

Proposal to Establish Urban Continuity and Identity Along the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road

by

Rima A. Askalan

Masters of Arts, New York University
New York, New York
May 1993

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies
and Planning in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the degree of

Master in City Planning

at the

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

June 1997

© Rima A. Askalan, 1997
All rights reserved.

The Author hereby grants to MIT permission to
reproduce and to distribute publicly paper
and electronic copies of this
document in whole or in part.

Signature of Author



Rima A. Askalan

Department of Urban Studies and Planning
May 22, 1997

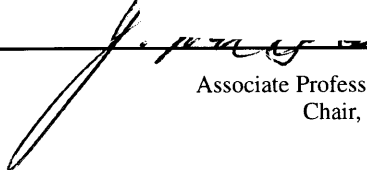
Certified by



John de Monchaux

Professor of Architecture and Urban Planning
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by



Mark Schuster

Associate Professor of Urban Studies and Planning
Chair, Master in City Planning Program

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE
OF TECHNOLOGY

JUN 25 1997 Rotch



Room 14-0551
77 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02139
Ph: 617.253.2800
Email: docs@mit.edu
<http://libraries.mit.edu/docs>

DISCLAIMER

MISSING PAGE(S)

Page 26 is missing from the original document.

Thesis Reader

Name: Omar Razzaz

Title: Associate Professor of Urban Planning

Proposal to Establish Urban Continuity and Identity Along the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road

by

Rima A. Askalan

Submitted to the Department of Urban
Studies and Planning on May 22, 1997 in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Masters of City Planning

Abstract

Jerusalem-Ramallah road is a regional road in north East Jerusalem. Historically, this road continues to connect Jerusalem with the West Bank. Its role and location make this road of national importance to the Palestinians. For the past thirty years, this road has been reconfigured by its surrounding Israeli boundaries of Jewish settlements. During this time, the Palestinians living along Jerusalem-Ramallah road have lived through conditions of deformity of land confiscation, population displacement, and limited development.

Today, under the Peace Accord new realities are facing the Palestinians. The products of their experience of dispossession constitute their collective memory. Accordingly, this proposal will attempt to create a cultural landscape along the Jerusalem-Ramallah road representative of the emerging Palestinian identity and relevant to all Palestinians. This design scheme will include plans to bring together the physical landscape with the built form, change the role of Jerusalem-Ramallah Road, and stimulate the interaction of people with the surrounding environment.

Acknowledgement

This is dedicated to the memory of my Grandmother

and

To my Parents for making this happen.

To my sisters for their interest in my academic quest.

To my friends for their support.

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	p 7
<u>I. Introduction</u>	p 8
<u>II. Site</u>	p 15
2.1 General Characteristics	p 15
a. Site Location	p 15
b. Site Title	p 15
c. Area of Investigation	p 16
d. Physical features.....	p 17
e. Climate	p 17
f. demographics	p 17
g. Road Users	p 18
h. Physical Layout	p 19
2.2 Urban Fabric	p 20
a. Demographic Changes	p 20
b. Socio-economic Shifts	p 21
c. Built Forms	p 22
<u>III. Intervention</u>	p 26
3.1 Principals	p 26
3.2 Criteria	p 27

3.3 Ramallah Road	p 28
a. Traffic	p 28
b. Road Furniture	p 29
b. Parking	p 29
c. Intersections	p 29
d. Mixed -Use	p 29
3.4 Physical Landscape/Open Space/Visual Connections	p 31
3.5 Built Forms	p 35
Conclusion	p 36
Bibliography	p 39

Preface

Premise

This proposal is based on the assumption that East Jerusalem will be under the control of the Palestinian Authority and the building and/or expansion of any Jewish settlement will stop. This will entail the physical and functional integration of East Jerusalem with the West Bank. Thus, wherever they reside Palestinians will have full access to the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Also, the proposal assumes the making of a Palestinian society that has developed its own democratic and civic local values.¹

Information Source

The concerns presented by the author are based on site visits, interviews, statistical data, and research material. The site visit covered the immediate area of investigation and beyond. Interviews were conducted with officials, consulted architects, planners, politicians, academics, and ordinary residents. The statistical data include the Israeli official year book issued on Jerusalem and other privately conducted surveys. The research material utilized cover housing and human rights issues.

The listed sources of information shaped the author's views and methods of intervention.

1. "Palestine", here in, will designate all land between Lebanon and Sinai excluding Transjordan. In this paper, "Palestinian" will mean all those who are from or descendent of the Land of Palestine. Today's Palestinians are almost "entirely descended from the earliest recorded inhabitants of the area, who intermarried with later waves of conquerors." (McDowall, p3) The term "Israel" here refers to the coastal area of the Land of Palestine inhabited by a majority of Jews and a minority of Palestinians designated as Israeli Palestinians.² "Urban Identity" will mean, here, the physical environment that represents cultural significance to its users.

I. Introduction

*One "fictions" history starting from a political reality that renders it true.
One "fictions" a politics that does not yet exist starting from a historical truth.*

Michel Foucault

The relationship between people and their physical environment is being constantly shaped and reshaped. People carve out and organize the spaces that formulate their physical environment and reformulate them. Dictated by peoples' habits, values, aspirations, desires, traditions, and norms, social behavior shapes and refashions people's physical space. Therefore, the method followed in ordering and organizing the space includes social meaning. Hence, the physical environment is a manifestation of how people want to express and signify themselves.³

Before 1948, Palestine demarcated a space in which Palestinians expressed their social order. Along the Mediterranean Sea in the west, to the Judean Desert in the east, and on the terraced ridges with olive and orchid trees of the hinterland in between, the Palestinians shaped their social values and their physical manifestations.

After 1948, the space of Palestine suddenly ceased representing for the Palestinians a reference system of their social values and physical environment. The space was taken over by people who held different values, beliefs, traditions, and aspirations. The land became known as Israel and the new people became Israelis. Thus, the space expressed their social behavior and represented their social system. The surrounding environment stopped representing the values, ideas, culture, and hopes of the Palestinians. The newly organized spaces constituted boundaries for the Palestinians to settle beyond .

3. See: David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 1989, pp. 201-239. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 1984, pp. 68-100. Michelle de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 1984, pp.115-130. Paul Rabinow, "Power and Truth", Rabinow on Foucault., ?, pp.184-205

A regional road in north Jerusalem, Jerusalem-Ramallah road represents a sample of a Palestinian space configured by its surrounding Israeli boundaries of Jewish settlements (see Fig.#I). The construction of these self-contained small cities and independent urban communities required land to build on, to ensure future expansion, and to extend the necessary infrastructure to tie these satellite cities with West Jerusalem, and Tel-Aviv, the capital (see Fig.II). Once the land was expropriated, it was either zoned for the immediate building of Jewish settlements, for extending by-pass roads inaccessible to vehicles with West Bank plate numbers, and/or as “Green” areas which meant no building development could occur. The zoning of areas as Green is a political strategy to keep the land unplanned until the time comes for building a settlement or extending a by-pass road.⁴

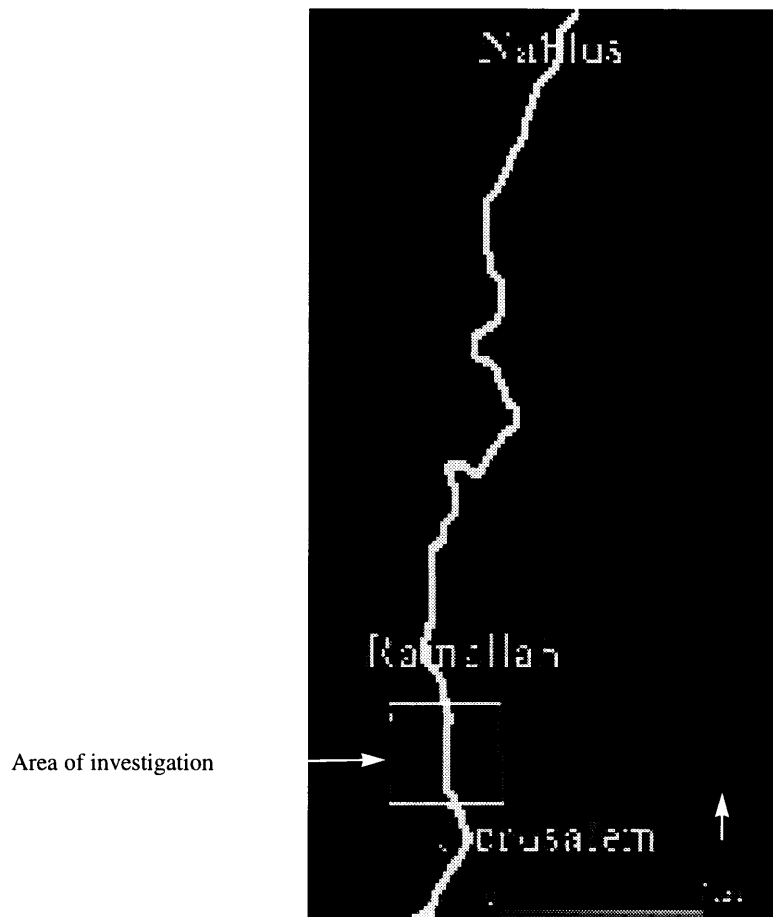


Fig.#I:Plan#1
Area of investigation in-r..lation to Jerusalem and
the West Bank

4. See: Sarah Kaminker, “East Jerusalem: a Casae in political Planning”, *Palestine-Israel Journal*, vol.II, no.59, April 1995. Michael Dumper, “Israeli Settlement in the Old Jerusalem”, *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, vol.21, no.4, Summer 1992, pp.32-53. Kroyanker and Guiladi, *Planning and Development Jerusalem 1978*, (Report prepared for the Jerusalem Committee), 1978.

This continuous expropriation of land from the Palestinian towns of Beit Hannina, Shu'fat, and ar-Ram have resulted in reducing the boundaries of each town (see Fig.#III). By preventing them from expanding eastward or westward, the town dwellers were forced to grow vertically along the Jerusalem-Ramallah regional road. With passing time, this road became the edge that separated one side of the town from the other (see Fig.#III). Also, while the land available for building was lessening, the population had increased significantly, since 1967 (see Fig.#IV). This increasing discrepancy resulted in displacing much of the populations of Beit Hannina, Shu'fat, and ar-Ram.

Fig.#II: Table#1- Development of Settlement Building⁵

Jewish Settlement Land Confiscated	Year Built	Type	Total # Dwelling	Population	Total Area dunum/acre	From
'Atarot	1970	Industrial	n.a	n.a	1,158/4,632	ar-Ram, B.H, Qalandiya, Beir Nabaleh
Nabi Ya'cove	1972	Urban	5,800	41,000	1,016/4,064	Hizma, B.H
Pisgat Ze'ieve	1985	Urban	18,000	40,000	4,400/17,600	Shu'fat, B.H
Ramot	1973	Urban	10,000	30,000	2,916/11,664	Shu'fat, Lifta
Ramot Eshkol	1968	Urban	2,000	N.A	231/924	Shu'fat, Lifta
Rekhes Shu'fat	1990	Urban	2,200	N.A	775/3,100	Shu'fat

Furthermore, through deliberate neglect from the municipality in extending adequate services to these areas, these irregular conditions of physical confinements and population displacement exacerbated the process of deformation. Also by continuing to classify these areas as villages rather than towns, the Municipality limits their opportunities for development. The lack of physical infrastructure, public services and facilities, and the immense difficulty and expense of obtaining building permits are manifested everywhere (see Fig.#V).

Fig.#IV: Table#2- Population Increase ⁶

Town/Year	1922	1931	1945	1961	1992
BEIT HANNINA	966	1226	1590	3067	16000
SHU'FAT	422	539	760	2541	19800
ar-RAM	208	262		769	30000

5. This table was constructed from several sources: *Living in Jerusalem, East Jerusalem: a Case Study in Political Planning in East Jerusalem*, Palestinian Geographic Center, *Survey of Israeli Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip*, 1995. 6. Nakhla Mattar, *The Outskirts of East Jerusalem*, (in Arabic), 1994. Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, *Small Area Population Revised Estimates for 1996*, 1996. and *Jerusalem District*, 1996.

Fig.#V: Images of Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem.7

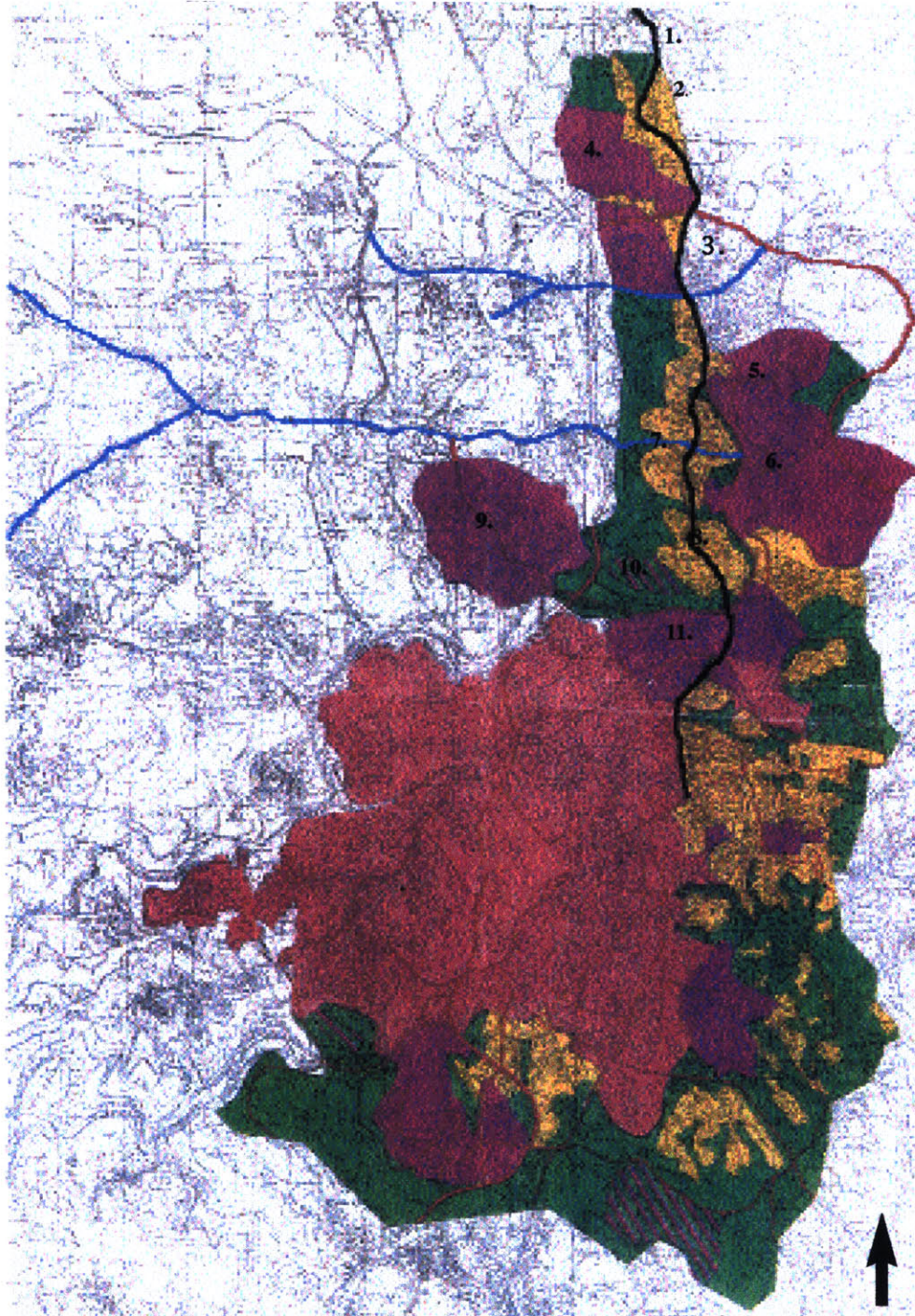


An Overview of Ramot and Ramot



7. Images are by author unless otherwise noted.

Map# 1
Political Planning of Jerusalem
 Source: Israel/Palestine Center for Research & Information



	Jerusalem-Ramallah Road
	By-Pass Road
	Road Attached to Palestinian Built-Up Areas
	Israeli Jerusalem - 1948-1967
	Palestinian Built up areas East Jerusalem
	Israeli settlements/neighborhoods East Jerusalem
	Palestinian owned land, no building or development permitted
	New slated areas for Israeli development

1. Kufar 'Aqab
2. Qalandiya
3. ar-Ram
4. 'Atarot
5. Nabi ya'cob
6. Pisgat Zeieve
7. Beit Hannina
8. Shu'fat
9. Ramot
10. Rekhes Shu'fat

Through political planning, the towns of Shu'fat, Beit Hannina, and ar-Ram have been reconfigured from village centers surrounded by fields of olive and orchid trees into a haphazard sprawl along a regional road. The planning policies had obstructed the development of these towns, caused the continuous immigration of displaced people, and forced them to seek other areas for housing, employment and services.

On a regional level, the building of settlements has disrupted the physical connections between Beit Hannina and Shu'fat and their neighboring towns. This physical discontinuity has isolated these towns from one another. Also, the absence of municipal services to adequately extend of transportation has resulted in functionally isolating all these towns.

Throughout the West Bank and East Jerusalem, this condition of deformity caused by land confiscation constitute the Palestinian experience with occupation. The layout of Palestinian towns have been reconfigured, displacing their populations and effectively halting their development. A more recent example, is the Har Homa project. During the composition of this thesis, headlines have been much occupied with the building of the Har Homa Jewish settlement on a 460 dunums (1,840 acres) forest tract on Abu Ghuniem mountain, south of East Jerusalem. Another continuing action that has not received similar publicity is the extension of Road 45, a by-pass road, that will cut through Palestinian built-up areas from south to north of East Jerusalem to link the Har Homa settlement with other existing settlements. As Palestinians struggle to build their lives, they are confronted with the new physical and social realities implicit in this process of deformation.

Future Planning

Do we exist? What proof do we have? The
further we get from the Palestine of our past,
the more precarious our status, the more
disrupted our being, the more intermittent
our presence. When did we become a people?
When did we stop being one? Or are we in
the process of becoming one?

Edward Said

Under the Peace Accord, a new formula for the future of Jerusalem will need to be articulated, through which, the Palestinians must create an urban identity for the emerging nation. According to Said, the present phase of building a Palestinian nation consists of "trying to sharpen the experience by keeping it pertinent to Palestine, thereby liberating

Palestine, actually and intellectually, from the segregation and the confusion that have captured it for so long.”⁸ The variation in the places of living, and thus the experiences, make the Palestinians heterogeneous people. But the idea of Palestine and the facts of loss, exile, and estrangement are shared by all eight million Palestinians. The experiences of displacement, dislocation, dispossession, and diaspora constitute the Palestinian identity:

If I was not a Palestinian when I left Haifa as a child, I am one now.
Living in Beirut as a stateless person for most of my growing up
years, many of them in a refugee camp, I did not feel I was living
among my “Arab Brothers” ... I was a Palestinian. ⁹

The national poet of Palestine, Mahmud Darwish, expresses this experience of dispossession in one of his frequently recited poems:¹⁰

*The Earth is closing on us
pushing us through the last passage
The Earth is squeezing us.
I wish we were its wheat
so we could die and live again.
I wish the Earth was our mother
so she'd be kind to us
I wish we were pictures on the rocks
for our dreams to carry as mirrors.*

*Where should we go after the last frontiers?
Where should the birds fly after the last sky?
Where should the plants sleep after the last breath of air?
We will write our names with scarlet steam.
We will cut off the hand of the song to be finished by our flesh.
We will die here, here in the last passage.
Here and here our blood will plant its olive tree.*

8. Said, *The Politics of Disposition*, 1995, p.21. Current examples of this present phase: The Ministry of Education of the PNA is working on making a national school curriculum. Palestinians never studied using their own curriculum. The Ministry of Culture is supporting an NGO (Riwaq) in surveying and restoring the remainders of historic structures in the West Bank. And The building of fort-like houses as strong roots holding to the land and signs of return by the returnees. 9. Said, *The Politics of Disposition* , p. 25. 10. Mahmoud Darwish, "The Earth Is Closing on Us" Trans. Salman Rushdi, *he Politics of Disposition* , p.28.

It is an identity of self-assertion and affirmation against the denial of existence. Since 1948, peripherality and isolation have characterized the Palestinian's life. In such an environment, the use of the word Palestine is an act of defiance. What continues to be common among the eight million Palestinians is the shared experience of being Palestinian. The fact of loss and the process and reality of displacement formulated the Palestinian identity. This experience and its realities resulted in using customs, cuisine, folklore, dialect, and distinctive habits as evidence of Palestinianism.¹¹

The products of this experience of dispossession constitute the collective memory of Palestinians even among those who had never lived in Palestine. This collective memory is characterized by nostalgia for the Palestinian homeland and yearning for the return to the village and the land. The Palestinians have used poetry, literature, music, and lyrics to express the memory they have of the landscaped terrain of olive and orchid trees. For those who were evicted from their land and homes, the environment became a memory. Thus, for Palestinians, the land and its terrain have a cultural significance.

Accordingly, how can the emerging identity of the Palestinians be manifested in the physical environment? In planning for the future, the symbolism of the physical environment must be transformed to practical uses; instead of using folkloric icons to refer to identity, Palestinians need to feel, touch, see, hear and smell the surrounding environment. This design proposal will explore ways of establishing connections between the Palestinians and their physical environment. It will attempt to engage change along the Jerusalem-Ramallah road to create a cultural landscape representative of the emerging Palestinians identity which can be relevant to all Palestinians.

Based on the previous analysis of the process of deforming the Jerusalem-Ramallah road, the following sections will discuss existing physical and social conditions of this road and the proposed physical intervention intended to redefine its role.

11. *Politics of Disposition*, p.18 .

II. Site¹²

2.1 General Characteristics

a. Site Location

The Jerusalem-Ramallah Road has been an important road since long before cars were dreamed of. lies in the northern region of Jerusalem. Since Ottoman times, the road has extended north from Bab al-'Amoud (Damascus Gate), Jerusalem's main gate. As early as the 19th century the road appears on maps, and since that time it connected Jerusalem and the West Bank.

b. Site Title

Depending on location, the road is known by one of three names. In official sources and reports, Nablus Road is the name used for this road. As mentioned earlier, this Road extends from the north of Jerusalem to Nablus (52km). The road retains this name because until recently Nablus was a prominent city (after Jerusalem the second most important city) while ramallah, 13km from Jerusalem was a small town.¹³ Thus, around the middle of this century, the land along Nablus Road was considered the outskirts of Jerusalem. The wealthy people who wanted to move away from the noise of the Old City lived in villas and houses along the main road. After the 1967 annexation of East Jerusalem 6,000 Palestinians evicted from the Old City migrated to ar-Ram, Beit Hannina, Shu'fat, and other surrounding areas in East Jerusalem. By the late eighties, towns like Beit Hannina and ar-Ram became populated by displaced population. By this time, the town of Ramallah had developed into a city. Today, Ramallah constitutes a major urban center with strong ties to Jerusalem. The expansion and transformation of Ramallah led to popular renaming of Nablus Road to Ramallah Road or Jerusalem-Ramallah Road (see Fig.#VI).¹⁴ Despite the frontage urban development, the Road continues to function as a major North-South artery. It is the main road Palestinians use to reach Nablus and the Northern region as well as, Bethlehem in the south (see Fig.#I).

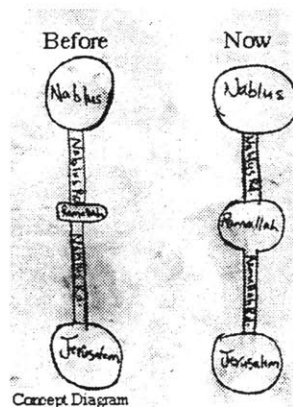


Fig.#VI: Concept diagram

By author

12. The evaluations and recommendations presented in this proposal are based on the author's personal analysis.

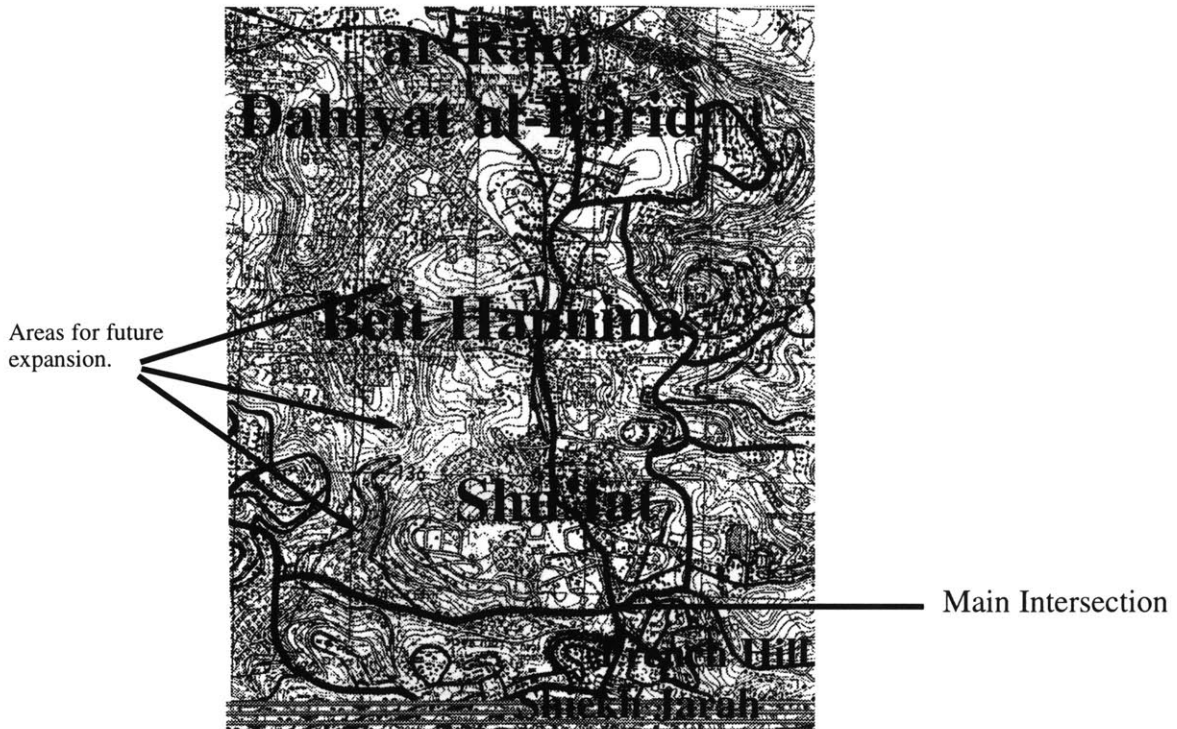
13. "Shaping of a Nation", p.80. 14. In referring to the area of investigation, the paper will use the name Jerusalem-Ramallah Road or Main Road.

c. Area of Investigation

The area of investigation extends from Shu'fat's intersection to ar-Ram's intersection (a distance of 5.5 km). This strip includes the built-up areas of Shu'fat, Beit Hannina, Dahiyat al-Barid, and ar-Ram (see Fig.#VII). The borders of this site are as follows:

From the South, the main intersection after Shiekh Jarah and the French Hill with a flyover bridge and a transportation center for the Jewish population living in East Jerusalem. This intersection, approximately 50m wide, separates the Palestinian areas of Shiekh Jarah from the towns of Shu'fat and Beit Hannina. Also, beyond that point

Fig.#VII:Map# 3
North Jerusalem/Area of Investigation



Israelis are seldom seen walking on the Ramallah road. Accordingly, the intersection appears to be an edge that defines the southern boundary of this site.

To the north, ar-Ram intersection makes the last point of development for a distance of approximately 2 km. This intersection determines the northern edge of the site, since it marks an interruption in the flow of development.

On the east, the Israeli settlements and by-pass road located parallel to the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road act as an edge that obstructs the expansion of the Palestinian towns (see Fig#VIII).

On the west, the existing landscape forms a natural edge. Future expansion of Palestinian towns will be directed mainly towards the west (See Fig.#VII).

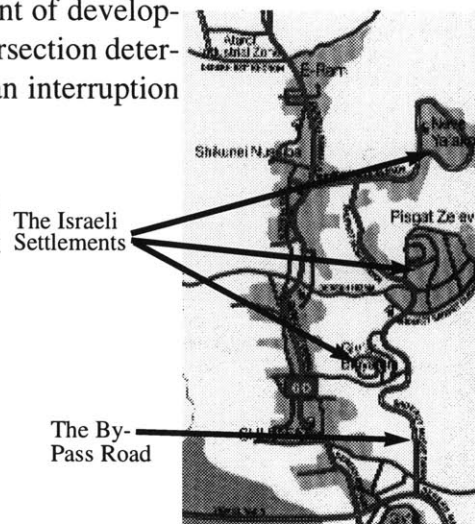


Fig.#VIII:
Map#4/RoadMap19

d. Physical Features

Jerusalem-Ramallah Road lies on the northern ridge of Jerusalem Hills with an average altitude of 800m. It bisects the Old City from the north along the watershed between the coastal plain and the Great Rift Valley of the Jordan River. The Jerusalem-Ramallah Road corridor sits as a dividing between two distinct climates and terrains; To the east, a Mediterranean environment, and to the west, a desert landscape. Areas, such as, Shu'fat, Bit Hannina, and ar-Ram were built along "the saddle of the Jerusalem Hills on both sides of the Road."¹⁵

e. Climate

The site's climate is similar to that of Jerusalem that enjoys a mixed subtropical and semiarid climate with warm, dry summers and cool rainy winters. Average annual rainfall is about 500 mm and snow falls only every two or three years. Average temperatures range from about 24C in August to about 10C in January. During summer, exposure to the sun's rays in Jerusalem is among the most intense on the globe.¹⁶

f. Demographics

The overall demographic characteristics of Beit Hannina and ar-Ram are found under East Jerusalem demographics: half of the Palestinian Jerusalemites are below the age of

15. Elisha Efrat, *Urbanization in Israel*, 1984, p.3. 16. "Jerusalem", *Britanica*, vol.22, 1996.

15; the average household of this population consists of 6 with an almost equal number of males and females; and the work force is made up of 41% unskilled labor and 13% professionals. However, the population of these towns is mainly displaced people. Among those who left the Old City, 66% went to northern Jerusalem and resided in areas, such as, ar-Ram, Beit Hannina, and Shu'fat. In addition, four percent of those who left the West Bank (i.e. Hebron) went to the suburbs of East Jerusalem and mainly to the ar-Ram area. In East Jerusalem, the Palestinians who returned from abroad resided mainly in Beit Hannina.¹⁷

g. Road Users

The road users are diverse: Palestinians Jerusalemites use it to go to the West Bank for work or entertainment. West Bankers going to Jerusalem (with the closure, they are allowed no further than Dahiyat Al-Barid). The commercial trucks using this road mainly come from Jerusalem to unload in the West Bank (the West Bank constitutes the second market for Israeli products after the United States). The communal taxi (*sarvice*, a privately owned public transportation where passengers pay per seat rather than for the whole car) runs day and night, making several stops along the road. The road is also utilized by tourist and school buses and limited public bus services. Although, traffic flow statistics are not available, site visits, and frequent personal use of this road evidence that rapid traffic runs on both sides throughout the day.

¹⁷.Nakhal, *Sukan wa Masakin Dawahi al-Quds alSharqiya*, 1996 and Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, *Jerusalem District*, 1996.

h. Physical Layout

The Jerusalem-Ramallah Road is a regional road with 30-40m right of way. It has three traffic lights, five gas stations, occasional vegetation, and high fences between sides of the road to prevent J-walking. It has no on-street parking. In linear intervals there are strips of one or two stories built-up areas with 5m to 6m setbacks are used as parking areas (the majority of nearby residents own private cars). There are occasional lengths of sidewalk, but these are also occupied with cars or garbage containers. Overall, the layout is disconnected and with frequent instances of open areas lacks building alignment. The road itself is full of potholes and cracks. Also, the right of way includes electricity poles and freeway-like lights. With the exception of a few retail, all of the buildings are residential. The linear development along the road forms its edge while the three intersections with traffic lights represent its nodes. The road itself is the path and the attached towns act as its districts. For landmarks, people use names of stores and locations of bus-stops and gas stations and intersections. 18

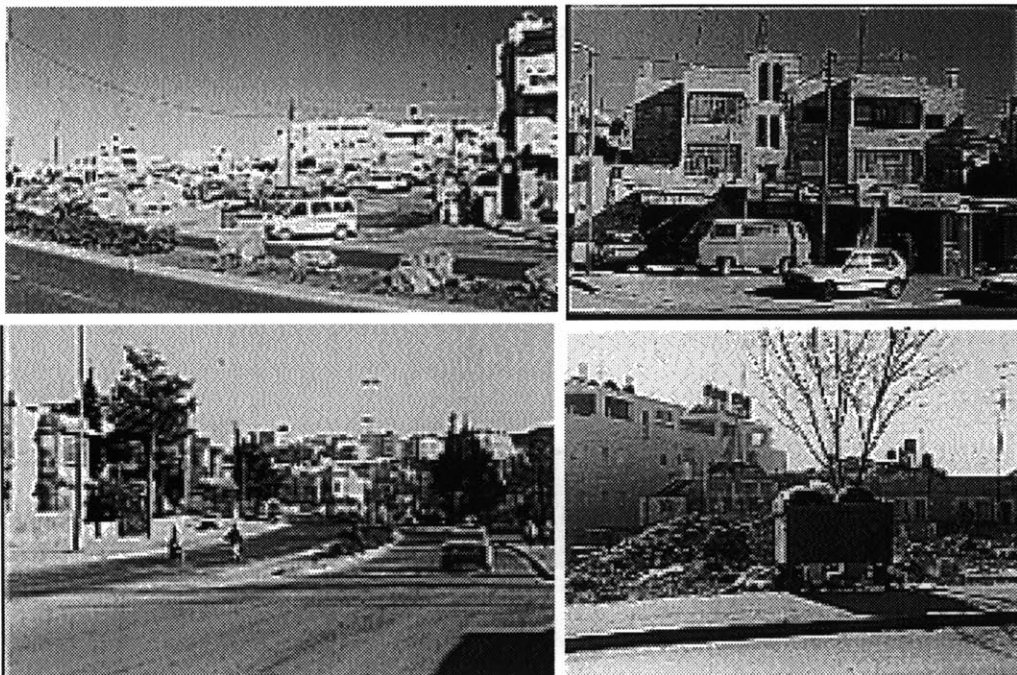


Fig.#IX General views of Jerusalem-Ramallah Road.

2.2 Urban Fabric

The physical and social structure of the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road where neighborhoods developed along a regional road is unprecedented in the West Bank. This condition is unique to Palestinian areas which in a sense are neither a town nor a village. The road between two urban centers (Jerusalem and Ramallah), developed alongside pockets of Palestinian built-up areas, and inhabited mainly by displaced people. This positioning and composition of the Site made it susceptible and vulnerable to regional forces of change from surrounding Jewish settlements, towns, and villages. The urban fabric of Jerusalem-Ramallah Road can be explained through the history of its demographic and other socio-economic variables that outline the process by which its space (both physical and social) was produced. Furthermore, existing built forms and physical layout along the Road represent a manifestation of this process.

1. Demographic Changes

The history of demographic changes takes a similar course in most of the towns attached to Jerusalem-Ramallah Road with the difference in size and composition of the population. All of Shu'fat, Beit Hannina, and ar-Ram began as clusters on a hill and continued to develop predictably until the middle of this century, where war and displacement have resulted in the following demographic shifts:

- a. After 1948, influx of refugees fled from their villages (In what is today known as West Jerusalem) and immigrants mostly from Hebron, moved to the outskirts of Jerusalem (areas known today as East Jerusalem).
- b. After the 1967 War, displaced populations came to settle steadily forming a second ring of habitation around East Jerusalem.
- c. Between 1987 and 1993 throughout the years of "Intifada" (Uprising), city dwellers moved into less urban areas. Also, around this time the population increased significantly. Both of these reasons led to the continuous expansion of areas around East Jerusalem gradually forming a third ring.
- d. Until today, to avoid city property taxes many Palestinians Jerusalemites leave the Old City to areas like Beit Hannina and ar-Ram.
- e. A recent demographic shift of a different scale is linked to the emerging of an era since the Peace Accord during which some areas, such as, Ramallah and Beit Hannina, have absorbed the Palestinians returning from abroad.

The first and second demographic shifts included the transformation of a rural peasantry society into an urban working class.¹⁹ The third shift included movement from one urban center to another for employment and/or security. The structure of compounds in the villages dominated by extended families, was mostly replaced in urban areas with their displacement and lack of services by one story dwellings and nucleus families of average size of 6 living in urban areas. Almost half of the population of these areas reside in 120 sq.m. dwelling or in structurally unsound houses.²⁰ The expansion of the built-up areas have not been supported by any services, infrastructure or economic strategies. Thus, a haphazard and chaotic spreadout characterized the urban environment of the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road.

2.Socio-Economic Shifts

Today, the road itself continues its historic role as a connector between Jerusalem and Nablus. However, as a result of other socio-economic shifts, the traffic has increased significantly and changed in type. These shifts include:

- a. Population increase resulted in increase use of the road.
- b. The increased dependency on Israeli products brought with it a burgeoning flow of trucks and other heavy vehicles.
- c. The lack of nearby retail and commercial services, (only three percent of the existen buildings are offices and 17% are retail) added to the use of the road to obtain such services in urban centers, such as, Ramallah and the Old City.²¹
- d. The role of Beit Hannina and Shu'fat as dormitories added more traffic on the Main Road as necessary access to areas of employment (e.g., Ramallah, Jerusalem).

These demographic changes and other socio-economic shifts are social manifestations resulting from the previously mentioned process of deformation. These shifts became physically manifest with the road's transformation from a minor local road into a busy regional arterial road. The transformation resulted in adapting the road for traffic rather than for people. In its current function as a fast speed, heavy traffic road cutting through built-up strips, the road prevents interaction. As a 'passing through' road, the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road lacks uses and functions through which urban street life can stimulate interaction.

20. Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem no.13-1994/95 eds. Choshen and Shahar, 1996. 21. Palestinian Geographic Center, Survey of the Palestinian Populated Areas in Palestine, 1996.

3. Built Form

Along the strips, the built forms are mostly residential with only a few retail stores. Such forms appear all over the West Bank and other areas. These forms changed as the site was inhabited by displaced town dwellers. During the development of this site, four styles of building were adopted at different time periods:

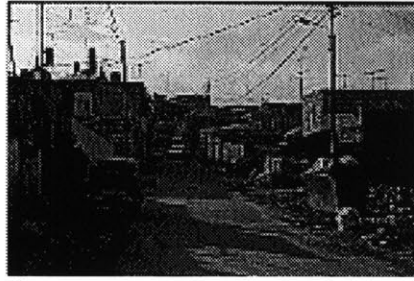
a. Historic Core

Shu'fat's historic core (much like the cores of Biet Hanina, and ar-Ram cores) includes a historic center from which the village expanded (see Fig.#X). It includes narrow intertwined streets with dwellings almost 100 years old. The buildings in this center are made of stone with split level interior and cross vault roof. The mosque is located in the center of the village and its tall minaret acts as a landmark. With the advent of urban forms, the building style of historic core Shu'fat was discontinued. Today the surviving core area lacks maintenance and infrastructure, and include recent additions of cement and tin. (see Fig.#XI).

Fig.#X: Examples of Historic Villages in the West Bank



Fig.#XI :
Plan# 2
Shu'fat's Historic Core



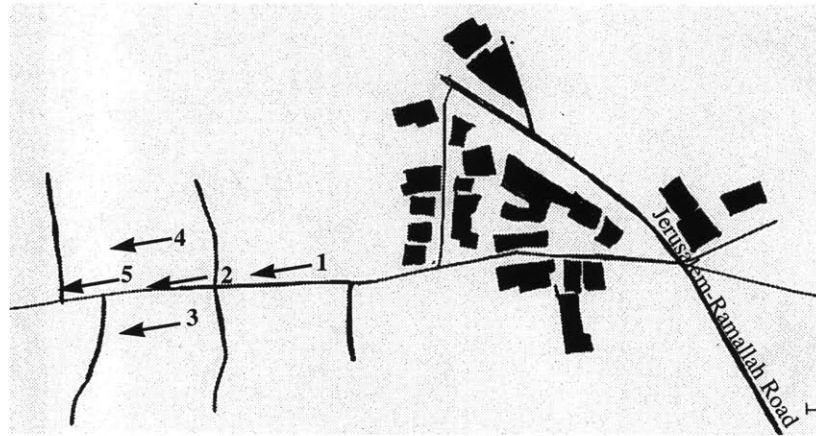
2



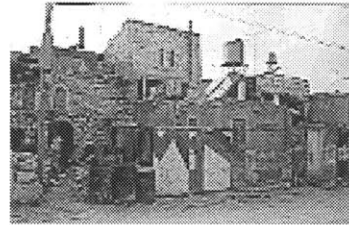
1



5



3



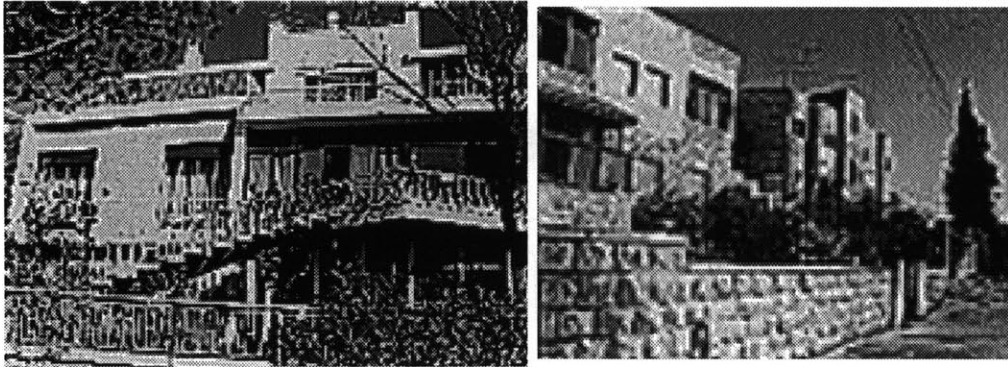
4

PAGES (S) MISSING FROM ORIGINAL

b. Building forms from the 1950

As the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road population became increasingly displaced urban people, the built form was transformed into an urban style, such as two story villas and single story houses with a modest garden and a surrounding wall (see Fig.#XII). This type of building form is characteristic of towns like Ramallah and Nablus. Until recently, these attractive gardens, with their citrus trees and other plants and trees, were an integral part of the house. Terraces facing the street and/or the landscape remain a persistent element in the urban built form. The terrace acts as an intermediary space between the very public (the street) and the very private (the house).

Fig.#XII: Views of 1950 buildings along the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road



Another type of residential form that exists on the Site is the two to three story stone building with the first floor for retail (see Fig.#XIII). Adopted in the sixties from nearby towns, this style is found in clusters, where elsewhere (e.g., at Ramallah-Sahit al-Sa'a) it developed mainly around commercial centers or clusters. Ofcourse, the use of the first floor for commercial purposes,precludes a surrounding wall and a garden.

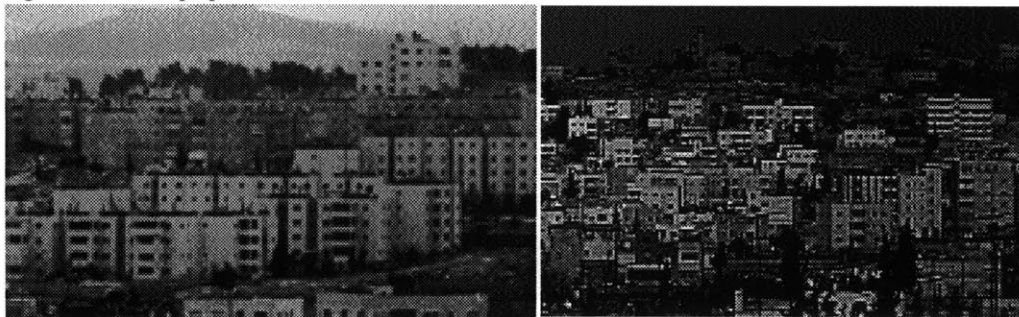
Fig.#XIII: Views of mixed-use buildings along theJerusalem-Ramallah Road.



c. Walk-up apartments

The second stage of development was the rise of five to six story of residential land condensed walk-up apartments (see Fig.#XIV). The Site includes the only neighborhood built in the Palestinian area of East Jerusalem since 1967. This is the Nusiebeh Housing: a ghetto-like cluster of walk-up apartments.²¹ The development of such building was influenced

Fig.# XIV Walk-up apartments in Beit Hannina



by the nearby Jewish settlements.²² Certainly, this buildings style do not facilitate integration with landscape or terrain. Living in this buildings is a recent transformation among the Palestinian population. The Site includes only a small number of such buildings due to the difficulty of issuing buiing permits under Israeli regulations.

d. Red-Tiles Hip Roofs

One of the most recent development of built form is villas built with stone and redtiles hip roof by mainly Palestinians who were living or continue to live abroad and who have returned permanently or for visits to the homeland. This type is morea statement that establishes evidence of return and ties. In many cases, it is also a statement of wealth in which a new class has emerged more prosperous than the population that remained.¹⁶

21. the development of this complex was partially subsidized by the Israeli government in 1967 to absorb the evicted Palestinian from the Old city. 22. See Previous sections for more detailed descriptions of the Jewish settlements.

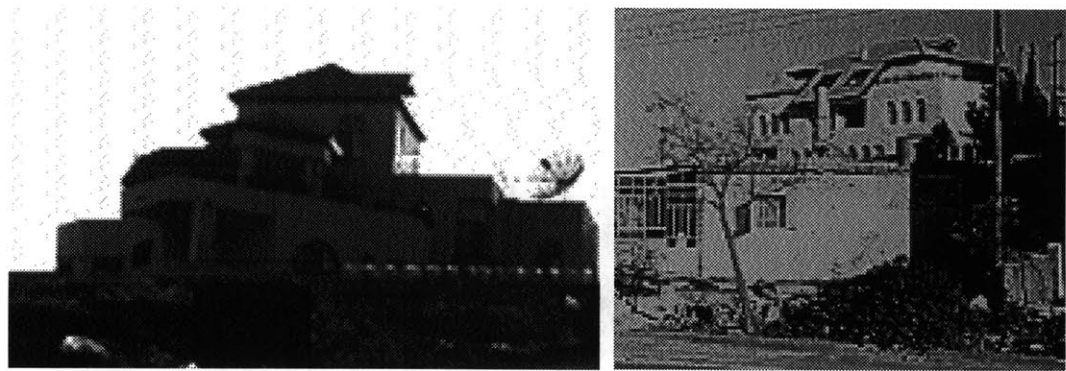


Fig.#XV:Villas with red-tile roofs.

The persistence of the red-tile hip roofs is affiliated with social status. Before the Diaspora of the Palestinians, it was the local rich aristocrats and the colonial institutions who could afford building with red-tile roofs. Today, because red tiles are now not as expensive as they were, many Palestinians returning from around the World have wealth sufficient to put a red tile roof over their new house or building. In addition to the red-tile roofs, these villas could be two to three stories with terraces and a surrounding wall. The buildings or villas' style could be traced anywhere from California to Saudi Arabia, but the common element is, again, the emotion attached about being able for the first time to build on ones own land..²³

All these four different building forms are associated with the Jerusalem-Ramallah arterial road. This Road functions both as a corridor for passing through traffic, as a spine to the built-up areas and communities with which it is associated. The speed, volume, and type of traffic strike opportunities of contact across the Road. As a result, despite the result, where is little interaction between people and the road. If the Main Road remains a high speed regional road, it may be widened by local authorities to absorb more transit traffic and less people. Thus, Jerusalem-Ramallah Road with the support of planning boards and transportation planning needs to transform its function from a regional to a sub-regional road.

23. This statement is based on interviews.

III. Intervention

As mentioned earlier, Palestinian areas in East Jerusalem have suffered not only from neglect or lack of public services, but also from laws and policies designed to confine, segregate, and fragment the existing Palestinian built-up areas. If this pattern of political planning continues, Palestinian fragmented agglomerations will be completely supplanted by large size and scale of Jewish residential clusters. Hence, the Palestinian scattered pockets will eventually disseminate.

The previous section reveals the mosaic nature of the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road that reflects the disjointed adjacent urban fabric. Inhabited mainly by a displaced population, the high speed regional road cuts through communities it should serve. Therefore, based on these assumptions, this proposal seeks to integrate physically and functionally the surrounding landscape along the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road.

To replace the dispossession and fragmentation of the population and physical landscape, this proposal aims at emphasizing a cultural landscape that can act as a symbol of national identity. The design scheme will include plans to bring together the physical landscape with the built form, change the role of Jerusalem-Ramallah Road, and stimulate the interaction of people with the surrounding environment.

3.1 Principles

The principles representing the foundation for this intervention, fall under two levels through which the fragmented pieces of this site can be transformed:

1. Design for Public Welfare

Over time, the lack of public resources and services along the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road have led to chaos visible on all levels and scales; from the physical layout to individuals' daily practices in the environment. Therefore, the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) will use urban planning as one of its tools to distribute public services for the benefit of its citizens. Along with laws and regulations this provision of public services will provide the alternatives necessary for people to transform their present individualistic attitude towards the physical environment into a more communal one.

2. Represent the Physical Environment as a Source of Identity

The present role of Jerusalem-Ramallah Road as a speedy-regional road limits the interaction between the people and their surrounding environment. Thus, in the physical surroundings the residents of Beit Hannina and Shu'fat and visitors do not find sources of identification. Therefore, it is imperative to develop a cultural landscape that includes

local and national symbols. This suggests that designers utilize existing ingredient, such as, landscape and historic landmarks as mnemonic devices to express experiences shared locally and nationally. It is also essential to create new spaces designed to memorialize collective experiences, e.g., lack of access to the homeland, the village, the house and Jerusalem. Lastly, actions must be taken to urbanize the physical environment to enhance the residents' contact with the urban fabric. Such interventions where the development of a cultural landscape includes local and national symbols will aim to represent the physical environment as a source of identity.

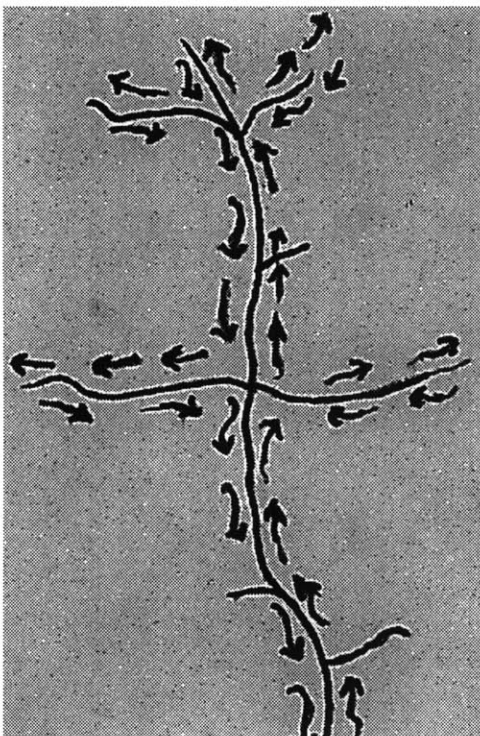
3.2 Criteria

The following criteria are based on the principles and formulate this design scheme:

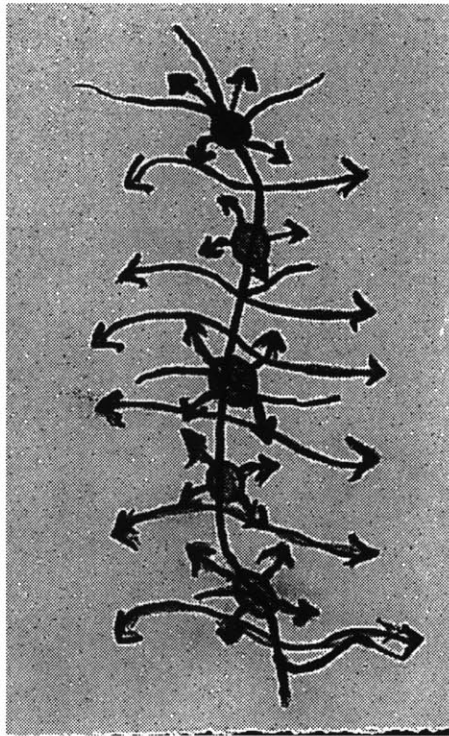
1. Establish Urban Continuity

The physical environment needs to represent a continuous and comprehensive system. The dispersion of the urban fabric segments the interaction with the environment and the communication between people. The Jerusalem-Ramallah Road, the physical

Fig.#XVI: Concept diagram by author.
Current Circulation



Proposed Circulation



environment surrounding it, the towns attached to it, and the neighboring areas all need to function as an integral part. This condition could be achieved through increase of street connections, uniformity of built form with the landscape, harmony in the physical layout, and multiple uses and services (see Fig.#XVI).

2. Emphasize the Presence of an Urban Community:

The presence of the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road as a high speed regional road destroys the physical continuity and limits the interaction of the towns it cuts through. The Jerusalem-Ramallah Road needs to act as a place of connections. In transforming it into a sub-regional road, opportunities of intersaction between the communities can occur.

3. Enhance the Local Character:

The physical environment along Jerusalem-Ramallah Road is designed to accommodate its speed, volume and types of traffic. In this case, the road shaped the function, character, and expansion of the towns attached to it. As towns became increasingly defined by the function of the road their local character became diffused and eventually was supplanted by generic features. To protect the towns local character and shape the future, the road needs to be transformed to sub-regional road and new developement need to be built according to urban design guidelines.

The Jerusalem-Ramallah Road is part of an environment that includes the road itself, the landscape, and the built-form along the Road. These elements will constitute the scales of this intervention. Each of the three scales is not exclusive or hierarchical; at certain points they will run parallel and/or overlap:

3.3 The Jerusalem-Ramallah Road

Currently, as a rapid-regional Road used by private and public, heavy and light, and slow and fast traffic it limits peoples' contact and interaction. Therefore, transforming Jerusalem-Ramallah Road into a sub-regional road is a primary issue in urbanizing the area. Accordingly, the traffic needs to be controlled and the urban environment enhanced. Routes of traffic, Road furniture, parking, intersections, and mixed-use are elements of intervention addressed as follows:

1. Flow of Traffic:

Provide alternatives by redirecting the passing traffic (e.g., trucks) to the existing road that runs parallel north-south to the eastern side of the Main Road (see Fig.#VIII).²³

23. The reason for not suggesting a north-west althernative road is that the north-east already exists and it is located along higly clustered compounds that include internal streets that use the nroth-east road as an access road only. Another reason is to facilitate the main expansion towards the west of Shu'fat and Beit Hanina.

The Jerusalem-Ramallah Road will run as a sub-regional limited to local traffic. In rerouting the passing traffic from the Main Road, the volume and speed of traffic as well as the number of trucks will decrease significantly.

2. Road Furniture:

The entire road will be paved and cleared of potholes and cracks, electricity poles, and freeway lights. Also, sidewalks and street-lights will be extended throughout the road. Indigenous trees with occasional intervals of areas with benches will be planted along the road.

3. Parking:

As mentioned above, there exists no on-street parking on the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road. This scheme proposes having such parking around areas of concentrated activities. For the most part, there is a total distance of 14m (sidewalk plus setback) between the road and built-up areas. This intervention proposes utilizing the existing 5m-6m setback for sidewalk and replacing existing sidewalk for on-street parking. Parking at busy hours (7a.m.-9a.m and 3p.m.-5p.m. all week except Fridays) will be prohibited. By slowing traffic, this on-street parking will better interaction. Also, by providing parking areas, sidewalks will no longer be used as parking spots, which will allow for more pedestrian use.

4. Intersections:

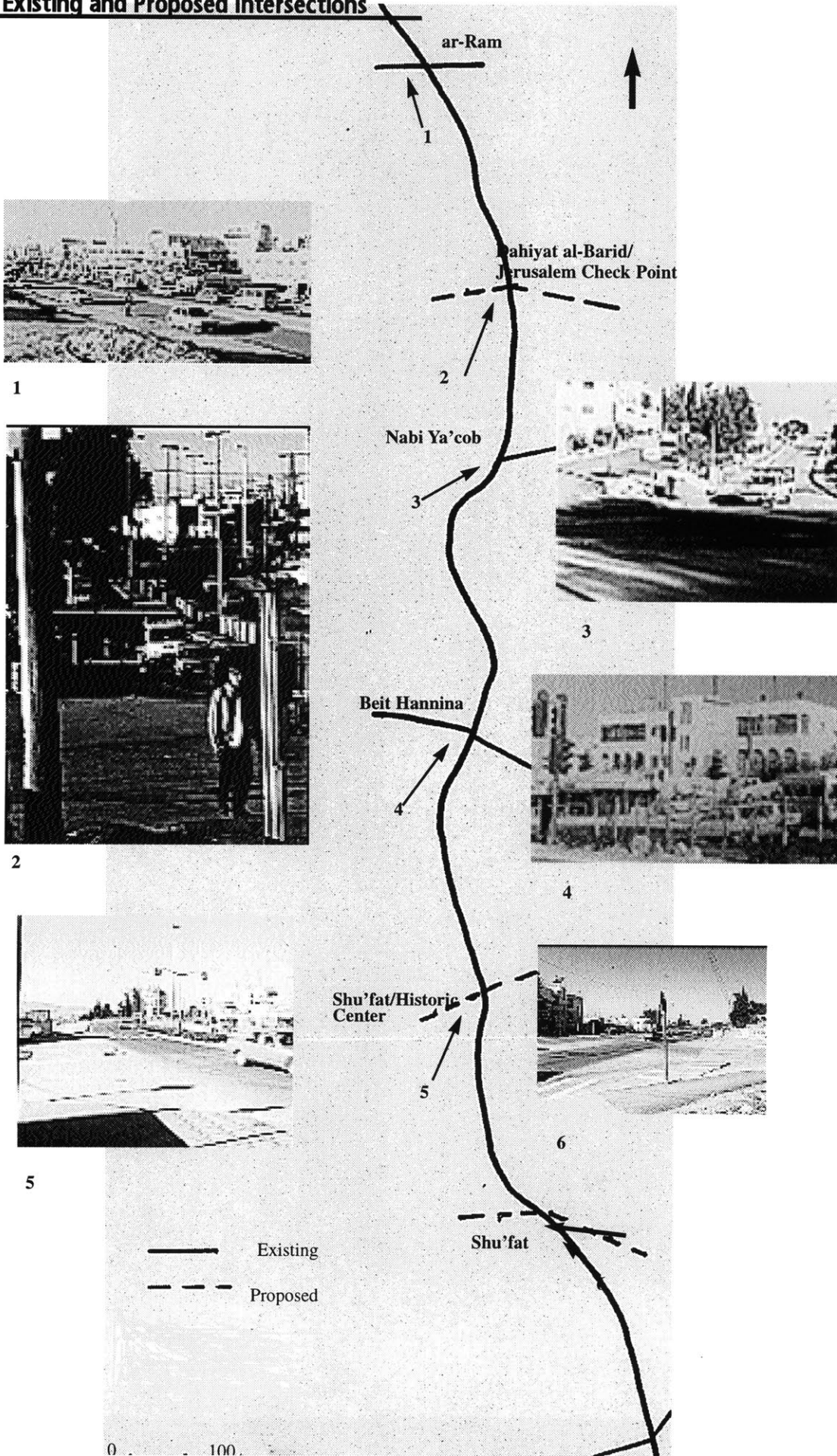
From the area of Shu'fat to the area of ar-Ram (5.5km) there are three intersections with traffic lights: Beit Hannina, Nabi Ya'cob, and ar-Ram intersections. Three more intersections are proposed (see Fig.#XVII) to control and slow traffic that will allow for pedestrian interaction with the Road. The intersections will also mark the location of a town and increase connections with the north-south parallel road.

5. Mixed Use:

With the exception of minor retail use, the buildings along the Road are residential. This scheme proposes to encourage mixed-uses by: rezoning the necessary areas from residential to mixed-use and providing incentives of tax and building fees exemption. This transformation will entail the substitution of uses exclusively residential and the adding of new mixed-use buildings. The uses will vary from one area of development to the other to ensure interaction and exchange of services between the different towns.

By encouraging mixed use, the Road will allow for more interaction in the public arena among the different town dwellers. It will bring in people living in and outside the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road for the provided services, facilities, and activities. The availability of mixed-uses and streets with multiple functions will make the Road a source of

Fig.#XV : Plan# 3
Existing and Proposed Intersections



interaction. The following areas will include mixed-use:

a. Villas along the Road

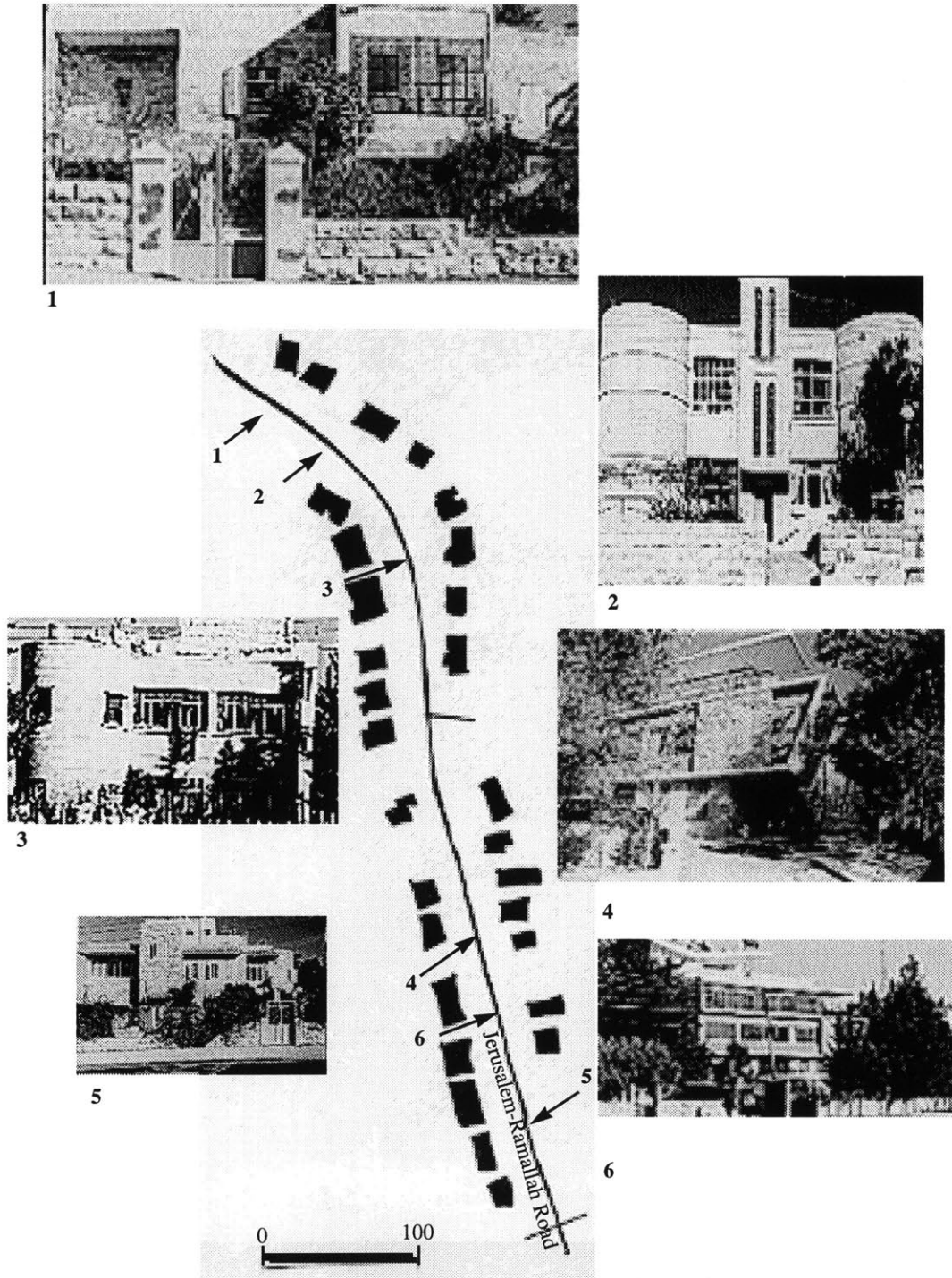
Around the 1950's and 1960's, villas were built along Jerusalem-Ramallah Road for its nearness to the Old City of Jerusalem and its tranquillity compared to the noise of the city. The architecture of these villas is prototypal and acted before as landmarks. Today, the villas continue to exist as residences, but their presence and elegance have been smeared by the traffic and neglected by the inhabitants. Preserving these villas will bring out historic character that identifies part of this Site.

The location, today, as a noisy road makes the villas not appealing for residential uses. However, the Road's strategic location makes the villas more attractive for office and commercial space. Thus, this scheme proposes rezoning the area to mixed-use to convert these villas into private and public uses (see Fig.#XVIII). The retail will be mainly to cater for the needs of the working environment: daycare centers, restaurants, banks, car rental, dry-clean, office supplies, and copy center. Public uses can include: a public library where there is not a single library (public or private) in the whole area of Jerusalem-Ramallah Road. The children who make half the population are in desperate need of such public facility; a school where throughout the thirty years of occupation not a single new school was built, which makes having schools a pressing need in the area; a vocational center where there has been interest in providing vocational training rather than concentrating higher education on colleges only; and a national museum that marks the importance of this site as a connector between Jerusalem and the West Bank. The museum will portray the experiences of Jerusalemites whose land was confiscated, houses were demolished, and trees cut down, and of the thousands of West Bankers who were denied access to Jerusalem.

b. Shu'fat Intersection

Shu'fat's intersection is 1km away from the southern edge of the Site and 1.8km from Beit Hannina's intersection. This intersection has no traffic light and is not marked by any signs, but yet, the mosque with its minaret defines its entry. There are minor retail activities in two story buildings around the area with garages for car repairs on the first floor and residential on the second (see Fig.#XIX). This scheme

Fig.#XVIII :Plan#4
Existing Villas and Houses Along the Road



Proposed Road Environment

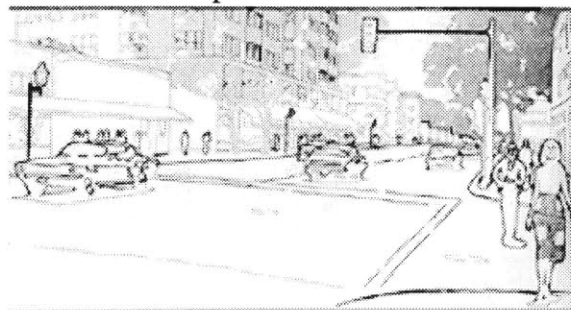
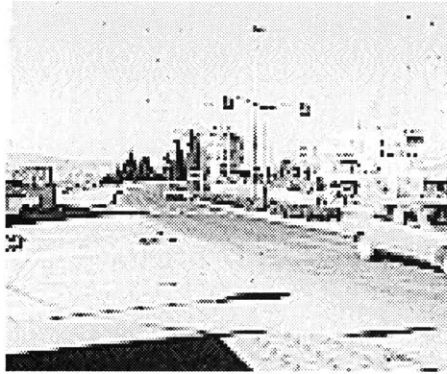
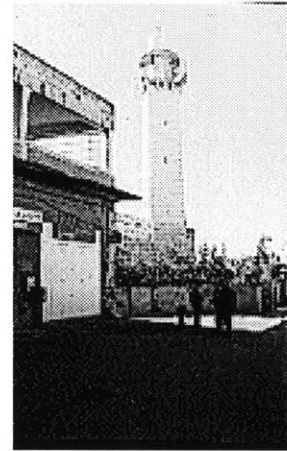


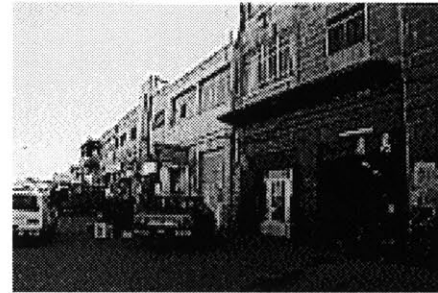
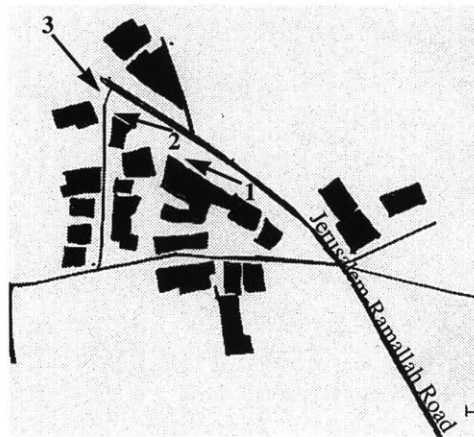
Fig.#XIX :Plan# 5
Shu'fat's Intersection



3



2



1

Proposed road environment: Interaction enhanced by slow and limited traffic and on-street parking.
Source: "al-Madina al-'Arabeyah".



proposes maintaining the mixed use of residential and retail, but relocating the garages off the road and replacing it with hardware, electronic, house supplies, and furniture sbutcher, grocery, bakery (halawani) and ice-cream shops, and boutiques.

Right-off this intersection, Shu'fat's historic center is located(see Fig.#XI).The importance of Shu'fat's historic core for its local and national cultural significancy requires its integration with its intersection to make it more visible and part of its public face. Thus, it is necessary to preserve this area of Shu'fat and to consider having mixed-uses in the historic area to make its connection with the intersection functional as well as physical.

c. Beit Hannina Intersection

This is the main intersection on Jerusalem-Ramallah Road after the French Hill (3.5km) and before ar-Ram intersections (2.75km). The road to the east of this intersection leads to Jewish settlements and the road to the west leads to Upper Beit Hannina and eventually connects with highways to Tel Aviv. This intersection is well defined through traffic lights, pedestrian crossing, a post office, and retail (see Fig.#XX).

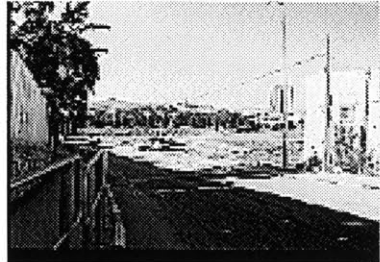
This intersection includes public and private uses: there are two schools, residential buildings, and mixed-use buildings. As mentioned earlier, this proposal encourages maintaining the public and mixed-use along the Road and discontinue uses exclusively residnetial. The existing retail activities, which are located in two story buildings with the upper floor for residential, need to be enhanced by encouraging more local retail and services, like flower shops, bookstores, banks, travel agents, hairdresser salons, tailors, copy centers, video stores, grocery, juice bars, falafel and shawarma takeouts, restaurants, cafes, and cinemas along the road, where the elevation provide views of the town (see Fig.#XXI). The mixed-use pattern should continue, however, future buildings will be three to four story high to maintain street definition and human scale, otherwise the road is too open.

The next two levels of interventions include a new element: the representation of physical landscape and existing built forms as mnemonic devices for the Palestinians collective experience of losing their land and on their hisotry of displacement. As mentioned earlier, the land for the Palestinians became a national signifier, and therefore, it is very critical for this Road due to its role and location to reflect on this source of identification.

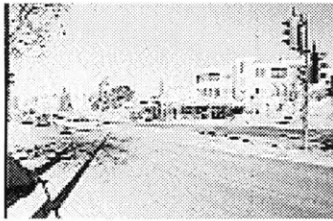
FIG.#XX :PLAN# 6A
Beit Hannina Intersection/Existing Conditions



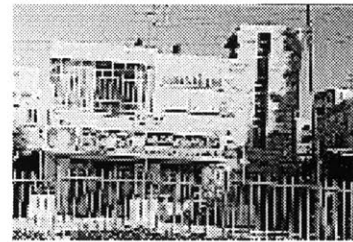
3



4



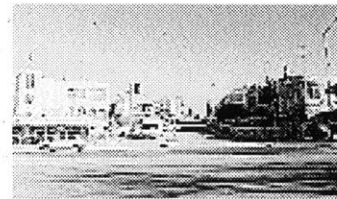
6



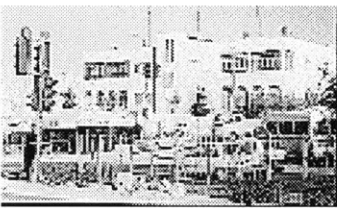
1



2



5



7



8

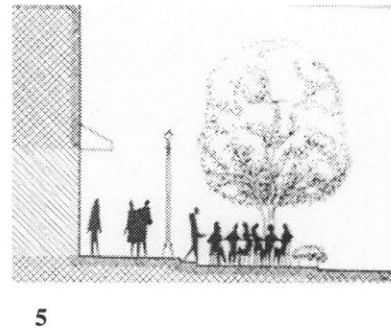
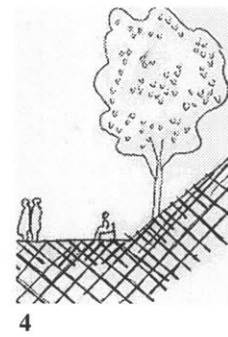
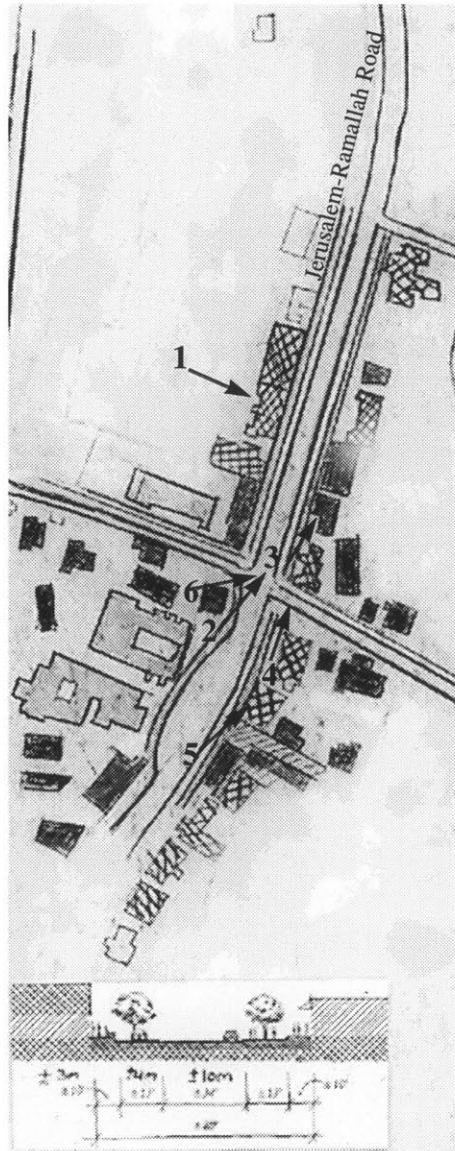
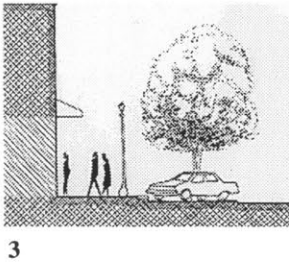
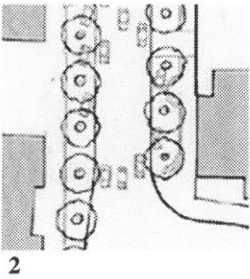
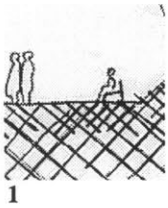




 Residential

 Mixed-Use

The other forms are public buildings

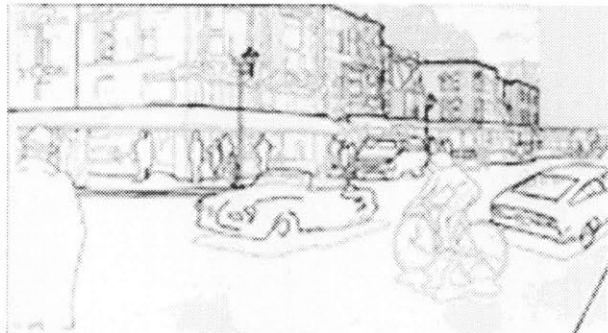
Fig.#XXI: Plan# 6b
Beit Hannina's Intersection: Proposed Uses & Road Environment



-  Residential
-  Mixed-Use

The other forms are public buildings

Source of images: "Great Streets"



6

3.4 Physical landscape

The terrain to the west of Jerusalem-Ramallah Road includes landscape of olives, and functionally emphasized and weaved into the streetscape to memorialize the Palestinian collective experience. This intervention proposes the following:

1. Open Spaces

The proposal takes advantage of the two hills located along the road as open space (see Fig.#XXII): Tall al-Foul is located on the east side of the Road between Shu'fat and Beit Hannina (see Fig.#VII). It is 830m high with an overview of the surrounding areas. It is an archaeological site with an old Roman road running next to it. Tall al-Nasbeh is located more north on today's border line of Jerusalem between al-Biereh and Kufur Aqab (see Fig.#VII). It is 848m high and has been considered a nature reserve area since 1950's. It includes a view of al- Biereh-Ramallah from the north, the airport, Qalandia, and ar-Ram from the south, the hinterland from the west, and Kufar 'Aqab from the east.

The usage of these hills will serve functional and symbolic purposes: The whole area of Jerusalem-Ramallah road is without parks or recreational areas. Therefore, by using the open space to provide such facilities, this intervention will be fulfilling a pressing need for the children who make half the population and hardly have any playgrounds or other recreational places. Also, it will be serving the other half of the population who lack open public space.

The symbolic function lies in representing these hills as meeting points where visually Jerusalem and the West Bank can be connected. At such meeting points, the interface between the view and the place that provide the view will memorialize the times of sorrow when West Bankers could not reach Jerusalem: families were unable to unite, patients unable to meet their doctors, students unable to reach their schools, and people unable to make a living.

2. Place with a view

Along Jerusalem-Ramallah Road one can locate vistas facing west at different height levels. The views will visually bring together the urban environment and the landscape along the Road. Also, to mark the places with views, provision of benches will be used to engage the pedestrians with the surrounding physical environment.(see Fig.#XXIII)

Fig.#XXII :Plan# 7
Proposed Open Space

Tal al-Nasbeh



1

Tal al-Foul



2

Detail of Terrains of Orchid & olive trees



3

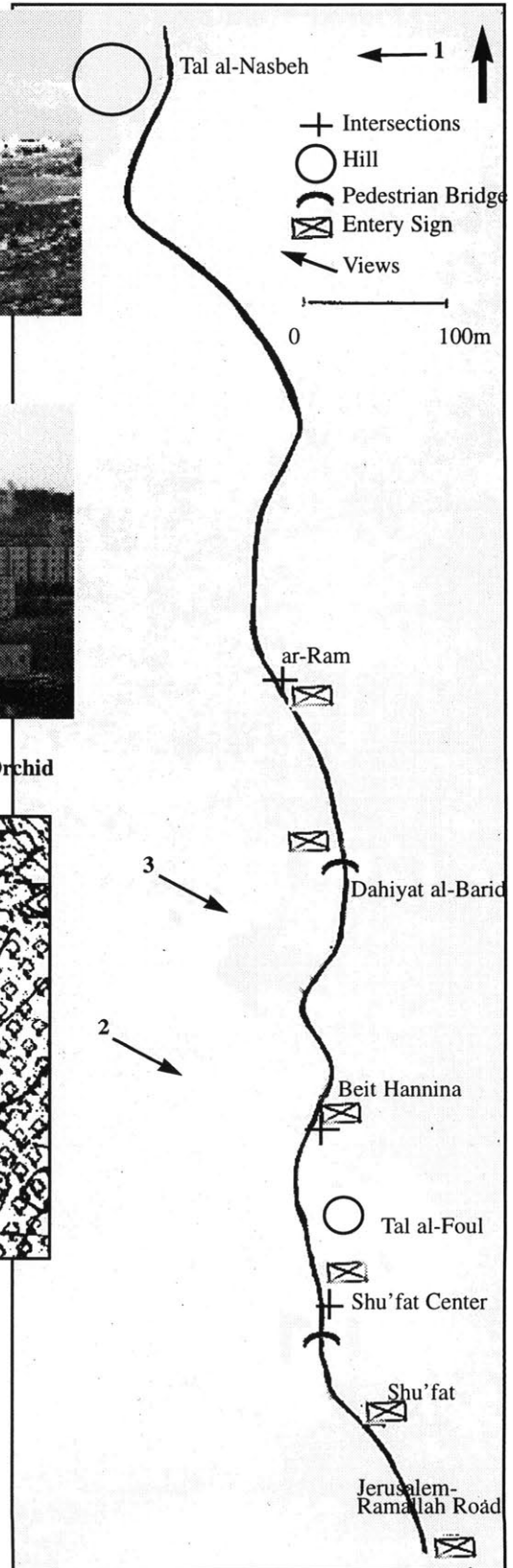
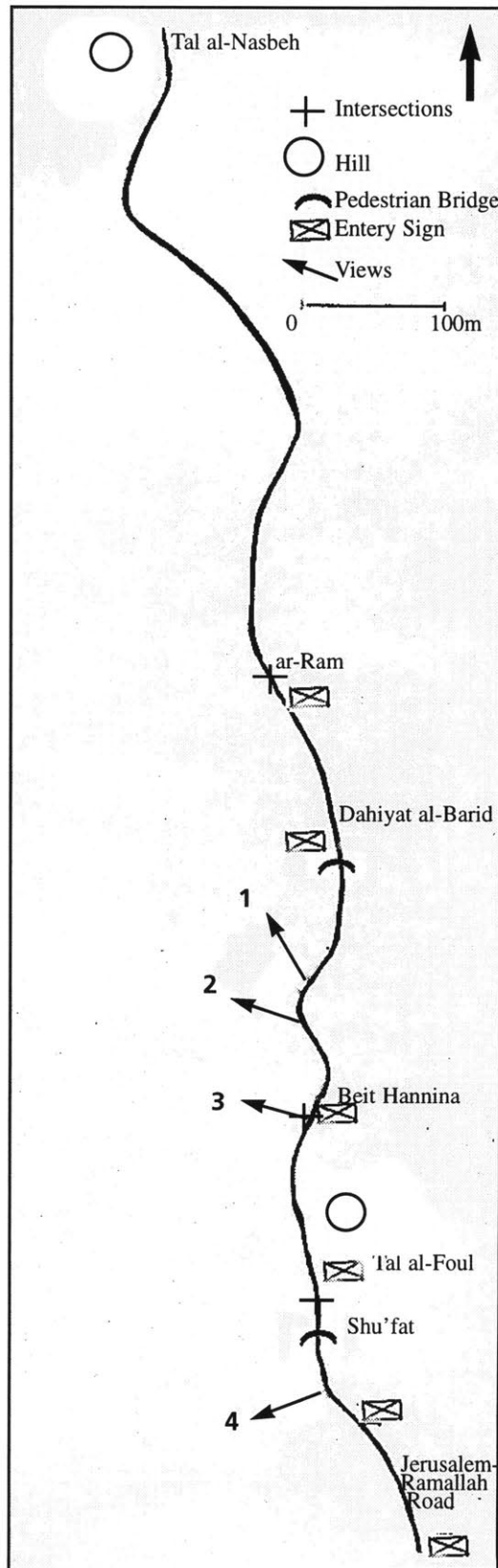
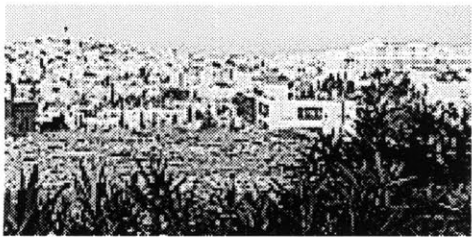


FIG.#XXIII : PLAN# 8
OPEN SPACE & VISUAL CONNECTIONS



The symbolism in making such 'places' is the fact that these views face west towards the coast where the lost land, town, village, and house represent the heart of Palestinians' experience of disposition.

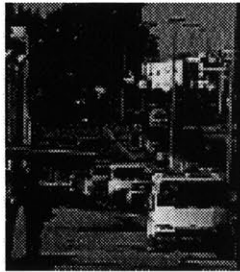
3. Linking Objects

In addition, two pedestrian bridges are proposed at certain key points: one will be at the point of connection between Beit Hannina and Shu'fat, and the second will be at the present Israeli to and from Jerusalem check point located at Dahiyat al- Barid (see Fig.# XXIV). Beside the functional use of these pedestrian bridges through which pedestrians will be carried from one side of the Road to the other, their representation will include local and national symbolism, respectively: The bridge in-between Beit Hannina and Shu'fat will act as a visual connector and mark the point where these two towns meet. The pedestrian bridge would be carrying people to and from Beit Hannina and Shu'fat while being able to view the two towns from the bridge. The symbolic importance in emphasizing this connection by creating a linking object is to mark the long history of segregating and confining the towns and their dwellers and to substitute this experience with accessibility and visual integration .

The symbolism in locating a pedestrian bridge at Dahiyat al-Barid intersection is to mark the return of accessibility between the West Bank and Jerusalem. Until today, West Bankers are denied access to Jerusalem, the heart of Palestine. This intersection holds as a collective memory for the thousands who have been returned at the check point and prevented from reaching Jerusalem. This bridge as a linking object will also memorialize the times when reaching the 'Aqsa mosque in the Old City became a religious duty and a profound statement fulfilled by the masses who marched towards the city despite Israeli roadblock, check points, and other methods of obstruction. This pedestrian bridge as a linking object actually present in the environment will bear the connections between the people (who hold the memory of access denial) and the place (where access was denied). At the same time, this bridge will functionally offer access.

Fig.#XXV :Plan# 9
Proposed locations for pedestrian Bridges

Jerusalem Checkpoint/
 Proposed location for a
 pedestrian bridge. 1



1

Dahiyat al-Barid/View from
 the proposed bridge



2

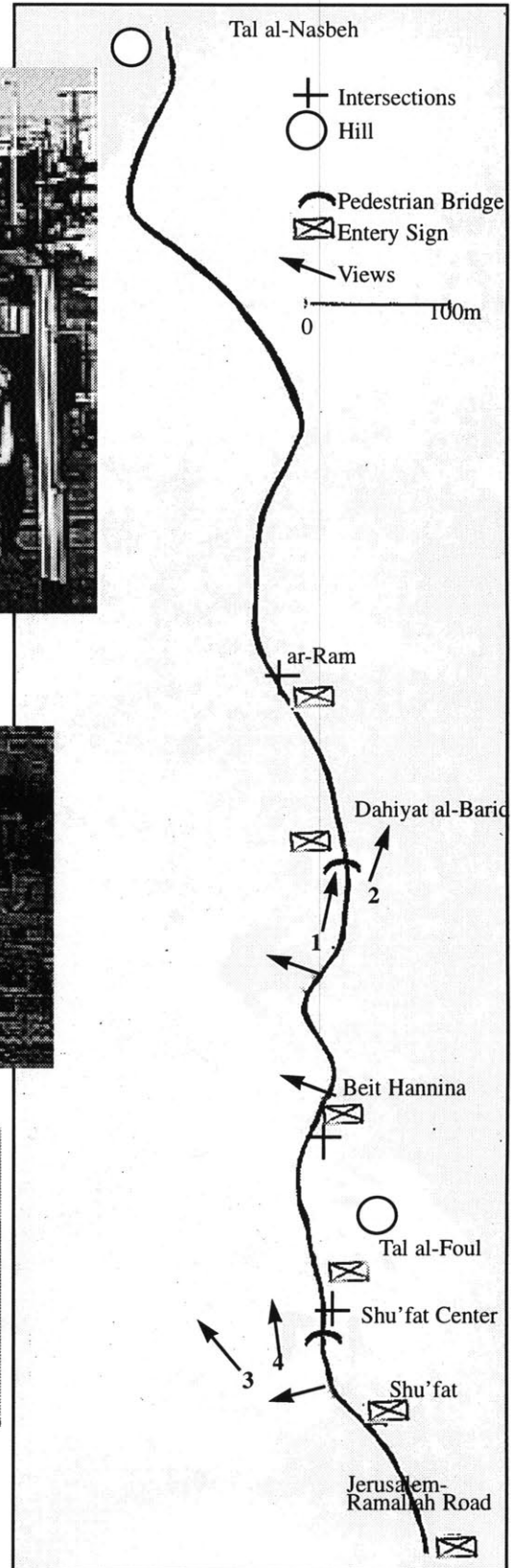
Proposed views from the bridge.



3



4

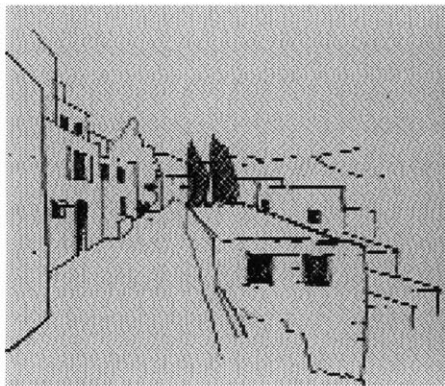


1.It was difficult to get a clear snap shot of the intersection due to security rea-

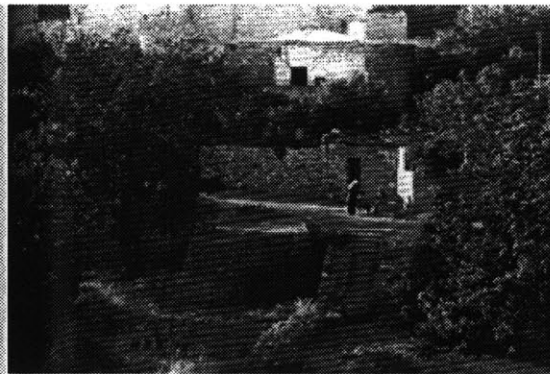
3. “Fingering” of landscape and built-up areas

The layout of a village on a terraced hilltop surrounded with a terrained landscape (*Salasil*) is typical of rural areas of the West Bank (see Fig.#XXIV). This behavior of “fingering” between landscape and built-form characterized Palestinian physical landscape. Hence, it was this image of the village surrounded by terrains with olive and orchid trees that most Palestinians had to leave behind.

Fig.#XXIV



The Village of Silwan in East Jerusalem.
Source: *The Harvard Jerusalem Studio*.

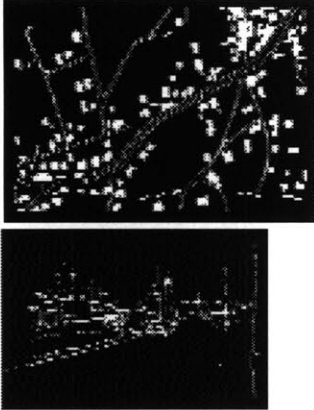


Examples of Historic Villages in the West Bank near Ramallah.
Source: *The Last Sky*.

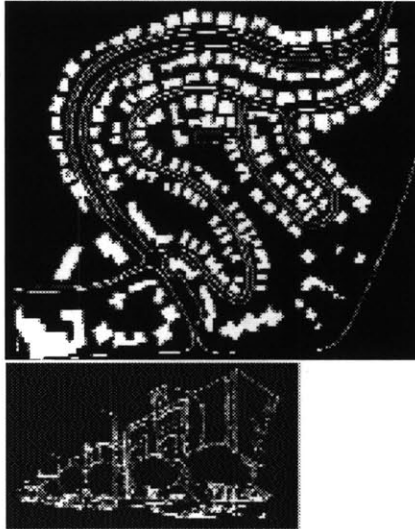
The approach of fingering reflects on the necessary behavior between landscape and physical layout to maintain the exchange of built forms and land in the overall physical layout. Along Jerusalem-Ramallah Road there are two fingering models where an exchange of landscape and built form exist: clusters of Jewish settlements located on hilltops and low density scattered Palestinian built-up areas along the terraced landscape. Both of these building models are surrounded with landscape (see Fig.#XXV). However, if the former model continued as large scale clustering, it will eventually cover-up all the land area. At the same time, the latter model continues to allow more land area in-between built-forms due to limited building permits that prevented large scale unplanned development. The current situation could be altered, if the hold on building permits was removed and unplanned high density building spread out.

Fig.#XXV

Jerusalem-Ramallah Road/Shu'fat Area.
Scattered Development
Source: *The Harvard Jerusalem Studio*



Settlement of Ramot High Density
Clustering.
Source: *The Harvard Jerusalem Studio*



Settlement of Ramot giving-up the terraced landscape for high density and
road extension.
Source: *The Harvard Jerusalem Studio.*



Thus, the approach of fingering will aim to state design guidelines (e.g., control of development through density, building heights, and architectural design) through which the terraced topography and the width of the built form could be specified to protect the land and to maintain views.

3.5 Built Form

For the most part, the built-forms along Jerusalem-Ramallah Road were built before 1967 representing Palestinian physical manifestations prior to occupation. These buildings as objects of memory serving as mnemonic devices of the time at which there was Palestine. Also, the variation in architectural styles reflect on different historic periods prior to the occupation and act as a source of cultural identification that will be used in shaping future architecture.

Thus, for the site to represent a cultural landscape with built forms pertaining to the times when there was Palestine and a layout sensitive to the physical landscape it will need to: Preserve historic buildings like the 1960's villas and layouts like Shu'fat's historic core; and encourage future development sensitive to the traditional model of "fingering" between the landscape and the built form.

These action strategies can be best enforced through government planning policies and regulations. The use of zoning laws and building regulation, for example, to protect areas (e.g., villas, historic cores..) with buildings and/or streets that represent cultural significance. Such laws and regulation can control the building heights, density, and design. The government urban planning standards can be implemented directly through government (own and operate) and or by providing incentives (like, exemption from building permits fees or provision of basic infrastructure for maintaining the terraced landscape).

Conclusion

This proposal is based on assumptions that acted as the means in crossing frontiers of political constraints. In investigating the process of deforming and analyzing existing conditions, this investigation attempted to construct a design scheme for the future urban planning of Jerusalem-Ramallah Road. The implementation of this intervention rests on a vision sponsored by the Palestinians and carried-out by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). This vision of values and beliefs will pave the way for the making of a Palestinian Nation.

In the field of urban planning and in the case of Jerusalem-Ramallah Road, the PNA will need to deal with this road as a point of interaction between the different Palestinian communities in the country (to be) and a source of symbolic meaning for the entire Palestinian population. The national importance of this site will require the establishment of an urban planning committee to include members from surrounding urban centers. This coordination will ensure strategic development for the whole area and region. The planning committee will need to be supported by laws, regulations, design guidelines, and tools to protect and conserve the character of the Road and to guide its development.

This investigation showed the susceptibility of this road to the surrounding trends of urban growth. Today, in urban centers, like Ramallah, there is a tendency towards segregated uses. Buildings for retail and office use are being located away from the residential areas and the previous residential building model with retail on the first floor have been recently discontinued. Also, the 8-to-12 story building is spreading like mushrooms in Ramallah and in many cases juxtaposed to or built on top of historic buildings. Such trends in the future development of Jerusalem-Ramallah Road will have to filter through its urban planning committee before it gets on the ground.

The planning committee will need to establish urban design guidelines to: preserve shu'fat's historic center, protect prototypical buildings, shape new architectural design, and ensure physical layout in harmony with the landscape. Also, the committee will need to issue planning policies that will ensure provision of public services, control urban growth, and protect local retail. The suggested methods of implementation will need to be part of a regional plan. The coordination between regional and local needs will provide distribution of development based on actual needs of the area.

Future Research

This proposal represents a step in explaining the existing conditions of Palestinian built-up areas. Jerusalem-Ramallah Road is part of a whole region where the outcome of this proposal can be used to formulate similar approaches to understand the current physical conditions of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Jericho. Therefore, prior to the formulation of regional urban design guidelines and planning policies, it is of crucial value to investigate existing conditions of Palestinian built-up areas. Future research will need to include analysis of the process of deformation that occurred for thirty years to areas inhabited, today, by Palestinians. This analysis could trace the rise of different built forms through out the past fifty years and explain the adaptation of these forms in relation to political planning and socio-economic dynamics.

Once the development of the urban fabric is traced, urban design guidelines and planning policies could be established to meet existing and future needs of the Palestinian nation.

Bibliography

“Al-Istitan al-Mustamer fi al-Quds ‘al-Sughra’ wa ‘al-Kubra”, *Majalat al-Dirasat al-Filistiniya*, vol.19, Summer 1994.

Al-Majlis Al-Filistini, *Al-Azma al-Sakaniyah fi Madinat al-Quds* (Report on Shortage of Housing in Jerusalem City, presented in the International Conference on Low-Income Housing by Palestinian Housing Council) 1996.

Abo Odeh, Adnan, “An Undivided Jerusalem”, *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1992, pp181-188.

“Al-Istitan al-Mustamer fi al-Quds ‘al-Sughra’ wa ‘al-Kubra”, *Majalat al-Dirasat al-Filistiniya*, vol.19, Summer 1994.

Akosy, Asu and Kevin Robins, “Istanbul Between Civilization and Discontent”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Spring, 1994.

Barghouti, Hussein, “Al-Sulta wa al-Qaraba fi Qarya Filistiniya” *Al-Katib*, vol . 41, 1983.

Bishara, ‘Azmi, “Al-‘Arabi al-Israili” (in Arabic, Israeli Arabs), *Majalit al-Dirasat al-Filistiniya* , vol.24, 1995.

Musahama fi Naqd al-Mujtama’ al-Madani, (in Arabic A Critique of Civil Society), *Muwatin*, 1996.

“fi al-Dhakira wa al-Tarikh” (in Arabic, In Memory and History), *al-Karmel*, Winter 1997.

Benvenisti, Maron, *Jerusalem, Study of Polarized Community*, Jerusalem, 1983.

Breger, Marshall, “Religion and Politics in Jerusalem”, *Journal of International Affairs*, vol.50, no.1, Summer 1996.

Choshen, Maya, *Jerusalem: Facts and Trends 1994/1995*, The Jerusalem Institute for Israeli Studies, Jerusalem, 1996.

The Catholic University of America, “The Future of Jerusalem: a Symposium”, 1995.

Cobban, Helena, “Redefining Justice:Hopes for a Lasting Peace in Jerusalem”, *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, vol,25, no.2, Winter 1996, pp60-70.

Darwish, Mahmoud, “Al-Bahth ‘an al-Tabi’i fi al-latabi’i” (in Arabic, Searching for the Normal..... in the Abnormal), *Karmel* , Winter 1997.

de Certeau, Michel, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, 1984.

Childs, Mark, “Incarnations of Central Avenue”, *Journal of Urban Design*, vol.1, no.3, 1996.

David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 1989.

Dumper, Michael, "Jerusalem's Infrastructure: Is Annexation Irreversible?", *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, vol.22, no.3, Spring 1993.

, "Israeli Settlements in the Old City of Jerusalem", *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, vol.21, no.4, Summer, 1992.

Efrat, Elisha, *Changes in the town planning concepts of Jerusalem 1919-1969*, Ministry of the Interior Planning Department, Jerusalem, 1971

Gosenfeld, N.H., *The Spatial Division of Jerusalem, 1948-1969*, University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D , 1973.

Humphery, David, "Reaching a Compromise on Jerusalem: Comment", *International Journal on World Peace*, vol.12, no.4, December 1, the entire issue, 1995.

The Jerusalem Committee, "Proposed Jerusalem Outlined Scheme", Jerusalem, 1978.

Kaminker, Sarah, "East Jerusalem: a Case Study in Political Planning", *Palestine-Israel Journal*, Vol. II, No.59, April 1995.

.Kroyanker and Guiladi, *Planning and Development Jerusalem 1978: Between Two Decades* (Report prepared for the Jerusalem Committee), 1978.

, *Developing Jerusalem 1967-1975*, Jerusalem, 1975.

, *Jerusalem Planning and Development 1978-1979*, Jerusalem, 1978.

, *Jerusalem Planning and Development 1979-1982*, Jerusalem, 1982.

, *Jerusalem Planning and Development 1982-1985*, Jerusalem, 1985.

, *Jerusalem 1978: Between two decades- Planning and Development*,

Jerusalem, 1978.

Kutcher, Arthur, *The New Jerusalem: Planning and Politics*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1975.

Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space*, 1984.

Living in Jerusalem: An Assessment of Planning Policy, Housing and Living Conditions in the Light of the Palestinians' Right to Adequate Housing , (Report presented by many NGO's in Jerusalem), May 1996.

Lefebvre, Henri, *Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholas-Smith, 1996.

Migdal, Joel and Baruch Kimmerling, "The Shaping of a Nation: Palestinians in the Last Century of Ottoman Rule", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Spring, 1994.

Madanipou, Ali, *Design of Urban Space*, 1996.

Mattar, Ibrahim, "From Palestinian to Israeli: Jerusalem 1948-1982", *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, vol.12, no.4, Summer 1983.

Mayo, James, "The Manifestation of Politics in Architectural Politics", *JAE*, Nov. 1996

Nakhal, Mattar, *Dawahi al-Quds al-Sharqiya* (in Arabic, *The Outskirts of East Jerusalem*), *Jam'iyat al-Dirasat al-'Arabiya*, 1994.

, *Sukan wa Masakin dawahi al-Quds al-Sharqiya* (in Arabic, *The Habitant and Habitat in Outskirts of East Jerusalem*), *Jam'iyat al-Dirasat al-'Arabiya*, 1996.

, *Mitropolite al-Quds al-Sharqiya* (in Arabic, *Metropolitan Jerusalem*), *Jam'iyat a-Dirasat al-'Arabiya*, 1993.

Niv, Aminon, *The Jerusalem Committee*, Presentation to the Jerusalem Committee, April 12, 1978.

Ochsner, Jeffery, "A Space of Loss: the Vietnam Veterans Memorial", *Journal of Architecture*, February, 1997.

Rabinow, Paul, "Power and Truth", *Rabinow on Foucault.*, ?.

Romann and Weingrod, *Living Together Separately*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1991.

Rowly, Gwyn, "Human Space, Territoriality, and Conflict: an Exptoratory Study with Special Refference to Israel and the West Bank", *The Canadian Geographer*, 36, no.3, 1996.

Safdie, Moshe, *The Harvard Jerusalem Studio*, MIT Press, 1986.

- Said, Edward, "Projecting Jerusalem", *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, vol.25, no.1, Autumn 1995, pp5-14.
- , "Lost between War and Peace", *London Review of Books*, Sept.5, 1996.
- , "Lost Between War and Peace", *London Review of Books*, Sept. 5, 1996.
- , *The Question of Palestine*, 1979.
- , *Politics of Disposition*, 1994.
- and Moher, *After the Last Sky*, 1986
- Palestinian Geographic Center, *Survey of the Palestinian Populated Areas in Palestine*, 1996.
- , *Survey of Israeli Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip*, 1995.
- Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, *Small Area Population Revised Estimates for 1996, 996*.
- , *Jerusalem District*, 1996.
- Place in Space Human Culture in Landscape, eds. Svobodova and Uhde, 1993.
- Sharon, Arie, *Planning Jerusalem: The old city and its environs*, Jerusalem, 1973.
- Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem no.13-1994/95 eds. Choshen and Shahar, 1996.
- Slyomovics, Susan, "Discourses on the Pre-1948 Palestinian Village: the Case of Ein Hod/Ein Houd", *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements, Working Paper Series*, vol.36, 1992.
- Urban Geography of Jerusalem, eds. Amiran, Shachar, and Kimhi, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1973.
- Yan, X. Winston, "Carrying Forward Heritage: a Review of Contextualism in New Construction in Beijing", *Journal of Architectural Education*, November, 1996.
- Yiftachel, Oren, "The Dark Side of Modernism: Planning as Control of an Ethnic Minority", *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*, ed. Sophie Watson, 1995.
- The world Today, "The Middle East II: a Proposal for Jerusalem", January 1995,