

**Fall 2018**

**Jerusalem in Regional Politics**

JS 370-1 (2758)/POLS 385-5/MESAS 370-5 -300 Level

Tu Th, 1:00pm - 2:15pm, White Hall 102, Opus: 34562

Emory Institute for the Study of Modern Israel

**Instructor: Prof. Yitzhak Reiter**

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**Course Description**

Jerusalem is a city holy to the world's three monotheistic religions and a rallying point for contesting groups in the Middle East. The course is aimed at engaging students in critical and creative discussions about the various aspects of Jerusalem regarding the following topics: the city's historical and emotional identity in, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, boundaries and territory; the demographic challenge; the national and religious character of the city; the local, regional and international realms for those beyond the Middle East; the Temple Mount/Al-Aqsa controversy, the security barrier; the struggle for sovereignty and negotiating the Jerusalem issue in the peace process. The course is designed to accommodate students who have not taken any previous courses in religion or Middle East Studies.

**Goals**

The objective of this course is to provide students with multi-faceted grounding in the historical context of Jerusalem as a sacred and contested city within the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in a regional perspective.

By the end of this course, students will have learned how to

- Historically contextualize the Jerusalem issue in the Israeli/Palestinian in particular and in the Arab-Israeli conflict in general;
- Identify the central issues in a historical work and contemporary prose and critically assess authors' arguments or interpretive schema;
- Articulate their ideas on the interplay between religion and politics in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Middle East;
- Develop analytical tools and approaches by comparing different viewpoints.
- Present political standpoints and play a party in a simulation of negotiating the Jerusalem issue in the regional arena.

For this course we recommend that you refer to Maps of Jerusalem which may be found at the Center for Israel Education, <https://israeled.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Jerusalem-Old-City.jpg> and other sources to be provided on the course website.

### **Course Methods:**

This course will make use of different methods of study: lectures, electronic media inserts, facilitated group discussions, student presentations and writing assignments. Regular attendance is vital to the successful completion of the course. Much of the material for the course will be conveyed through the lectures. Exams will consist of material covered in both lectures and course readings.

### **Grading:**

Assignments (presentations and preparing simulation) and homework (25%), final paper (7 pp.) (35%), final exam (40%) on Tuesday, December 18<sup>th</sup> from 3-5:30 p.m.

### **Computer Policy:**

You may use a laptop/tablet provided that Wi-Fi is turned off. If students frequently appear distracted by their computers, I may institute a no-electronics policy.

### **Attendance, Homework and Active Participation:**

It is expected that students attend, arrive on time, and actively participate in discussions, homework and other in-class activities.

### **Late Paper and Late Homework:**

The grade of the assignment will be lowered by 10% for each day a paper is late.

### **Honor Code:**

Emory University Honor Code applies.

### **Office Hours:**

Walk-in policy every Tuesday and Thursday between 2:15-4:00. I will be available in the office beyond these hours. Please send me an email if you wish to come outside these hours.

## **Topics and Assigned Readings**

### **Week 1: Introduction - Religious & Historical Ethos of Jerusalem**

#### **Goals:**

- Identify the meta-narrative of Christians, Jews, and Muslims regarding the history of Jerusalem and its holiness
- Compare the three major religious outlooks for Jerusalem over time and importance.

#### **Required reading before first class (70 pp.):**

- Reiter, Y. (2008). *Jerusalem and its Role in Islamic Solidarity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 63-91.

- Miriam Fendius Elman, "Jerusalem Studies: The State of the Field." *Israel Studies* 21:3 (2016), 221-241.
- Dore Gold, *The Fight for Jerusalem* (Regnery Publishing, 2007), Chapter 1.

In-class activity:

- Divide the class into three groups. Each group will search the web for official websites revealing the historical outlook of Jerusalem from three perspectives: Jewish-Israeli, Christian-international, Muslim-Palestinian. Examples are the Jerusalem municipality website (Israeli Jewish perspective) and Al-Quds University website (Palestinian Muslim perspective)  
<https://www.jerusalem.muni.il/en/CapitalofIsrael/Notebook8081/Pages/Default.aspx>  
<https://www.ampalestine.org/palestine-101/key-topics/jerusalem/a-brief-history-of-jerusalem>

Homework #1:

- Search for available videos representing the history of Jerusalem.
- Identify the core narratives of each video and summarize the content in two pages, and providing the link to the video.

Evaluation Rubric 1 on homework paper (50 out of 200 points of the 25% assignment grade)

	<b>Expectation</b>	<b>Possible</b>	<b>Earned</b>
1	Paper is no longer than 2 pages	5	
2	Finds at least 2 video sources of each party: Israeli/Jewish; Palestinian/Muslim	25	
3	Major points of each narrative is provided	20	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	

**Week 2: Jerusalem from its earliest days through the late Ottoman and British Mandate Period**

Goals:

- Identify the demographic, social and political changes of the city and its inhabitants
- Analyze the impact of those changes on the Arab-Jewish conflict

Required reading:

- Hillel Cohen, *Year Zero of the Jewish-Arab Conflict* (Brandeis University Press, 2015), chapter 2 (pp. 59-95, 95-121).
- Wasserstein, B. *Divided Jerusalem*, chapters 2, 3 (pp. 45-131).
- Mazza, R. (2009). *Jerusalem from the Ottomans to the British*. London: Tauris Academic Studies, pp. 34-46, 165-178.

In-class activity:

- Discussion: 1. Identify parallel narratives of the 1929 riots; 2. Could a history of national conflict be evenhandedly written? 3. Was 1929 indeed year zero of the conflict? 4. What is the role of demography in a conflict? 5. What are the major changes in Jerusalem and Palestine during British Mandate? 6. What was the role of the religious divide on the conflict?

**Week 3: 1948 and 1967 Turning Points**

Goals:

- Identify the impact of the 1948 and 1967 wars on the city and on its political status religiously and politically.
- Evaluate the impact of the administration of the divided city between 1948-1967 on its political future.

Required reading:

- Wasserstein, B. *Divided Jerusalem*, chapters 4,5 (132-178, 179-204). (Or: Meron Benvenisti, *Jerusalem, the Torn City* (University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 17-63)
- Salim Tamari (ed.) *Jerusalem 1948: the Arab Neighborhoods and their Fate in the War*, 10-29, 32-53.  
<https://zochrot.org/uploads/uploads/3500ebb2db7b8ae93d16c9f5ae05360d.pdf>
- Naim Sofer, "The Political Status of Jerusalem in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 1948–1967," *Middle Eastern Studies* 12:1 (1976), 73-94.
- Motti Golani, "Jerusalem's Hope Lies Only in Partition: Israeli Policy on the Jerusalem Question, 1948–67." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31:4 (1999), 577-604.

In-class activity:

- Divide the class into two groups: one will discuss the Jordanian administration of East Jerusalem, and one will discuss the Israeli administration of West Jerusalem between 1947-1967 from the following perspectives: Boundaries, political centrality of the state, economic development, attitude towards the other side.
- Following a presentation of the two groups, discuss in class a comparison between the two administrations

**Week 4: Social Profile of Jerusalem: One, Two or Three Cities**

Goals:

- Analyze the current social and demographic situation in Jerusalem and answer the following question: Is Jerusalem a united or a divided city? (demographically, politically, sociologically, economically and educationally)
- Compare Jerusalem to other divided cities in the world: Belfast, Brussels, Nicosia and Beirut. In what ways are Jerusalem unique or similar

Required reading:

- Bruno Coppieters "The Organisation of Marathons in Divided Cities: Brussels, Belfast, Beirut and Jerusalem," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29:11 (2012), 1553-1576.
- Anne B. Shlay and Gillad Rosen, *Jerusalem: The Spatial Politics of a Divided Metropolis* (John Wiley & Sons, 2015), chapter 4 (89-136).
- Reiter, Y. (2017). "Israeli Jerusalem" in S. A. Mourad, N. Koltun-Fromm & B. Der Matossian (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Jerusalem* (Routledge, forthcoming in 2017) [available on course website].

In-class activity:

- Divide the class into 5 groups, each reads an article about a divided city and compares it to Jerusalem

**Week 5: Israel's Policy with its Jerusalem Arab Neighborhoods**

Goals:

- Identify Israel's policy on Arab neighborhoods regarding: security, integration, economy, building, infrastructure development, municipal services, budgeting.

Required reading:

- Bill Hutman and Amir Cheshin "Living Together and Apart in Jerusalem: Lessons Learned," in *Jerusalem: A City and Its Future* (2002), 401-427.
- Nazmi Jubeh. "Jerusalem: Five Decades of Subjection and Marginalization." *Jerusalem Quarterly* 62: 7-28.  
<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/86432189.pdf>
- Gad Yair and Samira Alayan. "Paralysis at the top of a Roaring Volcano: Israel and the Schooling of Palestinians in East Jerusalem," *Comparative Education Review* 53:2 (2009), 235-257.
- Francesco Chiodelli, "Planning Illegality: The Roots of Unauthorized Housing in Arab East Jerusalem," *Cities* 29:2 (2012), 99-106.

In-class activity:

- Group discussion: Why did Israel not invest in East Jerusalem?

Homework #2:

- Based on the above literature and recommended at the end of this syllabus, analyze in a 2 pages paper Israel's policy regarding security, integration, economy, building, infrastructure development, municipal services, budget, and asses Israel's strategy regarding Arab neighborhoods.

Evaluation Rubric 2 on homework paper (30 out of 200 points of the 25% assignment grade)

	<b>Expectation</b>	<b>Possible</b>	<b>Earned</b>
1	Paper is no longer than 2 pages	5	
2	Provides an assessment of Israel's policy in 7 fields	25	

3	Israel's strategy regarding Arab neighborhoods	15	
4	Rational organization of the paper	5	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	

**Week 6: Jerusalem Boundaries in the Struggle over Territory: How did the city evolve spatially from the end of British Mandate to the present? What did Teddy Kollek teach us about governing Jerusalem?**

Goals:

- Identify the strategic considerations of both Palestinians and Israelis regarding the different options for borders of the city, today and in future scenarios.

Required reading:

- Dumper, M. (2014). *Jerusalem Unbound: Geography, History & the Future of the Holy City*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 39-53.

In-class activity:

- Divide the class into groups. Each group receives a map of Jerusalem neighborhoods with its ethnic setting. Each group has to suggest the future boundaries of the city based on the following considerations: security, identity, infrastructure, demography, efficiency of administration and providing services, roads and transportation in and around the city.

**Week 7: The Debate on Excluding Some Arab Neighborhoods from the Current Municipal Israeli Jurisdiction**

Goals:

- Grapple with the different strategic approaches of Israeli politicians regarding the future of Arab neighborhoods of Jerusalem and the demographic considerations.

Required reading:

- Shmuel Berkovitz Op-ed: <https://en.idi.org.il/articles/3252>
- David Koren and Ben Avrahami article at HaShiloach: <https://hashiloach.org.il/residents-eastern-jerusalem-historic-crossroads/>

In-class activity:

Discussion: What are the pros and cons from an Israeli perspective of excluding remote Arab neighborhoods from Jerusalem; What are other alternatives?

**Week 8: How is Jerusalem governed and what are Citizenship, Identity, and Residential Rights for the Palestinians**

Goals:

- Analyze the grounds for Israel's changing policies regarding Palestinians of East Jerusalem.

- How do Jerusalem Arab residents grapple with issues of their identity papers, health care, travel outside of the West Bank

Required reading:

- Amir S. Cheshin, Bill Hutman and Avi Melamed, *Separate and Unequal: The Inside Story of Israeli Rule in East Jerusalem* (Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 101-123.

In-class activity:

- Group brainstorming identifying the rights you have in your own country, and in your city. Compare them to the rights of Palestinians in East Jerusalem.

**Week 9: The Temple Mount and the "Al-Aqsa Is in Danger" Campaign**

Goals:

- Evaluate the role of the holiest place for Jews and Muslims in Palestine and Israel in the broader regional conflict
- Identify the nexus between religion and politics in Jerusalem
- Portray options for resolving the dispute over the holy site within a framework of future negotiations to settle the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Required reading:

- Reiter, Y. (2008). *Jerusalem and its Role in Islamic Solidarity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 93-127.
- Reiter, Y. (2017). *The Eroding Status Quo: Power Struggles on the Temple Mount*. Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research. pp. 29-54.
- Ali Qleibo: <https://thisweekinpalestine.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Al-Aqsa-in-Danger-The-Days-When-Jerusalem-Stood-Still.pdf>

In-class activity:

- Group work on the major disputed issues between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Muslims. Suggest ideas of how to resolve the conflict over the Temple Mount/Al-Haram al-Sharif.
- Divide into two groups, one Palestinian and one Israeli. Each group has to conclude if Al-Aqsa is in Danger and ground it.

**Week 10: One Square Kilometer – The Old City and the Holy Basin**

Goals:

- Evaluate the role of the Old City and Holy Basin of Jerusalem, compared to other parts of the city, in impacting the ability to achieve peace

Required reading:

- Dumper, M. (2014). *Jerusalem Unbound: Geography, History & the Future of the Holy City*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 97-122.

In-class activity:

- Work on a map of Jerusalem and mark the major significant sites debated between Israelis and Palestinians. Write 3-5 lines on each site and its importance.

**Week 11: Negotiating Jerusalem – Focal Points & Circumventing Sovereignty: Analysis of the Canadian Initiative and first part of presenting initial papers in class as preparation for the simulation**

Goals:

- Analyzing the meaning of ‘sovereignty’ in the Jerusalem context
- Identifying ways for circumventing sovereignty- “G-d’s sovereignty, flags, borough systems,
- Identifying the functional division of powers as a substitute for sovereignty
- Presenting the parties’ stances regarding the future of Jerusalem

Required reading:

- Bell, Michael and Dan Kurtzer. (2009) “Old City, New Regime” *Foreign Affairs*, 88(2): 131-134.

In-class activity:

- Team presentations

**Week 12: Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel following the US Recognition and moving Its Embassy to Jerusalem**

Goals:

- Historically contextualize the question of recognizing Jerusalem as a capital of the Jewish State

Required reading:

- Analyze Trump's announcement and UN resolution regarding Jerusalem as a capital, and its criticism:
- <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2017-12-11/pdf/2017-26832.pdf#page=1>
- <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-5161691/14-Security-Council-member-criticize-US-action-Jerusalem.html#ixzz50nIYPnLm>
- <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/14/us/politics/trump-jerusalem-embassy-middle-east-peace.html>

In-class activity:

- Divide into 4 groups (US Administration; EU, Palestinian Authority; Israel), each group has to summarize the pros and cons of moving the US embassy to Jerusalem from its own perspective.

**Week 13: Evaluating Regional Opportunities and Barriers for Peace Regarding Jerusalem: second part of presenting initial papers in class as preparation for the simulation**

Goals:



- Presenting the parties' stances regarding the future of Jerusalem

Required reading:

- Lior Lehrs, Jerusalem on the Negotiating Table: Analyzing the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Talks on Jerusalem (1993–2015), *Israel Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3, Jerusalem: Visions & Designs (Fall 2016), pp. 179-205.

In-class activity:

- Team presentations

Evaluation Rubric 3 (collective grade of the team presentations in weeks 11 and 13):  
(100 out of 200 points of the 25% assignment grade)

	<b>Expected</b>	<b>Possible</b>	<b>Earned</b>
1	Presentation is no longer than 15 min.	20	
2	Reveals the major stances in all fields of negotiation	30	
3	Provides the red lines and spaces of flexibility		
4	Fluency of articulation	30	
5	Has a clear conclusion	10	
6	Systematic organization	10	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	

**Week 14: Simulation**

**Negotiating Jerusalem: Simulation Script**

U.S. President Donald Trump, summoned Israeli and Palestinian negotiating teams to Camp David on January 2019 to renew direct negotiations. Due to Palestinian demand and also in order to give the process more international strength, the UN Secretary General, Antonio Guterres and his team were also invited to take part in facilitating the negotiations and particularly to provide to the parties the needed international umbrella and international guaranties.

The Palestinians asked and Trump agreed to this that additional two delegations would be invited to be present at the negotiations: the Arab League (Ahmed Aboul Gheit of Egypt) and the OIC (Dr. Yousef Al-Othaimen of Saudi Arabia) as one team.

Before heading to the summit PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas, agreed with Hamas to form a unity government following the negotiations and the principles of the agreement were agreed upon, among them: to hold general elections to the PNC and to the PLO on January 2019. Hamas gave Abbas tacitly a green light to free Palestine of the 1967 borders via negotiations, and send Dr. Ahmad Yusuf to be present in a hotel close to Camp David, for inter-Palestinian consultations. Yet, Hamas announced that the movement will never recognize Israel's existence on Waqf land, and freeing Palestine of 1967 borders is a religious commandment as a springboard to liberate the rest of Palestine when time will be ripe.

Based on previous lessons the Trump Administration decided that the issue of Jerusalem would be the last one to be discussed after all other issues were agreed upon. The rationale for this decision is that once Israelis will be satisfied by the security arrangements and the Palestinians will be satisfied by the geographical contiguity of the future Palestinian state the parties could more easily make concessions on Jerusalem.

Surprisingly, after 5 weeks of intensive negotiations, the parties agreed about the major issues on the table of negotiations on the following principles:

- a. Filastin is the nation-state of the Palestinian people, living in peace with Israel, the nation-state of the Jewish people, and full diplomatic relations will take place between the two states.
- b. An independent Palestinian State along the 1967 borders with swap of land on the basis of 1:1, so that Palestine will have viable territory corresponding in size to the territory controlled by Egypt and Jordan before June 4, 1967, with territorial contiguity in the West Bank.
- c. Roads, on or under surface, to connect Palestinian or Israeli places inside the territory of the other party would count 1:10 (like road to Maaleh Adumim or the road to connect Gaza with Hebron)
- d. Israel will preserve the ability to defend itself, by itself, in any case of an emerging threat, and Palestine will be a demilitarized state but with an effective internal security force.
- e. Filastin will have two international airports, one near Ramallah and one in Gaza, but they would be under an agreement with Israel who has the ultimate control of air space.
- f. Within the swap of land, the Israeli blocks of settlements will become under Israeli sovereignty with geographical linking to Israel, and in the case of Ma'aleh Adumim with a separate and protected corridor that will not hamper the contiguity of Filastin land. Other settlements within the depth of Filastin would be removed.
- g. A Jewish community of no more than 10,000 people within 5 Israeli settlements could remain under Palestinian jurisdiction but vote to the Israeli Knesset only. An equivalent 10,000 thousand Palestinian refugees or their immediate descendants with their nuclear families could return to Israel on a humanitarian basis only but live only in existing Arab residential areas (towns, villages or urban neighborhoods such as Ajami in Jaffa-Tel Aviv).
- h. The establishment of an independent Palestinian state will provide a national homeland for all Palestinians, including the refugees, and thereby bring an end to the historic Palestinian refugee issue and the assertion of any claims against Israel arising from it. The Palestinian refugees registered at UNRWA will be recognized and receive from an international fund to be raised a sum of \$10,000 as reparation money per soul to enable them a better future life in their current host states.
- i. Jerusalem will be discussed under the above principles and the discussion will pertain to the following issues:

- East Jerusalem Arab Neighborhoods
- The Old City and the Historic Basin
- The Western Wall and the Temple Mount / Al-Haram Al-Sharif
- One or two Capitals: Border Regime
- Municipal Administration

***Guidelines for the simulation:***

- The US is the moderator of negotiations on equal footing with the UN SG.
- The simulation is based on two rounds of negotiation and one or two rounds of consultations. It will take place during two class meetings at the last week of the semester.
- First round (40 minutes)– is aimed to discover agreements and disagreements and assess the space of maneuvering concerning the other side.
- US – International blue print (10 minutes)
- Consultations (40 minutes). Israel consults the US and Arab League, PA consults Arab League and Hamas as well as the UN and US separately.
- During the consultation phase the US, the UN will use its carrots and sticks to exert pressure on the parties to make historic concessions.
- Second round (45 minutes) – discussing the details of the major issues.
- Extra time for solving a specific hard nut (25 minutes)
- Summary by the simulation instructor (10 minutes)
- Feedback (10 minutes)

**Negotiating Issues:**

- East Jerusalem Arab Neighborhoods
- The Old City and the Historic Basin
- The Western Wall and the Temple Mount / Al-Haram Al-Sharif
- One or two Capitals: Border Regime
- Municipal Administration

**You may also want to refer to the following aspects:**

- The interests of the local communities in Jerusalem: Palestinian residences and their residence rights; Israelis, Christians including Armenians.
- Jewish settlement inside Arab neighborhoods
- The special status of Jordan
- The interests and involvement of the Vatican
- What is sovereignty and jurisdiction, and ways to divide and share sovereign powers
- Economic considerations (tourism, cost of the agreement, trade and monetary system)
- The infrastructures in any option
- Security, stability and law enforcement
- Contiguity of space, roads and transportation
- The role of a third international party
- Excluding north and south Arab neighborhoods from Jerusalem

**Actors (each team represents an actor):**

Mahmoud Abbas (PA); Benjamin Netanyahu (Israel); Donald Trump (US); Aboul-Gheit (Arab League); António Guterres (UN - International Community); Antonio Tajani (EU); Yahya Sinwar (Hammas); Dr. Yousef Al-Othaimeen of Saudi Arabia (OIC)

**Instructions for the papers:**

Two-three students will represent each party.

Together they have to submit a 7 page paper summarizing the dilemmas of their party in the negotiation, their standpoints and maneuvering spaces in negotiation and compromise.

**More bibliography for your papers:**

- Lior Lehrs, Jerusalem on the Negotiating Table: Analyzing the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Talks on Jerusalem (1993–2015), *Israel Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3, Jerusalem: Visions & Designs (Fall 2016), pp. 179-205.
- Lior Lehrs, *Peace Talks on Jerusalem A Review of the Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations Concerning Jerusalem 1993-2013*: <http://din-online.info/pdf/m-i21.pdf>
- Albin, Cecilia. "Explaining conflict transformation: How Jerusalem became negotiable." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 18:3 (2005), 339-355.
- Rema Hammami and Salim Tamari, "The Battle for Jerusalem." *Jerusalem Quarterly File* 10 (2000).
- Dore Gold, *The Fight for Jerusalem* (Regnery Publishing, 2007).
- Klein, M. (2001). *Jerusalem: The Contested City*. London: Hurst & Company, pp. 294-335.
- The Jerusalem Old City Initiative, *Mandate Elements for the Old City Special Regime* (University of Windsor, 2010). Available:  
• <http://www1.uwindsor.ca/joci/system/files/mandate-elements.pdf>
- Reuven Merhav and Rotem Giladi, "The Role of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in a Future Permanent-Status Settlement in Jerusalem" in Breger, M. J. and O. Ahimeir (2002). *Jerusalem: A City and Its Future*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, pp. 175-221.
- Klein, M. (2010). *The Shift: Israel-Palestine from Border Struggle to Ethnic Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Shlay, A. B. and G. Rosen. (2015). *Jerusalem: The Spatial Politics of a Divided Metropolis*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, pp. 96-103.
- Amirav, M. (2009). *Jerusalem Syndrome: The Palestinian-Israeli Battle for the Holy City*. Eastbourne, UK: Sussex Academic Press, Chapter 2.
- Merav Amir, "On the Border of Indeterminacy: The Separation Wall in East Jerusalem." *Geopolitics* 16.4 (2011): 768-792.

- Israel Kimhi, "Effects of the Security Fence on Palestinian Residents in the City and in the Jerusalem Metropolitan Area", in Israel Kimhi (ed.) *The Security Fence Around Jerusalem: Implications for the City and its Residents* (Jerusalem: JIIS, 2006), pp. 67-118.
- Silvio Ferrari, "The Religious Significance of Jerusalem in the Middle East Peace Process" in Breger, M. J. and O. Ahimeir (ed.) (2002). *Jerusalem: A City and Its Future*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, pp. 223-234.

**Extra recommended bibliography:**

**A general bibliography and excellent timeline of Jerusalem of time may be found at the Center for Israel Education, <https://israeled.org/themes/jerusalem/>**

**a. On Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem: Between Conflict and Coexistence**

- Marik Shtern, "Urban Neoliberalism vs. Ethno-national Division: The Case of West Jerusalem's Shopping Malls." *Cities*, 52 (2016), 132-139.
- Malka Raanan Greenberg and Noam Shoal, "Mental Maps Compared to Actual Spatial Behavior Using GPS Data: A New Method for Investigating Segregation in Cities." *Cities* 36 (2014), 28-40.
- Raphael Greenberg "Towards an Inclusive Archaeology in Jerusalem: The case of Silwan/The City of David." *Public archaeology* (2013).
- Bill Hutman and Amir Cheshin "Living Together and Apart in Jerusalem: Lessons Learned," in *Jerusalem: A City and Its Future* (2002), 401-427.
- Nazmi Jubeh. "Jerusalem: Five Decades of Subjection and Marginalization." *Jerusalem Quarterly* 62: 7-28.
- Ravi Bhavnani, et al. "Group segregation and urban violence." *American Journal of Political Science* 58.1 (2014): 226-245.
- Zvi Bekerman, Ayala Habib, and Nader Shhadi. "Jewish–Palestinian integrated education in Israel and its potential influence on national and/or ethnic identities and intergroup relations." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37:3 (2011): 389-405.
- Amir S. Cheshin, Bill Hutman and Avi Melamed, *Separate and Unequal: The inside Story of Israeli Rule in East Jerusalem*, chapter 11.
- Yitzhak Reiter and Lior Lehrs, "The Sheikh Jarrah affair: The Strategic Implications of Jewish Settlement in an Arab Meighorhood in East Jerusalem," *Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies* (2010), 13-18.
- Moshe Amirav, *Jerusalem Syndrome: The Palestinian-Israeli Battle for the Holy City* (Sussex Academic Press, 2009), 18-28, 59-81.
- Michael Dumper, *The Politics of Jerusalem since 1967* (Columbia University Press, 1997), chapters 4-5.
- Menachem Klein "Jerusalem as an Israeli Problem—A Review of Forty Years of Israeli Rule over Arab Jerusalem." *Israel Studies* 13:2 (2008), 54-72.

**On Divided Cities**

- Scott A. Bollens, "Bounding Cities as a Means of Managing Conflict: Sarajevo, Beirut and Jerusalem." *Peacebuilding* 1:2 (2013), 186-206.
- Bruno Coppieters "The Organisation of Marathons in Divided Cities: Brussels, Belfast, Beirut and Jerusalem," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29:11 (2012), 1553-1576.

- Anita. Bakshi, "A Shell of Memory: The Cyprus Conflict and Nicosia's Walled City," *Memory Studies* 5:4 (2012), 479-496.
- Scott A. Bollens, "Urban planning Amidst Ethnic Conflict: Jerusalem and Johannesburg." *Urban Studies* 35:4 (1998), 729-750.
- Wendy Pullan and Britt Baillie (eds.) *Locating Urban Conflicts: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Everyday* (Springer, 2013).

Evaluation Rubric for final paper (100 points value 35% of final grade)

	<b>Expected</b>	<b>Possible</b>	<b>Earned</b>
1	Paper is no longer than 7 pages and no less than 6.	5	
2	Reveals the major stances in all fields of negotiation	20	
3	Provides the spaces of flexibility	20	
4	Fluency of writing and class presentation	10	
5	Has a clear conclusion	15	
6	Systematic organization of the paper from question to conclusion	10	
7	Reveals the insights from the simulation	20	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	