
MAPPING TRANSITION: DIVIDED CITIES OF JERUSALEM AND SARAJEVO

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This paper aims to map transition and to discuss the positive and negative outcomes of transition, as well as its impact on urban development and planning initiatives. The urban challenges of Jerusalem and Sarajevo as divided cities in conflict and in transition will be elaborated on. Sarajevo is not physically divided, however it still suffers from social division and the political and administrative division of the state. The complex state administrative organisation is the primary reason for insufficient planning policy and the chaotic state of planning. Altered demographics, land ownership, illegal construction, and the lack of administrative coordination are some of the consequences of the conflict which have had long term impacts on urban planning. Jerusalem, on the other hand, as a politically divided city, mirrors the wider Palestinian-Israeli conflict and symbolises the essence of the historic dispute of both sides' claims to the city. Throughout the history of negotiations, the city has been described as the "undivided, eternal capital of the Jewish people" by Israel, and Palestinians have insisted that no permanent solution will be reached without resolving the issue of Jerusalem, and their desire for it to serve as the capital of a Palestinian State.

Keywords

divided cities, transition, conflict, urban changes

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INTRODUCTION

Societies affected by the conflict are confronted by extreme and enforced urban changes that often extend into a transitional period. These changes vary, but in some cases they may lead to the development of divided cities. Taking many guises and playing different roles within conflicts, divided cities may become an arena for inter-group hostilities; a stage for the expression of antagonistic acts towards other groups; or even become an accommodative space and provide an opportunity for peace-building. Cities may have long-term symbolic significance, they can symbolise the nature of the wider conflict itself, and may indeed be the epicentre of the most intense form of the conflict. Additionally, they may embody a planned policy of segregation. The transitional period usually reveals more profoundly the consequences of conflict. The purpose of this paper is to depict the urban fabric and functionality, and future urban development within these cities, detached from their surroundings, whilst discussing urban changes under the pressure of conflict and transition.

JERUSALEM DIVIDED

On a geo-demographic level, Jerusalem has witnessed extreme urban changes, due to the imposition of Israeli settlements that continue to be built in and around the city on occupied Palestinian land, challenging the identity and character of the city. On a functional level, up until the eve of the Peace Process, East Jerusalem was the primary urban centre of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as it hosted the major services, media and political institutions for Palestinians. Gradually, Jerusalem has been torn out from its Palestinian urban context and Ramallah has become the new urban centre for the West Bank, especially since the beginning of the construction of the Separation Wall. This had led to the transfer of functions, professionals and businesses from Jerusalem to Ramallah.

When Israel occupied East Jerusalem in 1967, it annexed the smallest population possible, whilst incorporating a large amount of open land for settlement building. One-third of the total area of East Jerusalem was confiscated for this purpose. These settlements fragment the contiguity of Palestinian communities and were built in circles to cut the Old City off from the inner neighbourhoods and the edge neighbourhoods, to the extent that one can't move from one neighbourhood to another without crossing through settlements or Israeli road systems. This reality created new and multiple seam lines between the Palestinian neighbourhoods and settlements. Until 1987, some of these settlements were used Palestinian road systems, especially those in the north east of Jerusalem such as settlements of Neve Ya'akov and Pisgat Ze'ev. Since then new settlement road systems have been developed separately from Palestinian ones. The First Intifada in 1987 had a major effect on deepening the divide and segregation of the city. Israelis as a result stopped visiting both the Old City and Palestinian neighbourhoods in high numbers, and this development was extended and strengthened through the Second Intifada. Into the present day, since the erection of the separation wall, which should have given Israelis their long sought sense of security, many have not gone back to using the same spaces they did before the First Intifada. Few Israelis now enter the Old City through the Damascus Gate, or shop in its markets, preferring to access the Jewish Quarter through the Jaffa Gate and the Armenian Quarter, or the Zion and Dung Gates on the south side of the Old City.

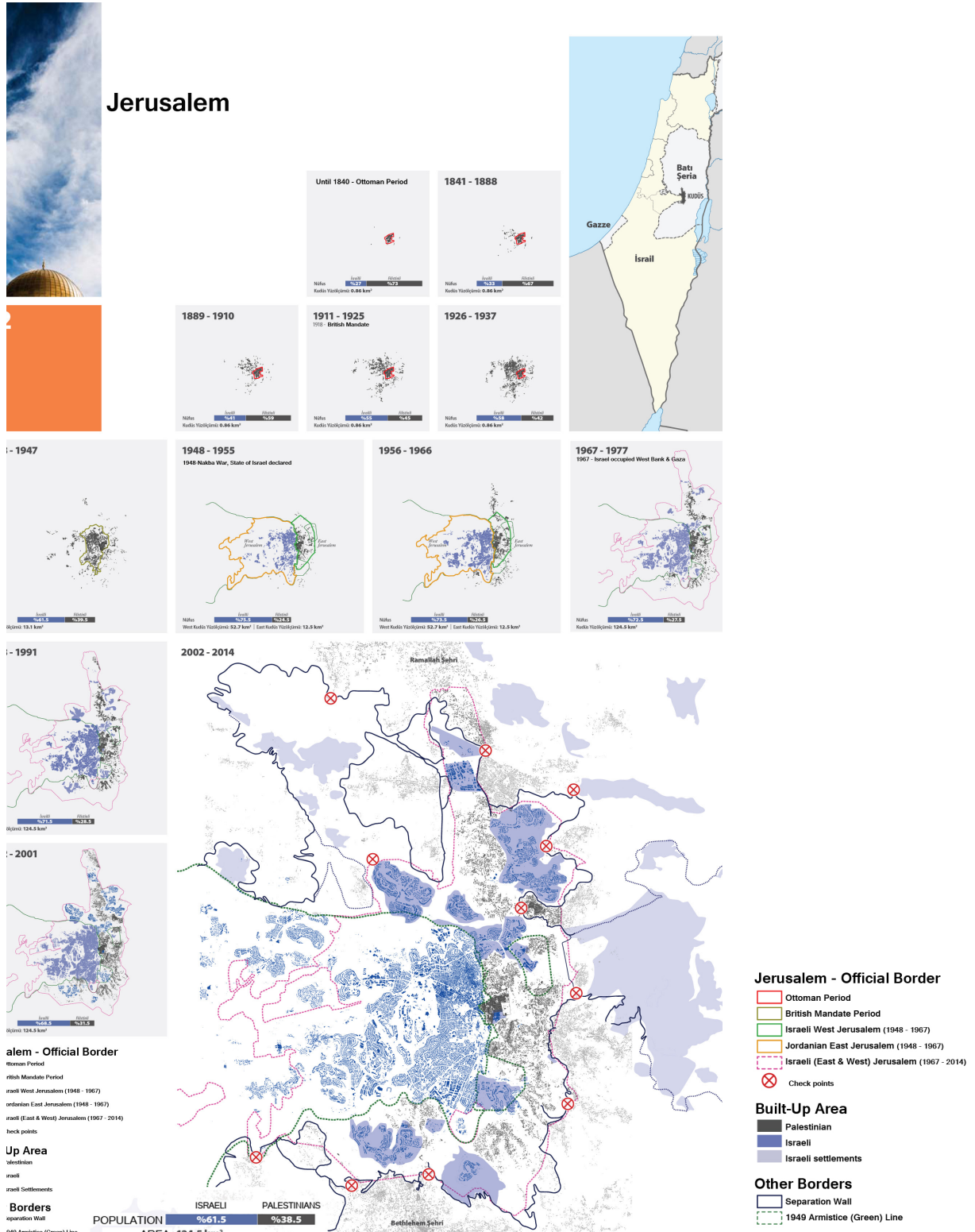


FIGURE 1 Expanded Israeli settlements inside East Jerusalem and Separation wall: Urban growth of the Jerusalem is followed by the expansion of the Israeli settlements inside East Jerusalem and with the construction of the separation wall; Settlement blocks around Jerusalem are cutting off access between the south of the West Bank and the north, while lack of planning in East Jerusalem increased organic growth of informal housing and absence of public space.

JERUSALEM FIVE SPHERES OF INTERACTION

Spatial segregation remains the dominant factor in shaping the city and its functions. Much of the interaction between Palestinians and Israelis is within the Israel's administrative agencies and security apparatus.

During the twenty years of the peace process Jerusalem's status as a metropolitan centre has declined severely due to the lack of mobility, the ending the presence of Palestinian institutions out of the city, and eventually due to the erection of the Separation Wall in 2002-2003. This decline has increased Palestinians dependency on the Israeli system, primarily in order to preserve their residency rights and their ability to access the city¹, as well as welfare and health insurance. The basic requirement to preserve Jerusalem residency rights is through providing evidence to the Israeli Ministry of Interior that one's centre of life is within the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem; through the payment of taxes, electric and water bills; location of work; and children being educated in schools in East Jerusalem. Therefore Palestinians remain in a constant struggle to prove residency in order to preserve their national insurance (welfare system) merits and health insurance. This had led to an individual survival mechanism where individuals have to deal with the Ministry of Interior to keep their right to reside in the city. The Israeli Ministry of Interior office located in the Wadi El Joz neighbourhood, north of the Old City, exclusively serves Palestinian residents; meanwhile Israeli settlers obtain their services from the West Jerusalem office. Health insurance is provided by subcontracted Palestinian medical centres which are not owned or managed by the Israeli health system. The interaction between other service providers with Palestinians is minimal and often provided through subcontractors, such as the Gihon Water Company and Bezeq Telecommunication Company², and thus many services are provided either through local Palestinian subcontractors or not provided at all. In many cases, Palestinians are compelled to travel to nearby settlements such as French Hill, Ramat Eshkol and Pisgat Ze'ev, in order to receive their services such as banks and post offices, due to the scarcity of the operating offices in East Jerusalem.

The second, and most dominant kind of interaction, is between Palestinian Jerusalemites and Israeli soldiers and security guards at checkpoints. According to an IPCC survey conducted in 2009, two-thirds of Palestinians cross checkpoints to and from the suburbs and West Bank cities around East Jerusalem. The survey was conducted on a large sample composed of 1,115 households. This interaction had recently become more intangible, as direct contact with soldiers had been limited and replaced by security cameras, electronic gates and tinted windows. This interaction is deemed negative. According to the survey, around 69% of Palestinians feel humiliation, suppression and anger when seeing the Separation Wall, yet the interaction with the West Bank remains relatively high, as 20% go to the West Bank for work reasons, 20% for visiting of relatives and social encounters, and 17% for education. Most of the Palestinian Jerusalemites working in the West Bank, primarily in Ramallah, are highly educated and work in the services and commercial establishments.

The third kind of interaction occurs in the Old City and the neighbourhoods surrounding the Old City, including Sheikh Jarrah, Ras Al Amud and Silwan which are inhabited by 2,000 settlers and Yeshiva students, belonging to national-religious Zionist organisations who believe in the exclusive Jewish right to the city. These settlers reside in the heart of the Palestinian neighbourhoods protected by private security companies financed by the Israeli Ministry of Housing. This interaction disturbs the daily life of these neighbourhoods through the constant security measures in force, challenging the Palestinian characteristics of these neighbourhoods through regular marches and raising of flags and Jewish symbols, leading to harassment and provocation. The Israeli settlers are ideological individuals who view their existence as one limited to retrieving Jewish land, meanwhile Palestinians view the settlers as invaders swallowing up their space and disturbing their daily lives.



FIGURE 2 Around 100,000 Jerusalemite residents live behind the 142 km length separation wall suffering from a severe lack of basic services and infrastructure.

The fourth kind of interaction is between Palestinians labourers and Israeli employers, where 32,000 (10%) of Palestinian Jerusalemites work in Israeli settlements and West Jerusalem. Many Palestinians are poorly educated and unskilled workers that take on “dirty work” such as janitors, hotel and restaurant kitchen staff and construction. Very few Palestinians work in representative positions such as receptionists, salespeople, or any position requiring skills and education.

The fifth kind of interaction is one relevant to commercial interaction. Palestinians often go to Israeli shopping centres such as Mamilla, Malha Mall and Pisgat Ze’ev. These shopping centres have become not only places for commercial interaction but are also viewed by the Palestinians as places for entertainment. The interaction between Palestinians and Israelis in these commercial centres still varies. Shopping at Mamilla is considered relaxing due to the fact that many of the shops’ salespeople are Palestinians. 20% to 25% of the visitors to Mamilla are Palestinians. It is accessible on foot, and has no security measures at its entrances or within the premises. It is considered a global, trans-cultural space where Israeli identity is less visible and is a touristic location. In the Malha Mall, Palestinian salespeople are rarely found and fewer Palestinians visit. However, this trend had recently changed where 3% - 3.5% of daily visitors are Palestinians, whilst the figure for Sundays and Muslim holidays reaches up to 25%. Increasing numbers of Palestinian salespeople work in the Mall, yet security measures at the entrances are strict. In Pisgat Ze’ev however, shopping is not as a relaxing experience due to stricter security measures and a more hostile environment. Many fewer Palestinians visit Pisgat Ze’ev, and they are limited to nearby Palestinian residents. The situation in the main pedestrian shopping area of West Jerusalem - Jaffa Street - varies considerably. Palestinians can be subjected to inspection at any time within the centre or at the entrances to shops. Fewer Palestinians go there due to these measures although it is walking distance from the Old City. Palestinians are aware of their use of the Israeli spaces and thus know that they are crossing the green line to the other side, with the exception of Mamilla. Palestinians do not go to the other side for interactive purposes but rather to satisfy their commercial and entertainment needs.

A new reality has emerged since 2000, as many Palestinian business have had to relocate their businesses from Palestinian neighbourhoods, mainly from Bir Nabal and al Eizariya, to the Israeli industrial zone settlement of Atarot³ and Mishor Adumim⁴. This area remains under Israeli control and strict security measures, although today it hosts a large number of Palestinian owned establishments, however the prevailing character of the area remains Israeli, rather than a joint or mixed one.

SARAJEVO • DIVIDED

Different factors and reasons can cause the phenomenon of the divided city, with the most extreme cases conflict and post conflict divided cities. Under changed political, economic and social circumstances or a shifted state constitution, the composition of communities and cities can easily be manipulated, and transform into conflict and war. The impact of divisions created during armed conflict is profound and has long lasting consequences.

An example of a divided city is Sarajevo, the Capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an outcome of the partition of the state into two entities after the war 1992-95.

Sarajevo underwent a period of socio-economic and urban development during the period between 1945 and the second part of the 20th century, reaching a zenith in the 1980's, when Sarajevo hosted the Winter Olympics in 1984.

After the breakup of the former Yugoslavia started in 1991, the independent state of Bosnia and Herzegovina was established in 1992. With 525980 inhabitants in 1991, it's capital Sarajevo was a symbol of multi-ethnic co-existence which will be disrupted same year after proclaiming independence. Unfortunately, 1992 - 1995 was a period of genocide of the Bosnian people, followed by destruction of their cities, cultural monuments and societies. Residents of Bosnia and Herzegovina witnessed the aggression, which will be stopped signing the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995.

Following the war a period of political and social economic transition began. The established peace created a complex system of government which has made governance extremely difficult.

After the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords, Bosnia and Herzegovina was established as state of 3 major nationalities: Bosniaks; Serbs; and Croats. The new state constitution created two Entities: The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FB&H) and The Republic Srpska (RS), as well as the Brčko district.⁶ Each entity has it's own constitution that should be in accordance to the state constitution.

On the state level there are 3 presidency members, while governing partition of the state is also present at Federal level with 10 Cantons. Each Canton with its own administrative government has relatively significant autonomy at local level.

Immediately after the war in 1995 and onward, the majority of state activities were focused on post war recovery, including reconstruction of destroyed and damaged buildings and construction. The priorities of post war recovery were to ensure security, with social and physical rehabilitation.

The state capital Sarajevo was badly damaged, as the city remained under siege for more than three years during the war. Many parts of the city were controlled by the Serb army during the war and city was fully divided. After the Dayton accords, in order to function as the state capital, those parts of the city were initially allocated from RS territory and returned to the City of Sarajevo.

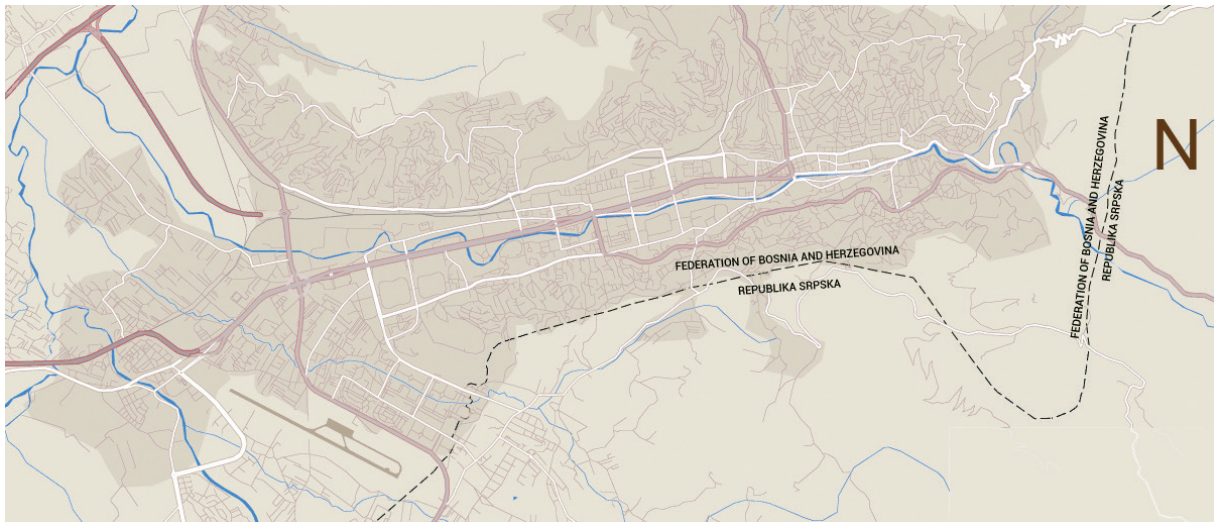


FIGURE 3 **Border** between Federation Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska cutting urban area of the state capital Sarajevo from its surrounding

Still Inter Entity Boundary line established after Dayton accords divide once unified city. The area belonging to the RS is referred to as East Sarajevo (Istočno Sarajevo), and had emerged in an attempt to become a fully separated and independent city. Even though the city of Banja Luka has become Administrative Capital of RS, still East Sarajevo is developed separately from the City of Sarajevo and is fully integrated into RS.

Today City of Sarajevo is one of 9 municipalities that comprise Sarajevo canton, one of 10 cantons inside FB&H. The urban area of the city is comprised of 4 municipalities. Compared to the situation prior to the war, the urban area of the city has decreased, as eastern parts were excluded from the city after the new constitution.

However, the Entity borders detach the Capital from its surroundings, with the hills and countryside to the south and east incorporated into RS, along with the surrounding urban tissue.

Urban planning activities are divided and there is no cooperation or common plan for the city of Sarajevo and East Sarajevo. The way in which the urban tissue of Sarajevo is still suffering from division is clearly depicted in the following three cases of the Dobrinja, Vrace and Trebević Mountain. The final and current Entity borders run through the Dobrinja neighbourhood, with a population of around 34 000 people, of which, 25,500 reside on the FB&H side, and 8,500 live on the RS side.⁷ The national monument at Vraca⁸, a place once famous due to its artistic, architectural, cultural and historical nature and its landscape, became a position from which citizens of Sarajevo were fired upon from during the Bosnia War, by Serbs fighters. Today the border line crosses this area and there is still no clear plan or attempt to prioritise the revitalisation of this monument. A similar situation is found at Trebević Mountain which is still covered by minefields. Its vicinity to the border makes it an unpopular place.

The Borders within the urban area of Sarajevo are not merely spatial, there are still strong social elements of division which are expressed in many ways, articulating differences and belonging to different religious. The names of streets, usage of different alphabets, and the lack of a transportation connection between the Entities are among the many ways division is expressed.

Without a physical border inside the state, the complex political structure creates a profound mental border that often has an impact on the production of space. Vulnerable societies such as Bosnian are ground easy to be manipulated with national identities and collective memory.

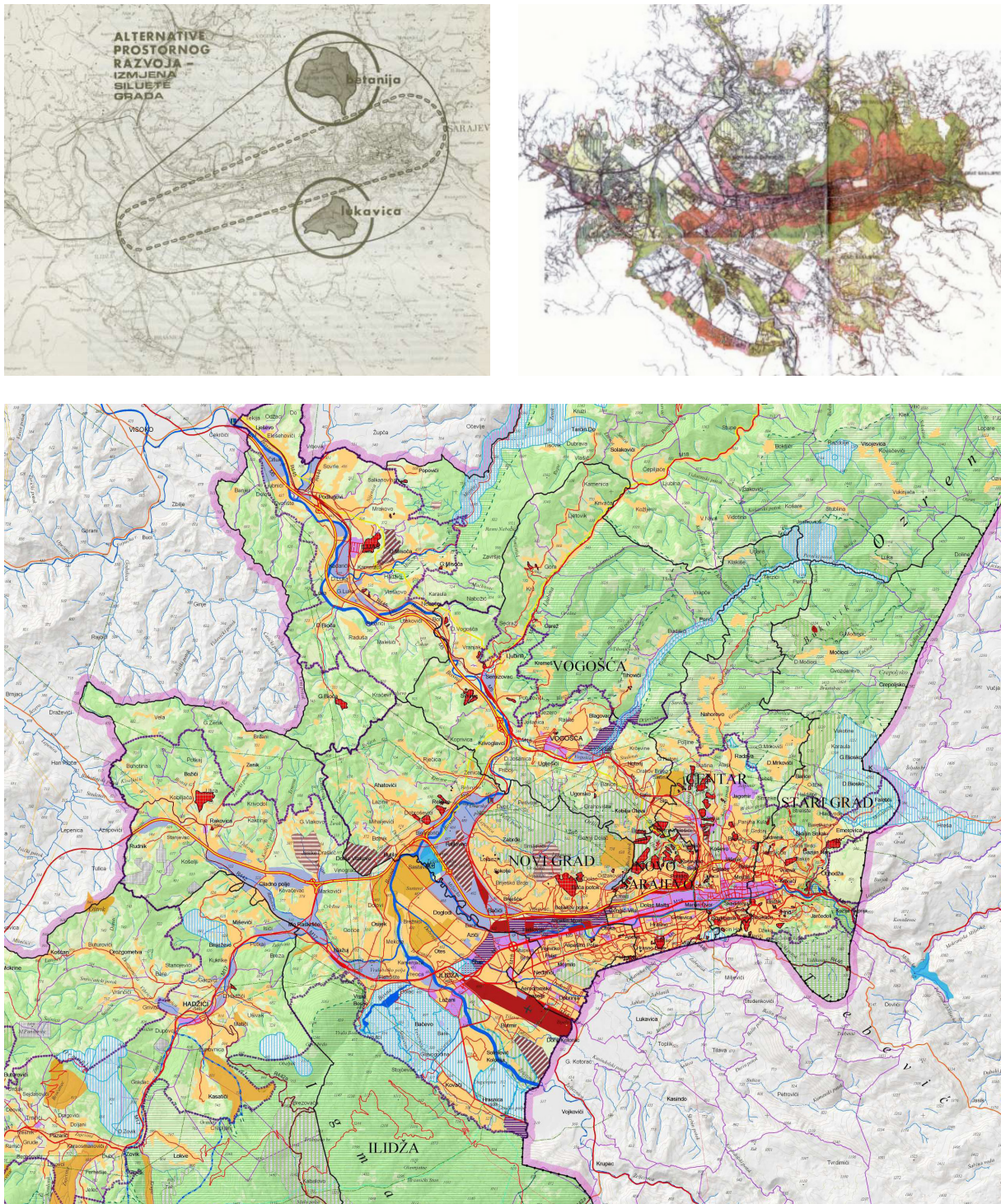


FIGURE 4 Left up: Before the war there was attempt to recreate development axe of the city including parts to the north and south, rather than following exclusively east-west axe. Drawing is showing proposal for transformation of the city development axe according to the Plan for socio economic and spacial development of Sarajevo for period 1986. – 2015. Official Gazette Sarajeva 04/86.
 Right up: Urban plan of the City Sarajevo, Urban area of Sarajevo 1986-2015: According to the pre war planning activities, areas around Capital were incorporated into plan as future development area, proposing development of Sarajevo as regional center. Documents were prepared as 2 stages plan, first for period 1986-2015 and second one for period 2001-2015.
 Down: Spatial plan of Canton Sarajevo 2003-2023; Comparing to the plan prepared prior the war, new plan is prepared with excluded hinterland of the City, since today those areas belongs to the East Sarajevo in RS.



FIGURE 5 The national monument at Vraca in Sarajevo; today it is neglected area affected by established Entity border crossing this area, with no respect to its recognized values.



FIGURE 6 Sarajevo illegal housing structures: informal settlements create new silhouette of the city

SARAJEVO IN THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

Bosnian and Herzegovina has been dealing with transition for 20 years, and faced many challenges in regards to urban planning initiatives, influenced especially by the administrative division of the state.

Planning is fragmented between the different state governing bodies and authority levels. Spatial Planning activities in B&H are governed differently inside RS and FB&H. Each Entity is responsible for its own spatial plan, in accordance with the (different) laws of each Entity. In FB&H fragmentation is more apparent as each Canton has its own spatial plan, whilst municipalities implement cantonal-level laws, along with municipal decrees on urban planning.

Initially after the war in FB&H, the methodology for urban planning from the previous state apparatus was implemented. In the new state establishment these methodologies led to procedures that could take several years for any decision to be made, producing a negative outcome for any possible investment.

The complexity of the administrative fragmentation of the state was often an obstacle to development in Bosnia, and finally legislation on spatial planning was passed in 2010 and adopted by both Entities providing more efficiency in regard to procedures.

The transition period led to the reshaping of urban fabric and in many cases caused the loss of urban values. The strengthening of private ownership, an open market economy, globalisation, and the new territorial arrangement are some of the influences on this urban development in transition.

State capital was privatised and orientated to the open market, and land policy was orientated toward more flexible urbanisation. But many cities, especially Sarajevo were affected with inappropriate density of construction and character of building. Most vulnerable were the historical parts of the cities. Post-war recovery led to the construction of new buildings without respecting the pre-existing urban values. Land policy opened possibilities to the private sector to play a role in urban development, and privatisation of state capital contributed to this. An inefficient and complex urban policy led to the adaptation of urban areas to serve for the profit of the private sector, rather than to the needs of community. Neglecting the mutual benefits and needs of the communities, urban tissues have been reshaped.

Moreover, Sarajevo is among the most polluted cities in Europe due to the uncontrolled density of construction, increased car numbers, and topographic local of the Sarajevo in the natural valley.

During the war and since, the demographic picture of B&H has changed. Massive migration during the war, within and outside the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, left lasting consequences to the demography. More than 50% of the population have been moved or replaced, and migration initiated the process of temporary housing during the conflict.⁹ In some cases these became permanent settlements after the conflict. These settlements may become the core of social problems in the future, as they may continue to be the arrival point for new residents, affecting the social and demographic structure of the city.

Many of the displaced persons and refugees are still living in collective centres. One of the challenges of the transitional period is returning to previous homes and properties, after 20 years this has still not been fully implemented.

Sarajevo is not a densely populated area but the trend of population influx is still increasing. Due to the potential for future development, internal migration within the country is still focused into Sarajevo, and thus inevitably affecting spatial development.

Reconstruction after the war can, in theory, be an opportunity to correct mistakes due to inadequate planning. However, in reality, the priority to ensure a minimum quality of life was often not in accordance with the urban plans. Illegal construction, especially in Sarajevo was prevalent before the war, while today the number of illegal structures has increased.¹⁰ Illegal housing construction occurring today is changing the look and character of a number of Bosnian towns.

Around 30,000 illegal housing structures have been built in Sarajevo. This trend of illegal construction begins in the 1970s when Sarajevo was a leading industrial centre. Almost half of all constructed buildings were illegal. At first those houses were constructed to temporarily accommodate workers, but those buildings have never been demolished. The same trend and intensity of illegal construction, without planning or construction permits is still prevalent, despite attempts prior to the war to legalise unplanned housing. Today, the high price of gaining permits, as well as complicated procedures, are encouraging inhabitants to construct their homes without permits.

These buildings do not usually relate to the terrain, or in line with the urban plans, built with small distances between buildings, and from the streets, narrow streets and many others negative spatial issues. Though the quality of construction is mostly are to a satisfactory level, due to the many illegal constructions in and around Sarajevo, many landslides are occurring.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we are faced with two cities, themselves divided in two, but with different outlooks going forward. The most visible aspect testifying to on-going divisions between Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem is the all-inclusive segregation between the two communities. After 1967, physical unification did not create an integrated borderland. Although formal physical dividing borders do not exist in Jerusalem, the political, cultural, and economic borders are still dominant on both sides of the city.

In Jerusalem an asymmetry in regards to the allocation of resources is obvious, where Israelis receive vast amounts of infrastructure and investment, whilst East Jerusalem atrophies, cut off from the rest of its' Palestinian context and underinvested. This is exacerbated by the reliance that Palestinian Jerusalemites have on West Jerusalem, not only for leisure and services but for employment. This development has continued to intensify since the beginning of the Second Intifada, and shows no signs of improving, with a huge lack of investment in public services, spaces and house in East Jerusalem.

Palestinian society in Jerusalem is faced with destructive development strategy that cause negative outcomes such as:

- The exclusion of more Palestinians neighbourhoods from the city through the continuing constructing new segments of the separation wall.
- An economic deterioration leading to an emigration of the Palestinian - leadership and middle class from the city
- The economic pressure cause social problems as drug addiction, family violence, and deterioration of the education level.
- More Israeli facts on the ground mainly settlements, discrimination against the Palestinians, and hegemony of the city identity and character.

The challenge in Jerusalem is for Palestinians to overcome the difficulties of the occupation, and the barriers both physical and bureaucratic, making developmental urban progress.

Asymmetry is present in the case of Sarajevo urban area as well, where political reasons led to an urban disbalance. East Sarajevo is functioning as small urban area with no possibilities to compete the Capital City of Sarajevo but in the same time with no attempt to be part of the same urban area. Urban planning initiatives after the war and blockade were expected to be in accordance with the contemporary principles of spatial planning. The country faced period of transition followed by new challenges of urban development, strongly influenced by administrative division of the state. Several consequences of transition marked already 20 years after the conflict such as open market, changes in demography, lack of efficiency in planning and governing institutions.

Away from a period of deep conflict, taking into consideration current political, economical, social and cultural circumstances it is possible to predict the future environment for urban development in the city of Sarajevo. Considering all the elements of transition there is a clear need to encourage urban transformation in order to develop the city into a regional centre. This will require a clear approach to implement new solutions to the housing and illegal construction crisis and the wider planning of all the city's parts and its wider context into one integrated process, across the political stratas and divisions, to create a holistic vision for Sarajevo. There is a need for strong infrastructure development as well as social, urban and economic changes. It is in the mutual interest of all the active parties in the region to meet the needs of the community as a whole and to create a more functional city as the state capital.

Lessons learned from different experience of divided cities could open some questions in advance, predicting some of the inevitable challenges that should be shifted into positive outcome. Transition is a period of physical and social reconstruction, and in a case of post conflict cities it is a sensitive issue due to fragility of society affected by the conflict and occupation.

Even though divisions inside cities of Sarajevo and Jerusalem are different by character, challenges of transition are to guide and lead those cities from conflicts toward proper, inclusive and civil planning and toward more conducive environment for progress.

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Image sources

- Figure 1: IPCC- International Peace and Cooperation Center, Jerusalem, 2014
- Figure 2: IPCC-International Peace and Cooperation Center, exhibition: JERUSALEM AT THE CROSSROADS, photos by: Muath Khatib and Amanda Mustard, 2016
- Figure 3: Lana Kudumovic, using map of www.snazzymaps.com
- Figure 4: Rustempašić, Mirza. *Doktorska disertacija: Graditeljsko naslijeđe i bespravna izgradnja u procesu revitalizacije gradskog prostora Sarajeva*, Univerzitet u Sarajevu, 2015. and <http://zpr.ks.gov.ba/>
- Figure 5: www.kons.gov.ba
- Figure 6: Flickr - by D.Zeger

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Endnotes

- 1 East Jerusalemite Palestinians hold East Jerusalem residency permits, which can be revoked and do not allow holders to vote in Israeli general elections, it does not confer citizenship and is not a passport. These identity cards must be renewed every 10 years
- 2 The Jerusalem District Electric Company is a rare exception to this – a Palestinian owned company that provides electricity in East Jerusalem and parts of the West Bank – it does however receive its power supply from the Israeli Electric Company
- 3 Inside Municipal Jerusalem, but east of the green line, and just south of Ramallah
- 4 West of Ma'ale Adumim, deep inside the West Bank. It is also an industrial zone
- 5 Mithat Aganović, *Graditeljstvo i stanje drugih djelatnosti u Sarajevu u XX i prethodnim stoljećima*, Sarajevo, (2009).
- 6 http://www.oscebih.org/dejtonski_mirovni_sporazum/HR/annex4.htm
- 7 Sofia Garcia and Bronwyn Kotzen, *Reconstructing Sarajevo: Negotiating Socio-Political Complexity*, (2014),61.
- 8 A memorial complex and park dedicated to victims of the German Army during World War II and to the Yugoslav Partisans that liberated Sarajevo from the German Army on the 6th of April 1945, see more on:www.kons.gov.ba
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