in the West Bank (see Appendix A for a map locating the two sites). Sketching links between two housing developments seemingly distinguished by antagonistic political contexts would help to discover their function beyond supplying 'affordable housing'.

Tantour is planned to be constructed in the highly contested Galilee region in Israel, on lands previously expropriated from the adjacent Palestinian town of *Judeida-Makr*, which is one of the poorest localities in the country. In 1979, an official government plan for establishing new settlements in the northern part of Israel, commonly referred to as 'Judaisation of the Galilee', was proposed to increase Jewish presence in the region. The plan sanctioned numerous, small, exclusively Jewish gated communities as well as the city of *Karmi'el* and scattered them strategically to prevent Palestinian-Arab (and Druze) towns and villages from spreading in the Galilee. This confiscation of lands for the purpose of establishing Jewish settlements is, for PCI in the Galilee, the tangible historical and spatial context for the Tantour project.

Tantour should also be seen in the more recent context of a government strategy to assuage the public outcry for 'affordable housing', in response to the protests that swept the country in 2011.[23] The demonstrations engendered a few alliances across ethno-class lines, which allowed PCI to reclaim urban space (Allweil, 2013; Marom, 2013). For the most part, though, the protest

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[23] Planners who are involved in the project confirm that an 'Arab city' in the Galilee was discussed in various planning institutions for years before 2011, however the idea remained theoretical and vague until then.

took an 'a-political' line concentrating on better access to private homeownership for the Israeli mainstream. That demand was fittingly met with vague stipulations by the government to increase the supply of 'affordable' market units (Chapter 2).[24]

On the other side of the Green Line, Rawabi is situated in Area A of the West Bank as the epitome of ostensibly independent Palestinian urbanisation. Despite Tantour and Rawabi's conflicting political contexts, their comparison is animated by noticeable commonalities. Defined by their respective governments as (partial) solutions to a local housing crisis, each city was conceived as an antithesis to the Palestinian urban spaces that surround it. Tantour is planned as an alternative to the under-resourced Arab Villages of Israel, while Rawabi is expected to be an oasis of normalcy amid agitated urban spaces that are struggling to survive the Israeli occupation. Both cities aim to fit the needs of a so-called Palestinian 'middle-class', and both emulate Israeli suburban development that is tightly linked to Judaisation of space.

However, PCI narratives illuminate each project as a failed attempt by the state to de-politicise the Palestinian 'middle-class'. In Tantour, PCI accept the 'Arab city' framework but use it to demand planning rights; in Rawabi, PCI move away from home but obtain homeownership in the OPT and a reconnection to Palestinian land. I focus on the local struggle of PCI to participate in the planning of Tantour, a state-led spatial planning initiative for Palestinian citizens and compare it to the Rawabi case as a mark of extreme homogenisation facilitated by 'solutions' to the housing crisis. The comparison suggests that both projects are articulations of the colonisation of Israel/Palestine but at the same time reveals changes in the local colonial relation.

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[24] The government response to the housing protest was shaped mainly by the recommendations of the Trachtenberg Committee (Van Leer Institute, 2014).

Research design: investigating the 'truth of space'

In pursuing how colonial relations in Israel/Palestine are being sustained, I define the *processes* of spatialisation as the object of research (Schmid, 2008). I therefore look at the three distinct yet simultaneously constitutive dimensions of the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991): perceived, conceived, and lived. This triadic ontology of space also involves an epistemology (Schmid, 2008). 'Representational space' (or 'spaces of representation') denotes our embodied experience of space, how we produce space by using it and living in it; 'spatial practice' (the materiality of space) informs how space is perceived; and 'representations of space' (maps and plans) reveal how space is conceived. Ontology and epistemology of space are thus entwined across these two sets of three-dimensional dialectics. In other words, space *is* what we perceive, conceive and live.

Although I separate the three dimensions for methodological purposes to investigate housing policy, design, and struggle, by using different methods (see below), I eventually bring them back together as intertwined components of the colonisation process. In each of the two cases, I first examine state colonial practice, followed by PCI narratives about anti-colonial struggle. In the Tantour case, the voices of the colonised reveal why PCI set out to change the 'Arab city', despite *and* because of the project's goal to improve their housing situation. Their words link their struggle for participation in the state-imposed planning process to the radical Day of Land protests in the Galilee against the confiscation of lands.[25] In Rawabi, PCI suggest that private homeownership could promote de-colonisation and thus complicate critiques of the new Palestinian city as a neo-colonial project (Grandinetti, 2015; Khalidi & Samour, 2011).

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[25] Day of Land (يوم الأرض) in Israel commemorates the general strike in the 'Arab sector' and wide demonstrations that took place on March 30, 1976, in response to the government's expropriation of lands in the Galilee region. It is marked annually by protests in Arab cities in Israel and in the Palestinian Authority against Judaisation of space and for Palestinian national liberation.

Inhabitants' narratives then enable us to rethink the right to housing in light of the de-colonising imaginary of Palestinians in Israel and to challenge the settler perspective in settler colonial studies.

Confronting methodological challenges

A few points that arise from the investigation of the Tantour and Rawabi housing projects as contested processes of production of space require immediate clarification. First, my choice to focus on two new cities might appear to be conflating 'city' with Lefebvre's (2003) concept of the 'urban' as a level of production of space that mediates state power and everyday life. Certainly, Zionist colonisation materialises through varied spatial forms.[26] However, in both cases, I explore urban form not as given but rather as produced, precisely the result of a specific spatialisation. Most distinctly in Chapter 2, the 'Arab city' appears as a new form of the Arab Village, a political categorisation and conception of space in Israel.

Moreover, I employ 'ethnicity' rather than 'race' in discussing segregation. The risk in that is to downplay possible counter-colonial alliances, namely between Palestinian-Arabs and 'Arab (Mizrahi)-Jews' (Shenhav, 2006; Shohat, 1997), and to replicate the settler narrative in research. While the post-colonial debate on such alliances goes beyond the scope of this dissertation, Yiftachel's (2006) theorisation of an 'ethno-class' structure does account for the important role of a middle ethno-class, most prominently the Mizrahi Jews, in maintaining the settler project. To discuss the spatialisation of the Zionist colonial project, ethnocracy – and its 'ethnic logic of capital' – remains most useful. The choice of term is affirmed by interviewees in this research who

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[26] Some less conspicuous ways include, for example, the demarcation of natural reserves and military training grounds to prevent sprawl of non-Jewish settlements.

markedly refer to themselves as 'Palestinian citizens of Israel' rather than the prevalent term 'Israeli Arabs' that is popular among (Jewish) Hebrew speakers, thus emphasising their national identity over 'race'.

Finally, the scope of this research is limited to discussing de-colonisation solely through narratives of Palestinians who are Israeli citizens. Further research that takes into account other groups of Palestinians is undoubtedly needed (see Nassar, 2017). My strategy in this context is to emphasise that in the eyes and through the words of interviewees, Tantour and especially Rawabi represent spaces of Palestinian nationalism that defy state borders (Jamal, 2004). In so doing, I follow Yiftachel (1999) who considers Palestinian spaces in Israel as sites for demanding broader Palestinian autonomy by intensifying the intrinsic contradictions of the nation-state. I also draw on Rabinowitz (2001) who illustrates how PCI are connected, through their national struggle, to Palestinians outside Israel and to nationalism that challenges state boundaries. In particular, I bring PCI narratives into a conversation with debates about *sumud* resistance, which has been shown to have ties to international struggles for freedom and liberation (Nassar, 2011).

Methods

In order to ground the production of space in real, ongoing struggles, I chose to conduct a qualitative study of explanatory cases (Yin, 2008), examining housing development as the production of conceived, perceived, and lived space (see Table 1). Studying the built environment as a cross-section of its political, economic, and social contexts necessitates a combination of methods (Groat & Wang, 2013; Creswell, 2012).

Keeping in mind the methodological goal to foreground local narratives, my research was conducted primarily through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with several groups. The main

work was done with 12 Palestinian activists in the town of Judeida-Makr in the Galilee, members of the local *Khirak* (resistance movement). Recounting their struggle against and within the Tantour project, activists articulated their experience of lived space in the ongoing *nakba*. Interviewees provided interpretations of the state's strategy to integrate them into the housing market and the effect this has had on their vision for Palestinian national liberation. We mostly met at a café in the Casbah of the city of Acre, where they usually find a safe space to organise and plan their actions (see Chapter 3).

Housing / Space	Policy	Design	Struggle
Conceived	- Decision-making process at the government level; - Definition of 'affordable housing'; - Project goals in the context of housing 'crisis' among the Palestinian community.	- Architecture, planning, and urban design; - Site and the built environment; - References to vernacular architecture and landscape.	- Explicit spatial strategies pursued by PCI.
Perceived	- A link between spatial strategies and imaginaries in each case to the broader political economy of urban development, and simultaneously to the material everyday practices of production and reproduction of space by the inhabitants.		
Lived	(*Direction for future research, once the city is built and populated: observation of people's everyday life in the built environment and the appropriation of space by inhabitants*)		- Symbols and imaginaries shared by PCI in the context of the new 'Arab city', revealed in local protests against the appropriation of land and for investing in existing Palestinian localities (e.g. Day of Land protests). - Interpretations of the 'Arab city' by PCI: Palestinian politicians, planners, and potential inhabitants.

Table 1 A plan for a qualitative case study of the city of Tantour

The other group I interviewed consisted of 6 PCI who have purchased apartments in Rawabi, and whom I met individually. These interviewees were self-proclaimed middle-class Palestinians. They talked about Rawabi as an opportunity to improve their housing situation, to practice city life

and/or to invest in real estate. This group is especially useful for comparing the two cases (Chapter 6) since it is uniquely situated at the juncture of the so-called 'Arab sector' in Israel and Palestinian state-building efforts in the West Bank. In the interviews, Rawabi homeowners helped unpack the connections between the Israeli lower ethno-class, Palestinian independence realised through urban development, and the problem of de-colonisation in neoliberal urbanisation.

Additional interviewees in this research were five planners involved in both projects (Chapters 2 and 4) and two employees of Bayti Investors real estate and development company that manages the Rawabi project (Chapters 4 and 5). Conversations with planners exposed the rationale that had shaped each project as it was understood by the professionals who advance the urbanisation process (Lefebvre, 1991).[27] Tantour was conceived by two Jewish firms (especially, their leading architects) that were commissioned by the state to design the project and had strong convictions regarding the needs of the 'Arab sector'. I reviewed sources tracking the planning procedures, namely official drawings, records of local and national planning committees, and decision protocols from the Israeli central planning mechanism. In Rawabi, I spoke with planners employed by the private developer who travelled to Israel to learn about planning new cities.

Exploring the realm of spatial practice, I went on two site visits to Rawabi as well as three visits to the future site of Tantour and the adjacent Palestinian town of Judeida-Makr. The visits to Rawabi enabled me to tour the city together with interviewees and speak with them concretely about the built environment, but also to experience firsthand the meaning of Settlement space (see Chapter 5). In Judeida-Makr I was hosted by Khirak activists in places where they felt comfortable to share their stories. Activists also gave me a tour of their town and of the Tantour hills, where

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[27] Lefebvre (1991; 2003) refers to professionals as 'urbanists' that advance the ideology of (capitalist) urbanisation under the capitalist mode of production.

the new city is planned, so I could see their reality of Judaisation of space. These visits also provided insight to the architecture and design I discuss in Chapters 2 and 4.

I engage primary sources, interviewees' interpretations, and my impressions of the sites in question with literature on the Judaisation of space and neoliberal urbanisation in the West Bank and Israel. Thus, I compile an understanding of the process of production of space and, through research, participate in reproducing it or imagining alternatives to it.[28]

Limitations and strategies in data collection

Since personal interviews are inescapably shaped by historical and political context, not the least of which the positionality of the interviewer, it is not a neutral research method and therefore requires an empathetic approach (Fontana & Frey, 2005). In my conversations with interviewees, the asymmetry of the situation is created precisely by the powers I investigate in this research. A main delimitating factor was that the interviews were conducted in Hebrew, my first language but not that of most of the interviewees. Certainly, this may have interfered with some of the responses. I strived to rectify this in my analysis by taking an ethical stance in favour of the group that was being studied (Fontana & Frey, 2005), and by applying a reflexive approach to the interviewer-interviewee interaction (e.g., in Chapter 3). Moreover, I used several mitigating techniques: I provided interviewees with an explanation of the research in their first language; interviews were recorded so phrases in Arabic could be later translated[29]; and I invited interviewees to add comments, corrections, or information in writing, by email.

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[28] The study, analysis and interpretation of space are part of the process of producing it in the 'lived' dimension.
[29] I thank Shireen Ahmad for her help in translation.

It is important to note that the Khirak activists I talked to were all men (there are no women in the Khirak), which poses a substantive impediment to studying the narratives of the colonised population. The interviews thus generate a one-sided perspective on the gender dimension in anti-colonial struggle, a problem that perpetuates gender roles and heteropatriarchy hence hindering de-colonisation (Coulthard, 2014; Simpson, 2014). In fact, a few of the women I interviewed in the Rawabi case (2016) indicated that they wished to distance themselves from the 'traditional' Village society. I asked Khirak activists (2016) directly about the absence of women in their group. Interestingly, they responded by claiming that they were aware and concerned about this issue, however, they were also proud of being able to represent women's voices in their community. Activists' explanation was that because of their actions (standing up to Local Council and state institutions), women in Judeida-Makr put great confidence in them (see Chapter 3).[30] Further research using methods that foreground women's narratives is absolutely needed.

An additional obstacle arose in my site visits to Rawabi. These required a high level of cooperation from representatives of the private developer. Consequently, my impressions were possibly manipulated by the 'hosts' accompanying me (Yin, 2008), especially considering that the Rawabi visitor centre is also the project's sales centre. Therefore, my analysis is counterbalanced by the established critique of the project (e.g., Rabie, 2014). In addition, access to the site required travelling back and forth through Israeli military (IDF) checkpoints. I was able to avoid potential 'security'-related hurdles by carrying York University documentation of the research purposes of my travel, but more so due to my social privilege as an Israeli-Jew.

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[30] I was shown hundreds of social media posts as evidence to show how women in Judeida-Makr trust Khirak men's help in confronting local government on various issues.

The expression **Palestinian citizens of Israel** (**PCI**) comes from the interviewees' lexicon, but it is also the preferred term by Palestinian movements for social justice in Israel (Masri, 2015; Adalah, 2015). 'PCI' emphasises Palestinian identity, nationality, and indigeneity and thus contributes to a counter-colonial discourse. The **Judaisation of space** (Yiftachel, 2006) refers to the process of producing the spaces of the Jewish nation-state, and it reflects Jewish nationalism rather than religious Judaism, which are tightly intertwined yet distinct concepts in the Jewish state. In this context, I use the term 'Arab Village' wherever I refer to the racialised perceptions of actual Palestinian-Arab localities in Israel, matching the so-called 'Arab sector' (see Chapter 2).[31] **Settlements** (and Settlers) with capital 'S' refers to the Israeli illegal settlements in the OPT and stands for the Hebrew word *hitnakhluyot* (settlements) that has become synonymous with the illegal settlements specifically. I use **Palestine** and **Israel** when referring to state institutions and their controlling powers. When discussing the spaces of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, I choose the formulation **Israel/Palestine** to stress several points, notably the geographical unit of my study as the whole region between the River and the Sea, Israel's national territory as a constitutive part of historical Palestine, and areas under Israeli control, which represent occupied lands unceded by Palestinians.

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[31] In Israeli settler colonial society, 'Arab Village' is often used for Palestinian settlements regardless of their size or urban character. Accordingly, the interviewees in this chapter sometimes say 'village' as short for Arab Village. Throughout the chapter, I use 'Village' rather than 'village' whenever referring to the full socio-spatial meaning of Palestinian-Arab localities in Israel. This includes an understanding of the Village as a political concept, in both Palestinian resistance and Israeli colonialism: a marginalised space of 'internal enemies' that is also the space of resistance. See, for example, Allweil 2017: 201.

Contributions

The main contribution of this research to the existing literature on the spatialisation of settler colonialism is its comparative perspective on the production of space in Israel and the West Bank (under the PNA regime) through solutions to the 'housing crisis'. Studies on Zionist spatial strategies have thus far focused almost exclusively on Israel (and its Settlements project), while critique of the neoliberal turn in Palestine has treated Palestinian urbanisation as affected by Zionist colonisation (Grandinetti, 2015; Rabie, 2014). In comparing urbanisation processes in Israel and the OPT, this research sees them as co-produced rather than separate. Important links across the Green Line have been established in political economy analyses (Allweil, 2012; Shadar, 2004; Peled, 1995), however, examining how these links are maintained through the reproduction of space is crucial: for understanding the endurance of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; for distinguishing current forms of colonial domination in the context of global capitalist urbanisation; for understanding the role of current housing development trends in shaping Indigenous resistance and settler colonial vulnerability; and for de-colonising settler colonial research itself.

The research further contributes to housing studies by centring colonial pasts and presents in debates on the right to housing. This approach is essential for an otherwise incomplete political economy perspective on housing (Alkhalili et al., 2014). The focus on Israel/Palestine helps to constitute a politically urgent research agenda in critical housing studies (Fields & Rogers, 2019; Heslop & Ormerod, 2019), one that sees the global crisis as reproduced through local housing struggles. Further still, studying how neoliberal development is reproducing colonial relations in Israel/Palestine adds to critiques aimed at the laxity of recent urban theory regarding the role of political struggle in shaping global processes of urbanisation (Peake et al., 2018).

Chapter outlines

The structure of this dissertation follows Lefebvre's (1991) triad of space and reflects the comparative approach of my research. Chapter 2 examines the planning process of Tantour, followed by Chapter 3 that recounts Palestinian activists' narratives about their struggle to influence the planning process. Chapters 4 and 5 repeat this format for the Rawabi case, focusing on the meaning of homeownership for PCI in Area A. Finally, Chapter 6 proposes that the 'right to housing' can be articulated in terms of *sumud* resistance and thus offers a path towards de-colonisation.

In *Chapter 2: We want them to make a revolution*, I review the planning process of the new 'Arab city' and situate it in the context of the Judaisation of space. Visual and textual official planning documents reveal that the project hinges on Israel's response to the 2011 public unrest and demands for affordable housing. Yet, planners I interviewed affirm that the Tantour project, despite its formal goals to alleviate the housing crisis among the local 'Arab sector', was conceived and designed without concerns for the local Palestinian community. Instead, it was meant to cast the Judaisation of space in a new form: as a 'solution' to the housing crisis that changes housing patterns among a Palestinian middle-class as imagined by government officials and planners. Contextualising Tantour within the literature on Zionist political economy reveals that the 'Arab city' is a new form colonial urbanisation, a project aimed at integrating PCI into the national housing market with the purpose to evade a political crisis of Israel as an ethnocratic regime.

I employ Yiftachel's (2006: 12) concept of "ethnic logic of capital" to suggest the existence of an 'ethnic logic of space', which expresses how the production of state-space is ethnicised/ethnicising in the ethnocratic context and cannot be explained solely by the global powers of (neoliberal) capitalism (Alkhalili et al., 2014; Yiftachel, 2006). The notion of an 'ethnic

logic of space' only serves to pinpoint the state's ideology; it by no means implies that the Judaisation of space is complete, hermetic, or invulnerable. On the contrary, capitalist imperatives such as the free flow of goods and labour power constantly clash with spatial separations that facilitate capitalist development (Jessop, 2008) and its ethnicised spaces. The Judaisation of space is fraught with opportunities for resistance (as seen in Chapters 3 and 5).[32]

Chapter 3: "Tantour is ours!" continues to disentangle the production of space. It delves into everyday life and interpretation of space offered by the Khirak. The chapter is constructed according to the main themes that emerge from the personal stories of activists, as they tell them: land, segregation, inclusion, fear, and everyday resistance. The struggle for inclusion in the 'Arab city' appears in these stories as an explicitly anti-colonial struggle as activists describe how development for the 'Arab sector' constitutes dispossession and even displacement. To illuminate the political potential of the Khirak, I connect activists' stories to debates over inclusion in urbanisation processes as platform for demanding rights (Caldeira, 2017; Miraftab, 2009).

The stories told by activists recount the inherent contradictions of *sumud* as an individual and collective praxis. They illuminate an apparent ambiguity in the Khirak's struggle: on the one hand, a (passive) acceptance of the 'Arab city' concept that originates in ethnocracy, and, on the other hand, an (active) effort to be included in the process of production of space as a quest for equality. This problem of spatialised de-colonisation is then addressed in Chapter 6 through comparison to the Rawabi case.

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[32] Yiftachel (2006: 189-192) discusses the inner contradictions of the "ethnocratic city" that produce insurgent spatial practices. In fact, Yiftachel (2020) considers a plurality of conflicting 'logics' that produce space simultaneously.

During field work, the new city of Rawabi was already a (partially) functioning urban space, and so I was able to examine the site and the built form in *Chapter 4: "We are not destroying Israel, we are building Palestine."* Marketing materials from the Rawabi Visitors' Centre (which doubles as a sales centre) and conversations with planners and representatives of the private developer illustrate the post-Oslo neoliberal moment in Palestinian political economy. These primary sources provide new evidence for analyses of Rawabi as a project that reproduces the conditions of Israeli colonialism (Grandinetti, 2015; Rabie, 2014).

In this chapter, I offer the concept 'peacebuilding urbanism' to describe the ideology that reproduces Zionist colonisation in the very course towards Palestinian (economic) independence. This framing highlights the mechanisms of urbanisation that are involved in the political economy of 'economic peace': a cooperation between the Fatah regime and Israel in an effort to render the West Bank a viable and safe investment for foreign capital (Haddad, 2016). The Rawabi project then emerges as not only an important milestone in Palestinian state building through privatised urban development, but also as a way of deepening Israeli involvement in the OPT. I describe how this takes place, via Israeli-inspired urban planning, through control over water supply, and by mobilising construction materials, among other ways.

Stressing that Rawabi exemplifies a shift in Palestinian state-building towards privatised development, I identify similarity in design between Rawabi and the Settlements that embody suburbanisation of the West-Bank by Israel (Newman, 2017; Maggor; 2015). Recalling Lefebvre's (1991) concept of 'centrality', the chapter situates Rawabi in a dialectic of a centre/periphery relationship firstly with the Settlements, in terms of spatial control over the West Bank, and secondly with the city of Ramallah, as the central space of Palestinian nationalism.

To better understand the transformations in Palestinian nationalism that are insinuated in the Rawabi project, in *Chapter 5: "We are the new mitnakhalim"* I use a 'narrative-based explanation' (Yin, 2008) to employ the inhabitants' perspective on the project. In my interviews with PCI who obtained homeownership in Rawabi, inhabitants recount their motivations for moving from Israel to Area A of the occupied West Bank. They represent the move as a clearly personal ("feeling at home") yet deeply politicised ("second best 'right of return'") action that challenges settler/colonised dichotomies. Conversations cited in this chapter suggest that to 'remain' may mean to 'move away' to other parts of Palestine, at least for the particular class of PCI that have the option to do so. This observation undermines the tendency to treat PCI as a homogenous group and as separate from Palestinians in the OPT (Nassar, 2017).

Finally, in *Chapter 6: Changing colonial relations between the River and the Sea,* I put the two cases side by side in order to centre housing development in the present colonial relation. PCI interpretations of 'remaining' shed light on changes in *sumud* and in settler colonial spatial strategies. I consider de-colonisation as the re-ordering of space in ways that defy the ethnocratic regime (Jabareen, 2015a; Petti, Hilal & Weizman, 2013). Shifting the analytical focus to an Indigenous perspective invites us to think about de-colonisation through the flexibility of *sumud* (Roy 2016; Ryan 2015; Rijke & Van Teeffelen, 2014) and its internal contradictions. The comparison of the two cases enables us to move beyond the settler narrative of de-colonisation (Barakat, 2018; Rouhana, 2018; Nassar, 2011) and to consider individual resilience and political opposition as two points on a spectrum of resistance to settler colonialism. In turn, seeing settler colonialism and anti-colonialism as two sides of a dynamic colonial relation allows us to see how radical claims for a 'right to housing' may help challenge colonial geographies.

Chapter 2 | "*WE WANT THEM TO MAKE A REVOLUTION*": HOUSING CRISIS AS A STATE PROJECT IN TANTOUR

Introduction | Israel's first 'Arab city'?

> We think it is the right thing to do, in light of the significance of the issue and in light of years of delays in planning, that the National Council and the Israel Planning Administration will take on the task of promoting this plan, since it is of the upmost importance. Hence we suggest this plan will be devised as a National Master Plan on a local level […] We would like to begin an expedited planning process, in order to truly develop this urban tier that is missing in the region, in the North, in the Galilee, missing for the minority population (National Council for Planning and Construction, 2009).

Reading through protocols of the Israeli National Council for Planning and Construction (NCPC) dated February 3, 2009 reveals the banal decision-making process of a large-scale project that is rooted in institutionalised ethno-nationalism and has profound implications on Israel's Palestinian society. It is a massive urban development intended specifically for a 'minority population' in the Galilee region, on the site of *Tantour* hills.[33] In Israel's highly centralised planning mechanism, the National Council is the primary body responsible for implementing nation-wide policy, mainly by reviewing and approving regional-level plans and promoting national master plans.[34] Regarding Tantour, there was evidently consensus among National Council members, consisting of both professional planners and government bureaucrats, that urban development was urgently needed

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[33] The term 'minority population' (sometimes appearing in planning documents as 'non-Jewish sector') is used as euphemism for Palestinian citizens of Israel, as was undoubtedly clear to the (all Jewish) participants in the Feb 3, 2009 discussion. According to the protocol, it was also explicitly clarified during this initial discussion that the Tantour project is meant for (Palestinian-)Arab citizens (rather than the Druze, who are also a 'minority population').

[34] The National Council is part of the Israel Planning Administration, housed within the Ministry of Treasury.

in order to increase housing and employment opportunities for non-Jewish populations in the Galilee.

Yet the National Council's meeting protocols also recount an uneasy discussion on some principal questions. First, Council members were concerned about the political, legal and environmental implications of establishing a new city on Tantour hills, as opposed to expanding the Palestinian-Arab town of Judeida-Makr that lies adjacent to the site, and is one of the poorest communities in Israel (Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, 2013). A new city would arguably contradict fixed legal guidelines that prohibit new settlements for the sake of urban densification and environmental protection. The seemingly technical decision about administrative boundaries would eventually have significant social and political consequences, as this chapter reveals. Second, there was some apprehension regarding the use of a National Master Plan tool devising a local-level plan. This would hinder public participation, especially given the site that was discussed and systemic barriers to inclusion of Palestinian citizens of Israel (PCI) in the planning process. Finally, questions about how and whether at all it would be possible to destine the project for a specific ethnicised population, once housing units are out on the market, were quickly brushed away with the assumption that the location – contiguous with a Palestinian-Arab town and on lands that were previously expropriated from its residents – will do the trick.[35] These questions remained unanswered. Nevertheless, a decision was made to move forward with a National Master Plan for Tantour, while pointing out that any specific plan would need to provide answers (NCPC, 2009). Fundamental political questions were thus deferred to a future planning document.

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[35] The official documents of the most recent plan for the site, which have been approved and are legally binding, include a written explanation that indicates the plan is meant to provide high quality housing solutions for the non-Jewish sector in the northern part of the country. There is nothing in the Israeli planning law and legal land system that enables to enforce that directive, yet it is declared in all of the Tantour project's official planning documents.

About five years later, Israeli media reported that a plan for a new 'Arab city' in Tantour hills was put on the table of the National Council for approval. National Master Plan 44 was celebrated in Israeli media as the first new 'Arab city' to be built in Israel since the state was founded, and as a partial solution to a housing crisis within the 'Arab sector'.[36] These descriptions were followed by another plan for Tantour, Plan 1058/1059 in 2018. After decades of discriminatory planning strategies and land distribution that have shaped the ethnicised spatial hierarchy of Israel, and particularly the Galilee region – deeply marginalising Palestinian-Arab communities that have long preceded the state itself – the National Council's decision supposedly signified a shift in the state's approach toward PCI. In this chapter, I explore this ostensible turn and show how state strategies for mitigating a local 'housing crisis' are employed to sustain a colonial order.

The purpose of this chapter is therefore to examine the Tantour project in light of the contradictions of 'Judaisation of space', by applying a settler colonial perspective to the production of space in Israel. In *De l'Etat*, Lefebvre (1976-1978) uses the concept of 'state mode of production' to explain how the state – through the production of space – enables capitalism to overcome its inner contradictions. The state attempts to produce a specific *state-space*, according to 'industrial' (capitalist) logic (Lefebvre, 2009: 224). This is manifested in the production of national territory out of material space and the natural landscape, in a spatially selective way: it is aimed at specific scales, territories or places (Brenner and Elden, 2009). Thus, land administration and planning regulations are used for maintaining uneven development, which is integral to the advancement of capitalism. Importantly, state-space is constantly reproduced for shaping the socio-spatial periphery as such, according to the state's *ideological* selectivity (Jessop, 2008).

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[36] For example, see Rinat (2014).

State-space is produced as homogenous yet fractured, parcelled in Lefebvre's (2009) view to a collection of ghettos, which breaks up oppositions and creates controllable spaces, such as the 'Arab city'. This implies that spatial segregation is inherent to the production of state-space. In Israel's ethnocratic regime, 'Judaisation of space' denotes the production of national territory guided by a narrative of a Jewish homeland that assigns the landscape to one 'deserving' ethnic group while excluding others (Yiftachel, 2006). For Yiftachel (2006), there is an ethnic logic of capital that underlies spatialisation. Therefore, I suggest that urbanisation in/of Israel has been shaped expressly by the constant tension between the Jewish state's 'ethnic logic of space' and ethno-class struggle against it.

Considering the timing of the Tantour project (and especially Plan 1058/1059, as I shall illustrate), it is useful to invoke discussions about the 2011 mass protests in Israel that illuminate the pivotal role of housing in the struggle for a homeland. On the one hand, it has been shown that, due to the continuously central role of housing in nation building, joint housing struggles might have the potential to redefine citizenship (Allweil, 2013) and to resist and undermine ethnicised differentiation between socio-spatial centre and periphery (Marom, 2013).[37] On the other hand, the problems of systemic neglect and marginalisation by the government of the socio-spatial periphery were conflated in the 2011 protest with the massive cry of a self-proclaimed 'middle-class' against housing costs, especially in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area and other large cities. Notwithstanding some radical moments of local cooperation between marginalised groups (Allweil, 2013), the 2011 'housing protest', as it has become popularly known in Israel, was sketched by the government, by some social movements, and by many protesters as a neoliberal demand for 'affordable' housing that law-abiding, tax-paying, military serving citizens are entitled to. This framing

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[37] Marom (2013) draws parallels to Tahrir Square in Egypt and the Occupy movement emanating from the US.

prompted a reactionary response (Schipper, 2015; Alfasi & Fenster, 2014): a private market

approach to increasing homeownership affordability, loosely defined.

Similarly, in the Tantour project, the Israeli government through its centralised planning

mechanism recasts PCI′s self-determination – which undermines the dominance of the Jewish state

– as an individual, property-based demand for affordable housing. I propose that transformations

in housing policy and planning law, in part a response to the 2011 protests, not only facilitate the

very definition of a housing ′crisis′ within the ′Arab sector′, but also create solutions that perpetuate

the state′s spatial strategy toward PCI. In this light, the 'first new 'Arab city'' appears as a new

form of continuous colonial urbanisation.

In the following, I refer to planning documents and in-depth interviews with planners to

demonstrate how Tantour was conceived as a solution to a 'housing crisis' and how planners

themselves perceive the 'Arab city' (the following chapter is dedicated to the local PCI resistance

movement). I begin by reviewing key moments in the production of the yet-to-be-realised Tantour

project, with emphasis on its relationship to the existing local Palestinian community. Tantour is

then situated within the historical and ideological context of 'conquest of labour' and 'conquest of

land' – the pillars of Zionist political economy. What is revealed is an attempt to de-politicise and

re-segregate the socio-spatial periphery of the ethnocratic state, and a new tactic for overcoming

the inner contradictions of 'Judaisation of space'.

Planning a new 'Arab city'

In the western Galilee region in Israel, close to the ancient port city of *Acre*, lies the Palestinian

town of Judeida-Makr. According to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (2013), the entire

town's population is categorised as 'Arab', out of which over 90 per cent are Muslim, and is positioned in the second-lowest echelon in Israel's socio-economic index. The small town, an amalgamation of the villages Judeida and Makr, is home to about 20,600 residents. However, according to planning documents, this number is projected to sharply increase.

To discuss a plan for a new 'Arab city' in Israel it is necessary to remember that in the *Yishuv* period before the state was founded, Jewish settlement in Palestine strived for Jewish autonomy and negated ideologically the subjugation of Palestinians (Sternhell, 2010). In practice, however, Palestinian labour always remained included, to a varying degree, in the *Yishuv* and later in Israeli economy (Hever, 2012; Nitzan & Bichler, 2002; Peled & Shafir, 2002). Nevertheless, the deliberate attempt to alienate Palestinians from land and labour evolved into a bifurcated economy in the state of Israel, containing interdependent 'Arab' (Palestinian) and general (read Jewish) sectors (Hever, 2012; Peled & Shafir 2002).

In turn, the state of Israel has been continuously separating and marginalising the 'Arab sector' in various ways.[38] In Israel's version of liberal democracy, Palestinian localities that pre-date the state itself have been systematically neglected and denied resources to the point of extreme overcrowding with unfit public spaces and lack of adequate services. Development plans are routinely denied, and territorial jurisdiction is constantly diminished. This condition hinders local commercial activity, industry, and employment in Palestinian villages and cities (Jabareen, 2014b; Yiftachel, 2006; Peled & Shafir, 2002; Falah, 1989).[39] Consequently, housing distress within the

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[38] Palestinian-Arabs in Israel were under martial law from 1948 until 1966, which had, among other restrictions, demarcated their settlement. The state continues to control the ethnicised distribution of population through various planning mechanisms.

[39] The deprival of development plans and other growth resources is commonly reasoned in Israeli public discourse by alleged incompetence, mainly due to corruption, of local government in Palestinian localities. This argument has been a refuted in studies (Khamaisi, 2007).

'Arab sector' is more acute than in the general national market (Kheir & Portnov, 2016; Hever, 2012).

In the 1948 *nakba* and Israeli War of Independence, Judeida and Makr which were then approximately 700 years old surrendered to local Jewish militias and cooperated in order to survive and, importantly, to remain on their land (Manna, 2017).[40] In the aftermath of the *nakba*, some internal refugees (Palestinians who were displaced within the newly-formed state of Israel) settled in Makr, and thus a local landless class was created alongside the landowners who had been living there for generations (Wesam, 2016) – a precursor to Judeida-Makr's diverse community (see Chapter 3). While PCI have formally been full citizens with equal rights since 1966, when Israel's military rule was lifted, they have been continuously subject to systematic oppression from planning institutions, among other forms of discrimination and exclusion. Virtually all Palestinian-Arab cities, villages and neighbourhoods, have been suffering from insufficient public services, inadequate infrastructure and deliberately limiting planning policies. As is evident in Judeida-Makr, these forms of discrimination have resulted in over crowdedness, unusable public spaces, and acute shortage in housing (Khamaisi, 2004; Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003).

In interviews, local inhabitants recount three major interventions on behalf of Israel's central planning authorities in Judeida-Makr, describing them as 'plagues' inflicted upon their community (Jamal, 2016; Wesam, 2016; Allah, 2016). First, in the early 1970s, the state built a public housing project in the village of Makr, intended for Palestinian families from nearby Acre.[41] This relocation project helped, in part, to secure a Jewish majority in Acre's ethnically 'mixed'

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[40] See Manna (2017) for elaborated account of the relationship between Judeida, Makr and other Palestinian villages with neighbouring Druze communities, and how it mitigated their interaction with Jewish militias.
[41] See Mako (2014).

population. At the same time, since no sufficient resources were allocated to the local government in Makr, it further impoverished the local community in comparison to neighbouring Jewish ones. Granted, at the time, the public housing estate was the only modern, planned neighbourhood in Makr. Yet the project was designated for families heavily dependent on social services, and the lack of continued support from the state has led to quick deterioration. Today, the estate is known as a poor, crime-ridden area (Jamal, 2016.).

Then, in 1976, the state expropriated the lands known as Tantour hills from Judeida and Makr, as part of the 'Judaisation of space' scheme to block the spread of Palestinian communities in the Galilee (see section 4.3 below). Three decades later, bringing those lands under 'state land' status would become a deciding factor in choosing the site for a new 'Arab city'.

Lastly, in 1989, the Ministry of Interior officially amalgamated Judeida and Makr into one municipality (see Figure 1).[42] This move was conducted without consulting residents, thereby exacerbating antagonism between different local communities. The amalgamation registered in the local collective memory as traumatic interference in the social fabric (Khamaisi, 2016), although Eran Mebel (2016), a Jewish architect and city planner who is involved in many planning projects in the Galilee region, interprets the amalgamation as a positive measure since it enabled to pull together resources and to establish a physical, spatial continuity of public uses. For residents, however, these circumstances not only heightened distrust in state institutions and professional planners but also engendered a divided community that has been experiencing a crisis in local leadership and representation ever since. Indeed, municipal elections in Judeida-Makr have

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[42] See Judeida-Makr (n.d.).

become an extremely violent arena, and specifically a site for *khamula* (clan) struggles, fueling

disillusion, fear even from a local government that cooperates with the state (Jamal, 2016).[43]

In this context, the most recent state intervention, the National Council's decision to build

a new city in Tantour hills, is unsurprisingly met with great suspicion. In fact, as residents describe

in the following chapter, this decision marks yet another round of state-imposed planning that is

meant to limit, confine and control Palestinian urban space and thus PCI themselves.

Tantour Phase 1: "Everyone wants the same [Jewish] suburbs"
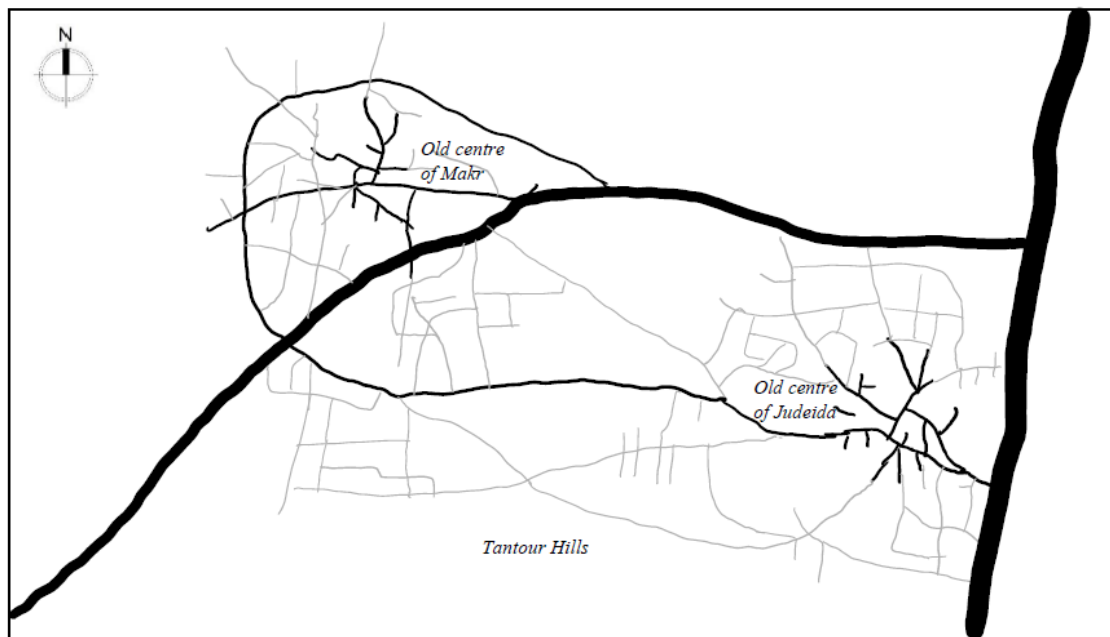
Figure 1 Schematic map of Judeida-Makr in relation to Tantour Hills (not to scale). By the author.

In 2014, the National Council gave its initial approval to National Master Plan 44, which was

prepared by Mebel. It was the first official planning document outlining "a new urban tier for the

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[43] In 2015, when Judeida-Makr was seeing a surge in violence, the Municipal building was targeted and hit in one of the shooting incidents (Nassar, 2015).

non-Jewish population" (NCPC, 2009: 3).[44] Plan 44 delineates the goals of the Tantour project and their specific spatial expression, from general principles such as offering a clean, orderly suburban antithesis to destitute Judeida-Makr through land uses and infrastructures, to highly detailed architectural design guidelines. According to Mebel (2016), his most significant realisation while preparing a plan for Tantour was that "everybody wants the same thing. Arabs want exactly what Jews want. They want to live in peaceful suburbs, just like Jews do." This generalised interpretation of the wishes of local inhabitants was derived from limited consultations with representatives of the community (Khirak activists, 2016).

It is noteworthy that already in the first National Council meeting in 2009 that discussed the vision for the Tantour site, concerns were raised regarding the involvement of local PCI in the planning process. Who should be included, how to make sure they represent the community, and how to mitigate resistance were all questions that remained unanswered in that crucial meeting (NCPC, 2009).[45] Five years later, when Plan 44 was brought to the NCPC for review, concerns were raised again regarding public consultation. Meeting protocols show that Committee member Arza Churchman, a senior researcher in the Technion who has studied public participation in planning, was vehemently critical of the limited extent of consultation in the planning process thus far (NCPC, 2014). In a rebuttal, the Manager of Planning and Urban Development in the Ministry of Construction and Housing, Ilan Teichman, asserted that "there are no local inhabitants. As far

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[44] This wording originally appears in the instructions of the National Council for Planning and Construction published in February 3, 2009. The term 'tier' (in Hebrew, also category or level) was used in order to indicate an added option of a new type of urban space for PCI in the Galilee that is decidedly different from existing Palestinian-Arab 'villages' (see section 4.3). A specific spatial designation such as 'city' was explicitly avoided in those instructions, since it would have contradicted other National Master Plans that prohibit new cities.

[45] According to the meeting protocol, the NCPC Chair suggested consultation with high school teachers as pragmatic solution. Others wondered why not meet with more groups, who might be better acquainted with the community. The dismissive reply was that it was 'unreasonable to meet with everybody'.

as we are concerned, the residents here are the general population of the Galilee" – demonstrating that Judeida-Makr inhabitants were never perceived by the state as having a claim to the project (NCPC, 2014). Mebel (2016) confirms he received no directive regarding "the most fundamental question that is the basis for any planning: who are we planning for?" Thus, he and his planning team were guided by their own sense of responsibility and self-proclaimed sensibility for making a project that would adhere to the local inhabitants' wants and needs.[46] They consulted with three groups of PCI that were comprised of people whom the planners considered to represent the local community: professionals, such as architects and engineers; teachers and academics; and local politicians. Other than that, "we were brainstorming amongst ourselves to come up with planning principles for this place" (Mebel, 2016.).

Conscious of the local community's deep skepticism toward planning institutions, Mebel used a personal story to persuade the consultation groups to support a state-initiated plan (2016, my emphasis):

> I told them: it's true, you were screwed over. *I know what it's like*. My parents
> were also refugees. But I'm naïve, I believe the project will materialise. So *let's*
> *not complain about our troubles* and look forward to the future.

Equating himself with PCI, the Jewish planner (unconsciously) denies spatial selectivity in planning. Mebel shares the burden of responsibility for a successful Tantour project, indeed for correcting the state's past misdeeds, with the local inhabitants. Albeit anecdotal, this testimony represents a prevalent view that holds that PCI are complicit in spatial injustice towards them, as we will see.

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[46] In that context, Mebel (2016) emphasises that one of the architects who was working on the project was Palestinian, attesting – in Mebel's view – to his commitment to produce an "authentic" plan for PCI.

Nevertheless, in the consultation sessions, participants were asked to name places they knew and liked, as examples for desired urban spaces. The response apparently included the names of suburban settlements in the Galilee that were originally established as exclusively-Jewish communities. Mebel (2016) reports that the town of Karmi'el, which had a major role in the Judaisation of space in the Galilee, was especially favoured. This preference correlates with a movement of Palestinian-Arab families into predominantly-Jewish towns in the Galilee (as described below). PCI's aspiration to emulate Jewish suburbs may have been predictable, given the stark inequality between Jewish and Palestinian communities in the Galilee. Certainly for the planners, this preference validated their intention to design an 'Arab city' that would resemble the surrounding Jewish suburbs. Mebel's team "travelled to Arab countries to see their modern cities for inspiration but then realised it was irrelevant because people wanted suburbs" (Mebel, 2016).
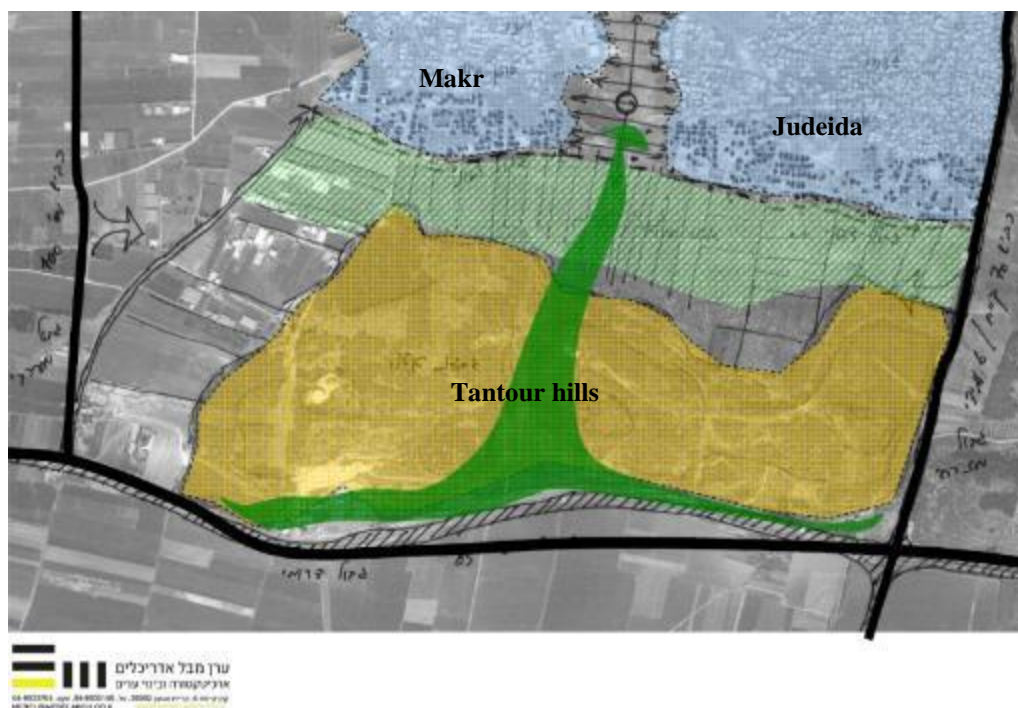
Figure 2 Schematic sketch for Tantour's Plan 44 showing the meeting point between historical Judeida and Makr as one of the 'anchors' for developing Tantour's green-space skeleton. Source: Eran Mebel Architects with permission.

Mebel's plan includes 8,000 housing units in mid-rise buildings placed along curvilinear streets, one main commercial street, and a central park. Initially, Mebel and his team envisioned Tantour an extension to Judeida-Makr that was meant to be integrated into the existing urban fabric, at least to some degree. The plan presented an opportunity to a useable open green space, a mix of uses that would serve the needs of the new as well as existing community, and a small scale industrial area that would generate jobs and improve the connectivity of the town to its surrounding region. In his office in a Jewish Galilee suburb, Mebel describes the process of devising Plan 44, and some of the specific planning principles that guided his team. First, a continuous layout connecting to the existing town of Judeida-Makr was organised around a linear park, starting at the geographical centre of Judeida-Makr and continuing south through the new Tantour (Figure 2). This spatial organisation was meant to strengthen an existing stretch of public buildings, located at the seam between the original villages of Judeida and Makr, and to become a useable open green space for Judeida-Makr's residents along with those of Tantour (Figure 3).
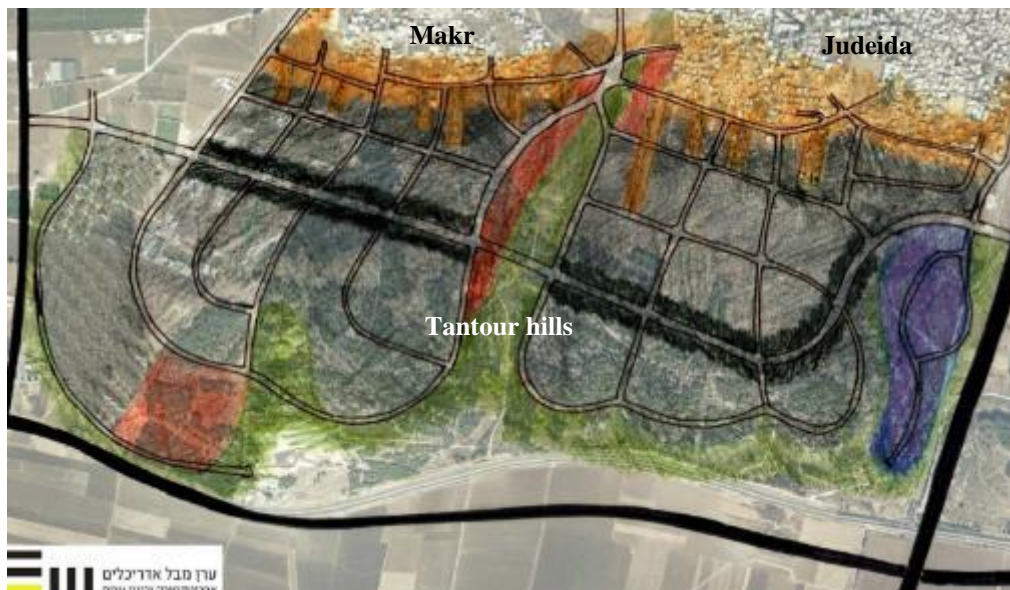
Figure 3 Streets layout depicting the north-south linear park and the intersecting east-west main commercial street
Source: Eran Mebel Architects with permission.

Second, a complex hierarchy of public, semi-private, and private spaces was created in order to ease the move of extended family groups or *khamulas* from other Palestinian communities into the new project (Figure 4).[47] This design was conceived in contrast to the historical approach of planning institutions and in response to previous attempts – which Mebel (2016) defines as 'mistakes' – to modernise the living environments of non-Jewish population by forced displacement and relocation to newly-built, modern towns.[48]

Figure 4 Rendering of a typical urban block in Tantour per Plan 44: pedestrian path system connects different blocks and crosses inner courtyards. Source: Eran Mebel Architects with permission.

Third, going against the suburban trend of isolated industrial parks that dot the Galilee region, an integrated industrial area would be added to Tantour, benefitting the local community through employment opportunities, access to services, and tax revenue (which Mebel assumed would be

[47] Interior courtyards were supposed to create intimate urban blocks within the broader layout, which would allow *khamulas* to move into the new community without completely surrendering the spatial organisation of the extended family – the traditional (but not necessarily contemporary) basic spatial unit of Palestinian communities in the area (see Figure 4).

[48] Mebel (2016) refers to the establishment of seven Bedouin townships in the Negev between the end of the 1960s and into the 1980s.

collected by Judeida-Makr, since Tantour would be a neighbourhood within the town). Apparently, the planner insisted on this employment district while the state was counting on Tantour residents commuting to regional industrial parks or into Jewish communities. The planners hoped that locating light industry adjacent to residential areas (see Figure 6), along with a network of pedestrian paths, would provide local women convenient access to employment (Mebel, 2016.).[49] If it were approved, Plan 44 would have a National Master Plan status and any detailed construction plan in Tantour would have to comply with it.

However, as the planning procedure unfolded, Mebel was pressured by the Israel Planning Administration (the government body containing the National Council) to separate Tantour from Judeida-Makr despite the National Council's original reluctance to establish a 'new city' and against Mebel's professional recommendations. The seemingly administrative decision to disconnect Tantour from Judeida-Makr stems directly from the politics of land on this site, which consists of the lands that were expropriated from Judeida and Makr in 1976 and are therefore earmarked for public use.[50] Importantly, for the state, planning and building on state land is physically, legally, and politically easier than within Palestinian localities. There, decades of adverse policy created a legal-spatial labyrinth of land ownership that must be untangled before any planning for public uses can take place; while in this case, the conflict between state institutions and local Palestinian landowners, as well as friction with local government, is superficially avoided. A new city then emerges as a pacifying strategy, offering a much-needed

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[49] It has been shown that within PCI communities, women experience multi-layered barriers and discrimination in relation to integration in the work force. For instance, the necessary daily commute into Jewish spaces limits Palestinian women's employment options and financial independence (e.g., Sa'ar, 2017).

[50] Israeli law determines that expropriated lands must be utilised for public use and allows the original owners in certain cases to claim compensation if no public use is actualised. Throughout the years, there have been plans to develop Tantour hills, however none were realised. By establishing a new 'Arab city' there, the state is using the lands for a national priority operation and evades potential claims for compensation (NCPC, 2009).

urban development for PCI in the Galilee without the entailed agitation of the local community –

or at least such was the hope of the NCPC.

Additionally, building a new city corresponds to the state's goal to attract a highly-

educated, well-off population that would otherwise be discouraged by the neglected urban space

and negative stigma of Judeida-Makr (NCPC, 2009; Mebel, 2016). In Plan 44, the separation of

the new city Tantour from Judeida-Makr is manifested in a strip of privately-owned lands that are

designated for future development, which would connect the two communities (see Figures 5, 6).

From the Jewish planner's perspective, the modern plan is designed as an atonement to the state-

made disarray of Palestinian communities: "we made the Arab villages; they could have been

pastoral, touristic villages with tradition and agriculture, etc., [and instead] we made them chaotic

spaces" (Mebel, 2016).
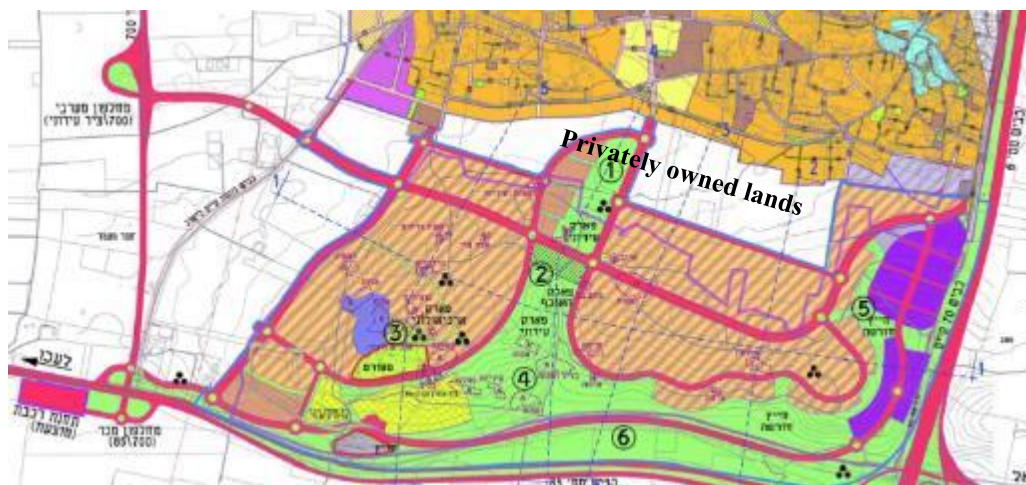
Figure 5 Land use map for Tantour's Plan 44. Private lands at the southern border of Judeida-Makr are left unplanned, and outside the 'blue line' (official plan boundary) of Plan 44. In Plan 1058/1059, this area is included in the 'blue line' and used as a green space buffer between the two communities. Source: Eran Mebel Architects with permission.
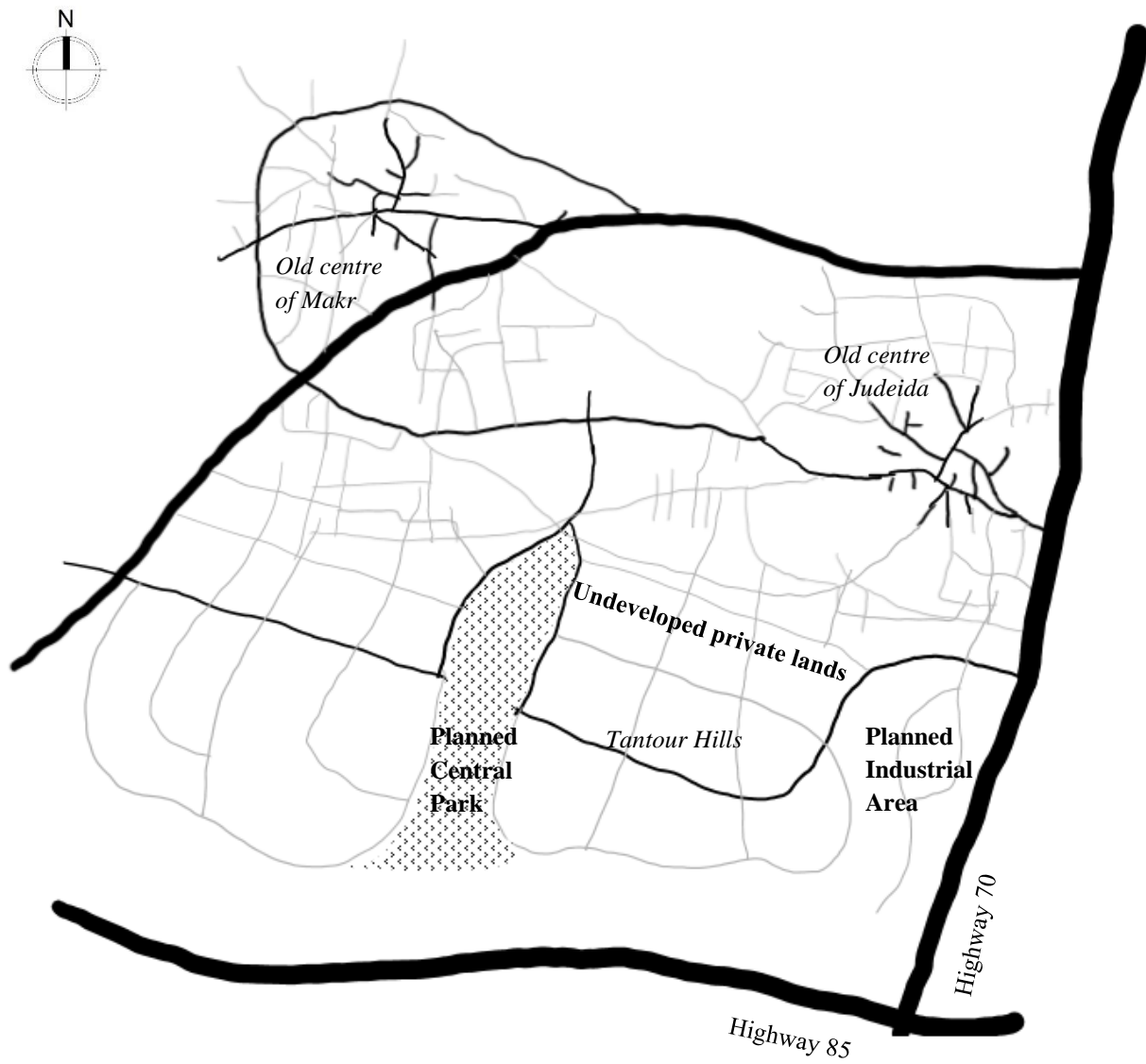
Figure 6 Compilation of Judeida-Makr's map and Plan 44. By the author.

Text labels within the figure:

N

Old centre
of Makr

Old centre
of Judeida

Undeveloped private lands

Planned
Central
Park

Tantour Hills

Planned
Industrial
Area

Highway 70

Highway 85

Tantour Phase 2: "We want them to make a revolution"

Although Plan 44 was solicited by the National Council for Planning and Construction, it was never given final approval. It now remains indefinitely buried in bureaucratic channels.[51] Mebel (2016) estimates that the government's interest has changed in favour of a different plan for the same site, one that would reflect the "prioritising of quantity [of housing units] over quality" of urban planning and design, in an attempt to solve the local 'housing crisis.' Such an interpretation is consistent with major transformations in Israel's planning law that followed the nation-wide protests in 2011.[52] Massive, non-violent demonstrations generated demands to assuage the cost of living, including housing, for individual inhabitants. Although the uprisings generated some local alliances for demanding government investment in the country's socio-spatial 'periphery', in some cases radically crossing Arab-Jewish and Mizrahi-Ashkenazi divides, these alliances remained mostly temporary (Allweil, 2013; Marom, 2013; Monterescu & Shaindlinger, 2013). Ultimately, the protests' emphasis on affordable homeownership could not undermine the ethno-national divisions of Israeli state-space (Gorodess, 2013).[53] They were mitigated by the government's commitment to address the 'housing crisis' by increasing the supply of 'affordable' units (Amram, 2013) – which was never categorically defined.

Specifically, the goal to increase supply in the housing market was addressed with the Promoting Construction in Preferred Areas for Housing Law (2014), which instituted a National

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[51] The last NCPC decision regarding Plan 44 (2014) was to send it to Regional Planning Committees for review. These Committees then submitted their detailed concerns and objections, but the NCPC never promoted the Plan further.

[52] The protests were generally aimed at the high cost of living and lack of suitable physical, economic and social infrastructure in the country's periphery, but mostly focused on housing affordability (Allweil, 2013; Marom, 2013).

[53] The large demonstrations insisted on framing the protest as a-political; referred to service in military reserves as legitimising the demand for a right to housing; and deliberately avoided engaging with the Palestinian problem. (Marom, 2013).

Committee for Planning in Preferred Areas for Housing, or in Hebrew: VATMAL.[54] Under the new Law, VATMAL was given the authority to decree state lands as priority or 'preferred' areas for housing. Planning in such areas was then fast-tracked on a national level, bypassing the existing, undeniably convoluted Israeli planning system. Sidestepping the multi-level system, which includes regional and local scrutiny of plans, means circumventing intrinsic opportunities for public engagement, consultation, and objection to plans (including by special interest groups such as environmental organisations). VATMAL was also granted the power to supersede, and indeed contradict existing (legally binding) plans on all levels. The purpose of this extreme centralisation of the planning mechanism, effectively creating a new system parallel to the existing one, was to streamline the speedy construction of housing units (Mualam, 2018). In general, state land is sold to private developers who construct residential neighbourhoods and sell the units in the private market, with a portion of the units allocated for 'affordable housing'.

VATMAL's scheme is set to have an overwhelming influence on the Israeli landscape for generations to come, and to be sure, the Law has been castigated as undemocratic and for hastily delivering unsustainable living environments. Critics argue this mechanism promotes the construction of a massive quantity of housing units without considering other planning aspects, such as transit infrastructure or the effect on existing communities. For instance, the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel (SPNI, 2017), the largest not-for-profit environmental organisation in the country, has issued a report warning about the anticipated environmental as well as social impacts of VATMAL plans. Others have issued alerts about the loss of agricultural land (Feitelson et al., 2018). Journalist Na'ama Riba (2017), who investigates VATMAL planning,

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[54] VATMAL stands for (in Hebrew) Va'ada le-Tichnun mitkhamim Mu'adafim Le-diur, which sometimes appears in English as 'National Committee for Preferred Housing Plans' (Mualam, 2018).

refers to it as 'excel planning', a form of decision-making that is derived solely from calculating the increase in supply with no regard to what is actually being built. Riba (2017) emphasises that, in most VATMAL projects, the identity of the planner is relatively insignificant, and that one would be hard pressed to find a planner who is proud of such a project – indicating the questionable priorities and standards of those plans. Yet, as Mualam (2018) shows, despite numerous plans being approved, not a single unit has been built as of November 2017, thereby questioning the effectiveness of the Law. Still, some economically independent and predominantly-Jewish municipalities, concerned about the risks of massive housing projects being imposed upon them and their implications on infrastructure and services, have managed to resist and deter VATMAL.

In contrast, non-Jewish communities, who are already always marginalised by the Israeli planning system, may be especially vulnerable to the effects of VATMAL plans. Interestingly, in order to proclaim lands as 'preferred areas for housing' under the VATMAL law, one of four sufficient conditions must apply: (i) the majority of the land is owned by the Israel Land Administration (ILA); (ii) there are multiple landowners (as opposed to a single private owner); (iii) the land is identified as part of an urban renewal project; or (iv) the land is within a 'minority settlement' (Promoting Construction in Preferred Areas for Housing Law, 2014). These conditions mean that land within Palestinian-Arab communities is by definition susceptible to expedited planning that bypasses local-level authorities. The Law also lowers the threshold for VATMAL planning in these localities, determining that plans may qualify for 'preferred' status if they include over 200 new housing units – while the number is 750 for all other (Jewish) places (Mualam, 2018). Moreover, the government's Strategic Plan for Housing (decision #2457, 2017), which guides VATMAL plans, ostensibly addresses specific needs of the 'Arab sector', but fails to mention what these needs may be or how they may be determined (Feitelson et al., 2018). Adding

insult to injury, VATMAL requirement that 30% of units in each project are designated as 'affordable rentals' (including long-term rentals) does not apply to Palestinian-Arab localities (SPNI, 2017). The state thus arguably augments its intervention in Palestinian-Arab communities.[55] It is therefore unsurprising that in a 2018 report, Feitelson et al. found that VATMAL plans in Palestinian-Arab localities override Regional Master Plans by a significantly higher rate than in Jewish localities.[56]

The Tantour site was declared a 'preferred area for housing' by VATMAL committee in 2016. In the subsequent years, the Preferred Area for Housing Plan no. 1058/1059, which would nullify Plan 44, was prepared by the prominent Israeli architecture firm Kolker-Kolker-Epstein. Plan 1058/1059 is a local, site-specific plan with the overruling power of a National Master Plan.[57] It was submitted to VATMAL in May 2018 and was recommended for approval by the National Council for Planning and Construction – the last step in fixing the plan as legally binding. Plan 1058/1059 makes allowances for about 15,000 housing units to be built in Tantour, twice the number than the earlier Plan 44, which are meant for approximately 62,000 residents (Israel Planning Administration, 2018). This plan puts the new city at about 3 times the 2019 population of adjacent Judeida-Makr. According to architect and town planner Amir Kolker (2016), head of the planning team, the plan includes a green belt for separating Tantour from Judeida-Makr, expressing the planners' desire to create a new community free from the stigma of a poor

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[55] The reason for different standards for VATMAL plans in so-called 'minority', non-Jewish localities may be the relatively larger need for housing units there. Yet in reality, only 8% of VATMAL units as of 2017 were planned in Arab towns, while PCI population is 21% of the country (Mualam, 2018: 276). Meaning, PCI are made more vulnerable to the VATMAL scheme, without getting the associated high return.

[56] Feitelson et al. (2018) measured the percentage of land uses in VATMAL plans that deviate from the instructions of the Regional Master Plans, or in other words, the rate of overruling by VATMAL plans.

[57] The Plan is technically split to two planning documents: Preferred Area for Housing Plans No. 1058 (east) and No. 1059 (west).

Palestinian town. It also includes a large, regional-scale industrial zone, several commercial streets, and multiple public and civic buildings. The street layout was based on an orthogonal grid that was juxtaposed to the organic, historical layout of Judeida-Makr (Figure 7). This scheme manifests the planners' intention to create a modern urban environment that is unmistakably different from the 'unplanned' urban spaces thus far identified with Palestinian communities in Israel. With a high average density, this version of Tantour was conceived as akin to Israel's larger cities rather than to Galilee suburbs.[58]

Since the Promoting Construction in Preferred Areas for Housing Law (2014) only applies to the expansion of existing settlements and prohibits the establishment of new ones, the planners use a terminology of spatial continuity to advocate that the Tantour project would uplift the existing community of Judeida-Makr (Kolker, 2016). In fact, their vision completely encircles the Palestinian town. Left outside the formal scope of the plan, yet geographically circumscribed by it, Judeida-Makr would ultimately be consumed by a large new city if all phases of the plan are someday implemented. Kolker (2016) adds that Judeida-Makr will be administratively absorbed into Tantour and will be governed by Tantour's temporary appointed local government until a permanent one is elected. Referring to the town of Judeida-Makr and its residents, it is obvious to Kolker (2016) that "*they* [Judeida-Makr Local Council] *can't handle such a huge project.*"

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[58] 16 units per dunam, which is double the density in Plan 44 (Israel Planning Administration, 2018; Mebel, 2016).
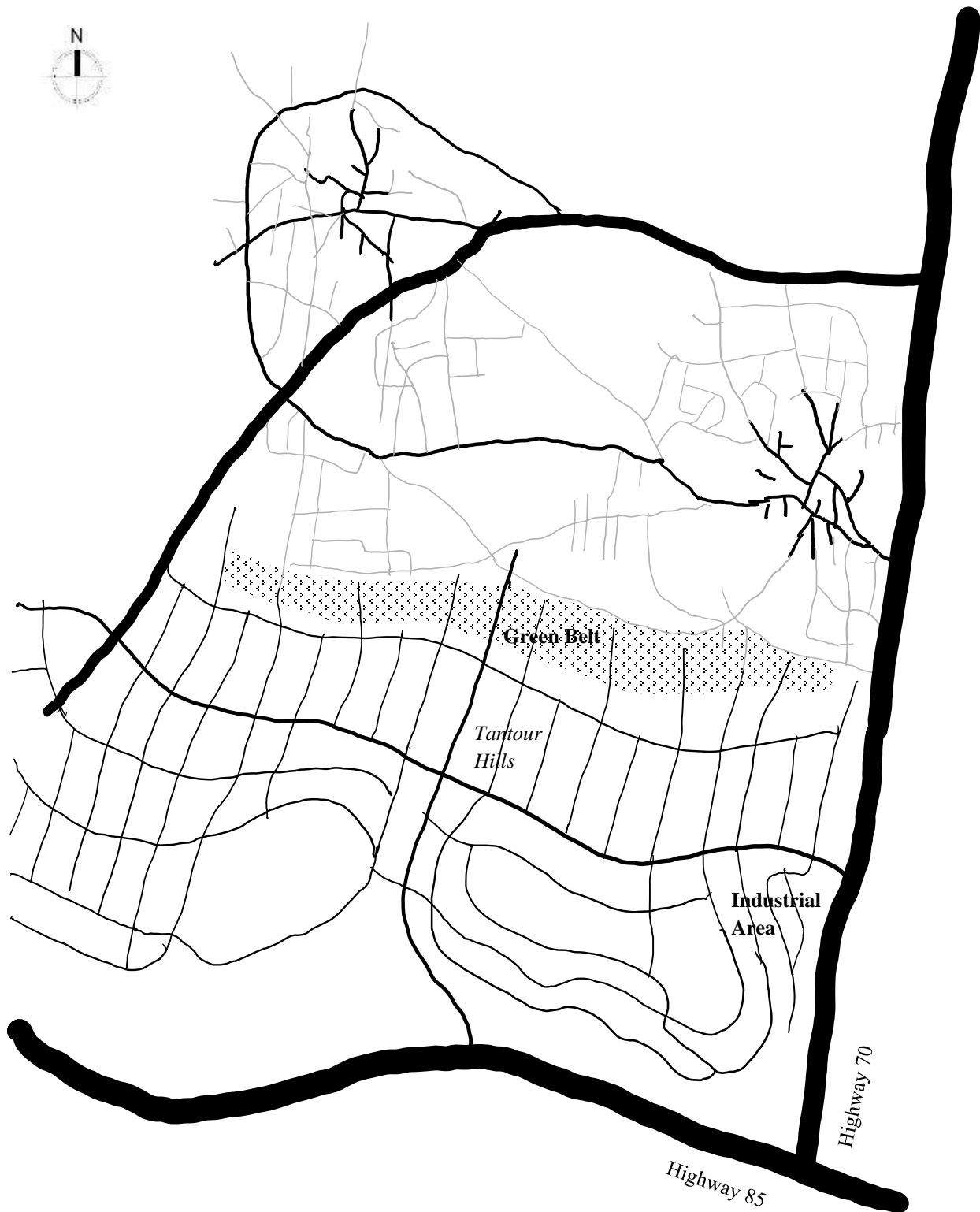
Figure 7 Schematic compilation of Judeida-Makr's map and Plan 1058/1059. By the author.

The planners' own rendition of the rationale for Tantour's design and of the emphasis they attempted to put on Palestinian culture is revealing. Similar to Plan 44, the more ambitious Plan 1058/1059 envisions *khamulas* purchasing whole urban blocks that would support maintaining small communities within the city. The grid pattern was therefore chosen also for its "ability to facilitate optional self-separation concurrently with spatial continuity throughout the city" (Kolker, 2016). This rationalisation demonstrates the planners' self-proclaimed sense of mission that guided all aspects of the plan: providing the "highly educated Palestinian middle-class" a vibrant urban environment, because despite "the local inhabitants' preference to keep building private, land-attached homes, […] we [the planners] want them to make an urban revolution!" (Kolker, 2016). The latter statement was given as a reason for not seeking input from the local population in the planning process. This practice seems to express a misguided yet apparently common conviction that PCI have been living in substandard urban spaces due to their own rejection of modernisation due to anti-state ideology, incompetency (e.g. corruption of local government), or lack of will (i.e. unplanned 'illegal' construction as a result of preference rather than imposed circumstances). Hence it would be necessary to provide allegedly *khamula*-appropriate spaces in Tantour. In this view, state-led planning would transition PCI into modern urban environments.

Yet evidence shows that for the last two to three decades Palestinian society in Israel has been moving away, if slowly, from self-built homes on *khamula* compounds (Khamaisi, 2013). This is the result of internal social transformations as well as of acute shortage in construction permits and development lands. In fact, Khamaisi (2004) found that the state's central planning authorities are the main barrier rather than an enabler for urban development in Palestinian-Arab localities. Sometimes, PCI move into predominantly Jewish cities that offer orderly, well-serviced

modern urban spaces resulting from state planning and investment, along with housing and employment options (Totri-Jubran, 2017).

In the end, Plan 44, which aimed to emulate the very spaces that dispossessed PCI from their lands in the first place, as well as Plan 1058/1059 that unfoundedly seeks to transform PCI dwelling patterns, were both imposed on the local community by the state's planning mechanisms and, usually, Jewish planners. "[The Tantour project] is a-once-in-a-generation opportunity, don't throw it away!*"*, urges a high-ranking official in the Ministry of Construction and Housing (Mizrahi, 2014) to the Mayor of Judeida-Makr, who is advocating for investment in his town rather than building a new one.[59] And so, the victims of decades of systematic discrimination are expected to pull themselves up from the un-planned margins. Referring to the number of housing units planned in Tantour, the Mayor replies: "what about the rest of the 1,700,000 [PCI population]? What makes you think this hill will solve all the problems of the Arab society?" (cited in Ministry of Construction and Housing, 2014). It is the larger issue of producing spaces for/of the 'Arab sector' that is indeed in question here, as is explained in the following section.

From the 'Arab village' to an 'Arab city': the ethnic logic of space at work

Following Lefebvre's (2003) conceptualisation of the 'urban' as a mediating level between state power and everyday life, Jabareen (2014a) usefully frames the Palestinian question as an 'urban' question. As mentioned above, Lefebvre (2003) further argued that state power dictates a political process of uneven development, which is utilised for producing a distinct 'state-space' (Brenner and Elden, 2009). In the Palestinian context, Hanieh (2013) has shown that the questions of

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[59] The speaker is Ilan Teichman, Manager of Planning and Urban Development in the Ministry of Construction and Housing (Mizrahi, 2014).

liberation in general and statehood in particular are enmeshed in global uneven development. Crucially, at the same time, Palestinian space has been historically a definitive force in Zionist, and in turn Israeli political economy. The production of Israel's state-space may be seen as a continuous attempt to define the socio-spatial boundaries of both state and nation precisely by *alienating from space* those who are excluded from the nation, and by *alienating space from* Palestinian national identity (LeVine, 2004; Yacobi, 2008 on space of negation). In *Ethnocracy*, Oren Yiftachel (2006) identifies an ethnic logic of capital that lies at the root of this process: an 'ethno-class' system that determines the distribution of political and economic power among different ethnic groups with different levels of inclusion in the nation. The settler group of Ashkenazi-Jews is the dominant ethno-class while indigenous Palestinians are the most oppressed.[60] Accordingly, the production of Israeli national territory out of the local landscape has been referred to as 'Judaisation of space' (Falah, 1989; Tzfadia & Yacobi, 2011), meaning the mutual reproduction of space and racialisation by the Jewish state (as seen earlier).[61]

I refer to racialisation as a specific spatial strategy, which in colonial contexts shapes the subjectivity of both the colonised and the coloniser in part through territorial relations (Kipfer 2011: 95).[62] Racialisation includes a process of proletarianisation involving creating an imbalance of power between the coloniser, who is merely looking for labour, and the colonised, who is

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[60] According to Yiftachel (2006), the three 'ethnoclasses' of Israeli society are: the settler group of Ashkenazi Jews; the later immigrants, predominantly Mizrahi Jews (from Arab nations) but also Jews from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopian Jews; and indigenous Palestinians. Since 1948 there has been an ongoing spatial segregation of the different ethnoclasses. The middle ethnoclass is included in the nation but simultaneously excluded from centers of power and decision-making (e.g. deserving public housing in the 1950s but mainly in peripheral communities).

[61] Judaisation refers here to Jewish nationalism rather than religion (although religion has an important role in Zionist colonisation and the ethnocratic regime). For discussion on 'Judaisation of space,' see Monterescu (2011) and Yiftachel (2009).

[62] Post-WWII texts, specifically by Fanon (1968[1963]), Césaire (2000) and Memmi (1991[1957]) explain – in opposition to de-territorialised postcolonial theory – the role of territory in shaping colonial relations.

looking for self-determination but is essentialised as proletariat (Césaire, 2000[1950]; Austin, 2010). Similarly, the Judaisation of space is entrenched in the pre-state Zionist ideology of 'conquest of labour' and 'conquest of land'. Initially, the Zionist institutions in the *Yishuv* (settlement) period aimed at ensuring Jewish autonomy in all areas, rather than subjugating or expelling Palestinian-Arabs (Sternhell, 2010). Zionist political economy at the time advocated purchasing land, working the land, and forming an all-Jewish working class as means for building a modern Jewish society in the Old Land of Israel (*Eretz Israel*). However, the 1967 occupation of the West Bank, Golan Heights, and Gaza induced a process of proletarianisation of Palestinians both within Israel and in the OPT. It has led to a racialised bifurcation of the state's economy, with two parallel markets and with Palestinians fulfilling the capitalist need for a cheap and mobile labour force (Hever, 2012; Nitzan and Bichler, 2002; Peled & Shafir, 2002).[63] The conquest of labour generally failed to sustain an exclusively Jewish economy (Nitzan & Bichler, 2002), but its combination with the conquest of land brought about an 'Arab sector' and its separate spaces. Under Israel's superficial liberal democracy (Yiftachel, 2006),[64] PCI are informally confined to separate spaces – where they mostly depend on commuting into Jewish areas for work (Jabareen, 2014b; Hever, 2012; Yiftachel, 2006; Peled & Shafir, 2002; Falah, 1989).

The Judaisation of space has progressed through two reciprocal, simultaneous processes: expanding Jewish physical presence on the national territory at the expense of Palestinians, especially in areas where its spatial supremacy is perceived as threatened; and replacing the landscape's Palestinian identity (conceived as inferior and perceived as hostile) with a Jewish one

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[63] Dependence on Palestinian work force from the OPT decreased significantly after suicide bombings in the 1990s and early 2000s (Nitzan and Bichler, 2002).

[64] For example: discrimination is illegal but admission committees are legal and prevalent in Jewish suburbs in the Galilee.

(conceived as modern and perceived as belonging to Eretz Israel) (Tzfadia and Yacobi, 2011; Hanafi, 2009). This ethnic logic of space informs various discriminatory spatial tactics, namely Israel's legal land system, inequitable urban development agendas and banal appropriation of vernacular architecture. For example, in Palestinian-Jewish 'mixed cities', market mechanisms are used for keeping PCI out through sorting committees and selective marketing (Yiftachel and Yacobi, 2003). In this context, housing policy and design have been especially consequential for nation-building and for the very definition of the Jewish state. Thus, Israel's housing policies have been vital for countering threats to its sovereignty (Kallus & Law-Yone, 2002) starting from public housing in the 1950s, through the establishment of peripheral 'development towns', to the privatised Settlements project in the OPT. Moreover, housing policy has had the role of associating the 'national home' with individual housing (Kallus & Law-Yone, 2002), thus re-rooting Jews in their homeland and producing loyal citizen-subjects (Allweil, 2017). Allweil (2017) compellingly describes Zionism itself as a regime of housing, aimed, inter alia, to secure a 'social contract' between the state and its citizens by transforming Jewish immigrants into proper citizens and providing them a home – and a homeland – in return. In so doing, housing policy tied the state to the Jewish people and its homeland at the expense of Palestinian-Arab citizens.[65]

In fact, the 'Arab Village' is one of the main products of the Judaisation of space (Yacobi, 2008). Palestinian localities in Israel, which all pre-date the founding of the state itself, are usually perceived by the Jewish society as Villages, regardless of their size, density and social composition. Decades of institutional racialised marginalisation have produced the Village as the space for the lowest ethno-class. The Israeli planning system is thus designed to hinder non-Jewish

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[65]Allweil (2017) explains the state-citizen contract is motivated, among other things, by citizens' 'deviant' self-governance, manifested in self-built (or altered) dwellings. This view brings to mind the dialectic of homogenisation-differentiation in the process of Judaisation of space (Lefebvre, 1991).

control over land, diminish Palestinian territorial jurisdiction, deny development plans and inhibit private construction. The results are overcrowding, land shortages, and ubiquitous 'illegal' – and therefore precarious – construction. The state selectively enforces laws against 'illegal' construction and in many cases downloads authority to local *khamulas*, which undermines local government and likely deepens corruption (Shmueli & Khamaisi, 2015).[66] Allweil (2017: 218) points out that when state planning occurs in the Villages it is meant "to regulate and contain" attachment to the land rather than "initiate a framework for housing development".[67] The social, economic and geographical peripheralisation of PCI has essentially created a segregated housing market with extremely limited options (Jabareen, 2015b; Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003).[68] It is therefore within the framework of Judaisation of space that the state is able identify a 'housing crisis' within the 'Arab sector', and to imagine an 'Arab city' – as opposed to an Arab Village – as a solution. That such a 'crisis' happened in the Galilee region is no coincidence.

In 1979, the Israeli government introduced a plan commonly known as 'Judaisation of the Galilee' in order to consolidate its efforts of Judaising the territory on which the majority of PCI live (Falah, 1989; Sofer, 1992). Judaisation of the Galilee was an elaborate regional plan for creating a Jewish spatial continuum, and it included the expropriation of Palestinian lands in areas where Jewish majority was considered to be at risk along with the establishment of 30 exclusively-Jewish communities of small *mitzpim* or lookouts (Yiftachel & Rumley, 1991; Falah, 1989). The *mitzpim* were de-facto gated communities where privatisation served as a means for ethnic

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[66] One of the strategies of the Israeli ethnocratic regime is selective enforcement of 'illegal' construction. It enables the state to maintain an informal solution to housing shortage, which can be squashed when the political timing calls for it. See Yiftachel (2009) for discussion on 'gray space'.

[67] 'Illegal' housing construction by residents of 'the Villages' can be interpreted as part of *sumud* resistance as shown in Chapter 3.

[68] Yiftachel and Yacobi (2003) discuss an 'urban ethnocracy' wherein various urbanisation processes within 'mixed' cities such as gentrification are shaped by ethnic fault lines.

exclusion (Rosen and Grant, 2011). *Mitzpim* were strategically located on hilltops, thus dissecting the landscape and inhibiting spatial continuity of Palestinian population (Falah, 1989), much like the Jewish illegal settlements in the OPT (Weizman, 2007). This massive plan was implemented after private Palestinian lands, including in Judeida and Makr, had already been nationalised to make room for the Jewish suburban town of Karmi'el (in 1976). Karmi'el's original Master Plan explicitly mentioned the goal of countering the local 'demographic threat' posed by Palestinian Israelis (Allweil, 2017).

For PCI, Judaisation of the Galilee means dispossession from the land, but also the densification of urban space, regional disintegration and enhanced dependence on – and repression by – Jewish localities. The vast land expropriation instigated massive protest and a general strike by PCI, culminating on March 30, 1976, which has come to be known as the Day of Land. The general strike confirmed the tight connection between spatial segregation and proletarianisation that engendered the 'Arab sector' in the first place. Since then, the Day of Land has been marked annually with demonstrations against Israel's discriminatory land system and for Palestinian liberation. Years later, these demonstrations were affected by the events of October 2000, when, shortly after the beginning of the Second Intifada, PCI protested in solidarity with Palestinians from the West Bank only to meet unusually intense police violence. Marked by the killing of 13 PCI demonstrators, the events signalled a shift towards militarised control of PCI (Peled, 2005). The establishment of *mitzpim* in the Galilee as well as militarised disciplining of PCI are explicable by a pattern of 'creeping apartheid' (Hanafi, 2009; Yiftachel, 2006) – practices that were developed since 1967 for control of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories sept back into Israel, shaping the state's relationship with its Palestinian citizens (Angotti, 2013).[69] Allweil (2017) argues that

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[69] For discussion on Israeli built environment as a space of occupation, see Segal et al. (2003).

following October 2000, PCI claims to their right to the land, specifically for access to new housing and against home demolitions, have been seen as expressions of a competing nationalism when they were in fact claims for equal citizenship. Nevertheless, formed in and against 'creeping apartheid', any PCI claim for land undermines the ethnicisation of land, threatening the very core of the Israeli national territory, and thereby the sovereignty of the Jewish state.

The Galilee region then is a particularly contested periphery, produced through the inherent contradictions of the Judaisation of space. In fact, for over two decades now, a relatively small number of upper-middle-class PCI have been challenging spatial segregation and especially the lack of urban development by migrating to exclusively-Jewish cities and rendering these ethno-nationally 'mixed' (Totri-Jubran, 2017). Migrants are usually young and well educated (Cohen, Czamanski & Hefetz, 2015), fitting the profile imagined by Tantour's initiators. Those who manage to make the move are frequently met with an openly racist and discriminatory discourse by future neighbours, housing developers, and even Mayors (Cohen, Czamanski & Hefetz, 2015).[70] PCI have always been present in Jewish urban spaces as workers, but as legitimate landowners they seem to pose an urgent threat to the Zionist 'conquest of land' (on the case of Karmi'el, see Blatman-Thomas, 2017).

Therefore, arguments for establishing an 'Arab city' in the Galilee must be seen in the context of the Arab Village myth and the ethno-class structure that has been producing it. First, Israel's liberal citizenship discourse transforms the Palestinian-Arab 'enemy', coming from the Village to the putative Jewish city, into a 'social hazard' – a manageable problem of controlling

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[70] For example: Booth (2013).

'undeserving' urban citizens (Tzfadia & Yacobi 2011). [71] A designated 'Arab city' would presumably diminish the threat of non-Jewish 'infiltration' into Jewish urban spaces. Second, establishing a new city rather than developing the Villages re-affirms the perceived illegitimacy of existing Palestinian spaces. Planners' concerns to curtail sprawl are suspended here, as they are when it comes to exclusively-Jewish, land-devouring gated communities.[72] Improving housing conditions and encouraging employment and economic growth in Palestinian communities turns out to be secondary to, or at the very least aligned with, state interest to extend, enforce and perpetuate exclusive Jewish control over the (Galilee) landscape. Consequently, the alleged revolution in urbanisation of PCI, as Kolker (2016) enthusiastically advocates in his design for Tantour, is revealed as a subtle form of segregation, conforming to the interest of the dominant ethno-class and performed by market-led strategies. The state is using practices designed to promote social reforms and provision of amenities as solutions to the local housing crisis for oppressing marginalised communities, thus exposing the "dark side of planning" (Yiftachel, 2006: 143).

To counter a possible crisis in the Judaisation of the Galilee, Plan 44 aspires to replicate the very suburbs whose ethnic exclusiveness is now being compromised by PCI. Moreover, the visual renderings and detailed design instructions attached to Plan 44 articulate an intimate spatial strategy that is commonly found in the *mitzpim*: localising the built environment in the landscape by incorporating vernacular elements such as arches and inner courtyards. These appropriations of

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[71] This is articulated in Israel's hierarchised ethnoclass society. Tzfadia and Yacobi (2011) examined local elections in the 'mixed' city of Lod, and found that immigrants from the former Soviet Union are particularly intolerant of the Arab population, As Memmi (1991) described, colonialism creates a pyramid of petty tyrants: each one is socially oppressed, and finds a less powerful one to lean on.

[72] The Israeli government is constantly promoting new settlements in the Negev region, in order to assert control over territory in face of sprawling Bedouin communities (in 'illegal', officially 'unrecognised villages'). See B7net (2018).

local Palestinian architecture are meant to establish a cultural attachment to the Land of Israel, asserting the historical legitimacy for Jewish self-determination in Palestine. Such elements have become essential in legitimising the Judaisation of space (Yacobi, 2008). Furthermore, while the subsequent Plan 1058/1059 does not include such detailed design instructions, it promotes the Judaisation of space by proposing to counter the ostensible social hazard of PCI urbanisation not only by reproducing the territorial separation of PCI but also by defining Tantour as a new city, clearly distinguishable from Judeida-Makr and thus from the Arab Village. Lastly, if Judeida-Makr is administratively annexed to Tantour, PCI will not only be dispossessed from the land but also denied the political power to reproduce Palestinian urban space.

The state initiated Tantour project thus proposes a new model for Judaisation of space: countering insurgency by producing new ostensibly Palestinian spaces. It offers PCI a 'formal' urban space in the context of a range of 'informal' practices, such as illegal construction. In that sense, Tantour is not a drastic change of policy but rather a new form of ongoing strategies that push PCI (in this case, those who cannot afford or are unable to move into the new city) into 'informal' spatial practice – which is integral to Judaisation of space (Hitman, 2019; Chiodelli & Tzfadia, 2016; Falah, 1991; Yiftachel & Rumley, 1991). Roy (2009) explains that informality is part of state strategy, a mode of production of space. Building on that view, Chiodelli and Tzfadia (2016) emphasise, using the Israeli case, that formality and informality are not in binary relations but are rather situated on a continuum of spatial strategies. Therefore, demolishing illegal construction and constructing new housing, neglecting Arab Villages and establishing an 'Arab city', are not necessarily contradictory practices.

Indeed, a few small VATMAL plans (local plans processed on the national level) are promoted in Palestinian-Arab localities, where they are meant to increase housing supply in the

private market. Due to the nature of VATMAL mechanisms, these plans create new suburban neighbourhoods that are disconnected from existing Village centres.[73] At the same time, Jewish cities that wish to avoid the negative implications of constructing high volume of housing units without proper physical and social infrastructure have managed to object and, in some cases, cancel state-imposed VATMAL plans.[74] These racialised differences in VATMAL implementation imply that, for the state, VATMAL is an 'easy' solution for Palestinian localities with an acute housing shortage, rather than a transformative approach towards Palestinian space. At the end of the day, Tantour conforms to ethnocratic spatiality and hence its legitimacy as an 'Arab city' in Israel's national territory. By the same token, the project assumes the Palestinian town of Judeida-Makr as an Arab Village, and Palestinians of the Galilee – as Villagers who should be converted to consumers of housing.

Conclusion | Housing crisis at work: producing Israel's latest 'Arab Village'?

In Tantour, the 'housing crisis' emerges as a state project of transforming Palestinian resistance into manageable demands for equal citizenship. The perceived threat to Jewish urban space can be mitigated, on the surface, by re-conceiving the Arab Village as an 'Arab city' and by turning contested land into real estate, available on the free market to the 'Arab sector'. The Judaisation of space thus becomes elusive, focusing on the creation rather than the destruction of (allegedly) Palestinian space.

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[73] See the case of Mazra'a, discussed in Allweil (2017).
[74] For example, see Frenkel (2018).

For the Israeli government to initiate and promote a massive urban development project in the so-called 'Arab sector' is seemingly diverging from the violent practices of Judaisation of space. It is deceptively antipodal to the typical Zionist praxis of "spacio-cide", which Hanafi (2009: 118) defines as the (attempted) extermination of Palestinian space along with its population and culture.[75] Yet, this chapter reveals the 'Arab city' as a new version for rather than a contradiction of the 'Arab' Village.

The decision in the National Council for Planning and Construction regarding urban development designated to PCI is only fully intelligible when contextualised in the ethnocratic regime. As Brenner and Elden (2009) point out, national territory is produced in order to impose a homogenised state rationality on multiple scales (urban, regional, national) in part by classifying, partitioning, and managing political-economic life in clearly defined zones. Territorialised development then appears as pre-given and technical, and state intervention is naturalised (Brenner and Elden, 2009). In the case of the 'Arab city', professional reasoning both assumes and re-constitutes the socio-spatial marginalisation of the 'Arab sector' as such.[76]

Following the 2011 uprisings in Israel and the subsequent increase in market housing supply, including privatisation of state lands through VATMAL plans, vague conceptions of 'affordable' homeownership are employed against counter-colonial attempts. As more PCI migrate to predominantly Jewish cities, thus threatening the Judaisation of the Galilee, a solution to the local housing shortage becomes urgent. Yet, while PCI are in need for housing, the state is looking for a solution to urban 'mixing' that is happening on the ground and to demands for

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[75] Hanafi (2009) refers to IDF actions in the Palestinian city of Jenin in the West Bank.
[76] Lefebvre (1991) referred to a 'blind field', explaining that an outcome of the reproduction of space, which ensures its continuation, is that we are blind to the process of production itself.

investment in Palestinian localities, precursors of a potential collapse of the ethno-class system and its articulation in space. Hence, housing struggle itself, formulated as neoliberal demand for affordability (Monterescu & Shaindlinger, 2013),[77] is manipulated by the state to de-politicise PCI claims to the land.

Moreover, Tantour deepens ethno-class segregation as the project offers 'proper' urban space to those PCI who can afford to move out of the Villages and thus assimilate into the national territory. This process would alienate Palestinians from the Palestinian landscape and reproduce a fragmented 'Arab sector'. Thus, in the contradictions of Judaisation of space, the new 'Arab city' is an engine of homogenisation through differentiation (Lefebvre, 1991). The new development embodies modern planning that renders ostensibly-Palestinian space acceptable in national territory, yet Tantour is still first and foremost a *separate* urban space for PCI.[78] Plan 44 and Plan 1058/1059 aspire to create an antithesis to the Arab Village but reproduce the spaces of the 'Arab sector'.

Finally, the new 'Arab city' emerges as a new technology for colonial domination, molded by a strategically defined 'housing crisis solution' and the inferred privatisation of expropriated lands. Tantour is meant to increase the rate of homeownership among PCI specifically, and still, the project instigated local resistance, mainly due to its intrinsic neglect of existing Palestinian urban space. Activists regard this struggle anti-colonial, as I recount in the following chapter.

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[77] In contradiction with the Arab Spring upheavals that spread in the region concurrently with the Israeli housing protest, the latter remained essentially a cry for better accessibility to individual homeownership rather than collective struggle for political transformation.

[78] There is no official framework for limiting urban citizenship according to ethno-national identity, which is precisely why Judaisation of space may be somewhat undermined. The NCPC is presumably counting here on deep existing segregation and the racialised 'Arab sector' housing market to direct PCI, and only them, to the Tantour project.

Chapter 3 | "*TANTOUR IS OURS!*": RESISTANCE TO A SETTLER COLONIAL 'HOUSING CRISIS'

Jamal's introduction | The Judeida-Makr *Khirak*

> There is a whole generation that grew up in a new situation. Arabs who went to universities and grew up as part of Israeli society, they begin to think differently. Arabs who feel they are an integral part of the country, part of the fate of the country – even though they are 'minority' – they know they deserve their rights. They are part of this country: not Syria, not Egypt, not any other country. And they want to live in nice modern cities (Jamal, 2016).

In the small Palestinian town of Judeida-Makr in the Galilee, the project of the new 'Arab city' of Tantour is posing a threat to the local community. Some local residents see it as a new state tactic for displacement and dispossession of PCI (Palestinian citizens of Israel), combined with ineffectual if not harmful housing planning and design. The Judeida-Makr *Khirak* (in Arabic: حراك meaning movement or awakening) is a group of activists assembled to fight against the Tantour project and its anticipated consequences.[79] Their main slogan is 'Tantour is ours!', a claim that was restated explicitly and echoed implicitly in 10 interviews I conducted with members of the Khirak for this research. Most of the interviews were conducted in a café, in the *Casbah* of ancient Acre on the Mediterranean coast. On one occasion, a meeting with Jamal and Wesam turned spontaneously into a group interview, when other Khirak members showed up (we then conducted personal conversations individually). Eventually, my relationship with the main informer, Jamal,

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[79] The word *Khirak* is used in various contexts of Palestinian resistance within Israel. Throughout this chapter, I follow the interviewees' use of the word as a name for their specific group in the town of Judeida-Makr.

evolved into a friendship that included guided visits of Judeida-Makr and conversations with Khirak activists in his home.

In Jamal's parents' house, I learned that 'Tantour is ours!' refers first and foremost to land. For Khirak activists, it is a way of reminding the planning institutions that Tantour Hills, the site chosen for the Tantour project, were expropriated by the state in 1967 (per the Judaisation of the Galilee plan). Some of the land belonged to relatives of the interviewees, but mostly it was owned by families in the old villages of Judeida and Makr. 'Ours!' further refers to a demand and aspiration by local inhabitants to appropriate the future 'Arab city' as well as its present planning process. The Khirak argues for incorporating Tantour in the jurisdiction of their town, which is adjacent to the project's site. It is a claim for equal citizenship rights, for distributive justice in land allocation and urban services and for benefitting from privatised urban development. It is also a counterclaim against the Israeli (Jewish) popular conviction that Palestinian localities cannot handle large-scale development projects such as Tantour (Kolker, 2016). Finally, 'Tantour is ours!' means that Khirak activists accept the concept of a new 'Arab city' insofar that the project adheres to their needs and contributes to their community. In the context of the Israeli ethnocratic regime, this is an impossible proposition that exposes the project for what it is: a form of Judaisation of space.

Therefore, I submit that the Khirak's resistance to the Tantour project manifests new ways for practicing *sumud* – a central concept and praxis in the Palestinian struggle for liberation. Interviews with Khirak activists along with site visits in Judeida-Makr and Tantour Hills reveal how the state's new colonial strategy, the 'Arab city', engenders new forms of resistance (Manaa, 2017). The Khirak's activism includes appropriating the site of Tantour Hills for social events and thus mobilising fellow inhabitants to use that space, using opportunities within the planning

mechanism to formally object and influence the project, and establishing an inhabitant-led alternative to local government in order to address daily matters in the town.

Jamal (2016) called the café in Acre where we met 'City Hall' since the Khirak group regularly have their meetings there. This café was also where all my interviews with Khirak members were conducted. Later, when Jamal introduced me to other members of the Khirak, I learned that they had been meeting outside their town for reasons related to the struggle. In destitute Judeida-Makr, a town of approximately 20,000 residents, there are no spaces for their gatherings, "no cafés, no decent restaurants, there is nothing there" says Jamal (2016). When they do meet in town, local citizens constantly interrupt with complaints about daily matters (a significant part in the Khirak's activity, as described below). Moreover, when tensions between different *khamulas* are high, especially with looming municipal elections, Khirak members are often threatened with personal attacks.

In the Khirak's chosen exile, Jamal (2016) recounted how after a long period of inactivity the Khirak regained life in response to National Master Plan 44, which was the main blueprint for the Tantour project in 2009. In our interview, Jamal (2016) also wanted me to know straight away that his family was *fellaheen*, a landless class, and therefore he had no claims to any lands in Tantour Hills.[80] Other interviewees similarly emphasise the Khirak's diversity as a group of non-landowners, as well as their prioritisation of collective interests over individual compensation for land expropriation. In the quote that opens this chapter, Jamal (2016) explains that the motivation for resistance in the Tantour project is related to transformations in Palestinian-Arab society in

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[80] *Fellaheen* is a common Middle Eastern term in Arabic for farmers, people who work the land. Usually, and surely in the context of Palestinian citizens of Israel, it is used to signal that the people who work the land do not own it (but rather lease it and possibly have limited rights in it, depending on the political regime).

Israel, from a preoccupation with the ongoing *nakba* to demanding equal rights from the state. Throughout the interviews, it becomes clear that the Khirak has evolved from demonstrating against the state to also addressing daily civic matters in Judeida-Makr as a form of resistance.

In the first interview, Jamal (2016) told me: "I am a Muslim Palestinian-Arab, but I deserve the same [quality of urban planning and housing] as you do. And I don't want to serve in the military to earn my rights." In saying that, Jamal is referring explicitly to our personal positionalities in the context of the interview: me, the interviewer, an Israeli-Jew who is therefore considered a 'deserving' citizen; and him, the interviewee, who should also be considered a 'deserving' citizen despite his non-Jewish identity. The military service reference – Jamal presumes that I served in the military, unlike him – should be read here in the context of Israeli society. Mandatory service, not enforced on PCI, is culturally considered a litmus test for deserving citizenship rights. With this phrasing, Jamal (2016) indicates that the struggle of Judeida-Makr residents for the right to adequate and affordable housing in the Tantour project is a fight for equal citizenship rights that challenges the fundamental differentiations of Israel's ethno-class structure. This formulation of 'us' (PCI) deserving the same as 'you', directed at me as an Israeli-Jewish interviewer, was used by many interviewees. Undeniably, the settler colonial framework that has shaped the local housing crisis, as well as my research perspective, was present in all the interviews, in activists' rendition of their objections and claims regarding Tantour as well as in my positionality as a Jewish-Ashkenazi citizen of Israel and therefore a member of the settler group, the upper ethno-class. 'Tantour is ours!' clearly means that it is *not mine* since I am neither a Judeida-Makr resident nor a member of the 'Arab sector'. At the same time, my positionality proved to be useful and provided a reason for Khirak activists to speak about their own personal

histories, and then to explain how those are interwoven in the production of Palestinian urban space in Israel, which they have most generously done.[81]

The following sections are centred on key aspects in the local Khirak resistance to the Tantour project as they emerge in about a dozen semi-structured, in-depth interviews with activists. Most of the interviews were conducted during one day at the café where I first met Jamal, the Khirak's improvised 'City Hall'. There, by extension, I met with the Khirak's 'City Council'. Some strong opinions, mainly regarding the relationship between the Khirak and Judeida-Makr's local government and the broader community were voiced in individual interviews. All interviewees expressed their explicit willingness to be identified by their names. As several activists said: "we are not afraid of anyone". In analysing the interviews with Khirak activists, I used coding as an exploratory method for capturing the "research story" (Saldana, 2009: 19). I was thus able to identify the most foundational components in the Khirak's resistance as they unfold in the interviews. In turn, this qualitative data shed light on the main factors of the 'housing crisis' in the 'Arab sector', and on the implications of the Tantour project for the local community. These factors delineate the following sections on the land conflict and its role in shaping both personal and collective struggle, the spatial segregation of the 'Arab sector', anti-colonial claims modulated into planning demands, fear under the settler colonial regime, and, finally, everyday resistance. While all are mutually constitutive, each section in the chapter highlights one main story to elucidate a specific element in the Khirak resistance and to illustrate their version for *sumud*.

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[81] In that context, some activists told me they were happy to 'exploit' my academic interest as an opportunity to distribute knowledge of their local struggle to Jewish audience that is not part of the state's planning mechanism.

Everyday stories of *sumud* and its contradictions

The story of the Judeida-Makr Khirak and its resistance to the Tantour project is composed of the individual stories of activists, and each of them is interwoven with the struggle of PCI under the ethnocratic regime. *Sumud* (صمود – in Arabic meaning steadfastness, perseverance or resilience) refers to a Palestinian spatial practice that couples a particular housing pattern with political resistance. Firstly, *sumud* represents a traditional form of spatial organisation in Palestinian villages, indicating the clustering of family homes in *khamula* (extended family or clan) compounds. Rather than a freestanding house, the family home then encompasses several dwellings as well as the land between them, which has its own practical use (Allweil, 2017). Secondly, in Palestinian national discourse, *sumud* means to remain stable, attached to the land and its cultural identity, in the face of continuous symbolic and physical displacement. The twofold meaning of *sumud* implies an individual resilience that is politicised as 'everyday resistance' (Marie et al., 2018; Johansson & Vinthagen, 2015; Rijke & Van Teeffelen, 2014). As the most basic spatial practice of building and occupying one's home, *sumud* becomes insurgent in the context of Judaisation of space that connects the home and the land to an aspiration for an ethno-national (Jewish) homeland (Allweil, 2017). In that sense, the production of Palestinian localities as 'Arab Villages' manifests an intrinsic contradiction in Judaisation of space.

Sumud is usually understood as either *passive* (remaining on the land) or *active* (trying to lead a 'normal' life despite the oppressive colonial regime under the motto "life must go on") (Marie et al., 2018; Johansson & Vinthagen, 2015). In everyday life, both aspects of *sumud* are present but they do not form a dichotomy. Rijke and Van Teeffelen (2014: 91) quote a graffiti slogan in Palestine that reads "to exist is to resist", in order to argue that *sumud* is fundamentally about being present to confront erasure attempts, be they territorial, national, or cultural. *Sumud* is

therefore always changing according to life circumstances under the colonial regime.[82] Meari (2014: 551) describes *sumud* as "a political being/becoming and a continuous engagement with the flows and constraints of the colonial situation that endows Palestinians with forces to endure their lives, through and in opposition to, the fixed colonial terms and relations promoted by the colonisers and those Palestinians constrained by the terms of normalisation with them." Thus, the Khirak's struggle is forged within and against the state's conception of a housing crisis and its solution.

The activists' narratives of Tantour bring up the inherent ambivalence of *sumud*, in light of the problem of integration into the housing market, since they view their struggle to participate in shaping the 'Arab city' project, a new form of spatially demarcating the 'Arab sector', as an anti-colonial struggle. Certainly, integration into the ethnocratic city is a threat to Palestinians anywhere in Israel due to market forces such as gentrification that operate to Judaise space (Monterescu, 2015). As a result, Palestinian citizens of Israel find themselves seeking recognition from Israeli authorities in order to make political claims to shape urban space, which implies a Palestinian identity derived from the coloniser's approval rather than a discourse of liberation of the colonised.[83] Conversely, each of the following sections follows the main narrative of one interviewee, thus uncovering a story of resistance that squares the demand for inclusion and the struggle over (rather than against) the 'Arab city' with the steadfastness of *sumud*.

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[82] Rijke and Van Teeffelen (2014) identify fluctuation in the emphasis of *sumud* praxis, namely, from active political resistance during the first intifada to small habits of daily life in the second intifada, and then back to popular struggle against the Separation Wall.

[83] Monterescu (2015) points out the 'tremendous gap' within *sumud*, between nationalist aspirations and lived realities on the ground. As I discuss in Chapter 6, the Khirak's struggle to participate in the shaping of the Tantour project should be considered attempt to bridge this gap rather than yielding the Palestinian national struggle.

> This is the only land we have for the future. We are fighting for Tantour Hills so
> our children can have some land to build on. It is our right (Shimer, 2016).

Shimer had been part of the Judeida-Makr Khirak for over 3 years when I interviewed him. He decided to join when local authorities denied him some services (a sewage line to his house), despite him paying all the required fees and going through the necessary bureaucracy. "I couldn't take it anymore... [I took] two buckets of raw sewage to the offices of the local water corporation... It got me arrested" (Shimer, 2016). Shimer joined the Khirak after hearing about their reputation for helping people and for speaking up fearlessly to the Local Council and the Mayor. In a manner that appears common to most interviewees, Shimer singles himself out as a bit of an odd member in the Khirak. In his case, it is because he is "very religious" and identifies with the Northern Branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel;[84] but also because he has served in the IDF, which is unusual in the group. Serving in the IDF's Border Control Unit and seeing firsthand how soldiers treat Palestinian-Arabs at checkpoints "woke me up" says Shimer (2016). With the Khirak on his side, Shimer feels safe to express resistance.

Coming from a traditional family, Shimer's father is expected to build houses for his seven sons, for each son upon his marriage. Expanding construction on the *khamula* lot as the family grows is part of the traditional spatial practice of Palestinian landowners in the region (Khamaisi, 2013). However, land in Judeida-Makr is scarce as in all Palestinian localities in Israel due to the ethnocratic land system that prevents the development and expansion of Palestinian-Arab settlements. Moving to neighbouring places due to either necessity or preference for a well-

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[84] The Northern Branch of the Islamic Movement, principally a religious organisation promoting welfare but also advocating an Islamic state in Palestine, is considered by Israeli-Jewish public a militant, even terrorist organisation (because of connections to *Hamas*), and it is outlawed in Israel.

serviced urban environment is both financially and socially challenging for the discriminated lower ethno-class.[85] Therefore, Shimer's father, like many other PCI, feels pushed to resort to 'illegal' construction on the family-owned lot: "People [in Judeida-Makr] get hit all the time with fines for buildings without permit, because we have no place to build. They want to take lands from Judeida-Makr. But our village is blocked in three directions. There is no other place [except for Tantour Hills] we can expand to" (Shimer, 2016). Luckily, Shimer was able to buy a small lot for his own family but he is still concerned for the future of his nieces and nephews. When the *khamula* has no land, there are no options left.

The housing crisis that the state seeks to address with the Tantour project is then, in fact, a successful result of ongoing 'gray spacing' described by Yiftachel (2010) as a state strategy of keeping PCI in 'illegally'-developed spaces (e.g., 'unrecognised' in the case of Bedouin communities in the Negev) and under permanent threat of destruction. The 'unplanned' urban space of the Villages is produced integrally to the territorial practice of state power – what Roy (2009: 84) defines as "informality from above." It is therefore predictable, not to say absurd, that The National Committee for Planning in Preferred Areas for Housing has identified a 'housing crisis' in the 'Arab sector' that needs to be resolved. It is precisely the crisis that the ethnocratic regime has produced, and therefore Khirak activists are suspicious of the state's solution in the Tantour project.

Shimer (2016) was exposed to the "lie of assimilation", as he calls it, during his military service and likewise refers to the state's deceitful strategy in establishing a new city for PCI.

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[85] In Chapter 2, I mention that the state's anxiety about Palestinian families moving into Jewish cities is one of the reasons for creating a modern, urban space designated for PCI. Still, this is mostly irrelevant in the economic reality of Judeida-Makr residents.

> We pay taxes. Some of us [PCI] serve in the IDF. Some are government employees. Netanyahu [Israel's Prime Minister] says we need to be part of society. But even if we want to, they take lands from us! Even those who manage to be assimilated in Israeli [Jewish] society, are being screwed over. How does he [Netanyahu] want me to assimilate in society, as a Muslim who is already excluded because of it? when they [Israeli Jews and state institutions] occupy our places, take them with force, appropriate holy Muslim sites in Jerusalem, etc.

Referring to Tantour as the state's solution for the housing crisis in the 'Arab sector', Shimer (2016) adds:

> They don't want peace. They don't want Israeli Arabs to have good lives. Name one new 'Arab city' that was built since 1948? Not even one! But – endless Settlements. I work a crane truck, I see how Arab lands are used for new Jewish settlements [both within and beyond the Green Line]. How do they want us to assimilate if they don't give us what [land] we deserve?

The following section explains why Khirak activists doubt the ability of the Tantour project to change this history.

SHADI | Segregation: the 'Arab city' contradiction in the Khirak's sumud

> They are planning a ghetto. We will end up being the 'backyard' of the new city.
> There is no hope in Tantour (Shadi, 2016).

After spending 12 years in Europe and studying mechanical engineering there, Shadi came back to Judeida-Makr with a "fresh perspective" on the Village and on the politics of PCI in general. Shadi (2016) explains that growing up in Judeida-Makr, he learned to resent the state for the ongoing wrongs of the *nakba*, but now he understands that PCI should demand certain things that the state owes all its citizens. The youngest out of all Khirak activists interviewed, Shadi perhaps

represents best the 'new generation' that Jamal portrays. His 'fresh perspective' is a will to re-write what Allweil (2017: 167) refers to as the "state-citizen contract" meaning building state-provided housing as means to guarantee 'proper' citizens who are loyal to the nation. Non-Jewish citizens were originally excluded from this contract, but Shadi wants Palestinians to get their share as formally equal citizens of the Jewish state. His approach, like others in the Khirak, is based on embracing Tantour as an 'Arab city' as the ground upon which to confront the Judaisation of space that had been producing it.

Shadi (2016) has no personal claim for land in Tantour Hills. In the *nakba*, his family fled to Makr as internally displaced refugees ('present absentees') from the village of Al-Birwa (the birthplace of Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish) and the lands of their vacated village, east of Acre, have been settled after 1948 by *moshav* Akhi'hood and *kibbutz* Yas'ur.[86] In Shadi's (2016) account of Khirak activism, as in Shimer's (2016) above, the focus is not on retrieving expropriated lands but rather on demanding rights in return to fulfilling civic duties, such as paying taxes. As Jamal (2016) did, Shadi (2016) affirms "we pay the same taxes" and thus reiterates there should be no difference between what I personally deserve as a citizen and what PCI do. Shadi (2016) maintains that his interest is not in the land per-se, but in the future of Judeida-Makr as a community and of PCI society more generally. He sees young people like him leaving the Village in search of better housing, employment and safety. The Tantour project, Shadi (2016) predicts, will offer no hope for the struggling inhabitants of Judeida-Makr since it only furthers their spatial segregation.

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[86] For a testimony about the village of Al-Birwa, its history and the aftermath of the *nakba,* see Zochrot (n.d.).

Shadi (2016) was one of several interviewees who conveyed their own story as inseparable from a broader PCI experience of displacement and dispossession, describing family history in terms of the production of the 'Arab sector' by the state. The 1948 *nakba* is a foundational yet not isolated event in those stories. In that context, both Shadi (2016) and Jamal (2016) spoke about "three plagues" that were inflicted upon Judeida-Makr by the state. First, the *nakba* abruptly transformed the social fabric of the villages of Judeida and Makr, with the absorption of 'internal refugees' (Palestinians who fled their Villages in the *nakba* but remained within 1948 Israeli).[87] Then, the amalgamation of Judeida and Makr into one town in 1989 was done with no consultation with local residents, and left a town perpetually torn apart by *khamula* rivalries over local government. Additionally, a 1970s public housing project for Palestinian families from Acre (a 'mixed city' subjected to 'Judaisation') brought a distinctly disenfranchised population that had no choice in the matter into an already struggling community (Khirak activist group interview, 2016).

Thus, the people of Judeida-Makr have been repeatedly affected by top-down decisions that shaped their Village space with no regard to their needs. For the interviewees, the Tantour project is yet another link in a chain of spatial oppression. For the state, the Tantour project is an ostensible solution to the acute housing shortage that it has been producing within the 'Arab sector', and at the same time a functional tactic for keeping lands out of the hands of non-Jews. Shadi

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[87] Internally displaced refugees from the village of *Manshiat Akka* (whose lands were absorbed in Acre) fled to Makr and were later given housing units and land there (Allweil, 2017). The newly formed Israeli state built modern concrete units in Makr, a single room of 4x4 metres for each refugee family from *Manshiat Akka*. Later, the state gave these families land in Makr, land of refugees who previously fled Makr, in order to prevent *Manshiat Akka* families from demanding their own lands back. For testimony about the settlements of *Manshiat Akka* refugees in Makr, see Abreek-Zubeidat (2010).

(2016) claims the only reason that the government chose that site was to prevent the return of unused expropriated lands to their PCI owners.[88]

Interestingly, Khirak activists do not object to the concept of a new 'Arab city'. "We are not free to live where we want", says Jamal (2016) while explaining their support in principle for urban development that is aimed specifically at Palestinians. However, the group objects to the use of lands of one village as a method for addressing the housing crisis in the whole sector. In other words, Khirak activists contend that a new city on any expropriated lands, given Palestinian municipalities are restricted from planning their own development, necessarily comes at the expense of existing Palestinian communities and indeed replicates the 'Arab sector' as Israel's socio-spatial periphery. In any case, such development serves as a means of exercising spatial control over the Palestinian population and for addressing 'sector' issues rather than addressing the local, immediate needs of residents.

What becomes clear from Khirak's critique of the Tantour plan is that the problem of spatial segregation of PCI in this project is manifold. First, Khirak activists argue that the project is not meant for Palestinians who are experiencing a crisis in housing but for middle-class families, 'academics' and professionals who wish to leave the Village for a city.[89] The activists further argue that Tantour is for those who want to live in (Jewish) cities but are excluded from them (Khirak activist group, 2016). Nevertheless, activists suggest that the new city cannot offer a real solution to these families since, due to the severe lack of commercial and industrial land uses, residents will still need to commute daily into Jewish urban spaces – an effect of the Judaisation of space at a

[88] Per Israeli law, expropriated lands must be designated for public use or returned to their owners if not used.
[89] This is evident in the project's planning documents, that designate it for 'middle-class population', as mentioned in Chapter 2.

larger scale (Hever, 2012; Jabareen, 2014b; Peled and Shafir, 2002). Hence the activists predict that Tantour will be a "ghetto" for Palestinians who have no other housing choice (Khirak activist group, 2016).

At the same time, the project does not fit the needs of local inhabitants in Judeida-Makr. "We want this project to be for *us*, we demand high quality planning and infrastructure in developing *our* village" (Khirak activist group, 2016), as opposed to forcing a specific way of life that is neither desired by nor realistic for those who are most vulnerable in the local housing crisis. The activists refer to Village inhabitants who have no lands on which to expand the *khamula* compound, conservative families who are not ready to move to a dense urban setting: "The planned density [of Tantour] is crazy!" (Jamal, 2016).[90] Truly, the lead planner for the original National Master Plan 44 Eran Mebel (2016) reminds us that 25% of PCI already live in multi-apartment buildings and 10% are renting apartments, and concludes that there is undoubtedly a need to increase such options in the market. Yet, Professor Rassem Khamaisi who studies urbanisation processes in the Palestinian society in Israel clarifies (2016) that "the conception that we [PCI], our culture, prevents us from urbanising is false. It [remaining in the Village] happens because we are being restricted and forced."

Nevertheless, the Khirak is concerned about forcing Village inhabitants to change their way of life. Activists argue that the local community is being disregarded by planners, and that forced urbanisation would result in slums.[91] Going back to Shimer's (2016) point about "the lie of assimilation", well-planned modern urban space becomes a justification for racialised segregation.

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[90] The most recent plans for Tantour determine much higher density than common Palestinian settlements, with urban forms very different from the Village (as shown in Chapter 2).

[91] The Khirak's argument relies on to the experience of forced urbanisation of Bedouin communities into seven townships in the Negev, between the end of the 1960s and into the 1980s.

Palestinians are expected to abandon the Villages while the state simultaneously continues to establish suburban, land-devouring settlements for Jews.[92]

Furthermore, Khirak activists warn from the negative consequences of the project for other Palestinian localities in the Galilee, and especially for neighbouring Judeida-Makr. A separate new city, they anticipate, would empty the Villages from young, educated families who embody hope for the 'Arab sector'. Such development would further exacerbate the land shortage, physically and politically halt any chances of expansion and development, and most importantly, according to the Khirak, divert resources from acute local needs such as parks, schools and clinics.

This eventuality triggers the Khirak group to describe the Tantour project as stealing local inhabitants' hope for improvement from right underneath them. Shadi (2016) emphasises the point of poverty and crime in Judeida-Makr: his parents, like many others, have been victims of 'protection' crime (extorsion), and his house was hit by a gun shot. Shadi (2016) contends that "a new city will leave us only with the poor, and in poverty we start fighting. Young kids work for criminals because they have money to pay. Today, most of my friends, my generation, are leaving the village. What do we have left there? If I leave, who will come instead of me? A criminal." Khaj (2016), another Khirak activist, adds: "Why do they want to solve the Arabs' problems at the expense of Arabs?" Khaj (2016) believes that the state came up with an alleged solution to the 'housing crisis' in the sector, increasing the private market supply, but the local community would have to pay a huge social price. To stress this point, other activists question "how come they [the state] don't build an 'Arab city' next to Tel Aviv?", implying that Judeida-Makr was identified by the government as a weak community on which the bad plan could be implemented; that the

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[92] New settlements are continuously planned and established despite the state's formal plans for densification, especially in the ethnically contested peripheries of the Galilee and the Negev. For example, see Tal (2018).

Galilee periphery rather than the nation's centre is susceptible to such 'solution'. Hence their claim that "the plan is a lie", further Judaising the Galilee under the guise of solving a 'housing crisis'.

Several interviewees repeated the notion that the Tantour project, despite its modern design and the supposed good intention to allocate land to PCI, has its future failure already inscribed into its founding vision. Referring to the targeting of middle-class families (National Council for Planning and Construction, 2009), Khaj (2016) concludes: "What the government does is to give you cakes when you have no food to eat". He contends the project was conceived as solution for people who "serve" the Jewish society, people "who are good for the country", who are more likely to assimilate than to engage in political resistance (Khirak activist group, 2016). As such, it cannot be, by definition, a solution to the acute housing crisis in Judeida-Makr and other Villages.

These narratives reinforce the argument of the 'Arab city' being a sophisticated mode of spatial segregation, i.e., a solution to a perceived threat on Jewish cities from infiltrating PCI and a means for differentiation and segregation within the lower ethno-class. Seeing Tantour for what it is, the Khirak activists formulate their resistance to the project not as a demand for retrieving expropriated lands on an individual basis but as a collective demand for shaping their urban space. "Tantour lands should be our lands for future expansion and for providing local residents' needs" (Nimer, 2016). Such claims for participating in the production of space may evolve to challenge state logics (Caldeira, 2017). Since ethnic rather than political citizenship determines the distribution of power and resources underneath the façade of Israel's liberal democracy (Yiftachel and Yacobi 2003), the 'Arab city' may be used as framework for subverting the ethno-class-based allocation of resources. In the following section I depict calls for equality and inclusion by the Khirak activists, considering their political potential in the context of the Judaisation of space.

> Our thinking is: if we succeed in stopping Tantour, we can succeed in other struggles. Other places can learn from this (Wared, 2016).

In all my conversations with Khirak activists, their objection to the Tantour project was articulated as inseparable from the broader Palestinian struggle for liberation. The state's definition of a housing crisis in the 'Arab sector' and the role of such 'crisis' in maintaining state control over land underlie their critique of the Tantour plan. As Wared (2016) puts it: "for us, it's war! They are only allowed to use expropriated land for public use. *We* are the public!" This means that a failure of the project to serve the needs of local inhabitants would be a successful use of urban development as a colonial tool and unequivocally "realising the Zionist dream is a disaster for us" (Nimer, 2016). The Khirak is fighting the use of expropriated lands to re-segregate PCI, thus undermining the Judaisation of the Galilee and Israel's land and planning mechanisms.

"I started in politics when I was 18 years old", Wared (2016) recounts, "and by the end of 2010 I left the village and started getting involved in activism in other places, with other Khirak groups. I was one of the founders of the Haifa Khirak, which was very successful. Then I joined the one in Acre". Wared (2016) has also worked with Palestinian-Arab youth in Jaffa, but perhaps his most influential involvement, as he sees it, was with a local movement that resisted the Prawer Plan for settling Bedouin population in the early 2010s.[93] "We held demonstrations throughout the whole country. In the Galilee, in *The Triangle*, Yafo, and in the Negev" says Wared (2016).[94]

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[93] In 2011, the Prawer Commission that was tasked with settling land conflicts between the state and the Negev Bedouin population, proposed displacing tens of thousands of Bedouins who would be compensated. The main resistance movement to the Prawer plan was *Khirak al Shababi*.

[94] 'The Triangle' denotes an area in Israel, northeast of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area and along the Green Line, which has a high concentration of Palestinian-Arab settlements and a majority PCI population.

Wared (2016) tells about a multitude of Khirak groups, each fighting a local battle against the wrongs of the ethnocratic regime. Together, these struggles become a struggle for liberation.

Other interviewees agree that if the Judeida-Makr Khirak is successful in influencing the planning of Tantour, it means there is hope in chewing away at the state's racialised land and planning policy (Khirak activist group, 2016). Jamal asked Wared to join the Khirak and contribute from his experience after the 2013 municipal elections in Judeida-Makr, which Khirak activists remember as particularly violent. Wared (2016) explains: "I got back to the village. I remember we did hundreds of briefings with media, disseminating information on Tantour. [There was not much interest form Israeli media, but] large networks from the Arab world were very interested in our struggle. They looked at it as a reflection of the broader situation of Palestinians in Israel."

With their town of Judeida-Makr in mind, the Khirak is demanding pragmatic inclusion in the planning process of Tantour and inclusion of the Tantour project in the local (Palestinian-Arab) jurisdiction. In the eyes of activists, this is not a demand for assimilation in Jewish society. The activists emphasise a dual goal: first, to appropriate Tantour an integral part of Judeida-Makr in terms of formal local governance, including allocation of state resources; and second, to consider the inhabitants of Judeida-Makr as prospective residents of Tantour and to plan housing, public spaces and other uses that are substantially attuned to their needs. As stated by Jamal (2016) "We want a new city […] that will be an expansion of the village, with industrial area, public buildings, public spaces. We want our village to be modern".

The wish to gain formal as well as substantial ownership over Tantour has been repeatedly formulated in the interviews as wanting 'the same' standard of planning that Jews are endowed. Once again, "we pay the same taxes. What they build in Karmi'el and Modi'in – we want the

same" says Jamal (2016) and other Khirak activist group (2016). Interestingly, Jamal (2016) mentions Modi'in, the epitome of Israeli suburban development, and Karmi'el, which is the example architect Eran Mebel used for justifying Tantour's suburban design (as explained in Chapter 2). Mebel was right, superficially. The Khirak's imaginary is apparently affected by the neoliberal suburban development that has been colonising the Galilee (and Israel in general). However, Karmi'el is a direct cause for inequality, specifically for Judeida-Makr residents whose lands were expropriated for its establishment, and it is also arguably the archetype of displacement and dispossession in the Galilee. For a Palestinian locality to be 'the same as Karmi'el' would then mean an anti-thesis to colonial space. Demanding formal inclusion in the Tantour development may therefore be interpreted as instrument for demanding political inclusion in a nation founded on ethnic exclusion.

To better understand the full potential of the Khirak's demands, it is useful to consider the concept of 'insurgent planning' (Jabareen & Switat, 2019; Miraftab, 2009). To follow Miraftab's (2009) formulation, the Khirak's resistance is 'transgressive' i.e., bridging the formal planning mechanism (objecting to Tantour plans) and informal arenas (using the space of Tantour Hills), 'counterhegemonic' in this case, against the production of national territory by the ethnocratic state, and 'imaginative' i.e., creating a self-governance substitute to local government (as described below) and envisioning alternative, hopeful future for the community. Such consideration helps to see the Khirak resistance to Tantour in a broader context of anti-colonial struggle, and then to identify the housing crisis in the 'Arab sector' – and the Tantour solution for it – as colonial tactics. Moreover, Miraftab (2009) distinguishes between formal inclusion by the state, which may substantially be exclusionary, and substantive rights. In light of this distinction, the Khirak's fight to formally include Tantour in Judeida-Makr's jurisdiction is precisely a fight

against integration by the state's planning mechanisms and against the strategic use of 'housing crisis' and private homeownership for further oppression of the 'Arab sector' on lands expropriated from Palestinians. The Khirak activists' vision of the 'Arab city' goes radically against the core principles that motivated the state to initiate the Tantour project in the first place.

WESAM | Fear

> The new Khirak came to life with the purpose of objecting to the Tantour project, in 2009.[95] In the first meetings, we had about 50 people coming. Then, many left the group because of fear. They were afraid of people high-up in the Local Council. But we – we are not afraid of the Mayor, we are not afraid of the Ministry of Housing and Construction, we are afraid of no one. Now, people join our group because they see that we are not afraid (Wesam, 2016).

The Khirak's demands are made simultaneously in the name of the 'Arab sector' against the Judaisation of space, in the name of Judeida-Makr residents against dispossession, and in the name of individual activists against the trampling of their rights. Throughout the interviews, activists revealed numerous examples for how voicing their demands makes them a target for violent, immediate threats. These threats emanate from the three levels of production of space: global, urban, and private (Lefebvre, 2003).

The global level refers, in this case, to the power of the ethnocratic state to reproduce capitalist space as its national territory: the Judaisation of space (Tzfadia & Yacobi, 2011; Falah, 1989). Activists describe how every interaction with state institutions is negotiated by the memory of the *nakba* and comprises a continuous Jewish supremacy over land. People in Judeida-Makr have severe suspicions towards the central planning mechanism, including its local outlets that are

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[95] The year of the NCPC decision on Tantour.

supposed to serve residents' interests, such as the County Planning Committee. Jamal (2016) tells that "they [Judeida-Makr residents] think that all of it [all planning institutions] is the Shin-Bet.[96] We are still living in 1948. Fear makes people stupid". Jamal (2016) also explains that during Day of Land demonstrations, everyone in the village participates but they do so in other places in order to refrain from retaliation against Judeida-Makr. As Jamal (2016) states: "They [Judeida-Makr residents] think: if we resist – we will be displaced again. This is what has been keeping people from openly objecting the changes that were imposed on the village." When it comes to the Tantour project, Wesam (2016) thinks that "we [PCI] internalised our deprivation, so we think we should be thankful for anything they [planning institutions] give us (Khirak activist group, 2016).

On the private level, some Khirak members face personal violence from fellow Judeida-Makr inhabitants due to their activity with the group. Despite that, many of the interviewees remember a shooting next to a polling station in the 2013 municipal elections as a turning point that increased their motivation to participate in Khirak activities.[97] "As a group, we can stand up to the violence that threatens us as individuals. As a group, we are less vulnerable to retaliation" (Wesam for Khirak activist group, 2016). By 'retaliation', Wesam (2016) refers to intimidation by the Mayor's collaborators in a decades-old friction between *khamulas* in Judeida-Makr. The Khirak is outspoken about their aspiration to rise above *khamula* wars, and that alone, activists say, is enough to put them in a vulnerable position. At the same time, the activists assert that the Khirak has strong local support on social media, with over 10,000 Judeida-Makr residents (approximately 50% of the population) subscribing to their Facebook group. "Sometimes we post something on an issue in the village, and we get 11,000 'views' – but zero 'likes'.[98] People are

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[96] Shin-Bet in Hebrew is short for *Sherut Bitahon Clali* – General Security Service, Israel's internal security service.
[97] See Mishor & Maniv (2013).
[98] "Views" and "likes" (Nimer, 2016) refer to users' actions on the Facebook social media platform.

afraid to expose themselves as supporters of the group" (Nimer, 2016). To group members, this virtual support is an indication that they have become a real threat to the official, elected local government. Undoubtably, to its members, and allegedly to the broader Judeida-Makr community, the Khirak provides a sense of personal safety that enables PCI to inhabit their space with less fear. In that sense, participating in the Khirak provides a means to re-appropriate space that has been controlled by the state, by corrupt and violent local government and by collaboration between the two.

The problem of a trusted local government, or lack thereof, was very much a recurring issue in the interviews with Khirak activists. It is possible that interviewees emphasise this matter in response to presumed criticism, which they are used to hearing from Israeli Jews (such as myself, the interviewer), regarding the supposed corruption and incompetence of local government in the Villages. Activists make it clear that they are not defending local government, and in fact they have strong objections to it. Generally, when the state abandons its civic obligations to PCI, divesting resources and practicing non-interference in local issues to reproduce perpetually 'unplanned' spaces (as in 'gray spacing' mentioned above), the *khamula* takes over (Khamaisi, 2004). As Jamal (2016) explains, "the problem [with local representation] is that the Mayor comes from a specific *khamula*. This is how they manage to get elected [*khamula* pattern in votes]. [The Mayor has] no understanding whatsoever of education, infrastructure, or any issue of local government." Khirak activists (2016) assert that the result is a local government that is seen by inhabitants as both incompetent and unrepresentative: "Our Mayor doesn't stand with his citizens. He doesn't object to anything the state does. He served 25 years in the military. This is not well accepted by us".

To show the Judeida-Makr Local Council's incompetence and its collaboration with the state in the case of Tantour, Khirak activists (2016) argue that official objections to Tantour plans were never submitted by the town, despite promises made to inhabitants to fight the project. It was Wesam (2016) and fellow Khirak activists (2016) who filed official objections with the County Planning Committee, and only after their vocal resistance did the Mayor start speaking publicly against the project. The activists regard that as a win. Regardless of the exact timeline, the Khirak group is confident about their role in swaying the local government from being complacent on the Tantour issue; they think they can affect the powers that produce the 'urban'.

In the context of creating an alternative to the powers that produce Palestinian urban space, Nimer (2016) proudly told me: "A [woman] teacher sent me a photo of vandalism at the school, for me to post on Facebook, because she's afraid to do it herself." Barakat (1993) shows that modern urban Arab society is ruled by neopatriarchy, limiting member participation because of continued dominance of leaders. This observation is resonated in the *khamula*-based support for the Mayor in Judeida-Makr as well as the prevalent fear of him, and the Khirak's motivation for challenging the Mayor's dominance. The same critique could also help us understand how traditional Village society precludes women from participating in the Khirak. When I asked the activists about the complete absence of women in their group, they replied that women in the Village are too afraid to take part in anything so openly political due to the conservative and religious character of the community. Sometimes, Khirak activists (2016) say, women are afraid of conservative husbands who are not Khirak members. The all-male group prides itself in

providing a necessary solution for women who are afraid to voice their concerns about local issues, or even afraid to complain about the Council itself.[99]

"*We* are not afraid", activists repeat, linking their struggle against the state, opposition to the Mayor, and fight for a better Village. Wesam (2016) took things further in the local political arena and ran for a seat in Local Council, even though the Khirak refrains from outwardly supporting his campaign in keeping with their principle to exclude self-serving interests from their activism. Wesam (2016) explains his political motivation suggesting that "the Local Council was not there for us, so we had to make up a new one for ourselves."

NIMER | Everyday resistance

> For them, it's land; for us, it's home. We will give it everything we got. We will
> use whatever means we can. It is for the future of our children. We will give our
> lives for it (Nimer, 2016).

Nimer and Jamal sketch themselves as the two unofficial leaders of the Judeida-Makr Khirak. They both come from families of internal refugees, both landless with no claims to lands on Tantour Hills. For Nimer (2016), a process of "awakening" from fearing the state to demanding his rights is related to a transition in his personal life. When recovering from addiction, Nimer regained faith in himself and subsequently realised he was not receiving what he deserved as a citizen. As Nimer (2016) explains, "When I got clean, I started seeing the Village for what it really was. Before [as an addict], I went along with it." Nimer (2016) refers to neglect by the state when he says that "I could find what I wanted [drugs], so I was fine with it. But when I started thinking about my life,

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[99] In the context of PCI society, it is important to consider the all-male Khirak group as another layer of oppression, perhaps more complacent than radical opposition to the 'neopatriarchy' (Barakat 1993). Admittedly, this crucial angle of anti-colonial production of space is beyond the scope of this chapter, which brings first-hand testimonies of activists in the struggle against the Tantour project.

I began to want other things, and I couldn't find them. When I got clean, I looked around and I didn't like what I saw. I wanted to live in a different place, a better place." Nimer decided he wanted to make Judeida-Makr a decent place to live, and he was looking to work with fellow inhabitants towards this goal. He contacted Jamal through Facebook, they started talking about what could be done in the village, and the Tantour plan became their primary target.

At first, the Tantour project was accepted as good news in Judeida-Makr, as many saw it as a solution to the extreme housing distress. However, by the time the renewed Khirak was consolidating, members were aware of the harmful potential of the Tantour plans and decided to concentrate their efforts fighting against the development. In the previous section, I described what Khirak activists must overcome on the three levels of the production of space. Their resistance is a struggle to participate in the production of their space and therefore should also be construed as occurring on all three levels.

On the private level of inhabiting space, the Khirak has been using Tantour Hills for social interaction and for large events, not always directly related to their struggle against the Tantour project. In the context of the constant struggle for right to the city, Kipfer (2008) explains that marginalised groups can shape and re-order urban space by *using* rather than *consuming* space.[100] For inhabitants, this means reclaiming a role as producers of space along with and in opposition to the state. Thus, the Khirak's active appropriation of expropriated lands can be seen as validating the group's claim to prioritise collective struggle against Judaisation of space over individual wishes to recover lands. Moreover, the majority of the Khirak's actions have addressed daily matters that trouble Judeida-Makr inhabitants. In the context of ineffective local government, the

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[100] The formulation of 'using' vs. 'consuming' space refers to the commodification of urban space in capitalist economy (Harvey, 2009[1973]).

activists function as a de-facto municipality: "we are taking care of all the important town business, such as education, sports, water supply and billing issues.[101] When people have something to complain about, we're the ones they turn to" (Wesam (2016). This is important not only in terms of day-to-day problem-solving but also in constituting self-governance based on mutual trust among inhabitants.[102] Therefore, through the Khirak's actions, *sumud* unfolds as a spatial practice of everyday resistance and collective self-organisation, wherein inhabitants produce their own space for their own needs. When Nimer (2016) affirms that "for them it's land, for us it's home", it is clear that in the eyes of the activists the national and the personal struggles are one and the same.

As reflected in the interviews, the Judeida-Makr Khirak is part of an ongoing Palestinian struggle on the global level against state power. In Lefebvre's (1969) view, although state interest is born out of the social division of labour, it then sets itself above society (and it is therefore not limited to capitalist economy). Class struggle therefore takes place also beyond the realm of production, as an ideological struggle for shaping the politics of state apparatuses. Khirak activists clearly view their struggle to appropriate urban development as a struggle of the lower ethno-class against colonial mechanisms. "We are giving our lives for this struggle, and we are still planning for the biggest war" (Khirak activist group, 2016). Their 'biggest war' is against Zionist colonisation. Nimer (2016) recalls that, at first, "people said we shouldn't complain [about Tantour] because we are getting a 'gift' from the state." But the Khirak has been advocating that the Tantour plan is a bad plan, using the planning mechanism to legitimise their claims as

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[101] Billing for public services and infrastructure is a fraught interaction between the state and its Palestinian citizens.
[102] For Lefebvre, radical grassroots democracy or *autogestion* is necessary for inhabitants to take over the production of space in place of state power that produces space through technocracy and ruling class hegemony (see also Lefebvre, 2009).

admissible (if unsuccessful) objections. This realisation helped to overcome fear of challenging the state.

When speaking about the broad implications of their struggle, Khirak activists (2016) confess that "if we get what we want [the end of Tantour as separate from Judeida-Makr], it will be at the expense of others", since a new location will be surely found for realising the state's 'solution'. But activists see this potential adverse aspect of their struggle as a hurdle that can be overcome if broader struggled-colonisation ensues. "We lit the fire, and now the fire is going, and it will keep on going. If they [VATMAL] move the plan to a different site, people there will need to resist, and we will help them" (Jamal, 2016). Khirak activists thus situate themselves within a Palestinian national struggle that is based on *sumud*'s everyday, cultural resistance that is practiced by a multitude of separate communities, all united into one national movement (Monterescu, 2015). Individual resilience and political opposition unfold as two points on what I interpret as a spectrum of *sumud* (I return to this point in Chapter 6 when discussing the relationship between *sumud* and de-colonisation).

On the urban level, the Khirak's *sumud* in fighting for just urban development is mediating the collective needs of inhabitants to broader politics. "All that our leaders care about is their own personal interest. People voted for them, so we need to change how people think, and what they know" says Nimer (2016). Changing how people think means moving forward from conflict with the state and *khamula* rivalries to the future development of the community. Ali (2018: 146) suggests that a "lifestyle of resistance" where resistance is in itself a value may be transformative in the relations between PCI and both the state and traditional Palestinian society. This view echoes the Khirak's activism that defies homogenisation by the state since, as mentioned before, it is

decidedly a struggle not *against* individual dispossession of private lands but rather *for* developing the town through grassroots democracy.

Accordingly, while landowners are generally the main objectors to state plans on expropriated Palestinian lands, the Khirak is unusual since it is mostly comprised of internal refugees who have no land claims. The activists see this absence of claim as integral to facilitating their ability to renew the Khirak as a strong, cohesive group with collective interests. Their resistance is their way to produce a future, not only to correct a past. Nimer (2016) is proud about being a landless activist: "I am an 'immigrant'. I come from a village that used to be where parts of Akko are now. I had no land there, and I have no land here. I just want my children and my children's children to have something more [than what Judeida-Makr has to offer]." The Khirak is comprised of people who are originally from either Judeida or Makr, it has religious and secular members, and a majority of people without land ownership. The men in the group did not know each other well before the Khirak and they say each one of them comes from his own world, from various vocations, and different backgrounds. *Khamula* affiliation of group members does not come up in the interviews. It is the struggle and the concern for the future that keeps them united through internal conflicts, the Khirak activist group (2016) says, and moreover: "we kicked out the people who had personal interest [in the land], who had something to gain personally from our actions."

Undeniably, there is some internal resistance to the Khirak in Judeida-Makr. Interviewees report that representatives of the Northern Branch of the Islamic Movement that mostly deals with religious matters have been telling inhabitants to refrain from supporting the Khirak. "It is because they are afraid of the state" (Khirak activist group, 2016). Interviewees also reveal that the Khirak activists are disillusioned by so-called representatives of the 'sector' who cooperate, as they see it,

with the central planning mechanism and support the plan of Tantour.[103] "People in the Villages are used to everyone lying to them. We don't lie so they feel they can trust us. We don't work underground. We use our own names. Our struggle is just and decent. For us in Makr and for all PCI" (Wesam for Khirak activist group, 2016). For Nimer (2016), "it is very important to have a group to fight with against the state and the authorities. Especially when there is no [reliable] local leadership. I love these people. Each and every one of them. I love them." Nimer (2016) then remarks that from their togetherness, they actually draw the political power.

Successful struggle

I asked all interviewees: "what would you consider as a successful result in your resistance to the Tantour project? How do you know if you are making progress?"

Studying graffiti work as *sumud* expressions in Jerusalem, Larkin (2014) finds pessimism among Palestinians regarding the rise of a meaningful political opposition. Facing difficult life circumstances, *sumud* seems to remain confined to personal survival. In contrast, Khirak activists sound optimistic as they recount their main practical actions consisting of: filing official objections to Tantour plans via the standard planning mechanisms, lobbying with Members of the Knesset (the Israeli parliament) to sway VATMAL decisions, and attending NCPC meetings to voice their discontent and testify to the potential harms of the Tantour project (Khirak activist group, 2016). Activists are especially proud of getting the Chair of the Planning Administration at the time to visit the site and listen to their concerns as they believe she would be on their side, as anyone would, after seeing for her own eyes the site's proximity to the town of Judeida-Makr and

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[103] For example, Khirak activists mention the inadequate public participation process that was part of the planning process in National Master Plan 44; they are also specifically critical of Professor Rassem Khamaisi, a planner who worked on the Tantour project and was interviewed for this research, for 'helping' the planning process rather than advocating for local inhabitants, as they say.

imagining the impact of the Tantour project there. Nimer (2016) and others explain that such direct interactions with decision makers constitute progress and count them as success.

Even more meaningful for Khirak activists is the impact of their actions on the local Palestinian population, regardless to the results of their interaction with state institutions in terms of the planning procedure outcomes. In response to my question about fulfilling the Khirak's goals, Nimer (2016) explains that "the fact that we are still here, that the Khirak is alive and kicking, that people in the village know about Tantour and talk about Tantour – this is already a success, regardless to what we achieve". Nimer (2016) also said that, in the beginning, people laughed at him for thinking he could do something about the state of Judeida-Makr and the Tantour project, "but we showed them. We proved it's possible for a small group to fight."

Although the Khirak has failed so far in stopping the Tantour plans, the endurance of the struggle and the collective nature of it prove that resilience is the essence of *sumud* resistance. One of the proofs of the Khirak's success, according to the activists, is that people in Judeida-Makr have started taking them seriously, and that local government is "afraid" of them, precisely because they – the Khirak – are "not afraid of anyone". As Khirak activists (2016) explain, "we already succeeded: we changed the perceptions of local residents who now understand they can resist. We left the Mayor no choice and made him object to the plan along with us. Now, people trust *us* more than they do *him*." The activists believe the reason for this trust is their honesty, truthfulness and ability to work together despite differences.

Overcoming fear and creating an alternative to official local government means undermining some of the colonial control of the state over PCI, even if Tantour is eventually established despite the local citizens' reservations. As soon as the Khirak gained the trust of local

citizens, some national level politicians who represent the sector started taking an interest in their struggle, understanding they were an influential grassroots force in the Galilee. This recognition brought some, albeit limited support from Members of the Knesset looking for PCI votes. Still, the ultimate success would be that "Tantour is built as part of Judeida-Makr, administratively as well as physically" (Wesam, 2016). This is an exact anti-thesis to the latest developments in the planning process of Tantour, which not only make the new 'Arab city' oblivious to local needs but also determine that the project would consume all of Judeida-Makr (as seen in Chapter 2). Wesam (2016) spoke before activists were made aware of those plans. Finally, Nimer (2016) contends that "the fact that we are having this conversation, that someone outside the Village who is not a politician is interested in the story of our struggle, proves we already succeeded", since giving a voice to Palestinian presence is a significant form of *sumud* (Tahrir, 2011).

Conclusion | Against the 'solution' to the 'housing crisis': anti-colonial struggle?

The marginalisation of the 'Arab sector' in Judeida-Makr is not unique. Nevertheless, the specific circumstances of the Tantour project shed light on how new opportunities for *sumud* resistance may rise from engaging with the state's planning mechanisms. Resisting the Tantour project, I would suggest, gives Khirak activists an opportunity to translate anti-colonial struggle to concrete political goals that, in their eyes, are achievable through their individual actions. Tantour, the project of the new 'Arab city', is an attempt to integrate PCI into the national housing market and into national territory, hence an anti-*sumud* strategy against the space and politics of the Villages. The project has instigated everyday resistance that includes collective use of space, re-appropriation of urban development and alternative self-governance.

The Judeida-Makr Khirak expands *sumud* beyond the practice of staying put. The success of their local struggle depends on engaging with state institutions as well as on mobilising the local community for making political claims. From a political economy standpoint, the Khirak' *sumud* is a struggle for inclusion in the privatised national housing market as means for substantial inclusion in the nation. This strategy entails the risk of sustaining Judaisation of space on the one hand or being accused of refusing to modernise if resisting the new 'Arab city' on the other. Yet Khirak activists express a more complex narrative, asserting that *a* plan for a new city could be beneficial to the local community insofar as it corresponds to real local needs but *the* plan of Tantour is bad, and that since an 'Arab city' by definition promotes the Judaisation of space, to challenge the plan is to undermine the very foundation of the state's spatial practice.

Importantly, activists consider their struggle already successful in terms of uniting the local population around the goal of shaping their space. Thus, the Khirak gains power not from any 'wins' against state institutions – none of their demands have been accepted by planning institutions to the date of writing these lines – but rather from enacting local self-governance. Demanding to participate in the production of the Tantour project then emerges as resistance to the state by chipping away at its control (Bayat, 2013), albeit slightly, over the 'Arab sector'. Although individual fear from displacement is always present under the ethnocratic regime, even if for most Khirak activists it is not an imminent threat, the Khirak struggle is attuned to asserting power as a marginalised group and to shaping the future of the 'Arab sector'. The demand to invest is the Village rather than in a new city (or to include the new project within the Village) is a radical political demand to be treated as equal citizens rather than 'internal enemies.'[104]

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[104] For discussion on the role of 'internal enemies' in the production of national territory by the ethnocratic state, see Yiftachel and Yacobi (2003).

Therefore, the Khirak's claims against the Tantour project illuminate a strategy of 'housing crisis-washing', wherein both the definition and the proposed solution of the 'crisis' are instrumental in the production of the Jewish state as such. While the specific planning apparatus that is currently producing the Tantour project has been partially engendered by affordable housing demands (the 2011 uprisings that influenced the establishment of The National Committee for Planning in Preferred Areas for Housing), the Khirak's activism could be more closely associated with the anti-colonial 'Day of Land' protests. 'Tantour is ours!' then becomes a struggle of the Village for centrality, a struggle against Zionist colonialism in its most recent articulation of neoliberal urbanisation – the 'Arab city'.

Chapter 4 | *"WE ARE NOT DESTROYING ISRAEL, WE ARE BUILDING PALESTINE"*: POST-OSLO HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN RAWABI

Introduction | The Road to Rawabi

The narrow road climbing to Rawabi (روابي - in Arabic: 'hills') in the West Bank is a concrete illustration for the spatial and political complexity of the project. It meanders through two territorial administrative divisions in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) that were formed in the 1995 Oslo II Accords, Areas A and C, which are under full Palestinian and full Israeli control respectively.[105] The road to Rawabi was paved metaphorically as well as materially by a specific political economy that had produced these spatial distinctions: neoliberal strategies of peacebuilding, or 'economic peace' (Haddad, 2016). Area C, the largest continuous segment of the West Bank, is inhabited by approximately 80,000-150,000 Palestinians living under Israel's military regime and 600,000 Israeli-Jewish Settlers in roughly 230 illegal Settlements of various types and sizes.[106] In this 'land of the mitnakhalim' – a popular Israeli moniker for the West Bank that stands for the ubiquity of Settlements and the sense of supremacy of the Settlers – some 'apartheid roads' are banned for Palestinians. Hebrew road signs indicate only the Settlements, as if attempting to erase from consciousness the Palestinians (who are the vast majority of the West Bank) and their villages, towns and cities. Unlike the road to Rawabi, other local roads diverging from the highway and leading into Area A are clearly marked by large, red warning signs in Arabic,

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[105] Oslo II Accords were signed between the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and the Israeli Government in September 1995 in Taba, Egypt. The Accords created Areas A, B and C in the West Bank, as part of the interim Palestinian self-governance that started in the 1993 Oslo Accords.

[106] 'Settlements' and 'Settlers' in capital S denote the distinction in Hebrew between *yishuv*, a general word for settlement (which is also used to describe the pre-state *Yishuv* period), and *hitnakhalut* or *mitnakhalim* – which refer specifically to the illegal settlements in the OPT and their inhabitants. According to B'tselem (2017), Area C comprises 60% of the West Bank. Over 400,000 Settlers live there (plus 200,000 in East Jerusalem), in 131 Settlements that were approved by the Israeli government and about 110 'illegal outposts'.

Hebrew, and English, alerting Israeli citizens that entering is dangerous, potentially lethal and a criminal offense (see Appendix B). No such sign discourages drivers from taking the roundabout exit to Rawabi. Instead, in a way (one of several, as we will see) that resembles the surrounding Settlements, the exit is clearly marked and the signs – also in three languages – direct travelers to the new city. This is an undoubtedly deliberate obfuscation of what is otherwise a blatantly divided landscape. It results from a collaboration between the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) and Israel,[107] good for attracting international investment and essential in making Rawabi possible.

The ambiguity ends when entering Rawabi. The first thing one notices is a row of enormous Palestinian flags erected on top of a hill. A closer look reveals that these are placed outside Rawabi's sales centre in an impressively explicit manifestation of nationalist aspirations enmeshed in privatised urban development. I term to this relationship 'peacebuilding urbanism.' Peacebuilding urbanism does not refer to urban space as a given setting for peace-building (see Bollens, 2006) but rather to the specific ideology that guides the state in producing spaces of/for peacebuilding as part of the 'neoliberal turn' in Palestine (Hanieh, 2013). In other words, it is the specific urbanisation process that corresponds to 'economic' peace and what this peace entails: cooperation with the occupier and other economic forces. After all, the whole city is property of *Bayti* (my home in Arabic) Real Estate, established by Qatari Diar and Massar International real estate investment companies. Construction of the Rawabi project started in 2010, and when it is completed, the new city would accommodate approximately 40,000 residents in about 10,000 apartments.[108] Nestled in a few hills about 10 kms northwest of Ramallah, Rawabi consists of a central business district with office towers, hotels and a major commercial pedestrian mall,

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[107] The Palestinian National Authority was established in 1994 as an interim self-governing body, ensuing to the 1993 Oslo Accords between the Israeli government and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation.
[108] See Rawabi (n.d.).

surrounded by sprawling residential neighbourhoods. The layout of the city incorporates a walkable array of green spaces and public squares embedded in the natural topography. Nevertheless, it appears to be a predominantly car-dependent environment of repetitive mid-rise residential blocks winding on the gentle slopes. The project's physical similarity to Israeli suburbs, as I was told by one of its Palestinian planners, is no coincidence: "we went to Israel to learn how to build new cities" (Bayti employee 1, 2016).

In this chapter I therefore contend that Rawabi signifies a Palestinian attempt to reclaim centrality by turning the spatiality of Israeli occupation on its head and appropriating it for national independence. In the process, the project advances the integration of Palestinian urbanisation into neoliberal Zionist colonisation. I explore the planning process and the material space of Rawabi, relying on two site visits, interviews with two Palestinian planners who were part of the team that designed the project, and conversations with Bayti employees at the sales centre. Searching data on Rawabi reveals that the city and the real estate company are virtually one and the same, which is indicative of the process of production of space in this case. Scholarship of Palestinian state-building in the post-Oslo era, and specifically in the West Bank, then sheds light on the role of neoliberal development in both imagining and materialising Palestinian independence (Hanieh, 2013; Khalidi & Samour, 2011). Specifically, Haddad (2016) uses the Rawabi project to illustrate global capital intervention in the West Bank, which is welcomed by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) but might undermine a collective struggle for de-colonisation. Rabie's (2014) detailed analysis of the process of establishing Rawabi shows the neoliberal mechanisms used by Palestinian governance to mold political independence. Rabie's (2014) accounts unpack the links between the Rawabi project, global capital, the PNA and Israel. Eventually, the process of production of space that emerges is one of privatised development, assisted by a conception of the

housing crisis and an 'affordable housing' discourse. It reflects a convergence of Palestinian and Israeli state interests to promote foreign investment in the West Bank.

In the next section, I illustrate how Rawabi is produced by a 'peacebuilding urbanism' that articulates Palestinian independence, neoliberal solutions to the housing 'crisis' and the intertwined post-Oslo political economy of Palestine and Israel. My focus is on housing development in the context of the 'neoliberal turn' in Palestine. Then, in the subsequent section I highlight the urban planning, design and architecture of Rawabi as spatial practices of colonisation. Engaging Lefebvre's (1991) conception of centre and periphery in the production of space with critique of the Israeli illegal Settlements in the West Bank, I suggest that the Rawabi project cannot be fully understood outside the context of suburban development in the region (Handel, Allegra & Maggor, 2017; Newman, 2016; Maggor, 2015). Rawabi is thus revealed as an attempt to appropriate the process of reproduction of colonial domination. Hence, the chapter ends with contemplating the risks and potentials embodied in a path to national liberation that utilises colonial mechanisms.[109]

Peacebuilding urbanism: seeing production of space from Rawabi

Although attachment to particular territory existed in Palestinian nationhood before the *Yishuv*, it was territorial conflict with settler Zionism that substantially enhanced territorial Palestinian nationalism (Lockman, 1997). The 'conquest of labour' was the ideological underpinning and colonial objective of the *Yishuv* political economy since the days of the second *Aliyah* (Nitzan & Bichler, 2002). This ideology meant annexing all jobs to Jewish workers, and specifically

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[109] I use 'centrality' in the sense of spatialisation of power, not necessarily a geographical centre.

reclaiming ownership to the Land of Israel by working the land. 'Conquest of land' was the complementary spatial concept giving rise to various forms of 'socialist' agricultural settlements based exclusively on Jewish labour and, in many instances, staking a Jewish claim to distant lands and what has become commonly referred to in Israel as 'the periphery'. When the British Mandate on Palestine facilitated land purchases by Jews, it pushed Palestinian Arabs from agriculture to employment, mainly in Jews' plantations, including as on-site managers of Palestinian workers (Hever, 2012; Graham-Brown, 1990). [110] These transformations helped form a nationalist Palestinian working class, which mirrored Zionist strategies and demanded exclusively 'Arab labour' in Palestine (Lockman, 1997). It culminated in the 1936 general strike that ignited the Arab Rebellion against British imperialism as well as labour Zionism and its ethnically exclusionary socialist vision. The roots of the Palestinian national struggle can therefore be found in a political class struggle against colonial powers and their manipulations (Rodinson, 1973).[111]

In the 1948 *nakba* and the establishment of the state of Israel, a policy of dispossessing Palestinians from their land was formalised (Hanafi, 2009). The expulsion and displacement further reduced Palestinians' access to land and agricultural production. Since the 1967 occupation, the process of proletarianisation continued as a project of expanding the Israeli market (Hanieh, 2013; Nitzan & Bichler 2002). State-sanctioned land grabbing, restriction of movement, control over water supply and Settler violence have been some of the main Israeli practices for

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[110] During the British Mandate on Palestine (1919-1948), the local governing powers oscillated between supporting and constraining Jewish settlement, according to shifting Imperial interests. In the second *Aliyah*, British officials found common cultural ground with the Jewish newcomers from Europe (Nitzan & Bichler 2002; Rodinson 1973; see also Nightingale, 2012).

[111] Fanon (1968[1963]) thought that organizations such as the Arab League articulate how colonised subjectivity is produced in relation to the coloniser. The Arab, in the same way as the Negro, is homogenised by colonialism and comes to see himself through colonial eyes, searching for a unifying culture. This perspective is crucial for considering, for example, the role of the Arab League in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as the promoter of a two-state solution that accepts the abstract partitioning of Palestine.

dominating the occupied population, which further diminished reliance on crops and led to high degree of urbanisation. The urban population in the OPT, especially in the West Bank, increased significantly since 1967 (Abu Helu, 2012).[112]

This process of imposed urbanisation has intensified since the Oslo Accords (of 1993 and 1995), which supposedly granted some independence to Palestinians but at the same time entrenched Israeli control over parts of the West Bank and generally maintained deep oppression. After the occupation, people's connections to particular places persevered in the form of social ties and security networks (Graham-Brown, 1990). However, since the Oslo Accords, even these connections have become more fragile. Oslo contrived a multilayered system of abstract separations embodied in physical barriers that delineate Areas A and B as an archipelago of enclaves within Area C (Appendix C). While Palestinian cities cramped in Area A are exploding and increasingly overcrowded, Palestinian urban development is shaped by the occupier's own spatial strategies, i.e., the violent sprawl of Settlements, the apartheid road system that connects them and the separation wall that is said to protect them (Abu Helu, 2012; Weizman, 2006).

The Zionist vision of a 'pure settlement colony' based exclusively on settler labour has always been compromised, albeit to varying degrees, by Israeli reliance on Palestinian cheap labour, from the *Yishuv* period and to the era after the creation of Israel (Sternhell, 2010; Piterberg, 2008; Nitzan & Bichler, 2002).[113] The 1967 occupation, although part of continuous colonisation,

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[112] According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, in the 20 years after the 1967 occupation, the Palestinian urban population increased from 43.4 to 47.6 per cent. However, in the short period of 2004 to 2010, it exploded from 56.6 to 73.7 per cent (Abu Helu, 2012: 143).

[113] Employment of Palestinians in Israel has fluctuated over the years depending on 'security' levels. It significantly decreased after the suicide bombings in the 1990s and early 2000s. Employment has also declined in light of the rise in the immigrant workers sector. However, the exploitation of Palestinians has been a structural feature of the Israeli economy (Hever, 2012; see also Peled & Shafir, 2002).

was a significant moment in that respect, creating a spatial fix through simultaneous territorial expansion and proletarianisation of the Palestinian population. The ensuing Israeli and Palestinian political economies have therefore been intertwined in what Austin (2010) describes following Fanon as an imbalance of power, whereby the identities of the coloniser and the colonised are mutually produced: while the coloniser is looking for labour, the colonised is looking for self-recognition that is essential for emancipation. In this view, tying up Palestinian independence in urban development that is guided (also) by Israeli capitalist interests, such as housing in Rawabi, most likely results in neo-colonial relations (Grandinetti, 2015).

The post-Oslo 'neoliberal turn' in Palestine

The Rawabi project is a private development in an Area A enclave that was facilitated by Israel. As such, it concretises the convergence of PNA, Israeli and private investment interests. Like the 1967 occupation, the 1990s Oslo Accords that allegedly meant to draw a roadmap for ending the occupation were in fact one of several significant moments in the ongoing *nakba*. The Accords shaped a framework for Palestinian governing institutions before a Palestinian state would emerge. Specifically, these peace negotiations imagined governance to facilitate the free market and private sector development, thus igniting a 'neoliberal turn' in Palestinian political economy (Hanieh, 2013). Fittingly with the neoliberal tendency of the time, the World Bank was the main institution leading the way for 'economic peace' by motivating Israel, Western donors and Palestinian governing institutions to collaborate (Haddad, 2016). This collaboration, however, does not imply an end to colonial domination. The spatial demarcation that Oslo imposed on the West Bank, including physical separations, restrictions on movement and limitations on the transfer of goods, means that any Palestinian development in the small, dispersed Area A 'archipelago' is continually subject to Israeli authorisation. In fact, the geographic dissection of the West Bank into different

administrative zones effectively deepens Israel's control of Palestinians by dominating economy, agriculture, industry and eventually all aspects of everyday life (Gordon & Ram, 2016; Khalidi & Samour, 2011; Abourahme, 2009; Taraki, 2008).

The Accords have exacerbated an already ongoing conflict between Hamas and Fatah, as the latter reincarnated to form the PNA and shifted its efforts towards partnerships and collaborations in order to render the West Bank ripe for investment (Ghanem, 2013). Hence, Palestinians find themselves under double subordination, by the PNA and Israel, while the occupation remains profitable for the latter. The political-territorial rift between Ramallah and Gaza, between Fatah and Hamas, is maintained by international support that provides economic benefits in exchange for a cooperative PNA (Challand, 2009). This international assistance to the PNA, including job creation by Western states in the West Bank, comes in the context of a threat of economic crisis engendered by the occupation (Haddad, 2016). While 'economic peace' brings financial support to the PNA for development, such as joint industrial parks and free trade zones with which Israel can agree and cooperate, many Palestinians' employment still depends on and is controlled by Israel (Miaari et al., 2014). Notably, the Oslo Accords established a convoluted work permit system that restricts Palestinians' access to employment within Israel. In face of a constantly imminent crisis, augmenting the exchange value of the occupied West Bank becomes an objective shared by international powers, Israel and the PNA (Haddad, 2016).

Peacebuilding urbanism then hinges on economic reforms that were deemed necessary by Western donors for protecting and attracting investment in the West Bank. Especially, following Israel's military operation Defensive Shield in 2002, which besieged the West Bank after the Al-Aqsa Intifada. The reforms were a major factor in the United States backing of Abu Mazen (Mahmoud Abbas) to replace Yasser Arafat as Palestinian president in 2003 (Haddad, 2016). Abu Mazen was deemed fit by Western states to implement economic and governance reforms, in contrast to Arafat, the Fatah leader at the time, who was previously marked as a corrupt leader and a 'terrorist' by those states. [114] In 2007, after the World Bank determined that previous peacebuilding efforts were an economic failure (Haddad, 2016), the *Palestine Reform and Development Plan 2008-2010* (PRDP) was spearheaded by the Palestinian Ministries of Planning and Finance. The PRDP (2008) defines specific objectives for encouraging economic growth on the path to Palestinian independence, namely slimming down the PNA governance, strengthening local government and relying on the private sector for development. This key document foregrounds urban development and housing policy as core strategies in state-building. When the Palestinian PM Salam Fayyad reiterated in 2009 the PNA's commitment to economic changes, calling it 'Palestine – ending the occupation, establishing the state', the IMF became satisfied that the PNA could indeed follow through with economic policies in a future state (Joff, 2011).[115] Thus, the PRDP gained the PNA legitimacy in the international arena.

Arising from the Oslo Accords, the PRDP outlines a neoliberal path for "transition from relief to development" (2008: 23). It calls for an end to the Israeli occupation by establishing a

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[114] It was later made apparent that the corruption allegations against Arafat were exaggerated (Haddad, 2016).

[115] Fayyad himself worked in the IMF after gaining a PhD in Economics from the University of Texas.

Palestinian state side by side with Israel. Curtailing state power for the purpose of enabling a free-market economy is one of the guiding visions in establishing the Palestinian state:

> The eventual Palestinian state must be able to exist securely on the pre-June 1967 borders, including East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and be capable of protecting its citizens and their land and property from incursion, confiscation and destruction, in accordance with international law. [State] institutions will protect human rights, religious tolerance and the rule of law, promote gender equality, *create an enabling environment for a free and open market economy*, and serve the needs of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups, enabling all citizens to fulfill their potential (PRDP, 2008: 23, *my emphasis*).

The PRDP forges a path to national independence and self-reliance precisely by curtailing state power for the purpose of enabling a market-friendly system. Khalidi and Samour (2011) contend that the PNA's vision of a Palestinian public sector is constructed on the very development strategy that was deemed inherently flawed after the 2008 global financial crisis. Yet the reforms were instrumental in cultivating a collaborative form of peacebuilding. Internally, the Fatah's pragmatism and its objective to stabilise the West Bank gained support, to varying degrees, from other Palestinian political factions. The origins of this support ranged from the secular democratic opposition that was linked to NGO activity, all the way to Hamas who embraced this Fatah agenda as second priority to anti-occupation struggle (Haddad, 2016). Externally, international economic interests coincided with Israel's political interest in replacing Fatah's so-called incompetent leadership, which was previously backed by Israel's Labour government. In that sense, promoting the reforms actually meant submitting to Israeli right-wing agenda. It also risked the careers and even lives of reformists who challenged Arafat (Haddad, 2016). Finally, under the guise of greater accountability and transparency, the reforms increase the influence of Israel and international

powers on Palestinian state institutions, their access to resources and their capacity to shape how these resources are allocated.[116]

Produced by peacebuilding urbanism, Rawabi functions as a suburb of Ramallah, the de-facto capital of Palestine, and manifests the direction of Palestinian state-building after the neoliberal turn. The effect of 'economic peace' on Ramallah, positioning it at the centre of post-Oslo Palestinian nationhood, helps to understand the processes that laid the foundation for Rawabi. First, the Israeli occupation of the West Bank isolated East Jerusalem physically, economically, and politically, from surrounding Palestinian localities (Shtern, 2018; Abu Helu, 2012).[117] This multilayered separation engendered in Ramallah a concentration of official state institutions along with international NGO activity. After the Oslo Accords, NGOs become conduits for social control by Western donors. Joint industrial zones ensured profitability by exempting companies from local labour laws (Dana 2014). Expatriate Palestinian capitalists became brokers in peace negotiations (Nakhleh, 2012). Thus, a specific capitalist class was formed among West Bank Palestinians who depended on collaboration with Israel for capital accumulation (Hanieh, 2013; Abourahme, 2009; Taraki, 2008). The role of this elite is not substantially different from that of Palestinian foremen in Jewish plantations in the time of the *Yishuv* (Hever, 2012). Eventually, Ramallah's function as a quasi-capital city that is a local, isolated centre of global capital offers *some* Palestinians *some* economic freedom at a price of sustaining colonial order. It affirms territorial disconnection of the OPT and the disintegration of class and national struggle (Taraki, 2008), ultimately diluting the power of resistance that was motivated by earlier stages of Zionist colonisation. These implications

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[116] As a striking example to the relationship between internal reforms and external support is the 2006 Hamas victory in the Palestinian Legislative Council elections that led to a financial blockade by Western states.

[117] East Jerusalem is isolated from the West Bank due to the checkpoints and the Separation Wall, as well as by Israeli policies regarding residency, citizenship and taxation of East Jerusalem Palestinians (Abu Helu, 2012).

of peacebuilding on the Palestinian national struggle are resonated in the critique of Rawabi, as elaborated below.

Burgeoning after the Oslo Accords, housing distress (along with other infrastructure crises) in Ramallah exacerbated (Abu Helu, 2012). The city in the Occupied Territories was already suffering from overcrowding and lack of land for expansion. At the same time, Israel has been continually and increasingly depended on the occupation, and collaboration with Palestinian development has become strategically desirable (Nitzan & Bichler, 2002). Therefore, Rawabi functions as an outlet for investment, a housing solution for West Bank elites and a site for Israeli-Palestinian collaboration. For the Palestinian national struggle, it signals the prioritising of development over collective resistance. As the Palestinian-American developer of Rawabi, Masri (2013), said: "we are not about destroying Israel, we are about building Palestine".

Rawabi: City of Palestinian independence, city of the 'neoliberal turn'

When the PRDP was formulated, housing was one of the most urgent problems for the Palestinian government. Abu Helu (2012) assesses there was immediate need to build at least 100,000 housing units to compensate for shortage in the large cities, mainly for West Bank Palestinians who lost their homes to direct destruction by Israel's military attacks. The Plan does mentions rehabilitation of damaged housing, but it stresses much more the need for future programmes of 'affordable housing'. There is a layout of a national budget for affordable housing projects but no concrete definition of 'affordable housing' is mentioned.[118] Under a section titled "rights and culture", the PRDP (2008) calls for greater access to housing for "low-" and "middle-income" families with major challenges identified as non-existent mortgage market and obsolete rental laws in the West

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[118] The PRDP (2008: 74) determines the budget for affordable housing as follows: $M15 in 2008, $M25in 2009 and $M50 in 2010 to a total of $M90.

Bank. The proposed solution is to create a private housing market directed by the state where the local government would be put in charge of site selection and the private sector would lead the construction. This was the case in Rawabi. The PRDP further determines that land administration and tenancy laws are to be revised to assist the formation of a private rental market, which barely existed previously. A mortgage market would thus be created with support from the "international community", which would valorise land as collateral, boost the private construction sector and create employment (PRDP, 2008). Predicting Rawabi, the Plan suggests "high impact projects" would be distributed across the OPT, in order to both "build and demonstrate the capacity of the PNA, in partnership with the private sector, to bring quality of life enhancements to citizens" (PRDP, 2008: 83).[119] In the next chapter I discuss the effect of centering the privatised housing market in peacebuilding urbanism on the role of land in the Palestinian national struggle.

Rawabi is the flagship project of the post-Oslo privatised state-building process. Conceived as a symbol of Palestinian independence and as a way towards fulfilling the PNA's commitment to provide affordable housing, it is a completely funded by private capital (Rabie, 2104). Under the occupation, Palestinian urban areas suffer from withering physical and social infrastructure, imposed disconnections and scarce resources (Abu Helu, 2012). In this context, Rawabi offers as an oasis of modernity and comfort, a construction project in the face of destruction.

The project's motto 'work-live-grow' represents the ambitious vision for the city as a place that provides for all of its residents' needs, including an optimistic future. In other words, it offers a contrast to the bleak urban spaces of the West Bank. Sales representatives on the site explain that

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[119] The goal for 2008-2010 was to build 20,000 new housing units for 'low-' and 'middle-income' families (PRDP, 2008). There is also a mention of a 'major public housing' project, but with no elaboration as for how this would be implemented. These goals are declared but not clearly defined in the Plan.

'work' refers to the creation of 6,000 to 8,000 new jobs and to the technologically advanced infrastructure of the project (e.g., fibre optic network). This is meant to attract IT companies, thus corresponding to some PRDP objectives. 'Live' refers to some distinctive gated community qualities, such as manicured open spaces and streets that are safe for children. This marketing aspect is situating a peaceful Rawabi in marked contrast to Ramallah, a city deeply disturbed by the occupation.[120] 'Grow' seems to signify individual optimism. Rawabi is presented as a place where one can fulfill oneself, unlike the surrounding Palestinian cities and villages, with a good education system, high standard of health services and private entertainment centres (Bayti employee 2, 2016).[121] The promotional motto is part of a considerable marketing strategy, which targets not only prospective homeowners but also global capital and international politicians (Bayti employee 1, 2016).[122] Marketers advertise both Rawabi and the capabilities and virtues of the Palestinian government to the world through favourable media coverage, online presence in English and organised site tours.

The construction of Rawabi was realised through a public-private partnership (PPP), which the PRDP had considered a means to establish an economically viable Palestinian state. This PPP has some of its roots in the Bethlehem Conference in 2008, which was sponsored by Fayyad's government. The Conference displayed opportunities for international investors, cultivating connections for later implementing the PRDP. This event required Israel's cooperation, for example, in facilitating safe passage to the West Bank for investors and other international participants coming through Israel's international airport. Tony Blair, in his capacity as Middle

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[120] Numerous media outlets describe Rawabi as a peaceful haven. For example see Reguli (2016).

[121] The PNA did not keep its promise to fund Rawabi schools, claiming there are more urgent educational priorities. The responsibility was downloaded to the developer. As a result, the schools are all private and some of them use English as the language of instruction (Rabie, 2014; Bayti employee 1, 2016).

[122] See also Rawabi (n.d.).

East envoy to the UN, was instrumental in coordinating this effort (Rabie, 2014). In the Conference, the idea of a new city that was seemingly detached from Ramallah and its political symbolism was easily taken up by investors. Ramallah was perceived internationally as volatile and hence an improbable site for investment, especially given the need of Israeli support for any development. The main players were USAID and Qatari Diyar, the Qatari sovereign wealth fund (Haddad, 2016).

Rabie (2014) describes in detail how Masri, a Palestinian-American entrepreneur and founder of Massar International real estate company, came to be the main figure identified with Rawabi. Masri envisioned the project essentially as a lucrative real estate deal with the benefit of contributing to the Palestinian national goal of creating a housing market, thus aligning himself with the PNA's ambitions (Haddad, 2016; Rabie, 2014). Masri's financial and ideological commitment to Rawabi and his wide network of business and political ties were vital for the project since the PNA had no practical or economic capacity to finance and build the necessary infrastructure, including access roads and a water network (Rabie, 2014). Masri invested in Rawabi an estimated USD 850M (Joff, 2011).[123] The project therefore exists first and foremost as a private financial investment and it is managed accordingly. The project was "established to jumpstart development of the Palestinian real estate sector. Its mission is to create affordable, accessible, family-friendly communities for Palestinians" (Bayti Investors, n.d.). Although Rawabi has an appointed Mayor and ten Council members, Bayti Investors delivers all municipal services to inhabitants. "It is like living in a hotel, where instead of paying taxes to a public entity you pay fee

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[123] Rabie (2014) gives a detailed account of how Masri's connections delivered funding from various investors.

for a company to take care of everything," describes a Bayti employee who is a Rawabi resident (Bayti employee 2, 2016).

The privatised nature of Rawabi has made it politically and materially viable. Masri's connections west of the Green Line secured the collaboration of Israeli companies and politicians, thus navigating through some of the restrictions upheld by the occupation that could quash the project. Some aspects that required active Israeli cooperation were the access road to the construction site, which runs through Area C, water supply that is facilitated through the Israeli national water company *Mekorot* (while certain communities in the West Bank are denied water supply by Israel) and the transport of basic construction materials (Bayti employee 1, 2016; Grandinetti, 2015; Rabie, 2014). Somewhat ironically, the JNF, which is historically responsible for burying the remains of so many Palestinian villages under its planted forests, has collaborated in consulting on tree-planting in Rawabi. [124] This project has therefore been critiqued for manifesting a substantively compromised national independence with deep involvement of the occupier in shaping Palestinian space (Grandinetti, 2015).

Spatial strategies of (re-)colonisation

Walking the streets of Rawabi, one can experience the material manifestation of peacebuilding urbanism. Notice the names of the 'gates' to the central business district: *Doha* acknowledging Qatar's deep financial involvement in the project; *Gaza* to assert PNA reign over the entire OPT;

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[124] The JNF holds over 10% of Israeli lands. One of its missions is to make sure lands remain in Jewish ownership. In 2005 this objective was somewhat undermined by Israeli courts, which ruled that the JNF must not discriminate on the basis of national identity. However, the court also added that the JNF be compensated by the state for each parcel of land sold to non-Jews. See Ashkenazi (2009).

Nablus signifying the local West Bank; *Jaffa* commemorating the 1948 *nakba* (when the city was concurred and became part of Israel, to be later amalgamated with Tel-Aviv); and *Jerusalem* affirming the contested city as symbol of Palestinian nationhood. The names connote eternal Palestinian presence on the land between the river and the sea (Anonymous, 2016). This symbolism reflects an approach that re-claims power by denying (as much as realistically possible) the occupation. Palestinian Prime Minister, Mohammad Shtayyeh, demonstrates that approach in an interview to *Ha'aretz* journalist Amira Hass (2020) affirming that, since Israel defies the Oslo Accords by controlling the whole West Bank (in various ways), the PNA should follow suit by treating all of it as Area A (which is under full Palestinian control). Accordingly, Shtayyeh is spearheading a development plan that strives to erase the artificial divisions created by the Accords. That means investing in agriculture and urban development in areas where Israel actively destroys anything built by Palestinians. The symbolic references in Rawabi's centre to Jerusalem and Jaffa similarly presume Rawabi as part of a non-partitioned Palestine.

At the same time, some of the violent strategies involved in the Israeli occupation and settlement of the West Bank have been mirrored in the establishment of Rawabi. First of all, the post-Oslo era is characterised by vertical control over the West Bank. Weizman (2007) gives a compelling account of the tridimensional system of separations that is used to avoid points of contact in the geographically overlapping Israeli and Palestinian spaces. One significant result of that is an extreme confinement of Palestinian urban growth with no options for expansion on the landscape (Abu Helu, 2012). In the scenery of sprawling Settlements surrounding dense Palestinian spaces on the verge of explosion, Rawabi is an exceptional case of horizontal development. Its hilltop sprawl is quite disconnected from Ramallah whose housing shortage was to be somewhat ameliorated by Rawabi, both by distance and IDF checkpoints. Such leapfrog

development is difficult to avoid given the geographic and administrative reality of the occupation, but it is also staking a Palestinian claim to the land. Significantly, it is close to the Green Line, which evokes the Israeli strategy of establishing settlements (within Israel) in areas that might be strategic for future border negotiations.[125]

Additionally, the PNA declared Rawabi a "national project", thus giving the private developer a legal endorsement to force landowners to sell (Haddad, 2016: 259). In doing that, the PNA assumed a critical role in facilitating the private acquisition of lands and in the resultant displacement and dispossession of local Palestinians (Rabie, 2014).[126] These actions are added to the infrastructural collaboration with Israel in a context where other Palestinian spaces are smothered by the restrictions of the occupation. Rawabi is consequently revealed as a project that reaffirms privatised suburbanisation to be the form of centrality of state power in the West Bank. Further still, from a settler colonial perspective, the presence of Palestinians in the West Bank as indigenous 'others' prevents normalisation of the occupation (Gordon & Ram, 2016). In other words, by re-enacting the spatial practices of the occupier, the PNA reproduces the space of colonial domination (Grandinetti, 2015; Dana, 2014; Rabie, 2014).[127] In the following section, I focus on two such spatial strategies: first, urban design and residential architecture; then, suburbanisation.

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[125] I refer here to the 'Stars Plan' conceived by Ariel Sharon (1991), Minister of Housing and Construction at the time, for expanding and establishing decidedly suburban settlements adjacent to the Green Line (on its Israeli side).

[126] For further description of displacement of peasants from the lands acquired for the construction of Rawabi, see Shehadeh (2013).

[127] Various blogs and independent news outlets alert to the problems produced and reproduced by the Rawabi project, in the context of the Palestinian national struggle and the shaping of an independent state. See for example Khalidi (2016) and Davis (n.d.).

The collaboration between Israel and the PNA that makes Rawabi possible is clearly reflected in the design of the city. This is no surprise, given that Rawabi's chief planner, Raffi Sammach, testifies to being directly inspired by Israeli urban planning, specifically by the renowned architect Moshe Safdie. Masri, the entrepreneur who hired Sammach, also had a business relationship with Safdie (Rabie, 2014). Moshe Safdie is associated with numerous projects in Israel, some of them on a vast scale. One of his most recognised influences in the country is the planning of the city of Modi'in, which is notorious as the ultimate Israeli suburb: it is a large, almost exclusively Jewish 'bedroom town' that embodies social homogeneity and a car-dependent unsustainable sprawl that obscures the Green Line.[128] Within Israel, Modi'in has been seen as responsible for attracting Jewish middle-class families as well as commercial activity from the nearby 'mixed' Palestinian-Jewish cities, thus further marginalising already vulnerable communities.

A delegation of Palestinian planners visited Modi'in to learn about building new cities (Bayti employee 1, 2016), and thus a city that has been criticised as the fruit of the 'conquest of land', modernist planning and privatisation became the most tangible inspiration for Rawabi. Rawabi's chief planner Sammach confirms that Modi'in was used as an example for the Palestinian project (Rabie, 2014).[129] By emulating Modi'in, Rawabi reproduces the very spatial forms that were meant to alienate Palestinians from their land.

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[128] The city was conceived as part of an Israeli strategic plan in the 1990s (the *Stars Plan*) to establish a series of communities along the Green Line in order to blur the boundary between Israel and the Occupied West Bank and to fulfill a demand by the Jewish middle-class for low-rise, pastoral dwellings. The communities developed as socio-economically mostly homogenous commuter suburbs, exacerbating socio-spatial differentiations within Israeli society.

[129] Sammach vehemently insists that Rawabi does not resemble a Settlement and that the project does not come across as alienated from its surroundings (Rabie, 2014), thus insinuating this might be the case.

Deriving inspiration from Israeli suburbanisation on the Green Line matches other tactics used by Rawabi planners. The architecture of the residential buildings suggests that the planners felt a need to localise the project in the Palestinian landscape, implying they perceived the project as alienated/ing in the first place. Noticeably, the recurrence of modern versions of traditional Arabic architectural elements, such as the *mashrabiya* (latticework covering an opening in the building) and arches (that are not particular to the Rawabi area) is evocative of popular designs in
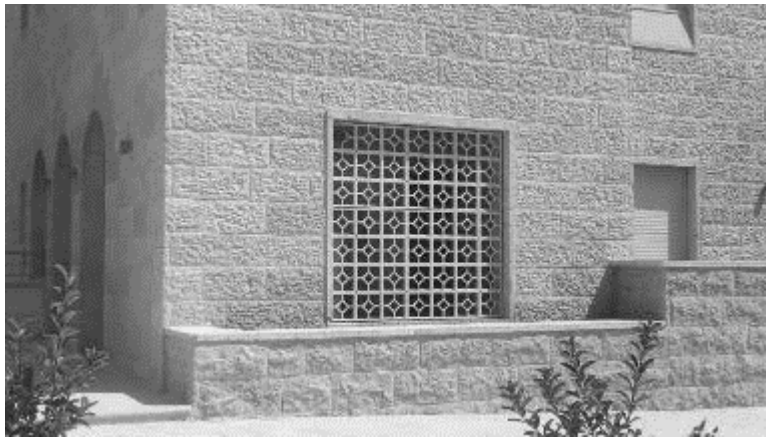
Figure 8 Mashrabiya in a typical Rawabi building. Photo by the author.

Figure 9 Arches and Mashrabiya in a typical Rawabi building. Photo by the author.

Israeli communities. Especially in the Galilee region, indigenous architectural features are employed for legitimising Jewish presence on the landscape. In Rawabi, these elements were used to communicate a "general feel of local history" (Bayti employee 2, 2016). Indeed, Sammach reports that the design for Rawabi was decidedly different from that of the surrounding Palestinian communities in the West Bank (Rabie, 201). In fact, with the exception of Rawabi, Palestinian suburbanisation in the West Bank consists mostly of refugee camps and rural migrant quarters outside the big cities, usually circumscribed by Israeli development and suffering from

restricted access to land and water (Abu Helu, 2012). One would be hard-pressed to identify Rawabi with these communities. The city is, however, emblematic of another type of suburbanisation that dominates the West Bank, that of the Israeli illegal settlements.

Figure 10 Rawabi a hilltop stronghold. Photo by the author.

Figure 11 The East Jerusalem Settlement of Har Khoma. Source: Olivier Fitoussi, *Ha'aretz* 27 March, 2017.

Suburbanisation as the form of centrality in the West Bank

Thus far, Palestinian suburbanisation in the West Bank has been shaped by Israel's land policy there. Land grabbing along with extreme restrictions on Palestinian development have resulted in housing shortages and people fleeing the overcrowded, increasingly expensive large cities (Nasrallah, 2006). The urban outskirts have become the site of self-made housing solutions, where construction can generally take place without attracting too much Israeli attention (Abu Helu,

2012).[130] Such occupation-induced suburbanisation was on the rise after Oslo Accords, especially during times of closures in the main cities. While the legal constraints and development pressures of the occupation began suffocating the Palestinian suburbs of East Jerusalem, the majority of suburban development shifted to Ramallah as the post-Oslo centrality of Palestinian commercial activity, employment, and services (Nasrallah, 2006).[131] The Rawabi project is located in an Area A enclave close to Ramallah, where suburban development is to be anticipated. It is, however, decidedly different from the poor, unregulated outskirts of the bursting city. From a settler colonial perspective, the architecture and urban design of Rawabi resemble 'Israeli' rather than 'Palestinian' space: emulating the orderly hilltop strongholds that are the Settlements.

Figure 12 Modi'in Illit Settlement.
Source: Modi'in Illit Municipality

Figure 13 City of Modi'in.
Source: www.madlan.co.il

Figure 14 Rawabi.
Photo by the author

Figure 15 City of Modi'in
Source: Z-eyez photography, winwin.co.il 26 March, 2015

Figure 16 Rawabi.
Source: *Washington Post* 25 May, 2017

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[130] Palestinians cannot get building permits anywhere outside the Area A city centres (Abu Helu 2012; Nasrallah 2006).

[131] For example, in 1996 Israel applied a 'centre of life' policy, demanding Palestinians to prove they live and work within Jerusalem's municipal borders in order to retain Israeli residency. The Palestinian suburbs of Jerusalem were thus deemed foreign territory, and moving there could mean losing the right to come back to Jerusalem.

The spatialised system of control imposed by the Oslo Accords on the West Bank consolidated distinct forms of Palestinian and Israeli spaces in the landscape (Handel, 2014; Weizman, 2007). While Palestinian communities are turned into booming enclaves, the Settlements are sprawling spaciously to monopolise the land. Certainly, the architecture in some Settlements has been changing from the original pastoral, red-tiled single-family homes to a denser form of urban space with mid-rise apartment buildings. It has rather intensified the perceived continuity from Israel 'proper' into the occupied West Bank, blurring the spatial articulation of political borders (Kratsman & Ginsburg, 2017). This is evident in the area that includes Modi'in (in Israel), nearby Settlements (in the OPT) and now Rawabi.

Illegal Israeli settlements sprouted immediately after the occupation of territories following the 1967 war. Since the early 1980s, however, they have been established as a network of commuter suburbs connected to Israeli cities through physical bypasses as well as the Zionist collective imaginary. After the drastic 1977 change in Israeli government from Labour to the right-wing Likud, the state privileged privatised communities in the OPT over the rural *kibbutzim* and *moshavim* within Israel as the form of dispersing Jewish population across the Palestinian landscape, and showered them with economic incentives.[132] The memorable slogan '5 minutes from Kfar-Saba' promoted new Settlements by pointing out their proximity to an Israeli city and presenting them as suburbs, obscuring their location beyond the Green Line.[133] Unlike small distanced Settlements, these commuter suburb Settlements were advertised as opportunities for affordable housing with a high level of public services (Maggor, 2015). Thus, the Settlements

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[132] The distributive injustice that historically tended to prefer *kibbutzim* and *moshavim* over the mostly-Mizrahi 'development towns' in Israel's periphery was exacerbated by the Settlements project (Gutwein, 2017).

[133] Sometimes the advertisements for new Settlements included maps to prove the short distance from cities within Israel, while obscuring the multitude of Palestinian communities in the area (Maggor, 2015).

assumed a dual role of centrality and periphery as they were located at the edge of national territory at the same time as they were glorified for maintaining Israel's control over occupied land (Newman, 2006).[134]

Suburbs of no city, these Settlements became the new periphery of Israel, while the state's economic and political backing turned them into centres of Jewish state power (Tzfadia & Yacobi, 2011) to be appropriated by the (Jewish) lower classes. At a time when the welfare state was being deconstructed, the occupation opened up new spaces for social mobility and obviated the Israeli Left's doctrine of investing in marginalised urban spaces, thereby underpinning the Right's hegemony (Gutwein, 2017). Due to state investment, most Settlements have evolved into middle-class communities with high levels of services. Combined with their bucolic atmosphere, they have became appealing to a wide population of suburban commuters (Newman, 2006).

The Settlements provide cheap housing (compared to the Israeli market) through self-segregation on contested lands (sometimes unequivocally on private lands of Palestinians), thus entrenching the ethno-class structure in colonial domination (Handel et al., 2017; Weizman, 2007; Newman, 2006). In fact, it is distinctly the suburban concept, design and representation of the Settlements that help reproduce the conditions for maintaining the occupation. Measured in terms of land and population, the majority of the Settlements are those established under the 'suburban', quality-of-life rationale and therefore ostensibly willing to evacuate in for monetary compensation.

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[134] The understanding of the central role that the socio-spatial periphery has in maintaining Jewish presence on the landscape is similar to what Tzfadia and Yacobi (2011: 17) argue about Israel's 'development towns': "the creation of the development tows functioned as a mechanism for controlling Palestinian land and population, and turning the Mizrahim into relatively weak and isolated communities, though incorporated into 'the nation' as vital members of the frontier ethos." See also Rosen & Rasin (2008).

However, these communities are the ones comprising the large Settlement 'blocks', which Israel insists on keeping in any future permanent agreement (Newman, 2017).

Moreover, suburbanisation in the West Bank has been facilitating the neoliberal capitalist production of space within Israel. Specifically, the state-sanctioned private development of the Settlements in the 1980s came at a time of an acute housing shortage and a growing demand for development. Then, the West Bank functioned as a "*large land reserve*" for expanding the Israeli market (Maggor, 2015). For a while, development in the OPT became the main operation of the Israeli Ministry of Construction and Housing and was pivotal in preventing a crisis in Israel's construction industry. In other words, the privatisation of the West Bank became a strategy for manipulating Israel's housing market. In 2017, Ha'aretz reported a 70% increase in units constructed in the Settlements (from April 2016 to March 2017), compared to a slight decline in construction within Israel during the same time period. Although the Settlers are a mere 5% of Israeli citizens, their political power is strong enough to persuade the government to approve more constriction relatively to the rest of the population, at a time that a housing shortage affected the rest of the country.[135]

Furthermore, the Settlements exceedingly necessitate control over Palestinians and protection of Settlers. These needs benefit armament industries, mainly US-based (Nitzan & Bichler, 2002).[136] Thus, similarly to PNA-led development, the Settlements project is tied up with global economic interests.

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[135] See in Berger (2017).

[136] Poulantzas (cited in Jessop 2008: 164) claims that wars are a new means of devaluation when market-oriented and profit-oriented competition becomes ineffective.

As mentioned above, the occupation induced a process of proletarianisation of Palestinians both in Israel and in the Occupied Territories. It has also led to an ethnicised bifurcation of labour. This bifurcation is the result of an unequal exchange between a developed Israeli economy and an underdeveloped Palestinian economy in the OPT, combined with a capitalist need for cheap and mobile labour force (Nitzan & Bichler, 2002). It is the unequal exchange where the Palestinians' contribution far exceeds their low wages that makes occupation profitable to Israel.[137] Specifically, the suburban Settlements project has been responsible for proletarianisation of Palestinians by increasing control over land and for providing a compensatory mechanism for Israeli Jews disenfranchised by the neoliberal state (Gutwein, 2017). In a vicious circle, the process of privatisation generated a meaningful right-wing Settler class rather than the other way around, to which the Left responded by further endorsing the privatisation regime to secure their own privileges, causing Labour governments in the 1980s to perpetuate the Settlements. Finally, peacebuilding has replaced the struggle for social justice as a framework for the Israeli Left. The Settlements project can now only be destabilised not by peace negotiations, but rather by a change in (sub)urbanisation patterns (Newman, 2006). Thus, suburbs of no particular city, the Settlements grew to be a central component in the occupier's political economy.

The exploitation of West Bank land and labour force through the oppression of besieged, deprived Palestinian spaces that are on the verge of explosion makes possible the privilege of the Settlements as orderly, well-serviced communities with a high standard of living (Hever, 2012). The interrelated processes of privatisation, land occupation and proletarianisation have been advancing through multiple forms of violence. Gordon and Ram (2016: 21) discuss the Settlements

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[137] Nitzan & Bichler (2002) refute the prominent economic argument against the occupation, which claims that cheap labour discourages investment in new technologies and that security requires heavy spending. They argue instead that the occupation is increasingly profitable to Israel.

as produced by and reproducing "incomplete" ethnic cleansing, upon which Israel's settler colonial regime is structured. Since most Palestinian communities in the West Bank were not depopulated in 1967, the Settlements are agents of a "biopolitical regime aimed at managing the indigenous other" (Gordon and Ram 2016: 24-25).[138] The spatial violence of the Settlements project includes their strategic location on hilltops that overlook Palestinian communities and the annexation of vast lands beyond the Settlements' populated area, thus impeding Palestinian agriculture. The design of private homes even is derived from strategic goals of territorial and social control (Weizman, 2007).[139]

It is helpful to think of the Settlements as a unique kind of 'gated communities' (Handel, 2014; Rosen & Grant, 2011). Gated communities in Israel's ethnocracy are not necessarily or solely market-based but rather employ self-segregation based on nationality and ethnicity (Rosen & Rasin, 2008). The West Bank Settlements specifically separate Jews from Palestinians, Israeli citizens from non-citizens. Significantly, despite being geographically dispersed and often smaller than Palestinian communities in terms of their individual footprints, let alone population size, the Settlements comprise a vast, cohesive web of Israeli control. It is precisely the calculated scattering of the Settlements, which includes bypass roads, closed military areas, fences, checkpoints and annexation of allegedly uninhabited lands, that enables them to function as a surveillance network, watching the Palestinian population (Handel, 2014; Segal & Weizman, 2003). Hence the double role of the Settlements as 'gated' as well as 'gating' communities: they appear as connected nodes

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[138] Gordon and Ram (2016) compare the West Bank to the Golan region in terms of the presence of indigenous 'others' and the role of the Settlements in controlling them.

[139] Weizman (2007) describes how Settlements are designed for, among other principles, maximising Settlers' visibility of the landscape while maintaining an enclosed built environment. Design principles in some cases include the positioning of houses, the location of windows etc.

in a large system, the methods used for connecting them and providing security are the ones keeping the myriad of Palestinian enclaves that surround them isolated and under constant blockade (Handel, 2014). Dispersion is then revealed as a strategic spatial practice for preventing Palestinian appropriation of space while suburbanisation becomes the form of centrality of power in the West Bank. In that sense, the Rawabi project takes on the same form that shapes the space of the West Bank as dominated by Zionist colonisation.

Conclusion | Palestinian independence sold here

From the Rawabi sales centre sitting on the highest hill in the city, the whole project unfolds along with some neighbouring Settlements. Here, prospective homeowners can sign up for a mortgage while international visitors can learn about the vision of the project. Outside in the parking lot one can appreciate the largest Palestinian flag ever manufactured. Looking at Rawabi, we can see a process of state-building that is facilitated by privatised development and an urban space that is produced through a contradictory combination of economic 'freedom' and colonial subjugation. In this work by peacebuilding urbanism, Israeli and PNA interests become aligned.

The space of Palestine as an independent state thus becomes fraught with foreign interests whose intervention is mediated through the housing crisis and, in the case of Israel, at the level of urban planning and housing design. As the centrality of power in state-building is shifting towards private-public-partnerships of urban development, foreign investment dictates political stability and, inevitably, collaboration with Israel. The Rawabi project makes it possible, desired even, for Israel to acquiesce in Palestinian urban development by sidestepping the core issues of the conflict and presenting 'security' issues as solvable. Moreover, it offers global capital an opportunity to

tap into a captive Palestinian market and labour force (Haddad, 2016). Eventually, the 'city of Palestinian [economic] independence' (Rawabi, n.d.) requires the PNA to maintain a close relationship with the occupier, who in turn emerges as an interested party in Palestinian development. Peacebuilding urbanism is therefore a non-neutral approach to development that produces the spaces of collaboration, which in turn reproduce colonisation.

Of course, producing new centralities also produces new peripheries. Some socio-spatial peripheries that would be produced by the Rawabi project include, first of all, the impoverished Palestinian spaces in the West Bank that are not deemed sites for the production of 'economic peace' and therefore deprived of resources. In the immediate periphery of the project, local inhabitants become doubly marginalised by the Israeli occupation and the PNA's transfer of lands to private investors. Moreover, some Palestinian communities in the West Bank and Israel may lose economically strong households who will choose to move to Rawabi, and thus become further marginalised. Furthermore, by attracting Palestinian citizens of Israel, Rawabi may become a unique space of class difference between West-Bank Palestinians and the PCI who decide to move into the project, mediated by the politics of differential access to employment, citizenship etc., as revealed in the next chapter. In other words, the emulation of Settlements space by the Palestinian state for its own political purposes, from specific land grabbing practices to the broad link between a national housing crisis, privatisation, and dispossession, would imaginably not only reproduce but deepen some aspects of colonial domination.

At the end of the day, any viable Palestinian project is contingent upon cooperation with the occupier. The continuous, crawling *nakba* involves interrelated processes of proletarianisation and urbanisation of Palestinian society (Hanieh, 2013; Salamanca, Rabie & Samour, 2012; Nitzan & Bichler, 2002; Graham-Brown, 1990). 'Peacebuilding urbanism' elucidates how the Oslo

Accords were yet another, albeit significant, moment in this process, a development framework that complements and enhances colonial hierarchies. In this strategy for the production of space, the articulation of Zionist colonisation in space does not only prescribe Palestinian urbanisation but is also integral in it.

As Bayti employees (2016) told me, Rawabi is "a Palestinian city exclusively for Palestinians", where "we are legal", contrasting the project with the illegal Israeli Settlements as well as with the occupier's perception of illegitimacy of Palestinian presence in the West Bank.[140] However, since Jewish-Israelis and Palestinians have been living side by side for so long, with their historical-national narratives evolving in direct opposition to one another, we should consider Rawabi as resistance by development that "borrows considerably from Israeli experiments with settlement (Roy, Arpan, 2016: 379-80)." Indeed, in appropriating the very spatial form that Israel uses to manage the indigenous 'other', in order to sell 'independence' to the Palestinian middle-class, the project produces its own 'others' who consist of virtually all Palestinians in the West Bank, i.e., those dispossessed by land acquisition, those who cannot afford to live in the new city and those whose urban spaces lose out in competition for global investment.

Rawabi exists because it is profitable for developers and because it contributes to a housing market that renders the West Bank more broadly a viable investment. The Rawabi project therefore shifts the Palestinian struggle for independence towards neoliberal solutions to the local housing crisis, a strategy similar to the one employed by Israel in Tantour. Therefore, I now explore the relation of Palestinian citizens of Israel to Rawabi.

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[140] For example, at the Extreme Park on the outskirts of Rawabi, residents can ride ATVs on the hills, a leisure activity locally identified with Settler violence, "without fearing running into Settlers" (Bayti employee 2, 2016).

Chapter 5 | "*WE ARE THE NEW MITNAKHALIM*": PCI PERSPECTIVES ON HOMEOWNERSHIP IN RAWABI

Introduction | Between real estate to *sumud*

This chapter draws on the personal stories of Palestinian citizens of Israel (PCI) who have decided to purchase apartments in the new city of Rawabi in order to consider how such privatised urban development may become a site for radical political claims. In Chapter 3, I introduced the concept of appropriation of space (Kipfer, 2008; Lefebvre, 2003), reproducing space by and for its inhabitants rather than capitalist state interest, in the context of demands by PCI to participate in the production of the Tantour project within Israel. Turning once again to the experiences of some PCI in lived space, I examine how 'the city of Palestinian independence' may be appropriated for everyday resilience. From a production of space perspective, the answer to this question is contingent on the potential of Rawabi to engender political class struggle against 'peacebuilding urbanism' and for appropriation of space. Looking at private homeownership in Rawabi, this chapter unfolds two ways in which Rawabi may be appropriated by its inhabitants, specifically those who are Israeli citizens: first, by becoming homeowners and 'feeling at home' in face of displacement and dispossession strategies of the ethnocratic regime; and second, by actively participating in shaping a new Palestinian nation through encounter with West Bank Palestinians and by finding new ways to exercise the 'right of return'. These PCI narratives then shed light on the constantly evolving meaning of *sumud* and on the changing role of land in 'remaining', as an anti-colonial struggle, in the context of state-led neoliberal urban development.

Palestinians who are Israeli citizens are a minority among Rawabi homeowners. There is currently no official data on the extent of PCI homeownership in the project and thus far their

presence has been generally neglected in analyses and reports on Rawabi.[141] Nevertheless, this group is uniquely situated at the intersection of Palestinian national identity, Israeli citizenship, self-declared 'middle-class' demands for affordable housing and varying levels of ideological commitment to anti-colonial resistance. To address the paucity of information, this chapter is grounded in in-depth, semi-structured interviews with representatives of 10 families of Palestinian Israeli citizens. The people I interviewed were born in the so-called Villages and all but one (who is a highly senior physician in the public health system) moved as adults to larger cities, some into Arab-Jewish 'mixed' cities. They were seeking better employment, culture and education opportunities as well as municipal services for their young families. All ten people I spoke with referred to themselves as 'middle-class' and mentioned the high cost of housing in Israel as one of their motives for purchasing an apartment in Rawabi. Additionally, they all made a point out of differentiating themselves from what they defined as a traditional religious culture in the Village.

In this respect, interviewees described a sense of freedom attached to Rawabi that is twofold: freedom from the conservative atmosphere they experience in the Village and freedom from racist discrimination they experience in Israeli society. [142] Another common reflection among interviewees was their position of privilege, mainly in relation to West Bank Palestinians but also compared to PCI who cannot afford to leave the Villages. Two out of the 10 interviewees treat their Rawabi apartments as holiday homes and/or investment (to be rented rather than owner-occupied). Significantly, alluding to Rawabi's gated community character, several interviewees defined themselves as 'the new *mitnakhalim*' employing the Hebrew term for Jewish Settlers in

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[141] A few articles in Israeli media have covered the purchase of Rawabi apartments by PCI (Edelman, 2015; Jacobson, 2013).

[142] Some developers and realtors reportedly use subtle ways to block Palestinian families from moving into new residential projects. See Kashti (2019).

the OPT. This humorous analogy pointedly captures the complex spatial and ethno-class reality of PCI who choose to settle in Area A of the West Bank. I suggest it also expresses a potential, albeit hindered, to re-appropriate space that has been thus far dominated by *mitnakhalim*, when the West Bank becomes available for Palestinian rather than Jewish consumption.

The people interviewed in the chapter speak openly about a contradiction they identify Rawabi. To them, the project embodies both a manifestation of national independence and a personal housing choice made from a relatively privileged position. Certainly, on the one hand, not all PCI can afford real estate in Rawabi and even less so the majority of Palestinians from the West Bank. On the other hand, interviewees were optimistic about the project being a first step towards building a new Palestinian nation and some were vehemently excited about contributing to this process. They propose that privatised urban space can potentially be appropriated for bottom-up nation-building by its inhabitants, albeit concurrent with, but not necessarily subdued by, the PNA's state-building strategies. Therefore, the first part of this chapter focuses on interviewees' perceptions of Rawabi as the 'only Palestinian city' they can live in and on their sense of 'feeling at home' there. In the context of the persistent flexibility of *sumud*, that sense of belonging seems to reconcile individual property rights with collective struggle and it is grounds for interviewees to reject a critique of Rawabi is 'normalising' the occupation. Then, the second part of the chapter identifies moments of potential de-colonisation in the interviewees' optimistic interpretations of the Rawabi project. Rawabi provides space for encounter for marginalised groups who have been differentiated by the occupation and its separations for decades. Some interviewees suggest this sharing of space is an opportunity to generate a new Palestinian identity. Some even see their individual, private homeownership in the West Bank as a way of exercising their 'right of return'.

The politics of (Israeli) Palestinians becoming homeowners in Palestine

The reorientation of Palestinian nationalism towards privatised urban development such as Rawabi reflects a broader divergence between resistance and state-building, which has been exacerbated by the Oslo Accords (Ghanem, 2013). After the 1967 occupation, a two-state doctrine has replaced a broader anti-settler struggle for Palestinian liberation, and Ramallah has come to replace (East) Jerusalem as the centre of Palestinian economic and political life (Ghanim, 2017). Under the 'neoliberal turn' in Palestine, and with the financialisation of West Bank lands through the suburban Settlements project, Rawabi-like developments may come to replace Ramallah, not as the centre of Palestinian national institutions but as central spaces for political and economic power. Such a shift in the form of centrality reflects a transition in PNA strategy from resistance to development. This shift also entails a transformation in Palestinian struggle and the practice of *sumud* from anti-colonial resistance identified with peasants to resilience defined by a modernising society (Roy, Arpan, 2016), and from resisting domination to demanding rights. In the Rawabi project, Palestinian rights become individual property rights, the right to buy a deed to Palestinian land. Such manifestation of national aspirations in individual consumption suggests a risk of de-politicisation of the Palestinian national struggle (Grandinetti, 2015; Hanieh, 2013).

However, from the particular perspective of PCI, moving into the new Palestinian city may be seen as an active re-appropriation of Palestinian land, and as such an act against dispossession by Zionist colonisation. Importantly, several interviewees refer to the move from Village to the city as embodying a transition from the traditional *sumud* concept of being rooted in land to a new way of having some hold on Palestinian land i.e., owning real estate. Moreover, in Rawabi, PCI feel free to produce their own space according to their own Palestinian identity. In the voices of the interviewees, a sense of feeling at home is politicised as their individual role within the

collective struggle for Palestinian liberation. It is a form of resilience, *sumud*, that corresponds to the everyday oppressions that are entailed in living in Area A.

Appropriating space by real estate

Interviewees contrasted Rawabi to the proverbial Arab Village. Challenging the established racialised and Orientalist critique of Palestinian Villages as 'unplanned' spaces of backward enemy 'others', Yacobi and Shadar (2014) offer a more complex post-colonial interpretation. They demonstrate how the Village has evolved into a source of indigenous culture, which is in turn employed not only by the Zionist national project but also by Palestinian nationalist discourse as an object of yearning. The Zionist lexicon utilises Village architecture to legitimise and 'localise' settlements in the landscape, as described in the previous chapter. The Village image concurrently features in spatial visions symbolising the Palestinian 'right of return', where the colonised is using racialised imagery to form an antagonistic position to that of the coloniser (Yacobi & Shadar,2014).

Sumud, however, is not fought (only) in the national imaginary of Palestinians by designing future spaces with utopian Village images that commemorate a pre-*nakba* past but (also) in the everyday life of Palestinians in the present. In that sense, Rawabi is depicted by interviewees as a heaven of freedom from double oppression: a space different from both the image of the Village and the reality of towns and villages in their own lives. The Village myth has been mobilised to justify calculated neglect and deprivation of Palestinian neighbourhoods, towns and cities by the state's legal land system and planning institutions (Monterescu, 2011; Yacobi, 2008). Khamaisi (2013) shows that the main barriers for urban development in Palestinian communities are, in fact, state actions that block them. Poor infrastructure and lack of available land (due to expropriation by the state) have resulted in over-crowding, reproducing villages as Villages. Additionally,

interviewees describe the places where they grew up as generally governed by traditional, conservative social codes enforced by a kinship *khamula* system. Hence the interviews contain some overlaps between the Village image and particular experiences of village life.

Y. (2016) lives in a Palestinian town outside the Tel Aviv metropolitan area, while she is working for a government agency in Jerusalem. She offers a mundane example as to why Rawabi is the place where she can truly be herself:

> [Rawabi] is the city I have always dreamed of. A heterogeneous city with people from both religions [Christians and Muslims]. This is the beautiful thing about Rawabi: there are people from different places [...] In Taybe, I can't be myself. I have to behave in the traditional way that is expected. This forces me to drive to the nearest Jewish town to work out, because my jogging outfit is supposedly too revealing. I don't think I will have this problem in Rawabi. In Rawabi, I don't have to think about it. I can go to the grocery store in my tank top (Y., 2016).

J.B. (2016), a senior physician in one of Israel's largest hospitals, talks about Rawabi's advantages as a city and compares them to the Villages in Israel (specifically, to the city of *Tira* where he lives, to which he refers to as Village). M. (2016), a self-proclaimed hipster living in 'mixed' Jaffa, mentions some large Palestinian cities and argues that Rawabi is 'the only Palestinian city' in terms of urban life:

> Life in the Village is an unhappy life. There is nothing to do and there is a lot of violence. I have to drive to Kfar-Saba or Hertzliya [nearby Jewish cities] for culture. In Rawabi, I have everything I want right there in the city... Rawabi is better than Arab villages in Israel, even better than Jewish cities in Israel... [It has] good planning, 'scientific' planning. The design, the construction is in very high quality. It's not inferior to any modern city in Israel (J.B., 2016).

Rawabi is better than the village, it's like moving to New York. It is better than Arab cities [in Israel] like Nazareth, insofar as it is new, planned. Yes, it is a downgrade from Jaffa in terms of urbanity, but it's a better choice for us. There is a problem both in Israel and in the West Bank: Ramallah was a leisure town that boomed into a city out of necessity. Nazareth is just a huge village. Um El Fahm is a joke, urban-wise. There is no Palestinian city [in Israel] (M., 2016).

M. further explains that larger Israeli cities are not an option for PCI seeking to maintain a Palestinian identity and culture. Jaffa's 'Arabness', for example, is being made to disappear by predominantly Jewish gentrification (M., 2016). In fact, all interviewees described in one way or another their longing for a space that would accommodate their wish to maintain a dual identity. By that, they refer to reserving what they perceive as traditional Palestinian culture along with living a modern, progressive or in their words 'urban' as opposed to a Village lifestyle.

In Israel, PCI housing choices are limited to either big, predominantly Jewish cities or smaller, underserviced ethnic enclaves that accommodate Palestinian culture. As Y. (2016) reports, "the problem in Israel is that on the one hand you want to live in a good place with all the services, but on the other hand you want to keep some of your cultural identity, and there is no place where you can do that. Maybe Haifa, but the city is getting very expensive. Young couples return to the Villages because of the children." Since PCI are effectively if not formally excluded from predominantly Jewish cities, and since gentrification of 'mixed' cities has actually been a process of Judaisation (Monterescu, 2011), Rawabi offers PCI an option that has never existed since the *nakba*, within Israel or in the OPT: a new, planned, orderly space that is abundant with services; and a community inhabited by Palestinians from various places, and thus free from traditional *khamula* politics. By becoming homeowners in Rawabi, PCI leave the Village behind and become

part a new Palestinian urban society that they hope will be not be defined by conservative values and social restrictions.

Significantly, the Rawabi project opens up new ways of thinking about land, as housing decisions become real estate decisions. For young PCI specifically, it helps resisting the social pressure to build a home in the Village. Adding a home to the family lot upon marriage is a key feature in *sumud* that symbolises both individual and collective connection to the land. Unlike owning 'land', which signifies being rooted in the landscape in face of Zionist conquest, owning 'real-estate', whether as Rawabi inhabitants or for financial investment, is liberating for them. For the people I interviewed, renting an apartment rather than building a home on the *khamula* land in the Village signifies freedom.

> My dream is to have a place in Tel Aviv by the beach, but the prices are so crazy that it's impossible. Housing in Rawabi is cheap. I can use my apartment there as investment, but also a space I can use on the weekends and holidays (J.B., 2016).

> Moving to Rawabi for us is part of breaking the mainstream's boundaries of tradition. We started it when we decided not to live in the village. Rawabi is not a confining place like the village, the property in Rawabi is mere real-estate, so you don't feel chained to it. This gives you options. You can rent it out and go live somewhere else, do other things in your life. I can't do that in my village (F., 2016).

In Rawabi, PCI who define themselves as 'middle-class' see an opportunity to build a new society based on liberal values and individual liberties. As one interviewee puts it, "the checkpoints [in the West Bank] are not the problem, the parents [and the *khamula* in the Village] are the real barrier" (F., 2016). While this may be an exaggeration – the checkpoints are always a potential problem for non-Jews – the issue of the Village was foregrounded by all interviewees as a reason for moving or for considering a future move to Rawabi, despite all of them living in large cities at

the time of the interviews. Some of the emphasis on the Village may be attributed to my identity as an Israeli-Jewish interviewer, meaning I do not share the Village experience and the obstacles of it, so there is value in explaining its contrast to Rawabi. In any case, contrasting Rawabi the city with Israeli Villages is important for understanding the complexity of repression from which PCI feel liberated in Rawabi: Village space is shaped by traditional religious constraints (to varying degree) as well as Zionist colonisation.

However, in the context of Arab Villages in Israel, the newly found real estate opportunity in Area A might hold some risks to collective struggle. For West Bank Palestinians, Rawabi may symbolise a space of an isolated elite class that depends on peacebuilding for profit. At the same time, for PCI transitioning from the systematically neglected Villages in Israel to the high level of amenities and services in Rawabi, the project holds a potential for class mobility: "by moving there, we're going from the bottom of society to the top" (M., 2016). Precisely because this change entails a move into a new space rather than transformations of existing spaces, it may come at a risk of de-politicising middle-class Palestinians by luring them out of existing marginalised spaces from which resistance may rise (Grandinetti, 2015). Surely, Rawabi is the product of 'economic peace' and a site for its reproduction, as evident in the collaborations with Israel mentioned in Chapter 4.

Consequently, in Rawabi Palestinian nationalism is seemingly neutralised by being turned into middle-class claims to homeownership. Accordingly, it can be argued that when PCI move outside of the Green Line, they inadvertently advance the Judaisation of space within Israel's national territory. Moreover, re-imagining land as real estate marks a general process of obtaining Palestinian national independence through individual consumption (Haddad, 2016; Hanieh, 2013; Abourahme, 2009; Taraki, 2008).

One may go further and ask: does the role of PCI in projects like Rawabi sustain the re-colonisation process? Listen again to Y. (2016) and M. (2016): "We are the new *mitnakhalim*" and "we're going from the bottom of society to the top." Does this statement acknowledge that PCI homeownership in Area A is built upon further oppression of West Bank Palestinians? M. thinks not, insisting instead on the anti-colonial nature of her decision to move to Rawabi although these two aspects of moving there are not mutually exclusive (see discussion on the privatised path to national independence in the previous chapter). In any case, moving to Rawabi is not a neutral consumer choice.

In fact, from the point of view of a settler colonial critique, PCI homeownership in Area A may be said to be helping normalise the occupation. Accepting Israeli Palestinians as rightfully belonging in the West Bank specifically through their property rights may render them fellow consumers of West Bank suburbs rather than indigenous 'others'.[143] For example, Y. (2016) reports being told by a Jewish-Israeli Settler who, like her, commutes daily (from Area C) to Jerusalem, that: "if it's alright for you – as Israeli – to live there, on lands of [dispossessed] Palestinians, then it's alright for me – as a fellow Israeli – to live there too. The whole country belongs to everyone." In a different interview, M. (2016) reflects the same perspective when she describes Rawabi as located "not deep into Area A", thus mirroring a popular Israeli perception that disregards the illegality of certain commuter Settlements simply because they are geographically close to the Green Line. In this view, integrating a part of Area A into the Israeli housing market does more than privatise Palestinian housing policy and individualise Palestinian

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[143] The occupation cannot be normalised as long as the presence of Palestinian 'others' persists (Gordon & Ram, 2016).

national aspirations. It apparently helps normalise the Israeli illegal Settlement in the West Bank. In the next section I rebut this conjecture.

Feeling at home: against a critique of 'normalisation'

In my interviews with PCI, any mentioning of the 'normalisation' argument was met with stark resistance, but not with surprise. Apparently, this is a common claim made by friends, family and colleagues who object to the move to the West Bank. Becoming homeowners does legitimise the move in the eyes of relatives in the Village that interviewees refer to as 'traditional society', but concerns do arise about the risks of living in Area A. For instance, Israeli citizenship might be problematic in a future Palestinian state. Because of the many daily risks, PCI homeowners in Rawabi feel their everyday life can never be un-'othered' and therefore the move cannot be seen as normalising the occupation. Echoing other interviewees, M. (2016) says that criticism about PCI who move to Rawabi (like herself) comes from people who do not see the everyday struggles of Palestinians. She acknowledges her privilege in relation to West Bank Palestinians but reminds us that they share an everyday struggle:

> Normalisation of what?! Of whom?! I don't understand this critique. I support BDS [the Palestinian-led boycott, divestment and sanctions movement for pressuring Israel to comply with international law], for example. But I have an issue with people who are anti-things without really understanding them, people who don't live here and don't understand the everyday here. It [the argument of normalisation] is ignoring the needs of Palestinians who live here, and it actually harms our struggle. For example, when Soda Extreme factory was closed, it was presented as a BDS victory in the media, but who were the only ones who suffered from it? The Palestinian workers.[144] I guess I could say

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[144] M. (2016) is referring to the 2014 BDS campaign against Soda Stream factory in a West Bank Settlement.

it's the price they pay for our struggle, but I can only say that from my privileged place here in Jaffa.

Of course, Rawabi could not exist without full cooperation with Israel, but so what? I'm not naive, I don't think it will bring any 'peace', but I recognise the everyday struggles we have. People want to work, live their lives. I am affected by all the small details of the occupation, the banality of it affects our lives. [Rawabi] is not about making it 'normal', it's about recognising that we need to survive in an everyday that is affected by the occupation. "I am not afraid of living in Area A, but I am angry. There are always checkpoints and you don't know when you are going to get held at one (M., 2016).

Other interviewees also explained that leading a 'normal' life in Rawabi does not mean normalising the occupation but rather finding a path to survive it.

This emphasis on survival resonates with an interpretation of *sumud* as everyday resistance (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2015; Ryan, 2015), a persistence on seemingly non-political, day to day acts of maintaining some normalcy in the face of threats of physical and cultural annihilation – precisely what the Rawabi project offers to its consumers. Echoing what seems to be a general sentiment, one of the interviewees explains: "it is easy to accuse [us] of 'normalisation'; what is *really* hard is to actually accomplish something under the occupation" (Y., 2016). Thus, homeownership in Rawabi is "a positive, productive alternative to anti-colonial struggle that focuses on scrambling for some fragments of rights" within Israel's ethnocratic regime (F., 2016).

Admittedly, "any Palestinian project of such large scale can be accused of 'normalisation' because of the nature of the political situation" (J.B., 2016). Here lies a foundational contradiction intrinsic to peacebuilding urbanism: any Palestinian development is contingent on Israeli cooperation. What the interviewees capture in their rejection of criticism of normalisation is that this reality is reflected and contested in everyday life. To them, purchasing ownership rights to

real estate in Rawabi does not equal accepting the occupation, but it is a way to assert their presence on and attachment to the land. This practice means refusing to passively stay in the spaces of the 'Arab sector' as they are shaped by the ethnocratic regime. "For sure, there are elements of real-estate and land acquisition that abide by [Zionist] interests", but still, "people have to think about their own survival and what suits them best, and this city is their best option" (F., 2016). J.B. (2016) brushes off 'normalisation' as well: "[T]he fact that it's a brand new, shining city does not distract one's attention from the very hard everyday struggle of Palestinians to exist in face of the occupation. The easy thing is to dismiss Rawabi as a means of normalising the occupation" while the hard thing seems to be how to find alternative ways to survive, Rawabi being one of these ways.

Regarding the risk of allegedly de-politicising a Palestinian 'middle-class' in Israel, it is possible to see how moving into an Area A enclave and relinquishing above all freedom of movement might instead politicise PCI. As stated by Y. (2016), "at the end of the day, everyone living in the city [Rawabi] will have to pass through IDF checkpoints to get to work… Every time you come and go anywhere you must pass through the checkpoints". M. (2016) is equally clear on this challenge: "there is no getting used to this situation… Deep inside, it does trouble me. An eighteen-year-old soldier has the power to decide to close the small checkpoint, and that's it. This thought is there all the time… Crossing the checkpoint is a stressful experience. Everything is brought up to the surface in that meeting point [between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers]". M. (2016) suggests that ownership in Rawabi is not de-politicising, but "if anything, it will make those of us [PCI] who now live relatively conveniently [in Israel] even more [politically] aware."

Beyond obvious barriers such as the IDF checkpoints, the move to Rawabi raises many practical challenges for PCI, which they seem to accept as prescribed by their position of feeling

and being 'in-between': identifying as both Palestinians and Israelis; being excluded in Israel and also not belonging to the Palestinian state. For example, PCI who wish to own real estate in Rawabi are subjected to security checks by Palestinian authorities to ascertain their Palestinian identity, but as Israeli citizens they commit a criminal offense by entering Area A.[145] In some cases PCI need to hide their Area A address from their employers or from Israeli social services agencies. Moreover, it is unclear if PCI residents of Rawabi would be able to vote once the city hold its first municipal elections. As M. (2016) puts it, "I don't know, when I want to get home, what [address] do I put in *Waze*!?[146] Is it the nearest Settlement?" The improvement in living conditions and personal freedoms on the one hand, and the struggle of everyday life in Area A on the other, intensifies a fundamental internal PCI conflict between maintaining Palestinian identity in the face of Zionist colonisation and exercising citizenship rights in Israel.

Recalling Y's (2016) description of her dialogue with a Settler colleague above, Rawabi emerges as a suburb of both Jerusalem (albeit to a limited extent) and Ramallah simultaneously. The city's ambivalent existence as an Israeli-supported development for Palestinian independence is reflected in the inherently conflictual nationalism of PCI. Interviewees all explicitly mention how the Rawabi project fits their complicated identity, and as PCI it is the only Palestinian city where they can live *as* Palestinians. As laid out by M. (2016), "for the first time I will live in a society that is 100% Palestinian-Arab." This feeling is echoed by Y. (2016) who states that "this is where I can call myself Palestinian", as opposed to 'Israeli-Arab'. Once again, the Rawabi project displays new ways to practice connection to land. By choosing to move to Area A, PCI can re-claim their right to the city and appropriate space neither as passive victims of Israeli domination

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[145] This Law is rarely enforced.

[146] Waze is a location-based navigation app (owned by Google), highly popular locally.

nor through violent resistance. This possibility implies a new meaning of *sumud*, which I discuss below.

Differential space and the Palestinian urban 'right of return'

Interviewees were optimistic regarding the social and political potential of becoming homeowners in Rawabi. Some of them emphasised the novel opportunity to share urban space legitimately and permanently with Palestinians from the West Bank. "In Rawabi, I feel at home", said *all* interviewees (2016), hinting at their experiences of being born and raised in Palestinian communities in Israel, where they do *not* feel at home. With this intimate sentiment, their Palestinian identity is concretised in a place produced under colonial terms. Hearing their depiction, I recall Lefebvre's (1991: 363) concept of "differential space" as a space produced from within the interstices of abstract space, expressing contradictions in inhabitants' everyday life and pointing to the fact that the production of space is a tension-ridden process. Abstract space, the space of divisions and territorial hierarchies that sustain capitalism (through contradictions such as uneven development and free flow of goods and labour force) therefore always has the potential of being transformed into differential space that defies homogenisation.

But how and when could such transformation materialise? Massey (1994) stresses that differential space can only be produced through encounter and interaction among differences for the mutual production *of* space, rather than by simply promoting diversity *in* space. Deconstructing and reclaiming imposed differences (Soja & Hooper, 1993), as in the case of undermining colonial division as PCI move to Rawabi to live among West Bank Palestinians, is not enough. Interaction, rather than, for instance, one marginalised group demanding centrality over others, is necessary

for radical appropriation of space (Massey, 1994). Still, interaction harbours a potential to, but does not guarantee, a production of something new. Confronted with controlled consumption, such as of racialised spaces, actually existing differences may be transformed in the process of struggling for a new (non-capitalist, non-colonial) society to a source of radical political demands, for example through claims to the right to the city (Kipfer, 2008), but a claim to difference entrenched in property ownership may eventually hinder de-colonisation, as explained in the next chapter. In a radical imaginary, but one that follows closely interviewees' descriptions, Rawabi can become a space of encounter among Palestinian populations who have been thus far separated by colonial divisions, and therefore a potential for differential space.

Emphasising that the Rawabi project is not controlled by the PNA, interviewees imagine how inhabitants would overcome differentiation imposed by Zionist colonisation, produce a common space and create a new Palestinian national identity in the process. Inspired by interviewees' mentioning of the move to Rawabi as a path for fulfilling their 'right of return', I now focus on the potential of PCI real estate ownership in Area A to engender a new type of *sumud*, for some PCI a way to re-connect with the land from which they have been dispossessed. In the face of the oppressive ethnocratic regime in Israel, owning a home and feeling at home in Rawabi becomes a radical claim for centrality by PCI, one based on a Palestinian national identity.

Rawabi as a space of encounter

> The PNA is corrupt and the developer has his own interests. However,
> regardless to how it came to be, Rawabi is still the first *Palestinian* city (M.,
> 2016, *interviewee's emphasis*).

M. (2016) explains that for her Rawabi is the first Palestinian city since it is the first city since 1948 that is planned and constructed ostensibly *by* and *for* Palestinians. Interviewed PCI who are

Rawabi homeowners frame their personal choice to move to the West Bank as an explicitly political decision. Interviewees refer not necessarily to Palestinian independence, but rather to taking part in bottom-up Palestinian nation-building. Homeowners are shrewdly aware of the Rawabi project's dependency on Israeli collaboration, they are pragmatic regarding the entrepreneur Masri's financial interests in the project, and they know the PNA was motivated by those private interests to facilitate a project that predicts stability for the West Bank. Having reached international (and mainly) Arabic-speaking media, Rawabi attracted Palestinians from around the world to invest in the West Bank, in accordance with the PRDP agenda.

Despite the key role of the PNA in enabling the project, PNA corruption and ineffectuality were brought up repeatedly in the interviews to emphasise a divergence between defending Rawabi and not supporting the PNA.[147] J.B. (2016) says he doesn't mind "if someone is privately profiting off of the project. The PNA helped with the land, but it did not provide any other assistance and only put up hurdles. When the state cooperates with the occupier, the private business interests [may] coincide with the national interest of the people". Y. (2016) even suggests that private foreign investment might be, in these circumstances, "promoting the Palestinian collective interest." In fact, some interviewees interpret Rawabi as an anti-state project, seeing privatisation as a necessary step on the way to de-colonisation in face of the PNA's submission to Israel. PCI homeowners insist it is not the PNA but rather the Palestinian people – homeowners, inhabitants, investors – who are building a Palestinian nation in Rawabi. A repeating aspiration in the interviews saw a nation-building process that would result from an encounter between groups separated in the *nakba*.

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[147] Several interviewees mentioned the issue of private schools in Rawabi (Chapter 4).

Indeed, when PCI come to Area A in order to build everyday life in common with West Bank Palestinians, the former undermine Oslo's abstractions of 'Israel' and 'Palestine' – the very abstractions that shaped the production of the Rawabi project in the first place. Notwithstanding the existing intricate relationships that many PCI have with the West Bank, Rawabi is said to reunite Israeli and West Bank Palestinians "in a meaningful way, not in cultural events, restaurants or markets, but actually living together through day to day encounters" (Y., 2016). Being outsiders in Area A, PCI see a potential for building a new society out of differences.

At the same time, some interviewees acknowledge how such encounter would most likely manifest in an imbalance of power between them and West Bank Palestinians, thus enduring existing separation. As M. (2016) remarks, "our lives are in Israel. The checkpoints are not as big a deal for us as they are for them (West Bank Palestinians). The one I commute through is not quite as horrible as *Kalandiya*.[148] It's not the rough life that people have in the Territories" and, importantly, "we have different ID cards. We [PCI] can get up and leave [back into Israel]. They can never even go to the beach." Financially, PCI are generally better off than other groups in Rawabi (e.g., those coming from Ramallah or East Jerusalem). By moving to Area A, PCI essentially live in two different economies at the same time, enhancing their in-between identity:

> This is a place where you live with people who are like you and different from you at the same time. PCI come [to Area A] with a sense of cultural superiority, like we are above the more traditional West Bank society. We live differently, we are educated differently, so we are different. There is no hiding it. Still, there is a common identity, which is important (Y., 2016).

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[148] Out of all West Bank permanent checkpoints, *Kalandiya* is notorious for its especially bad, inhumane conditions.

Importantly, the encounter between the two groups is only made possible by conditions that simultaneously change each of the groups themselves. While the project promises improvement in housing conditions and comfort amidst turmoil for Palestinians of the West Bank, for PCI the move into Area A entails losing some privileges, not the least of which is freedom of movement. For example, M. (2016) talks about her ability to move around as she pleases while in Israel. She sees it as part of a set of privileges granted to her by Israeli racist society due to her 'non-Arab' appearance, privileges that would become irrelevant in the reality of living in Area A: "In Jaffa, I appear more Ashkenazi than some Jews... I am experienced here as an Ashkenazi Jew with all the privileges associated with it" (M., 2016).

Some homeowners optimistically cling to the plans of the private company that has built and is now managing Rawabi to eventually transition the city's governing institutions to the hands of the residents. By democratically electing the local government, Rawabi arguably can become a space that truly expresses Palestinian identity that is freer and more diverse than in any other locality in both Israel and the OPT due to the 'mixing' of different Palestinian populations. However, once again, unless space is co-produced by joint resistance of different groups to capitalist abstractions, difference is reduced to separation (Massey, 1994). The separation of Christian and Muslim neighbourhoods in Rawabi is case in point. One interviewee expresses concern about this separation of differences in space: "if the city is taken over by religious extremists, I won't want to live there. I want a liberal, democratic, free city where I can live my Western lifestyle" (J.B., 2016). M. (2016) has substantial misgivings and asks: "will I be able to live there as an independent feminist woman, as I do in Jaffa?"

At the end of the day, the encounter in Rawabi is made possible by private homeownership, constituted through the neoliberal tenets of the Oslo Accords. In Lefebvrean (2003) terms, the PCI

imaginary of Rawabi as a site for new Palestinian nationhood relies on 'bourgeois culture', which in this case is produced by the peacebuilding urbanism. However, for PCI, peacebuilding urbanism opens up an opportunity to escape from recurring patterns of subjugation and disappointment and to participate in the shaping of their urban space. Thus, Rawabi signifies a potential differential moment for this particular group. It is precisely through real-estate investment that the Rawabi project has the capacity to unite Palestinians from around the world, and the new city provides a space for producing a new Palestinian identity *together*, at least in the eyes of PCI I interviewed. As illustrated by F. (2016), "[in Rawabi], the social structure and the municipal politics don't work according to *khamula* [social] structure – unlike in the [Israeli] Arab cities. No one cares where you come from, which family you're from, or who your father is." Such non-traditional structure is also expressed by Y. (2016) when saying: "I started participating in a *Whatsapp* group about local governance.[149] It was a men-only group, but I thought to myself, it's a new city, it doesn't have to be like that, and now I'm the only woman on the group. I hope it will be better [more women participating] as it moves forward."

A neoliberal 'right of return'

"National pride" were the words used by all interviewees to describe their feelings about becoming homeowners in Rawabi. Driving to Rawabi for the first time, "the first thing I saw was the huge Palestinian flag. I decided to buy [an apartment] because of the flags. The Palestinian flag speaks to me personally. It was something I connected to immediately" (J.B., 2016). For J.B., (2016) and many others, pride comes both from the specific, modern design of the Rawabi project as well as from the accomplishment of building a new city. Notwithstanding the issues of cooperation with Israel and acquisition of lands, F. (2016) explains what other interviewees also expressed as the

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[149] Whatsapp is a direct messaging app (owned by Facebook), highly popular locally.

main source of pride: that "the Palestinian people, who have such a difficult life with all the limitations of the occupation, who control nothing, not the air, not the land, not the water, that despite all that they managed to build something new and they are not giving up."

In his own words, F. (2016) articulates precisely the practice of *sumud*, which can be practiced in a multitude of ways. It can mean both passively remaining on the land and more actively affirming the notion that 'life must go on' (Marie et al., 2018: 29; Johansson & Vinthagen, 2015). In the everyday lives of Palestinians, *sumud* does not fit neatly into either of these options. Rijke and Van Teeffelen (2014) quote a graffiti slogan that reads *To exist is to resist* to make a point about how *sumud* involves daily life experiences and how it always changes, according to the dynamic circumstances of the colonial regime. Similarly, Meari (2014: 551) describes *sumud* as "a political being/becoming and a continuous engagement with the flows and constraints of the colonial situation that endows Palestinians with forces to endure their lives, through and in opposition to, the fixed colonial terms and relations promoted by the colonizers and those Palestinians constrained by the terms of normalisation with them." Hence, the act of moving away can be interpreted as *sumud* when it is an act of survival as it helps maintain Palestinian identity in and of space.

"Second-best 'right of return'" – this is how J.B. (2016) sums up what other interviewees describe as well. With that, many interviewees echo an analysis of the private home as a site of *sumud* resistance (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2015).[150] If *sumud* is individual struggle that may harbour potentials for collective resistance, the 'right of return' is a collective demand of Palestinian nationalism that has various individual articulations. When interviewees refer to the

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[150] Johansson and Vinthagen (2015) rely specifically on Feminist analyses of the home as a site for political struggle.

'right of return', they seem to imply an interpretation of *sumud* where PCI feel compelled to leave their land, rather than remain on it, in order to exercise attachment to the land. It is therefore useful to pay attention to the ways in which narratives of Return have been evolving.

In Palestinian nationalism, the 'right of return' refers to the right of Palestinians, both external and 'internal' refugees (displaced within Israel), to return to Palestine and, depending on the interpretation, to the specific homes from which they were expelled in the 1948 *nakba*. Return is not merely a matter of international law but also of Palestinian national collective identity and even Israeli society that includes Palestinians (Shenhav, 2005). Khalidi (1992) explains the 'right of return' as a core issue in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict because it conceptualises a Palestinian demand to be acknowledged as a nation and entails recognition in the *nakba*, two of the most basic roots of the conflict utterly subverting the Israeli-Zionist narrative.

Khalidi (1992) offers a useful chronology of the politics of the 'right of return'. The 1967 occupation influenced Palestinian leadership to abandon a pan-Arab agenda for dissolving the state of Israel in favour of advocating Return, be it partial or compromised, as strategy for liberation. Continuing the pragmatic approach into the 1970s, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) took the stance of establishing an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel.[151] In the 1980s, under the leadership of Yasser Arafat, the PLO framed the Palestinian 'right of return' in terms that comply with internationally accepted principles of 'Return' such as monetary compensation – thus, arriving finally at a position of considering possible paths for Return that do not ignore or wish away the existence of Israel.[152] From that point onward, Return became a symbolic concept

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[151] The PLOs' pragmatic strategy came in accordance with change in position by the Palestinian National Council (Khalidi, 1992).

[152] Arafat's position signifies a stark change in direction, from the Arab League rejecting the UN 1947 Partition Plan to Palestinian leadership negotiating options for 'return' to the state of Israel.

that can be implemented in various ways, not precluding a negotiated agreement with Israel.[153] For example, some young Palestinians within Israel (descendants of 'internal' refugees) see the 'right of return' as part of a broader set of civil rights (Richter-Devroe, 2011) and effectively as a right to complete equality on the land. Gans (2004) argues that repatriation is still the only way to solve the refugee problem, and it would mean a return to Israel's national territory as equal citizens rather than return to the original homes that were left behind. Most recently, a joint Palestinian-Israeli initiative proposes permanent residency status for both peoples in both states as a way to exercise practical Return.[154]

This multiplicity of meanings of the 'right of return' allows us to better understand why and how the interviewees use the term. For some PCI, Rawabi offers an opportunity to buy in to a Palestinian state by buying property on Palestinian-controlled land. This practice allows them to regain stable as well as recognised connection to Palestinian land, in contrast to the systematic dispossession and displacement they experience within Israel. While not actually returning to the specific place which they left, they are able to 'return' to a pre-*nakba* situation in their national collective memory where. As F. (2016) aptly puts it: "I want to exercise my right as a young Palestinian to choose where to live in my homeland." Thus, by leaving their homes and moving to Area A, they may be practicing their own version of *sumud*. J.B.'s (2016) ideal city is Tel Aviv (given its vibrant cultural life and despite its latent racism) but even if he were able to afford living there, "it would still be important [to him] to own an apartment in Rawabi. My mother calls this 'the family home' even though none of us actually live there."

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[153] For example, Zochrot organisation brings back the names of Palestinian communities within Israel that were changed into Hebrew alongside physical dispossession from lands.

[154] 'Land for all' has been criticised for suggesting a symmetrical solution that enables Settlers to remain in the West Bank.

Eventually, re-connecting to the land by owning real estate or buying the 'right of return' is arguably replacing one type of alienation, the one embodied in Israel's ethnocratic regime, with another i.e., one imposed by the neoliberal apparatus of 'economic peace'. Nevertheless, for PCI, homeownership becomes a counter strategy to the Zionist conquest of land, a type of *sumud*, an act of individual economic resilience that is interpreted as promoting collective national cause. In this sense, claiming the 'right of return' by investing in Rawabi corresponds to the PNA strategy of development for independence. Such claim assumes that the 'new *mitnakhalim'* identity could be a way for PCI to use their marginality for claiming centrality. First, for Palestinians who are Israeli citizens, taking part in a Palestinian-made urban development permits to actively move beyond the frustrations of the ethnocratic regime. Second, Rawabi is perceived by PCI as a space where they can live their in-between Palestinian-Israeli identity. Finally, participating in the suburbanisation of the West Bank contests the unequivocal power of the Settlements project in shaping the landscape, albeit by emulation. Palestinian suburbanisation in Rawabi thus undeniably disturbs territorialised assumptions of the ongoing conflict.

Conclusion | Becoming a homeowner, feeling at home: anti-colonial struggle?

Palestinian citizens of Israel are admittedly a minority within Rawabi population and their presence as homeowners in Area A has yet to become a widespread phenomenon. Although, if PNA development policy persists, it is plausible that more PCI will consider new, privately managed suburbs in the West Bank as alternatives to the spaces of the 'Arab sector', 'mixed' cities, or predominantly Jewish cities in Israel. For Palestinians in Israel with personal experiences of the Villages, the move to Rawabi denotes a break from Zionist domination as well as from oppressive

local traditions. Positioned against these realities, the choice of 'feeling at home' is also defying the normalisation of the occupation.

Still, the interviewees' grounded and politicised interpretation of their decision to move to Area A notwithstanding, and even in the most generous reading of Rawabi as differential space, appropriating the West Bank through consumption of housing is a version of *sumud* that sustains the management of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through 'economic peace'. Such practice is furthering the effectiveness of the Fatah-led government in gaining and relying on international recognition and support; integrating PCI into a newly formed Palestinian housing market, shaped by such foreign investment; and simultaneously 'protecting' the Israeli housing market from obstructions to Judaisation of space. Moreover, it is 'economic peace' that enables some Palestinian populations who were separated and differentiated by Zionist colonisation to live in the same space in Rawabi, creating a space of a new class difference.

Therefore, and keeping in mind the dispossession of local Palestinians that enabled the Rawabi project in the first place, PCI's homeownership in the OPT essentially privatises and individualises the Palestinian national struggle. At the same time, this practice results in homeowners perceiving the area of Israel/Palestine as undivided, which then allows them to imagine a path to exercising the 'right of return'. It is PCI's experience of everyday life in the West Bank, which can be as mundane as choosing a route for the morning commute, that defies the abstract differentiations of a coloniser/colonised dichotomy. Coming from the 'Arab sector' in Israel, the assertion 'We are the new *mitnakhalim'* can be understood a claim by the lower ethno-class to centrality. This contradiction of a commodified anti-colonial struggle points towards a change in PCI's relation to land, which I discuss in the next chapter comparing the cases of Tantour and Rawabi.

Chapter 6 | CHANGING COLONIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RIVER AND THE SEA: TANTOUR AND RAWABI COMPARED

Introduction | Theorising from Palestinian steadfastness

> Rawabi [in the West Bank] is a project that materialises the very thing that we have been fighting against [in Israel] since 1948…
>
> It is built for money, not for people (Nimer, 2016).

Nimer defines the context against which the Khirak's struggle takes place. Khirak activists are fighting against continuous colonial urbanisation that is presently advanced by a neoliberal approach to the housing crisis. Nimer's (2016) words also capture a clear link between Tantour and Rawabi as these projects are interpreted by local inhabitants, implying a colonisation process of Israel/Palestine as a whole. In their different ways, each of the two studied cases shoehorn ostensibly Palestinian spaces into the Zionist colonial project, homogenising them in process. In addition, a comparison between Tantour and Rawabi helps us shed light on the relations between housing development and *sumud* resistance while clarifying the role of housing in shaping current colonial relations.

The motivation to examine Tantour and Rawabi comparatively stems from the cases themselves. They are new housing projects designated by their respective states as (partial) solutions to the local housing crisis among the 'Palestinian middle-class'. Both cases also demonstrate the centrality of housing to the production of state-space (Lefebvre, 2009). Tantour is planned on lands confiscated from Palestinians. There the Israeli government is confronting a perceived 'threat' to Judaisation of space by the move of some PCI from Villages into (Jewish) cities. Rawabi was conceived as part of a privatised state-building effort. Moreover, both Tantour and Rawabi emulate the Jewish suburbs that embody the Judaisation of the Galilee and the

Settlements project (in its commuter suburbs form). In fact, the two cities are outcomes of deliberate efforts to produce housing 'solutions' for 'middle-class' Palestinians that can be distinguished from existing Palestinian spaces as well as from the Palestinian national identity these spaces represent. To mark this two-fold distinction, architectural features are deployed to convey vernacular culture in order to locate Tantour (the 'Arab city') and Rawabi ('the city of Palestinian independence') in their respective environments, proving precisely their alienation.

I asked Khirak activists in the Galilee (the group that demands involvement in the establishment of Tantour in Israel) what they thought about the Rawabi project in the West Bank. They all agreed that, while the city would undoubtedly appeal to Palestinian families in Israel who can afford Rawabi real estate, it was nonetheless a type of colonial urbanism similar to Tantour. For example, both projects, Nimer (2016) says, are "accomplished by land grabbing." Wared (2016) is equally clear in saying: "Who would Rawabi serve? It would only serve American imperialism", referring to the funding of the project by a U.S.-based investor (Masri). While both cities were planned for Palestinians, they also reproduce neo-settler colonial practices of urbanisation. This demonstrates the settler colonial foundations of neoliberal housing development in Israel/Palestine (Blatman-Thomas & Porter, 2019; Yacobi & Tzfadia, 2019; Hugill, 2017).

I have shown that both cities encourage migration of PCI from the Villages to newly-built, suburban housing developments, which may hinder political mobilisation of the lower ethno-class. At the same time, however, in both cases we see new modes of remaining on the land: demands for self-government as a platform for influencing the planning process in Tantour, and private homeownership across colonial borders in Rawabi. Looking at both cases side by side then helps to centre the role of housing development in organising the spatial relationship between settler colonialism and Indigenous resistance. Doing so helps clarify that colonial projects and anti-

colonial resistance form a relationship that is determined in part through land struggles (Blatman-Thomas & Porter, 2019; Coulthard, 2014).

Given that Judaisation of space is a spatialisation of the ethnocratic regime, in this chapter I consider spatialised de-colonisation to question housing development as a possible site for resistance. Then, I turn to Indigenous perspectives on Israel/Palestine that clarify that continuous settling and open resistance are mutually constitutive. I will focus on the changing dynamics of *sumud* and unpack the risks and potentials for de-colonisation, from the point of view of the colonised, embodied in the demand of PCI to participate in the planning process of the 'Arab city' and in PCI homeownership in Rawabi.

Spatialised de-colonisation

'The first 'Arab city' in Israel' is how the Tantour project in the Galilee has been described in the Israeli media.[155] The Khirak activists (2016) I interviewed concur: this settlement that is meant for non-Jewish populations signifies the largest, most significant investment of the Israeli government in infrastructure and housing for the Palestinian population since the state was founded. Meanwhile, in the West Bank, the Rawabi project is hailed by the media (as well as interviewee) as the 'first Palestinian city'.[156] This portrayal, overriding thousands of years of urban settlement in the region, reflects the PNA's effort to emphasise its competence in building, materially as well as financially, an independent Palestinian state. Ironically, these 'first city' monikers disclose the ongoing marginalisation of Palestinians under Zionist colonisation. In Israel and the OPT, the

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[155] See for example Levi (2015).
[156] See for example Sherwood (2016).

devastation of the *nakba* is followed by continuous dispossession, exacerbated in the West Bank by a multitude of physical and administrative barriers. In both cases, access to homeownership promises an ostensible end to colonialism, an illusion that is necessary to re-invent colonial settlement (Hawari et al., 2019).

The establishment of housing suburbs for Palestinians at the expense of existing Palestinian spaces is apparently such strategy where the Israeli ethnocratic regime and the PNA's 'peacebuilding urbanism' now converge. Monterescu (2015: 127) uses the formulation "Palestinisation through Israelisation" to analyse transformations in Tel Aviv/Jaffa. The term is useful also to consider how the production of Tantour and Rawabi re-defines the spaces of Palestinian nationalism under conditions set by the Jewish state. As Chapters 2 and 4 demonstrate, both projects attempt to recast the Palestinian national struggle as a neoliberal demand for affordable housing. Despite their seemingly contrasting political contexts, both Tantour and Rawabi are produced through a relationship between settler colonialism and racial capitalism, the essence of settler colonial cities (Hugill, 2017). In this sense, a struggle to produce an alternative to colonial *spatiality* is important to undermine the settler colonial regime.

Lefebvre's (2009) assertion of state-space construes 'colonisation' as hierarchal territorial relationship produced by the state and contested by everyday life (Kipfer & Goonewardena, 2014). What follows is a conceptualisation of de-colonisation as appropriation of space by inhabitants, a struggle against integration into the spaces produced by the capitalist state. Moreover, spatial practice exposes us only to the articulation of the production of space in perceived space, precisely so we do not see space 'for what it is': produced. Therefore, a political strategy for de-colonisation must re-appropriate urban development knowledge and mechanisms (Lefebvre, 1996).

We thus come to think of national liberation as a step towards a true form of de-colonisation achieved in part through the re-appropriation of space by inhabitants (Kipfer & Goonewardena, 2013). Unless it radically changes the process of production of space, anti-colonial struggle may eventually substitute one condition of domination for another. The struggle for the right to the city, for participating in the shaping of urban space that mediates between global (capitalist) powers and everyday life, is then intertwined with a struggle of inhabitants for self-determination (Schmid, 2012). In the context of urbanisation processes in Israel, Samman (2013) suggests that the 'right of return' should be interpreted as a struggle for the right to the city or the right to alternative production of space. Indeed, an active re-claiming of space that interrupts its reproduction by the capitalist state is crucial in creating a just society (Mitchell, 2003).

It is important to recall that, for Lefebvre (2009), democratic states are not free from the oppressions entailed in the reproduction of state-space. In the case of Israel/Palestine, Yiftachel (2006) stresses that a façade of liberal democracy is essential to maintain the ethnocratic regime in times of crisis. And so, any political solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that does not address the underlying settler colonial regime *and* subverts the spatial ways in which it is being reproduced is futile (Rouhana, 2018). For example, one can imagine a one-state solution to the conflict in which Palestinian cities that are currently in Area A would be subject to Judaisation by gentrification in the same way as has been the case within Israel (LeVine, 2004). Of course, the territorial partitioning of Palestine following ethno-national lines (e.g., a Jewish state and a Palestinian state) would only generate additional forms of ethnocracy.

Instead, to challenge settler colonialism, de-colonisation must struggle for alternative ways of producing space. Such a struggle would avoid homogenising ethnic and national collectivities and to collapse binary notions of racialised and gendered colonial domination (Stasiulis & Yuval-

Davis, 1995). Petti, Hilal and Weizman (2013) interpret de-colonisation as the re-appropriation of space in a way that is not confined to colonial space and time (and thus contradicts the wishes of Tantour planners to 'modernise' Palestinian citizens as seen in Chapter 2). De-colonisation is then achieved through the *common* use of space by inhabitants and through a struggle against the militarised institutions of Israeli liberal democracy, rabbinical theodicy, the militant Islamism of Hamas (especially in Gaza), and the rule of Fatah in the West Bank. Certainly, PCI appropriate space in ways that undermine the coloniser/colonised dichotomy: in Rawabi, they have turned the colonial suburbanisation of the West Bank on its head – "we are the new *mitnakhalim*"; in Tantour, they accept the 'Arab city' as the basis for making political claims – "Tantour is ours!".

Jabareen (2015a) discusses planning institutions explicitly, suggesting that claiming a minority right to self-determination involves defying planning and construction laws. A widespread phenomenon in this respect is the insurgent informality expressed in 'illegal' construction in the Arab Villages and in the repeated re-building of transient dwellings in 'unrecognised' Bedouin villages demolished by the state.[157] There are also various activist groups in Israel who assert Palestinian identity in the Israeli landscape, for example, by reviving place names of sites that were re-named in Hebrew after 1948, re-planting olive groves that were razed by Settlers in the West Bank and maintaining annual Day of Land protests especially in the Galilee region. Such actions target the state-space of Israel and they are thus usually met with militarised police forces.[158]

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[157] In Chapter 2, I refer to formality and informality as a range of state strategy rather than dichotomy (see Chiodelli & Tzfadia, 2016; Roy. 2009). 'Illegal construction' therefore expresses an inherent contradiction in Judaisation of space.

[158] This is a manifestation of 'creeping apartheid', see Hanafi (2009) and Yiftachel (2006).

In *Rebel Citie*s, Harvey (2013: 137) is asking: how "does one organise a city?", referring to re-organising the 'urban' level according to inhabitants' needs and wishes, in a world (not just in cities) that is increasingly shaped by global capitalism. The answer is an 'urban revolution' or an international class struggle for the non-capitalist production of space (Harvey, 2013; Lefebvre, 2003). Such struggle partially resonates with *sumud* resistance, which is an individual struggle for survival linked to an international struggle for liberation (Nassar, 2018; Tabar & Desai, 2017), exercised through spatial practice. As we have detailed in chapter 3, the Khirak struggle for self-governance and against the spaces that sustain Palestinian proletarianisation in Israel.[159] Their actions are clearly an ethno-class struggle to appropriate space. It is very different from the so-called 'urban revolution' the planners of Tantour were referring to in their imaginary of a suburban Palestinian 'middle class' fleeing the Villages to join the new 'Arab city' (see Chapter 2).

However, de-colonisation becomes elusive as the state employs social 'mixity' and diversity strategies for urban development (Kipfer et al., 2012). In Israel, a major challenge to overcoming spatial segregation comes precisely from the liberal citizenship discourse which is a crucial element of the ethnocratic regime (Yiftachel, 2006). Within this liberal discourse that seemingly supports diversity, occurrences of racism and discrimination against Palestinians are framed as local disputes and whitewashed as solvable by anti-discrimination measures. In this way, they are disconnected from the Palestinian national struggle (Tzfadia & Yacobi, 2011). The same discourse facilitates the framing of a 'housing crisis' within the 'Arab sector'. According to this

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[159] Since the reproduction of space sustains capitalist economy and since state-space demarcates national territory along with the national market, urban movements are always (also) about class (Harvey, 2013). In this case, the Khirak advocates for ample industrial and commercial land-uses in Tantour as alternative for reproducing local Palestinian dependency upon exclusively Jewish communities (as seen in Chapter 3).

discourse, PCI deserve 'the same' things as Jews do (see Chapter 2); the crisis should be resolved by an 'Arab city' rather than measures to encourage co-habiting in existing urban spaces.

Similarly, Monterescu (2015) illustrates the effect of the 2011 housing protests in the 'mixed' city of Jaffa. While the local housing struggle there was entrenched in ethno-class-based political opposition it was eventually subsumed by the nation-wide neoliberal protest. Consequently, housing organisations in Jaffa involved in political resistance were turned into service providers for the local community. Veracini (2013) explains that relying on colonial mechanisms and discourses (such as homeownership and the idea of the 'Arab city') to advance anti-colonial struggle undermines the effectiveness of this struggle since it risks reproducing settler colonialism in Israel and neo-colonialism in the OPT. In this light, it would be hard to see how PCI practices and actions in our two cases advance de-colonisation. In addition, neither group of PCI have made radical demands for the right to housing. The Khirak struggle is not opposed to the commodification of housing; the PCI inhabitants of Rawabi are not against being assimilated into what is essentially a gated community. However, this conclusion is premature. To consider de-colonisation, we must highlight the perspective of the colonised.

Studying Israel/Palestine from Indigenous perspectives

Thinking about de-colonisation in a way that does not emanate from the settlers' perspective requires shifting viewpoints, from examining the integrity of the settler colonial project as disconnected from everyday life of the colonised to examining a colonial relation from the perspective of the colonised (Barakat, 2018; Rouhana, 2018; Wolfe, 2013). Although a settler colonial critique of Israel/Palestine is essential for understanding ethnocracy and Judaisation of

space, a focus on everyday lives of Palestinians is key in learning the production of space (Allegra, 2017) and as a way to de-colonise research itself from settler hierarchies so "to know Israel for what it really is" (Hawari et al., 2019: 157).

Recent critical Indigenous studies have engaged with the question of Palestinian liberation, relying on a conceptualisation of Indigeneity as a political category (Barakat, 2018; Salaita, 2016). In the realm of production of space, this approach echoes Massey's (1994) view of any marginalised group as 'inhabitants' struggling for the right to the city against multiple oppressive forces. This perspective of Indigeneity recognises the continuous presence of Indigenous communities, identifies settler colonialism as a structure, and therefore enables us to explore the relationship between them. Specific themes that resonate with *sumud* are the importance of surviving and the notion of belonging in face of or alongside a globalised (capitalist) elite (Salaita, 2016), as well as the centrality of land to transformations in colonial relations (Coulthard, 2014).

The function of *sumud* resistance as simultaneously Indigenous presence and de-colonial vision is asserted in accounts of Palestinian anti-colonial culture. For instance, Nassar (2018) shows, through analysis of *sumud* poetry in Israel, that current forms of *sumud* manifest a struggle for equality within the state and at the same express broad anti-imperial ideas that are rooted in Arab culture, linked to a history of transnational de-colonisation efforts beyond the Palestinian struggle for national liberation. Channaa (2010) compares the cultural role of motherhood as reflected in two novels, set in Palestine and in Algeria, to find that domesticity can be a powerful anti-colonial concept in a local political framework as well as a form of active de-colonisation linked to a global struggle for freedom. For Palestinian intellectuals, the global concept of de-colonisation has been useful in formulating a political opposition to the state's marginalising strategies.

When the everyday life of the colonised subvert the structural asymmetry upon which the settler colonial regime, society and culture is founded, demands for "equality and reciprocity in a new democratic order" become means for de-colonisation (Rouhana, 2018: 657). *Sumud* is a powerful praxis for resisting the settler colonial condition precisely because of its everyday sensibilities and adaptability that enable the colonised population to confront state control "by simply living their lives" (Bayat, 2013: 56). Certainly, where housing policy, design, and struggle are appropriated by the state, actively obtaining rights to the land has a radical potential. Nevertheless, a rights-based recognition by the coloniser is potentially a pitfall to de-colonisation, since it requires approval from the coloniser under the terms dictated by the coloniser, and so the very aspiration for recognition emerges as integral to a colonial relation between the coloniser and the colonised (Coulthard, 2014). What are then the risks and potentials of centring housing in de-colonisation?

The risks and potentials of new modes of *sumud*

The cases of Tantour and Rawabi demonstrate different degrees by which the state recognises the rights of Palestinians. In Tantour, the state is planning for PCI as part of a 'housing crisis' solution. In Rawabi, Palestinian presence and land ownership is legitimised as part of 'economic peace'. However, Indigenous perspectives force us to go beyond analysing how these state strategies evade imagined threats to ethnocracy; they also ask us to consider the agency of Palestinians in analysis of the changing dynamics of settler colonialism (Nassar, 2018).

Rawabi

In Rawabi, interviewees described ownership of real estate and their relocation from Israel to the West Bank as making them 'feel at home', feeling free from multiple levels of subjugation despite becoming subjected to the restrictions and technologies of the occupation. For this group of people, who are looking to escape the social and cultural repressions they experience in Israel, Tantour in the Galilee seems like a glorified Village (F, 2016; J.B., 2016; M., 2016) in the sense that it replicates the continuous segregation of the 'Arab sector'. Rawabi, on the other hand, with all its constraints (IDF checkpoints not the least) grants them some freedoms. As we heard from interviewees, PCI move to Rawabi not only to improve their housing conditions but also for the opportunity to maintain a Palestinian identity and culture that fits their own views. Moreover, Rawabi creates a new space for encounter for Palestinian populations that have been separated by Zionist colonisation. Along with formalising their connection to land, this affirms a sense of belonging to Palestine among some PCI.

Considering that *sumud* is rooted in the private home, Rawabi real estate connects PCI to the West Bank, thus undermining ethno-national and state boundaries drawn by the Zionist regime. For those PCI who can afford it, the move enables them to conceive of and to actively experience (albeit to a limited extent) Israel/Palestine as a cohesive space. From the interviews we can gather the force of everyday practices that defy state jurisdiction precisely because of the day-to-day necessity to cross the borders in order to move to and from Area A. For PCI, constant border crossing represents a path for an Indigenous 'remaining' (Salaita, 2016) in spite of, along with, and possibly through settler neo-colonialism.

The Rawabi case shows that the changing relation of PCI to land is liberating and alienating at the same time. On the one hand, treating land as a commodity enables individuals to break from the chains of the Villages. Remember how F. (2016) spoke about the opportunity to rent an apartment for the first time rather than having his identity as a Palestinian defined by the Village and his claim to Village land (Chapter 5). On the other hand, land is at the core of *sumud*. Narratives about homeownership are focused on individual freedom that is achieved through recognition by the coloniser, in this case under the terms of a capitalist land regime shaped by the coloniser. From radical Indigenous perspectives, this represents a politics of recognition that undermines autonomous and collective Indigenous liberation (Coulthard, 2014). Moreover, interviewees (2016) confirm that they are uneasy about the class disparity that makes the move possible, since they are generally better off than local families. Recalling the displacement and dispossession involved in the construction of the project (Chapter 4), the consumption of housing in the private market may have the effect of integrating PCI into settler colonial Israel/Palestine.

Tantour

The Khirak's demand for inclusion in a planning process that was enacted by state institutions is forged in a climate where civil rights discourse has become the main avenue for demanding political recognition and cultural autonomy by Palestinians. For example, Rotem and Gordon (2017) illustrate how in the 1990s some Bedouin communities in Israel utilised the universal formulation of (some) civil rights to demand and exercise their right to education, thus reaffirming

their intent to remain on their lands.[160] In Tantour, Khirak activists employ the state conceived 'Arab city' framework, thus bringing *sumud* into the housing market and planning arena.

Tantour is seemingly unique in the context of Judaisation of the Galilee in Israel, since in this case land was expropriated for the declared purpose of alleviating housing distress in the 'Arab sector' rather than for the purpose of establishing exclusively Jewish communities. The Khirak's struggle to be included in a project that is considered by the state as a relief granted to PCI exposes the 'Arab city' as a reparation meant to whitewash the Judaisation of the Galilee and the settler colonial regime in general (Hawari et al., 2019). As we can see from the (Jewish) planners' rationalisation of to the Tantour project ("everybody wants the same"), framing the deepest conflicts of the ethnocratic regime as 'housing crisis' strives to obviate political struggle by the 'Arab sector'.[161] Khirak activists (2016) recognise the project as a solution to the wrong problem: it is meant to keep PCI spatially segregated rather than solving their acute housing distress. Khaj (2016) puts it most bluntly: "Why solve the problems of Arabs at the expense of Arabs?" The Khirak's struggle is therefore a struggle against integration into colonial space, asserted most clearly in the demand to incorporate the Tantour project into the jurisdiction of Judeida-Makr: "Tantour is ours"!

In her powerful account of Israeli Zionism as a housing regime, Allweil (2017) points out that Land of Day protests by PCI have been diminished to demands for equal distribution of resources by the state, disconnected from land-based national and cultural self-determination. Khirak activists (2016) contradict this interpretation when they announce they are not seeking

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[160] Rotem and Gordon (2017) discuss Bedouin communities' struggle for the right to receive education services from the state without being displaced as a form of *sumud* resistance and remaining on the land.

[161] As mentioned in Chapter 2, the state renders political resistance a manageable urban issue (Tzfadia & Yacobi, 2011).

compensation for confiscated lands. Significantly, this assertion rejects the settler's view of land as commodity (Blatman-Thomas & Porter, 2019) as well as of settler colonialism as a thing of the past. In fact, on March 26th, 2016, PCI in the Galilee commemorated the 40 years anniversary to the Day of Land by focusing on the paradoxical confiscation of lands from the town of Judeida-Makr for the Tantour project, asserting the link between the land question and the national question. Their protest featured Palestinian flags.

However, inclusion in the planning process may solidify the settler colonial project. After all, the 'Arab city' is founded on the state's willingness to recognise certain liberal rights of the ethno-national minority at the expense of the right for self-determination of Palestinians. The Khirak's interest in recognition and their definition of successful struggle accepts the terms set by the state's planning institutions. Here, the colonised relate to the coloniser through a politics of recognition in ways that resemble what Coulthard describes in the North American and Canadian context (2014). In the Tantour case the state is allowing PCI to settle on land that was confiscated from Palestinians in the first place. By surrendering state property to PCI, the state is admitting Palestinian's right to the land but only inasmuch as it does nothing to jeopardise colonial relations (Blatman-Thomas and Porter 2019). In fact, such recognition could serve state interest by reversing the subversive processes (e.g., migration of PCI to Jewish cities) instigated by the state's segregation strategies, thus strengthening the Judaisation of space.

Conclusion | The changing terms of the colonial relation

Examining Tantour and Rawabi side by side reveals a version of colonisation of Israel/Palestine that changes the relation of Palestinian citizens of Israel to Palestinian land. In both cases in

question, state interest is articulated in creating an alternative to the 'Arab Village' and in utilising the 'housing crisis'. Recognising certain rights of PCI and promoting homeownership becomes a strategy to counter and pre-empt collective struggle. Responding to the persistent presence of the colonised, the settler colonial state changes its strategy. In this case, it moves from destruction (limiting development, withholding resources, and actual demolition) to construction. Yet Indigenous-state relations are kept alive through this very modification (Coulthard, 2014), which reinforces ethnicised suburbanisation both in the Galilee and in the West Bank.

Looking at these cases from an Indigenous perspective, however, helps to see that the coloniser and the colonised act within different understandings of land (Blatman-Thomas & Porter, 2019). Thus, in the Rawabi case, although the decision to invest in real estate (and in some cases to move) is resolutely private and individual, it is understood by interviewees as way of re-claiming Palestinian control over the whole of Palestine, thus facilitating a property rights-based adaptation of the 'right of return' (Bastaki, 2020). The decision to purchase a home in Rawabi in this sense is highly politicised.

In Tantour, activists are fighting for (rather than against) the 'Arab city', in order to guarantee that their children have land to settle in the Galilee. Re-claiming the very mechanisms whose raison d'être has been to advance the conquest of labour and conquest of land involves a radical political demand for Village centrality: local residents participating in the planning process and demanding to place the project under Judeida-Makr jurisdiction. Therefore, for Khirak activists, this struggle is a step towards de-colonisation.

The potential of the Khirak struggle to sway the Tantour project so that it meets the needs of the local Palestinian population remains uncertain and questionable. It is nevertheless crucial to

recognise that, thanks to this struggle, Tantour is effectively co-produced by the state and PCI. The struggle clarifies that colonial geographies embody a colonial relation. Importantly, by producing housing for consumption by PCI the state is also creating spaces that, to some degree, negate its own control (Jabareen & Switat, 2019). While the recognition of Indigenous rights to land deepen the colonial relation even as it modifies it (Coulthard, 2014), doing so also introduces new contradictions into this relationship. A transformation in this relation potentially collapses the institutionalised dichotomy of coloniser and colonised, if not their respective identities (Zreik, 2016). State recognition of Indigenous rights to land therefore exacerbates the state's vulnerability.

Moreover, considering the ethno-class structure of Israel's settler colonial society and the ethnic logic of capital (Yiftachel, 2006) that govern the country's land regime, reclaiming land holds a potential for a broader, also class-based struggle against ethnicised production of space. Indeed, for Khirak activists, the goal of the struggle is not individual compensation for confiscated lands but rather recognition of their collective right to the land – to Palestine.

We can thus say that with a new mode of colonisation appears a new mode of *sumud*. Tabar and Desai (2017) contend that theories and practices of de-colonisation are to some degree place-specific since they are grounded in local struggles. Concerned with remaining on the land, PCI in Tantour and Rawabi reclaim neoliberal 'solutions' to the housing crisis as an opportunity to recover their relation to the land in the face of Zionist political economy. This comparative approach enables us to see Rawabi as a possible future of the Khirak struggle in Tantour: complete recognition and assimilation into racial capitalism (but still, never absolute erasure). The Khirak, however, is practicing self-governance, mobilising the local community to make political claims, and contesting the allocation of resources according to the 'ethnic logic of capital' (Yiftachel, 2006). Insofar as their demand for recognition challenges the colonial capitalist relation to land it

could become a foundation for Indigenous resurgence (Coulthard, 2014). As the Khirak activist Jamal (2016) said, "we lit the fire, and now the fire is going, and it will keep on going." Now Khirak groups in other communities need to resist, "and we will help them."

CONCLUSION | "THEY SPEND BILLIONS OF DOLLARS JUST TO KEEP US SEPARATED"

> They spend billions of dollars just to keep us separated
>
> They spend billions of dollars just to keep us separated
>
> Imagine there is no heaven, no countries, no blah blah
>
> No possessions, no blah blah, no blah blah, no blah blah
>
> I'm peaceful like the Sufi and the Buddhist, but I'm not a masochist
>
> They killed 100 in a month, fuck Yoga, I scream for my rights… (DAM, 2019).[162]

Less than 150km separate Rawabi and the site of the future city of Tantour, that is 150km and multiple IDF checkpoints. The two new cities represent new housing choices that are available for Palestinians citizens of Israel, Rawabi requiring PCI to move to Area A (under the Palestinian National Authority's control). Foregrounding the narratives of PCI, this research has shown however that these two housing development projects also prove how much the Israeli ethnocratic regime has invested in fortifying the separations that fracture the political realities and the urban landscapes of Israel/Palestine. Espoused by the state's recognition in the housing crisis among its so-called 'Arab sector' and by the neoliberal turn in Palestine, both cases in question manifest attempts to separate Palestinian citizens of Israel from Palestinian land, from Jewish urban spaces ,and from a collective Palestinian struggle for liberation. In these cases, urbanization by separation is legitimated by the very attachment of PCIs to the land, which is defined and negotiated under the terms of the settler colonial state and against Palestinian *sumud*.

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[162] DAM is a Palestinian hip hop band, led by two brothers (PCI) from the 'mixed' city of Lod. In Arabic, the band name دام means 'lasting', the same pronunciation in Hebrew means 'blood', and the English acronym stands for 'Da Arab MCs'.

Comparing, for the first time, two urban development projects on opposite sides of the Green Line, my research reveals a current mode of colonisation in/of Israel/Palestine as a whole: the production of suburban housing to be consumed via the private market. Having recognised the historical principles of 'conquest of labour' and 'conquest as land' as the ongoing and present Zionist political economy, I conclude that 'Peacebuilding urbanism', the strategy of 'economic peace' in the West Bank that is so well exemplified by the case of Rawabi, is creeping into Israel.[163] While previous strategies of ethnicised segregation in Israel carry on, the construction of the 'Arab city', Tantour, signifies differentiation of the 'Arab sector' while incorporating and homogenising Palestinians into the Judaisation of space.

The presence of Palestinians in Israel endures despite the conquest of labour and conquest of land; it is in fact exploited for the purpose of proletarianising the so-called 'Arab sector'. In this context, the state must constantly reinvent its settlement strategies. Housing policy, design, and struggle play an important role, enabling the state's capacity to recognise while deflecting Indigenous political claims. In part, this is done by re-framing a perceived threat to the ethnocratic regime as a housing issue that is rooted in the 'housing crisis' and thus becomes solvable without compromising ethnocratic spatial arrangements. De-colonisation therefore requires an alternative production of space.

The research further shows that Judaisation of space is a dialectical process of spatialising state power that contains spaces for resistance carved out in everyday life. However, locating a path to de-colonisation in the Khirak struggle in Tantour and in PCI homeownership in Rawabi

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[163] I employ the formulation of 'creeping apartheid' (Hanafi, 2009; Yiftachel, 2006) to emphasise how an instrument of Israeli domination in the OPT is also directed at PCI, revealing the work of colonial oppression in the whole of Palestine.

requires shifting our analytical focus from a settler colonial critique of Judaisation of space to an Indigenous perspective, rooted specifically in *sumud* praxis or Palestinian steadfastness. PCI have demanded to participate in the planning process of Tantour and obtained homeownership in Rawabi. The people I interviewed interpret their involvement in the housing development projects as actions that connect their right to housing to a struggle legitimising their presence on Palestinian land. In this, they contest the 'ethnic logic of capital' and undermine the ethnocratic regime. Evidently, *sumud* itself is changing along with the new settler tactics of urbanisation and contains a range of practices of remaining and visions of de-colonisation. This range contains possibilities for individual resilience as well as collective political opposition to settler colonialism. For PCI homeowners in Rawabi, the new mode of remaining remains an individual and not a collective political claim of *sumud*. The Rawabi model of incorporation into 'economic peace' then puts in question the future of collective struggle for de-colonisation in Tantour, where Khirak activists are fighting an equivocal fight for recognition in their right to the land.

How might this dynamic inform a politicised concept of the 'right to housing'? The research demonstrates that capitalism and settler colonialism are intertwined and mutually constitutive. In light of the centrality of housing to – in this case Zionist – political economy, and given the role of housing struggle and housing development in shaping the current colonial relation in Israel/Palestine, the right to housing must be fought for as a struggle to de-colonise the production of housing, a step towards de-colonisation.

At the same time, understanding urban development from the point of view of the colonised enables us to conceptualise de-colonisation from everyday life, and in turn to rethink the global processes that sustain settler colonialism through a local de-colonial lens. Having compared housing developments in Israel and the West Bank, we can now see them not as mere local

neoliberal responses to the global housing crisis but rather as the embodiment of current strategies by the settler colonial regime to overcome its inherent contradictions by utilising the global crisis. The research therefore illuminates the significance of colonial pasts and presents to the study of the global housing crisis more broadly. A de-colonial right to housing then emerges fundamentally as a grounded struggle that confronts the manipulation of the global housing crisis into a local strategy for reproducing colonised space.

Once construction work begins on Tantour and once the dust settles, what will be the future of this project? All Palestinian interviewees in the research posed the question: "who is going to live there?!" The project is apparently so alienated from the needs of the local community as well as unattractive to its target population that if the planning process proceeds unchanged the viability of the city is highly questionable. If this project fails to attract the desired residents, would it be more susceptible to appropriation by Judeida-Makr inhabitants such as the Khirak activists? Or would it perhaps become attractive to the Jewish housing market? In the long term, gentrification and ensuing displacement of Judeida-Makr inhabitants are plausible scenarios. These questions have great impact on the town of Judeida-Makr, but beyond that, the processes identified in the comparison of Tantour and Rawabi suggest probable urban futures of 'economic peace' that illustrate why ending the occupation would not necessarily end settler colonialism. The anchoring of settler colonialism in capitalist development currently unfolds at an unprecedented scale. We can see this in the (yet to be realised) Peace to Prosperity plan initiated by the Trump administration that would annex Palestinian territories to Israel; and in Israel's normalisation agreements with the UAE, Bahrain, and, possibly, Saudi Arabia. These agreements focus on economic collaboration and would undoubtedly engender new manifestations of peacebuilding urbanism. Qatar is already deeply involved in urban development in Gaza and in the West Bank. With 'economic peace' as

the main objective, urban development for Palestinians is set to strengthen Israeli control at the expense of Palestinians and the Palestinian national struggle for liberation.

Directions for future research

The VATMAL mechanism has been changing the Israeli landscape. Although VATMAL has been somewhat studied and critiqued from a policy viewpoint, especially in terms of re-centralisation of planning mechanisms in Israel (Mualam, 2018) and the resultant diminishing of the democratic aspects of planning (Feitelson et al., 2018; Charney, 2017), more research is urgently needed so that we can assess the impact on Israel's socio-spatial landscape. Specifically, the effect of this massive transformation in housing planning and development on Israel's 'Arab sector', including the dynamics of suburbanisation and proletarianisation mentioned in this thesis, would complement recent work on the connections between neoliberal urbanisation and settler colonialism in Israel/Palestine (Yacobi & Tzfadia, 2019; Porter & Yiftachel, 2019). Such research that centres housing in ethnocracy by highlighting the point of view of the affected communities would further contribute to de-colonising urban research itself.

Moreover, new research is required to reveal present modes, methods, and technologies of securitisation (Halper, 2014) that are developed to support anticipated development emanating from 'economic peace' and the intensifying involvement of foreign investment in the OPT. Since inherent contradictions to the capitalist mode of production of space constantly engender new everyday realities, as in the case of Palestinian citizens of Israel living in Area A in the OPT, borders and barriers will no doubt be calibrated to counter everyday practices and aspirations. Studying these emerging contradictions is necessary to trace changes in the colonial relation.

In addition, more local-to-local comparisons grounded in urban development would be useful to understand connections between class formation and the Palestinian national struggle under the neoliberal turn in Palestine, as well as for understanding how the ethno-class structure is being sustained within Israel. [164] Such comparisons will help to chart the ways in which Palestinian national aspirations exercise local forms of de-colonisation (Tabar & Desai, 2017), and to discover how global processes of urbanisation are utilised and reproduced in the local political conflict (Robinson, 2016b). Most crucially, a case-based research agenda for radical housing studies (Heslop & Ormerod, 2019) is urgently needed to understand how the global housing crisis is locally reproduced. In settler colonial context, housing studies must be informed by Indigenous studies to see how resilience-as-resistance is shaping inhabitants' relation to land (Barakat, 2018; Marie et al., 2018; Kirmayer et al., 2012). Such a research agenda could help recast the concept of 'housing crisis' beyond (but not excluding) political-economic critique. As Larkin (2014) and Hamdi (2011) suggest, documenting narratives of Palestinians is a way of making Palestine present, a way of remaining. In our third meeting, Jamal (2016) told me that any show of interest, academic or other, in the Khirak struggle can help promote it: "just by doing this work you are part of our struggle." This offering was extremely generous of him. My hope is that my research helps to promote solidarity, including my own, with this struggle.

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[164] Cases could include, for example, *Hamad City* – a privately funded project (like Rawabi) in the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip; and Jewish-Orthodox cities being established in Israel.

EPILOGUE

In November 2019, a report (NCPC, 2019) was submitted to the NCPC that examines objections to the Tantour project, Plan 1058/1059. The appointed special examiner rejected most of the objections by Judeida-Makr inhabitants (except for minor adjustments to compensations in the few cases where the plan applies to private land).[165] Most significantly to the Khirak's demands, the report does recommend incorporating Tantour into Judeida-Makr's jurisdiction. However, this concession does not necessarily predict a positive development for local inhabitants, since it presumably sets the ground for replacing the elected Local Council with state-appointed management (as reported by Kolker, 2016). In fact, the investigator herself admits in the report (NCPC, 2019) that the issue of Tantour being a 'new' city' (as opposed to a neighbourhood of Judeida-Makr) lies within the authority of the Ministry of Interior and the Minister himself – not with the planning institutions. In other words, the future of Tantour hinges on a political decision.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the Green Line, the Covid19 pandemic has exacerbated social gaps in Rawabi between PCI and Palestinians from the West Bank. Since some PCI use their real estate in the city as vacation homes, once the pandemic spread in Israel many of them came to stay in the city, leading the Mayor to place a checkpoint at the entrance to the city (Delashi, 2020). The role of PCI in colonisation of the West Bank has thus transformed into a health risk.

These developments prove how neoliberal mechanisms that operate to disguise the ideology directing the production of space, in this case by increasing housing options for Palestinian citizens of Israel, exacerbate the contradictions of colonial domination.

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[165] Margalit and Kemp (2019) show that in Israel, objections to urban planning schemes by Palestinians are less likely to be accepted than Jews and are answered with technical language that avoids dealing with substantive issues.

LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Chapter 2

Allah (2016) Khirak activist. Acre. 9 September.

Jamal (2016) Khirak activist. Acre. 9 September.

Khamaisi, R. (2016) Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, Haifa University. Tamra. 11 September.

Kolker, A. (2016) Architect and town planner. Tel Aviv. 27 September.

Mebel, E. Architect and town planner. Qiryat Tiv'on. 7 September.

Riba, N. (2017) Journalist, *Ha'aretz*. Givatayim. 19 December.

Wared (2016) Khirak activist. Acre. 9 September.

Chapter 3

Jamal. (2016). Khirak activist. Acre. 9 September; Acre. 15 September; Judeida-Makr. 29 September.

Khaj. (2016). Khirak activist. Acre. 15 September.

Khamaisi, R. (2016) Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, Haifa University. Tamra. 11 September.

Khirak activist group. (2016). Acre. 15 September.

Mebel, E. Architect and town planner. Qiryat Tiv'on. 7 September.

Nimer. (2016) Khirak activist. Acre. 15 September; Judeida-Makr. 29 September.

Shadi. (2016) Khirak activist. Acre. 15 September.

Shibel, M. (2016) Judeida-Makr Council Engineer. Acre. 23 September.

Shimer. (2016) Khirak activist. Acre. 15 September.

Wared. (2016) Khirak activist. Acre. 15 September.

Wesam. (2016) Khirak activist. Acre. 15 September; Tantour Hills. 29 September.

Chapter 4

A. (2016). Urban planner, the Rawabi project. Rawabi. 12 April.

Bayti employee 1. (2016). Rawabi. 12 April.

Bayti employee 2. (2016) Rawabi. 12 April.

M. (2016). Rawabi homeowner. Jaffa. 19 September.

Chapter 5

F. (2016). Rawabi homeowner. Tel Aviv. 7 September.

J.B. (2016). Rawabi homeowner. Petah Tikva. 18 September.

M. (2016). Rawabi homeowner. Jaffa. 19 September.

Y. (2016). Rawabi homeowner. Jerusalem. 27 September.

Chapter 6

F. (2016). Rawabi homeowner. Tel Aviv. 7 September.

J.B. (2016). Rawabi homeowner. Petah Tikva. 18 September.

Khirak activist group. (2016). Acre. 15 September.

M. (2016). Rawabi homeowner. Jaffa. 19 September.

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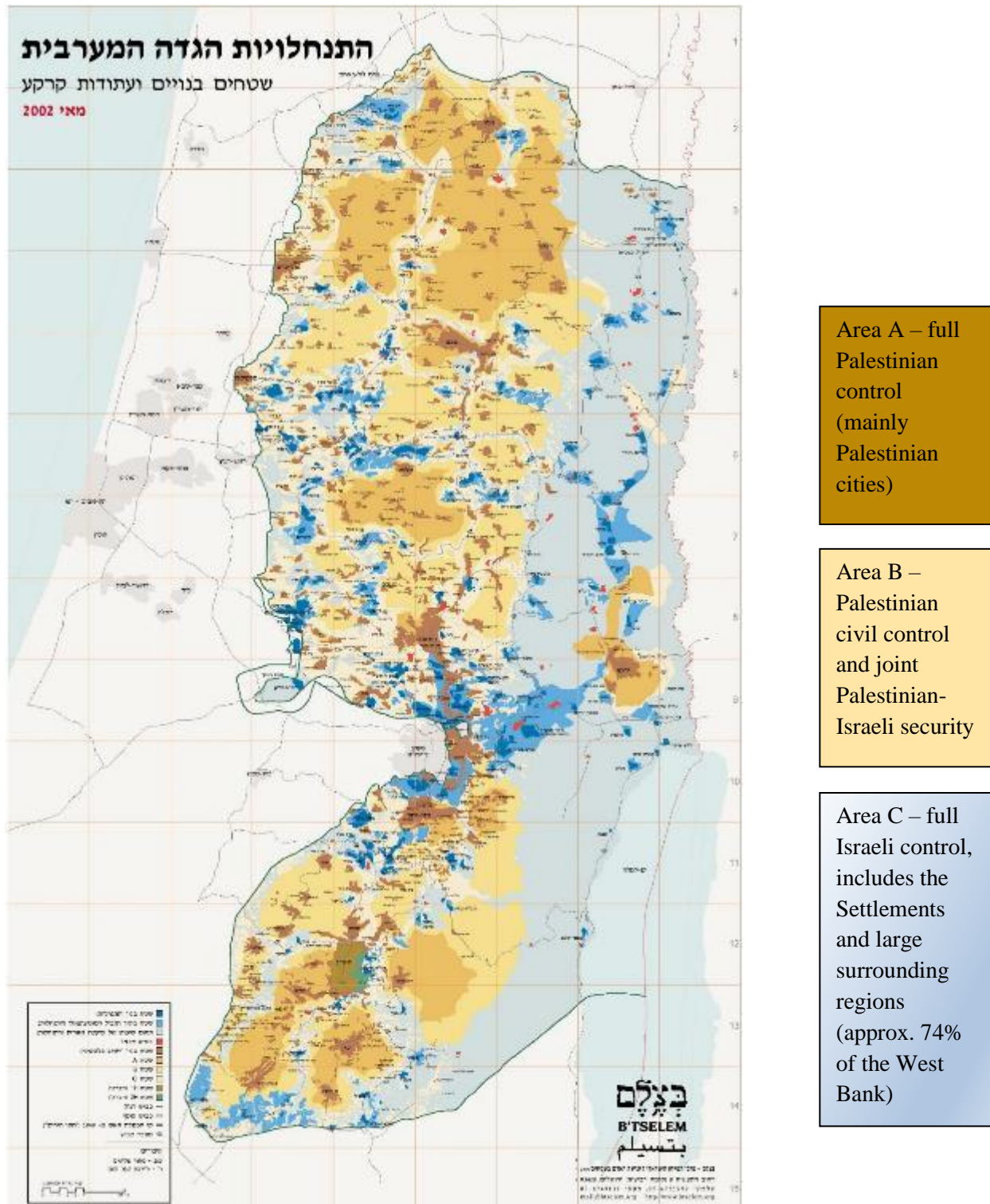
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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX C

התנחלויות הגדה המערבית
שטחים בנויים ועתודות קרקע
מאי 2002

B'TSELEM
בצלם
بتسيلم

Area A – full Palestinian control (mainly Palestinian cities)

Area B – Palestinian civil control and joint Palestinian-Israeli security

Area C – full Israeli control, includes the Settlements and large surrounding regions (approx. 74% of the West Bank)

A map of the West Bank showing the different administrative areas generated by the Oslo Accords. Source: B'tselem.