

Graffiti as a Placemaking Tool in Conflicted Cities: The Case of Bethlehem City, West Bank

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary cities face many problems affecting not only long-term development and planning of the city, but also affect the present everyday life and question the certainties of the past. While these issues differ between natural (e.g. environmental disasters) and manmade, this research studies one of the manmade caused issues; violent political conflicts. The research investigates space uncertainty during and after urban warfare. In addition, it is interested in discovering the ways people negotiate uncertainties of war to mitigate the effects of the latter. It focuses on the making-do and placemaking tactics people perform to re-naturalize their urban environment. This research uses qualitative descriptions as a method. Firstly, it reviews academic literature about space formation, de-formation and re-formation. The second part is practical analysis using the obtained theoretical framework to investigate implications of modern urban warfare in Bethlehem city, West Bank. Particularly, this study uses ethnographic story-telling to question urban lived experiences and emergent making-do tactics of Bethlehem residents during and after one of the biggest violent events in the on-going Israeli/Palestinian conflict; Israeli invasion in 2002. Moreover, this research interprets people narratives to study the graffiti on the Segregation Wall (physical aftermath of the invasion) in Bethlehem as placemaking tool to reclaim their urban space and show agency. The study reaches a conclusion that modern wars apply violence to destruct more than built space but also mental and social spaces of targeted population. Also, it concludes that people use their concrete mental and social concepts to negotiate space uncertainty as an attempt to survival, resistance, and well-being.

Keywords: Political Conflicts, Space Uncertainty, Graffiti, Placemaking, Bethlehem

ÖZ

Günümüz şehirleri sadece uzun vadeli kalkınma ve şehir planlama ile değil, birçok sorunla karşılaşmakta fakat mevcut günlük yaşamı da etkileyip, geçmişin belirginliklerini de sorgulatmaktadır. Bu konular doğal (örneğin çevresel felaketler) ve insan yapımı arasında farklılık gösterirken, bu araştırma insan kaynaklı sorunlardan birini incelemektedir; şiddet içeren siyasi çatışmalar. Araştırma şehirdeki savaş süresince ve sonrasındaki mekan belirsizliğini incelemektedir. Buna ek olarak, insanların savaşın belirsizlik etkilerini azaltmak için başvurduğu müzakare yolları keşfedilmiştir. İnsanların kentsel çevrelerini yeniden doğallaştırmak için sergiledikleri idare etme ve mekan oluşturma yöntemlerine odaklanmaktadır. Bu araştırma yöntem olarak niteleyici tanımları kullanmaktadır. Öncelikle mekan oluşumu, deformasyonu ve yeniden oluşumu hakkında akademik kaynaklar gözden geçirilmiştir. İkinci kısım Batı Şeria'daki Bethlehem kentinde, modern şehir savaşının sonuçlarını incelemek için temin edilen teorik çerçeveyi kullanan nesnel analizdir. Özellikle bu çalışma, 2002'de İsrail'in başlattığı ve hala daha devam eden en büyük şiddet olaylarından biri olan İsrail-Filistin çatışması süresince ve sonrasında Bethlehem sakinlerinin kentsel yaşam tecrübelerini ve geliştirdikleri idare etme yöntemlerini sorgulamak için etnografik hikaye anlatımını kullanmıştır. Dahası bu araştırma Bethlehem'da Ayırma Duvarında (fiziki işgal sonucu) kentsel mekana yeniden sahip çıkmak ve faaliyet göstermek için mekan oluşturma aracı olarak kullanılan grafitileri çalışmak için insanların hikayelerini yorumlamaktadır. Çalışma modern savaşların şiddet kullanarak yapılardan daha fazla hedef alınan kitlenin zihinsel ve sosyal alanlarını yok ettiği sonucuna varmıştır. Ayrıca, insanların hayatta kalma, direnme ve refahları için mekan belirsizliğini kendi somut zihinsel ve sosyal konseptleri kullanarak müzakere ettikleri

sonuçlandırılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyasi Çatışmalar, Mekan Belirsizliği, Grafiti, Mekan Oluşturma, Bethlehem

To those living behind the walls, שלום, سلام

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Space formation process includes many complex and intertwining factors; both physical and socio-cultural (Canter, 1977; Lefebvre, 1991). The process itself doesn't go in a straight incrementing line, as many challenges come along the way and shift the normal process of urbanization in cities. Challenges can be divided into man-made (political, social or economic) or natural (environmental crisis). In such cases, space undergoes certain changes in its components, causing uncertain living conditions to the inhabitants. For instance, cities which encounter an environmental disaster like hurricanes or tsunamis, will have huge destruction in its built environment causing the life of its inhabitants to suspend till the uncertainty is negotiated or solved. However, inhabitants are playing a main role in re-naturalizing their urban environment (de Certeau, 1988). Since inhabitants are the main affected population, this by itself gives huge motivation to act in order to re-put everything in its 'normal' order. In doing so, residents of the place reflect their concrete knowledge to re-personalize space according to their preference and re-feel their sense of belonging. Political conflicts are one type of challenges in our modern cities. The contemporary cities are the strategic space where violence and political conflicts can erupt (Abukashif & Riza, 2019). Having a political conflict over certain geographical area between different groups affects the overall planning, development and livability of the city. These political conflicts reflect a situation of uncertainty in urban spaces and as a result in the planning process of the city as well as the everyday rhythms in the city (Bollens,

2008). This research is concerned in studying political type of conflicts in cities; in particular the violent type of them.

The Israeli/Palestinian conflict is a worldwide famous old conflict and maybe the most controversial. A conflict that is characterized by many ups and downs that attracted the attention of the globe. The religious dimension of this conflict is what made it complicated yet very debated. While one group looks at the conflict as religious, other group sees the conflict as purely political; trying to control and capture lands. The study is focused on the city of Bethlehem, West Bank. The Palestinian city is located just 10km from Jerusalem, and hosting holy sites of Christianity, Islam and Judaism. Its religious nature is what makes it an interesting case to study. However, the city of Bethlehem had encountered violent war in 2002, just like other Palestinian cities, that has resulted in building 8 meters high concrete wall to separate it from the Israeli territories. The Segregation Wall in Bethlehem's public area is seen as a direct representative of the political Israeli/Palestinian conflict and an important milestone of the latter. In many cities of the West Bank, the view of the Segregation Wall is a daily matter and engagement with it for some Palestinians happens on a daily basis as well. However, unlike any other Palestinian city, Bethlehem's portion of the Wall has encountered interesting phenomenon of drawing graffiti on it that has become known worldwide. This act is considered as a reaction of Palestinians against the Wall construction and a very interesting topic to be analyzed.

1.1 Research Aim, Questions, and Objectives

In this research, the aim is to investigate space uncertainty caused by political conflicts and the way people negotiate this uncertainty. To be more specific, the space uncertainty in Bethlehem's urban space is studied during the violent event in 2002, in

addition to people's making-do tactics during conflict to survive the violence. After that, the research is studying the graffiti on the Segregation Wall as a way to negotiate uncertainty after the end of the violent event. The research at the end should answer the following questions:

- How can political uncertainties affect people engagement with the urban space?
- What are the human practices performed by inhabitants of urban space to negotiate space uncertainty by political conflicts?

Regarding the case study, certain questions are being asked:

- What are the space uncertainties experienced by the residents of Bethlehem during the violent event of 2002?
- How did residents of Bethlehem managed to negotiate the uncertainties during the violent event? What were their making-do tactics?
- What is the role graffiti plays in placemaking the urban spaces of Bethlehem?

Based on the main aim and to answer the research questions, the major objectives are set as:

- Understanding space formation process, and the relation of people and their places.
- Understanding the effect of violent political uncertainties on the built environment as well as the livability in the city.
- Understanding human activities within the urban environment to withstand and cope with political uncertainties of urban space.
- Understanding the role of street art in urban cities.

- Analyzing the case study: Space uncertainty in Bethlehem's environment during the conflict in 2002.
- Understanding the making-do tactics people used to survive and mitigate the war's uncertainty
- Understanding the role of graffiti on the Segregation Wall in placemaking the urban space of Bethlehem.

1.2 Research Methodology

This research is considered to be a qualitative research. It will firstly study the literature that discusses the topics of space formation, space de-formation due to violent political conflicts and space re-formation by placemaking through the tool of graffiti. The literature review will set the framework to analyze the case study of Bethlehem. Therefore, the practical part will study the case by conducting interviews with the residents of Bethlehem. The study will use ethnographic narrative telling methodology to capture people's experiences during the examined violent period in 2002. These narratives will be interpreted to analyze the writings on the Segregation Wall in Bethlehem's urban public space. At the end, conclusion and recommendations will be drawn about the general findings and the case study findings.

1.3 Research Limitations

This study deals with the Palestinian side of the ongoing Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Palestinians experiences, emotions and feelings during the violent event in 2002 will be studied. Specifically, the residents of Bethlehem are the focus of this research as they had the longest period of violence in 2002. Moreover, the study examines the graffiti on the Segregation Wall in the city of Bethlehem. Other Palestinian cities have similar activity of street art; however, the studied location is limited to the graffiti art in Bethlehem. The other side of the wall is not included in the study as well. this is due

to two reasons; first, the difficulty to access the Israeli side of the wall by the researcher, secondly, the fact that the Israeli side of the wall doesn't have much activity of graffiti like the one found in Bethlehem.

1.4 Thesis Structure

The research is divided into four main chapters. The first chapter discusses the introduction of the study, presenting the main aims, objectives and questions of the research. The second chapter discusses the academic literature review. Literature review is essential to gain the needed knowledge in order to conduct the rest of the research. In other words, chapter 2 will present a theoretical framework that will be used to analyse the case study of Bethlehem. The third chapter, however, deals with the case study of Bethlehem. It analyzes the space uncertainty in Bethlehem, people's making-do tactics to mitigate uncertainty during the violence, and the graffiti activity on the Segregation Wall as a placemaking tool in conflicted cities. Finally, the last chapter discusses the main findings and outcomes of the study and recommends future research questions (Figure 1).

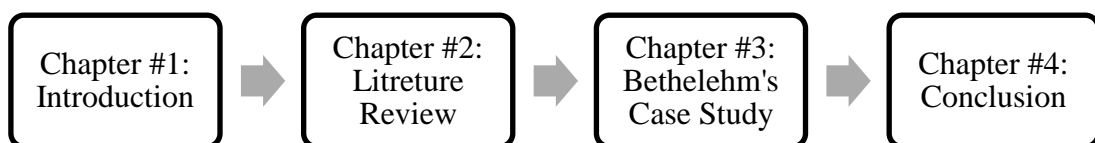


Figure 1: Thesis Structure, by author

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will briefly discuss the related academic literature about this research's topic. Therefore, it will be divided into three main parts; debates of human and space, space uncertainty in politically conflicted cities, graffiti piece-making as place-making. These three parts are willing to discuss three main concepts; space formation, space de-formation by political conflict, and space re-formation by placemaking (Figure 2). The aim of having this chapter is to come up with a theoretical framework that will help in structuring the thesis around the mentioned concepts as well as to help regulating the practical part of the study (the case of Bethlehem's city) in order to answer the questions of this research.

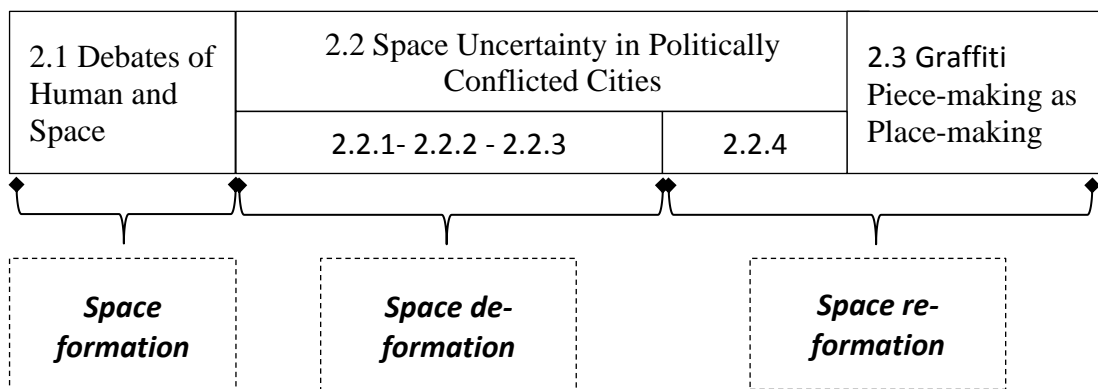


Figure 2: Chapter 2 Structure, by author

2.1 Debates of Human and Space

With the challenges that contemporary urban settings are experiencing, a return to understand formation of space and its users is essential. Understanding the relationship between space and society can be considered as a first step to analyze the experienced problems by people within where people live. This part of the research serves this aim of discussing the debates of space and its formation as well as to space and society relations. Formation of space exceeds the idea of the physicality and discusses the meanings people attach to their urban places. Because humans' needs vary from physiological needs to safety, love/belonging, self-esteem and self-actualization ones as explained by Abraham Maslow (1968), the city or the society should serve to fulfill all these needs and aim to reach the self-actualization needs which locate at the top of the needs pyramid. Therefore, this section focuses as well on the mental and socio-cultural factors that form the space into a livable place where people find their belonging, safety and other needs. The following will explain the overlapping characteristics (e.g. physical, mental and social relations) that build the space.

2.1.1 Understanding Space Formation

Defining space had been done heavily in different disciplines of academic literature. A simple definition of space from a geometrical point of view is an empty area or void exists in the three dimensions. Regardless of the absolute mathematical definition of space, other disciplines (e.g. social thinkers, historians, philosophers) has deeper definition to space where they engaged the human body into the debate. Engaging people to the debate means that space should be discussed from a mental and social point of view as well. Space is where the people perceive their surroundings, experience, interact, and reflect on them. The job, however, has never been easy and the explanation of space remained challenging with its multiple issues and concepts

for years (Lefebvre H. , 1991). Henri Lefebvre (1991) described the interrelated relationship of the physical structure, mental humanistic experiences and socio-cultural characteristics of space. He believes that space is constructed out of social values and the spatial configuration of it is built out of the users activity or as he describes it, the ‘spatial practices’ (Lefebvre H. , 1991). In addition, he believes that the social values construct the space, but on the other hand, the latter changes the former as well (Lefebvre H. , 1991). Humans are the initial creators of space, and while they do that, they employ their social intentions in the process. in his argument, Lefebvre (1991) also believes that the human experience within space is what produce it and re-produce it in a process that is continues in time. Accordingly, the experimental side can’t and shouldn’t be ignored while studying space. Humanistic experience is performed by the movement of body within space as it takes presence in it and the use of people senses to perceive the structural and functional aspects of space (Elden, 2004). To summarize, space consists of a complex relationship between structural, experimental, functional, and social aspects that transforms the definition of space from an empty area or void into a real urban environment. The following analysis the complex relations of space using Lefebvre’s categorization of the three dimensions *dialectique de triplicate*; physical space (perceived space), mental space (conceived space), and social space (lived space).

2.1.1.1 Structural Dimension of Space

The absolute theory of space suggests that space is an independent entity, which doesn’t move or change. Events or objects are existent within space but don’t affect it. However, in architectural terms, the existence of human body within space creates a structure; a social system or an idea (Hiller, 2007). Accordingly, the spatial configuration of space is a structural arena used to witness relations of physical

environment with other dimensions (Hillier & Hanson, 1984). In other words, space is developed through structural relations that ensures the transformation of abstract qualities of space into a real urban space (Mitchell, 1990). The relationship between people and space, or as termed the structural relations, are happening naturally by the existence of inhabitants within space. Structural space should aim to achieve 'intelligibility of space' (Lefebvre H. , 1991). That can be achieved when the body moves within space in a quantitative repetitive manner. Since the structural space is made of repetitive or quantitative activities or events that are occurring daily, Alexander defined the structure of space as a 'pattern' (Alexander C. , 1977). In his argument, Alexander (1977) defined the physical architectural elements as the creators of the pattern. Also, in order to have an intelligence of space, the latter should not only be limited to the structural dimension but should include a functional one so human can use the space in a qualitative manner (Lefebvre H. , 1991). The functional dimension of space allows to understand how the space has been designed to fulfil people's needs. The activities of people in a certain space adds a meaning to it (Csikszentmihalyi & Halton, 1981). Others, like Hillier and Hanson in their book 'Social Logic of Space' (1984), have discussed the physical properties of space as an invisible translation to the social knowledge. Therefore, structural dimension is considered a unique translation to every environment or society (Alexander C. , 1977). To summarize the previous, when discussing the structural dimension of urban spaces, one can conclude that the physical qualities of space are a concrete measure to other functional, experimental and social dimensions. In other words, the structural sense of space is a result of the multiple relations between people and the space itself. Therefore, the space is shifting from an abstract physical into a reality of space. As a result, analyzing the interactions of people within space is essential to understand it.

2.1.1.2 Human Interactions with Space

From an architectural perspective, the meaning of space is summarized in the role of the latter in creating a place for living (Schatzki, 2007). The configuration of space is achieved by the physical qualities; however, the reality of the space is fulfilled by the interactions between the physical environment and users (Rakatansky, 2003) which are called the experimental dimension of space. For instance, Martin Heidegger's overall philosophy – a German philosopher, and a seminal thinker - included changing ideas about space, spatiality, and places (Schatzki, 2007). Heidegger rejected the absolute theory of space where the space is considered as an independent entity from the objects or events that are happening within (Arisaka, 1995). On the contrary, he believed that space is relational; it does not exist without the existence of objects (Arisaka, 1995). Therefore, space is not actually standing against or a way from people, but on the contrary, space is constructed out from the existing context and the characteristics of the surroundings. The symbolic meaning of spaces is constructed daily by the everyday practices, interactions and practices happening within space. These practices not only determine the meaning of now but also the right to claim the space in the future (Zelner, 2015). In addition, humanistic experiences in space are recognized by Heidegger definition of space following the Kantian theory of space (Arisaka, 1995). In simpler words, Heidegger's theory of space is a theory of lived space as a sort of spatiality involved in human use of the body and the senses with/in the surroundings.

Each individual experience the space in a different manner than the other. The reasons behind the variation of perception of the same physical environment are their biological senses and their range of previous knowledge or experiences (Tuan, 1977). Human experience of the world outside is related to how people see, feel or think about

the surroundings (Tuan, 1977). Experiencing in space is considered as a way to learn and build mental images and memories. Sensing the space through our sensory organs allows us to build different thoughts and feelings towards things and therefore different experiences (Tuan, 1977). These experiences become part of people's memory and consciousness (Bergson, 2004). People understand the space by implementing their overlapping past and present memories while they are interacting with space (Bergson, 2004).

The previous knowledge or experience that affects the human activity within or the experimental dimension of space is not only gained by the sensory receiving organs, but also highly dependent on the socio-cultural factors of a certain society (Cassier, 1953; Tuan, 1977). In other words, the socio-cultural frameworks of space are certain values or realities that affects the experience of knowledge and therefore the overall interaction with space (Lefebvre H. , 1991; Tuan, 1977). In his argument, Ernst Cassirer (1953) believes that spaces are constructed with certain choices regarding the materiality of space, while these choices reflect certain socio-cultural frameworks that might vary between different communities. Accordingly, one can say that the experimental dimension of space replicates the embodied values within the place (Menin, 2003). Hillier (2007) has concluded the argument with the simple notation that users' behavior in space reflects the role space plays in carrying out social activities according to the socio-cultural frameworks of the users. So eventually, in order to complete the understanding of a certain space formation, the socio-cultural dimension should be deeply investigated.

2.1.1.3 Socio-cultural Formatives of Space

Many scholars discussed the formation and meaning of space from a sociological point of view. They suggested that social space is the spatial product of the social systems

within the society. Therefore, analyzing the social spaces reveals the intangible relations between society and space. Sociological studies had started with the industrial revolution happening in Europe in the 19th century. With all the changes and technologies, the revolution brought to the life in cities, life in cities was heavily shifting as a result. This major shifting people experienced had brought the urge to study the phenomena. Studies had started to discuss the social changes in relation to different factors such like; politics, economy, culture and religion. Names like Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, Friedrich Engels, Max Weber, Georg Simmel and others has contributed much to the field of urban sociology. Simmel, for instance, has pictured the city from cultural point of view. He believes that the city is capable of transforming individual consciousness (Hutchison, Ryan, & Gottdiener, 2014). Living in the city, according to Simmel, had altered the way people acted and the way they thought comparing to the traditional society (Hutchison, Ryan, & Gottdiener, 2014). Simmel, in other words, has explained to what extend the social changes in cities can affects the way people live or think and that life of inhabitants corresponds and alters with their living spaces. Social space, as a result, is considered as the reflection of people's mental and physical capabilities (Wolff, 1950). With this understanding, the sociological field of study has considered space as an important and critical factor to study societies.

Therefore, in order to understand the people and their unique characteristics, space is an essential ground to observe the former (Cohler & Miller, 1989). In his famous book 'The Production of Space', Lefebvre (1991) has discussed deeply what is a 'Social Space'. In his definition, space where daily life happens is considered as a result of social factors represented in people's values, rituals, identity and culture (Lefebvre H. , 1991). As previously mentioned, Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) agrees with Lefebvre that space

is constructed from people's complex ideas. People manage their spaces by their unique cultures that affect the overall values and behaviors of society (Tuan, 1977). In the process of forming space, time is an essential factor. Tuan (1977) believes that people attachment to certain places, neighborhoods, or nations are highly affected by the sense of time. However, some concepts like culture are taken for granted and continues with time as an important factor affecting people attachment and behavior in their places and spaces (Tuan, 1977).

To conclude this section, space is an entity consisting of complex relationships between structural, functional, mental and socio-cultural aspects (Table 1). Each aspect affects the other and help in changing it. For example, meaning of the structural dimension of space is completed with the functions assigned to it based on people's socio-cultural ideas. On the other hand, the interaction within space is highly dependent on people's needs or desires, social ideas, the physical design of the space and so on. So, one can conclude that space is more than a geographical area that people occupy, but it's the complex interaction between space and society that transforms the abstract space more into a real urban place. Accordingly, space is an important tool to analyze the influence of people on space or the other way around.

Table 1: Synthesis of Space Formation based on literature above, by author

Space Definition	Indicators	SAPCE FORMATION	
spatial configuration of space is a structural arena used to witness relations of physical environment with other dimensions (Hilier & Hanson, 1984) (Mitchell, 1990) (Hiller, 2007)	Structural configuration Physical environment	Physical / Perceived space	the physical qualities perceived by the sense of people of space are a concrete measure to other functional, experimental and social dimensions
Urban space should include a functional dimension so human can use the space in a qualitative manner (Lefebvre H. , 1991)	Functional dimension		
physical qualities of space are a concrete measure to other functional, experimental and social dimensions (Alexander C. , 1977)	Concrete measure		
people use senses to perceive the structural and functional aspects of space (Lefebvre H. , 1991) (Elden, 2004)	Senses to perceive		
the reality of the space is fulfilled by the interactions between the physical environment and users (Rakatansky, 2003)	Users' interactions	Mental/Conceived space	sense of space is achieved by the interaction and experience with it; however, this sense is different from one person to another is based on their senses and memory
The symbolic meaning of spaces is constructed daily by the everyday practices , interactions and practices happening within space. (Martin Heidegger) (Arisaka, 1995)	Symbolic meaning Everyday practices		
Sensing the space through our sensory organs allows us to conceive different thoughts and feelings towards things and therefore different experiences (Tuan, 1977).	Conceiving Experiencing		
People understand the space by implementing their overlapping past and present memories while they are interacting with space (Bergson, 2004).	Memories	Social / Lived Space	space where daily life happens as a result of social factors and complex ideas represented in people's values, rituals, identity and culture
space where daily life happens is considered as a result of social factors and complex ideas represented in people's values, rituals, identity and culture (Lefebvre H. , 1991) (Tuan, 1977)	Lived reflection of socio-cultural aspects: Identity & Culture		
Social space, is considered as the reflection of people's mental and physical capabilities (Wolff, 1950)			

2.1.2 From Space to Place

“To be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know your place”. (Relph, 1976, p. 1). In the recent times of geographical studies, a differentiation between space and place concepts had grown. Geographers have always discussed place as a concept distinguishing them from other disciplines. Place is a combination of objects and meanings which Entrikin (1991) named as betweenness of places. Place is socially built (Agnew J. , 1987; Massey, Space, Place, and Gender., 1994) and functions with the interactions between people, groups, and institutes of political and economic powers. This interaction between people and places can happen in three forms: cognitive, behavioral, emotional (Relph, 1976; Canter, 1977). In the cognitive dimension of interaction, people are introduced to the spatial perception of the space and the environmental components, then they use this knowledge to navigate within the space. Behavioral dimension, on the other hand, describes the functional relation between people and the surrounding physical setting. Finally, the emotional dimension is explaining the satisfaction, meanings and attachment to places (Table 2) (Altman & Low, 1992). Therefore, what separate space from place is the attachment people feel and meanings they assign within the space. Place in its simplest definition is “space plus meaning” (Donofrio, 2010, p. 152). Place attachment is considered one of the many place sensitivity and positive emotional attachment that happens between place and people (Stedman, 2003). ‘Place attachment’ is a term used to describe people bonds with the space emotionally and culturally (Hashemnezhad, Heidari, & Hoseini, 2013). This term with other many has been discussed differentially. From a personal point of view, place is where a person finds comfort and opportunity to control or alter the environment around them. However, from group or society’s perspective, place is where we can find shared

values, ideologies, history, past experiences, and culture bonded in the same geographical area. So, when a person feels a bond to certain territory according to his self-image or social identity, then he has a sense of belonging to that space (Brower, 1980). According to Massey (1991), to be attached to certain place, one should have willingness to participate in the social networks within the place, besides being adherent to the common norms and values of that place. In other words, belonging happens when an individual chooses to be included in the collective (Jones & Krzyzanowski, 2011). Attachment or belonging to certain places is a desire: 'Individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become, a process that is fueled by yearning rather than positing of identity as a stable state' (Probyn, 1996, p. 19). In other words, attachment of places reveals the tie between one and all; the tie between individual and collective identity (Jones & Krzyzanowski, 2011). This tie is what creates this feeling of belonging or association with the group (Jones & Krzyzanowski, 2011). Moreover, having an attachment to place is to define one's self, as all the physical components in the space can mirror and build one's self image of who they are and their membership within certain group (Schwarz, Brent, Phillips, & Danley, 1995). Therefore, in fact, attachment of people to places are not only limited to the common socio-cultural ties they share with the society but also with the physical setting (Blokland, 2000). In addition, belonging is related to the time spent in space. For instance, performing particular repetitive socio-cultural practices that links the individual with the group is essential to construct the sense of attachment (Butler, 1990).

Table 2: Place Components based on (Canter, 1977) & (Relph, 1976), by author

	Type of interaction	Place component
Interaction between people & place	Cognitive: Perceiving space to understand its geometry	FORM
	Behavioral: Interaction with space to fulfill one's needs	FUNCTION
	Emotional: satisfaction and attachment to place	MEANING

Belonging as described by Michael Ignatieff (2001), is an emotional attachment to places where one feels 'home' and 'safe'. The emotional dimension of attachment is derived from the past experiences of society as well as to the strength of cultural ties within this society (Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1982). By assigning meaning to the space, people start building this sense of symbolic relationship with the space that clarify the people's perception of places and how they relate to their (Altman & Low, 1992). Assigning meaning to places or meaning-making is a process that happens consciously or unconsciously based on complex patterns of ideas, beliefs, preferences, memories, values, emotions, ambitions, and behavior toward a certain territory (Vorkinn & Riese, 2001). Place meaning is highly connected to identity of different scales as classified by Paasi (2002); regional, collective and individual. As meaning distinguish places, place identity typifies people (Saar & Planag, 2009). Identity of people is constructed by defining the latter in relevance to places (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001). However, usually researchers who are willing to study place meanings or attachment to place are limited with the national scale, even though the literature studies the personal place identity and meaning (Saar & Planag, 2009).

To summarize the previous, when discussing places, meaning and attachment are two essential concepts to highlight. People build their sense of belonging by assigning meaning to certain spaces. The meaning they assign is reflected from their memories

of past experiences, their ties with their culture and their national identity of their society. Feeling belonged to a place increases the feeling of security, constructs a self-esteem and self-image, creates a bond between people of the place, cultures and experiences, and conserves the identity of the group (Taylor R. B., 1988; Crow, 1994; Altman & Low, 1992). Nevertheless, place is essential both in relation to empirical, physical attributes as well as lived experiences, emotional ties and meanings and this evidence has been important for informing place-based health promotion interventions (Macintyre, Ellaway, & Cummins, 2002). As a conclusion, certain factors that affects the creation or promotion of place attachments as follows; physical factors, social factors, cultural factors, personal factors, memories and experiences, place satisfactions, interaction and activity features, and the time factor (Hashemnezhad, Heidari, & Hoseini, 2013). In other words, physical setting, function of space, mental space and social space can transform space to a place by cognitive, behavioral and emotional interaction with it (Figure 3). Nevertheless, the following discuss the public memory, local culture and national identity as the focus of this research.

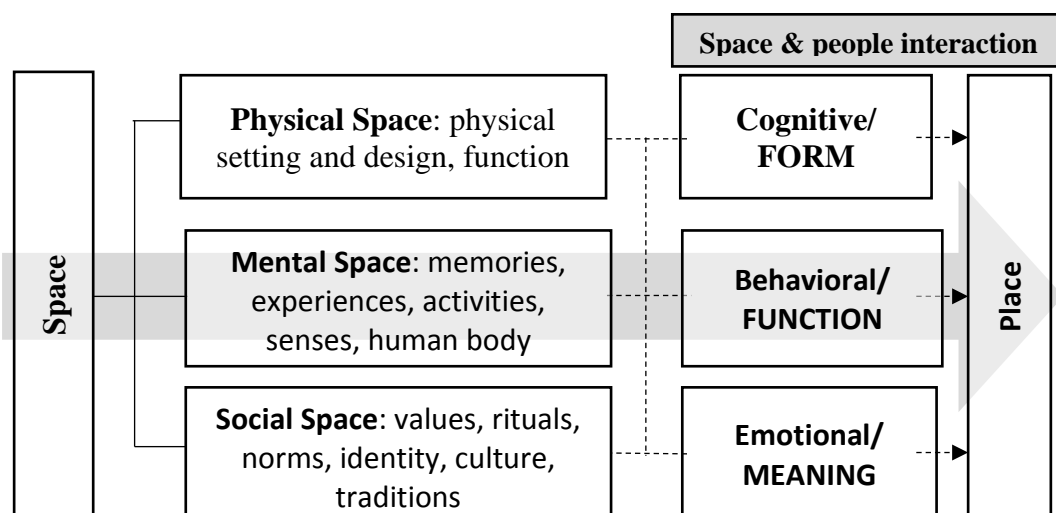


Figure 3: Forming Place from Space based on literature above, by author

2.1.2.1 The Social, mental and Spatial Nature of Collective Memory

The individuals within certain community share a collective memory, which builds their identity and heritage, distinguishes them from individuals from other social groups, and defines the main past collective events. Linking present to past events, or recollection of the past is a performance of memory. Memory transmit the stories and events from one generation of the community to the other, and from one period of time to another. Therefore, collective memory can be considered as a binding factor that keeps communities united by sharing the same “presentations, representations, symbolism, understandings and interpretations of the past” (McAuley, 2016, p. 134). As mentioned, spending time within certain spaces allows people to experience the space, assign symbolic meaning to it and then attach to it (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). People build meaning about their lives and cities through the places they create, inhabit, or visit. Repeating certain rituals by certain group creates a ‘collective consciousness’ that’s what we can call a collective memory (Durkheim, Cosman, & Cladis, *The elementary forms of religious life*, 2001). Accordingly, studying place memory should contain a form of autonomy from the individuals’ subjective perception. In other words, individual memory only matters to the extent it represents the group’s memory (Olick & Robbins, 1998; Olick, 1999; Kansteiner, 2002; Bell, 2003). Therefore, many scholars including the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1992), conclude that memory is a social act, cultural product, an expression and a bonding tie of group’s identity (Edensor, 1997; Prager, 1998; Dwyer, 2000; Crang & Travlou, 2001). Whether it is termed as ‘collective memory’, ‘social memory’, ‘public memory’, ‘historical memory’, ‘popular memory’ or ‘cultural memory’, many scholars agrees that ‘people now look to this refashioned memory, especially in its collective forms, to give themselves a coherent identity, a national narrative, a place

in the world' (Said, 2000, p. 179; Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004; Borer, From Collective Memory to Collective Imagination: Time, Place, and Urban Redevelopment, 2010). So as said "collectivities have memories, just like they have identities" (Olick, 1999, p. 342). Marcus (1995) in his study of place memories used students' drawings, memories of adults about their childhood, and elders about their home memories where they lived. He found in his study that people construct their sense of identity by remembering the experiences, feelings, or/and the emotional communication they had within certain places especially their domestic places; their homes.

Memories help in constructing membership within a place as much as it constructs identity (McAuley, 2016). The mutual past memories affect the present experiences and the sense of belonging within a community (Bell, 2003; Edkins, 2003). However, Connerton (1989) believes that for memories to be meaningful, the old narratives should be represented according to the contemporary social and political context. Therefore, the interpretation of old stories and the formation of collective memory are not a fixed process (Radstone & Hodgkin, 2003). In other words, collective memory can't be considered as a precise explanation of the past events, but it re-tells these events according to the contemporary broader social, political forces. This process of re-telling includes a sub-process of prioritization of memories that describes the best the sense of belonging and other fundamental values and beliefs of the community (McAuley, 2016). To conclude, as people inhabit a place, they create memories and attachments to the place. This sense of belonging one creates give the person a purpose, significance and meaning to their lives (Bleibleh, Perez, & Bleibleh, 2019).

2.1.2.2 Identity of Place

Many fields including philosophy, psychology, social psychology, sociology, political studies and more are discussing the topic of identity (Wodak, 2009). Identity is a relational term that has no fixed definition, in fact it's defined according to the discussed context. Identity explains relationship between things or concepts that has sameness or equality among them (Wodak, 2009). However, the focus of this research is the collective or national identity, not the individual identity or other terms. From this standpoint, identity is utilized as a character of social systems, and it is referred to as 'collective identity'. In other words, what is discussed is not a person but groups, organizations, classes, and cultures. By analyzing the collective identity of a community, the social system of this community will be revealed as well (Frey & Hausser, 1987).

National identities are always associated with a certain territory where actual experiences and social systems are existent in a place (Anderson B. , 1991; Watts, 1992; Johnson, 1995; Kaiser, 2002). In fact, place is where every day happens; where people express their ideas and experiences and accordingly national identity is produced by place as well (Rios, Vasquez, & Miranda, 2012). Therefore, collective identity is not only constructed by person to person relation, but it is also constructed by the relation of people with the physical setting of places that design and structure the everyday life (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Research of place identity has proved that physical environment of places is full of public meaning which symbolizes the communities' social and cultural identity (Hummon, 1992).

On the other hand, other research shows that individual or collective identity that are related to the physical setting of place has a role in bolding the bond between

community and their territory (Altman & Low, 1992; Hummon, 1992; Milligan, 1998; Low, *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture*, 2000; Manzo, 2003). The collective identity found within a place not only enhances the sense of attachment people feel towards the territory, but it also enhances their participation within the civic environment (Rivlin, 1987; Perkins, Brown, & Taylor, 1996; Lewicka, 2005). To conclude, as suggested by many scholars, having a continuity of identity in a place works on the belonging of that places and has fundamental results on the well-being and rigidity of relation between the community among themselves and with the place (Altman & Low, 1992; Hummon, 1992; Milligan, 1998; Low, *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture*, 2000; Manzo, 2003).

2.1.2.3 Local Culture Importance in Forming Place

The simplest definition for culture is a map of behaviors done by people (Brons, 2006; Anderson J. E., 2009). Culture according to Barnes (2003) is meanings, symbol and signification. Culture is a shared meaning and meaning making process through symbolizing place (Geertz, 1973). Collective culture or local culture is a tool people use to understand where they stand within a larger community, a larger collective identity and even larger geopolitical narrative (Dittmer, 2005). Therefore, one can describe culture as a tool to justify why and how people and groups act the way they do (Chabal & Daloz, 2006). While doing so, culture indicates the cognitive beliefs of the social system, in addition culture can assume how certain groups will act in certain future situations (Berger, 1995). In other words, culture is a mechanism for relating generation across periods of time as well as a strong tool of inclusion and exclusion in a community (Ross, 2012).

Analyzing local culture can be done by studying the public space design, collective representations, meaning-making processes, and the routine interactions between

people (Suttles, 1984; Borer, 2006; Borer, 2010; Tissot, 2011). People usually show hints of their culture through manipulating with the physical environment and most specifically their homes (Bleibleh, Perez, & Bleibleh, 2019). These cultural elements are essential to build imagining of the past memories, present, and the future of urban places (Aptekar, 2017). The way culture functions are that it always attempts to maintain the meaning of spaces and sorting the deliverables of place into a 'complete' unity; one place, one identity (Natter & Jones, 1997). This, however, consolidate even more the sense of community, attachment, belonging to one 'nation' (Natter & Jones, 1997).

Belonging to a place is a feeling of congruence of a landscape and a culture (Riley, 1992). Defining place attachment based on cultural terms, is a link between people and land based on certain goals common to certain culture, culturally shared emotionally and affective meanings and cultural beliefs and practices (Riley, 1992). Accordingly, culture can play a powerful role in socially including or excluding individuals from certain places (Aptekar, 2017; Wessendorf, 2019). This happens as culture influence the everyday practices, interactions and representations in public spaces, which in its turn builds symbolic boundaries that mark people inside or outside the circle of this cultural group and further defines who has the right to claim the place (Valentine, 2007; Zelner, 2015). Finally, the power of culture in defining people in or out makes it an essential component of place and place attachment. Consequently, immigrants always seek places where the host culture is close to their original. In case they don't find such similarity of culture, in order for them to re-feel their sense of belonging and safety to a place, they tend to territorialize the new places with practices of their own culture too serve their rituals and traditions (Sampson & Gifford, 2010).

Table 3: Belonging related concepts and their definitions based on literature above, by author

Belonging related concepts	Definition
Collective Memory	Past events - history – past stories – narratives – past experiences
National Identity	community - group - certain territory – ideologies - citizenship
Local Culture	Behaviors– cognitive beliefs – common values - rituals - traditions

2.1.3 Dynamics of Human/Space Relation

From the previous discussion, it is concluded that space is socially constructed by the society’s socio-cultural concepts and experiences. Social values reflect the standards of behavior that are adopted by a group. These norms clarify what is considered appropriate in any given context, which allows for behavioral coordination across many individual actors in society (Durkheim, 1893; Elster, 1989; Parsons, 1951). Many researches in literature proves that social values impact the behavior of the individual directly and strongly, allowing conformity to the values and expectations of the group (Asch, 1951; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Sherif, 1936). However, studies showed that also space can reflect and change people’s behaviors especially in public spaces (Menin, 2005). Therefore, one can conclude the relation between space and human as a two-way relationship where both construct the other along a continuous period of time.

Moreover, it was discussed that people build a sense of attachment and belonging to the geographical area that represents their memories, culture, traditions, and values, and this feeling increases as much the place fulfills the human needs described by Maslow (1968) by experiencing different activities and functions along a period of time. Building this sense of attachment to places has proved social benefits and psychological well-being on the inhabitants of the place. Calling a place ‘home’ or

'homeland' reflects the meaning, significance and self-identification one feels within a place. The emotional attachment or belonging to one's 'home' is about feeling safe and secure within a place (Ignatieff, Appiah, Hollinger, Laqueur, & Orentlicher, 2001; Bleibleh, Perez, & Bleibleh, 2019). As a result, having any traumatic experience within what we call 'home' can have effects on individual's emotional well-being and their sense of stability (Eyles & Williams, 2008). This brings the discussion to the fact that urban spaces are not always rigid, but in continues change. Urbanization doesn't go in a straight incrementing line, as many challenges come and fluctuate the process. These challenges, whether are political, economic, natural, biological in nature, create a sense of uncertainty in the urban space. In such cases, inhabitants are playing a main role in re-naturalizing their urban environment (de Certeau, 1984).

This research is focusing on the political type of uncertainty in urban spaces, where two ethnic groups are fighting over the control and claim of one geographical area. The coming section will discuss this kind of political conflict and the way people negotiate space uncertainty after a certain catastrophe.

2.2 Space Uncertainty in Politically Conflicted Cities

Many challenges interrupt the natural development of urban settlements. These challenges vary from being natural; such like natural disasters, resources shortages, etc., or manmade; such like the different types of conflicts (economic, social, political). However, this research is interested to study the challenges caused by political conflicts in particular. Moreover, this research on one hand is focusing on the uncertainty this conflict cause to the livelihood in the urban space. Space uncertainty is the un-ability to predict and plan for the future, un-ability to perform the practices of everyday life normally, and the questioning of the concrete concepts in the

community's collective ideologies. On the other hand, this research focuses on the tools used by the inhabitants of the space in order to mitigate, re-naturalize or adapt to the change in their urban spaces. This section of the study serves this aim, by studying the effects of political conflicts on the physical, mental and social spaces and by discussing the inhabitants making-do or placemaking techniques to regain the certainty and social well-being of their everyday lives.

2.2.1 Defining Political Conflicts

Political conflicts are one type of the challenges in our modern cities. Geography has defined politics as governing negotiations on the utilization of place and space (Harvey, 1996 ; Martin, McCann, & Purcell, 2003). General definition of political conflicts is that they happen whenever there is a difficulty in fulfilling various interests or whenever two parties are in a disagreement status on a certain matter (Pondy, 1967; Schmidt & Kochan, 1972; Gurr, 1980; Bush & Folger, 1994). These definitions are simple and clear, but however, they are disregarding the complexity of political conflicts and they are proposing a single type of conflicts. Others believe that conflicts might happen where parties act in a confrontational behavior in an attempt to obtain their interest and try to stop other parties from getting theirs (Mack & Snyder, 1957; Fink, 1968; Deutsch, 1973). Political conflicts can be defined as an “incompatibility between social systems with regard to the security of a population, the integrity of a territory, or the maintenance of a political, socioeconomic or cultural, and national or international order” (Wencker, Trinn, & Croissant, 2015). However, few scholars studying political conflicts tend to mix the different types and forms of conflict, but a distinction between the different forms should be applied (Blalock, 1989).

2.2.2 Types of Political Conflicts in Cities

Political conflicts can take many forms and shapes. It can be discussed from many perspectives; the parties included (state or non-state), reasons of conflict (ethnic, religious, economic, etc.) and the form of conflict (violent or non-violent). However, the focus of this research is the political conflicts that used or is using a military forces and violence; wars. Regardless of the fact that the number of wars has declined since the 1960s (Newman, 2009), the rate of peacefulness around the globe is continuing to decrease, falling by 0.27 % in 2017 (IEP, 2018). Political conflicts are been seen as the biggest contemporary threat to mankind security globally (Beall, Goodfellow, & Rodgers, 2010). When groups have conflicting interest in controlling certain territories and applying sovereignty over certain spaces, few discriminating practices can emerge among them. Such practices can include exclusion and othering, over-identification on places to maintain higher levels of belonging, and sometimes violence (Agnew J. , 1994). Nevertheless, it is fundamental to understand that political conflicts usually pass through different stages. Bollens (2008) has suggested a comparative framework categorizing urban regions to regions under active violent conflict, suspended condition of static non-violence, movement towards peace, or a stable peace (Figure 4). However, he suggests that a stable urban status has never been reached yet (Bollens, 2008).

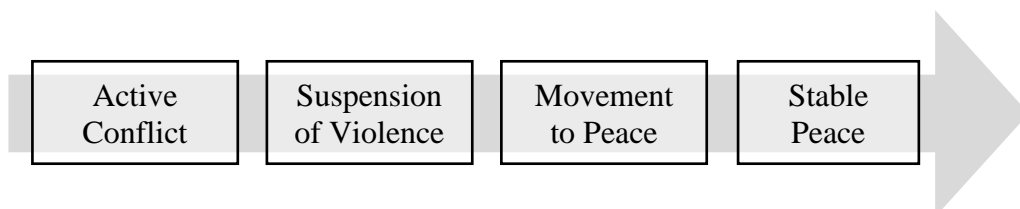


Figure 4: Urban Conflict-Stability Classification based on (Bollens, 2008), by author

2.2.3 Effects of Political Conflict on Urban Spaces

Violence can take shape not only in the deviated social structure of places but also the image of these places (Kent & Barnett, 2012; Springer, 2011; Trigg, 2009). Having a war conflict over certain geographical area between different groups affects the overall planning, development and livability of the city (McCann, 2007). These violent conflicts reflect a situation of uncertainty in urban spaces and as a result in the planning process of the city as well as the everyday rhythms in the city (Bollens, 2008). In other words, contemporary wars devastate the fundamental civilian infrastructure of cities by state militaries, besides the fact that they disturb and threaten the basic human needs (Bleibleh, Perez, & Bleibleh, 2019). Therefore, when counting war loses, the calculations exceeds number of lost lives and account hidden scars on the everyday of civilians (Bleibleh, Perez, & Bleibleh, 2019). Accordingly, uncertainty generally can be defined as a crisis, unpredictable events, odd possibilities or irregular occurrences that interfere with a social reality in a stable condition (Horst C. , 2006; Vigh, 2008). However, some scholars believe that having this kind of uncertainties in our urban life is part of the social experience, part of life itself and they call it a ‘normality’ (Davis, 1992; Jackson, 2008; Scheper-Hughes, 1993; Whyte, 2008). Other scholars believe that conflicts and displacement caused by conflicts are deeply rooted in the societies from a long time (Grabska, 2014; Lubkemann, 2008; Monsutti, 2004; Horst C. , 2006). As Das (2006, p. 80) stressed, conflicts and violence are very implanted in our society’s fabric that we no longer distinguish them, which forces people construct a fragmented and volatile life.

Uncertainty can take the form of an existing problem which people feel they can deal with it using the available resources, or it can be seen as a threat that they don’t know or have the tools to mitigate that risk (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1996). Accordingly,

while discussing uncertainty in literature, one can define two sources of uncertainty; imperfect knowledge and unpredictability of future (Williams & Baláž, 2012). The first type of uncertainty is about the limitation of clear information about any event that already happened (Horst & Grabska, 2015). This source is very dominant in the case of conflict. People start questioning their safety, their families' safety and best strategies to protect themselves (Horst & Grabska, 2015). The fact of ignorance, having not enough reliable details, rumors or contradictory stories about the ongoing events, creates higher degrees of uncertainty, instability, and fear of loss, pain or death. So, inhabitants of the conflicted area continuously try to collect information in any poor attempt to increase their sense of certainty and the future (Horst & Grabska, 2015). This takes the argument to the second source of uncertainty which is the unpredictability of tomorrow. As Boholm (2003) stresses: "Uncertainty has to do with what is unpredicted in life, the odd possibilities and irregular occurrences ... Uncertainty implies recognition of change and awareness that states of affairs are not static; they can alter drastically, for better or for worse" (p. 167).

Risk theory is sufficiently has been discussed in social sciences compared to uncertainty, however, when discussing uncertainty risk is also mentioned (Horst & Grabska, 2015). When the uncertainty is known, or the probabilities of outcome is already fully understood then these are called risks. Comparing it with uncertainty, uncertainty keeps all possibilities open creating a sense of unpredictable future. Therefore, risk theory can be defined as "a framing device which conceptually translates uncertainty from being an open-ended field of unpredicted possibilities into a bounded set of possible consequences" (Boholm, 2003, p. 167).

As discussed in the previous section, space is formed from physical, mental and social

spaces. Thus, having a political violent conflict will create uncertainty in space; which will have an effect on the built environment of space, the activities and experiences of people, their socio-cultural beliefs, and most importantly their feelings of attachment and belonging to this certain place. *Traumascapes* is a term introduced by Tumarkin (2005) to define the places that experienced violent past events and therefore, carry around its form specific meanings and emotions through both collective or individual interpretation. Traumascapes are “transformed physically and psychically by suffering [...]. They are places that compel memories, crystallize identities and meanings, and exude power and enchantment” (Tumarkin, 2005, pp. 13-14). Despite the fact that trauma is an individual mental emotion or condition, it can evoke certain collective reactions; hypersensitivity and hypervigilance, between the people who experienced the same violent memories and collective identities (Galtung, 2002; Mamdani, 2004). Therefore, the coming sections discuss violent wars and uncertainty according to the formatives of space (physical, mental and social) and the sense of attachment or belonging to place.

2.2.3.1 War Placemaking

Beside the deconstructive role war plays in the physical built environment of cities, active conflict, war or political violence has the ability to create certain conflicted spaces also. These spaces include but not limited to buffer zones, ‘no man’s lands’, refugee camps, ethnic enclaves, and massacre sites (McEvoy-Levy, 2012). From the perspective of the more militarily powerful party, these actions of destruction are called territoriality and war placemaking. Embossing certain boundaries and restriction systems of control not only changes the form of the physical space but also the rules of using that space. Describing it as “design by destruction,” Weizman proclaims, “contemporary urban warfare plays itself out within a constructed, real or

imaginary architecture, and through the destruction, construction, reorganization and subversion of space” (Misselwitz & Weizman, 2003, pp. 272-275). By doing so, armed conflict strategies have overcome the complex urban tissue of cities; accordingly, warfare has advanced from being “in the city but for the city, by the city. The city has become no longer the locus, but the apparatus of warfare” (Misselwitz & Weizman, 2003, p. 279; Weizman, 2006; Weizman, 2007). For instance, the powerful side can create certain practices to control mobility; including border control, checkpoints, immigration measures, and physical walls, which in its turn build extreme levels of uncertainty among the displaced (Horst C. , 2013). Hence, war places are defined to be “discrete militarized territories with multiple meanings connected to the experience of war, meanings connected to how they been invaded, occupied, barricaded and internally policed” (McEvoy-Levy, 2012, p. 4). Therefore, actions of states highlight and maintain the uncertainty of conflict during and even after the wars (Horst & Grabska, 2015). In other words, the emergent techniques of military acts represent the essential need of increasing uncertainty of conflicted urban spaces (Bleibleh, 2015). For instance, Baumgarten (1949) believes that the visible forms of war; destruction or boundaries, have an extended role and results which are represented indirectly in other urban activities; the production of destruction themes in artistic and political expressions, as well as being a lasting reminder of the war. More scholars agree that the remains of destructed buildings or neighborhoods caused by war, terrorism or even natural disasters are reminders of the fragile and the fleeting nature of life (Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Greenberg, 2003). The deconstruction of space affects more than bricks and concrete, but also everyday life, the meanings, and deep attachment of places that people have inscribed their identities and significance on its walls (McEvoy-Levy, 2012). So, the placemaking of armed political conflicts creates

what is called as places of trauma represented by not only the deconstruction of built environment but also the invisible boundaries (McEvoy-Levy, 2012), which question directly the belonging of one to their territory. Moreover, it is claimed by some scholars that the visual exposure into the destruction of the tangible environment can also motivate an ideological rigidity and worsen intergroups relations which might lead to more violence and destruction (Vail, Arndt, Motyl, & Pyszczynski, 2012). Therefore, one can conclude that territoriality of the armed side of conflict is a strategy of war; using the built environment to affect the identities, ideologies and meanings of space.

2.2.3.2 Socio-Spatial Aspects of Space Uncertainty

While making places, the occurrence of violent events has a fundamental role in the process (Springer, 2011). Losses of contemporary war exceed the destruction of the built environment or infrastructure of the city and beyond the losses of human life; it has an effect on the overall health status and well-being of the victimized community, at home or in exile. Because of the events of violent war, the social and cultural system of the affected community in addition to their sense of identity and values get devastated and are threatened to long-term loss (Pedersen, 2002). The war on the socio-cultural fabric of the community is a war on the possible tools of survival during the violence or post-violence (Pedersen, 2002). The experienced fear, othering, and military force in the everyday life (Martin-Baro, 1989), hugely affect the social livelihood of inhabitants that is very difficult to quantify the illness caused by it (Pedersen, 2002). Therefore, the Traumascape of home is significantly affecting the relation of individual to the outside world as what they depend on for practicing daily life (identity, stability, culture, community, ...) is questioned in political conflicts case (Porteous & Smith, 2001).

As mentioned before, the destruction of places, especially the ones with religious, cultural, memorial or identity spaces, are not a war outcome but a war aim. This tool of home and buildings demolitions does affect the relation between people and the significance of these buildings (Coward, 2009). By destructing important buildings – like mosques, churches, museums, libraries, community places – armed conflict destroys also symbolic plurality and community (Coward, 2009). It is a direct war on people's cultural property and an assault on collective memory to make them forget what attaches them to the land. During violent conflicts, social, cultural and political connection and attachment to place are directly and indirectly ruined (Sampson & Gifford, 2010). However, on the individual scale, attachment to places for some people is so deeply rooted that any deformation causing a loss can result in a deep feeling of grief and bereavement (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Fried, 1963; Fullilove, 1996; Gans, 1962; Scannell & Gifford, 2010) which can negatively result in issues for mental health (Fullilove, 1996). War uncertainty always creates an unignorable emotional feeling of instability, unpredictability, insecurity, fear, stress and risk (Horst & Grabska, 2015).

It is also important to mention that such attempts not only serve short term war aims, but also serves longer term goals; such like the weakening of peacebuilding and recover after violence ends. In case of less secure and more threat conditions, the emotional components of inhabitants' construction of themselves and their identities become more central (Yuval-Davis, 2006). By attacking cultural sites, war attacks the indigenous local places (McEvoy-Levy, 2012). These places are the most important starting point of recovery in every community because they have inscribed public memory of cultural knowledge in its physical environment (McEvoy-Levy, 2012). Moreover, a cycle of violence can emerge as previous victims of violence can very likely become performer of violence, or can be less responsible to themselves and the

community especially in cases where uncertainty continues (Mamdani, 2004).

Finally, the devastation in the mental and social dimension of the urban space, in addition to the physical damage, can highly affect meanings, symbols and the feeling of attachment or belonging to the place. This is a very important war aim for one party and very big loss for the other party. The greatest loss is felt by the inhabitants of the place. The following section will discuss the role inhabitants play in re-naturalizing, recreating or reclaiming their urban environment by a process called *placemaking* in order to *Making-do*. Figure 5 summarizes the effects of violent political conflict on the physical, mental and social spaces.

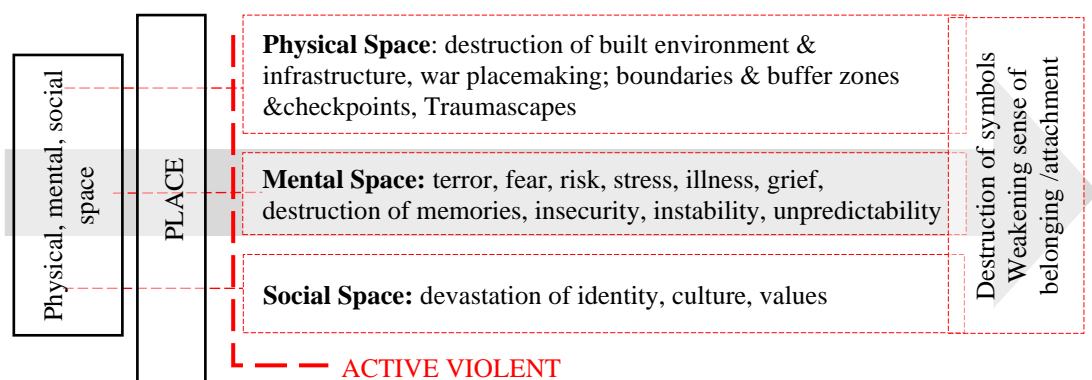


Figure 5: Effects of Violent Political Conflict on the Physical, Mental and Social Spaces based on literature above, by author

2.2.4 Negotiating Space Uncertainty through Placemaking

Wars leave almost permanent scars that are not easily erased. Summarizing the losses of war is not a possible process because of the many layers of suffering, ongoing trauma, dehumanization, health issues, and physical and ecological damages it embodies (Bleibleh, 2015). Living the present time or predicting the future is very challenging when the certainties of the past had been contested, questioned and manipulated by violence (Horst & Grabska, 2015). Despite ending the conflict in some

places and despite the fact that everything is in place again, it is difficult to live the life of the past (Horst & Grabska, 2015) and that's because of the ongoing trauma of violence. Nevertheless, space uncertainty leaves a space for negotiating it between the community or the community and state, which eventually can lead to transformation in the social space and system (Horst & Grabska, 2015). Others discuss that space uncertainty creates opportunities for communities' to bolden their identity, and to overcome previous minor issues within the community structure (Aibar & Bijker, 1997, p. 12). Creativity as well can be created because of space uncertainty. People who experienced armed events evoke special, tailored and creative strategies of survival to negotiate the uncertainty (Coulter, 2009; Finnström, 2008; Lubkemann, 2008; Utas, 2005a; Utas, 2005b). Therefore, these tactics performed by the inhabitants are to show different levels of resistance and social resilience in addition to redefining of space. Bleibleh (2015, p. 157) believes that "In [inhabitants'] negotiation, they manage to temporarily change the political landscape despite disparities in military power." Ryan-Saha (2015) calls 'repossession'; the practices performed by people to re-possess their claim and control over the place. Coping with uncertainty can take the form of daily practices on the micro urban level or the form of challenging the dominant power even if temporally (Bleibleh, 2015). Other scholars believe that negotiating uncertainty of now is by believing in the future and their ability to build a better one by avoiding the negative occurrences (Horst & Grabska, 2015); seeking positive events and certainty. Uncertainty reduction requires cognitive capacity as discussed by Hogg and Adelman (2013). Since solving uncertainties is cognitively demanding, people start with the most related and fundamental issues first (Hogg & Adelman, 2013). Usually people keep in investing power and time till the uncertainty becomes "sufficiently" certain (Pollock, 2003).

To conclude, because uncertainty disables somehow the cognitive powers of planning and practicing the daily life, “uncertainty motivates behavior aimed at reducing uncertainty” (Hogg & Adelman, 2013). The following section explains these practices that are meant to transform the daily uncertainties of violent political conflicts into certainties under the purpose of *Making-do* and reclaiming the space by *Placemaking*.

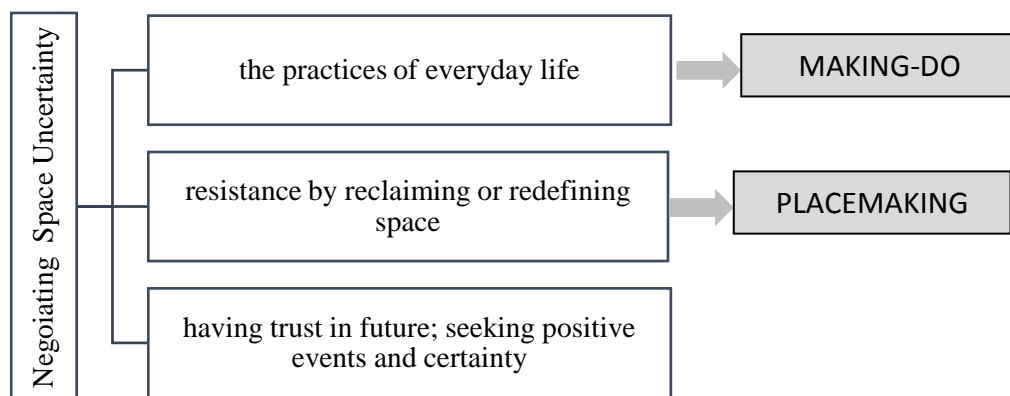


Figure 6: Negotiating Space Uncertainty Strategies based on literature above, by author

2.2.4.1 Making-do Theory

Making-do is a theory proposed by de Certeau (1984) discussing *The Practices of Everyday Life*. He believes that regardless of the imposed system on the inhabitants of the city by the dominant governing power, the former still have a space of freedom to act and manipulate this imposed structure in a way that serves their needs. De Certeau also sees these manipulators as creative "poachers," because of their artful use of the products served to them but in a different way to serve their own desires better. Daily life, according to him, 'invents' itself by thieving on the others' belongings. His concept discusses different, invisible forms of practicing the daily life. In his book, de Certeau (1984, p. 59) discusses the "battles or games between the strong and the weak, and with the 'actions' which remain possible for the latter." People metaphorized the running order by making it work but in another way. Their actions only diverted the

system set by the ‘occupier’ without changing it, in order to keep representing themselves. In other words, these “ways of operating” represent the performed practices by inhabitants in order to re-appropriate their space using their sociocultural production. Daily simple practices such as; talking, reading, shopping, walking in streets, etc. are “tactical in character.” Practices such like furnishing a new house with inhabitants’ acts and memories; speaking with phrases from mother tongue with native accent that should explain the situation more clearly; or simply wondering around local streets are all forms of social codes that are turned into metaphors and meanings in the everyday life. These *Making-do* tactics are simply considered a reflection of the intelligence that is inseparable of the daily life in cities. Moreover, it speaks about the uses of space, the dwelling in place, the establishment of reliable status regardless of the imposed situation on people; that is to make it possible to live in these hard situations by reintroducing them into the collective goals and aims of community – “an art of manipulating and enjoying.” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 23). If we considered the *Making-do* or *The Practices of Everyday Life* as the big umbrella, then *Placemaking* can be considered as one tactic that reclaims a territory especially under the focus of this research. The next section will highlight the *How* placemaking functions to be successful in mitigating uncertainty.

2.2.4.2 Placemaking to Resist

To comprehend the contemporary process of political systems and the social movements, geographers have utilized in the recent years theories and concepts of both networks and placemaking (Jones M. , 2009; Leitner, Sheppard, & Sziarto, 2008 ; Leitner & Sheppard, 2002; Martin, 2003). People after or during violent conflicts sometimes tend to negotiate and re-naturalize their urban environment so they can mitigate the losses, continue with their ‘normal’ livelihood and regain the symbolic

meanings of their built environment. From the earliest years of studying placemaking and imagination, geographers supported the idea that similar activities are vital in post-disaster since they are regaining the roots of placemaking (Agnew & Duncan, 1989; Cosgrove, 1984; Daniels, 1992; Entrikin, 1991; Pred, 1984; Prince, 1962). While studying the placemaking processes of politics, researchers focus on the use of locality in place as an activism action (Elwood, 2006 ; Martin, 2003). Scholars believe that inhabitants should maintain the certainty of their collective beliefs as a defensive action against the uncertainty of conflicted spaces (Vail, Arndt, Motyl, & Pyszczynski, 2012). Placemaking reproduces meaning in the urban space by using the previous knowledge embedded in the place of the community and the physical form of the place (Shibley, Schneekloth, & Hovey, 2003). Therefore, placemaking is defined as a process by which inhabitants produce and re-produce their experienced geographies in which they inhabit by using a set of tools include their social, political and material conditions (Pierce, Martin, & Murphy, 2011). The continuation of everyday life by the normalizing of urban environment through placemaking is a form of resistance. Resilience in general a process that requires innovation, creativity, accountability and flexibility. In this contemporary time of high levels of uncertainty, resilience and resistance are essential academically grounded tactics to increase the self and collective certainty (O'malley, 2010).

After a cease-fire in politically conflicted cities, war representations such like buffer zones, check points and borders many remain contested. Cyprus for instance, still have a buffer zone cutting through the historic core of the capital Nicosia, it has other abandoned places like Varosha and a lot of “sky-dropped” closed military areas in the middle of the active cities. usually, users of the place help in maintaining war’s left-over contested spaces. Especially young people are very motivated to leave their marks

on the tangible space to reproduce and recreate meaning in the traumascapes (McEvoy-Levy, 2012). Placemaking, consequently, has a potentially close bond with the social, cultural and political processes of peace-building (McEvoy-Levy, 2012). Placemaking techniques after conflict have the power to revive and recover the old traditional forms, particularly, the social practices that re-construct shared spaces for the collective (McEvoy-Levy, 2012). Therefore, indigenous placemaking is considered a tool to rebuild sense of place (Aravot, 2002, p. 206). To conclude, placemaking is seen as a linking process between the individuals, community and place through the use of collective socio-spatial relationships (Pierce, Martin, & Murphy, 2011). Therefore, the coming will discuss the use of local culture, national identity and collective memory while placemaking to re-naturalize the post-violence space.

- Placemaking by Representing Local Culture

The importance of the cultural system in the period of high uncertainty or big transformations was proved by scholars (Prashizky & Remennick, 2018). The historic fabric of culture can motivate people to create symbolic meanings, accomplish fundamental work, affect the lives of others, or leave good marks in the urban sphere (Vail, Arndt, Motyl, & Pyszczynski, 2012). People's use of cultural system is connected to their knowledge and experience that can be subconsciously accessible whenever needed through the memory (Bleibleh, 2015). The physical destruction of built environment is believed to be connected cognitively with the idea of death in people's minds. Therefore, this visible destruction activates the cultural values that defy the test of time. As a result, one's attachment and defense to their cultural beliefs, can blur the ugliness of visible devastation of the surrounding environment (Vail, Arndt, Motyl, & Pyszczynski, 2012). In other words, as clarified by Bleibleh (2015, p.

167) “in a negotiation process between space and time, users find opportunities to claim a temporary conquest of the terrain of others, using the rules and products that already exist in culture in a way that is partially influenced by those rules and products.” Different scholars have examined different types of cultural placemaking such like music, cinema, theater, dance, literature, rituals, urban festivals, street shows and other popular art forms (Salzbrunn, 2014; Sievers, 2014; Martiniello, 2014; Delhay & Ven, 2014). Utilized cultural system in placemaking (specifically street-level arts) has proved its importance and ability in constructing bridges, providing a shared spaces for all, and reinforcing the attachment and belonging senses (Prashizky & Remennick, 2018). Culture articulate conflicts, legitimate, displaces or controls the superior power (de Certeau, 1984). Finally, culture can develop a symbolic balance especially in the spheres of political tensions or conflicts (de Certeau, 1984).

- Placemaking by Representing Identity

Scholars had discussed the uncertainty-identification relationship in a variety of conditions or moderators (Hogg & Adelman, 2013). Identity is defined as a social normative standard that affects the thoughts and actions of individuals and groups. accordingly, identity is a framework of social norms that define the most appropriate action for certain situation in a certain community (Hirsh & Kang, 2016). Constructing identity spaces on the daily basis is an act of resistance; as these actions are not political against a state but an attempt to legitimize spaces of identity (Main & Sandoval, 2015) or as Bayat (2010) calls it ‘quiet encroachments’ and ‘the art of presence.’ Identification is motivated by uncertainty (Hogg & Adelman, 2013). For the continuation of people’s narratives of their identities and for their attachment to keep existing in urban spaces, people are willing to sacrifice their lives or others’ lives

(Yuval-Davis, 2006). Hogg and Adelman (2013) further discuss that people with multiple identities are more resilient to uncertainty; that in case one of their group memberships was negatively impacted, they will return to another identity structure. In discussing one's citizenship, the latter can be understood as a strategy defining and claiming certain bounded space to certain community; that is citizens are strongly belonged to a geographical space than others or outsiders. de Certeau further explains that "Every strategic rationalization . . . is an effort to delimit one's own place in a world bewitched by the invisible powers of the Other" (1984, p. 36). In other words, practicing citizenship is considered as accomplishing a "proper space," a proprietary, limited spaces of rationalization. In terms of state and society, citizenship is seen as a regime of power and control that evoke certain definitions of identity, belonging, rights and ideologies (Secor, 2004). That's why citizenship is not only discussed in the terms of state level (ex. belonging or rights), but also it has great value in the everyday life within urban settings (Secor, 2004). As discussed by Lefebvre (1996), citizenship is our "right to the city," right to live, produce and change the city. Placemaking, therefore, is a direct practice of citizenship that produce meaning to the urban city (Holston & Appadurai, 1999; Holton, 2000; Isin, 2000). Finally, one can conclude that space uncertainty and national identity are facts of urban life.

- Placemaking by Representing Collective Memory

During conflicts, groups hold on to the most trustful resources in their society, and they stress the idea of the harmful Other that caused the conflict in the first place (McAuley, 2016). Collective memory is used in the situation of conflict to maintain cohesiveness and bolden the social values within in-group members and to clearly define and harden the borders between the community and the Other (Lambert,

Scherer, Rogers, & Jacoby, 2009). Accordingly, in the period of conflict, the collective memory is focused “on the other side’s responsibility for the outbreak and continuation of the conflict and its misdeeds, violence and atrocities; on the other hand, they concentrate on self-justification, self-righteousness, glorification and victimization” (Bar-Tal, 2003, p. 84). People utilization of memory reassures them during their conflicted political situation. Their interpretation of history is reinforcing their political situation by comparing their contemporary conflict with the context of what happened before (McAuley, 2016). Cooper Marcus (1992) suggested that self or group identity is linked with place by three ways; control, manipulation, and continuity with the past. Memorial places allow the observer to feel the continuity of past within the places, so that the dominant identity of the past continues to role and control the contemporary environment. Part of the psychological well-being of individuals is the continuation of past memorial places, that’s because of the power and ability of past memory in creating self and collective identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004; Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010; Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, & Breakwell, 2003; Vignoles, Chryssochoou, & Breakwell, 2000). Having inherited identity linked to place has proved its essentiality regarding social well-being, and people’s bond to places(Altman & Low, 1992; Hummon, 1992; Low, 1992; Low, 2000; Manzo, 2003; Mazumdar, Mazumdar, Docuyanan, & McLaughlin, 2000; Milligan, 1998). Therefore, in our attempt to recover long violent conflict or reliance of memory is not enough alone, but we should pay more attention to transgenerational transmission of memory as well as on evaluating our knowledge of the past (McEvoy-Levy, 2012). Finally, people’s sense of place, knowledge of the past, and their sense of being are inseparably intertwined (Basso, 1996).

2.2.4.3 Placemaking to Wellbeing

Health and place were heavily studied academically, in regards to relation of health and well-being in places of daily life (Popay, Williams, Thomas, & Gatrell, 1998; Bennett, et al., 1999) and places of healing and restoration (Cooper Marcus & Barnes, 1999). Other academic disciplines have provided proofs of the importance of place to mental health and social well-being; public health (Duncan, Jones, & Moon, 1993), social epidemiology (Kaplan, 1996) and medical sociology (Macintyre, MacIver, & Sooman, 1993). Accordingly, in the assessment of social health, cognitive, social, and cultural practices must be examined (Holme'n & Furukawa, 2002; Kuruppu & Liverman, 2011; Nightingale, 2003; Patterson, 2008). Sense of home, for instance, provide a feeling of a consistent place that offers connectivity and coherence emotions and maintain the safety of one; physical and cognitive. It's argued by many researchers that connectiveness to one's home is a sign of well-being and belonging (Porteous & Smith, 2001). This feeling of rootedness to individual's home and one's sense of place that motivate the people to re-build, re-define or re-construct their homes and places to re-feel safe and settled whenever these two feelings are disturbed (Bleibleh, Perez, & Bleibleh, 2019). It is widely known that people's sense of belonging is a key indicator of their health and social well-being (Heller & Adams, 2009). Moreover, their sense of place is an important formative of each's individual identity, group creation, neighborhood, and national identity. Therefore, sense of place is a fundamental component of well-being (Williams & Patterson, 2008). Hence, the process of placemaking is performed in an attempt to reclaim agency and control as well as to rebuild the lost symbols and meanings of space after a certain uncertainty in the urban environment. Recreating these symbols is an attempt of recreating the sense of place, attachment or belonging which in its turn should enhance the overall feeling

within the space. In other words, recreating the built environment or as known like placemaking is essential in regaining the meanings of place, sense of attachment and the place itself.

2.3 Graffiti Piece-making as Place-making

This part of the literature review discusses street art and especially graffiti as a placemaking tool used by the inhabitants of city. It debates different motives deriving people to use street art, but it always shows that the main aim of using it is to reach social well-being and satisfaction of inhabitants. It further explains the ability of humanistic and artistic actions to motivate recovering of affected places by a catastrophe. This engagement of one to humanistic actions enable placemaking to recover relations between the mind, body, and environment on the individual level, and enable the production of forms to the place that helps on the collective level (Puleo T. , 2014). This section uses mostly empirical examples to highlight the role of street art in our urban cities. It starts with the emergence of street art and its development, then moves to the role and importance it plays in cities in general and as a placemaking tool in contested cities in particular.

2.3.1 From Graffiti to Street Art

The act of scribbling or scratching a surface is called *graffito* in Italian while *graphion* in Greek. Graffiti is derived from both terms. Graffiti art gained popularity among poor, working class and dense neighborhoods of Philadelphia and New York in the late 1960s to the early 1970s (Taylor, Cordin, & Njiru, 2010). However, the birth of graffiti happened in New York's metro subways in the 1970s. After that, graffiti became popular in many cities with creative hubs such like Berlin, Melbourne, London, Lisbon, etc. (Kaur, 2019). The act of drawing on the walls started between gangs as a way of claiming and marking their territories. Then it developed to include

name tags of certain individuals and groups. Hence, in the beginning of this phenomenon, graffiti had no political or social agendas neither it demonstrated any aims outside its young subculture (Scheepers, 2004). As a result, the literature discussing graffiti at that time had studied the phenomenon in its traditional terms; an indicator of a behavioral nature of gangs trying to control some urban territories (Ley & Cybriwsky, 1974). The culture of graffiti, after that, had been aligned with the hip-hop culture by the late 1970s through the early 1980s. Despite the graffiti's bad reputation as a public vandalism, it managed to be recognized as an artistic movement that engages bright colors and interesting forms (Abel & Buckley, 1977; Bartolomeo, 2001; Belton, 2001; Christen, 2003; Gonos, Mulkern, & Poushinsky, 1976; Phillips, 1999). This period in the graffiti's timeline was described as a "stylish counterpunch to the belly of authority" (Ferrell, 1993, p. 197). Graffiti became later by the 1990s recognized as a Street Art after gaining public acceptance in that period. Accordingly, many commercial trademarks started to feature graffiti in their advertisement campaigns such as; Nike (TM) and Sprite (TM). Thus, graffiti was honored a world visibility and recognition as an emerging art form (Kan, 2001; Whitehead, 2004).

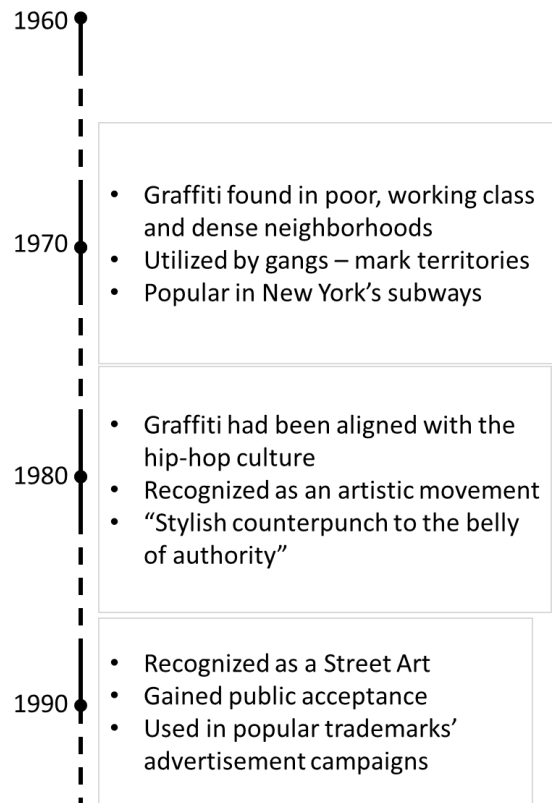


Figure 7: Graffiti's Development Timeline, by author

Since the mid-1980s till the 1990s, scholars had made the first attempt to classify graffiti by using observation of few people (Bates & Martin, 1980; Gomez, 1993; Geason & Wilson, 1990; Gadsby, 1995; Ferrell, 1993; White, 2001). Distinction were made by the either the graffiti location; indoor (subways and toilets) or outdoor (community-based art), type of the graffiti; tags, throw-ups, or pieces, graffiti style; wide style, bubble, or 3D, production method; stencils, paste-ups, projection, or reverse, legality status; vandalism or authorized urban art, and finally the artists’ intentions and motives; political, parody, or identity formation (Adams & Winter, 1997; Craw, Leland, Bussell, Munday, & Walsh, 2006; Dew, 2007; Gomez, 1993; Halsey & Young, 2006; Phillips, 1999).

Table 4: Graffiti Distinctions, since mid-1980s till the 1990s

Graffiti Distinctions Since mid-1980s till the 1990s	1. Graffiti location; indoor or outdoor
	2. Graffiti type; tags, throw-ups, pieces, ...
	3. Graffiti style; wide style, bubble, 3D, ...
	4. Production method; stencils, paste-ups, projection, reverse, ...
	5. Legality status; vandalism or authorized urban art
	6. Artists' intentions; political, parody, identity formation, ...

Street art is an artistic expression that is accessible for everyone to observe and reflect on in urban public spaces (Jakob, 2008). Street art and graffiti take many shapes and forms constructing the concept of contemporary art in people's minds. Street artists use spray cans to draw tags, throws, burners, and masterpieces; stenciling; stickers; wheatpastes; laser projections; flash mobbing, guerilla gardening; yarn bombing; street installations and a distinct of other forms. Conklin (2012) further argue that street art is the largest movement of art since the pop art of the 1950s. Contemporary scholars studying street art focus on topics such as; urban identity, urban politics, masculinity, Othering, self-formation, territorial claims, gang communication and agency, political resistance, subcultures, spatial misbehaviors, gentrification, and conflicting images. To name few Castleman (1984), Cresswell (1992), Ferrell (1993), Austin (2001), Rahn (2001), Sanders (2005), Halsey and Young (2006), Iveson (2007), Schacter (2008), and Brighenti (2010). The question of who creates graffiti and why are central in most of sociological, ethnological, criminological and anthropological studies accounting this form of art (Dovey, Wollan, & Woodcock, 2012).

2.3.2 Graffiti or Vandalism

“If graffiti changed anything, it would be illegal.” (Banksy, 2011). While some consider street art as exercise manifesting our rights to the city, others believe that this

activity is a destructive manner to the clean, organized and orderly community (Conklin, 2012). The second group think of graffiti as vandalism because of the fear and disgust emotions graffiti creates (Halsey & Young, 2006; Cohen, 1973; Callinan, 2002; Craw, Leland, Bussell, Munday, & Walsh, 2006). Regardless of the efforts paid to remove graffiti, it always succeeded in reinventing itself (Kaur, 2019). For instance, New York's subway were graffiti free in 1989 because of governmental efforts to clean it. However, this event drove graffiti to grow bigger around the globe (Kaur, 2019). Graffiti is considered vandalism because of its political resistance and rebellion powers it has to reclaim and change the urban environment (Gleaton, 2012).

2.3.3 City Walls as a Canvas

Street art and graffiti has cultural importance regardless of its individualistic character. The significance of graffiti is translated through its ability to enhance and beautify urban public spaces, in addition to its ability to raise voices regarding social, political and economic issues of the community. Therefore, graffiti uses artistic subculture to deliver messages to the public (Bates L. , 2014). Street art and graffiti are seen to have powers of transforming urban public spaces to contemporary urban public places (Docuyanana, 2000; Alvi, Schwartz, DeKeseredy, & Maume, 2001; Craw, Leland, Bussell, Munday, & Walsh, 2006). Extending its spatial implications, graffiti and street art embody within their subculture a complex social phenomenon that raise different emotional feeling for different users in space in different times and contexts. Street art acts a shifting role in contemporary consciousness. Users of the public space who see the street art or graffiti, react to it and judge the meaning of it either individually or collectively as a community. Therefore, the audience of this art are not only passive receptacle for these aesthetic stimuli. The perceiver, whether reading or observing or listening, must perform an active involvement to the total communicative process

(Wilson, 1986). By analyzing street art one can know how people interact, react, experience and got affected by the graffiti in their urban environment. Graffiti and street art can be considered as system of symbols and signs that narrate the reflections and construction of inhabitants' collective identities and their places of inhabitation. Thus, street art is called the "window into a city's soul." (Kendall, 2011) in which interpretations of the urban cultural landscapes can be explored. Accordingly, scholars have trust in the power of interpreting street art in a way to understand both art and space (Bonnett, 1992; Cresswell, 1996). The coming categorizes the role of graffiti into delivery of a message; reclaiming public spaces; and raising a political voice.

2.3.3.1 Delivery of a Message

"[Graffiti is] crime and art, vandalism and community service" (Snyder, 2009, p. 44). Graffiti has the power to reach inhabitants of urban public spaces to raise voices regarding social, political and economic issues of the community (Gleaton, 2012). Years had developed graffiti not only in style and form but also in the purpose. Graffiti nowadays means more than tagging one's name, but it is seen as an activism tool. Street art is a representation of people's need to communicate and express themselves among wide audience. The inscriptions of graffiti and street art offer more than a visual amusement to the audience of urban public spaces, but they also show insights of the people who "author" them and the society of which these inhabitants belong. This is done because of the ability of art to uncover the characteristics of society. In his book *Street Art*, Allan Schwartzman (1985) declares that the job of street artists is to "communicate with everyday people about socially relevant themes in ways that are informed by esthetic values without being imprisoned by them." In general, communication with graffiti is criminalized (Madsen, 2015). The reason behind that is not rational since the places or surfaces where graffiti appears are not preferred or

valued by people of the society (Madsen, 2015). The location and accessibility to the graffiti constitute much of the value of the piece. Banksy the famous English street artist states “graffiti ultimately wins out because it becomes part of your city, it's a tool. A wall is a very big weapon.” Moreover, writing of graffiti is seen as a “creative method of communicating with other writers and the general public...the artist's identity, expression, and ideas” (Stowers, 1997). This form of communication is valuable as it links “people [together] regardless of cultural, lingual, or racial differences in ways that nothing else can.” In his book *Political Protest and Street Art: Popular Tools for Democratization in Hispanic Countries*, Lyman Chaffee (1993, p. 3) discusses the communication complexities and the different transmitting information. He further discusses that communicating system are formed to allow “governments, organizations, and individuals to present their views, demands, needs, and ideas.” The shape these communication system takes depend on the society's history, cultural systems, and type of political structure of the place. The global form of street art allows it to be a mass medium for communication and raising voice for those who “otherwise could not comment upon or support current or perceived social problems” (Chaffee, 1993, pp. 3-4). Finally, while the motivation of street artists are different, usually the art carries powerful messages to the public urban space users forming a way of political resistance and activism (Ferrell, 1993; David & Wilson, 2002).

2.3.3.2 Redefining/Reclaiming Public Space

Previously graffiti was used to mark territories for gangs in urban environment. Graffiti has the power of proving the existence of the writer (Hanauer D. , 1999). Geographers including Cresswell ask the important questions regarding graffiti; Who gets to say that certain meanings are appropriate?, Whose world is it? and Who

belongs? (Cresswell, 1996, p. 61; Moreau & Alderman, 2011). Young graffiti artist use the inner-city spaces as their few options to claim belonging in the urban scape of their city, as discussed in Ley and Cybriwsky's essay (1974). Moreover, Ernest Abel and Barbara Buckley (1977, p. 139) discuss in their book, *The Handwriting on the Wall: Toward a Sociology and Psychology of Graffiti*, that street artists are "whose work brightens a drab area and adds color to the mind-dulling blandness of the inner city, [and] whose designs enliven the sterile concrete jungles, is considered by some to be upgrading his environment." Street artists are "a public benefactor", they add (Abel & Buckley, 1977, p. 139). On the other hand, Moreau and Alderman (2011) highlight the power of graffiti as a communication tool for individuals to question control and agency. Graffiti-ers spend much effort clarifying that "while public space can be contested as private and commercialized by companies," it is the artists who offer public space "back as a collective good, where [a] sense of belonging and dialogue restore it to a meaningful place." From artists' point of view, they believe that they are challenging the issues of property ownership, gentrification, social boundaries, and even local culture. They believe that by their 'artistic' work are changing the way people think about their society and the laws of their belonging (Visconti, Sherry Jr, Borghini, & Anderson, 2010). Street artists are even called as "creative activists and dwellers" because of the way they impose certain ownership of people on their streets without getting any official permission from governmental institutions (Visconti, Sherry Jr, Borghini, & Anderson, 2010). To conclude, city walls in public urban spaces are seen by artist as location they have the right to reclaim, rearrange, and reuse. Street art and graffiti are forms representing resilience to the dominant culture in space (Ferrell, 1993).

2.3.4 Graffiti Piece-making as Placemaking to Peacemaking

Post-disaster placemaking can be performed by arts and humanities (Puleo T. , 2014). Traumatized people by certain catastrophe tend to participate in informal arts and humanities as such engagements should fasten the healing process of social health and place at the individual level and circulating the products of these activities among people can enhance the restoration on the collective level; restoring in both material and mental, both place and people (Puleo T. , 2014). Violence in wars destroy old memorial places but also it promotes for the creating of new ones (Alexander D. , 2000; Philo, 2007; Puleo T. , 2010). The art movement of graffiti has emerged to be more relevant than ever for urban dwellers as it can clearly describe the contemporary times in cities; full of space uncertainties and shifting ideologies (Gleaton, 2012). Accordingly, despite the creativity of post-violence art-making or placemaking, they construct above destruction which make them both essential and possible (Puleo T. , 2014). The intelligence of street art is that while beautifying the built environment it also constructs beliefs, values and ideologies “regarding desirable states of reality” (Hirschman, 1983, p. 46). Artists performing graffiti are creators of their urban-scapes, and therefore they can manipulate the imposed system of their space as an act of agency and power. This action of power and agency allows for greater connectivity between the community and their places (Gleaton, 2012). Perceivers of public spaces are critical readers and are important active authors of the drawn graffiti and the messages they contain; users “react by completing artists’ work so as to fulfill a sense of collective identity and belonging to shared space” (Visconti, Sherry Jr, Borghini, & Anderson, 2010). Street art and graffiti has the power to bring happiness, sense of community and people together by its ability to create a subculture within the space they exist (Visconti, Sherry Jr, Borghini, & Anderson, 2010). Finally, the power of

graffiti stretches to include a “therapeutic potential as a mode of response to trauma and issues of identity negotiation.” (Hanauer, 2004, p. 33).

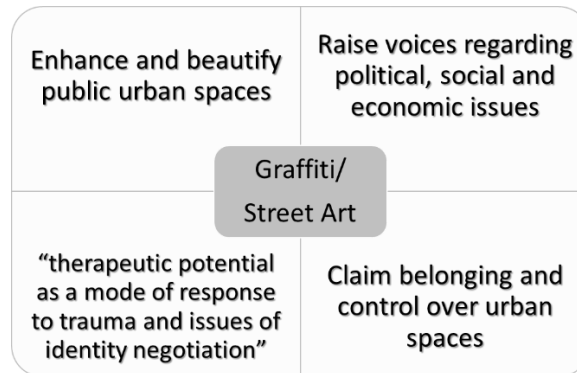


Figure 8: Summary of Graffiti and Street Art Role in Cities based on literature above, by author

2.4 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has reviewed the academic literature regarding the topics of; space formation, space de-formation by violent political conflicts and space re-formation by the process known as placemaking. A final outcome structure is summarized in (Figure 9). This theoretical framework will be used in the analysis part of this research regarding the mentioned case study area (the Separation wall in Bethlehem’s city).

Space is formed from simple yet complex and interrelated aspects. Firstly, it is made of a physical environment or setting that people utilize (Alexander C. , 1977; Hilier & Hanson, 1984; Mitchell, 1990; Lefebvre H. , 1991; Hiller, 2007). These settings should have minimum one function so people can actually use it and spend time within the space (Csikszentmihalyi & Halton, 1981; Lefebvre H. , 1991). Accordingly, these functions and the physical environment is what creates an interaction between humans and space (Rakatansky, 2003; Schatzki, 2007). The interactions become later an experience and a memory in users heads (Tuan, 1977; Bergson, 2004), which later

affects their decision of utilizing the space again or not. One more aspect that hugely affect the formation of space is the extend space reflects the social and cultural characteristics of the users (Cassier, 1953; Tuan, 1977; Lefebvre H. , 1991). After a while of using space by people, the later start to build connections, meanings and assign symbols to the space (Canter, 1977; Entrikin, 1991; Donofrio, 2010). These symbols and meanings reflect the community's collective memory (Said, 2000; Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004; Borer, 2010), national identity (Hummon, 1992; Altman & Low, 1992; Low, 2000) and local culture (Geertz, 1973; Borer, 2006; Borer, 2010). This should create what is known as attachment and later belonging to a space (Massey D. , 1991; Altman & Low, 1992). Therefore, space now is more personalized according to the users and can be called a place (Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976). These interactions between space and human are not a straight line or one direction relation. On the contrary, this relation is two way; humans affect the formation of space as well as space affects humans' behaviors and beliefs.

Moreover, this process of space formation doesn't always happen under peaceful circumstances. Our urban spaces are full of challenges varying from natural to human-made. This research focuses on the challenge of space deformation caused by political conflict between different human groups and especially the violent type of it. Having a violent political conflict over the claim or control of one geographical area causes huge destruction of the space formation process in general. It firstly affects the physical environment where many destructions happen because of the use of military forces and weapons (Misselwitz & Weizman, 2003; McEvoy-Levy, 2012; Horst C. , 2013). Secondly, these destruction of built environment and especially memorial places in the city, or as called Traumascapes, causes direct damage to community's collective memory (Tumarkin, 2005; Coward, 2009), cultural beliefs (Pedersen, 2002; McEvoy-

Levy, 2012) and identities (Pedersen, 2002; Yuval-Davis, 2006). On the other hand, violent conflicts cause a suspension of the normal everyday life in cities (McCann, 2007; Bollens, 2008; Bleibleh, Perez, & Bleibleh, 2019). Uncertainty caused by violent wars leave a series of feelings of instability, insecurity, unpredictability, fear, stress, and risk (Horst & Grabska, 2015). All of these losses of war question concrete aspects of home, attachment and belonging (Sampson & Gifford, 2010; Bleibleh, 2015).

After the suspension of violence, daily livelihood starts to re-construct itself again as a therapeutic process. People continue their lives wherever it stopped as a way of making it do (de Certeau, *The practice of everyday life*, 1984). These simple daily practices (de Certeau, *The practice of everyday life*, 1984) are to negotiate and mitigate uncertainty (Pollock, 2003; Hogg & Adelman, 2013), to be a form of therapy; re-reaching social well-being (McEvoy-Levy, 2012), and as a form of resistance (Elwood, 2006 ; Martin, 'Place-framing' as place-making: constituting a neighborhood for organizing and activism, 2003). To be more specific, this research is concerned with the practices that manipulate the physical form of city or simply as called placemaking. Through the discussions above, it is concluded that placemaking is a form of resistance that utilizes and affects positively the local culture (de Certeau, 1984; Bleibleh, 2015; Prashizky & Remennick, 2018), national identity (de Certeau, 1984; Lefebvre H. , 1996; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Hogg & Adelman, 2013) and collective memory (Cooper Marcus, 1992; McAuley, 2016). Additionally, by placemaking, our sense of home, attachment and belonging is regained, which leads ultimately to a better feeling of social well-being (Porteous & Smith, 2001; Williams & Patterson, 2008; Heller & Adams, 2009). Finally, this chapter discusses street art and graffiti as a form of placemaking practices. The research case study is the graffiti drawn on the separation wall of Bethlehem's city, therefore, discussing graffiti and its role in urban settings

was essential. It was found that graffiti and street art are tools that were used since emergence of the art form in New York as a placemaking tool used firstly by gangs to tag their names wherever they think that they claimed a territory. Afterwards, this form of art has developed artistically and aim wise. Now street art or graffiti is used to transmit social, economic or political messages to the users of public spaces (Gleaton, 2012). Graffiti is seen as a form of art that gave voice to the inhabitants of the city to protest, re-design or re-define their neighborhoods and public spaces to the extent that satisfy their collective culture and identity (Cresswell, 1996; Moreau & Alderman, 2011). That's way, graffiti was taken as an example of placemaking tool that resists the un-preferred conditions in the city (Ley & Cybriwsky, 1974). Furthermore, it was discussed that by using graffiti or any type of humanistic art, people re-assign symbols and meanings to their places which gives them a sense of re-attachment (Puleo T. , 2014). Therefore, eventually they will feel more familiar and belonged to the place which will lead them to a better feeling of well-being about themselves, their community and their places (Puleo T. , 2014).

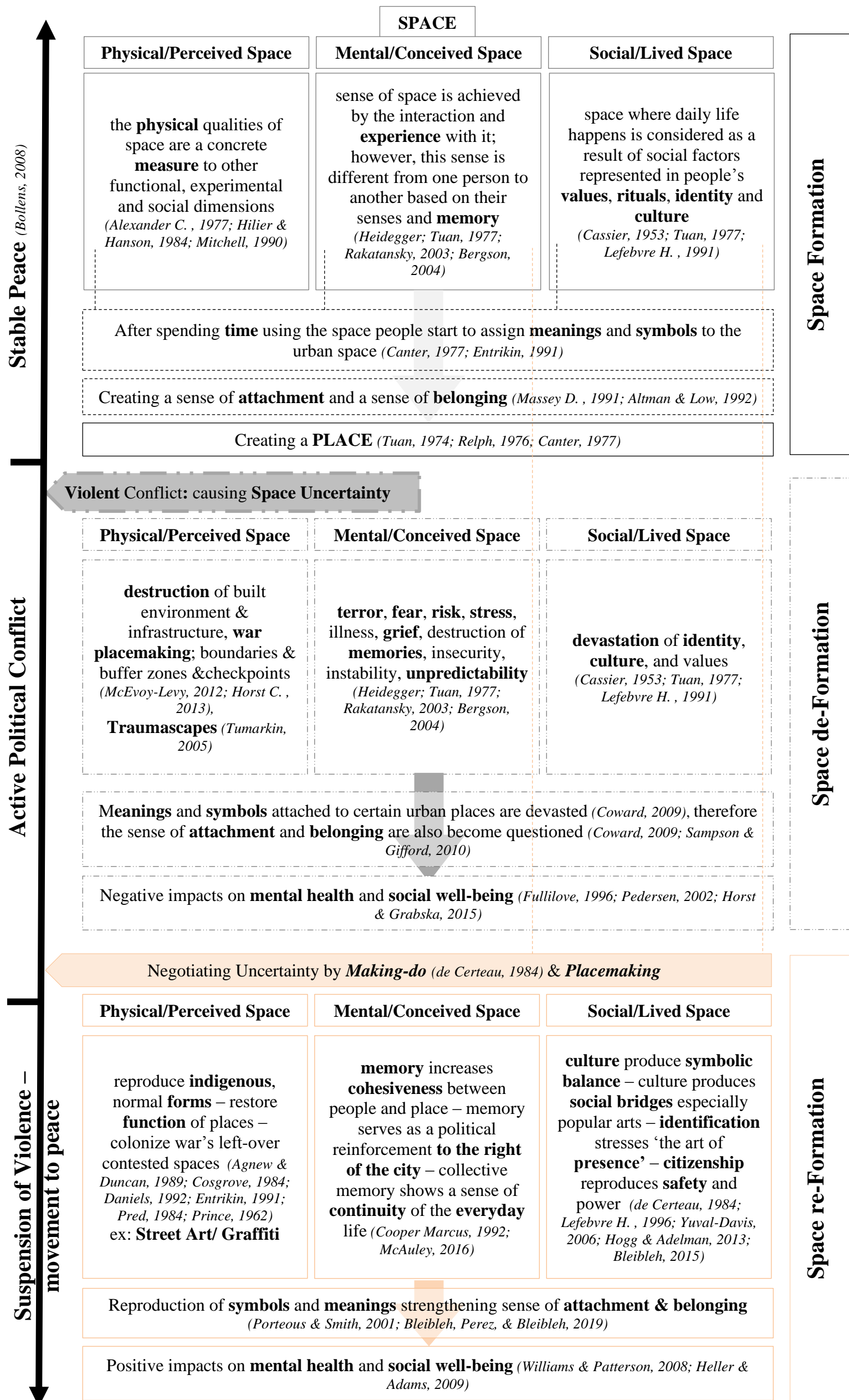


Figure 9: Chapter 2 Summary, Theoretical Framework, by author

Chapter3

ANALYZING SPACE UNCERTAINTY IN BETHLEHEM CITY

This part of the research is concerned in exploring space uncertainty under violent conflicts, making-do tactics during the war, and the role graffiti plays on an urban area under political conflict context as an application for the performed literature review. Specifically, the study investigates the *Ejtiyah* (invasion) violent event happened in 2002, in addition to the graffiti drawn on the Israeli Security Fence/Palestinian Apartheid Wall in the city of Bethlehem, West Bank. To answer the research questions this section employs several methods; theoretical and practical. The theoretical part explores the background of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, Bethlehem city, and the Israeli Security Fence/Palestinian Apartheid Wall. On the other hand, the practical part of the analysis explains the aftermath of war and uncertainty of space with the case study of suspended daily life in Bethlehem and presents graffiti as a placemaking tool to counter the oppressor's wall. Therefore, data collection is divided into: (1) theoretical general information about the case collected from online resources; journals, news websites, books, etc. (2) graffiti data from the Bethlehem side of the wall collected by field visits and observations in addition to online resources, (3) conducting one-to-one interviews with the residents of Bethlehem city. In this chapter, the context in which the data was collected, the types of data collected, and the methods used for organizing and analyzing the data is explained.

3.1 The Israeli/Palestinian Conflict

It is essential to explain the historical context of the political conflict between Palestine and Israel; “a region of the world long characterized by sociopolitical uncertainty, intergroup conflict, and group-based violence” (Hogg & Adelman, 2013, p. 443) to move forward with the studied case and to answer the questions of this research. This review gives more focus on the perspective and the emotional experience during different stages of the conflict for both parties and for the international audience.

3.1.1 Balfour Declaration in 1917

The historical conflict between Palestinians and Israelis had started with *Balfour Declaration* in 1917. After the end of World War 1, the independent Arab countries from the ottoman empire had been divided between Britain, France and other international governments to have supervision on them. Palestine and Transjordan fell under the mandate of Britain officially from 1920 to 1948. However, in 1917, the British government issued a statement, the Balfour Declaration, promising and supporting the establishment of a “national home for the Jewish people” (Balfour Declaration Document, 2nd November 1917, p.1) on the land of Palestine. From legal perspective, the term “national home” has no legal value in the international law. “State”, on the other hand, would sound more legal and clearer about the governmental control and rights than just a merely spiritual center for the Jews. This happened as a compensate between the British ministers who agreed and who disagreed the decision. The establishment of a *homeland* to the Jews is a very old rooted concept in the Jewish religion. The *return to Zion*; the return of Jews to the *Land of Israel* is a concept mentioned in *Torah* (Jews’ holy book). The *Promised Land*, according to the Torah, stretches from the east of the Nile River to the west of the Euphrates River.

Accordingly, the rule and control inside the lands of historical Palestine were under the British Mandate and the Zionist movement. Jewish immigration to Palestine had increased in that time (Figure 10), especially Between 1932 and 1939, Palestine absorbed 247,000 newcomers (Gresh & Vidal, 2011). Jewish immigrants had tried all the possible methods to gain lands from Palestinians; deceiving and seducing, terrorism and crimes and forced displacement. For Palestinians this promise was “from an authority that doesn’t own to an authority that doesn’t deserve.” Palestinians tried to regain the lands from Jews by law first, then by force as a belief that “what was taken by force, can’t be regained but by force.” Therefore, Palestinians started to use armed attacks as an attempt to force Jews to get out of Palestine. These attacks continued till the uprising in 1949 (Vereté, 1970; Sanders R. , 1984).

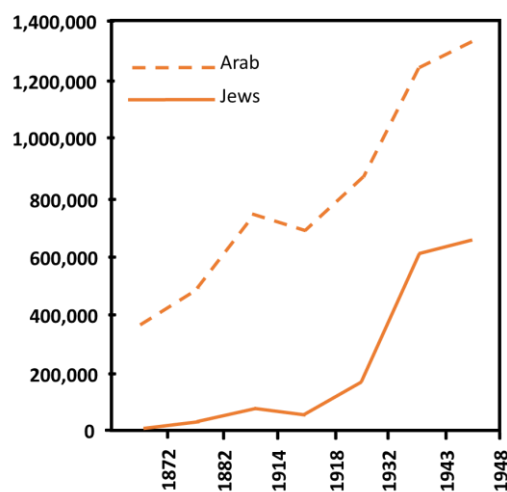


Figure 10: Population of Palestine, 1872-1948. (CJPME, 2013), edited by author

3.1.2 Arab-Israeli War in 1948

In 1947, United Nations General Assembly has decided to divide historical Palestine into two states; Jewish and Arab, while keeping Jerusalem as a neutral zone. Certain events followed this decision; the termination of the British mandate form Palestine in

May 1948 and the establishment of Jewish state on the Palestinian land (Pappé, 1994). After these two events, the neighboring Arab countries (Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, and Lebanon) sent their armies in an attempt to reclaim the lands of Palestinians back to the Palestinians in what known as the Arab-Israeli War. Results of this war were the establishment of Israel State, Israel controlling large territories of Palestine and the displacement of thousands of Palestinians to neighboring countries and the emergence of the Palestinian refugee tragedy or as called *Al Nakba* (catastrophe). While Jews have now a Jewish State governing their rights, safety and homes on the Palestinian territories, other Palestinians had to leave their houses and villages and they never had the right to return ever. While leaving their houses to neighboring countries or cities, Palestinians took the keys of their homes thinking that they will leave for few days till the risk of war is over, but they never were allowed to go back.

In an attempt to fix the tragedy of Palestinian refugees and to reach a final settlement, the United Nations General Assembly had issued *Resolution 194*, on December 11, 1948, near the end of the 1948 Arab–Israeli War. The Resolution states that “refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible” (United Nations General Assembly, 1948).

Finally, in 1949, Armistice Agreements were held between Israel and the Arab countries (Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria) to formally end the Arab–Israeli War and establish the *de facto* borders of Israel (The Green Line), until the Six-Day War in

1967. As a result, the Palestinian lands decreased to the so-called West Bank including East Jerusalem with the old city and Gaza Strip. The West Bank fell under the control of Jordan, while Gaza Strip fell under the control of Egypt (Figure 11) (UNISPAL, 2009).

3.1.3 Six-Days War in 1967

The situation was never fully solved between Israel and the neighboring Arab countries. Before June 1967, tensions between Arabs and Israel were increasing. Which finally led to another war between them that lasted six days, the Six-Days War. The results of this war can be summarized as; the seizing of Israel to Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, West Bank, including East Jerusalem, from Jordan and finally Golan Heights from Syria. Israel, therefore, has increased its borders and became three times and a half bigger than what it was comparing it to the Green Line *de facto* borders. Israel in this war has not only gained more lands, but also gained good reputation regarding its military power which actually put the state on the geo-political map of the Middle East. While Jews feel safer and more rooted in the ground because of their good Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), Palestinians had witnessed another loss and another refugee tragedy which they refer to as *Al Naksa* (relapse); due to the shameful loss of Arabs for the second time (Sayigh, 1997).

Around 300,000 Palestinians were forced to leave their houses again. On the other hand, Jewish minorities in the Arab countries had to leave their houses as well going to either Israel or Europe. Again, the United Nations General Assembly in 1967 issued *Resolution 242* that consists on the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Palestinian occupied lands of 1967 (United Nations General Assembly, 1967). Another resolution that was ignored by the Israeli state.

3.1.4 Oslo Agreement in 1993

On 9 December 1987, an Israeli Defense Forces' truck collided with a civilian car, killing four Palestinians in Jabalia refugee camp (McDowall, 1989 ; Omer-man, 2011). This incident initiated the *First Palestinian Intifada* (uprising) (Giacaman, et al., 2009). Palestinians used all possible ways of uprising that were possible and available back then. Their condemnation of the incident included protesting, economic boycott, and throwing of stones; the available weapon to protect their lands and identity. The other side, however, replied with initially live bullets then adopted a strategy of “breaking Palestinians’ bones” (Pearlman, 2011, p. 114; Cronin, 2012, p. 426).

After a violent war that lasted for 5 years, 9 months and 5 days, and after huge losses on both sides, an agreement was signed between the two parties; Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO, was established in 1965). Oslo Agreement was signed on 13 September 1993 in Madrid by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, the PLO Leader Yasser Arafat and U.S. President Bill Clinton. This framework was an attempt to resolve the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict and it is the first official agreement between the Palestinian and Israeli authorities. The agreement consisted of several points. First, the West Bank area was divided to three types of areas; A, B, and C (B’Tselem, 2017). Areas A and B, where most of the Palestinian population are concentrated, were given to the Palestinian Authority self-governance. These areas according to B’Tselem (2017) are “dotted throughout the West Bank in 165 disconnected islands.” However, area C, which is 61% of the West Bank’s area, is under the full control of Israel (B’Tselem, 2017). This full control over area C means that Israel State can have any security procedures or any civil affairs projects like planning, constructing settlements, placing infrastructure and development (B’Tselem, 2017). However, according to B’Tselem (2017) this division doesn’t really reflect the

reality happening on the Palestinian space. Other important point was issued in Oslo Accords is the drop-out of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) from parts of the Gaza Strip and West Bank. However, certain issues of the conflict were not negotiated such like; the authority of Jerusalem, the Right to Return of the Palestinian refugees, the existence of Israeli settlements in the Palestinian lands of the West Bank, overall security and the borders.

The reactions regarding the Oslo agreement was divided between agreement and disagreement in both audiences. There was fear and un-trust regarding the intentions of the other party. Israelis thought that this agreement is a tactical movement and that Palestinians would never accept to reach a peace agreement and live side by side with them. On the other hand, Palestinians suspected that the taken decision would help Israel to build more settlements in the area C of the West Bank, have more spatial control over Areas A and B, and Judaize Jerusalem as it was not included in the negotiations.

3.1.5 Defensive Shield Operation/*Ejtiyah* in 2002

Ariel Sharon, the 11th Prime Minister of Israel, decided on the 28th of September 2000 to enter Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem with his guards. Due to the religious sensitivity of the site as the third holiest place for Muslims, the prayers in the Mosque fought the guards in an attempt to stop Sharon from entering; a violent event that caused the death of seven Palestinians and the *Second Intifada* (uprising) to erupt (AlJazeera, 2003). Regardless of this spark of the *Second Intifada*, Palestinians were not satisfied with the overall disrespect of their human rights caused by the Israeli occupation especially on the accessibility limitations to Jerusalem, their sense of insecurity, their limited area for development either economic or infrastructure and housing wise, and finally, the refugees denied Right to Return. Within 48 hours, the *Intifada* was all over the

Palestinian lands and into Israel “the Israeli army faced off against unarmed [Palestinian] civilians” (AlJazeera, 2003). Mohammad al-Dura, a 12-year-old Palestinian, was killed in front of the international TV cameras by the Israeli forces while he was hiding behind the back of his father. This event became an icon for the *Second Intifada*, which was highly condemned by the international community. It can be said that the security agreement of Oslo was violated by the reoccupation of the IDF to the West Bank territories. While the PLO saw negotiations as the solution for the ongoing violence, Palestinians thought that they should fight back. Therefore, Palestinians burnt parts of an ancient Jewish site of Joseph’s tomb in Nablus as a resistance act, while on the other hand, Israeli civilians burnt a mosque in return. Destruction of each group’s memorial places was a war strategy followed by both groups. Since then, self-sacrificing Palestinians bombed themselves around Israeli civilians in an attempt to make the Israeli forces withdrawal from the West Bank. This kind of resistance/terrorism was increasing in a way that IDF couldn’t stop. Israelis used conventional military power rather than suicide bombings, as they do not need to do the latter; whereas Palestinians resorted to suicide bombing rather than military weapons, as they cannot do the latter (Hogg & Adelman, 2013).

Accordingly, in 2002, during the course of *Second Intifada*, IDF had launched one of its largest military operations called the *Defensive Shield/Ejtiyah* (invasion). The main aim of this operation was to stop the terrorist attacks of Palestinians inside the lands of Israel. The operation included the invasion of six major cities in the West Bank and their localities (Ramallah, Tulkarm, Qalqilya, Bethlehem, Jenin and Nablus). During this period of invasion strict curfews were forced on civilians (longest period was in Bethlehem), limitation of movement even for medical crews, journalists or human rights organizations. Prime Minister Ariel Sharon stated on the 8th of April 2002, that

the operation is aiming “to catch and arrest terrorists and, primarily, their dispatchers and those who finance and support them; to confiscate weapons intended to be used against Israeli citizens; to expose and destroy facilities and explosives, laboratories, weapons production factories and secret installations. The orders are clear: target and paralyze anyone who takes up weapons and tries to oppose our troops, resists them or endangers them—and to avoid harming the civilian population.” (Rees, 2002). The aftermath of this operation is two main things; the reduction of the bombing attacks inside the lands of Israel (Hatuka, 2010) and a taken Israeli decision of building the Israeli Security Fence/Palestinian Apartheid Wall (this research will use the terms Segregation/Separation Wall). The construction of the wall is considered illegal by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and suggested that the construction of the wall should stop immediately and Israel should pay for all the damages caused by the wall so far (UN, 2004).

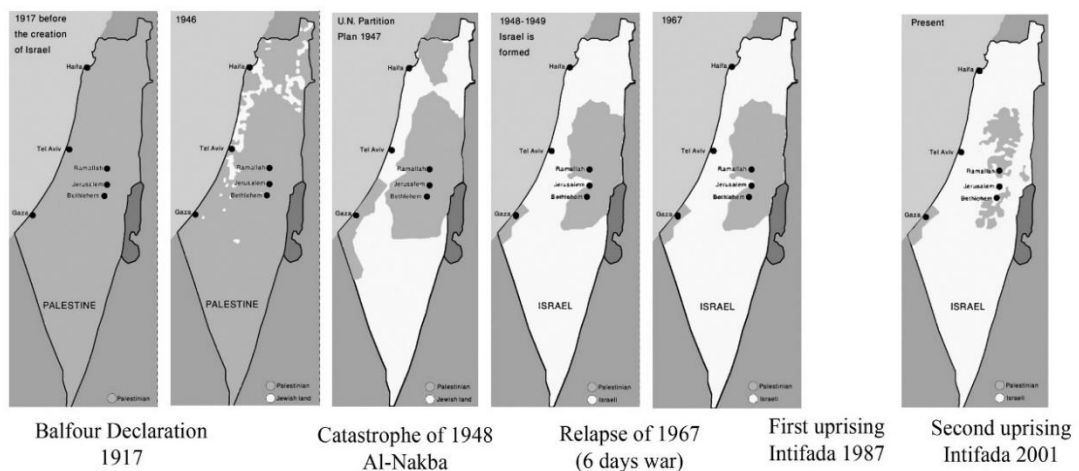


Figure 11: Palestinian/Israeli Lands 1917 - Present, (Qzeih & Sani, 2019)

Finally, this conflict can be considered a conflict of opposing ideologies; where the interest of one group is directly negatively affecting the interest of the other (Table 5). This research sheds light on the space uncertainty and people’s making-do tactics in

the event of 2002 and the construction of the Segregation Wall, in addition it focuses on studying the graffiti drawn on the Segregation wall on Bethlehem’s side of the wall as a placemaking tool.

Table 5: Palestinian/Israeli conflict timeline and perspectives of each group, by author

Palestinian/Israeli Conflict timeline	Palestinians perspective	International community perspective	Israelis perspective
1917 – Balfour Declaration	A promise “from an authority that doesn’t own to an authority that doesn’t deserve”	British promise to construct a “national home for the Jewish people”	Return to Zion Promised Land of Israel National home for Jews
1948 – Arab-Israeli War	<i>Al Nakba</i> (Catastrophe) – Palestinian refugee tragedy	UN partitioning Green Line 1949 <i>Resolution 192</i> for the right of return for refugees (never obeyed)	Establishment of national home for Jews with conserved rights by the State of Israel
1967 – Six Days War	<i>Al Naksa</i> (Relapse) – witnessing another refugee tragedy	<i>Resolution 242</i> that consists on the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Palestinian occupied lands of 1967 (never obeyed)	Jews feel safer and more rooted in the ground because of their good Israeli Defense Forces (IDF)
1987 – First Uprising	protesting economic boycott throwing of stones		live bullets “breaking Palestinians’ bones”
1993 – Oslo Agreement	fear and un-trust regarding the intentions of the other party; Israel would build more settlements in the area C of the West Bank and Judaize Jerusalem as it was not included in the negotiations.	Agreement was signed in Madrid Attended by U.S. President Bill Clinton	fear and un-trust regarding the intentions of the other party; a tactical movement and that Palestinians would never accept to reach a peace agreement and live side by side with Israelis

2001 – Second Uprising	The violent actions were considered as a defensive and resistance action		Terrorist attacks against the Israeli civilians by the Palestinians
2002 – Israeli invasion to the West Bank A-areas	<i>Ejtiyah</i> (invasion) – this part will be studied more in this research	the security agreement and peace process of Oslo was violated by the reoccupation of the IDF to the West Bank territories	<i>Defensive Shield</i> operation aimed to stop the terrorist attacks of Palestinians inside the lands of Israel
2004 – Construction of the Segregation Wall	Apartheid Wall – wall of shame	the wall is considered illegal and condemned by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) (never obeyed)	Security Fence – fence of life

3.2 The Israeli Security Fence/Palestinian Apartheid Wall

In 2002, under the administration of Ariel Sharon, it was decided to start building a security wall separating the West Bank lands from the Israeli lands. Following the *Second Intifada* and a long string of outbreaks committed by Palestinians against Israelis (B'Tselem, 2017), Israel government decided to take actions to insure the safety of its residents and lands. These actions include the erection of the Segregation Wall, roadblocks, checkpoints, and closed military zones (ARIJ, 2015). Other than protection purposes, the Separation Barrier was intended to serve other undeclared objectives by Israel (B'Tselem, 2017). The location of the physical border is not exactly following the Green Line set by the United Nations in 1949. Israel decided to shift the Wall inside the Palestinian lands (Figure 12). The location of the wall was set to ensure the annexation of Israeli settlements in (western side of the wall) with enough land to account for their future expansion (B'Tselem, 2017). By doing so, the border passes through nine of the West Bank's 11 governorates and isolates 12.7% of West

Bank areas, including Eastern Jerusalem (ARIJ, 2015). The wall's location proves the Israeli longstanding policy of using the West Bank territory and resources to serve its own requirements and needs, regardless of the local Palestinians' rights (B'Tselem, 2017). Figure 12 shows the difference between the Green Line and the actual location of the Segregation Wall.

Shifting the border to the east of the Green Line has created Seam Zones between the Green Line and the Segregation Wall (ARIJ, 2015). According to B'Tselem organization (2017), 11,000 Palestinians are living in 32 communities that are enclosed between the Separation Barrier and the Green Line. It's important to mention that Palestinians above 16 years old should get a permission form Israeli authority to keep living in their houses in the Seam Zone, regardless of the fact that they lived there for many generations. On the other hand, any Jew can have free accessibility and freedom to resident in that zone if they wished with no required permissions (B'Tselem, 2017).

The designed wall has two physical natures; "which one is used?" is determined by the nature of the part the wall isolates. Wired fences are used near agricultural areas, consisting of "double layered fences reinforced with barbed wire, trenches, military roads and footprint detection tracks, as well as 4-5 m high electrified metal fences with security surveillance cameras" (ARIJ, 2015). On the other hand, 8-12 meters high concrete partitions with military watchtowers lined-up 250 m apart, vehicle-barrier trenches, exclusion zones, and electric fences are used near the populated areas or near the Green Line zone (ARIJ, 2015). The wired fences type of border might sound more nature friendly and the concrete wall might sound harsher, but in fact the fence is more disturbing as it occupies an area of a 40-100 m in width (ARIJ, 2015). The wall includes 84 gates controlled by Israeli military (B'Tselem, 2017). These gates are used

to control the movement between the Seam Zone and the West Bank (ARIJ, 2015). To be able to move from one side of the wall to the other, special permits should be issued by the Israeli military to the Palestinians. In spite of the Israeli claims that these gates promote the accessibility and the non-disturbance of Palestinians' life before the wall, only nine gates are opened daily; ten are accessed few days of the year and 65 gates function only for the olive harvest season (OCHA, 2016).

Movement restrictions as well as the location and presence of the Segregation Wall impacted several sides of everyday life for Palestinians. These impacts can be briefly summarized as follows:

- **Water Shortage:** the accessibility restriction to water resources by the IDF has created challenges for Palestinians regarding; water resources, biological diversity, and agricultural landscapes (Abdallah & Swaileh, 2011). The wall included 28 Palestinian ground water wells and 27 water springs according to its location (ARIJ, 2015). This was designed in order to increase the Israeli control over the Palestinian natural resources (CoHRE, 2008).
- **Environmental impacts:** the location of the wall not only cut the urban fabric but also fragmented the natural habitat for many animal species that travel to find food, water, mate and shelter. This creates the risk of endangering certain species and therefore creating a negative impact on the ecosystem (ARIJ, 2015).
- **Agriculture decline:** again, the wall and the restriction on Palestinian movement disconnect Palestinian farmers from reaching their farms located on the east side of the wall or in the Seam Zone. This situation

results in losing around 15% of the West Bank agricultural land (ARIJ, 2015). The final result is a decline in the agricultural production of Palestinians and therefore a reduction in the overall financial income.

- Economic Impacts: as mentioned the agricultural production has declined. It is important to mention that farming and agriculture is a main economic resource for most of the Palestinian families.
- Urban development and land use impacts: during the next years, as any normal situation, Palestinian population is expected to grow, which requires new development of residential and other infrastructural services. However, the Seam Zone is considered as a trapped Palestinian build up area that is not used. Therefore, it is expected to have overpopulation in the major West Bank cities in the coming years. The Israeli colonial powers tend to extend the effects of contemporary war in order to slow down any long-term development plans by suspending Palestinians' daily livelihood (Bleibleh, 2015).
- Waste management impacts: because of the construction of the wall, 20% of the Palestinian affected communities has reported that their waste management systems were ruined or affected during the construction phase (ARIJ, 2015). This issue can create serious health risks and might increase the financial burden on the Palestinians.
- Impacts on tourism sector: the wall and other forms of movement restriction and control such as military closure, checkpoints, roadblocks and siege have negatively affected the cultural heritage touristic sites (Isaac, 2010). For example, the wall literally circles around Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem city (important archeological site under the supervision and

control of Bethlehem's governate according to Oslo Agreement) preventing Palestinians from visiting it.

- Social impacts: the construction of the wall had cut the historic Palestinian urban fabric, separating families inside and outside the wall. It also has separated the West Bank from Jerusalem which is a very holy and special place for Palestinians from all religions.

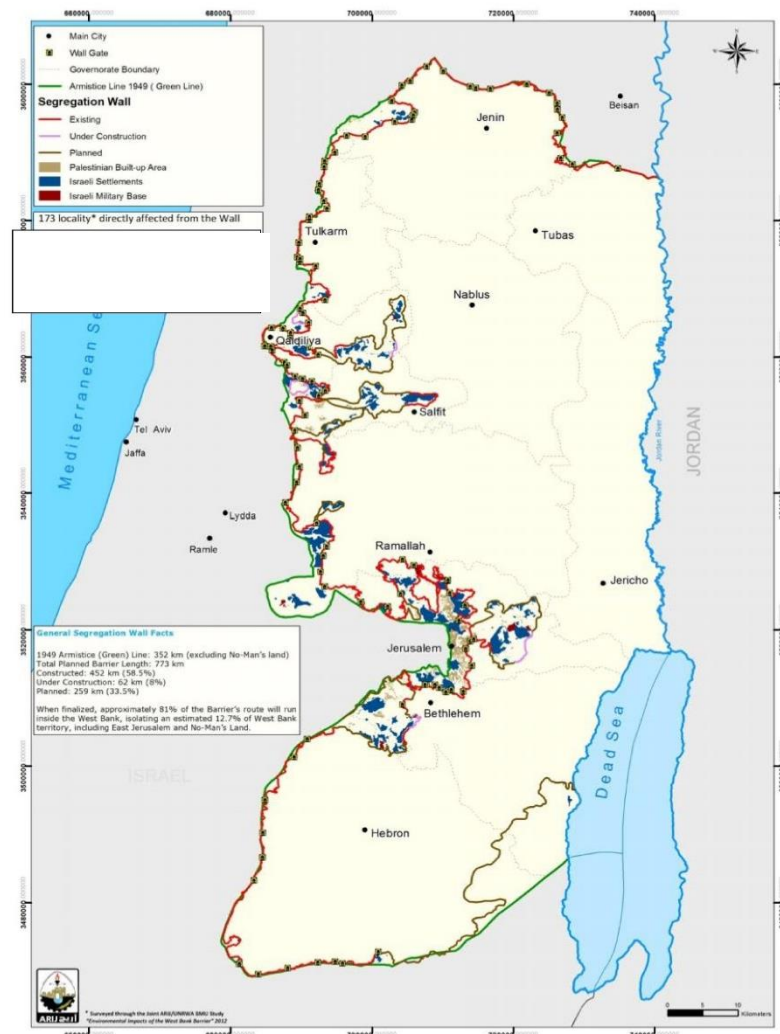


Figure 12: The location of the Segregation Wall according to the Green Line 1949 (ARIJ, 2015)

3.3 Overviewing the Case Study of Bethlehem City

Bethlehem is a Palestinian city located in the West Bank (Figure 13), 10 km to the south of Jerusalem. It is inhabited by 30,000 people. Bethlehem is considered as a fundamental cultural and touristic Palestinian city. Bethlehem includes many important archeological sites most importantly, the Church of Nativity, the birthplace of Jesus. This church is registered on UNESCO World Heritage List.

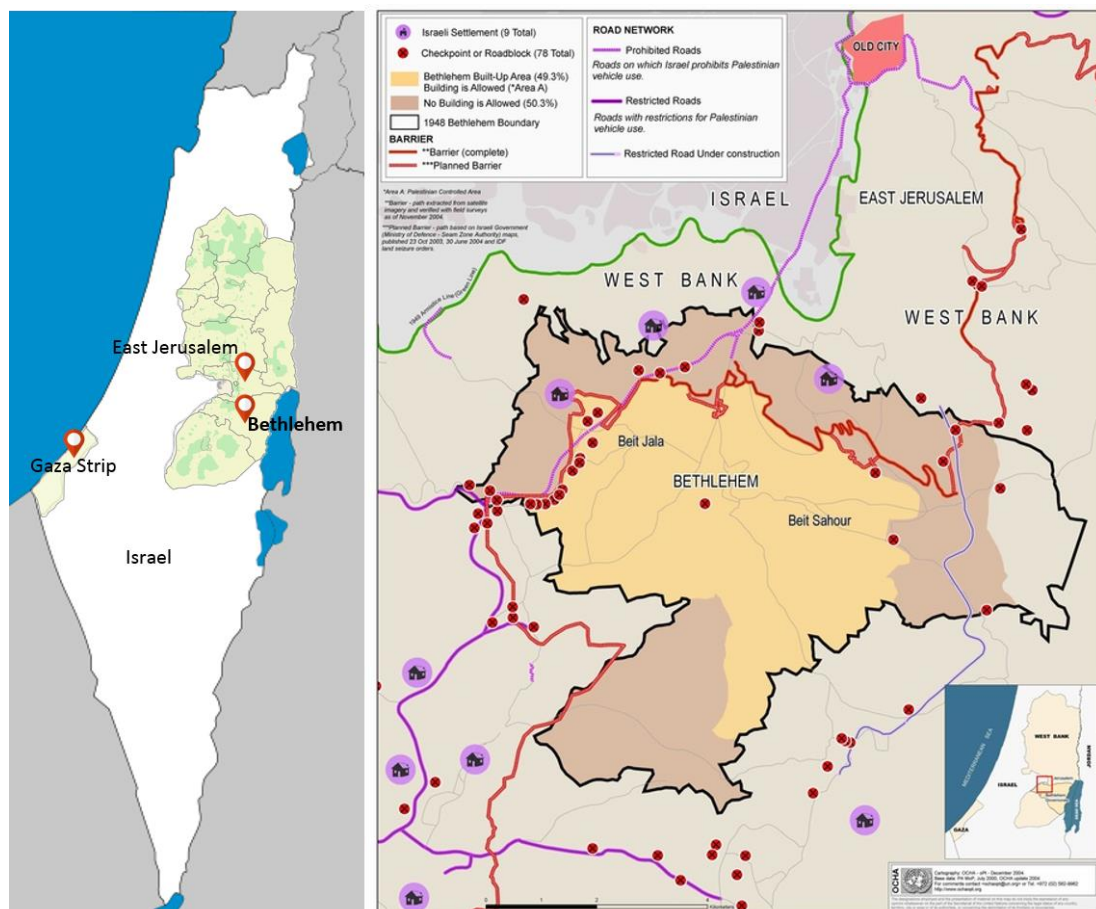


Figure 13: Left is Bethlehem's location in the West Bank, by author; right is the boundaries of Bethlehem Governorate (OCHA, 2016), edited by author

Israeli forces occupied Bethlehem from 1967 until 1995. The Palestinian Authority took control and the Israeli army withdrew from Bethlehem's urban center in 1995 following the Oslo Peace Process in 1993. The historical and religious significance of this ancient town is widespread. The architecture in the city is dominated by mosques

and churches which characterize the cultural diversity and intermingling of people in the region. The most dominant source of income for the city and its' people is tourism and pilgrimage. Located just a few kilometers away, Bethlehem's spiritual, cultural, and economic lifeline has been traditionally tied to Jerusalem. Bethlehem and Jerusalem's close locations allowed residents of both cities to visit their holy sites freely. However, these days, this ancient link is undermined due to the Israeli occupation, as Israeli settlements were built around Bethlehem in addition to that, Palestinians were restricted and tightened following the security situation based on the allegation that Israeli civilians must be protected from suicidal attacks.

The Israeli army reoccupied the city with the outbreak of the Second *Intifada* (uprising). Thus, roads leading in and out of the district were blocked, and Bethlehem suffered the longest curfew among the other governorates. The long period of invasion on Bethlehem city had effects on social and humanitarian terms. The invasion of Bethlehem city had gained wider coverage and international attention than any other city because of the siege of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. From the 2nd of April to the 10th of May 2002, 39 days of sieging around the church by the IDF. While trying to capture suspected Palestinian militants by the Israeli forces, dozens fled to the church seeking refuge including Palestinians who had arrived at the church for diverse reasons, around 200 persons (BBC, 2002). The father of the church accepted all the people who entered the church and closed the doors of it not allowing the Israeli forces to go inside the holy church. The international community and the Vatican were up-to-date second by second with the church event, Palestinian gunmen inside the church prevented the IDF to break through it by governing its entrances. IDF claimed that the suspected gunmen were holding hostages in the church not seeking refuge (Cohen A. , 2002). However, IDF managed to shoot several people inside the church

from the windows of the church or from above the interior courtyard of the church. The siege ended after a mutual agreement resulted from many negotiations between the Israeli authorities, Palestinian authorities and international community. The agreement included deportation of the requested Palestinian gunmen to Gaza or any accepting countries in Europe.

Since the invasion, just like other Palestinian governorates, Bethlehem suffered a decline in the urban livability. The cost of direct damage by the IDF through excavations in Bethlehem during the invasion around 6 million dollars (ARIJ, 2002). While the indirect damages of streets were also caused by Israeli tanks, because simply the streets are old and not designed for such heavy vehicles. On the other hand, low to medium damages of houses according to ARIJ report (2002) were approximated to 7000 houses. While major damages and destruction happened to around 100 houses (ARIJ, 2002). In addition, the Church of Nativity had damages because of firing and bombs of the IDF during the siege.

The Israeli authorities approved the proposal of constructing a segregation wall in summer 2002 to separate the West Bank from Israel and to control the entry of Palestinians to Israel (Isaac, 2009). The Segregation Wall, which was erected as a concrete structure was situated at the entrance of the city and is considered to be the most visible manifestation of the city's physical separation from Jerusalem for visitors wishing to reach holy sites in Bethlehem. The wall has cut the historical that used to connect the cities of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron in the south (Çakmak & Isaac, 2012). Conflict and movement restrictions also caused the loss of tourists and pilgrims, which in turns affected the self-sufficiency of the city.



Figure 14: The Segregation Wall around Bethlehem; separating people from their agricultural lands and from holy places in Jerusalem (Abdallah & Swaileh, 2011)

3.3.1 Study Area

The Segregation Wall in Bethlehem's public area is seen as a direct representative of the political Israeli/Palestinian conflict and an important milestone of the latter. As mentioned, it is a result of one of the biggest violent events in the studied conflict; the Defensive Shield operation/*Ejtiyah* (Israeli invasion) in 2002. In many urban settings of the West Bank, the view of the Segregation Wall is a daily matter and engagement with it for many Palestinians happens on a daily basis. Interactions with the Separation Wall through street art and graffiti is a main focus of this research. Street Art happening on the mentioned wall is studied as an example of placemaking done by Palestinians in order to reclaim their public space after a certain catastrophe or uncertainty of space.

The Wall in Bethlehem city can be seen on daily basis as it cuts through major streets and neighborhoods in the city. The Wall can be seen easily from the streets and public spaces of Bethlehem. For some households, the view of their windows is directly to

the wall. Some houses are few meters away from the Wall. Walking beside the Wall in Bethlehem can be summarized as an uncomfortable experience. The un-humanistic scale of the wall can create a feeling of fear for the users. The physicality and harshness of the solid concrete 8 meters high wall creates a similar feeling for the users of public space. In addition, the meaning attached to this wall and the memories regarding the construction of it are enough to make the experience of dealing with it as unpleasant. Moreover, the view of watching towers every 250 meters increases the un-comfortability feeling as being watched always by armed Israeli soldiers from above. Figure 15 shows the public spaces where observations and interviews were done. It can be noticed from the map that the wall literally snakes around Rachel's Tomb archeological site, regardless of the huge footprint it leaves on the environment. Artists used this snaking wall; huge surface area, to put their artistic works. The study area consists of many touristic important sites including; Rachel's Tomb archeological site (Figure 16), Jacir Palace Hotel, Banksy Guest House (The Walled Off Hotel, Figure 17), Bethlehem Museum, Palestinian Museum of Natural History, Palestinian Heritage Center, and Baptist Church. The presence of these important sites attracts the eyes to the study area and the Wall, which again justifies the chosen location for drawing the graffiti.

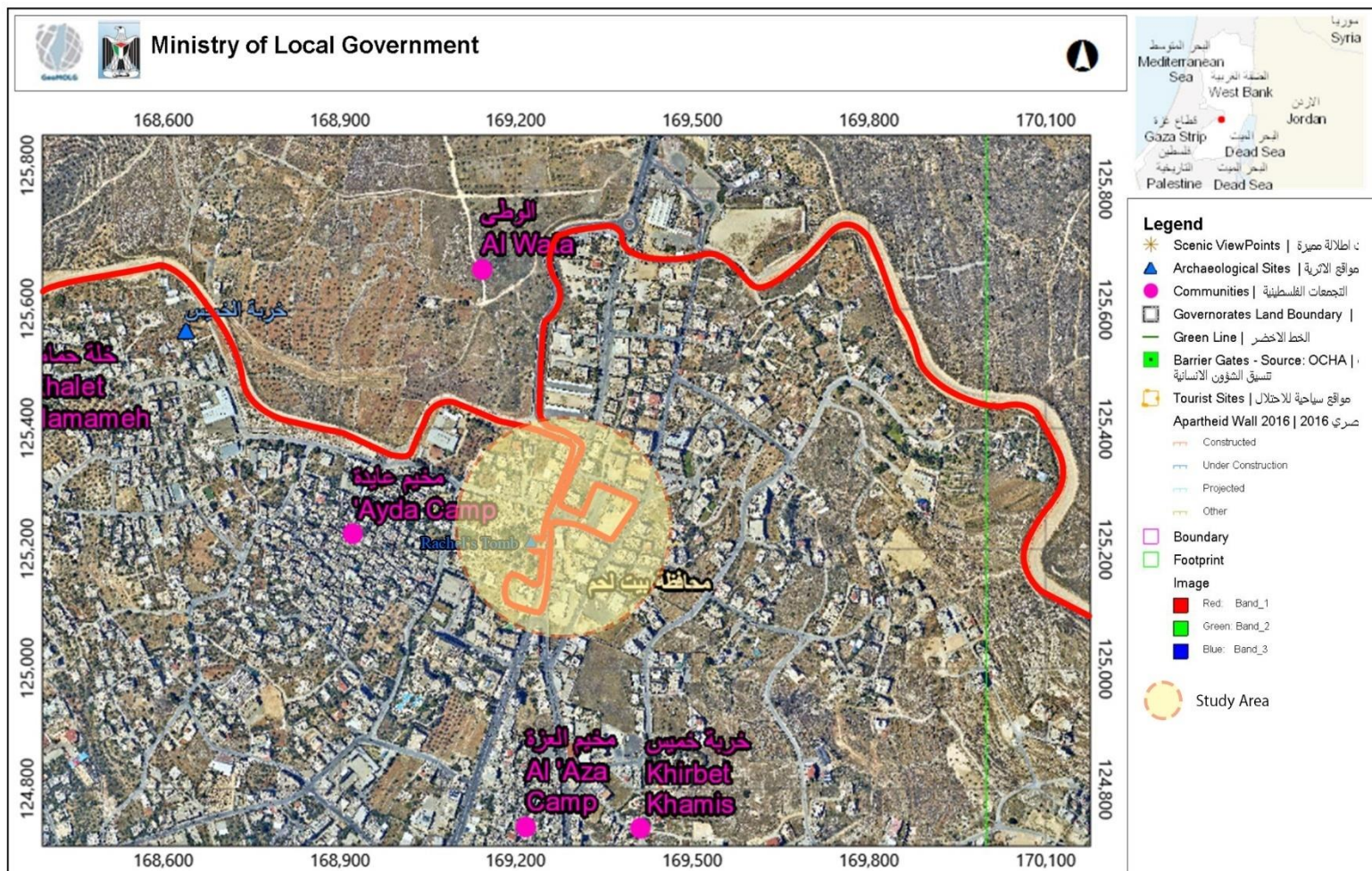


Figure 15: Study Area, base map by (Geomolg, 2019), edited by author



Figure 16: Rachel's Tomb and the Segregation Wall, (Google, 2019)



Figure 17: The Walled Off Hotel by the British artist Banksy, (Cook, 2018)

3.4 Methodology of the Case Study

This research is concerned in understanding the uncertainty of space in an urban area during violent political conflict and the role people play in negotiating this uncertainty during and after a certain catastrophe. Peoples' negotiations of uncertainty are studied during the violent conflict (as making-do tactics (de Certeau, 1984)) and after the end of violence (as placemaking). Consequently, this research studies the case of Bethlehem city. Specifically, first, it studies the space uncertainty during the Israeli invasion/*Ejtiyah* in 2002 and peoples' making-do tactics, then it focuses on graffiti on the Segregation Wall of Bethlehem as a placemaking tool. To achieve the first part of the research, qualitative ethnography and storytelling interviews are performed to understand interdisciplinary perspective of uncertainty in space, suspension of everyday life and emotions and feelings during this period of violent conflict. Regarding the second part of the study, both interviews and observation are utilized. The answers of Bethlehem's inhabitants are cross-reviewed to formulate common generative themes according to people's relation to their homes, memories, experiences, feelings, identities and their social ties and values. The generated themes are interpreted in understanding the meaning and symbols behind the graffiti writings on the Segregation Wall of Bethlehem. Therefore, data collection in site is divided into: (1) interview data with the residents of Bethlehem city, (2) graffiti data from the Bethlehem side of the wall (Figure 18).

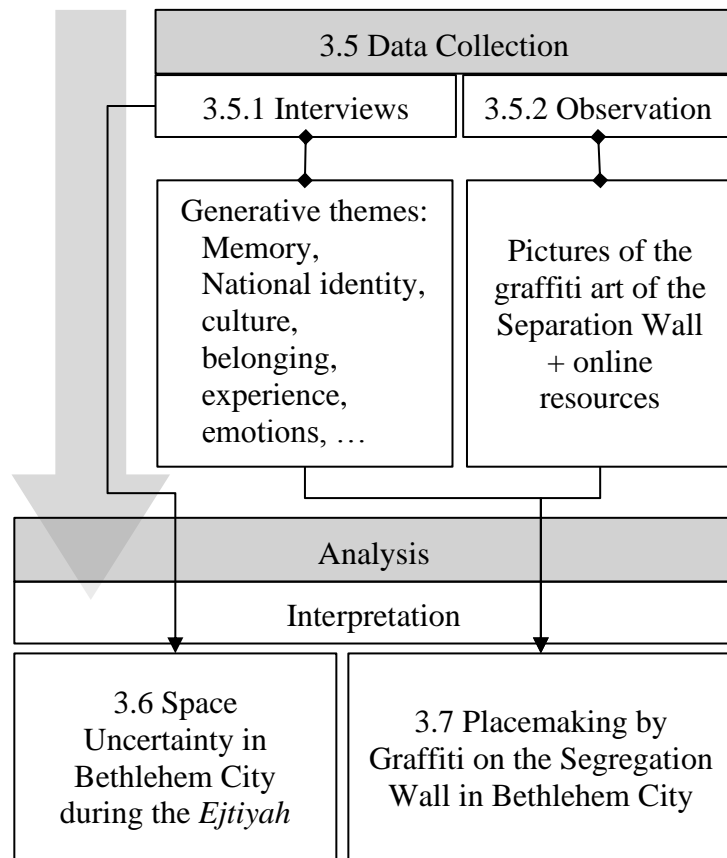


Figure 18: Case Study Methodology, by author

3.5 Data Collection

As mentioned previously, this research depends on theoretical and practical resources. This section discusses the practical part of collecting data. Field visits were made to the study area () between the periods of 29th May 2019 – 11th June and 17th July 2019 – 27th July 2019. Observations and taking pictures were done during both periods, while interviews were made during the period from 17th July 2019 till 27th July 2019. The following explains each separately.

3.5.1 Interviews

This research depends on qualitative explanations of the gathered data based on literature knowledge. The study uses a multimethod approach based on ethnographic and autobiographic narratives, and storytelling methodologies. The interview

questions are semi-structured questions for an open-ended approach to perform an in-depth interview; which means that different questions can emerge during the interview to build up the argument and have fuller understanding of the narrative. While participants were telling their stories, their narratives, ideas, concepts, emotions, feelings, memories, identities, experiences and more were shared and documented. The semi-structured questions helped the researcher to keep more of an open mind about the contours of what he or she needs to know about, so that concepts and theories can emerge out of the data. As mentioned before, the answers are collected under generative themes (from the literature above, generative themes are expected to be under titles of local culture, collective memory and national identity) that will be used later to compare them and analyze the graffiti on the Separation Wall. However, this narrative telling is also fundamental in shedding light on the urban experience within the political violent conflict people encountered in Bethlehem city in 2002.

Life stories of people manifest and represent their lived trauma, sense of place, and belonging through reflecting their war experience, and their attempts to rebuild and recover during and after the war. In the spaces of post conflict, certain meaning and emotions evolve. Narrating the experience of violence has a deep reflection on the overall community and individual's well-being (Lang & Sakdapolrak, 2015). These narratives raise people's voices to the surface allowing for a richer understanding of their lived events. One way of creating certainty in uncertain spaces due to violent political conflicts is to narrate the uncertainty (Horst & Grabska, 2015). Retelling the experienced events into a coherent whole - by either the affected groups of researchers who deliver the voices of the former – helps in switching the uncertainty to certainty, the disorder to order, and the vagueness to clearness in a therapeutic kind of act (Horst & Grabska, 2015).

3.5.1.1 Structure of the Interview

As mentioned before, the theoretical framework is used to structure the practical part of the research. Accordingly, the questions are also investigating the physical, mental and social spaces. On the other hand, the research is concerning the change in these three spaces (physical, mental and social) during the violent conflict and after the conflict. Since the studied Wall is a result of the Israeli invasion/Defensive Shield operation happened in 2002, questions are oriented around this particular violent event. The answers are classified under generative themes that help in interpreting the graffiti on the Segregation Wall from Bethlehem's side. In addition, people narratives help in shedding light on the lived experience and emotions of Palestinian uncertainty and their making-do tactics created during the violent event in 2002. The last part of the interview is directly concerning graffiti, in which the answers are used to further interpret the drawings on the Wall. Sample of the interview questions are available in Appendix A.

Table 6: Structure of the Interview and the Main Questioned Concepts, by author

	Physical space	Mental space	Social space
During invasion 2002	Questioning the changes if any in the built environment and the urban fabric	Questioning the memory of lived experience and the everyday life	Questioning the feelings, emotions, identity and belonging
Post-invasion and the construction of the Wall 2004			
Street art and graffiti on the Segregation Wall			

3.5.1.2 Sample Size and Characteristics

This research focuses on the graffiti found on the Palestinian side of the Segregation Wall in addition it studies the Palestinian experience and emotions during the *Ejtiyah* in Bethlehem city. It is important to mention that the Israeli side of the wall has no such activity of street art that's why it's not included in the research. As a result, participants in this research are all Palestinians that witnessed the Israeli invasion in 2002. Therefore, all participants are above the age of 23 as they were old enough and aware of the political event to answer the asked questions about the Israeli invasion and the construction of the wall. All genders are questioned, as this research has no special focus on the effect of gender while studying uncertainty of politically conflicted cities.

Interviews were done by field visits to public spaces (squares and streets) near the studied wall in Bethlehem and directly asking any volunteering user of the place to tell their story. However, approaching private properties for the interview was done after a mutual agreement between the researcher and the interviewed family. Few narratives were taken from official interviews and resources that are published online. The number of narrations is 28 (Appendix D). Interviews were done in the period between 17th July 2019 – 27th July 2019.

3.5.2 Observation

During the conducted field visits in the period between 29th May 2019 – 11th June 2019, and 17th July 2019 – 27th July 2019 observation of the graffiti drawn on the Segregation Wall in Bethlehem city was done. Pictures were taken to certain artistic works according to few conditions. Firstly, the artistic piece should be visible clearly to the users of the public space. Secondly, graffiti including personal tags (such like names), advertisement or for way finding purposes are not considered in the study.

Thirdly, abstract graffiti are not included, because they are out of the field and interest of this research. The nationality of the artists behind the pieces are divided to either local (Palestinian) or international (other) is preferred to be known. It was hard to distinguish the artist's background; however, some drawings are globally known and the artists behind them are also known; such like Banksy. Regarding the unknown artists, the researcher asked assistance from the users of the public space to guess the nationality of the artists. Other data of the graffiti was taken from online resources especially the drawings that got drawn above and no longer exist on the wall. However, it is believed that these erased piece works are a phenomenon that was initiated by certain emotions and ideas and they deserve shedding light on it regardless of their partial disappearance now.

3.6 Space Uncertainty and Making-do in Bethlehem City during *Ejtiyah*

In this research, theories of space and place are utilized to explore space uncertainty created by violent wars. Specifically, it studies the case of Bethlehem's residents under the event of Israeli invasion in 2002 in an attempt to unpack the spatial and emotional impacts of the *Ejtiyah* on the experience of everyday Palestinian life, belonging and home, identity and memory. During the storytelling of participants, tactics of making-do to negotiate and cope with the temporal situation of violent uncertainty and curfew were explained. Their making-do tactics manifest their resilience and use of previous values and beliefs to withstand the uncertain situation the *Ejtiyah* had created.

Bethlehem residents were hearing the news of other Palestinian governorates being invaded a day before, which gave them a space to imagine the coming situation according to this news. Bethlehem governorate was facing disconnected small-scaled

invasions days before from the Israeli army. However, after one day of invading Tulkarm and Qalqilya, on the 2nd of April 2002, helicopters, tanks and special forces of the IDF invaded the city of Bethlehem and sieged the Church of Nativity after an armed battle between the two parties. Narrations of people explain insights of the damage caused to the sensitive holy city Bethlehem is, to the mental space and to the social space of people.

All narratives with no exclusion mentioned seeking safety as the first concern that crossed their minds when the invasion news was all spread. The voices and smell of firing and bombing were spreading everywhere, before the beginning of the 24-hours curfew. The extend of which homes can serve shelter and safety was questioned. Many narratives (60% of participants) reported the move of their usual inhabiting places to other places where they felt safer with other people (internal migration); either relatives, neighbors and friends or even strangers who were not able to reach their homes because of the Israeli curfew later. People believed having bigger number of people in the house will mitigate their vulnerability feeling “when the invasion started, we shifted homes, we went to my parents’ house. It is bigger and we though we will feel safer all together.” (Narrative#15, personal communications, 25th July 2019).

Moreover, Narrative#14 explains:

My dad works in the hospital in the administrative staff. During the *Ejtiyah*, the hospital asked him to stay with all the remaining staff in the hospital so they can be all ready to serve any emergency case. Accordingly, I stayed with my mother and little sisters in the house of my grandparents leaving our house alone. We felt safer around our relatives and extended family. (personal communications, 25th July 2019)

Regardless of self-sense of safety, family members were concerned about the safety of other family members, as narrated by Narrative#14, where the father was safe in the

hospital, but his mind was not yet relaxed till he ensured the safety of his family. So, accordingly, the shifting movement was not to ensure self-security only, but collective-one:

[By moving] my mind would not be worried about the safety of my parents as well ... of course I feel safe in my house, but it is directly on the main road. I expected to see Israeli soldiers using this road, and because I have five young daughters, my fear was doubled regarding their safety. (Narrative#15, personal communications, 25th July 2019)

Interestingly, others narrated (7% of participants) the story of strangers from other governorates moving to their houses since the journey to their cities was a certain death to them. Returning home for some was an idea of extreme danger, which explains a status of shifting ideologies of spaces under the uncertainty conditions. The hosting families showed a high community sense based on their national identity and cultural values:

We had to accept them; they were our guests. They were visiting Bethlehem when the event erupted. They asked for our protection and solidarity. They are not strangers, they are Palestinians. (Narrative#17, personal communications, 26th July 2019)

Others imagined that they can find shelter inside the holy "God's places." People around the Church of Nativity tried to find shelter inside the church, the Priests accepted everyone, around 200 persons. One narrative explains that these people wouldn't be safe if they were inside a Mosque or any other public space, he believed that the sensitivity of this church to the international community is what kept the hostages safe, because he believes that the Israeli soldiers know no limits. This explains that even the most certain places agreed upon many people can be uncertain under the threat of violence:

One of the hardest moments we lived [during the siege of the Church] is the martyr of one Palestinian guy inside the church. They [Israeli soldiers] shoot

him dead in the reception of the monastery area, and he stayed with his blood there for two days. It was terrifying, I was always asking where their humanistic sense is, why they have such hate? (Priest Amjad Sabbrah, witnessed the siege of the Church of Nativity, (FMC, 2012))

On one night of the Church siege, IDF shoot lighting bombs on the roof of the church in order to see and control. These bombs fire in the sky creating light and when they fell down, flames were falling on the top of the wooden, and interlocks bricks of the roof causing fire. I got a call from the mayor of Bethlehem who was inside the church in the time, saying that “the church is on fire, *eamalo el lazem* (do whatever is needed).” I called civil defense, their answer was “we can’t move *bel marra* (never ever), the Israelis are blocking the way, they won’t let us, they would shoot us dead.” I called the American embassy, it was a sensitive religious catastrophe, but they had an idea since international press were filming on the roof top of Star Hotel and the news was podcasting worldwide. They told us to wait ten minutes, so they can call the Israeli army to allow the movement, then to call the Palestinian civil defense to go to the site. (Narrative#6, working in the emergency committee of Bethlehem city, personal communications, 23rd July 2019)

The safety of homes was not certain entirely; some rooms were safer than the other. Stories (10% of participants) mentioned that people used to inhabit only few rooms of the house, regardless of how crowd it can get. These rooms were interior away from the streets (as mentioned by Narrative#15) and with minimum number and size of openings. Any interaction with the street was highly forbidden for the sake of safety. And regardless of the physical strength of the walls or doors of the houses, no house was safe according to the narrations. Sense of home is no longer equivalent to the sense of safety during the *Ejtiyah* period:

My job was to answer emergency calls from people of Bethlehem, one of the biggest stories that I followed minute by minute was that there was an Israeli tank shot a house in the city center of Bethlehem. They tried to enter the house from the front door, however, the front door was very old and strong door they couldn’t break through it. So, the IDF shot bullets heavily on the front door. Unfortunately, the mother and son were standing behind the door and got killed. Other children were inside the house and saw the killing of their mom. We heard about this catastrophe, we tried to call the International Committee of the Red Cross or hospital emergency to try to reach them to help, but the curfew and the military forces banned any vehicle to drive in the city. (Narrative#6, working in the emergency committee of Bethlehem city, personal communications, 23rd July 2019)

During the invasion time the curtains of our windows were never opened. We were not allowed to open the windows or look through them. We used to hear the voice of the heavy tanks all day shooting. I asked my mom what this voice is she answered *Dabbabeh* (tank). I didn't know what a tank is, so I sneaked on the counter of the kitchen and looked through the window on the streets and I finally saw the scary wheels or tracks of the military tank. I wished I didn't see it. (Narrative#14, who was 8 years old, personal communications, 25th July 2019)

So, the enclaving to the interior of the house was not only meant to save the souls and lives of people, but also to shelter the psychology of children from seeing the outside war-scapes. Stories (40% of participants) mentioned the invasion of not only public urban space of the city of Bethlehem, but the IDF forces invaded the interior private homes, causing huge mess to the interiors and the memories of Palestinians who encountered this event. The interior became exterior in most of the times, since the residents were always expecting “visitors” (IDF soldiers):

I remember my mom wearing her *hijab* (veil) inside the house, as if we were setting outside. We also, me and my brothers, were wearing shoes all the time, sometimes sleeping with them on. You never know, in one minute you can be outside of your house, you should be ready. (Narrative#17, who was 7 years old, personal communications, 26th July 2019)

Accordingly, even if people were inside their comfort zones; their homes, they were always ready physically and cognitively to be forced out of them (their comfort zones) by the IDF, or for their home to be knocked down suddenly. This action is actually a reflection of a gained tactic from the previous experience of *Al Nakba* 1948, where Palestinians left their houses suddenly by force, and had no chance to gather their valuable belongings, so they only kept the keys of their homes after “locking them” since their exile until now. Therefore, the *Ejtiyah* managed to trigger previous memories inherited in the minds of Palestinians which raised their sense of belonging and attachment. The triggered collective memories were utilized successfully for the

purpose of survival. On the whole, the observed tactic of temporary changing the accommodation through in-town migration during the period of *Ejtiyah* is an important phenomenon that proved its success in keeping the physical safety of inhabitants in most of the interviewed cases.

Fortunately, for the residents of Bethlehem, rumors of an Israeli intension to invade the city had reached them a day before according to narrations of people. In addition to the fact that residents of Bethlehem had experienced small invasions before the *Ejtiyah*. Therefore, people went to the supermarkets and bought many essentials; as many as their budget allows. Their knowledge regarding the duration of the invasion was not clear (which assembles uncertainty of time), so they had to exaggerate while buying their needs. Narrative#14 explained that “Before the captive period started, everyone went to the supermarkets and bought huge amounts of food because we didn’t know when it will finish” (personal communications, 25th July 2019).

Some households (30% of participants), however, experienced shortage in food. In such cases, neighbors would assist and share their resources. Also, there was committees that provided food for needed families. Bethlehem’s community had showed strong relations during the time of violent uncertainty. Their help in food and shelter are examples of strong belonging, resilience and responsibility feel in the case of space uncertainty:

I was working in the emergency committee of Bethlehem city. The committee was consisting of different political Palestinian groups, and humanistic centers their job was to provide food for the families in need, to provide shelter for young guys who were left with nowhere to sleep, medical assistance whenever was possible. (Narrative#6, personal communications, 23rd July 2019)

I used to ask my neighbor, Um Ahmad, for anything that I don’t have in the kitchen. She used to do the same if she needed anything. Our houses shared *el minwar* (inner atrium onto which all kitchen and bathroom windows look)

of the kitchen. So, we could exchange stuff from there and spend our time talking as there was nothing to do. (Narrative#18, personal communications, 26th July 2019)

Narrative#18 help to her neighbors during the uncertainty conditions of the event shows not only high level of community coherence and communal sociocultural connections, but also a way in which time is negotiated during space uncertainty of *Ejtiyah*. Regardless of restrictions of time and space, stories of daily experience during the *Ejtiyah* represent the way people of Bethlehem tried to preserve the normality of their livelihood before the invasion as much possible as an attempt to cope with confined situations around them. Neighbors used to share medications as explained in the stories of Bethlehem's residents (10% of participants). One narration however, presented interesting use of traditional remedies and previous inherited knowledge for certain medical issues:

When one of my brothers got scared by the voices of continues shooting and bombs, *Setti* (my grandmother) suggests that we make him eat garlic, not as punishment although garlic was the worst, but as a traditional remedy they used to use whenever anyone felt anxious as garlic has the relieving powers with extremely bad smell. Or for example, if anyone felt pain in their stomach, *Setti* (my grandmother) would also rub olive oil on his belly. These remedies we used to reject previously, but during the *Ejtiyah* we had no choice but to listen to *Setti* (my grandmother). (Narrative#17, personal communications, 26th July 2019)

The previous story shows the fundamental role of women in this period in negotiating the continuation of everyday life. Most of men on the other hand, experienced suspension in their jobs and their role during this period was to maintain the safety of the family. However, some medical emergencies were not possible to solve by the use traditional medicine. In some cases, as explained by one story of Bethlehem residents during the *Ejtiyah*, people had to risk going outside during the curfew to the nearest hospital, because staying at home is another risk of death. In such cases people had to

choose one uncertainty over another, after a deep consultation of which is less uncertain and less risky.

Destruction of Palestinian houses by IDF was not only a war strategy against stone and concrete, but it was a direct war on the memory, belonging, existence and rootedness of Palestinians. Narrations of affected people (10% of participants), showed that their self-identification was also affected by the demolition of their houses:

In that *leileh soda* (black night), I felt stressed and exhausted. The army wanted to destroy the house, for me it was like death, early death. What hurt me the most was my children; do you know the feeling that you build a house for your kids and then you can't defend it? It means I'm nothing, zero. I wish I can delete those events from *tarekhi* (my history). This period is the darkest of my life. (Narrative#22, personal communications, 26th July 2019)

Narrations (70% of participants) has reported destructive acts of the IDF during the *Ejtiyah*. In their stories, people emphasized the fact that the IDF had destructive instructions. By using violence, the Israeli soldiers had destructed the built environment and affected memorial, sensitive, religious places like the Church of Nativity:

If there was a car on the street, the Israeli tank used to step on it and destroy it in order to pass through the narrow streets of old Bethlehem. The sidewalks were destroyed, *hakkashu el shwarea* (the streets were destroyed), the drainage system and infrastructure were destroyed. These streets are not designed for tanks. However, the tanks are designed for destruction. Nothing can stand in front of the tanks, they had full permission to achieve the orders in any way. (Narrative#6, personal communications, 23rd July 2019)

The streets outside where not designed for tanks, they are narrow. tanks used to step on and destroy the cars parking on the side of the streets, sometimes by purpose even if the street is wide enough for a tank to pass; Israeli soldiers wanted to cause the hugest physical and economic loss to us. (Narrative#14, personal communications, 25th July 2019)

Bethlehem city had become a ghost town, a city full of terror, killing, and smell of gunpowder, fire and smoke. (Mohammad Al Lahham, journalist, (*AlarabyTV*, 2017))

They [Israeli soldiers] have no understanding of what is spiritual, religious or whatever. The only thing they know is to follow the orders of their commanders. Today you go to the Church of Nativity and you can still find the hole bullets created on its holy walls! (Narrative#20, personal communications, 26th July 2019)

Due to the Israeli explosions shot on the Church, *Al Khuraniyeh* was burnt. A place full of Christian old books. We as captives inside, ran to fight the fire regardless of the risk of Israeli snipers. And indeed, one guy got killed by a bullet. We had a martyr, Muslim, we prayed for his soul in the Church, our Christian brothers also prayed for him. Regardless of his religion he was Palestinian. (Moayad Janazreh, one of the captives inside the Church, (*AlarabyTV, 2017*))

In their narrations, people explained how their national identity was manifested in every minute and they explained what the other party wants. They explained the ideologies of the other in a very confident way. Which explains that in the time of high uncertainty, people of Bethlehem tried to analyze the actions and intentions of the Israelis in an attempt to predict the latter's future actions. A processive and analytical tactic that is meant to reduce the uncertainty of future ignorance. They further explain the strategies of war used by the IDF, by the assistance of their collective memory of previous violent events. Many participants (60% of participants) did actually have good knowledge regarding military weapons due to their previous experience with them:

In the nighttime, captive period, Israeli forces used to shoot a parachute like lights to see the roads and control that no one is out on the streets. IDF had orders to kill anyone on streets during captive time. These lights were transforming the night to a daytime. (Narrative#14, personal communications, 25th July 2019)

Destruction however, affected more than the physical environment of Bethlehem. It affected the mental and social well-being of the residents. Words like; despair, misery terrifying, stress, exhausted, scary, fear, awful, horrible, frightening, were used almost by every participant (80% of participants) when asked about their feelings of that

period. *Ejtiyah* left negative, trauma kind of memories in the minds of the affected population especially children. The sounds of shooting and explosions during the period of the *Ejtiyah* and siege were heard approximately all the time “regular background noise” (Narrative#23, personal communications, 26th July 2019) as explained by the participants who were inhabiting houses in the city center, old core of Bethlehem. The voices of war caused sever fear especially for children. Others found difficulty in falling asleep (20% of participants). While one narrative explained that even not falling asleep is way better than falling asleep then waking up to the voice of explosion. Coping with war voices varied between “*shu nsawi*” (what we can do), “*tawadna*” (we got used to it), and “*trakna el beet*” (we left the house). All in which showed helplessness of Palestinians to change the situation.

Holding to their national identity, religious beliefs and cultural values (as explained by Narrative#17, for instance) during the invasion was one important tactic that calmed people down and gave them a feeling of safety. Space uncertainty in the case of the *Ejtiyah* had employed these beliefs and values in the way that reliefs the residents of Bethlehem and grants them a better well-being:

We were also afraid but our job as Priests was to calm down the young men and remind them that God is protecting us. We prayed together (in different ways) and we talked to them always. (Priest Amjad Sabbra, witnessed the siege of the Church of Nativity, (FMC, 2012))

To conclude, as described by Stephen Graham (2004) the event of 2002 was an *urbicide*; a war that aims to destruct the urban, infrastructural and cultural bases for Palestinians. that means that the killing of Palestinian fighters’ souls was not the main aim, however the main aim was to kill the Palestinian cities by demolishing social and welfare infrastructures that are mandatory to build State of Palestine. Gregory (2004)

suggested that not the only the hope of building a Palestinian state was killed but “bare life” itself for Palestinian. The daily systems and infrastructure of Bethlehem city was purposely targeted during the *Ejtiyah* as narrated. Even after the end of the *Ejtiyah* in May 2002, the Israeli military had succeeded to create a postwar uncertainty in the minds of Palestinian and Bethlehem by the destruction of the everyday livelihood. The effect of the war has created an ongoing uncertainty in the space and time of Bethlehem, as the future couldn’t and can’t be expected precisely for years to follow. “Pictures of occupation; tanks, checkpoints, walls, fences, gates, trenches, soldiers with guns have centered our [Palestinians’] dreams. Beyond, there is no future.” (Narrative#22, personal communications, 26th July 2019).

Affected people of war uncertainty may have minimal decision or even no agency regardless the control of their space and time. However, they produced and are producing everyday life tactics as a performance of power, control, identity and resistance. Stories of Bethlehem people showed different reflections of attachment, collective memories, national identity, culture, community, and trauma. Seen all together, these concepts clarify the strong shared values and community sense among the residents of Bethlehem. Their narrations show strong attachment and resilience when people refused to leave and insisted on staying in their Bethlehem regardless of the risk. They negotiated time and space to create opportunities under the uncertain conditions of the *Ejtiyah*. Even after the end of the *Ejtiyah*, people of Bethlehem continued to normalize their environment and daily life in their cities by making-do tactics. One of the focuses of this research is the graffiti art drawn on the Segregation Wall in Bethlehem (a physical result of the *Ejtiyah*). It is studied, in the coming section, as a placemaking tool in the urban environment of Bethlehem performed by young Palestinians and international artists. Table 7 summarizes space uncertainties caused

by the *Ejtiyah*, in addition to the making-do tactics of Palestinians to negotiate the war uncertainty.

Table 7: Summary of Space Uncertainty and Making-do tactics in Bethlehem during the *Ejtiyah* 2002, based on personal communications by author

War on	Space Uncertainty	Further explanation	Making-do tactic	Utilization of
Social Space	Sense of home and sense of safety	Homes were not safe anymore (shifting certain ideologies of spaces under war uncertainty)	-In-town migration -Enclaving away from streets	-Community bonds -Strong attachment to the city Bethlehem -National identity -Risk analysis and negotiation
	Sense of privacy	The interior can become exterior in seconds due to bombing or sudden invasions of the IDF	Being ready all the time, by treating the interior as exterior space (women wore their veils, and everyone had their shoes on)	-Attachment to cultural values and religious beliefs -Use of previous memory of <i>Al Nakba</i> 1948 and <i>Al Naksa</i> 1967
	Self-identification	Inability to protect home or family	-	-
Mental Space	Suspension of everyday life	-Shortage on daily essentials (food and medicine) -Loss of jobs -Suspension of school	-indigenous medical practices -help from neighbors -intensification of normal activities to negotiate time (watching TV, playing cards, computer games and entertaining themselves with others)	-Strong community bonds -Use of inherited traditional knowledge -Previous life routine before the event
	War on memory and religious places	Destruction of the old city in Bethlehem and destruction of the Church of Nativity	Risking life to save the religious places	-Religious beliefs -National identity
	Future ignorance	Inability to predict the future events causing a short- & long-term suspension of daily life	Predicting the other's war ideologies	-Previous collective memory of <i>Al Nakba</i> 1948 and <i>Al Naksa</i> 1967
	Fear and ongoing trauma	Shivering, anxious, lack of sleep, crying of children, fear	-Prayer -relieving of children -sleeping with children -intensification of normal activities	-Religious beliefs -Previous life routine before the event

3.7 Graffiti on the Segregation Wall as a Placemaking Tool in Bethlehem City

This section of the study serves to accomplish the aim of studying graffiti on the Segregation Wall as a placemaking tool in Bethlehem's post-violence urban space. To achieve this aim, first, people's narratives about the space uncertainty during violence, in addition to post-violence space and daily life; the construction of the Separation Wall and the life beside it, are cross-reviewed for generative themes. The obtained generative themes are interpreted to understand and analyze the drawings on the Wall as a placemaking tool to negotiate space uncertainty after violence of war. Negotiating uncertainty has been discussed as a fundamental step to reach social well-being after certain violent conflict.

3.7.1 Post-violence and an Ongoing Space Uncertainty

In 2002 I only saw that it was just the perimeter of the church that was sieged by tanks and soldiers and just the Palestinians inside held captive. After these years, I see the whole city is sieged by a wall. (Father Ibrahim Faltas, a priest who was inside the Church of Nativity when sieged by IDF in 2002, (*Belton D. , 2016*))

The only two places the Segregation Wall couldn't prevent Palestinians from Gaza, the inside or the West Bank from meeting is the martyrs' graves underground, and the Israeli jails. (Narrative#25, personal communications, 27th July 2019)

After the withdrawal of the IDF from the Palestinian governorates in May 2002, it was decided to build a massive wall surrounding Palestinian territories, putting the entire lands under siege and ensuring the invisibility of Palestinians (Bleibleh, *Walking through walls: The invisible war*, 2015); "Israel is blind folded; they refuse to see" (Narrative#23, personal communications, 26th July 2019). The 8 meters high concrete wall is cutting through the urban fabric of Bethlehem, respecting no human scale and becoming a window view for many residents in Bethlehem and users of the public

space. As discussed before, Israeli war strategy in the invasion of 2002 was aiming to increase and extend space and time uncertainty for Palestinians in Bethlehem and other governorates by destructing both physical and social infrastructures. Israel has framed the memory of war and violence by constructing a physical reminder of the invasion in 2002. The effects of the Separation Wall on many aspects of the Palestinian daily life and the Palestinian future has been discussed briefly before in this research. However, the aim here is to capture people's experiences and emotions regarding the construction of the Wall and living beside it; capturing the effect on the mental and social space of people.

Palestinians woke up to the fact that, according to the narrations, are worse than violence itself. In Bethlehem the vision of the 8 meters high Segregation Wall became a daily urban experience. Most of the interviewed participants (90%) explained the effects of the Segregation Wall on their lives. These effects are divided between economic, social, well-being and welfare:

I personally call it, the wall of shame. Because of it, thousands of Palestinians are without jobs, restricted in movement, and without their olive trees. (Narrative#23, personal communications, 26th July 2019)

Palestinians lost great areas of agricultural lands that we used to plant with *Karma* trees (grapes), olive trees, and almond trees. The economic income has really decreased with the loss of these lands. Reaching these lands are very difficult after the construction of the wall. Not because of the difficulty of mobility but because of the bullying of the Israeli settlers and soldiers on the Palestinian framers. (Narrative#3, personal communications, 22nd July 2019)

When the wall came, all the olive trees *inkala'* (had been ripped off). If I want to visit my land, because of the wall now it takes 40 mins instead of 2 mins before. (Narrative#26, personal communications, 27th July 2019)

Me and my parents inhabited two houses, after my marriage, in front of each other and were disconnected by a street. The wall is constructed, to our bad luck, along that street. My parents are there in, while I'm here out. The Israeli government had given my parents *hawiye zarqa* (Jerusalem IDs), while I have

hawiye daffaweye (Palestinian IDs). Visiting my parents became 100 times harder. Instead of crossing the street, I should take a long maneuver around the wall to reach them. (Narrative#1, personal communications, 22nd July 2019)

We cross checkpoints *thahaban w eyaban* (while getting in and getting out) to get our daily needs. Our bodies get checked, our stuff and bags get checked by the Israeli forces or dogs. Our suffering inside the wall has never been reported by the media ... they never asked us about our daily battles. Women are the most suffering group, why they don't ask women about the social side of the story. If they did, they would have got realistic answers. (Narrative#2, personal communications, 22nd July 2019)

According to narrations above, Israelis are making the experience of crossing the wall very hard physically; by extending the routes' journey duration, mentally; by making their experience hard because of the bullying of the Israelis, and socially; by crossing and questioning one's identity and cultural space. While narrating their "daily battles", their mental and social backgrounds are being mirrored. Narrative#2, for instance, defined herself as a "Palestinian woman farmer" (personal communications, 22nd July 2019) before even expressing her main job as a social activist. Not only her, most of the participants defined themselves as farmers; an inherited job from their grand generation. Narrative#2, as many other participants, also expressed her anger of violating her cultural space by checking her belongings and her body while transporting from a place to another. A war strategy that makes the daily life of this women humiliating "*thahaban w eyaban*" (while getting in and getting out). However, mobility, as narrated by 70% of participants, is the most obvious controlling obstacle created by the Wall. Nonetheless, what affected the residents of Bethlehem is the disconnectivity of the historical and holy connection with the city of Jerusalem:

They made it harder for us to reach Jerusalem, if we want to pray in Al Aqsa Mosque, we have to leave our homes hours before the prayer time so we can reach there on time, if we succeeded to reach. (Narrative#3, personal communications, 22nd July 2019)

Accordingly, the disconnection in the physical route between important religious cities, has affected not only the daily routines such as praying, or visiting a family, but also affected the social and mental experience (religion, culture, and social bonds) of the residents in Bethlehem. It is an Israeli attempt to make the urban experience of going to the “inside” lands inconvenient and time-wasting. In addition, narrative#2, for instance, has showed a separation of identities as a war strategy applied by the IDF. Members of the same families are assigned different formal or governmental identities according to their location in reference to the Wall. Accordingly, the Wall has created new identities for people, in which different family members are treated distinctively. The Wall, therefore, creates destruction not only in physical terms but in the social space as well.

Participants narrate their stories with a certain understanding of the intensions behind building the Wall (80% of participants). Part of constructing one’s identity is constructing of the Other’s identity. By understanding the ideologies of the Other, one builds the border between his identity and Others’ identity. This cognitive bordering action emphasizes the collective and self-identification process. In addition, this process creates room to predict the Other’s future intentions in a way that might help Palestinians to negotiate the uncertainty of future time. Therefore, many narratives (80% of participants) while discussing life beside the physical boundary, explained why and how the Other constructed this Wall besides explaining *Othering* strategies used by the Israelis:

Since the occupation of Palestine, we didn’t experience anything better than subjugation, destruction, killing from Israel ... They want to expand their settlements on the lands stolen by the Wall ... they want to chock or limit the normality of everyday life and to increase the difficulty of staying here. They want us to feel bored and to lose hope in life so we leave our lands so they can get it easily. (Narrative#3, personal communications, 22nd July 2019)

Whether they call it fence, wall, or barrier, the intension is the same; to redefine human relations into us and them, division, separating themselves from others. The population of Israel are not ashamed. (Narrative#23, personal communications, 26th July 2019)

Put walls around Palestinians, take their lands and resources, and expect them to live inside these ghettos! There's no place for development or investment, Palestinians are left with only one solution is to voluntary leave. (Narrative#27, personal communications, 27th July 2019)

They [IDF] offered me money, and I said no. Then, they used to threaten me in order to scare me and make me leave my house, but I also said no. This is my home and we are *samdeen* (stable/resistant). (Narrative#28, personal communications, 27th July 2019)

Residents of Bethlehem are forced to live with the new situation of suspended livelihood. While some actions of people of Bethlehem manifest resistance and disapproval, other actions show adapting and settling with the imposed Israeli system:

After the construction of the wall, I turned my house to a health clinic, school, resting area for whoever in need and for whoever just crossed the checkpoint or gates and needs rest. (Narrative#2, personal communications, 22nd July 2019)

As a young child, my parents raised me to never approach the walls neither to get close from the Israeli soldiers. However, I never forget the day I rebelled and went with my friends for the first time to the wall and I touched it. I didn't know at that time why this wall is here or what is going to happen for us because we have touched it. (Narrative#8, personal communications, 23rd July 2019)

If I can't get a permit [to pass the gates of the Wall], I will lose a whole crop of almonds. I am the only one permitted to enter the land among my family members. (Narrative#11, personal communications, 24th July 2019)

Narrative#8, shows a strategy of negotiating space uncertainty that is directly learned from a war strategy; invisibility. Not interacting with the Wall, was a tactic used by Narrative#8 to erase the picture of the Wall from his cognitive perception. However, this tactic had been broken by the participant, because an 8 meters concrete wall can't be easily ignored by the visual perception of Bethlehem's urban seen. Resisting or not,

one thing everybody approve on; the fact that they will never leave the land. Bethlehem's residents show great attachment to their national ideologies, iconologies and symbols. According to narrations (70% of participants), staying in your land and doing nothing is a form of resistance:

I hope this wall and these gates will one day be gone for good. I hope my whole family will be able to access our land like in the old days without the occupation, without the wall or its gates. This is our land; we are going nowhere. (Narrative#11, personal communications, 24th July 2019)

But no matter what they build or do, Israelis will never be able to divide or separate the Palestinian lands from each other because these lands are deeply rooted in the heads and hearts of Palestinians, they will not easily forget. This love is actually inherited from our grandparents, our parents and to our children and grandchildren. They [Israel] should know that the Palestinian will never get board or tired and leave his land or home, but we are all the way here regardless of any destruction, rules or harm from Israel. Whenever we take back our land, we can re-build it again as before. (Narrative#3, personal communications, 22nd July 2019)

We wanted peace, nothing from them just to leave us live in our houses with our kids. Simple! (Narrative#22, personal communications, 26th July 2019)

This is our land [pointing to a location that is invisible for the interviewer because of the Wall], I inherited it from my dad, and my dad from my grandfather. (Narrative#26, personal communications, 27th July 2019)

The previous narrations show national ambitions of the removal of the Wall, the reconstruction of the destructions, and overall national peace. They further show a strong attachment to one's inherited lands and their willing to never leave their lands, homes or memories.

To summarize, space uncertainty managed to hunt the everyday life of Palestinians as an intentioned purpose of war. It further succeeded to manipulate and affect their mental and social spaces beside the destruction of their physical space causing an ongoing trauma. Narratives of people proved the effects of war uncertainty on the

memory and identities besides the physical form of Bethlehem city and its connections (Table 8). Moreover, narrations of people show strong attachment to Palestinian collective national identity and one's land. Practicing everyday life as normally and adaptively as possible is a way of resistance for the residents of Bethlehem. Finally, narrations have revealed a lot of generative themes regarding Palestinians collective memory, national identity, cultural values, and attachment to home and land. These generative themes are summarized in Table 9. The produced themes from people's narrations are used to analyze one act of negotiating space uncertainty in post-violence urban space in the coming section; graffiti on the Segregation Wall as a placemaking tool.

Table 8: On-going space uncertainty caused by the construction of the Segregation Wall in post-violence Bethlehem's urban space, based on personal communications by author

Physical Space	Mental Space	Social Space
Disconnectivity of urban fabric of Bethlehem and Jerusalem	The journey to the other side is time-wasting and inconvenient	Creation of new ideologies based on the Wall
Disturbing the visual seen of urban public and private spaces	Bullying of Palestinians by Israeli civilians and soldiers	Destruction of the Palestinian national identity
Disrespecting the human scale	Suspension of everyday	Violating people's cultural and personal spaces
Destruction of agricultural lands where the Wall is built	Ongoing fear because of the sight of watch towers and the Wall	Creating fearful and humiliating daily life for Palestinians

Table 9: Generative themes according to conducted narrations with residents of Bethlehem, by author

Mental Space	Social Space	
Collective memory	National identity	Local culture
1. Previous events: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Al Nakba</i> 1948 • <i>Al Naksa</i> 1967 • <i>Al Ejtiyah</i> 2002 	2. National icons, symbols <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Martyrs & Palestinian leaders • Flag and <i>Kufiye</i> (national scarf) 3. National ideologies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The right of return • All Palestine • <i>Sumood</i> (resistance) 4. National ambitions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Peace • Reaching Jerusalem • Removal of the wall 5. Attachment to land and home <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farming – olive trees • Holy land 6. The Other’s ideologies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Destruction by force • Separation by identity & wall • Movement restriction 	7. Conservative culture <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Privacy • Moderation • Attachment to inherited heritage

3.7.2 Graffiti as a Representation Tool of Belonging and Resistance

The two groups in the Palestinian/Israeli conflict have distinct material resources. Thus, they have distinct accessibilities to power in order to protect and promote their existence on the land. Israelis have well-equipped, large military forces than Palestinians do. Therefore, each group uses different resources to promote their ideological agendas. This section is specialized in understanding a Palestinian placemaking tool to promote their national identity, belonging and existence on the land. While Israelis have the power and agency to build a separation barrier, Palestinians have also their own tactics to react. To be specific, Palestinians along with

many international artists such as; Banksy, Lushsux, Raoul and Davide Perré, Vince Seven, etc., have used this Wall as a canvas to express themselves and the others. Street art and graffiti deliver a strong political message, reclaim space, regain belonging, and focus the attentions to the alternative role of borders (Madsen, 2015). This section is explaining the motivations, background, and expressions drawn by the graffiti art on the Segregation Wall of the city of Bethlehem. To do so, the conducted interviews with the residents of Bethlehem are interpreted to understand the writings on the wall. By using the generative themes (Table 9), graffiti is analyzed as a placemaking tool used by the Palestinians to resist the Segregation Wall built by the Israelis. Questions like; is graffiti a placemaking tool in the context of Bethlehem city or not? does it reflect the socio-cultural fabric of the Palestinian community or not? does it enhance the overall experience in the daily life or not? If yes, how? does it overall enhance the social well-being of inhabitants or not? should be answered at the end of this research.

According to the performed academic theoretical review, graffiti is a placemaking tool. While placemaking is a tool that utilizes national identity (social space), collective memory (mental space) and local culture (social space) to reclaim, resist or enhance the visual perception (physical space) in public spaces. Therefore, placemaking should enhance the sense of attachment and belonging to the place, and as a result, the overall social well-being of the community.

While some drawings on the Wall reflect mental space of residents in Bethlehem, others reflect their social system and space. Graffiti on the Segregation Wall is mirroring memories, identity, ideologies, culture, daily battles, and the Other's ideologies regarding the ongoing Israeli/Palestinian conflict. The following discussions show how these concepts are manifested in the drawings of Palestinians

and international artists. It is important to mention that most of these drawings are temporal; some graffiti are luckier to stay for longer periods. The canvas of the Wall is always changing as different artists layer their drawings on top of each other's. Therefore, most of the discussed graffiti are recent in age and were witnessed within the year 2019; the year of conducting this research. However, older footage may be used for clearer image of the art pieces.

Some narrations (70% of participants) of the people of Bethlehem have reflected glimpse of previous history and experiences. People of Bethlehem have explained how the war of the *Ejtiyah* in 2002 has triggered memories of *Al Nakba* in 1948 and *Al Naksa* in 1967. They explain with grief the way their grand-community left their houses under force and only had time to lock the house and take the key during *Al Nakba*. Key became a symbol for coming back, and later became a national ideology of *Haq Al Awda* (the Right to Return) for all of those who were displaced either to diaspora, or to the refugee camps in the West Bank or in the neighboring countries. Tales of participants further discuss that remembering these events is part of reinforcing a national identity and a community that collectively and continuously suffered from exile and violence. Therefore, many of the graffiti on the Wall reflects this collective memory of Palestinians (Figure 19 & Figure 20).



Figure 19: “Key of return” by local artists, symbolizing the Right to Return, Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, taken by the author, 21st July 2019



Figure 20: “a child wearing the key of return” by a local artist, symbolizing the Right to Return, Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, (InspiringCity, 2019), 19th January 2019

Many other graffiti on the Separation Wall manifest different other Palestinian ideologies. Narrations (30% of participants) mentioned *Sumood* as a national ideology that means resistance and rootedness in the land regardless of the space uncertainty in Bethlehem city and other Palestinian cities (Figure 21). Graffiti shown in Figure 21 not only states clearly the intentions of the Palestinians to stay, but also uses another national icon (Palestinian flag and the olive tree) to reinforce the idea. Olive tree, as narrated, is one of the most important indigenous trees in the historical land of Palestine. Palestinians since centuries depend on it in producing their food and other products. The biological ability of the olive trees to live for many years standing straight in the land symbolizes the Palestinian ideology of staying still as well in the Palestinian land for many years to come. Part of the *Sumood* (resistance) ideology is the concept of that Palestinians will not settle for the lands of Oslo Agreement 1993. But they actually aim always for all historical Palestine (Figure 22). “Palestine is on both sides [of the Segregation Wall]” (Narrative#9, personal communications, 24th July 2019).



Figure 21: "we are here to stay" slogan by a local artist, symbolizing *Sumood* (resistance), Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, (InspiringCity, 2019), 19th January 2019



Figure 22: “from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free” slogan by a local artist, symbolizing *Sumood* (resistance), Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, (InspiringCity, 2019), 19th January 2019

Narrations of people mentioned other Palestinian ambitions including overall peace (Figure 28), reaching the lands captured by the state of Israel in 1948 (Figure 23 & Figure 24 & Figure 25 & Figure 26), reaching Jerusalem (Figure 28) and most importantly the removal of the wall (Figure 26 & Figure 27). Overall peace and the removal of the Separation Wall is an ambition of many from the international community. Therefore, international artists who are willing to use the wall as a canvas for their art, usually draw graffiti that symbolizes these aims and that promotes human rights.



Figure 23: Copy of the original “girl with balloons” by the British artist Banksy, symbolizing the hope of reaching the other side of the wall, Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, taken by the author, 21st July 2019



Figure 24: The original “girl with balloons” by the British artist Banksy, symbolizing the hope of reaching the other side of the wall, Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, (Cimarosti, 2012), 9th December 2012



Figure 25: “a crack in the wall”, symbolizing the hope of reaching the other side of the wall, Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, (InspiringCity, 2019), 19th January 2019



Figure 26: “angels” by the British artist Banksy, symbolizing the hope of removing the Wall, Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, (InspiringCity, 2019), 19th January 2019



Figure 27: “make Hummus not Walls” by Issa a local artist, symbolizing the rejection of the Wall, Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, taken by the author, 21st July 2019



Figure 28: Jerusalem without wall, Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, (Denham, 2019), 12th February 2019

Figure 28 shows strong attachment to the land of Jerusalem since it is a very important religious destination for all Palestinians. Narrations (70% of participants) explained the disconnection of historical route and connection between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Both cities are considered holy and fundamental religious destinations for Palestinians; two cities that have historical geographical and social connections had been separated. Figure 29 shows the reality of surrounding a holy, religious city like Bethlehem with walls, manifesting the sore of disconnecting the city from its visitors. It also shows another Palestinian icon; a Palestinian flag.



Figure 29: “charismas tree surrounded by the Segregation Wall” by the British artist Banksy and a Palestinian flag, Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, (Dimosthenis, 2019), 15th March 2019

The Wall also includes other Palestinian icons; symbolizing resistance in the face of the conflict. First, Leila Khaled, who is considered a very popular Palestinian face of resistance since her role in the TWA Flight 840 hijacking in 1969. Second, Rouzan al-Najjar, who was a Palestinian nurse/paramedic who got killed by the IDF while volunteering as an emergency staff in the violent event at Gaza border protests in 2018. Finally, Ahed Tamimi, who is a Palestinian activist, known for her footage resisting Israeli soldiers who wanted to enter her home with no legal court permission (Figure 30 & Figure 31 & Figure 32).



Figure 30: Leila Khaled, symbolizing national *Sumood* (resistance), Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, (InspiringCity, 2019), 19th January 2019



Figure 31: Rouzan al-Najjar, symbolizing national Sumood (resistance), Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, taken by the author, 21st July 2019



Figure 32: Rouzan al-Najjar (left) by local artist Taqi Sbateen and Ahed Tamimi (right) by Italian artist Jorit Agoch, symbolizing *Sumood* (resistance), Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, (InspiringCity, 2019), 19th January 2019

Much of the graffiti on the wall reflects the Other's ideologies, war strategies and the everyday struggle Palestinians encounter under the ongoing space uncertainty of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. These stories are already mentioned in the narratives of Bethlehem's residents and reflected later on the Wall. The IDF's war strategies to maintain the physical, mental and social space uncertainty includes; destruction of the physical space creating traumascapes, movement restrictions to suspend the normality of everyday life and to make it harder, and the separation of historic bonds between the city of Bethlehem and other cities by the Wall (physically) and the identity (socially and mentally). Figure 33, for instance, symbolizes the daily struggle of Palestinian farmers to reach their agricultural lands even if the permission is issued. Figure 34, on the other hand, shows manifestation of the IDF destructive actions of cutting olive trees, in an attempt to cause economic losses for farmers and to cause emotional harm as olive trees are a symbol of the Palestinian national identity.



Figure 33: Farmers' struggle with movement restrictions a copy from the original of the British artist Banksy, Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, taken by the author, 21st July 2019



Figure 34: Sheared trees by Italian street artist Blu, symbolizing destructive actions of the IDF (currently this piece is drawn over, only small part of it is left), Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, (Brooks, 2017), 5th December, 2007



Figure 35: “The helicopter image” a copy or the original of the British artist Banksy, Segregation Wall, Bethlehem, West Bank, (InspiringCity, 2019), 19th January 2019

While drawing can be considered a placemaking tool that reflects both mental and social spaces, erasing a drawing can mirror these spaces as well. In the context of Bethlehem and in other Palestinian cities as well, some graffiti was erased after few hours once completed. The reason is that these drawings violated the conservative cultural space of Palestinians. Regardless of the important and strength of the political messages they deliver, they got erased. One narrative showed that even if it was intentioned as resistance, it should be done under the cultural values of the society. “If we [Palestinians] didn’t hold to our grandparents’ cultural values and our Palestinian heritage, we will not lose the land only but also ourselves.” (Narrative#10, personal communications, 24th July 2019).

For instance, away from the borders of Bethlehem, after the legalization of same-sex marriage in the US in June 2015, Palestinian artist Khaled Jarrar painted “Through the Spectrum”, the colors of the rainbow pride flag near Qalandiya checkpoint (Figure 36). In doing so, Jarrar explained his intentions of opening dialogue “by subverting a symbol of freedom and self-determination to apply in broader contexts that include our own plight as Palestinians” (Jarrar, 2015). on the evening of the same day, young Palestinians gathered to whitewash the graffiti as it didn’t symbolize their morals and aims (Figure 37).



Figure 36: “Through the Spectrum” by local artist Khaled Jarrar, Qalandiya checkpoint, northern Jerusalem, (Jarrar, 2015)



Figure 37: “Through the Spectrum” being whitewashed, 29th June 2015, (Vartanian, 2015)

To conclude, the previous interpretations of the graffiti on the Segregation Wall reflects a tool that utilizes both mental and social spaces of Palestinians. Their collective memory, national identity, local culture and their belonging to the land are mirrored in the writings on the Segregation Wall. “The drawings on the wall reflected

and reflect the daily life for Palestinians beside the wall” (Narrative#10, personal communications, 24th July 2019). “Most of the drawings on the Wall represents the collective disapproval of the Wall. Many of them show ways and ambitions to destroy the Wall” (Narrative#6, personal communications, 23rd July 2019).

Graffiti on the Separation Wall in Bethlehem is used as a placemaking tool that reclaims the destructed urban public space by war uncertainty. The drawings on the wall show agency and power to raise voices, and to deliver political messages on this physical border, therefore, to resist (as narrated by 70% of participants):

The graffiti has enhanced the everyday life beside the wall. young group in the city found a tool to express themselves whenever they feel bored or angry. They use graffiti as a communication tool to deliver messages to the Jews [relating to the Israelis]. (Narrative#8, personal communications, 23rd July 2019)

The good thing is that graffiti is a language that is easily readable by everyone in the world. The world can easily read our struggle with the Wall on the Wall. (Narrative#10, personal communications, 24th July 2019)

By this communication tool, one assumes that the other side is hearing them, they simply don't. they don't have feelings. If once the Israeli community decided to open their eyes, treat us as visible and see the graffiti on the Separation Wall, they might feel the need to remove it. (Narrative#6, personal communications, 23rd July 2019)

When asked about whether the drawings on the wall have enhanced the overall visual perception of the urban seen in Bethlehem, many of the participants (80%) highly disagreed. Narrations showed a concern that the wall will become beautiful with all these international artists adding to it. Palestinians are afraid that the artistic value of graffiti on the Wall will lessen the political value of the messages:

No, no, no, the moral behind the graffiti not to enhance the ugliness of the Wall. On the contrary, when someone draws on the wall, they want to show how ugly it is in appearance and meaning, to show disapproval and resistance. (Narrative#6, personal communications, 23rd July 2019)

Palestinians' re-actions, in conclusion, are trying to minimize the uncertainty of space and time caused by the Israeli Segregation Wall and to negotiate the suspension of life after the *Ejtiyah* and the Wall. Narrations show the resistance role of graffiti as the main role of this artistic action. By expressing one's ideas and feelings about the space uncertainty of the Wall, the community feel that they have power, control and agency to change and re-claim their urban spaces. When street art adds color to the concrete walls, passersby from the community start asking questions. These passive users of the space become active because they are forced to think and reflect on what they see. They become more aware of their surrounding; the active resistant environment around them. Residents of Bethlehem reacted by explaining the artists' work as an attempt to feel a sense of national identity and collective belonging to the urban space of Bethlehem. Therefore, the graffiti on the Segregation Wall of Bethlehem city is considered as a battle that Palestinians won according to narrations. "Most importantly than enhancing the visual experience in the city is that we [Palestinians] *allamna alehom* (we cured the Israelis well/we taught the Israelis a lesson)" (Narrative#8, personal communications, 23rd July 2019).

Finally, graffiti can actually lead the community a step further in reaching social well-being. The Segregation Wall is a place where graffiti artists believe they have the authority to reclaim, rearrange, and reuse. Graffiti artists by drawing on the Segregation Wall are resisting the rules of the imposed system by the IDF. These actions actually increase the bonds between the inhabitants of Bethlehem and their environment. Graffiti has agency to bring a collective sense of community by creating a subculture that is recognized by residents of Bethlehem. Accordingly, Bethlehem's graffiti has a therapeutic potential to restore and heal trauma and identity issues.

3.8 Outcomes and Findings of Analyzing the Case of Bethlehem

City

This chapter has discussed two main interrelated topics; space uncertainty in politically conflicted city and graffiti as a placemaking tool in such contexts. To do so, the research has used narratives of Bethlehem's residents and observation of the studied Segregation Wall. The conflicting ideologies and interest of both parties is what upraised the conflict to be violent. Violence use by Israeli military was aiming to extend the effects of contemporary war in an attempt to slow-down any Palestinian development plans on the lands of the West Bank. Therefore, the Israeli invasion on Bethlehem aimed to suspend the normality of everyday life and the overall urban livability; urbicidal technique. A war that targets the physical, mental and social spaces of Bethlehem's residents. Life stories of people manifest and represent their lived trauma, sense of place, and belonging through reflecting their war experience, and their attempts to rebuild and recover during and after the war.

Studying urban narratives during the *Ejtiyah* in 2002 has revealed uncertainty of space and people's making-do tactics for survival. People's narrations reflected great amount of their mental and social spaces before and after the violent conflict. Space uncertainty questioned many concrete concepts of space. first, it questioned the safety levels one's house can offer. Not all houses were safe, and not all of the house was safe. This explains that the most concrete concepts of certainty can be uncertain during the risk violence. Sense of home was no longer equivalent to the sense of safety during the *Ejtiyah* period. A status of shifting ideologies of spaces under the uncertainty conditions. Interaction with the street was forbidden during curfew periods for the sake of safety. The interior can become exterior in seconds during the *Ejtiyah*, due to any

sudden visits of Israeli soldiers to the Palestinian houses or even worse the bombing of the house. Time was uncertain as well during the invasion. Future events were not known, for instance the duration of the *Ejtiyah* was not known, which assembles time uncertainty during violent conflicts. Destruction of Palestinian houses by IDF was not only a war strategy against stone and concrete, but it was a direct war on the memory, belonging, existence and rootedness of Palestinians. Narrations of affected people showed that their self-identification was also affected by the demolition of their houses. Well-being of residents was targeted as well. Terms like despair, misery terrifying, stress, exhausted, scary, fear, awful, horrible, frightening, were used a lot during the narration telling. Therefore, this violent event has left negative feelings of trauma in the memories and heads of Palestinians. Accordingly, the war of 2002 was a war on physical environment, cultural infrastructure and bare life itself. The effect of the war has created an ongoing uncertainty in the space and time of Bethlehem, as the future couldn't and can't be expected precisely for years to follow.

Affected people of war uncertainty may have minimal decision or even no agency regardless the control of their space and time. However, they produced and are producing everyday making-do life tactics as a performance of power, control, identity and resistance. Stories of Bethlehem people showed different reflections of attachment, collective memories, national identity, culture, community, and trauma. Seen all together, these concepts clarify the strong shared values and community sense among the residents of Bethlehem. When people felt unsafe in their residential places, they chose to shift houses as an inner-migration to ensure self- and collective security. Temporary changing the accommodation tactic through in-town migration during the period of *Ejtiyah* is an important phenomenon that proved its success in keeping the physical safety of inhabitants in most of the interviewed cases. Bethlehem's

community had showed strong relations during the time of violent uncertainty. Their help in food and shelter are examples of strong belonging, resilience and responsibility feel in the case of space uncertainty. Even if people were inside their comfort zones; their homes, they were always ready physically and cognitively to be forced out of them (their comfort zones) by the IDF, or for their home to be knocked down suddenly. That tactic of expecting the displacement of one's home is a gained tactic from the previous experience of *Al Nakba* 1948. Therefore, the *Ejtiyah* managed to trigger previous memories inherited in the minds of Palestinians which raised their sense of belonging and attachment. The triggered collective memories were utilized successfully for the purpose of survival. Preserving the normality of everyday life during the *Ejtiyah* is a used tactic by residents of Bethlehem to create opportunities and to negotiate the spatial and temporal uncertainty. Predicting the other war ideologies helped the people of Bethlehem to negotiate the uncertainty of future events. To do so, inhabitants used the assistance of their collective memory of previous violent events. Finally, holding to their national identity, religious beliefs and cultural values during the invasion was one important tactic that calmed people down and gave them a feeling of safety. Space uncertainty in the case of the *Ejtiyah* had employed these beliefs and values in the way that reliefs the residents of Bethlehem and grants them a better well-being. One can conclude that the making-do tactics during the violent conflict of the *Ejtiyah* in 2002 was essential to grant the survival of the residents of Bethlehem.

As discussed before, Israeli war strategy in the invasion of 2002 was aiming to increase and extend space and time uncertainty for Palestinians in Bethlehem and other governorates by destructing both physical and social infrastructures. Israel has framed the memory of war and violence by constructing a physical reminder of the invasion

in 2002. From narrations, Israelis are making the experience of crossing the wall very hard physically; by extending the routes' journey duration, mentally; by making their experience hard because of the bullying of the Israelis, and socially; by crossing and questioning one's identity and cultural space. space uncertainty managed to hunt the everyday life of Palestinians as an intentioned purpose of war. It further succeeded to manipulate and affect their mental and social spaces beside the destruction of their physical space causing an ongoing trauma. Narratives of people proved the effects of war uncertainty on the memory and identities besides the physical form of Bethlehem city and its connections.

Some people of Bethlehem decided to re-claim their urban space by drawing graffiti on the constructed Segregation Wall. By doing so, some drawings on the Wall reflect mental space of residents in Bethlehem, others reflect their social system and space. Graffiti on the Segregation Wall is mirroring memories, identity, ideologies, culture, daily battles, and the Other's ideologies regarding the ongoing Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Graffiti on the Separation Wall in Bethlehem is used as a placemaking tool that reclaims the destructed urban public space by war uncertainty. The drawings on the wall show agency and power to raise voices, and to deliver political messages on this physical border, therefore, to resist. The many representation of Palestinians national identity on the wall reinforces the idea that this placemaking tool is aimed to resist not to adapt by enhancing the visual perception of the urban seen, as discussed by interviews. Narrations showed a concern that the wall will become beautiful with all these international artists adding to it. Palestinians are afraid that the artistic value of graffiti on the Wall will lessen the political value of the messages. Studying the graffiti on the Segregation Wall in Bethlehem has showed and concluded several concepts. First, that the national identity and collective memory along with inherited

culture and heritage is successfully transferred from the older generations to the younger ones. The evidence is the use of these concepts by the young people to resist on the Wall. Therefore, graffiti has succeeded to fill the gap between old people and young people within the community. In addition, the importance of filling that gap is that narrating the events of violent conflict can create certainty out of the uncertainty (Horst & Grabska, 2015). Re-narrating these stories can be considered as a therapeutic kind of act, that can enhance the social well-being of traumatized people as a matter of collective recovery. Secondly, while local artists have bigger accessibility to the Wall, international artists also found interest to use this Segregation wall as their canvas. International artists have reflected graffiti that manifest the war strategies and overall inequality of life between the two parties. On the other hand, local artists reflected more personalized concepts such like; Palestinian culture, identity and memory. Thirdly, the graffiti on the segregation Wall is aiming to reach a collective social well-being of the city inhabitants. Manifesting that after surviving violent conflict, one aim to reach higher levels of the basic human needs pyramid which is self-well-being. Fourth, graffiti on the segregation wall is considered as a placemaking tool that aims to resist not enhance the appearance of it, as Palestinians want this wall to be removed in the first place. In addition, this placemaking tool is utilizing Palestinian mental and social space to re-naturalize the urban environment.

Finally, negotiating space uncertainty by expressing one's ideas and feelings about the situation makes the community feel that they have power, control and agency to change and re-claim their urban spaces and eventually makes the community reach a better collective social well-being.

Chapter4

CONCLUSION

4.1 Concluding Remarks

This research is divided into two parts; theoretical and practical. The theoretical part is a literature review regarding the topics of space formation, space deformation due to violent political conflicts, and space re-formation by making-do and placemaking tactics. However, the practical part is concerned in analyzing the city of Bethlehem as a case study application of the performed literature review. The theoretical section was used to gain the related and needed knowledge in order to answer the questions of this research, in addition to the fact of structuring the research around theories of space and place.

The theoretical part examined space formation first. It is important to understand the formation of space before starting to analysis it. This section of the literature review was used to structure the research around the forming elements of space; physical form; human experience; and socio-cultural aspects. It also helped in understanding the formation of place. It concluded that place is abstract space (physical space) and human emotions (mental + social space). Concepts of attachment and belonging were discussed as this research question these concepts especially under politically conflicted situations. Finally, this section helped in understanding the dynamics of human and space relation. It is concluded that the relation is two way, and each affects the other. Secondly, the literature discussed one of the obstacles of developing cities

and one of the most major issues that our contemporary cities is facing; political conflict and violence. The effects of violence in particular and political conflict in general were discussed. It was concluded that wars have an effect not only on the physical space of city, but also on both the mental and social spaces. Wars affect one's memories, identity, culture and sense of attachment and belonging creating uncertainty in space and time. Wars create what is known as traumascapes where the memories and socio-cultural concrete aspects of space get disturbed. In politically conflicted cities, people's feel of attachment and belonging is directly affected, which creates short and long-term side effects on the self and the community. These problems might include self-doubt, fear, violence cycle and more social issues.

After that, the section discusses the way people of affected cities start to negotiate the space uncertainty created by the war in an attempt to mitigate the negative effects of the latter and regain their control over their territories and lives. Two concepts of negating space uncertainty were discussed; making-do theory and placemaking. Making-do theory uses the imposed system of the powerful party in order to create opportunities for affected people in war. It further discusses that practicing the everyday life in such context is a form of resistance. Then placemaking was discussed as a resistance tool that utilizes the local culture, collective memory and national identity of the community before the violent conflict to reclaim, rearrange and re-naturalize the everyday life during and/or after violence. Placemaking has good effects on the mental and social spaces of people in addition to the sense of attachment and belonging. Therefore, one can conclude that placemaking is a tool to reach social well-being. Thirdly, graffiti and street arts were discussed as placemaking tools that have power to enhance the visual perception of the urban seen, raise voices regarding social, political and economic issues, claim belonging and control over territories in the city,

and finally perform as a therapeutic tool to reach to social well-being.

The performed literature is used as a framework to the practical part of the study. Since the study is concerned in understanding space uncertainty and negotiating the latter by placemaking, the space uncertainty of Bethlehem city in the West Bank and the graffiti on the Segregation Wall in Bethlehem as a placemaking tool were studied. The practical part starts with an introduction of the ongoing Palestinian/Israeli conflict to understand the timeline of the conflict and the perspective of each group. After that the Segregation Wall was reviewed as a physical war outcome. The effects of this wall on the urban environment of Bethlehem was explained. After that, narrative-telling methodology was used to analyze the space uncertainty experienced in the Israeli invasion of 2002 on Bethlehem city. Performed interviews with the residents of Bethlehem helped in exploring the space uncertainty in addition to the making-do tactics by the affected people. After that, the ongoing trauma of the construction of the Wall as a result of the invasion was discussed. It was discussed that the construction of the wall has affected more than the physical urban space in Bethlehem but also the mental and social spaces of the residents. Then, the answers of people regarding the conflict questions were cross-reviewed to generate collective themes. The obtained themes under the titles of the Palestinian mental space (collective memory) and social space (national identity and local culture) of Bethlehem residents were interpreted to understand the graffiti on the Segregation Wall as a placemaking performed by the Palestinians. Results of the case study are summarized in the next section.

4.2 Summary of Main Findings

The research has studied one part of the old long Palestinian/Israeli conflict. This conflict is well known for its conflicting ideologies and interests. The interest of one

group is directly opposing the interest of the other. While Jews has managed to establish a national home for them, Palestinians have lost their homes. However, this research focusses on one of the biggest violent events in the historical of this conflict; Defensive Shield Operation/Israeli *Ejtiyah* (invasion) in 2002. By questioning the event of *Ejtiyah*, space uncertainty manifested itself in the stories of people. Moreover, their emerging tactic to negotiate this uncertainty have been discussed as well. one of the most important outcomes of this study is the proof that violent conflicts not only affect the stones and concrete but also affects the mental and social spaces of people. Residents of Bethlehem has narrated the many forms of space uncertainties they had encountered in 2002. Space uncertainties of the *Ejtiyah* can be summarized as follows:

- Shifting ideologies of certain places; sense of home was no longer equivalent to the sense of safety during the *Ejtiyah* period.
- Interactions with the urban environment became dangerous, connections with the public spaces or streets became risky.
- The interior spaces were treated and felt as an exterior space.
- Future was vague which resembles time uncertainty.
- Destruction of Palestinian houses by IDF and other important memorial places has affected the memory, belonging, existence and rootedness of Palestinians.
- Self-uncertainty was narrated as a result of one's inability to defend their house from destruction.
- Well-being of residents was targeted as well. War left feelings of despair, misery, terrifying, stress, exhausted, scary, fear, awful, horrible, and frightening.
- Everyday life was suspended, as people left their usual jobs and children abandoned schools.

Accordingly, the war of 2002 was a war on physical environment, cultural infrastructure and bare life itself. The effect of the war has created an ongoing uncertainty in the space and time of Bethlehem, as the future couldn't and can't be expected precisely for years to follow. However, narrations showed great resilience of Bethlehem residents in negotiating the uncertainties. They have adopted certain tactics in an attempt to mitigate and negotiate the mentioned forms of space and time uncertainty. These making-do tactics are a performance of power, control, identity and resistance:

- In-town migration to safer houses with other families.
- Enclaving to the interior of the house away from the windows of the house.
- Being ready physically and cognitively to leave the house at any moment; this include wearing proper clothes and shoes.
- Predicting the other's war strategies, in order to expect the coming events, thus, to mitigate the future uncertainty.
- Holding to their national identity, religious beliefs and cultural values helped in calming people down and giving them a feeling of safety.
- Preserving the normality of everyday life to create opportunities and to negotiate the spatial and temporal uncertainties.

By performing these tactics, residents of Bethlehem had ensured the survival of the war. Mental and social spaces along with one's feeling of attachment and belonging to the community had been utilized as follows:

- Strong sense of community was obvious from the help of neighbors to each other regarding food and shelter.

- Strong families' bonds in moving to other relatives' houses to feel safe all together.
- Utilization of national identity in hosting total strangers in the houses of Palestinians.
- Utilization of national identity and sense of belonging and attachment in staying in the conflicted cities regardless of the risk on one's life.
- Utilization of previous memory of *Al Nakba* in preparing one's self of leaving the house anytime and in expecting the other's war strategies.
- Holding to religious beliefs and cultural values to solve problems within the households; such like the use of traditional medicine in some cases and the use of praying to calm down.

In the space of post-violent, Bethlehem's residents are experiencing an on-going trauma and uncertainty due to the construction of the Segregation Wall as a result of the invasion in 2002. As discussed before, Israeli war strategy in the invasion of 2002 was aiming to increase and extend space and time uncertainty for Palestinians in Bethlehem and other governorates by destructing both physical and social infrastructures. Space uncertainty as a result managed to disturb the life of Palestinians even after the end of violence. Narrations had mentioned few dimensions of spatial and temporal uncertainty on the physical, mental and social spaces:

- Disconnectivity of the ancient bond between Bethlehem and Jerusalem.
- Disturbing the visual seen of urban public and private space
- Disrespecting the human scale in the public spaces by building 8 meters solid concrete wall.
- Destruction of agricultural lands where the Wall passes.

- Making the journey to the other side of the Wall an inconvenient and time-wasting journey.
- Restriction of movements in and out the wall, mobility is allowed only if the IDF issued a permit order.
- Continues insulting from both Israeli soldiers and civilians, making the experience of passing the Wall's gates humiliating.
- Suspension of everyday life, by restricting the movement of students or workers or visitors to the other side.
- Creating an on-going fear and un-comfortability feeling while using the public space because of the existence of watching towers with Israeli armed soldiers in them.
- Destruction of national identity by imposing new identities based on one's location in reference to the wall
- Violating personal and cultural spaces by continues checking of belongings and bodies of Palestinians moving to the other side; making the journey as humiliating and fearful as possible.

Narrations of people were cross-reviewed to generate themes that symbolizes the Palestinian local culture, collective memory and national identity. The obtained generative themes were used to interpret the graffiti on the Segregation Wall in Bethlehem. This research aimed to understand the graffiti in this specific context as a placemaking tool. This was obtained after comparing the observed graffiti with the generated themes. In general, main findings can be summarized as follows:

- Graffiti on the Segregation Wall is a placemaking tool that had utilized collective memory, national identity and local culture to re-claim the public space.
- It was noticed that national identity was the most used concept in the drawn graffiti. This actually reflects the political sensitivity and the political atmosphere that Bethlehem encounters.
- Graffiti is used as a resistance tool by the inhabitants of Bethlehem, not as a beautifying tool of public space.
- While local artists reflect more personalized issues of Palestinians, international artists reflect more general human rights and peace calling intensions.
- Graffiti is used as a tool that fill the gap between older generations and young generation. The drawn content on the wall represents inherited narratives of the Palestinian community.
- Narrating stories of older generations to the younger ones, can act as a healing tool for self and community.
- Graffiti is considered an important resistance tool that reinforce the existence of Palestinians on the land, manifest their national identity and restore their agency in the public space.
- Graffiti can improve the overall social well-being for Bethlehem's residents.

One can conclude that regardless of the affects war creates on the physical, mental, social spaces and one's sense of attachment and belonging, the holding to these concepts is what can restore the space certainty after the end of the violent conflict. Therefore, the results of this research can be selectively utilized in projects of re-

building urban spaces of cities that encountered certain catastrophe. This research has offered a theoretical framework that can work to restore social well-being to similar communities that are affected by space uncertainty.

4.3 Recommendations for Further Research

This research has studied one side of the story. Studying the Israeli narratives regarding the event of invasion and the events happened before can be an interesting new research. Comparing narratives of both parties might help in understanding each's perspective of the other and maybe can help in understanding the social dimension of the ongoing conflict. Moreover, the Israeli side of the Wall lacks the activity of graffiti regardless of all eager artists in the region. Studying the Israeli narratives can help in justifying the emptiness of the Wall canvas in the other side.

The Segregation Wall is the only certainty in the ongoing Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Each group is encountering the certain Wall differently. Comparing the two ethnic communities' mental and social spaces to understand the levels of certainty or uncertainty each is living, is an interesting topic to discuss. This again might be obtained by studying the narrative-telling of residents from both groups.

Other interesting side that was briefly focused on in this research is the temporality of some graffiti. Few drawings last longer than others. The reasons "why" might be an interesting topic to research. Why certain writings are more resilient in the face of eager artists to draw new pieces than other writings?

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Sample of the Interview Leading Questions

Personal Info المعلومات الشخصية	Age? Gender? Marital status? City of origin? العمر؟ الجنس؟ الحالة الاجتماعية؟ من أي مدينة؟		
	Spatial/Material Space المساحة/ الامور المادية	Lived/Experienced Space التجربة الحياتية	Social Space التجربة النفسية و الاجتماعية
During <i>Al-Ejtiyah</i> (Israeli invasion of the major West Bank Cities) in 2002 خلال الاجتياح 2002	What were the physical changes that the Israeli army had caused to your own property or your neighborhood, if any? ما هي الخسائر او التغيرات في البيئة المادية خلال اجتياح القوات الاسرائيلية للمدينة؟	How was your life like during the captive period? How did you fulfill your everyday needs? كيف كان شكل الحياة أثناء ايام الحصار؟ كيف كانت تلبى الاحتياجات اليومية خلال أيام الحصار و الاجتياح؟	How did you feel during this period of the captive and invasion of the Israeli army to your city? (security, family, belonging) كيف كانت التجربة النفسية او المشاعر خلال ايام الحصار او الاجتياح؟ (خوف, الرابط الأسري, العائلة, الانتماء)
Post-invasion and the construction of the Israeli Separation Wall 2004 بعد انتهاء الاجتياح و بدء بناء الجدار 2004	What are the attempts to rebuild the physical environment (if there is any changes)? What was the impacts of the wall on the physical or visual connectivity in public spaces? What were the reaction toward the construction of the wall? ما هي الجهود لاعادة بناء الاضرار المادية؟ كيف فصل الجدار التواصل في المساحات العامة خصوصاً بين القدس و بيت لحم؟ كيف قاوم الشعب (مادياً) بناء الجدار الفاصل؟	How does the everyday life continue beside the wall? What changes did the wall bring to the everyday life in the Palestinian streets? كيف تأثرت او كيف هي الحياة اليومية بجانب الجدار؟ (اقتصادياً, اجتماعياً)	What are the feelings after the ending of the invasion and captive? What is like to live beside the wall or see it on a daily basis? ما هي المشاعر المتبقية من بعد الحصار و الاجتياح؟ ما هو شعور الحياة بجانب الجدار أو رؤيته يومياً؟
Street Art/Graffiti of the wall (SA/G) فن الجرافيتي على جدار الفصل	Does SA/G on the wall enhance the visual look of the public space? هل الرسومات على الجدار حسنت المظهر العام للمساحات العامة؟	Does SA/G enhance the everyday experience in the public space? هل الرسومات على الجدار حسنت التجربة اليومية في المساحات العامة؟	Does SA/G reflect the past, reality and ambitions of Palestinians? Does SA/G enhance the overall feeling in public space? هل الرسومات على الجدار عكست ماضي, واقع أو الطموحات الفلسطينية؟ هل الرسومات على الجدار حسنت الشعور العام في المساحات العامة؟

Appendix B: Sample of the Consent Form (English)



**Eastern
Mediterranean
University**
"Virtue, Knowledge, Advancement"

Eastern Mediterranean University

Department of Architecture

Master of Science in Urban Design (Spring 2019)

Research Title: Street Art as a Placemaking Tool in Conflicted Cities: The Case of Bethlehem City, West Bank.

Dear participant,

Please take a few minutes to read the following information on this research carefully before you agree to participate. If at any time you have a question regarding the study, please feel free to ask the researcher who will provide more information. This form should be read, understood, agreed on and signed by the participants in the conducted interviews for the above-mentioned research title. This study is being conducted by Dana Hasan, under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Resmiye Alpar Atun. It aims to investigate the Street Art on the Segregation Wall in Bethlehem City. The study should take no more than 15 minutes to complete.

The following are important conditions and notes that should be carefully read by the volunteers.

1. This research is concerning about people's narratives and stories about certain political events that happened in the past and still its result continues till today. These events include the Israeli invasion on Bethlehem City and other major Palestinian cities in 2002. They also include the construction of the Segregation Wall in 2004.
2. The questions are open-ended, which gives you the freedom to answer as long and in any way you like.
3. The questions are divided into a matrix of nine cells; concerning the physical, experimental and social aspects, in addition each of the mentioned dimensions will be asked about during the Israeli invasion and after. However, at the end, questions about the street art happening on the segregation wall will be investigated.
4. Personal questions only include age, job, martial statues, city of origin.
5. Your name and identifying information will be kept securely and separately from the rest of your answers.
6. Data will be stored for a maximum of six years after the study. Once the data is analyzed, a report of the findings may be submitted for publication
7. If you agree to participate in and complete the study, all responses and questionnaires will be treated confidentially, and your name should not under any condition be mentioned in the research. However, narrative 1, 2, 3, etc will be used to refer to the participants
8. you have the right to skip any question or to stop the interview anytime you want. If you choose to withdraw the interview all of your responses will be destroyed and omitted from the research.
9. You should know that your voices will be recorded as you tell your stories. However, if you don't feel comfortable with your voice being recorded, you should mention below, and normal notes will be taken by the researcher instead.
10. You should be above the age of 24 and living in Bethlehem city at least since 2002.
11. If there are any other conditions you would feel more comfortable to add, you can write them below,

Please tick the boxes to confirm that you agree to each statement.

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for this study and have had the opportunity to ask any questions.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without explanation.
- I agree to take part in this study.

Name of Researcher: -----

Name of Participant: -----

Signature: -----

Signature: -----

Date: -----

Date: -----

Appendix C: Sample of the Consent Form (Arabic)



Eastern
Mediterranean
University
"Virtue, Knowledge, Advancement"

Eastern Mediterranean University

Department of Architecture

Master of Science in Urban Design (Spring 2019)

Research Title: Street Art as a Placemaking Tool in Conflicted Cities: The Case of Bethlehem City, West Bank.

عزيزي المشارك،

برجاء أخذ بضع دقائق لقراءة المعلومات التالية حول هذا البحث بعناية قبل موافقتك على المشاركة. إذا كان لديك أي سؤال بخصوص الدراسة في أي وقت، فلا تتردد في سؤال الباحث الذي سيقوم بدوره بتقديم المزيد من المعلومات. يجب قراءة هذا النموذج وفهمه والموافقة عليه وتوقيعه من قبل المشارك في المقابلة التي تجريت لعنوان البحث المذكور أعلاه. تقوم بإجراء هذه الدراسة الباحثة دانة حسن، تحت إشراف الأستاذة الدكتورة / رسمية ألبار أتون. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التحقيق في فن الشارع على جدار الفصل العنصري في مدينة بيت لحم. يستغرق الاستبيان 15 دقيقة على الأكثر.

فيما يلي شروط وملاحظات مهمة يجب أن يقرأها المشاركون بعناية،

1. هذا البحث يتعلق بسررد الناس لقصصهم وتجاربهم حول أحداث سياسية معينة حدثت في الماضي وما زالت نتائجها مستمرة حتى اليوم. تشمل هذه الأحداث الاجتياح الإسرائيلي لمدينة بيت لحم والمدن الفلسطينية الرئيسية الأخرى في عام 2002. كما تشمل بناء جدار الفصل في عام 2004
2. الأسئلة مفتوحة، والتي تمنحك حق الاجابة بأي طريقة تريد وبحرية تامة.
3. تتوزع الأسئلة على شكل جدول مكون من تسع خانات، حيث تناول الجوانب المادية والتجريبية والاجتماعية، بالإضافة إلى ذلك، سيتم السؤال عن كل من الأبعاد المذكورة أثناء الاجتياح الإسرائيلي وما بعده. اخيراً، سيتم تناول الأسئلة حول فن الشارع الذي يحدث على جدار الفصل..
4. الأسئلة الشخصية تشمل العمر، الوظيفة، الحالة الاجتماعية، والمدينة الأم فقط.
5. سيتم الاحتفاظ باسمك ومعلومات التعريف الخاصة بك بأمان وبشكل منفصل عن بقية إجابات
6. سيتم تخزين البيانات لمدة أقصاها ست سنوات بعد اكتمال هذه الدراسة. بمجرد تحليل البيانات، قد يتم تقديم تقرير بالنتائج للنشر العلمي
7. إذا وافقت على المشاركة في الدراسة وإكمالها، فسيتم التعامل مع جميع الاجابات والاستبيانات بشكل سري، ولن يتم ذكر اسمك تحت أي ظرف في البحث. سيتم تعريف الروايات على شكل ارقام 1، 2، 3، إلخ للإشارة إلى المشاركين.
8. لديك الحق في تخطي أي سؤال أو إيقاف المقابلة في أي وقت تريده. إذا اخترت الانسحاب من المقابلة، فسيتم إزالة جميع اجاباتك وحذفها من البحث.
9. لا بد ان تعلم انه سوف يتم تسجيل صوتك وأنت تروي قصصك. لذلك إذا كنت لا تشعر بالراحة عند تسجيل صوتك، فيجب ذكر ذلك أدناه، وسيتم أخذ الملاحظات بالشكل الاعتيادي من قبل الباحث بدلاً من ذلك.
10. يجب أن يكون عمرك أكبر من 24 عاماً ومكان إقامتك في مدينة بيت لحم على الأقل منذ عام ٢٠٠٢.
11. إذا كان هناك أي شروط أخرى قد تشعر بمزيد من الراحة لإضافتها، فيمكنك كتابتها أدناه،
- 12.

يرجى وضع علامة في المربعات لتأكيد موافقتك على كل عبارة

- أؤكد أنني قد قرأت وفهمت ورقة المعلومات لهذه الدراسة وقد أتيت لي الفرصة لطرح أي سؤال.
- أنا على علم بأن مشاركتي طوعية وأنه يجوز لي الانسحاب من الدراسة في أي وقت دون توضيح.
- أنا أوافق على المشاركة في هذه الدراسات.

اسم المشارك:

اسم الباحث:

التوقيع:

التوقيع:

التاريخ:

التاريخ:

Appendix D: Table of Participants' General Information

Narrative Number	Date of interview	General Information
Narrative#1	22 nd July 2019	Female, 32 years old, married
Narrative#2	22 nd July 2019	Female, 58 years old, mother, farmer, social activist.
Narrative#3	22 nd July 2019	Male, 64 years old, farmer, village: Wadi Fokeen
Narrative#4	22 nd July 2019	Male, 55 years old, shop owner
Narrative#5	23 rd July 2019	Male, 43 years old, taxi driver
Narrative#6	23 rd July 2019	Male, 66 years old, was working in the emergency committee of Bethlehem city
Narrative#7	23 rd July 2019	Male, 47 years old, teacher
Narrative#8	23 rd July 2019	Male, 23 years old, student
Narrative#9	24 th July 2019	Male, 35 years old, shop owner
Narrative#10	24 th July 2019	Male, 24 years old, taxi driver
Narrative#11	24 th July 2019	Male, 28 years old, farmer
Narrative#12	24 th July 2019	Female, 27 years old
Narrative#13	25 th July 2019	Female, 29 years old, married, mother of two
Narrative#14	25 th July 2019	Female, 28 years old, PhD student
Narrative#15	25 th July 2019	Female, 58 years old, mother
Narrative#16	Online Interview	Priest Amjad Sabbra, was captive in the siege of the Church of Nativity
Narrative#17	26 th July 2019	Male, 27 years old, engineer working in the construction field
Narrative#18	26 th July 2019	Female, 50 years old, mother
Narrative#19	26 th July 2019	Male, 50 years old, journalist
Narrative#20	26 th July 2019	Male, 45 years old, shop owner
Narrative#21	Online Interview	Moayad Janazrah, was captive in the siege of the Church of Nativity
Narrative#22	26 th July 2019	Male, 42 years old, taxi driver and freelancer
Narrative#23	26 th July 2019	Female, 23 years old, law student
Narrative#24	Online Interview	Father Ibrahim Faltas, was captive in the siege of the Church of Nativity
Narrative#25	27 th July 2019	Male, 53 years old, journalist
Narrative#26	27 th July 2019	Male, 70 years old, farmer
Narrative#27	27 th July 2019	Male, 50 years old, shop owner
Narrative#28	27 th July 2019	Male, 55 years old, farmer and shop owner

Appendix E: Ethics Board Committee Approval



**Doğu Akdeniz
Üniversitesi**

"Erdem, Bilgi, Gelişim"

**Eastern
Mediterranean
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Etik Kurulu / Ethics Committee

Reference No: ETK00-2019- 0173

18.07.2019

Subject: Application for Ethics.

RE: Dana Hasan

Faculty of Architecture

To Whom It May Concern:

On the date of **18.07.2019**, (Meeting number **2019/17-05**), EMU's Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Committee (BAYEK) has granted, Dana Hasan from the, Faculty of Architecture to pursue with his MA. thesis work "**Street Art as a Placemaking Tool in Conflicted Cities: The Case of Bethlehem City, West Bank**" under the supervision Prof. Dr. Resmiye Alpar Atun. This decision has been taken by the majority of votes.

Regards,

Prof. Dr. Fatma Güven Lisaniler

Director of Ethics Committee



FGL/ns.

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