HOUSING IN JERUSALEM: FROM A FLOURISHING HOPE TO SLOW "URBICIDE"

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To achieve its aims, the OHIA organizes and co-ordinates a number of activities which include the publication of a quarterly journal, and, in the near future, an international seminar and an annual competition. The Association has the more general aim of seeking to improve the quality of built environment through encouraging a greater sharing of decision-making by ordinary people and to help develop the necessary institutional frameworks which will support the local initiatives of people in the building process.

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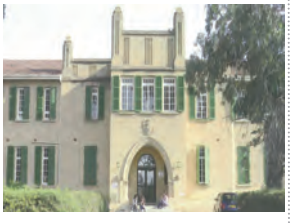

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HOUSING IN JERUSALEM: FROM A FLOURISHING HOPE TO SLOW "URBICIDE"

Yara Saifi, Maha Samman

Abstract

Urbicide, domicide and memoricide are terms associated with destruction, whether of the tangible or intangible human and spatial capital. This paper discusses how, as a result of the Israeli imposed geopolitical map in Jerusalem, another face of these three "cides" is experienced. The Dahiyat al-Bareed neighbourhood, built in 1958, demarcated outside the municipal boundaries after 1967 and outside the Separation Wall boundaries after 2002, is used as a case study. The study illustrates how both the political conflict and the produced geopolitical map have indirectly forced the inhabitants of Dahiyat al-Bareed to abandon their homes. They need to reside in apartments within the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem to maintain their legal status in the city. This produced a gradual process of domicide, memoricide and eventually, slow urbicide in the Dahiyat al-Bareed neighbourhood. The three "-cide" attack is tackled by the owners as a survival dynamic. This is done by deliberately accentuating neglect and decay of the built structures to camouflage the owners' sporadic presence and to affirm the abandonment dynamic.

The study discusses the dynamics of the urban battle-ground in three ways: By reading trails through architecture and the measures Palestinians use to hold on to their homes, by observing and analysing the deliberate changes on the buildings and gardens designed to expose abandonment and withering, and through interviews with the owners of the houses. The purposeful withering and decay of spaces within the neighbourhood produces a state-of-being torn between the past place of dwelling and the new place of residence. This perpetuates a continuous dual conflict which inflicts a chronic trauma within the experience and memories of their homes as they tackle the memoricide dynamic. The study shows that the tensious choice of practicing a sense of dwelling beholds lengthy suffering inflicted by political injustice.

Keywords: *Jerusalem housing, urbicide, domicide, memoricide, urban abandonment, urban battle field.*

INTRODUCTION

Obtrusions in the well being of a home, a neighbourhood, or an urban setting do not only affect the physical environment but also the human attachment to these spaces. Obtrusions could happen in different ways, degrees and with different temporal dynamics. Wars and conflicts could lead to a devastating impact on urban areas, a situation termed as "urbicide" or "violence against the city". Even more devastating is when one's home is destroyed. This act is called "domicide". Urbicide and domicide are also related to "memoricide", or destruction of memories and cultural treasures. Thus, the terms domicide, urbicide and memoricide (the three "cides") are not only associated with one's home, surrounding environment, but also with other values like memory and dwelling.

Indirect enforcement of home abandonment is not less harmful. Though actual physical destruction does not happen but can lead to the decay of houses when left vacant for lengthy periods. This could also lead to prolonged suffering of the owners, and a slow version of domicide, memoricide and urbicide. This happens when conflicts use geopolitics to control the weaker. Power in this sense is practiced in different ways to indirectly affect the lived space of the people. This is evident in Jerusalem where Israel has used its power to inflict a new geopolitical setting that has, directly and indirectly, affected the human and spatial dynamics of Palestinian life.

With the aim to discuss the contradictory attitudes of maintaining dwelling through flourishing or through destruction, the questions that this article pose are: how could an imposed geopolitical setting lead to a different version of the three "cides"? and how could self-inflicted destruction manifest a dynamic of survival? Could such destruction be a tool to dwell?

Several urban areas that are located along and outside the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, face various combinations of the three "cides". Many Israeli policies force Palestinians with Jerusalem resident ID cards to shift their lives in order to maintain their legal residential status in the city. Examples of such areas include Beit Iksa, Beit Hanina al Balad, Bir Nabala, Qalandia, Al-Ram, Dahiyat Al-Bareed, Hizma, Anata, Az'ayim, Ezariyeh, Abu Deis, Assawahreh ash Sharqiya, and Asheikh Saed. These areas either represent village cores or outskirts of the city. The article selected the case of Dahiyat Al-

Bareed, which shares the essence of the three "cides". The difference however, is that this area developed as the first housing cooperative outskirt and therefore manifests a particular communal attachment to the place.

The case of Dahiyat al-Bareed will show how another face of the three "cides" is manifested. Despite the non actual physical destruction carried out by another human agency directly, an imposed geopolitical condition could force the inhabitants to abandon their houses. The inhabitants' reaction to the built environment and their memories are practiced as a survival dynamic. The people who witnessed the flourishing of their neighbourhood earlier, are forced to leave their houses in Dahiyat al-Bareed. They seek residence within the imposed boundaries defined by the Municipality of Jerusalem to maintain their legal status. Owners are utilising measures to make their houses appear abandoned. The fact that they are involved in such an act, makes them unwillingly part of the production of the three "cides"; domicide, memoricide and urbicide. Such dynamic shall be explained through understanding the geopolitical context and by reading through the architectural trails the tactics that reflect the inhabitants' abandonment and interaction with their houses.

Accordingly, the wider context of this article relates politics and its impact on architecture, and its main objectives are:

• To contribute to the discussion about the theory of "urbicide" but within the context of ongoing political conflict that provides a certain geopolitical setting.
• To document the architectural characteristics of the houses with significant architectural values and suffer from a certain geopolitical setting.
• To trace and analyse the deliberate changes on the buildings and gardens implemented by the owners to depict abandonment and withering.

The paper argues that a kind of slow urbicide, domicide, and memoricide in the neighbourhood of Dahiyat al-Bareed is practiced, which is not less harmful than the actual destruction of the homes. That is since domicide and urbicide resulting from direct wars may destroy the built environment in a quick and sudden manner, and appear purposefully as direct targets. Yet, slow "cides", take place on a slower and less sudden manner and may not appear as a result of another force or human agent. On the contrary, people's abandoning their homes or altering them to show abandonment causes withering. This is as a result of an imposed geopolitical force, which may appear less sudden and less related to the act of violence during wars.
To elaborate further on the question of how an imposed geopolitical setting lead to another face of the three "cides", the following sub questions are posed:

• Why are people forced to change their place of living?
• Do the original houses reveal traces of being inhabited?
• If the people altered their houses, what did they alter?
• To what extent did they alter the original buildings and why?
• What are the stories that owners have in relation to these alterations?

While direct domicide actually happens in certain areas in Jerusalem due to complications in having a building permit, the above specific questions are posed due to the specific geopolitical map that differentiates between areas in Jerusalem, where houses in some areas are still intact but exposed to a different face of the three "cides".

THE THREE "CIDES"

Although home is a noun which entails a place, a building and architecture, it is also associated with acts, practices and experiences of the everyday life. Gaston Bachelard in *The Poetics of Space* (Bachelard, 1969), defines home from a philosophical and poetical sense, where his understanding of home cannot be separated from the human soul. He explains how a home is associated with the thoughts, memories, experiences and dreams that emerge in our souls in an unconscious manner. It enables daydreaming that can create a poetic image that only home can protect; something that history, geography and psychology are incapable of.

Home is also a place of dwelling and attachment. Martin Heidegger saw that places happen through use and experience. Dwelling according to him in *Building, Dwelling, Thinking* is associated with creating "a space within which something comes into its own and flourishes" (Heidegger, 1971:154). In psychological approaches, scholars relate the dynamics between home and dwelling through attachment. Place attachment is joined with place identity; Hernandez (Hernandez *et al*, 2007) sees that both attachment to a place and place identity are overlapping terms. That is, attachment to a place forms the character of the individual and identity. The more the attachment takes place, the more people will identify themselves with respect to that place – city, nationality (Giuliani, 2003). Attachment to place and identity has a complex relationship with the environment. It is developed within the conscious and unconscious beliefs, ideas, feelings, values and goals (Proshansky, 1978). A house becomes a home as a result of a long term transformation effort to reflect an individual or a group identity (Moore, 2000). Therefore, the experience of home is a subjective phenomenon with qualities and values that cannot be easily quantified, although it has a physical structure. Furthermore, a home is associated with occupant's memories, identity, sentiments and other quantitative and qualitative values. It also holds an architectural value and comes within a certain geographical and political setting.

Since "home" entails multilayered levels of dynamics whether as an architectural building, or a place of living and attachment or as part of an urban context, a threat to any of these levels could affect the sense of dwelling. This threat is intensified in contexts of conflicts, wars or natural disasters. While the experience of a home and dwelling happens slowly it can be disturbed quickly (Brown and Perkins, 1992). Disturbance can vary in its scale and degree, from the destruction of an individual home (domicide) or whole urban area (urbicide).

The term domicide, rooted from the word *domus* (home in Latin) and *homicide,* which means a

deliberate destruction of a person's home by human agency, has its affect on both the individual and family scale. The term was coined by Proteus in 1988 and later by Proteus and Smith in 2001, defined as "the planned, deliberate destruction of someone's home, causing suffering to the dweller". The conditions of domicide according to the authors can differ. The "extreme domicide" or destruction can be a result of war or political conflicts. The "everyday domicide" can happen as a result of a legal situation where "common good" can be a reason for home destruction, like building new roads or expansion of airports. Regardless of the differences, their traumatic impact and the consequences on the human beings are much linked to the meaning of home, the place of attachment and dwelling.

The other term urbicide is the violent destruction of cities and their character. It was introduced by Michael Moorock in 1963, in reference to rapid urbanization in the U.S cities that led to increased violence and destruction. Its early beginning was referred to as "killing of cities" through planning, policy and development decisions. However, urbicide can take place in different forms; deliberate and direct or unintentional and indirect. Deliberate destruction denotes complete physical destruction of urban areas selectively, like public buildings with symbolic values that represent the identity of the city, its people and their collective memory. The cause may be violent during wars or could be for ethnic cleansing (see Mike Davis, 2006). Indirect destruction on the other hand, is less visible physically, like laws, actions and control which may eventually lead to the destruction of cities (Coward, 2004; Graham, 2004).

Similarly, Bogdan Bogdanovic (1995) and Robert Bevan (2006) introduced different dimensions of violence against the urban environment and architecture during wars. The concept of "urbicide" is used by Bogdanovic as a continuation of genocide after the wars in former Yugoslavia. His definition of "urbicide" is related to the destruction of houses in order to destroy people. According to him, having heterogeneous and multicultural cities might stop this type of violence during wars. On the other hand, Bevan shows that cultural artefacts are destroyed in order to reject the presence of the enemy in the place, where violence towards monumental buildings is rational and politically motivated iconoclasm in different parts of the world.

As for "memoricide", it is a term coined by the Croatian doctor and historian Mirko D. Grmek in 1991 which refers to systematic eradication of cultural monuments associated with a specific ethnic or religious group. It was also referred to after the attack on the National Library during the Sarajevo siege in April 1992. Memoricide is the wilful destruction of a vanquished people's memory and cultural treasures (Civallero, 2007). It is therefore associated with the destruction of intangible values that one holds through a period of dwelling and identity building in a place.

Consequently, urbicide, domicide and memoricide are terms associated with destruction, whether of the tangible or intangible human and spatial capital. The violence whether human or natural associated to the destruction, could lead to forced movement and/or displacement of people. In conflict zones and during wars, urbicide and memoricide become inevitable. The destruction of the architectural character of the building affects its aesthetics, the lived space of the people and their dwelling dynamic.

In Jerusalem, the effect of the three "cides" is taking place in many areas and in different ways. Destruction of houses is due to Israeli issued demolition orders. These are issued when building permits are not available. Palestinians are obligated to build on some of their lands without permits because attaining a building permit requires a very complicated, long-term and expensive process. Such complications are imposed through urban planning policies, laws and regulations to decrease the Palestinian presence in Jerusalem. Urbicide also takes place when a whole community is expelled from one place to another like the Bedouin communities in Jerusalem.
On another level, destruction due to the three "cides" is taking place in Jerusalem without real physical terms or evidence of direct violence. In this case, the three "cides" could have a total effect on the built environment through being direct and indirect at the same time:

1- Directly, the geopolitical maps imposed by the Israeli municipality in Jerusalem affect the decision of the owners to change their place of living.
2- Indirectly, people willingly choose self inflicted destruction of their houses as a tool of survival whilst preserve the act of dwelling, without the municipality directly implementing the destruction itself.

GEOPOLITICAL MAP OF JERUSALEM

The geopolitical map in Jerusalem imposes itself upon the option of place of living and place of dwelling of Palestinians (whether by choice or forced) and affects their political and legal status. Living outside the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem could lead to falling into legal traps designed to eject Jerusalemites from the city. This geopolitical map was developed gradually by the Israeli power to control the Palestinian population of Jerusalem.

At the heart of the center of East Jerusalem, is the walled Old City. It is surrounded by different Arab villages. During the late 18th and early 19th centuries people started migrating outside the wall to meet with the modern living standards. New neighbourhoods were built at the outer circles of the villages' core surrounding the Old City. Towards the East, the village of Abu Deis and Ezariyeh (Bethany) as well as Ras al-Amood neighbourhood were growing from rural to semi-urban areas. Towards the North-East, the major neighbourhoods of Wadi al-Joz, Suwaneh around the Mount of Olives area later expanded to include Az'ayim and the village of Issawiyah. On the main road towards Ramallah in the North, Beit Hanina and Shu'fat villages extended towards Dahiyat al-Bareed, Al-Ram village, Bir Nabala and Qalandia.

In 1948, Jerusalem was divided along a strip of a buffer zone referred to as the "green line". The western part was under Israeli rule and the eastern was Palestinian under Jordanian administration until the year 1967. That year and following a war, Israel occupied the eastern part of the city and the West Bank. While Jerusalem became physically re-connected, Palestinians and Israelis lead separate lives in the city. Israel created a new municipal boundary of the city after the war.

The demarcation included as much un-built land with less Palestinians inside the new municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, and thus came under the control of the Israeli municipal administration. Those

Figure 1. A map showing the municipal boundaries and the green line.

outside these boundaries were governed by an Israeli military government under the rule of the so called Israeli Civil Administration (ICA), established right after the war in June 1967 and commanded by a military governor. This structure has its own laws (essentially military orders), its own military courts and detention centers designed for controlling the Palestinians in these areas. This system still controls the West Bank despite the presence of the Palestinian Authority. In contrast, Israeli settlers in the West Bank are governed by Israeli civilian government institutions, laws and courts. Therefore, the new demarcation of the municipal boundaries of the city determined whether the Palestinians became under Israeli civilian rule or military rule which practiced flagrant violations of human rights according to international law.

During the Jordanian Rule, the city boundaries included less areas in comparison to the Israeli municipal boundaries, however, residents of all Jerusalem, whether the municipal or district boundaries were ruled by the same laws. The new Israeli demarcation meant that some of the Jerusalem areas such as Dahiyat al-Bareed and Bir Nabala became under Israeli military rule and outside the Israeli Jerusalem municipal jurisdiction.

Following the Oslo Agreement[1] in 1993, the Palestinian Authority was established and it administered some of the areas in the West Bank. East Jerusalem, however, stayed under full Israeli administration pending final status negotiations which did not culminate. Most of its suburbs were excluded and separated through the closure policy which was implemented after 1993. The closure entailed checkpoints at the entrances of the city to control movement and to prevent access to non-resident Palestinians of East Jerusalem into the city. People who did not hold a Jerusalem Identity card were not allowed to enter the municipal boundaries of the city except when granted special permits. This was also exacerbated after 2002 with the building of the Separation Wall which even excluded some areas that were part of the municipal boundaries.

People holding Jerusalem identity cards, i.e. considered residents of Jerusalem, were obliged to live within the municipal boundaries according to the "center of life" policy, which the Israeli Ministry of Interior began implementing in 1995. This policy enforced only on Palestinians (and not Israelis) required from Palestinians holding Jerusalem identity cards to live within the new defined municipal borders in order to maintain their legal status in the country (Jefferis, 2012). Till today, they still have to provide documented proof that their "center of life" is within the Israeli municipal boundaries of Jerusalem. Inadequate or no proof of living within these borders (like residence tax forms, water and electricity bills, public health insurance), might lead to revocation of their residencies by the Israeli authorities through the Ministry of Interior, leaving them without legal status.

Palestinians living without a residency, means that they live without official identities, cannot have access to travel documents, and become illegal residents. They will not be admitted or allowed to enter Jerusalem, and would not get social welfare including health insurance and other social allowances. This essentially means that they fall out of the legal system; are deprived of any legal status, and have no alternative but to lead a life without any legal administration (Latendresse, 1995; Bimkom, 2014; Mansour, 2018; Tabar, 2010).

To maintain their legal status, Palestinians living in the suburbs of Jerusalem are indirectly forced to abandon their original homes[2] and to reside within the defined boundaries imposed by the Jerusalem municipality. Some people have not abandoned their original homes completely in the hope of returning one day. The division of Jerusalem areas has led to different problems, mainly:

- Hardship of movement between the neighbourhoods, where by-pass roads created longer routes with manned checkpoints.
- Fragmentation of the neighbourhoods of East Jerusalem.
- Isolation of Palestinians in East Jerusalem from others in the West Bank.
- Overcrowding of East Jerusalem which created high Palestinian population density and a persistent housing shortage.

Land for Palestinians to build on, has been limited to favor Israeli settlements and a small amount of building permits is allowed. This resulted in building without permits and becoming exposed to demolition orders and direct destruction of homes (Kaminker, 1997; OCHAoPt, 2012; Margalit, 2014).

People who hold Jerusalem residency and live in the neighbourhoods of Jerusalem such as Ezariyeh (Bethany), Abu Deis, Dahiyat al-Bareed, Bir Nabala and others, face financial burden to pay for rentals as they abandon their houses to adhere to the "center of life" policy. The prices are high due to the limited number of houses within the municipal boundaries.

Within these geopolitical circumstances, the abandoned houses in the neighbourhoods of Jerusalem slowly face the "urbicide" dynamic. However, people of these areas reject surrendering to this result. They have rebuilt their dwelling dynamic in a way different from the conventional.

THE CASE OF DAHIYAT AL- BAREED

The Dahiyat al-Bareed neighbourhood, to the north of Jerusalem, was built in 1958 during the Jordanian Rule in East Jerusalem, as the first cooperative by the

employees of the post office. A group of Jerusalemites (40 at the time) who were employees in the central post office (phone and mail central) came together and decided to buy lands in the northern areas around Jerusalem and form a cooperation. This is where the name Dahiyat al-Bareed comes from, in Arabic "Dahiya" means suburb and "Bareed" means the post office. Their aim was, like the other residents of the old city, to move into houses that met the new living standards, which the old houses could no longer cater for. The owners of Dahiyat al-Bareed perceived the houses in the old city as being old. Smaller nuclear families lived in small rooms within a larger house that belonged to the same extended family. Service rooms (kitchens, toilets) were shared, and could not accommodate their increasing number. Moving outside the old city, purchasing and building new properties were also seen as means of investment. At the time, cars and motor vehicles, and public transportation were becoming available and could accommodate their movement.

The lands were bought individually from the village of Beit Hanina, and Al-Ram. They were at a close proximity to each other, and the roads network was paved through the cooperation money between 1961 and 1962. Saeb Al-Nashashibi, the manager of the post office at the time, was appointed as the head of the cooperation and mediated most of the lands purchase. Payments were made in monthly installments borrowed from different banks and sources[3]. This helped employees with limited incomes to buy land there.

The cooperation owned a bus that would transport residents from the neighbourhood into the city center. A second bus was bought ten years later and was outsourced. Stories were even told that the residents during a full moon on a summer night would take the bus together and go for entertainment to the Dead Sea in the Jordan Valley[4]. The neighbourhood had a water installment from the main source in Ramallah and electricity from Jerusalem. Previously, sanitary issues were solved through digging a large ditch in the ground similar to today's septic tank at the houses' back garden. Sanitary infrastructure was only introduced later in 1983. Many planted berry or Eucalyptus trees next to the ditch. These trees helped in absorbing the sanitary and limited its overflow. The houses are intact till the day, and are affected from the political context in different ways.

To examine the houses of the neighbourhood, the below methodology was followed:

• Visiting houses that allowed entry and interview.
• Outlining the typologies and architectural characteristics of the houses at the time they were built.
• Interviewing and recording the stories of the owners who have witnessed the construction of the neighbourhood. This allowed understanding the socio-economical context at the time.
• Recording alterations done on purpose on main façades and front gardens.

Reading the architectural trails through the alterations revealed the approach of the owners towards their houses.

ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOUSES IN DAHIYAT AL- BAREED

The houses in Dahiyat al-Bareed were not built with the help of architects, therefore original plans could not be obtained. The people were not obliged to follow a certain building style, and buildings were not arranged in rows or followed a certain defined form.

After Israel occupied the rest of the city in 1967, most residents turned to architects to draw the existing houses and applied for registration in the Israeli Civil Administration (ICA) fearing from future penalties. The houses were mostly of one floor; and when topography allowed, a basement floor could be found. Through the visits of the houses, it was noted that although the floor plans of the houses are not the same, they represent a common typology with slight changes. The common characteristics are (see Figure 2 & 3):

• The house centralizes the land and is surrounded with a low concrete wall which encloses a large garden planted with olive and citrus trees.
• The structural system of the houses is based on posts and beams of reinforced concrete.
• A semi open balcony (referred to as veranda) at the entrance leads to two different doors: one for visitors that opens to the formal living room (referred to as salon, a French word to give it more formality) and one for the residents that opens to the central hall.
• A central hall (referred to as liwan) is a common transitional space into different functions and rooms. It is larger in dimension than a corridor, and is used as a daily living room. The liwan was typically inspired from the courtyards in the Old City, but roofed.
• The liwan would still have a door that opened to the formal living room from the inside.
• Bedrooms, kitchen and toilets are accessed from the liwan.
• Most houses have an average of two spacious bedrooms, one for the parents and one for children.
• Kitchens did not have cupboards until the 1970's; they had only a stone counter top. Storing shelves were covered with curtains. Kitchens had traditional stoves (referred to as Wajaa), which are chimneys built with cement to funnel out evaporating steam from the cooking. Also, fridges were not available in every house and people bought ice blocks to cool food when necessary.
• Walls and floors of toilets were tiled. Tubs were introduced, and toilet closets changed from the squat-type (referred to as Arabic toilet) to the seat-type depending on the owner's preference. Sometimes, both types of bathrooms can be found.
• Some houses have other balconies at the back, covered from top and open on the sides. Some families covered balconies with glass depending on the orientation. South facing balconies are used as a living room in winter, while west oriented balconies are used at night in summer.
• Windows and doors are made from iron attached to glass with special glue. Many are replaced with aluminum frames today.
• Floors were tiled with simple tiles lacking ornamentation, terrazzo tiles were widely spread.
• Buildings had flat roofs and could be approached through a staircase.
• Buildings were all covered with irregular stone (Toubzeh). At the ti me, (ashlar) flat stone was expensive and formed in situ, which limited its usage on cer-

Figure 2. A sketch plan of a typical house in Dahiyat al-Bareed.

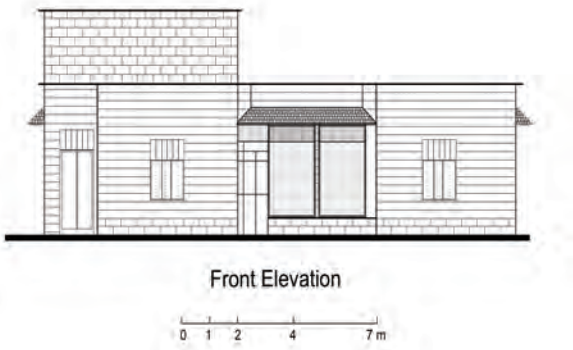

Figure 3. A sketch elevation of a typical house in Dahiyat al-Bareed.

tain areas facing the street.

Socially, the neighbourhood replicated the life in the Old City, where people lived in specific streets and *houshs*[5]. Other relatives and close families who did not work in the post office bought land privately and built following the similar trend and typologies described above. Interestingly, people were given address numbers according to the sequence they came in to build and live in the neighbourhood.

Donations were collected from different places and a private school was built called "Al-Ummeh College". It was open to people from all over the area in the early 1960's as it had dormitories for students to stay during the week. The cooperative owned a market and club to meet the needs of the residents; the club would host different activities such as cinema shows every few weeks. Later donations from the residents were collected and a mosque was built.

The residents became attached to the neighbourhood, and they gradually developed a relation of dwelling with the house. The buildings became their home in the full sense of the word: a place of dwelling, a place of attachment and part of their identity.

The neighbourhood kept growing over time and new houses were introduced. Many houses had more floors added in the 1980's and 1990's. As the neighbourhood grew, it expanded towards Al-Ram village in the north and Beit Hanina to the south. During that time the neighbourhood represented the middle upper classes and was desired by many tenants and investors. House-values increased and demography increased as well.

DAHIYAT AL-BAREED AND THE IMPOSED GEOPOLITICAL MAP

Dahiyat al-Bareed became one of the neighbourhoods critically affected by the geopolitical dynamics. The neighbourhood was demarcated outside the municipal boundaries after 1967 and outside the Separation Wall boundaries after 2002. This affected the residents of the neighbourhood who hold Jerusalem Identity cards. The imposed geopolitical map has indirectly forced the inhabitants of Dahiyat al-Bareed to abandon their homes. They seek rented apartments or buy new houses within the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem to maintain legal status as Jerusalem residents. Also, Dahiyat al-Bareed became more isolated due its close proximity to the checkpoint of Qalandia - the main checkpoint in the northern part of Jerusalem. The checkpoint creates heavy traffic by the cars trying to pass between the two major cities, Jerusalem and Ramallah, thus creating daily delays. Due to all this, a drop in the real estate value occurred, and Dahiyat al-Bareed became a less desired neighbourhood.

The Dahiyat al-Bareed neighbourhood became more and more isolated and almost left abandoned. However, the owners sustain a sporadic presence but rationally maintain the abandonment appearance of the houses. The owners adopt techniques reminiscent of destruction and withering to make them look abandoned in case of inspections by the Israeli authorities. The alterations implemented have taken place forcefully in order to appear abandoned, whilst its residents still maintain it from the inside. Others are left for natural decay, and become a target for thieves.

Houses were visited, and the emerging alterations were examined and analyzed with respect to the building's exterior appearances including facades, openings, walls, trees, signs and symbols. Eight interviews were prearranged with people of the generation who had witnessed migrating from the Old City to the Dahiyat al-Bareed and could remember the stages of its growth. They were asked about the inspected approaches of the abandonment dynamic and the reasons behind them. Pictures of the purposeful alterations were not allowed. However, a main façade sketch was done according to the existing situation of the building and then interviewees pointed to the alterations implemented after the imposed "center of life" policy. The examined alterations are purposefully and rationally done to achieve the abandoned state of the buildings. The repeated alterations in most of the houses revealed interesting approaches by the people. These were categorized according to their similarities in approach and in accordance to their architectural elements within the building as walls, gardens, openings, car parking, maintenance and signs and symbols:

1- Walls
• Garden walls are raised to a height that interiors could not be seen, although this trend is reminiscent of mansions with gardens for privacy, interestingly the majority of the walls were raised after the new "center of life" policy emerged.

The relatively lower garden walls surrounding the buildings allowed for more social relationships in the past between the neighbours. As indicated by one of the interviewees: "neighbours would sit during the summer afternoons in the garden till late hours, it was safe. Privacy was not an issue since all residents knew each other, we lived as a large family". Today, people fear to be exposed to the outside, also since many houses are abandoned it feels dark and unsafe. Such social relationships are now lost from the neighbourhood, and houses exist physically without souls.

2-vGardens
• Some gardens are left purposely unmaintained, and wild plants grow among the trees and grass.
• Some do not collect the fruits and leave them fall naturally and appear unattained.
• Laundry hanging in the garden is avoided at distances close to view, which can indicate that someone inhabits the house.

Gardens in many houses were a source of food supply to many families, like olives, vegetables and fruits. Some existing trees were old and huge but due to the lack of maintenance, some are dying. Although, large vacant lands are available, people are not planting new ones as one of the interviewees said: "new trees mean new life, a new planted tree will show that someone is living in the house, I cannot afford to be exposed, I would rather buy my fruits ready". Another neighbours referred to the issue of not planting new trees to the need of water to nurture these trees. Bills that show usage of high amount of water could be used as a proof against people- as living in the house and are consuming.

3- Openings
• Shutters and curtains are closed at openings exposed to the streets. People use side or back windows for ventilation. In one case the front window was covered completely with concrete blocks.
• Some houses are decaying and feature broken window glass and destroyed walls. Some are not restored on purpose.

The houses in Dahiyat al-Bareed represented modern building standards for the people who chose to leave their traditional houses in the Old City at the time. One of these standards was the use of large openings (unlike the Old City) like windows and balconies where the construction techniques of curtain walls allowed for. Having to keep the windows closed reminded some neighbours of their old houses when they were children, however in a negative way. According to one of the interviewees "the house is now very dark due to the continuously closed shutter, there is not enough sunlight or air for ventilation, we suffer from more mold and humidity that smells like our old house when I was a child, I do not like it and it is costly to maintain every time".

4- Car parking
• Car-parking spaces are created and closed so that people are not identified by the car number plates.

When people moved into their neighbourhood in the past, cars were not much available and not every household owned one, therefore, car parking was not considered in most of the original designs. However, the availability and need of cars changed in time, and now every household owns a car in Dahiyat al-Bareed if not many. This created a problem for the people as they seek ways to hide their cars from the street in order not to be detected by the number plates. Such problem was solved by sweeping away gardens to allow for cars to park. According to an interviewee, creating a place for the cars to park meant cutting old trees that his parents planted in the past, and he could not save it. This brought tears to his eyes when he explained.

5- Maintenance
• Some of the fences, balustrades and garden gates are purposefully left unpainted after the decay of the older paint.
• Using front garden light fixtures are avoided. But, when street lights are broken, people immediately have fixtures, to avoid dark streets where strangers could not be quickly identified.

Maintenance is associated with living and flourishing to the people in Dahiyat al-Bareed, something they believe is taken away from them in order to sustain their existence in the city.

6- Signs and symbols
• Signs that carry family names and doorbells are removed. Doors are not opened except with pre-arranged appointments by phone.

This is considered the most direct way to depict their existence in their houses and ownership. To a stranger visiting the house, entry is not easy as garden walls do not allow anyone without a key to enter or knock on doors. It also helps one to see the neighbourhood as outdated and old.

These images bring frustration to many of the residents who are reminded of the decay of their neighbourhood they have built together on every visit. To some of them, these images and the whole political situation is a reason they are facing depression. Not maintaining their houses is considered a survival tactic. They are aware of the fact that lack of maintenance would eventually lead into decay of the original features of the houses, yet they purposely chose to lose these features rather than lose their rights in the city.

Physical domicide entails demolishing of buildings and inflicts tremendous suffering from the loss of a home. Yet the houses can be rebuilt to represent new beginnings. The Dahiyat al-Bareed case however, with people having to maintain the status of the houses as abandoned property to prove they are not living there anymore, has imposed a prolonged suffering. The purposeful withering and decay of spaces within the neighbourhood has produced an extended un-dwelling process, and a state of being torn between the past place of dwelling and the new place of residence. This process inflicts social and psy-

chological trauma upon the owners and their families - no less impactful than the actual destruction of the house itself. People in Jerusalem have learnt to find ways and adapt to new emerging situations imposed on them politically, however at a high expense. Houses in Dahiyat al-Bareed still carry traces of the authentic living conditions of the people in Jerusalem and an architectural value that is no less important than in other historic sites in the city.

Being forcefully obliged to move into other areas and continue to maintain their older houses shows that people are still attached to their houses. They correspond to their dwelling and memories of the place, with the hope to be able to return like any other displaced persons. This is the only adapting tool that can help sustain their relation to their original homes.

CONCLUSION: THE OTHER FACE OF THE THREE "CIDES"

Studies show that within the span of time, displaced people tend to adapt to their new place of residence (Bogac, 2009, Hurol and Farivarsadri, 2012). In the case of Dahiyat al-Bareed, though, after fifteen years the owners are still not adapting to their other place of residence. This could be regarded as the second displacement as they forcefully fled their houses in the war of 1967 and left their homes, but were able to come back to them again. Because they do not want to live the tragedy of the 1967 war again, they still maintain the relation with their homes. In Dahiyat Al-Bareed, many people could choose to let their houses for rent, which could generate some income, however the owners do not do that. This is done on purpose since many believe that once the house is rented then forgetting becomes easier for them and their families. One interviewee has even mentioned that: "If I do not forget then my children will eventually do. Therefore, I have to make them visit every week". The hope of return for these people might not be limited to the first generation only but to their following generations as well. People who have made the alterations to their houses and gardens suggest that once a political solution is reached, they can go back to their old neighbourhood and their old memories.

The relation of the three "cides" carried by the people, is interrelated with a dynamic of "to be and not to be" in the house at the same time. This uncertain situation that has lasted and still ongoing for more than fifteen years, drains the owners of these houses. The more it continues, the more this neighbourhood is facing an "urbicide" without actual destruction of the buildings by a direct force or bulldozer or tank. The act of the owners' temporarily dwelling in their homes, in the form of maintaining the abandonment dynamic, is a stressful situation causing long-term suffering to the people and homes. The attachment relation between the people and the space is still maintained, but the building is slowly withering and thus "domiciding". This attachment is maintained because people are still allowed to visit their houses.

Yet, facing the trauma of abandoning them, causing constant "memoricide" in a prolonged and continuous manner. Although most theories would show cases of intentional destruction by one force against the other, the case shows the degree that people can perform in order to protect their sense of dwelling and memories through deliberate self destruction of one's home. All through the fifteen years, every visit to their homes in Dahiyat al-Bareed denotes a constant hardship, since it entails witnessing self-destruction of their own home. This is endured because people continue to carry their hopes of return.

Displaced people around the world, live in the hope of return regardless to the fact that their past life cannot be revived when returning, yet they continue to live with that hope. Like the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and Syria who continue to carry the keys of their homes as a symbol of not forgetting and persisting to return, though they know that their houses or even neighbourhoods do not exist anymore. In Palestine the political situation keeps on producing more different cases of displacement. Dahiyat al-Bareed is a case of displaced people in their own home. It shows that the imposed geopolitical map produces a gradual process of domicide, memoricide and eventually slow urbicide. The three "-cide" attack, is tackled by the owners, as a survival dynamic, by deliberately accentuating neglect and decay of the built structures to camouflage the owners' sporadic presence to affirm the abandonment dynamic. The result is an aesthetic canvas depicting a geopolitical urban battle-ground, rather than what at first sight be regarded as a dying neighbourhood. This could be regarded as a reinvention of the sense of home. The owners of the building of Dahiyat al-Bareed deal with the situation as a temporary kind of a dwelling dynamic, until the time comes to go back and live there, whether for them or for the coming generation.

This also implies how injustice is multilayered. With conflicting internal dynamics to maintain their right to dwell, the people of Dahyat al-Bareed are forced to select the hard choice of destruction rather than flourishing of their houses. This is unjust, because it maintains a kind of dwelling that contains a lot of suffering within. Also, not being able to see the end of the tunnel, the continuation of the uncertainty of the situation is another aspect of injustice that causes a lot of suffering and sorrow. This uncertainty is not only temporal but could have a prolonged impact that does not only affect the current generation, but the successive generation or even beyond.

Although this injustice continues and the people face this contradictory way of dealing with dwelling, the case shows that the idea of resistance through destruction is the only possible way to dwell, and preserve the memories. To preserve the legal status in the city, destruction is the ultimate tool, where people are ready to do anything to survive. They shall not give up on their homes!

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