



Jerusalem Legal Aid
and Human Rights Centre

The Case of Al-'Issawiyah

Accounts of Persistent Isolation,
Separation and Violations

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Executive Summary

The town of Al-'Issawiyeh was occupied and illegally annexed by Israel in 1967 and has since then become a microcosm of the oppressive, discriminatory and colonial policies implemented in Jerusalem. Residents of Al-'Issawiyeh, like the rest of occupied East Jerusalem's residents were granted a permanent residency status by the occupying power, a fragile status that can be revoked by the Israeli Ministry of Interior under certain conditions. Indeed, since 1967, nearly 15,000 Jerusalemites have had their residencies revoked, which has also affected their children.

Al-'Issawiyah stands out for its strategic location, sitting at the eastern slope of the Mount Scopus ridge and surrounded by the Israeli settlements of the French Hill, Maale Adumim, Hadassah Mt. Scopus hospital and the Hebrew University. For a variety of reasons which goes beyond the scope of this paper, Al-'Issawiyah and other East Jerusalem towns, villages and neighborhoods occupied in 1967 did not suffer wholesale ethnic cleansing, the fate inflicted upon more than 750,000 Palestinians between 1947 and 1949. The occupation and the colonization of the town was manifested in a gradual spaciocide, the shrinking of its lands by 75% from 12,000 dunams to a mere 3,000. Thus, the small area of the town that lies within the jurisdiction area of the Jerusalem Municipality is what is considered the town of Al-'Issawiyah by the occupation. The occupation refers to Al-'Issawiyah and other towns in East Jerusalem, such as Beit Hanina, Shu'fat and Jabal al-Mukabber, as neighborhoods rather than towns, a term that reflects an Israeli vision to reshape their character. Al-'Issawiyah is one of the closest towns to Jerusalem's Old City, which explains its trapping within a cluster of Israeli settlements and ring roads. These colonial structures contributed to the ghettoization of Al-'Issawiyah and its isolation from other Palestinian towns in Jerusalem.

These policies seek to displace Palestinians, albeit slowly and silently, to fragment Palestin-

ian towns towards re-engineering Jerusalem demographically and to erase its Palestinian identity. To this end, Israel has employed several tools including; the failure to approve a master plan for the town, discriminatory planning, denial of building permits, home demolitions, mass arrests and systematic arrests of children, closures, land confiscation and settlement construction, frequent raids, border police attacks against children, and inflicting permanent injuries, etc. An outcome of these tools and policies is to transform the town into an overpopulated, violence-ridden, poverty-struck ghetto, socially, politically and psychologically isolated. This is the image Israel looks to normalize: that Al-'Issawiyah is a different isolated area, and does not resemble or belong to Jerusalem.

Al-'Issawiyah has been the target of a number of Israeli institutions; the police, special units, and border security, the occupation municipality and its planning authority; the National Insurance Institute; the different settlements that encroach on the town's lands; the Nature and Parks Authority; the Ministry of Interior, among others. The repression administered by these different institutions can be divided loosely into two types; direct force and violent repression, and "soft" ideological repression.

This reality of multi-layered repression and ongoing displacement creates an urgent need for political action, legal counselling, psycho-social support, economic empowerment and solidarity with the residents of Al-'Issawiyah, both on the local and the international level.

A particular aspect in which all these different forms of support must coalesce is confronting discriminatory planning, manifested in the exclusion of a master plan, the denial of building permits, and home demolitions. Planning is arguably the most effective tool in the architecture of displacement.

I. Introduction

The study sought to expose the Israeli colonial plans targeting the Jerusalem town of Al-'Issawiyah, and to become more familiar with both long and short-term Israeli policies that are being used to further isolate the town. These policies are of a colonial structure, aimed to isolate Al-'Issawiyah from its urban, human, and cultural surroundings of occupied Jerusalem. The scheme is based on a number of procedures and actions carried out by the colonial state of Israel through its institutions, whether they are violent ones such as the police, border security and the Shabak (Israel's internal security agency) or "soft" ones that are state's "so called" ideological institutes as achieved through urban planning (hegemony planning), the municipality of Jerusalem, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Interior, the Israeli National Insurance Institute, among other relevant Israeli institutions.

The people of Al-'Issawiyah have been subjected to a wide range of violations; expulsion, detention, house arrests, psychological torture aimed at breaking the Palestinian identity, indirect displacement policy, shooting to maim (targeting children's eyes), the absence of a master plan, ghettoizing of Al-'Issawiyah, demolishing homes, educational shortcomings, "soft" policy of containment, in addition to other policies and violations which Al-'Issawiyah is subjected to by the Israeli authorities.

Despite all the violations, the people of Al-'Issawiyah remain defiant in their homes and town, and have expressed their objection to all of Israel's tactics employed against them and are aware of their

repercussions. The people of Al-'Issawiyah said that there is an ongoing campaign against their town to oppress it, they go on to say how the town was besieged and turned into a town of "entrance with no exit" or a big prison as it can be closed with a gate (at the entrance) and is encircled from the remaining sides by a number of colonial institutions (the Hebrew University, Hadassah Hospital, the French Hill neighborhood, road no. 1, Maale Adumim road, the Biblical Park, an industrial zone, etc.).

The study relied on a transient approach to methodology, which combines oral history as a research approach to monitor from the bottom up, and write the quiet narrative of Al-'Issawiyah according to the vision of "Subaltern Studies". An ethnographic methodology was also employed through observation with participation, as well as, in the field and descriptive analytics. The researcher also relied on oral history method as a means to listen to those who are silenced and marginalized. Twenty interviews were conducted with Al-'Issawiyah residents and relevant personalities across all social, professional, political and gender backgrounds. To this effect, the Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Center (JLAC) extends its gratitude to those colleagues who developed the report and the people of Al-'Issawiyah involved in the research. The study is a collage of voices that form a biography of the town as told through the stories, resistance, and vision of its residents; an oral history of a town that, in many ways, encapsulates the Palestinian condition.

II. Overview of Al-'Issawiyah

Al-'Issawiyah is located to the northern east of Jerusalem, 750-730 meters above sea level, and stretching across an area of 47 dunams. It is middle-way between the villages of Anata, Shu'fat, al-Tor, al-Khan al-Ahmar and Jerusalem. According to a 1961 census, the population of Al-'Issawiyah stood at 1,163; 608 males and 555 females¹. Following the 1948 Nakba, the ethnic cleansing of Palestine, and Israel's annexation of West Jerusalem, most of Al-'Issawiyah became a "no-man's land" supervised by the United Nations, while the populated portion of the town came under Jordanian rule. The Israeli army was situated on the west side of the town while the Arab Jordanian Army was on the east. The town, then a small village, fell under Israeli occupation and subsequent annexation following the June 1967 war. The people of Al-'Issawiyah, like the rest of the newly-annexed eastern part of Jerusalem, were given the status of "permanent residents".

The population of Al-'Issawiyah has reached 30,000, according to some written sources². According to Israeli formal data for the year 2019, the population of Al-'Issawiyah is stated as standing at 18,230³. However, **Darwish Darwish** (one of Al-'Issawiyah's mukhtars) and Hani Al Eisawi (a member of Al-'Issawiyah's popular committee) insist that the town's population is 22,000 (17,000 are comprised of people originally from Al-'Issawiyah and 5,000 coming in from outside of Al-'Issawiyah to live⁴). This is aligned with population projections for 2020 (21,000 people) for the town made by an Israeli institute working in

planning affairs⁵. The demographic concentration of Al-'Issawiyah's population is in the built-up area (of about 650 dunams of its 11,000 dunams of land⁶). There are only 3,000-2,800 dunams remaining of Al-'Issawiyah's lands within the borders of Jerusalem⁷. The average spatial area of an apartment in Al-'Issawiyah is 71 square meters as compared to the average size of an apartment in Jerusalem (81 square meters⁸), another indicator of over population.

The main families of Al-'Issawiyah include; Darwish, Alayan, Abul-Hummus, Mustafa, Mahmoud, Dar Abu Rayala, Dirbas, Obeid, and Hassan-Awad⁹. Al-'Issawiyah has strong communal and family ties, similar to all Palestinian towns, and is considered politically active as many of its people have took part in the Palestinian national struggle in the past and continue to do so in the present. Darwish indicated that political affiliations and loyalties¹⁰ superseded clan-based loyalties when it comes to contributing to the general affairs of the town. However, political factions and families are mutually involved in resolving internal disputes¹¹. What can be deduced from what Darwish said is that Al-'Issawiyah relies on its internal structure and dynamics; pertaining to social ties and bonds of the community (the family) and its interaction with civil society (the political party). There are points at which both of these components intersect; these are a defining characteristic of Al-'Issawiyah's people which can be best characterized as possessing patriotic determination and steadfastness.

1. Mustafa Morad Ad-Dabbagh, *Our Country, Palestine*. Edition 8. Kufr Qara': Dar Al-Huda. 1991.
2. Mohammad Abed Rabbo. "Al-'Issawiyah, the story of a Palestinian Village Summarizes Life under Occupation. Al-Arabi Al-Jadid. February 25, 2016. Retrieved on 24/7/2020. <https://bit.ly/3f1H1zD>
3. Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research. Retrieved on 28/9/2020. <https://bit.ly/338Gx87>
4. Darwish Darwish, Personal Interview, Al-'Issawiyah, 7/26/2020.
5. Yaa'ra Eiser. *The Arab Neighborhoods in East Jerusalem: Assessment and Infrastructure: Al-'Issawiyah*. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research. 2016.
6. Confirmed information by a number of Al-'Issawiyah's people: Hani Al Eisawi, Darwish Darwish, Mohammad Abu Al Hummus
7. Yaa'ra Eiser, previous resource:12.
8. Previous resource: 15
9. Al-'Issawiyah Municipality Guide. Jerusalem: Applied Research Institute. 2012.
10. There are a number of Political factions in Al-'Issawiyah: the democratic front for the liberation of Palestine, the popular front for the liberation of Palestine, Fateh, Hamas.
11. Darwish Darwish

Hani Al Eisawi (68-year-old member of Al-'Issawiyah's popular committee) stated that Al-'Issawiyah had a village council until 1967 "after the occupation and annexing Jerusalem, but it was dissolved after the occupation. Al-'Issawiyah was linked to the occupation's municipality of Jerusalem, thus it was not allowed to have any official representative body. However, throughout the years the people of the town created committees to manage the affairs of the town and to demand the people's rights. This was done a popular level, without any official capacity. Memberships were not official nor were they fixed, this was carried out by the heads of the town"¹². The dissolution of the village council of Al-'Issawiyah and linking it to the municipality of Jerusalem confirms that there is a hegemony pattern which the Israeli settlement colonization followed to subject the people of Al-'Issawiyah to the Israeli colonial structure, as a means of cleansing the Palestinian identity and its components (ethnic, spatial, cultural and social cleansing). Erasure/removal of what is Palestinian was intensified towards facilitating economic and physical exploitation for the benefit of Israeli colonial occupation.

Currently [2020], Al-'Issawiyah has three mukhtars: Darwish Darwish, Mohammad Mahmoud Obeid and Tareq Al Eisawi, [who are] the mukhtars of the town in general. The mukhtar still has a role in Al-'Issawiyah, Darwish explains by saying; "because we lack a village council that can undertake the services of the village. We used to have a committee called the Al-'Issawiyah development committee that provides services for Al-'Issawiyah and the Al-'Issawiyah society for development whose role was to follow up on the development of the town and its infrastructure". Founded in 2004 (when work began on the structural plan as to have a legal body), the society aims to help grow and develop Al-'Issawiyah¹³. The

establishment of societies in Al-'Issawiyah as a civil society structure came late, and when you look closely at the names of those who are active (i.e. founders and members of those societies), you will find the more active and prominent members are from among the local community (i.e. the mukhtar, the representative heads of the families), confirming the intertwining of civil and local communities in the Al-'Issawiyah's institutional structure.

The economic sector of Al-'Issawiyah is highly dependent (50%) on work in the Israeli market, with the remainder engaged in the following sectors; 29% services, 10% salaried employees, 5% business, 5% industrial, with only 1% working in agriculture. According to a study by ARIJ institute, the sectors most damaged in Al-'Issawiyah are the agriculture, business, and services sectors¹⁴.

The fact that half of the economic sector of Al-'Issawiyah is reliant on the Israeli market reveals many things, most importantly; 1) the hegemony of Israeli settler colonial abuses on the production and labor forces in Al-'Issawiyah, as is the case in a large number of the towns and villages of Jerusalem, and 2) Palestinian farmer's and people of Al-'Issawiyah's loss of large portions of their lands as a result of confiscations and colonial settling. Collectively both factors have pushed Palestinians into the Israeli labor market, a relatively higher paying income when compared to the dilapidated agricultural sector. There is also a reluctance by the people of Al-'Issawiyah to work in the business and agriculture sectors as they require large capital and are economically risky, in addition to their fear of imposed taxes and fines. Thus, working in the Israeli labor market seem easier and less of a financial risk, relying just on the physical strength of those marginalized and of lower income.

12. Hani Al Eisawi. Personal Interview, Al-Al 'Isawiya, 7/15/2020.

13. Darwish Darwish

14. Al-'Issawiyah Municipality Guide. Previous source: 8.

III. A theoretical Input: Colonization, Hegemony Planning and Apartheid

Much literature studying the Israeli system have categorized Israel as a settler colonial model. This model works, according to the vision of Patrick Wolfe, to eliminate the natives. Wolfe points out that “settlement colonialism is genocide by nature, but it is not always genocide.”¹⁵ Wolfe perceives the goal of settlement colonialism as being land, with settlers coming to stay on the land. The purpose is not to take advantage of the land for financial or labor reasons, but the logic of the colonial project is to replace the native people with settlers. The project being a structure and not an event that has a beginning and an end.¹⁶

Lorenzo Veracini sees that what occurred in Palestine in terms of a colonial reality is something that can be labeled as displacement and not erasure. He distinguished between the logic of creating a colonial project in the 1967 areas versus that employed in creating settlement colonization in the 1948 areas; as the people of 1967 were not eliminated but were taken control over¹⁷. In the context of the theoretical models of Wolfe and Veracini, one can notice some shortcomings in understanding the colonial situation in Palestine; the Israeli project is not a settler colonialism that aims to remove or erase, but rather an exploitative settler colonialism aimed at

physical, social, cultural and psychological erasure, among other forms of erasure. Its purpose is to control the land, exploit the colonized Palestinians who were not exterminated and make them work to serve the colonial project in order to strengthen Israel’s settler colonial infrastructure. There exists an argumentative relation between the settlement nature and the exploitative one in the Israeli colonial project, as both natures contribute towards creating a hybrid model of settler colonialism.¹⁸

Sari Hanafi proposed the “spaciocide” concept by which he means “uprooting, occupying and destroying of spatial area”¹⁹. Hanafi argues that what happened in Palestine is spaciocide, seeing as the stolen area of land was more prominent in comparison to genocid^{e20}. Hanafi explains that spaciocide is a conscious ideology practiced by four Israeli colonial actors: “the military, settlers, civil planners and capitalistic real estate brokers”²¹. In the context of understanding and studying the Israeli settler colonial project, Saleh Abdel Jawad coined the term spaciocide²². Abdel Jawad argues that the Israeli colonial project aims to dismember and erase the Palestinian society. In a similar context, Abdul Rahim Al Sheikh studied the cultural and nominal erasure in Palestine through replacing Palestinian naming with colonial Israeli ones²³.

15. Patrick Wolfe. “Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native”. *Journal of Genocide Research* (2006), 8(4), December. P 387.
16. Patrick Wolfe. *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*. London and New York: Cassell. 1999. P 163.
17. Lorenzo Veracini. “The Other Shift: Settler Colonialism, Israel and The Occupation.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 42, no. 2 26–42
18. Ahmad Iz Addin Asad. «Workers and Corona; Laboratory for the Israeli Exploitative Settler Colonialism.» *Palestinian affairs*. Ed. 280. Summer 2020.
19. Sari Hanafi. «The Spatial Cleansing: An Attempt to Understand the Israeli Colonial Project Strategies.» *Arab future*. Edition 360. February 2009.
20. Illan Pappé. *Ethnic Cleansing in Palestine*. Translated by Ahmad Khalifa. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies. 2007.
21. Sari Hanafi. The previous resource:74
22. Abdel-Jawad, Saleh. “War by Other Means.” *Al-Ahram Weekly*. 1998.
23. Abdul Rahim Al-Sheikh. “The Columbus Syndrome and Excavation of Palestine: The Genealogy of Israeli Naming Policies for the Palestinian Landscape.” *Journal of Palestine Studies*. Edition 83. 2010.

Eyal Weizman argues in his book *Hollow Land*; that the mundane elements of planning and architecture have become tactical tools and the means of dispossession. Under Israel's regime of 'erratic occupation', Palestinian life, property and political rights are constantly violated not only by the frequent actions of the Israeli military, but by a process in which their environment is unpredictably and continuously refashioned²⁴. Israel continues to tighten the screws on Palestinians through various methods including "soft" power²⁵. In addition to hard forms of power, the occupation system was created, according to the description of Ariella Azoulay and Oday Ofir, to be "an illegitimate and unstable ruling power, its authority embodied in the daily incidents of explosive violence"²⁶. In the town of Al-'Issawiyah, the colonial regime has, with its many institutions, practiced violence in different shapes and forms to subject the people of Al-'Issawiyah to hegemony for the purpose of exhausting their national spirit and infuse settler colonial policies in Jerusalem.

Yousef Jabbarin stressed the role of the invisible planning authority through the concept of "hegemony planning" which is a concept that: "helps understand the fantasia of the state's agencies, or more specifically the politically hegemonic groups when it comes to producing its ethnic, national or ideological hegemony. This fantasia is linked to the (harmony) and (wholesomeness) of this hegemonic group, in return for eliminating the groups described as (others) from this wholesome fantasy, making them strangers in their own homeland and (othered). These others are to be handled with tools of marginalization, oppression and dispossession"²⁷. The tools of hegemony planning are considered to be tools of settler colonialism, or as part of the Israeli exploitive settler colonial "soft" power, which aims at erasure, hegemony, apartheid, and economic exploitation.

When speaking of apartheid in Jerusalem, some

contend that the apartheid is not as clear as the one which was in South Africa. However, the reality is that apartheid does not have a unified model modeled against South Africa, but rather the apartheid in South Africa is an example of such. In the Israeli situation, particularly in Jerusalem, there exists apartheid rooted deep in Israeli policies against Jerusalemites, as well as apartheid in planning, confiscation, designating the lands of Jerusalem for the service of the colonizer and forbidding the colonized from their access/use. Raef Zreiq argues that a transformation has happened in Palestinian land and the Israeli control of it, for "the occupied Palestinian lands have simultaneously become closer and further, inside Israel and outside of it, part of it and out of it"²⁸. Zreiq's argument confirms Israel's role in eliminating and containing the Palestinian space and population, simultaneously.

The Israeli colonial authority practices its colonial policies and plans against the people of Al-'Issawiyah and other Jerusalemites, as if these practices and policies are legal. Raja Shehadeh illustrated that the Israeli occupation invokes legalization through legislations in the form of military orders. Israel tries hard to demonstrate that its practices are in line with international law, which is what Shehadeh labeled "the occupier's law"²⁹. The Israeli system has worked towards legalizing the occupation and its colonial policies through the use of a number of Ottoman, British and Jordanian laws for the service of the occupation. It has also worked on legitimizing colonial violations through military orders and the laws enacted by the Israeli Knesset. The occupation has approached its policies, violence and violations against the people of Al-'Issawiyah as a means of merely applying the law in town; as if it were an expression of its legal sovereignty which a state practices upon its citizens. The reality, however, is that these practices are violations of human rights and dignity, exploitation, and attempts at the erasure of the Palestinian people.

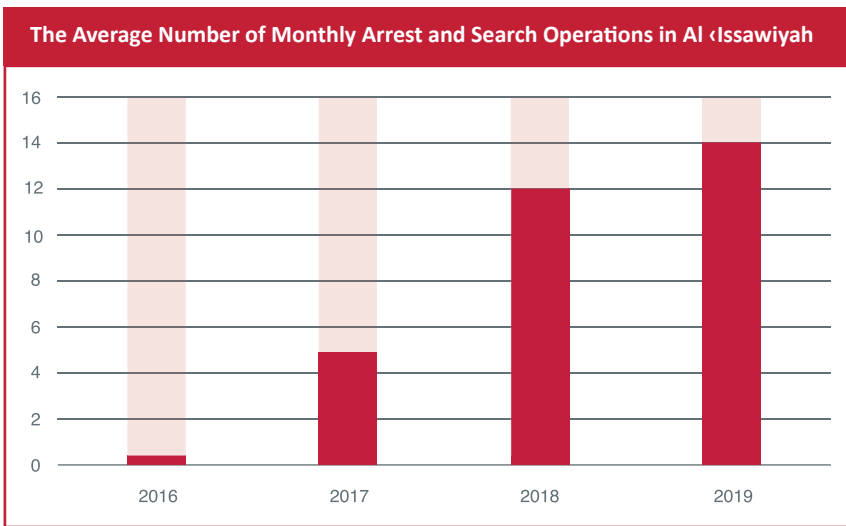
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24. Iyal Weizmann. *A Hollow Land: The Architecture of the Israeli Occupation*. Translated by Basel Watfa. Cairo, Beirut: Madarat for Research and Publication, Arab Network for Publication Research. 2017: 14-15.
 25. Joseph Nye. *Soft Power: The Way to Success in International Politics*. Translated by Mohammad Tawfiq Al-Bujermi. Riyadh: Obeikan Library. 2007.
 26. Ariella Azoulay and Eid Ophir. *Violence System*. Sari Hanafi, Uday Ophir, and Michal Givouni (Editors). *The Power of Mass Exclusion: Detailing the Israeli Governance in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*. Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies. 2012.
 27. Yousef Jabareen. *The Fantasy of the State: Planning Hegemony, Marginalization, and Persecution between Israel and the Apartheid*. Honaida Ghanem and Azar (Developed and Edited). *Israel and Apartheid: Comparative Studies*. Ramallah: Madar - The Palestinian Center for Israeli Studies. 2018.
 28. Raef Zreik. "Preface". Sari Hanafi (et al. Editors). *The Power of Mass Exclusion: Detailing the Israeli Governance in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*. Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies. 2012: 19.
 29. Raja Shehadeh. *Law of the Occupier: Israel and the West Bank*. Translated by Mahmoud Zayed. Beirut: The Institute for

IV. Israeli Violations against the People of Al-'Issawiyah

4.1 Raids: Colonial Terrorizing Policies

According to reports by international and local organizations, there is an increase in the frequency of incursions and arrests in Al-'Issawiyah over the past three years; peaking in 2019. When incursions are coupled with other forms of violence, such as arrests, demolition orders and other violations in Al-'Issawiyah, it becomes evident that there exists a colonial plan targeting it. The town has been subjected to many ongoing incursions, which are usu-

ally carried out by the Israeli police, Israeli army, Israeli army special forces, undercover Israeli forces disguised as Arabs (mistaaribin) that arrest and kidnap members of the community, in an attempt to impose colonial sovereignty on the people of Al-'Issawiyah. The following graph illustrates the increase and escalation the average number of monthly arrest and search operations in Al-'Issawiyah³⁰.



Mansour Mahmoud (a 26-year-old released detainee formerly under house arrest), expressed concerns regarding the incursions of the colonial authorities of the town; "there is no specific hour, it usually happens in the afternoon, they come into the town and provoke the youth. There are videos that prove this, they start to throw tear gas, or conducting other provocations as giving out unnecessary tickets. For example, if someone were sitting in front of their home, they would be ticketed for not wearing a face mask, if someone wants to just move their car, they'd be ticketed for not wearing a seat belt; numerous unnecessary tickets, they just want

to bother the people of Al-'Issawiyah. We have been suffering for a long while, but it's intensified over the course of the last two years. There have been daily incursions, arrests, beatings, they choke the children, bother them, stopping anyone at the checkpoints going to the hospital. The Israelis have made only one entrance to the town, where they search the cars on their way in or out. Our lives in Al-'Issawiyah are tragic, there are incursions on a daily basis. Its common place to experience your home being raided at 3 AM, having your belongings destroyed, bombs thrown, and your children terrified."³¹

Palestine Studies and Kuwait University. 1990.

30. OCHA. Daily Police Raids and Clashes Resulted in Casualties and Disruption of Daily Life in one of the neighborhoods of East Jerusalem. 6 September 2019. Retrieved on 22/8/2020. <https://bit.ly/32j2IGT>

31. Mansour Mahmoud. Personal Interview, Al 'Issawiyah, 5/7/2020.

The incursions are a form of provocation, a show of the colonizer's power, a means of terrifying the people of Al-'Issawiyah. Incursions also occur to cover up the military operations carried out in the town by special forces. On July 25, 2020, a video was circulated on social media showing undercover Israeli police dressed in civilian clothing, kidnapping a ten-year-old boy from Al-'Issawiyah.³² The incursion of the town occurring at the time helped to facilitate the action carried out by the police force. The reasons behind incursions vary from facilitating the carrying out of arrest, the issuance of house demolition orders, the implementation of house demolitions, disrupting the education process, imposing fines by the police or the municipality, or any other action the colonial authorities seek to execute.

According to the Haaretz newspaper, a video surfaced in April of 2019, showing a number of Israeli colonial police complaining of the year-round police campaign in Al-'Issawiyah. In the video they also admitted that the purpose of the police's presence is to provoke the people of Al-'Issawiyah and cause more problems³³. This means that the purpose behind the presence of the police and army in Al-'Issawiyah is to provoke problems and enact more violence onto the people of Al-'Issawiyah, as a means of breaking their spirit and practicing control and hegemony against them.

The purpose of intensified incursions of Al-'Issawiyah (where heavy shooting and use of tear gas bombs occur), is to realize Israel's colonial goals through creating horror, putting fear in the hearts of the people of Al-'Issawiyah especially the children and the elderly, and sending the message that the ones with the authority and sovereignty in the town is the Israeli colonial organization. The creation of horror and imposed sovereignty/hegemony has resulted in the silent displacement of some of the people of Al-'Issawiyah, especially those who live there but are not originally from the town. The intensified incursions have become normalized/routine for the town. During the first years of the intensified incursions, the people of Al-'Issawiyah met the occupation with confrontation and resistance. With constant raids over a prolonged period (years), the matter of Israeli police and army conducting raids

in Al-'Issawiyah became routine with efforts by the people to confront them decreasing. Such has assisted in turning Al-'Issawiyah into the "backyard" of the nearby Israeli colonial settlements (i.e. French Hill).

4.2 Expulsion from Al-'Issawiyah: Deportation and Exile Policies

The Israeli colonial authorities adopted a policy of expulsion against the people of Al-'Issawiyah. This policy has been employed against males, females and the elderly, and not just subject to one group of people. It helps to facilitate spaciocide, as it tears families apart through exiling and deporting the mother, father or child from the home, which is an attempt break apart the social structure and undermine from a psychosocial standpoint the social roles of parents and their children.

The occupation authorities forcefully removed Mrs. Ibtisam Obeid (35-year-old mother of three children; Nayef 14, Mohammad 13, and Amira 9) from her home with her husband and children in Al-'Issawiyah, under the pretext of her being illegally present in Jerusalem; as she holds a West Bank ID. Despite numerous previous attempts, efforts to acquire family reunification were rejected. Her case eventually was sent to the Israeli High Court, but was also declined. Obeid described the experience of being taken away from her children, and later resettling in Al Amaari refugee camp in the Ramallah governorate, as a detainment of her children's childhood. Afterwards, the police and army began to come every month, then every two weeks, and every three days, to search the house towards removing her from Al-'Issawiyah and from her two sons and daughter. The incident of removal continues to haunt the family, bringing back memories of fear, horror and the psychological effects of losing their mother and consequent social deprivation.

Obeid went on to describe her life and her family's as difficult; "I was removed from my 12-year-old daughter for six months, and then stayed with her for two or three days, it was then that I found out that

32. Ofer Kesef Page. Retrieved on 25/7/2020. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in the Occupied Territories - OCHA. Retrieved on 10/9/2020. <https://bit.ly/3ltw6lL>

33. Ultra-Palestine. "A video Documenting Israeli Police Complaining from the Campaign against Al 'Issawiyah." Retrieved on 28/9/2020. <https://bit.ly/36fGzgg> The previous source.

she had been involuntarily bed wetting out of fear during my absence. All the children were very sad, they wished their mother could be with them. It was a very difficult time. They [police and army] removed me many times since, once for a month, another time for a week, I am still removed, and if they cease me in Al-'Issawiyah, I will be sentenced to two years in prison. My son spent six months in prison under the pretext of throwing stones, they are always making such accusations. They would come to the house to make sure I am there, they come up with excuses, and they always harass us. My husband and son are unemployed, our situation is difficult, my father-in-law is the one who puts food on the table, as he lives in the same building as we do. If my son or husband wanted to work, they wouldn't be able to because they have ticks [security issues] against them."

Obeid's story illustrates the Israeli colonial policy of removal as a tactic in breaking the spirit of Al-'Issawiyah people through rupturing their social fabric (i.e. dispersion of families, putting parents and children under constant psychological and mental stress, etc.). Obeid's story confirms that the entire family is targeted in Al-'Issawiyah, as the family is central to the strength and steadfastness of the Palestinian community. The pretext of removing a mother due to her lacking a permit or Jerusalemite ID is a colonial pretext; which aims at dismembering the social structure of Al-'Issawiyah and creating family fragility in the town. This is confirmed by the fact that the husband and sons are constantly being arrested, in addition to the continuous harassment of the family. This Israeli policy comes as part of the spaciocide the Palestinian and Jerusalem community is being subjected to, with special emphasis on the town of Al-'Issawiyah.

Removal is not something only a specific or exclusive group is subjected to in Al-'Issawiyah. A young man (a 25 year-old former detainee expelled from Al-'Issawiyah) shared his experience at being expelled; preventative arrest occurred for two or three days, I was arrested on Thursday, and again on Sunday, I spent Saturday and Sunday night without being interrogated, they kept me for 14 hours, he [the interrogator] told me you can go, there is no need to interrogate you. This also occurred when they took

me on Thursday, he told me you can go, and without a trial, I was given an expulsion order for ten days. They gave me the order in January (for three months) to be banished from Al Aqsa mosque, and I have just finished that expulsion period. The intelligence officer called me and told me to come in to see him in a week for an interview, and when I went in to see him, he told me there was a ruling to extend my banishment from Al Aqsa mosque for three months, because I allegedly instigated clashes during my weekly visits for prayer. I was also removed from Al-'Issawiyah for a year for using fireworks and I spent 14 consecutive months under house arrest, from the age of 15 till the age of 16."³⁴ The targeting of youth in Al-'Issawiyah for removal and house arrest is a means of social isolation, for when a young person spends several days away from their family, friends and social environment, this magnifies their feeling of alienation and being outcast.

This is manifested in house arrest for children, as a mean of removal and imprisonment. The settlement colonial policies are experienced by the sons of Al-'Issawiyah when they are a child, felt deeper when they are a youth and then they reap its pain in adulthood. The young man continues his story by saying "I was detained for three and a half years, a police patrol car would come every single day to check whether I was home or not. I spent a year and a half in house arrest. They told me I could leave the house from 6 am till 6 pm during the last two months, after that they ordered me to pay three thousand shekels³⁵. The case against me was that I had thrown stones at army vehicles, two months prior. I had to choose between expulsion and house arrest, and now I am arrested once or twice every week. I am looking for work but I can't find anything. They keep telling me I have a security record, and they can't employ me because of it. I haven't been able to find work since the day I was released. I find small odd jobs, and my siblings support me financially³⁶".

expulsion orders are sometimes accompanied with additional penalties/stipulations, such as abstaining from contacting certain people from one's community. Such was what the Israeli colonial authorities did in the case of former detainee Anwar Sami Obeid. He

34. The previous source.

35. A young man Displaced from Al 'Issawiyah (A.D), Personal Interview, Al 'Issawiyah, 6/7/2020.

36. The shekel is the Israeli currency, which was 3.4 to the dollar at the time of this study.

was given a ruling for his expulsion from the city of Jerusalem for four months, and in an additional ruling he was forbidden from contacting 14 young men from Al-'Issawiyah ."³⁷ This method of removal (and being forbidden from communicating with certain people) has been used by the colonial authority with other Palestinians in the city of Jerusalem as well.

Mohammad Abu Al-Hummus (a 53-year-old former detainee, expelled Jerusalemite activist, and member of the Al-'Issawiyah follow-up committee) narrates his experience of being expelled; "I was expelled four times, the longest period was for three months and ten days. After my sentence ended I went to Bir Al Sabe where I stayed with friends. I then came back, but was expelled from Al Aqsa mosque, I was also expelled from my home during that same time, which lasted for about a month and a half. I was later expelled from Al-'Issawiyah for 15 days, which I spent outside of town. My last expulsion was 19 days long, under the pretext of instigating a young woman to run over some soldiers, but the video showed otherwise. The occupation wants to get rid of me. Part of my resistance was to remain at the entrance of our town. So, I spent those 19 days in my car, where I slept and spent my waking hours. I would use the

bathroom at the gas station and my family would send me food. I had visits from businessmen, from the Minister of Jerusalem Affairs, in addition to other heads of political parties, diplomats, UN officials and the Red Cross. They all came to visit me and they saw my determination, especially given that I had an injury to my foot at the time. The occupation intelligence came to the site and tried to arrest me more than once, but I showed them on their own GPS (their program gave a reading just like mine) and he gave me back my ID card. But he then told me you know you could go anywhere you want and enjoy yourself, you could go to Tel Aviv, Jaffa, Eilat, why do you stay here? I told him I'm not tired, I'm glad, in the morning I eat hummus, beans and fried tomatoes, in the afternoon they bring me mansaf, mosakhan, maybe

you are provoked by the sight of maqlouba? We have become accustomed to seeing that being cooked for those who are expelled, and I am expelled. That was my political message".³⁸ Abu Al-Hummus transformed his removal from a punishment, to a struggle and method of resistance, through his steadfastness at the borders of the town. Even eating delicious food and appearing to be enjoying himself, as a form of resistance as it upset the colonial occupation off who were the ones who had him removed. This message, the bond between Al-'Issawiyah and its people and their refusal to depart it, was evident through the various interviews held and field observations made. It should be mentioned that expulsion is framed in legal terms by the colonial authorities so that the removed person would appear as someone who had broken the law (committed and illegal act or lacked the needed legal status) and garnered legitimate pretexts as per colonial law.

4.3 House Arrests: Collective Punishment Policies

The colonial authorities have used house arrest or detention of children and youth in Al-'Issawiyah as a form of collective punishment against their families. For the child, it confuses their life and prevents them from carrying out their daily routines that include education, work, etc. For the parents, they are transformed by the house arrest policy into an authority overseeing their child, as they are the ones whom have to monitor and punish their child and socially control them. Thus putting the family in a state of constant paranoia and being on the lookout.

Mansour Mahmoud spoke about his experience of being under house arrest; "I am now under house arrest; my latest arrest was the day before yesterday. Friday, they [the army] said that I threw stones last month and lit fireworks. I brought them proof that

37. The previous source

38. "Al 'Issawiyah - the occupation deported an x-prisoner from Jerusalem and imposed house arrest on 3 young men." Wadi Hilweh Information Center. July 9, 2020. Retrieved on 24/8/2020. <https://bit.ly/2FJkhID>.

I work from 6 am through 1 am the next night (as I am a truck driver and also work at a car wash and don't have any days off), but they still gave me house arrest. My uncle came with me and confirmed that I work with him (from 6 am to 1 am) and asked on what grounds I was being placed under house arrest. That only served to reduce my sentence by 5 days".³⁹

While conducting an interview with a supermarket owner in Al-'Issawiyah, a child came in to buy some candy, the owner asked the child about when he had been released, to which the child said yesterday (he had been under house arrest for a week). The child was younger than 12 years old. The supermarket owner told the child to hurry home so that the police don't come and see him out and issue the boy a fine.⁴⁰ That incident served to depict how house arrest has turned the social surroundings into means of monitoring the arrested child. A short interview was held with a child who had come out of prison a few days prior and was currently under house arrest. His confusion and restlessness were immediately noticeable and when asked about how he felt during his house arrest, he replied; "being detained in a prison is easier than house arrest".⁴¹ The Israeli colonial authorities also imposed 4-month night-house-arrest for Mohamad Ismat Obeid, Mohamad Ayman Obeid, and Yousef Ali Al-Kisawani from the town of Al-'Issawiyah.⁴²

It is worth noting that the house arrest policy has contributed to the transformation of quite a few houses and apartments in Al-'Issawiyah into detention centers. In so doing, the colonial authorities are committing double punishment (against the child and their family) as the policy turns the family into prison guard; relinquishing the colonial authority from the trouble of performing direct punishment. And should the child break from house arrest, the family will additionally endure fines being imposed on them. This policy also creates a pretext for the military colonial forces to "visit" the home to follow-up the execution of the house arrest. The aim of this policy is to transform the fam-

ily into a force against the children and youth, and minimizing interaction with Israeli colonial forces.

4.4 Arrests: Punishment and Surveillance Policies

The town of Al-'Issawiyah has been subjected to continuous incursions for the purpose of conducting arrests. Reports and interviews have shown that there is a significant increase in the percentage of arrests in Al-'Issawiyah when compared to other Jerusalemite villages and towns. The number of those arrested from Al-'Issawiyah amount to half the total arrests for the entirety of Jerusalem (as per Palestinian institutions focused on detainees); confirming there is an Israeli colonial policy aimed at enacting colonial violence against Al-'Issawiyah and punish its people.

A young man (who prefers to remain anonymous) from Al-'Issawiyah described his experience of being arrested on and off since he was 14 years old; "the duration of the arrests would be a day, two days, three, a week. When I turned 16 and a half the Shabak (Israeli intelligence) arrested me for 3 years, the charge was that I was affiliated to the Popular Front party, I was in tenth grade at the time. When it was time to conduct my Tawjihi (12th grade exam) exams, I passed while inside [in prison]. After I was released, I was rearrested once a month, twice a month. When anything happened in town, they would take me preventatively.⁴³ The young man's story depicts how certain people are targeted as a means of disrupting children and youth's future through disrupting their education (through the numerous arrests) and later their ability to acquire employment (due to the security file the colonial authority has stacked against them).

A video of undercover Israeli police wearing civilian clothing was posted on social media on July 25, 2020 as they were kidnapping a ten-year-old

39. Mohammad Abu Al-Hummus, Personal Interview, Al 'Issawiyah, 7/8/2020.

40. Mansour Mahmoud. Personal Interview, Al 'Issawiyah, 5/7/2020.

41. Observing through participation, 19/7/2020

42. Conversation with a 13-year-old child, near his home, 7/7/2020

43. "Al 'Issawiyah - the occupation deported an x-prisoner from Jerusalem and imposed house arrest on 3 young men." Wadi Hilweh Information Center. July 9, 2020. Retrieved on 24/8/2020. <https://bit.ly/2FJkHID>.

boy from Al-'Issawiyah.⁴⁴ This incident depicts how fear and chaos are manufactured, and the sovereignty of the colonizer is imposed. This mirrors the conclusion Ahmad Al Aghwani reached in his study of undercover Israeli forces disguised as Arabs (mistaaribin), where he concluded that the aim of mistaaribin is control and subjection.⁴⁵ This phenomenon of kidnapping children and youth is perpetrated in Al-'Issawiyah by the mistaaribin a means of squashing the community's patriotic spirit.

Mansour Mahmoud also shared his experience with recurring arrests, saying; "I was arrested when I was about 12 years old, I think I was in the eighth grade and was arrested for one week. A year later I was arrested and was sentenced to ten months in prison. After that I struggled to go back to school. I was arrested again and spent a year and a half in prison. After my release, more arrests followed; a year, another year, and a year and a half. The charge was always ready, throwing stones, demonstrations and hitting the police. In Al-'Issawiyah it's not just me, all the youth my age, those younger, and even older have all undergone arrests. Almost all the youth of Al-'Issawiyah have been arrested, they [the army] don't differentiate between young and old, arrests are arbitrary. Part of the reason behind it is to scare children, but they don't know this increase our hate towards the occupation and only serves to break the fear barrier. My brother is sentenced to seven years, he has a year and a half left, his name is Ali Mahmoud he's 24 and is younger than me".⁴⁶

Samer Sulaiman (45-year-old man whose family was subjected to several violations) spoke about the arrest of his eldest son; "he was arrested for two years during the campaign against Al-'Issawiyah. They [the army] would put you in prison in any way. He was 14 years old when he went to prison. He spent two months in the hospital for severe anemia. They threw him in Al Afouleh hospital. The boy

didn't have any medical problems before hand, now has leukemia. His blood count became 6, I spent two months going back and forth to treat him. The boys of Al-'Issawiyah are targeted.⁴⁷ Sulaiman's testimony gives further insight into the aim of arrests being to break the will of Al-'Issawiyah and its youth and to turn the area in to a complacent community (like many other areas of Jerusalem) where the Israelis can go in and out of without any clashes.

A report (by a group of institutions focused on detainees) depicted the reality of arrests in Al-'Issawiyah stating; "The occupation authorities continued with dense arrest campaigns against the Jerusalemites while subjecting them to all kinds of punishment and methodological violence procedures all aimed at damaging the social structure of Jerusalem and undermining any attempt of developing the Jerusalemite community; while persisting with efforts to Judaize the City and threaten Palestinian presence therein. Wadi Hilweh center for information in Silwan published an analysis of arrests conducted between January-June of 2020. The analysis indicated that arrests were primarily focused in Al-'Issawiyah, with 450 arrests recorded in the town (as compared to 330 arrests in the Old City of Jerusalem/ Al Aqsa and its pathways and 200 in Silwan)⁴⁸." The arrests in Al-'Issawiyah amount to nearly half of the overall number of arrests in Jerusalem during the first half of 2020. Indeed, it is the town where most arrests occur, confirming that the town, its people, and youth are targeted.

Fida Al Rowaidi (a researcher at Wadi Hilweh-Silwan Center) reported that the number of those arrested in Al-'Issawiyah during the period between 2015-2019 amounted to 2,323 arrests (315 arrests in 2015, 377 arrests in 2016, 383 arrests in 2017, 473 arrests in 2018, and 775 arrests in 2019); the highest arrests (for the years 2018 and 2019) in the entirety of Jerusalem⁴⁹. The statistics indicate a rise

44. Ofer Kesef Page. Retrieved on 25/7/2020. <https://www.facebook.com/ofercass/videos/291459768849117/?t=15>

45. "Understanding the Arabists phenomenon and their practices, cannot be in isolation from understanding the ongoing Zionist settler colonialism of Palestine. Ahmad Al-Aghwani. *Zionism and the Violence of Chaos: Orientalism, Settler Colonialism and Undercover (Arabists)*. Birzeit: Birzeit University (Unpublished Master's Thesis). 2018.

46. Mansour Mahmoud.

47. Samer Suleiman. Personal Interview, Al 'Issawiyah, 7/17/2020.

48. Prisoners' Institutions: the occupation arrested (2330) Palestinians in the first half of 2020. Unpublished Copy of the Report.

49. Fida' Ruwaidi, Phone Interview, Jerusalem, 10/14/2020.

in the number of arrests by the Israeli colonial campaign in Al-'Issawiyah during the years 2017-2020. Arrest indicators are linked to other colonial practices such as incursions, home demolitions, police raids, writing out tickets and other practices that eventually lead to random and numerous arrests.

A massive arrests campaign was carried out in Al-'Issawiyah on August 19, 2020, during which the colonial authorities (intelligence units and special forces) raided several homes in town arresting 9 people in one night (i.e. Mohammad Walid Elyan, Mohamad Marwan Obeid, Mahmoud Shafiq Obeid, Mahmoud Mousa Dirbas, Mohamad Ghadib Obeid, Wadi' Elyan, Motasam Obeid, among others⁵⁰). Some of those arrested were put under house arrest as a punitive measure.

The monthly report of Wadi Hilweh for July 2020 indicated their "documentation of 201 arrests by the occupation authorities' through arrest campaigns across the city of Jerusalem, with the town of Al-'Issawiyah recording the highest number of arrests".⁵¹ Many names, indicators and colonial behavior can be observed in the targeting of Al-'Issawiyah and its people through the massive arrests the town is subjected to.

Michel Foucault stated that prison as an institution of incarceration aims to place the body under constant surveillance, and the surveillance system secures knowledge about these bodies and their communities. Prison is a crushing tool in the service of the state and the institution of incarceration works on making the punitive authority obvious and legitimate.⁵² Incarceration represents, according to Foucault, a disciplinary tool practiced by the authority on humans. When borrowing from Foucault in analyzing the incarceration policy targeting Al-'Issawiyah, it becomes evident that there is an Israeli obsession with exerting its authority and its tools on Al-'Issawiyah and its people. The recurring arrests aim to practice

a state of constant surveillance of the people of the town, as well as, to make the people feel it and allow for their ongoing punishment. Arrests and imprisonment fulfill the colonial goal of erasing and crushing the body of the person arrested from Al-'Issawiyah, socially psychologically, and physically if possible.

4.5 A Psychological War to Break the Palestinian Identity

The town of Al-'Issawiyah suffers from a number of violations which escalated after twenty-year-old Mohammad Samir was killed on June 26, 2019. Some of the violations and violence which ensued (i.e. breaking into homes, conducting barbaric/illegal searches, subjecting the citizens of Al-'Issawiyah to torture and suffering on their way in and out of the town, deliberate and very expensive parking tickets, etc.) served as a means for the colonial authorities to practice collective punishment towards pushing residents into leaving their lands and properties, to the benefit of colonial expansion⁵³. These Israeli colonial practices come as part of a framework to humiliate the people of Al-'Issawiyah and bring them to their knees, wage a psychological war against them in parallel with the physical violent war (as represented in arrests, removal, home demolitions, withholding of the corpses of those killed, etc.).

Mahmoud Mansour expressed; "the police and army come into the town, they provoke the youth, there are videos that prove this provocation. They begin to throw gas, they harass the youth, write out unnecessary fines, for example someone would be sitting in front of their home and they'd write him a ticket for not wearing a mask, if someone wants to move their car they'd write him a ticket for not wearing a seat belt, many unnecessary fines. They

50. "Arrests from Al-Al 'Isawiya and Al-Aqsa Mosque." Wadi Hilweh Information Center. August 19, 2020. Retrieved on 24/8//2020. <https://bit.ly/2CT6CO7>

51. "July - Continued Arrests, Targeting Jerusalemite Institutions, and Escalation of Demolitions". Wadi Hilweh Information Center, August 9, 2020. Retrieved on 24/8/2020. <https://bit.ly/3j9kTWp>

52. Michel Foucault. Control and Punishment: The Birth of Prison. Translated by Ali Muqalled. Revision and Introduction by Motaa' As- Safadi. Beirut: National Development Center. 1990: 296-297.

53. "Al-'Issawiyah. Jerusalemite Resilience and thorn in the occupation throat." Al-Ayyam, 17/7/2019, p. 3.

want to make the people of Al-'Issawiyah pay.⁵⁴ A thirty-year-old businessman from Al-'Issawiyah, said; "I fear for my siblings to go play in the town's playground, I fear they'd be arrested or a rubber bullet may hit them. They're eight and six years old. Our parents haven't felt secure these last two years, and ever since then it's only been daily provocations."⁵⁵

A 50-year-old businessman and supermarket owner expressed feelings of underservice as a Jerusalemite; "we have rights and obligations, but we completely lack general services as compared to other areas like the French Hill. we have no sidewalks or parking lots; a person who parks their car on the side of the road would be closing off the street. The Israeli army controls the electricity. When the army raids the town, they cut off the power. There's also something wrong with the landlines and the internet is weak. The people of Al-'Issawiyah suffer due to negligence in services. We pay Arnona (property tax) and a services tax, where are our rights? For example, when we go to a medical institution we'd be overlooked under the pretext of one's turn and delays."⁵⁶ Such reflects the colonial authorities' working in accordance to terror and hegemony policies in regards to people of Al-'Issawiyah, withholding services from them and neglecting development in spite of the people paying taxes. This policy aims to get the people of Al-'Issawiyah to reach a breaking point where the opt to leave their town to live elsewhere. Moreover, such amounts to financial exploitation where the people of Al-'Issawiyah, and Jerusalemites as a whole, pay burdensome taxation without enjoying real services from the colonial authority.

Targeting of Al-'Issawiyah has been heightened since the beginning of 2020, as observed by the Palestinian Prisoner Club; "the occupation authorities continued to target the people of Al-'Issawiyah through daily incursions and setting up spot checkpoints inside the neighborhoods and streets of the town, issuing fines, searching cars and buses, subject-

ing the youth to physical searches, recurring house and shop raids, and search and arrest missions. The occupation authorities also imposed house arrest for several days, night house arrests, or removal from Al-'Issawiyah against tens of the town's youth, in addition to imposing cash bails for their release. The terror campaign escalated towards the end of March with the start of the Corona pandemic, despite the need for preventive procedures. Daily incursions, especially during the night and arrests persists without taking even the slightest measures of caution".⁵⁷

The colonial authorities have also practiced a fascist colonial policy against the families of victims through the withholding of the corpses of those killed during raids/violence. This policy is considered a form of collective punishment, according to the international conventions. Salwa Hammad, the Coordinator of the National Campaign for the Retrieval of War Victims' Remains, stipulated that the Israeli authorities have detained four corpses (belonging to the victims; Fadi Aloon, Huda Sharawi, Mohamad Khader Obeid, Foudai Al Tamimi) from Al-'Issawiyah since 2015, and later returned them to their families after having been withheld for varying lengths of time.⁵⁸

The Israeli colonial authorities are subjecting Al-'Issawiyah to an aggressive war in parallel to a psychological war and practicing the policy of terror against its people, for the purpose of bringing them to their knees and humiliating them so as to break their collective spirit. Psychosocially, the people of Al-'Issawiyah are collectively connected to the Palestinian identity, as elaborated on by Benedict Anderson in his discussion on imagined communities⁵⁹. The people of Al-'Issawiyah have a connection to the land and a belonging to Jerusalem and Palestine, a collective feeling that they are a part of the Palestinian people. This is evident through their practices of solidarity, resistance and steadfastness in Jerusalem. As a part of the Palestinian people most vigilantly practicing this identity, the people

54. Mansour Mahmoud. Personal Interview, Al-'Issawiyah, 5/7/2020

55. Young Merchant, Personal Interview, Al-'Issawiyah, 7/19/2020.

56. Supermarket owner merchant, Personal Interview, Al-'Issawiyah, 7/19/2020.

57. Prisoners' Institutions: the occupation arrested (2330) Palestinians / in the first half of 2020. Unpublished Copy of the Report, Previous Source.

58. Salwa Hammad, Phone Interview, Ramallah, 10/14/2020.

59. Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Scholars: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. I 2. Presentation by Azmi Bishara. Translated by Thaer Theeb. Beirut: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2017.

of Al-'Issawiyah are perceived as a nuisance to the colonial authorities and thus penalized financial and psychological in the hopes of eradicating this spirit.

4.6 The Indirect Displacement Policy

Colonial policies from arrests, repeated summons, incursions and other policies all serve to facilitate the larger aim of “more land, fewer Arabs.”⁶⁰ The colonial Israeli mentality and logic is premised on the displacement of the people (through various means and methods), acquiring the largest expanse of lands possible; the definition of Sari Hanafi’s mentioned “spaciocide” (acquiring as much Palestinian land with the least amount of Palestinian residents as possible).

Mansour Mahmoud discussed the reason behind his recurring arrests “they want to wear me down, they want me to leave my town and home, leave Al-'Issawiyah. I do not know what their goal is. I've sat with the officer of the town many times; his name is Salim and the other one's name is Eli. I told him that you arrest me every month, sit me in prison for three to four days, I'd like to see evidence just once. But he doesn't care what I say. He just says if you don't want to go to prison then leave the town, go live outside Al-'Issawiyah.”⁶¹

More to this affect, Mahmoud stated that there a large number of residents which have left Al-'Issawiyah due to the persistent clashes in town. “I helped them when I was working as a truck driver, I helped them move their things. When I'd ask them why are you leaving, they'd say it's because of the tear gas and the rubber bullets, we fear for our children.”⁶² Such is evident of the colonial attacks' (i.e. incursions and hard colonial violence as shooting bullets, tear gas, sound bombs, etc.) facil-

itating a silent displacement process or an indirect displacement policy for a number of residents in Al-'Issawiyah. As they left explicitly in search of a new place of residence free of colonial violence, as is being directed at the people of Al-'Issawiyah.

Mahmoud continues “we in the Al-'Issawiyah, are targeted, I feel like that they want us to leave from here, they want to kick us out. They consider Al-'Issawiyah to be the village that resists the most and stands up to them. Many youths stand up to them. They want to make people leave. Many times, the question of where are you going with this was asked to the officer in charge of Al-'Issawiyah. He has said that he wants to reach a point where when the army can come into the town without a single stone being thrown. But how are they entering the town? While beating people, throwing tear gas? Children have no place to play, no parks or playgrounds. And when they see the occupation coming for their family, their mother, of course they will throw stones”.⁶³

Push factors facilitating displacement are not limited to the issuance of fines, closures, arrests, recurrent colonial attacks, but also include psychosocially inducing fear by the families of Al-'Issawiyah over their children. Families consider leaving in search of new residents in other Jerusalem towns or even outside Jerusalem (risking their Jerusalem ID) for the sake of their children's wellbeing. Samer Suleiman shed light on children's suffering by saying “there's nothing for the children of Al-'Issawiyah to do, no good schools, no public spaces, no playgrounds. There is nothing except rubble and daily problems.”⁶⁴ The Israeli colonial policy is trying to drown Al-'Issawiyah in problems and deny any services, while launching campaigns of violence, oppression, and arrests along with a psychological war; in an aim of displacing as many people from Al-'Issawiyah as possible.

60. Nour Ad-Din Masalha. *More Land and Less Arabs: The Israeli Transfer Policy in Implementation 1949 - 1996*. Edition 2. Beirut: The Institute for Palestine Studies. 2002.

61. Mansour Mahmoud.

62. The previous source.

63. The previous source.

64. Samer Suleiman.

4.7 Targeting the Eyes of Al-'Issawiyah's Children

A young businessman from Al-'Issawiyah pointed out that the army and police arrested a group of children coming home from school, and one 9-year-old was injured. The child had been shot in the eye with a bullet, losing his eye in the process. Others include; the freed youth detainee who had lost an eye due to being shot with a rubber bullet, the woman from the Rajab family who was standing on her balcony and was shot with a rubber bullet to her eye (also losing her eye), Khalil Mahmoud who was shot with live ammunition in the head and is now hemiplegic, the list goes on.⁶⁵ Information gathered points towards a trend of targeting the eye, through rubber bullets and sometimes live ammunition. The targets include several groups; children, youth and women, with children comprising the highest percentage of eye injuries in Al-'Issawiyah. Wadi' Awawdeh noted that the citizen's rights society specifically demanded that the Israeli police stop targeting the eyes of the Palestinians, after 12 Jerusalemites, 7 of whom were children, were injured in 2014⁶⁶. The citizen's rights society addressed the Israeli government's judicial advisor, Yhuda Feinstein, demanding he immediately investigate the use of black sponge-tipped bullets in East Jerusalem. In her letter, attorney Anne Sotetchio illustrated that "The police began in 2014 heavily use black sponge-tipped bullets on a large scale for the dispersion of demonstrations all over East Jerusalem, which lead to many serious physical injuries and in some cases death. The letter mentioned Mohammad Sonoqrot, a boy who died due to an injury he sustained in Wadi Al Joz from a black sponge-tipped bullet to the head. She also attached ten statements she collected (from the citizen's rights society) of serious injuries sustained due to the black sponge-tipped bullets, three of those cases involved minors whom all had partial or complete loss of sight due to direct injury in the head".⁶⁷

Saleh Suleiman (a 17-year-old child injured in the eye) shares his experience of having been shot in the eye when he was 10; "it was November 13, 2014, I was on my way to school and there were clashes and closures in Al-'Issawiyah. The road was closed, and no teachers had made it to school. I went home, my mother sent me at noon to buy a few things. A policeman saw me and shot the first rubber bullet but it didn't hit me. I began to run away, and he shot the second bullet and it hit me in my eye. I don't know how long I stayed in the hospital. But my right eye was severely damaged and I lost it, and I can barely see with my left eye⁶⁸." Saleh's experience exemplifies the targeting of children and their eyes and how the injury was not coincidental as the colonial institution works on the erasure of the Palestinian body. If not the entire body, then the targeting of the eye and eliminating (erasing) it.

That injury had multiple levels of impact on Saleh; medically, psychologically, socially and educationally. He continued, saying how his life changed due to the injury; "before, I went to school without having a chaperone or having to go to a special class. I used to see the chalk board. I used to go to the playground. I could be exposed to the sun normally. After the injury, however, I don't go to the playground. I am not allowed to be under the sun and someone always has to be with me. I can't see the chalk board. Before the injury I was a normal person. I felt like a human. Now I feel like I am a different human. A person who lost their eye. What can they do? I have hearing and sight problems and I see a therapist. When I see myself different, in every way I am affected. You could be asleep in Al-'Issawiyah and wake to the sound of tear gas bombs, Molotov and shots. I live in a town with constant sounds of gas bombs and screams."⁶⁹

The targeting of Saleh's eye is a targeting of the Palestinian body, it is a part of the physical and social erasure, creating constant suffering in the individual Palestinian body (Saleh) and the collective (Saleh's family). Samer Sulaiman, Saleh's father, described the individual and collective suffering in Al-'Issawi-

65. Mansour Mahmoud.

66. Wadih Awawdeh. "Israel Spoils the Eyes of the Jerusalemites by Sponge Bullets." Al Jazeera. 20/7/2015, retrieved 9/10/2020. <https://bit.ly/2FjbgX6>

67. Association for Civilians Rights in Israel. "Formulating the Orders on the Use of Deadly Weapons!" 5/2/2015. Retrieved on 9/10/2020. <https://law.acri.org.il/ar/?p=4520>

68. Saleh Sulaiman, Personal Interview, Al-'Issawiyah, 7/17/2020.

69. The previous source.

yah; “suffering is difficult, it is difficult for the entire town not just for me. I have dedicated my time for the treatment of my son since 2014. Between treatments for his eye, plastic surgeries, a psychiatrist, it is just an ongoing process. I’ve been overseeing the treatment of my son for six years. The doctors told me of the possibility of him losing his sight completely. We transferred him to a special school, for the blind who cannot hear. Regarding the injuries in Al-’Issawiyah, there are 16 other children who suffer the same problems as Saleh, they have mental issues, loss of eyes or impairments, there’s even a woman who has multiple children affected by these violations” .⁷⁰

A report by Wadi Hilweh Center documents the targeting of another child’s eye from Al-’Issawiyah;

Malik Wael Issa (8 years old) whom lost his left eye after it was hit by a rubber bullet while he was on his way home from school with his sisters. They were stepping out of a grocery store where they had bought some candy. Malik sustained fractures to the skull, a brain hemorrhage and lost a lot of fluids from surround tissue. He stayed in the hospital in critical condition for several weeks, and four follow-up surgeries, the latest of which was to remove his left eye out of fear that it may damage his right one. Mohammad Abu Al-Hummus commented on the rise in the number of injuries to the eyes in Al-’Issawiyah which has reached nearly 15. He expressed that occupation soldiers are being trained how to use their riffles in Al-’Issawiyah, as evident of most injuries being in the same place (left or right eye)⁷¹



Malik Issa in his home after leaving hospital (source: Al Jazeera)

70. Samer Suleiman.

71. Aseel Jundi. “Malek Issa ... the Child of Al -’Issawiyah who Lost his Eye by the occupation.” Al-Jazeera. 24/2/2020. Retrieved on 25/8/2020. <https://bit.ly/2Qivzks>.

Amani, the mother of Nour Al Deen Mostafa, who was subjected to a similar attack and lost his left eye two and a half years ago, says her son “hasn’t accepted his injury, but he has to live with it. He had to stop going to school and practicing boxing, due to the danger it imposes on his healthy eye. She adds that her son sees a psychiatrist every week, and continuously sees eye, ear, nose, and throat doctors due to the additional damage sustained to his nose causing him to lose most of his sense of smell”.⁷²

It can be indicated that the targeting of the eye is part of the colonial erasure policies, as losing the eye

or sustaining damages to it has health consequences on the other organs of the body, as well as the psychological impact caused to the injured person and resulting handicaps. The policy of Israeli intelligence officers to direct the army and police to target Palestinians’ eyes and knees (as to render them helpless) has been followed by Palestinian journalists⁷³ Injuries to the eye leave psychological, social and learning traumas and impairments upon the injured child. Additionally, there is also pain and a burden the child’s family must carry due to the psychosocial and health circumstances surrounding their child’s injury.

72. The previous source.

73. Maan News Agency. «The occupation Targets the Eyes of Palestinian Children.» 26/12/2017. Retrieved on 9/10/2020. <https://www.maannews.net/news/934374.html>.

4.8 Absence of a Structural Map: Ethnic Engineering Policies



The suggested structural map of Al-Issawiyyah ⁷⁴

74. This map was published on Bimkom's website. Mohammad Abu Al-Hummus.

Mohammad Abu Al-Hummus estimated the land area of Al-'Issawiyah prior to 1967 to be nearly 12,500 dunums, reaching Al Khan Al Ahmar and bordering with Al Tor and Eizaria, with Anata to the northern east and Shufat to the north west, the depopulated village of Lifta to the west. The south is closed off by the Hebrew University and Hadassah Hospital settlements. What remains today is approximately 2,300 dunums. Of this amount, the Al-'Issawiyah's structural plan is based on just 630 dunums. The people of the town have long demanded that the structural plan be expanded, with some community members working with an Israeli planning organization in an attempt to expand the structural plan. He explained; "we worked with Bimkom on a plan and accomplished %95 of it, expanding the allotted area from 630 to 1,300 dunums. After that, we were stopped by Nir Barkat, the mayor of Jerusalem, and the plan has since been frozen for ten years. They tried to take the southern east side of the town's land approximately 460 dunums (120 dunums of which belongs to Al Tor town) to establish a national park. We stood up to them, we and some youth from the town held sit-ins every Friday for 13 months until we stopped the case of the national park in court. The Israeli authorities tried to go around the ruling with the help of the occupation municipality and its mayor Nir Barkat by saying that this land was abandoned and that they want to rehabilitate it, but there were several land owners whom had planted olive trees and orchids in that area, proving the land was not undeveloped. We were able to prove all this and the court ruled to give Al-'Issawiyah and Al Tor people their land. They tried to turn the northern west area into a landfill for solid waste on the lands of Al-'Issawiyah, but we stood up to them again. The negative impacts facing the settlement of the French Hill and the hospital of Hadassah was also mentioned which aided in being granted a favorable ruling".⁷⁵

Abu Al-Hummus continued to discuss the matter of Al-'Issawiyah lands; "we used to say there are 2,300 dunums left of these lands after the Annexation wall was built, and the land allotted for development was 1,050 dunums; now under threat of being confiscat-

ed. An agreement had been reached with the "Ministry of Defense" and the municipality that a buffer of 40 aerial meters must be maintained from the construction (the "wall") and the street, but the number has gone back to 100 aerial meters; rendering those buildings in that range (though having been there for years) now illegal and under the threat of demolition. Of Al-'Issawiyah's remaining 1,500 dunums, 1,050 dunums are already built up; leaving little left for use. Back when Ariel Sharon was the Minister of Defense, he and the Mayor of Jerusalem along with other settlers had an ambition of creating a project for the youth of the French Hill involving the expulsion of the Bedouin families from the southern lands situated near the Shufat refugee camp. These lands have been inhabited by Bedouins for the last 50 years, and the army has been trying to expel them ever since. The bridge that connected Malee Adumim settlement and the project on Al-'Issawiyah and Al Tor lands is termed the E1 project. Work has since begun and once completed will come to sever the contiguity between the north and south of the West Bank. There are two military bases on Al-'Issawiyah lands for the occupation army, the Israeli Civil Administration with the E1 project being implemented on the lands of Al-'Issawiyah and stretching to the borders or Ramallah and Beitunia, there is also the Civil Administration, the E1 project. The people of the West Bank will not be able to move from Eizaria like they do today; a person would have to leave Eizaria from Al Zayam to Al-'Issawiyah to Anata, Al Ram, Mokhmas, Jabaa to go to Jericho. The lands of Al-'Issawiyah do not have a structural plan, and the amount of lands the people of Al-'Issawiyah use is no more than 3% of its original lands (amounting to 1,400 dunums) utilize by the people, half of which, however are illegal. We are allowed to use about 15% of the lands at hand, and are denied use/access of the rest".⁷⁶

A study published by an Israeli organization focused on human rights in the occupied territory (B'Tselem) indicated that over 90% of Al-'Issawiyah's lands have been confiscated.⁷⁷ Hani Al Eisawi shared his perspective on the structural plan of Al-'Issawiyah; "there does exist a structural plan in

75. Mohammad Abu Al-Hummus.

76. The previous source.

77. Iyal Hara'veni. Here is Jerusalem: Looting and Violence in Al 'Isawiya. D.M: B'Tselem. 2020.

Al-'Issawiyah, prepared by the occupation municipality without regard the residents' best interests. It was finalized and presented to the town in the early 90s. The plan only encompassed 666 dunums of what is left of Al-'Issawiyah's land for use by its people. It solely included the area already used for construction and did not meet the existing needs of the residents at the time. The population back then was 8,000 persons; while currently that number sits at approximately 22,000 persons (living on the same land area detailed in that structural plan). Confiscations and the confined structural plan have resulted in increased demolition orders and fines/tickets being issued. Currently, the town has twice the number of structures permitted by the structural plan; with many of the structures situated outside of the plan's bounds and hence considered "illegal" and even having demolition order issued against them. The residents have gone to court in an attempt to reduce the demolition orders down to fines (by postponing the demolition orders long enough to try and acquire a permit). However, the absence of a structural plan deems the permit impossible, forcing the building owner to continue paying fines and tickets that cost much more than the permit.⁷⁸

Not having a structural plan has penalized the people of Al-'Issawiyah, as the infrastructure that was built with 8,000 in mind is no longer suitable for the service of 22,000 citizens. Such has led to dense construction, lack of green space and parks, sprawl in construction. Structural plans are to designate some lands for construction, some as green (no construction allowed) or brown (lands for public institutions such as schools), but this all was lost in the chaos of building without a structural plan. Rather, all areas have turned congested and overcrowded. The structural plan was set up to support 1,800 planned and licensed buildings. A group of people from Al-'Issawiyah tried to expand the plan in 2004 and to organize the possibility of building. The municipality claimed there was no budget, so we created one with the Right to Build Society. After four years of constant work towards preparing a structural plan that meets the needs of the town, we were surprised by the

stance of the municipality of it rejecting the plan, as it was not according to the standards of the Jerusalem 2020 plan (that the municipality set for Jerusalem aimed at limiting the expansion of the Arab neighborhoods in the City). The pretext of its rejection was that the specified area for expansion in Al-'Issawiyah (in the 2020 plan) was less than what was available for constructing; keeping in mind it was set according to an assessment plan by an Israeli company (Yeadim) the municipality hires for studying Jerusalem area planning needs. According to this study, the envisioned plans were set and approved by the specialized departments in the occupation's municipality. In 2016, the municipality announced a tender for Al-'Issawiyah to create a plan. The planners began to expand the current plan, but it faltered under the pretext of not having enough existing budget; although it was ready to be presented to the specialized local and district committees in the municipality. Of course, the municipality specified the broad-lines for expansion: according to the study, the number of residential units capable of being supported by the original plan was 1,800 residential units while this plan was capable of 4,200 residential units in Al-'Issawiyah (twice of that which is "legitimate").⁷⁹

Nir Hassoun in his article in Haaretz (published October 6, 2020) indicated that the municipality of Jerusalem approved the structural plan of Al-'Issawiyah after 30 years of the town not having one. This plan allows for the already built homes to acquire a permit after having been built without one, especially the homes that are within the borders of the structural map of the town. However, the people of the town complain that the plan does fails to meet future needs as it solely serves to organize a limited area of the town of Al-'Issawiyah.⁸⁰ Hani Al Eisawi warned (in an interview he gave Al Quds newspaper) of the dangers of the plan as it does not allow the town's borders to expand due to the settler park on the foothills of Al Masharef mountain. The park stands between the people of Al-'Issawiyah and their lands behind the Annexation Wall, denying them the ability to farming their lands.

78. Hani Al Eisawi.

79. The previous source.

80. Nir Hassoun. "Jerusalem approves plan that would legalize homes in Palestinian neighborhood". Haaretz. Oct. 6, 2020. <https://bit.ly/3lrtlMu>.

The plan also does not take into consideration natural growth rates. The plan should be on 1,350 dunums, but the approved plan does not exceed 1,072 dunums. Moreover, it prevents construction on 94 of the approved dunums as they are adjacent to road number one; another means of denying the possibility of expansion in Al-'Issawiyah. The structural plan legitimizes granting permits to 50% of the already existing buildings that were built without approval, which comprises around 140 homes. The plan does not include the lands of Al-'Issawiyah that are behind the wall which amount to 10,500 dunums.⁸¹ What can be understood from Al-'Issawiyah is that the approved structural plan is clearly considered a hegemony plan. These attempts of hegemony continue against Al-'Issawiyah, in an effort to control and cleanse it completely through colonial legal tools such as the structural plan.

The occupation municipality hung several eviction notices on dozens of dunums in the town of Al-'Issawiyah under the pretext of them "belonging to the state of Israel". Hani Al Eisawi said "the occupation authorities hung eviction notices this morning on lands that were confiscated after the occupation of Jerusalem, some of these lands were given to Hadassah Hospital, where special facilities and parking lots were built, and some lands were given for the benefit of expanding the French Hill settlement, with the land owners denied the right to use what remains of their lands."⁸²

The absence of the structural plan, in addition to the hegemony of the municipality of Jerusalem over the structural plan, without taking into consideration the town's needs, have led to a several crises in Al-'Issawiyah. This crisis involves random unorganized construction, the lack of suitable infrastructure such as roads and sidewalks, crowded neighborhoods, unhygienic living conditions, traffic jams, demolition of homes, large sums in fines and building violations (considered illegal due to the absence of the structural plan for the town). The absence of a plan for

Al-'Issawiyah is considered to be part of the hegemony practiced by the Israeli colonial authority; as planning, in the case of Israel, is among its utilized settler colonial tools, like the police or the army. Hegemony planning aims to realize a central colonial goal which is spaciocide. And when the structural plan was approved after being absent for 30 years, the people of Al-'Issawiyah rejected it as it did not meet their needs nor the population's natural growth rate. The plan does however, legitimize and legalize the confiscation of Al-'Issawiyah lands for the sake of the settlement park. Thus, pillaging a larger expanse of Al-'Issawiyah lands behind the Annexation Wall.

4.9 Creating the Ghetto: The Enclosure Policies

"The colonial authorities have worked on turning Al-'Issawiyah into an authentic ghetto"; expresses Khaled Al Reshq (30 years old, employed in a lawyer's office in Al-'Issawiyah). Al Reshq went on; "Al-'Issawiyah has four entrances, two of which are closed. The entrance by the Hebrew University is closed though it's a strategic entrance. They are trying to separate it from Jerusalem and for it to have less contact with the Jewish areas. Its eastern entrance is also closed, which was originally very close to the French Hill".⁸³

When inspecting the town of Al-'Issawiyah, on the ground, it is evident to a person coming in that it is indeed a closed off ghetto; as the town is surrounded by a number of colonial institutions (i.e. Hadassah Hospital, Hebrew University, Ofrit military camp, Mitsodat Adumim base, road no. 1, French Hill neighborhood, Tismiret Habira neighborhood, the Annexation Wall from Al Zayum and Anata side, in addition to a national park plan being situated on its lands). These colonial institutions have worked

81. "Al Eisawi to (Al-Quds) approving the structural plan of Al 'Isawiya, after making 54 amendments to it, keeping it sieged and isolated." Jerusalem. October 8, 2020.

82. "Demolition and Eviction Notifications ... apartment demolition ... arrests." Wadi Hilweh Information Center. July 13, 2020. Retrieved on 24/8/2020. <https://bit.ly/2FTYPAX>.

83. Khaled Ar-Reshq, Personal Interview, Al-Al 'Isawiya, 7/15/2020.

on enclosing the borders of Al-'Issawiyah within the borders of the municipality of Jerusalem, separating the town from the remainder of its lands lying beyond the borders of the municipality of Jerusalem.

Al-'Issawiyah is subjected to an attack that has multiple forms; it could be waged against merchants or individuals in the street, no one is excluded, and everyone is a target. Merchants suffer from procedures that are stricter than what is legitimately demanded, one could receive a ticket over anything. He explained. "If you were wearing a mask and had it down just a little you'd get fined; like the merchant who was fined 5,000 shekels two days ago for speaking to a customer who had his mask slightly down. Before the start of the corona crisis, the army and police would come without any notice and search, we had it happen to us. They would come to search in search of West Bank ID holders, and also to "provoke the merchants". Sometimes there would be some verbal altercations and sometimes it would turn into physical brutality, other times they would send whatever committee from the municipality to fine someone for whatever reason. Profit is at stake, but who would risk leaving their home while the occupation soldiers are here? If I wanted to send my son anywhere, I would say maybe later. And then

you wouldn't want to do anything because you are afraid of going out and you are afraid to let your son out either. A year ago, my youngest boy's eye was shot while he was leaving school, he's a nine-year-old boy. Everyone has been affected, last year we were affected and lost around 40-50 thousand shekels. One of our warehouses was burned to the ground, and no one compensated us, they wouldn't even let the fire truck pass the checkpoint to extinguish it. The fire occurred as a result of tear gas bombs, and I have flammable products in the warehouse. I have proof and we filed cases, but they said there isn't any [proof]."⁸⁴

The Israeli colonial authorities turned Al-'Issawiyah into an isolated Jerusalemite ghetto. They took advantage of the hegemony planning tools and surrounded Al-'Issawiyah with colonial roads, neighborhoods and institutions; and worked on besieging Al-'Issawiyah from its Jerusalemite surroundings and denied the people of Al-'Issawiyah from using their lands that lie outside the municipal borders of Jerusalem. These isolating and besieging policies have had a negative impact on the town, such as; loss of lands and geographical space, entering Israeli labor sectors and consequent colonial exploitation, becoming an isolated outpost where Israeli violence and clashes are in abundance.



The Hebrew University building.

84. Young merchant.

4.10 House Demolitions & Building Violations: Erasure Policies

The demolition of homes is considered to be part of the Israeli colonial policy aimed at silent displacement and the demographic, economic and psychosocial erasure of East Jerusalem, in generally, and in Al-'Issawiyah, in particular. The demolition of a home represents the destruction of a family, its ambitions and future. It is a demolition of the hope of a basic human right, that of a home. Demolition cannot be comprehended outside of the colonial system, for it is part of the Israeli colonial system, dynamic and process; as comprised of urban planning, permit procedures and its complications, building code violations (which bring in a high revenue for the colonial municipality of Jerusalem), and in the end the carrying out of the demolish.

According to the data from the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs-OCHA, the number of facilities that have been demolished in Al-'Issawiyah during the period between January 1, 2015 until October 10, 2020 amounts to 85 demolished structures. This resulted in the displacement of 47 persons, with 458 persons sustaining damages due to the demolitions. A breakdown of the structures by use; 27 agricultural purposes, 5 inhabited, 24 uninhabited, 5 infrastructural, 21 livelihood, and 7 others, with two of the demolished structures donor funded. Behind the wall and outside the boundaries of the municipality of Jerusalem, in Area C of Al-'Issawiyah, 20 other demolished agriculture structures were sustained in the year 2020. Bringing the total demolished structures to 105 for the years 2015-2020 (through October 10).⁸⁵

An expelled young man from Al-'Issawiyah (whom prefers to remain anonymous) said that his family's home had been issued a demolition order and the family has gone on to pay building code violations. The home had two extra bedrooms, but the occupation demolished them, during the first arrest of his brother. The family paid fifty thousand shekels in fines, and they are still required to have a permit for the house.⁸⁶

Saleh Suleiman shared the experience of having his home demolished in Al-'Issawiyah and building code violations endured; "the demolition of houses is the biggest issue [in Al-'Issawiyah], we have no expansion for our town but it is growing. I have three children living in one room, my daughter sleeps next to her mother. My home is 70 meters. There is no expansion and we have been cited for building code violations since 1992. I am still paying those fines. The amount in fines which I have paid so far is; 40 thousand shekels the first time and then 18 thousand shekels, and 600 shekels in fines every month."⁸⁷ The colonial policy is characterized by a complicated and complex problem for the people of Al-'Issawiyah, which merges between the forbidding of building without a permit, and the Israeli colonial municipality in Jerusalem not granting building permits for the people of the town (under the pretext of the absence of a structural plan). And when the people of Al-'Issawiyah apply with the help of "humanitarian" organizations to request a structural plan from Jerusalem's municipality, the municipality refuses the plans and increases its demolition orders and carried out demolitions.

A merchant remembers his feelings of sadness and despair when they demolished his family home; "I was 13 years-old, they demolished it for not having a building a permit and if we did want to get a permit, we would have to pay all the money we have and still borrow. Then you would have to build within a year, or else lose the permit. What right do they have! We used to pay fines. After the demolition we lived in rental homes with relatives for two years, until we built a home. We built it in another area, and we had to hire a contractor to do it. We lost instead of benefiting. We bought the land and built on it, but it was demolished. we built again, but it was also demolished. I had come home from the hospital that day after surgery, and I saw the house had been demolished. The pain of the surgery wears off but the pain of having your home demolished is difficult to bear. The area of the house was 110 meters, and we were four people living together. I am married and live in my parents' house, I have three children, the house isn't enough, but we have to be patient. We can't go and rent, because when you pay 2,000 shekels for rent, what would be left of the 5,000 that you're paid after electricity and water bills. There is

85. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in the Occupied Territories - OCHA. Retrieved on 10/9/2020 <https://bit.ly/3ltw6lL>.

86. Removed youth from Al 'Issawiyah (A.D).

87. Saleh Suleiman.

no solution, we have to have patience. If all our lands are confiscated, we would have to build illegally, and those who have the money would build a home, and those who don't would rent. Our freedoms are restricted, and they think we live in Jerusalem.”⁸⁸

Hatem Khalil's (42 years old resident whose home was demolished four times, I was arrested for two years, and paid very large sums in fines. During one of the demolitions, I fell from the window of my father's home, leaving me handicapped. During the latest demolition, I had just been released from prison a few days when the Jerusalem municipality bulldozers came and demolished our house, as if they intended for me to watch the demolition with my own eyes”. Hatem's children suffer psychological damage, in addition to pain and stress caused by the repeated demolitions, particularly since the children have been denied their own rooms. As a result of the repeated demolitions, Hatem is currently living in his sister's home temporarily. Hatem's father sustained major damages to his own home as Hathem's home had been built on top of his father's roof. The de-

struction of Hatem's home, caused much damage to his father's (whose roof now leaks in the winter). Other consequent challenges faced by Hatem and his family include his inability to work due to his handicap. He goes on; “every shekel I made from the sweat of my brow is now gone, as if it were a mirage”.⁸⁹

Farouq Mustafa (a shop owner from the eastern side of Al-'Issawiyah village) had two warehouses demolished with their contents inside. He also had an animal farm demolished in 2015. He said; “the occupation municipality and the Israeli nature and parks authority are working towards taking away my working permit in an effort to facilitate the construction of the park on my land. The occupation's municipality is trying to displace me from my land and place of business through dozens of fines every month (around two thousand dollars in fines)”. Adnan Darwish (owner of two plots of land in the Eastern side of the town) said; “the occupation destroyed my land three consecutive times over the course of three years, and uprooted trees that were over twenty years old”.⁹⁰



Rubble of demolished home in Al Alian neighborhood.

88. Young merchant.

89. Hatem Khalil, Personal Interview, Al 'Issawiyah, 7/5/2020.

90. Mohammad Abu Al-Failat. Fears of Displacing Jerusalemites from the town of Al- 'Issawiyah. Al Jazeera. 22/8/2017. Retrieved on 25/7/2020. <https://bit.ly/2BtiaXP>

Demolitions are not restricted to homes, but also include the destruction of agricultural structures. Mohammad Abu Al-Hummus exclaimed; “in the eastern side of Al-’Issawiyah lands, the occupation’s bulldozers demolished rooms and barracks belonging to the families of Obeid and Abu Jumaa. Agriculture equipment were also confiscated. The vicinity in which the demolition/confiscation occurred is spacious and is under threat of confiscation for the sake of the E1 settler project.”⁹¹

Hani Al Eisawi explained; “the people of Al-’Issawiyah build whilst under the pressures of life, keeping in mind that Al-’Issawiyah is not one of the more flourishing areas around Jerusalem. It is considered to be one of Jerusalem’s poorest towns, as most of its people are simple manual laborers relying on monthly salaries. And those who build a home to shelter their children cannot continue live in a home comprised of two rooms, thus they have to build and utilize years of their hard-earned savings to build a small addition or another floor. Long years of work go to just that. They are aware of the threat of demolition and fines, but the pressures of life are stronger”.⁹²

The demolition policy is considered to be the embodiment of “erasure/removal” which Patrick Wolfe discussed, especially since demolishing homes amounts to the displacement of Palestinian families from their homes. The families sometimes would have to leave the family home in search of another dwelling with relatives or friends. The demolition of the home signifies that the family will have to endure a huge financial burden of paying demolition fees (as the occupation’s municipality send a payment request charging the home owner for the demolition, and when the home owner wants to remove the left behind they would need a permit from the occupation’s municipality to do so). This policy embodies collective punishment, the collective psychosocial torture of the people of Al-’Issawiyah, especially for those whose homes were demolished. The audacity of the occupation fining the demolished homes owners represents economic and psychological erasure, as the psychological and financial impacts of the families who lost their homes are vast.

4.11 Students’ & Education Problems: Cultural Erasure

The most acute and urgent shortcomings in the educational sector in Al-’Issawiyah stem from violence perpetrated by the Israeli police against the pupils and teachers, Israeli attempts to control the curriculum, educational content, and the colonial hegemony over the educational process through legislation, policies and supervision. While the high drop-out rate among pupils can be partly attributed to their notion that education is futile because graduates have scarce employment opportunities especially for those who graduate from Palestinian universities and have no grasp of Hebrew. This compels the students of Al-’Issawiyah to study in the Israeli colleges and universities.

There are five municipal schools in Al-’Issawiyah, two of which are primary schools, an additional two are middle schools, and one school for kids with special needs. The town is also home to two private schools. It also has two municipal kindergartens and a private one, al-zahra. The students enrolled in the municipal schools study the Palestinian curriculum, and the following table illustrates the number of classrooms and students.

The lack of high schools in Al-’Issawiyah forces students to attend schools in the nearby neighborhoods and villages such as Beit Hanina, Shu’fat, Wadi al-Joz, the Old City, and al-Tour⁹³. The colonial authority has fought the official Palestinian presence in the educational sector. In November of 2019, for instance, Israeli occupying authorities shut down the office of the Ministry of Education in Jerusalem and arrested the director of education, Samir Jibril, who was placed under house arrest following his release. A report broadcast on al-Koufiyeh channel revealed a series of the violations the town of Al-’Issawiyah is subjected to, especially the educational sector, including the principals of the schools as well as teachers and students. The pupils and their families organized an

91. “July - Continued Arrests, Targeting Jerusalemite Institutions, and Escalation of Demolitions”. Wadi Hilweh Information Center, August 9, 2020. Retrieved on 23/8/2020. <https://bit.ly/3j9kTWp>.

92. Hani Al Eisawi.

93. Yaa’ra Eiser. Previous source, 30.

The School	The grades	The number of classrooms	Boys	Girls	Total
Al-'Issawiyah Elementary School for boys	First-sixth	23	723	0	723
Al-'Issawiyah Middle School for boys	Seventh-ninth	17	458	0	458
Al-'Issawiyah Elementary School for girls	First-sixth	28	0	821	821
Al-'Issawiyah Middle School for girls	Seventh-ninth	17	0	473	473
Al Amal (includes kindergarten, elementary and secondary)	Special Education	26	129	80	252

open strike in the town's schools in response to the violations the sector is facing and in protest at the occupation's policies against the town and its students. Some of the banners raised by the protesters read: "It is our right and duty to protect our children", "A safe learning environment is our children's right and "Educational institutes have a sanctity the occupation does not know"⁹⁴. The signs written by the families and parents of the students of Al-'Issawiyah reflect their fear and concern for their children. Also targeted with bullets are pupils' eyes, who are frequently fired at on their way to school or back home.

One of the pupils at the protest noted the constant police provocations exemplified by the hurling of tear gas canisters at schools, beating and attacking the pupils, beating the school principals, and the detention of pupils. Saleh Al Taweel (16 years old) spoke of his detention and how he was dragged to the entrance of the town by the occupation's police, where he was interrogated and ordered to confess to the names of the pupils who allegedly threw rocks. In his testimony, he describes being taken to the police station near the postal office where his interrogation on rock-throwing allegations continued. He was then transferred to the Russian Compound detention center, where he spent three days. He was eventually transferred to house arrest for three more days and any violation of the house arrest order would have entailed a fine of NIS5,000(\$1480).⁹⁵ Pupils, teachers and principals have been subjected to harsh violence at the hands of Israeli occupation forces, but there are also less visible forms of violence manifested in the Israeli hegemony over the Palestinian educational system and control over the curriculum.

Omar Attiyah (a 55-years-old director of the One Hand Society) stresses that the schools of Al-'Issawiyah are subservient to the Israeli ministry of education, the pupils study the Palestinian curriculum, the Palestinian curriculum is taught, the Hebrew language is taught, as it is a mandatory language in the elementary schools, but what drives people towards learning is the practical application, more so than a book ..."⁹⁶. The Israeli legal system controls education in the schools of Al-'Issawiyah, and some pupils and parents attribute the demise of the educational process to this control. There have been numerous attempts at integrating the Israeli curriculum into the schools of Al-'Issawiyah but they have all failed.

Hani Al Eisawi recounts the attempts to insert the Israeli ministry of education's curriculum, which were thwarted by the opposition of pupils and parents. The latter formed a committee which, together with activists on the ground, resists the Israeli efforts of imposing the Israeli curriculum on Palestinian schools. Yet, while the schools run by the occupation municipality, the formal schools, continue to teach the Palestinian curriculum, it goes without saying that the contents of the curriculum are monitored by the Israeli ministry of education, which has expunged parts of it. Some parts are omitted. The politically active youth in the town provide the Palestinian curriculum, free of charge, that is taught in Palestinian schools, it is given out through the students who smuggle it through checkpoints. This is where Palestinian teachers step in, to teach the curriculum in its Palestinian form even if it had omitted parts, and it is the teacher's role to dictate how the subject would be presented to the students.⁹⁷ Despite having the Pal-

94. Kufiya Channel. "Al-'Issawiyah Village is Resilient against the Occupation's Violations and Punitive Practices." 9/11/2019, retrieved 25/7/2020. blob: <https://www.youtube.com/5fa3f430-5936-4d74-b3ad-4d3af79d0e75>

95. The previous source.

96. Omar Attiyah, Personal Interview, Al 'Issawiyah, 7/8/2020.

97. Hani Al Eisawi.

estinian curriculum smuggled in from the West Bank into Al-'Issawiyah, there are some who see there still exists an essential problem in the curriculum.

A shopkeeper reiterated that there is a problem in the curriculum, explaining that it is incompetent, inadequate to help the students become more mature, obscures the identity, they have obscured the Palestinian history and heritage ... the curriculum provides the student with the Palestinian culture, religion and history, but with Israeli guidance.⁹⁸ Tawfiq Muhsin (55 years old, Arabic language teacher in Al-'Issawiyah's school for boys) confirmed the problem of the students as well as the curriculum by saying the curriculum is the one taught in the West Bank, and according to what it contains, it responds to the needs of the students, but he also accentuated other flaws in he perceives in the current Palestinian curriculum. As far as the Arabic language is concerned, he argues that is not up to the desired level because it is short of poetry and does not cover the tremendous range of poetry and prose that the Arabic language boasts. By failing to capture the richness of the Arabic language, the curriculum does not help create a strong bond between the pupils and their mother tongue. Another problem is the lack of enthusiasm for learning which is partly reflected in the high drop-out rates. Of the 120 pupils who annually study in the high schools, only 50-60 of them sit the Tawjihi or the Palestinian matriculation exams.⁹⁹ Out of about 700 students according to the number of students in the table above.

To all these problems directly related to education problems, one constantly pertinent struggle is that of pupils who were shot or injured by the police.

Saleh Suleiman (a 17-years-old, eleventh grader) was shot in the eye. He is learning in a school in the town of Sur Baher "because his situation is now considered "special," so he requires accommodations after the loss of his sight. His school teaches the Israeli curriculum so he is applying for the Bagrut (the Israeli matriculation system), where history and civics in particular are taught according to the official Israeli narrative that erases Palestinian history and narrative

and portray Israel as a beacon of democracy. Pupils are taught about Israeli laws, democracy the rights to equality. He believes that it is extremely ironic to study about the rights to equality, freedom and dignity that the Israeli law supposedly grants to everyone, while he has lost his eye for being Palestinian and at the hands of the Israeli police tasked with enforcing the laws. What he reads in the Israeli civics books about liberty and equality appears hollow and only serves to expose the hypocrisy of the state of Israel.¹⁰⁰

In the context of the hegemony of the Israeli labor system in Jerusalem, especially in the white-collar jobs (non-manual jobs), the wager would be for the Israeli universities and colleges. Omar Attiyeh says there is a considerable percentage of students who attend the Hebrew University, and through his experience with his surroundings, all the students who studied in Palestinian universities did not find employment opportunities due to not mastering the Hebrew language, they have to continue their education to learn it, "people are now saying I'll pay more and put my son through the Hebrew University, he'd be closer to me. These days, people aren't just turning to the Hebrew University, but also to Israeli colleges. People no longer say I have a daughter and want to marry her off while she's young, they're now say their daughters' education is more important, a girl's weapon is her degree, as long as the girl is educated, I would feel more reassured for my daughter."¹⁰¹

Tawfiq confirmed that some of the students in Al-'Issawiyah attend Israeli universities for their proximity as well as the better career opportunities that degrees at Israeli universities provide.¹⁰² The school, the curriculum and the educational process are all part of the ideological apparatus of the State according to French philosopher Louis Althusser.¹⁰³ The school and curriculum's purposes are to shape the student's personality according to the viewpoint of the ruling authority's ideology, as the school and curriculum create the individual in line with the policies and visions of the dominant authority. Although the curriculum taught in the schools of Al-'Issawiyah is the same one taught in

98. Merchant, supermarket owner.

99. Tawfiq Mohsen, Personal Interview, Al-'Issawiyah, 7/8/2020.

100. Saleh Suleiman.

101. Omar Attiyeh.

102. Tawfiq Muhsen.

103. Louie Althusser. *The Ideology and Ideological Apparatuses of the State*. Translated by Aida Lutfi. D. M: D. N.

Palestinian schools, the entire educational system is subordinate to the Israeli occupation, which seeks to police and discipline the community by imposing its ideological apparatus and also by using naked force.

4.12 The Courses, The Community Centre: The Soft Force of Colonization

Khaled Al Rishq notes that the people of the town consider the Israeli community center as a tool of normalizing relations between the occupier and the occupied and “we do not want normalization.”¹⁰⁴ Omar Attiyah confirmed that the community center in the town was employed for private interests only especially for people in the town who are responsible for it, without providing any services or activities, noting that it was set ablaze on three occasions because it is an Israeli institution. There are community centers in other villages in Jerusalem that were used for the people in beautiful things; we are entitled to these centers, but the community center in Al-'Issawiyah did not provide anything to the people of Al-'Issawiyah, they had no presence at all, except for giving a document proving the person is connected to the sewage system, for when I have to go to court and the municipality demanded that document”¹⁰⁵

The activity of the community center was limited, just as a businessman from Al-'Issawiyah imagined, he said “I am not willing to deal with an Israeli center, I take my services from the occupation because I pay taxes, if the community center is there for the service of Israel, I do not benefit anything. We applied for water meters through the community center about a year or two ago, and no one came to install them.”¹⁰⁶

This shows that there is a popular rejection of the community center in Al-'Issawiyah because of its Israeli identity and because it fails to provide the people's needs in the town. This popular rejection of the community center could pave the way for establishing Palestinian social and rights-based

centers that would fulfill the role of educating and raising the people's awareness regarding their rights.

Abul-Hummus warned of the community center's dangers under the status quo, he said “as long as the political situation is blurred in Jerusalem with no clear vision, we will regrettably have to head to these centers, not for the sake of normalizing, but rather for lack of alternatives. Am I saying that I give the occupation the legitimacy in the 1967 lands ... I am against these community centers, and I see them replacing the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Islamic National Forces¹⁰⁷.” The absence of the popular and formal Palestinian institutions (it would be difficult for them to work in Jerusalem) has left the door open for the community centers to creep in and work in Jerusalem regarding social work space. This absence of Palestinian institutions is related to the Israeli-Palestinian political agreements which restricted the work of Palestinian institutions in Jerusalem, and the period between 2017-2020 witnessed a vicious Israeli attack against the Palestinian institutions working in Jerusalem, and against the Palestinian Authority employees working in Jerusalem. The absence of official Palestinian institutions due to the occupation's prohibition against the Palestinian Authority from performing any role in Jerusalem can be addressed through the work of Palestinian civil society organizations (which are permitted to work in the town and Jerusalem).

Hani Al Eisawi says that under the occupation's authority, and after fifty years of occupation, we have been forced to deal with some Israeli institutions due to life's necessities in order to facilitate some life affairs, and through the experience of the people of Al-'Issawiyah with the community center, it depends greatly on who is managing the community center, is it an agent of the municipality among the people, or is he the voice of the people in the municipality, this is what creates a difference. The community center is the occupation's attempt at improving its image, showing the occupation in a positive light, some of these services are the people's right. The community

104. Khaled Al Reshq.
105. Omar Attiyah.
106. Young merchant.
107. Abul-Hummus

center in Al-'Issawiyah was under the management of the Beit Hanina center, and is considered to be run communally and not a community center, and its provision ability is much less than that of a community center, and the services it provided were focusing on creating activities for the elderly, and especially for women and children. There was some engagement, the house wives saw that it would meet their needs as it was a place to meet and gather or participate in trips, and for the children of Al-'Issawiyah, with the lack of parks or playgrounds, some of the targeted groups participated in these activities.¹⁰⁸

Omar Attiyeh indicated another form of soft power. "They [the Israelis= hold through Magen David Adom (the Israeli national emergency medical organization) first aid courses, and the youth are leaning towards liking these courses, and in my opinion, this is happening as a result of the failure of the Palestinian institutions, the Palestinian institutions and authorities are not introducing fields. [There are also] Hebrew language courses, we were sad to find out today that they have finished a Hebrew language course in the French hill's police community center. I want to tell you how this happened, a child throws a rock today, I have to take him to the police station everyday so he would serve if the child wasn't under house arrest. The father takes his son to the police, and when he does he would have to miss work. These courses became available and people were happy, people also need it so they can manage their affairs in the Israeli centers. Language is a necessity, but they took advantage of the circumstances and the people's acceptance, but the reason behind this acceptance is being forced into it, when we go to the emergency room, they're all Arabs, the doctors and nurses are Arabs. I am unqualified as a father, to speak with my son once he comes out of prison, because what I have to say may destroy my son¹⁰⁹". A house wife (university graduate, 28 years old) said there is a group of women from Al-'Issawiyah that are learning Hebrew, and they pay a very small price of 100 shekels, the learning goes on in the Hebrew university, and she says the reason they say they're learning it is so that they can speak to the doctors

or when they go to hospital, she said "I encourage the learning of Hebrew, I do not work because of the language barrier, I don't speak Hebrew".¹¹⁰

The majority of researchers agree that the community center in Al-'Issawiyah did not provide real services to the people of the town, and the activity of the center was limited to some activities and recreational functions for children and women. This negative stance of the people of Al-'Issawiyah towards the community center can be glimpsed from the actions of the youth, like the burning of the center more than once.

We can thus surmise that the soft power policy embodied by the community center has not succeeded in Al-'Issawiyah, seeing that the needs of Al-'Issawiyah are big and relate to basic human needs most importantly housing, and it is difficult to replace those needs through some recreational and cultural activities the center tried to offer the town. The soft power policy was not limited to the community center and could also be seen in the community center of the French hill.¹¹¹ This soft power was enforced through courses. The colonial system also works through first aid and Hebrew courses as Israeli soft power tools for the normalization of relations with the people of Al-'Issawiyah, and to shake the colonized and colonizer relation and transform it into a trainer and trainee. This new relation serves the cosmetic goal of embellishing the image of colonization in the mind, as the trainee would see the positive, humane and educational side of the colonial system, and would feel that the colonial system is there to serve him, but the truth of the matter is that those courses taken by the children, youth and women of Al-'Issawiyah reinforce the colonial control and hegemony.

There is a civil and popular organizational structure in the town that is represented by: The development committee of Al-'Issawiyah, the Al-'Issawiyah youth club, which was founded in 1965 and is a sports center, and the development and reconstruction society of Al-'Issawiyah, founded in 2007 and is part of the Al-'Issawiyah development committee,¹¹² which is its institutional body. The one hand society

108. Hani Al Eisawi

109. Omar Attiyeh.

110. Housewife, Personal Interview, Al-'Issawiyah, 7/26/2020.

111. A different community center than the one in Al-'Issawiyah, it was burned down after Mohammad Nayef Obeid was martyred.

112. Al-'Issawiyah's guide, previous source, 10.

was founded in 2012 and performs a recreational, training and relief role for the women and children in the town. The social center holds training and Hebrew courses.¹¹³ The Al-'Issawiyah youth collective is an independent collective that aims to serve the town and develop it and it refuses to deal with the occupation municipality; the collective takes on a volunteer youth form without an institutional structure, and it carries out hygiene and disinfecting campaigns in the town, as well as contributing with organizing courses for students and more.¹¹⁴

The grassroots organizations in the town have a cultural and social role that comes very close to rec-

reation and relief. There is a tangible absence of the developmental role that would be able to improve the town and its people in the different social aspects, and this responsibility is shouldered by the people of Al-'Issawiyah to create new specialized organizations for the development of the town, in addition to cooperation between the people and their organizations with the other Palestinian organizations working in Jerusalem in the aspects of rights, culture, social and development by organizing programs and activities that would contribute towards sectorial development.

113. House wife, previous source.

114. Al-'Issawiyah youth Facebook page, <https://www.facebook.com/shbab.esawiah>, 9/10/2020.

Fifth: Hegemony Plans: The Isolation & Hegemony Plans on Al-'Issawiyah

Al-'Issawiyah has been left without a master-plan that could meet the needs of the people. This continuous absence of a masterplan is part and parcel of the systematic neglect, which largely falls under the banner of hegemony policies.

Urban planner Yosef Jabareen argues that the colonial authority has sought to transform Al-'Issawiyah into an isolated island cut off from its Jerusalemite surroundings. In September 2020 a master plan for the town was approved after 30 years of no planning. Hani Al Eisawi believes that land confiscation is among the worst violations to which the town and its residents have been subjected. Dispossessed, and deprived of their lands, the residents have been denied their means of production and transformed from self-sufficient farmers into laborers dependent on the Israeli market and workforce. To make ends meet, those dispossessed residents seek employment in the Israeli service sector or the municipality. Land confiscation has thus disentangled the residents from their land on the one hand, and reinforced their dependency on the Israeli system on the other.

Israel resorts to several laws and pretexts in order to enact its land confiscation policies. These include the abandoned property doctrine, a principle originally laid out in Ottoman lands laws, according to which lands designated abandoned are handed to the administration of the custodian of abandoned property. Large swaths of land belonging to the residents of Al-'Issawiyah have been confiscated for the construction of the French Hill settlements, the Hebrew University students' dorms, and the expansion of the Hadassah hospital. Absentee property, public needs, and national parks are, therefore, among the main pretexts employed to facilitate land

confiscations. As a result of the ongoing and systematic land confiscations, the overall area of the town has shrunk from 10500 dunams, to just 3500 dunams, with no room for building and expansion.

Thus, Al-'Issawiyah has become trapped in the midst of Israeli roads, settlements and institutions, separated from its Palestinian surrounding. The previously open area between Al-'Issawiyah and the Mount of Olives to the South, which could have offered a solution for the massive population density and housing scarcity in Al-'Issawiyah, was in 2007 designated as a National Park. Designating Palestinian lands as national parks is a notorious Israeli policy to facilitate land confiscation and prohibit Palestinian construction while also connecting Israeli settlements.¹¹⁵

Omar Al Hroub notes that these tools are part of a policy of displacement and divide and conquer.

Israel also seeks to plant strife among residents and to fragment the community in addition to its land confiscation, thus conducting what may amount to spaciocide. He argues that the aim is to force the town into peacefully co-existing with the settlements and to abandon any form of resistance to the Israeli occupation, but coexistence is not possible when residents' lands are confiscated and every aspect of their life is controlled. Yet, Israel tries to dismantle the social fabric of the town, knowing fully well that this is the way to break its defiance and solidarity.

Abul-Hummus points out the reasons why the isolation policies for in al-Isawiya failed. "Israel is trying to isolate, but the security and geographic situation [do not allow for isolation]. Al-'Issawiyah is a thorn in their side. As far as Jerusalem is concerned, the

115. Hani Al Eisawi.

town is the catalyst. If they control it, then it would be as if they controlled all of Jerusalem.” He thinks that the repression faced by the town can be partly attributed to its proximity to al-Aqsa mosque.¹¹⁶

In this context, Omar Attiyeh argues that increasing the employment of the youth of the town in low-ranking positions in official Israeli institutions is a means of influencing their national and political identity. He mentions that there 100 of the town’s youth who are bus drivers for the Egged bus company, the main public transport company in Jerusalem, excluding the tourist buses. The Israeli companies pay much higher wages than those paid by Palestinian transport companies.¹¹⁷

It becomes evident that there are two pathways the colonial system is working through, one is to isolate Al-Issawiyah from its Jerusalemite surrounding, and the other is an attempt at subjecting the people to hegemony through integrating them partially into the Israeli labor system and exploiting them for cheap labor.

Mr. Tawfiq said: “All the indicators are pointing towards isolating al-Isawiya in the future, you don’t feel any attempt to merge, all the attempts are mere pro forma. The tunnels and cemeteries are all an attempt to isolate, even when it comes to expansion it would be very difficult. My nephew, for instance, is thinking of where to rent, as there is no land to build.”¹¹⁸ One could say that al-Isawiya was geographically isolated through surrounding it with the settlements and co-

lonial public facilities (the hospital, the university, the colonial neighborhood, the road, the military camp, etc.) and the next step is to try to isolate the town socially from its Jerusalemite surrounding, and politically from its Palestinian national identity in order to transform it from the heart of Palestinian resistance and rebellion into an obedient, passive town.

A businessman pointed out that the Israeli policies aim at domesticating the town and its residents for easier control of the town known for its reputation of resistance. When the young man from Obeid family was martyred, Netanyahu held his picture and said this is a terrorist and we killed him, an unarmed youth who was killed at point blank and was accused of being a terrorist.¹¹⁹ The colonial authority, which has exercised its control and hegemony over every inch of Palestinian space and every Jerusalemite subject, turn residents of al-Isawiya into aliens in their homeland. They have been marginalized, oppressed and expropriated. The oppression and marginalization tools have contributed to the isolation of the town. On the one hand, Al-Issawiyah is facing isolation, confinement and severe limitation of its demographic and geographic expansion. On the other, the settlement of Maale Adumim is being expanded and connected to Jerusalem through the theft and confiscation of Al-Issawiyah’s lands.

116. Mohammad Abu Al-Hummus, Personal Interview, Al-Issawiyah, 7/8/2020.

117. Omar Attiyeh.

118. Tawfiq Mohsen.

119. Young merchant.

Sixth: The Misery of Everyday life: Spaciocide

Omar Al-Hroub “observes that al-Isawiya resembles any of the West Bank villages [under military rule]. It receives sparse services in Al-’Issawiyah there are a lot of demolition orders, difficult circumstances, a lot of land but no master plan, confiscated lands, everyone builds in whatever space they have, crowdedness which leads to domestic violence, the windows are too close to each other stripping people of their privacy; some homes are inadequate for habitation because of the humidity, the rates of asthma are high in, there are no spacious homes, homes are narrow and too close to one another. Israel refuses to grant us building permits.”¹²⁰ Omar Attyeh describes al-Isawiya “as the “forgotten town” because it does not receive enough services¹²¹. There have been some journalistic reports quoting some Jerusalemites saying al-Isawiya is nicknamed “little Gaza” for the suffering it goes through.

A young merchant from Al-’Issawiyah spoke about the daily suffering: “would you be ready to be walking and then have the police fine you, search you and make you spread your legs, beat you, without any reason? These violations are daily¹²². **A housewife** described life in Al-’Issawiyah as repressive. “There are seven universities that are not recognized, but at the same time I cannot attend recognized universities because I do not have the money, or a job, and they are far, because I live in a conservative society, it does not give women that big of a chance especially if they are married and have children”.¹²³

A house wife narrates the panic and fear of everyday life in Al-’Issawiyah. “most of the time we suffer from the tear gas bombs, there’s police wherever you go, we’re scared to let our children out, my

son trains in the club and sometimes there would be stone-throwing and tear gas bombs while he is training, I do not feel safe, I start making phone calls wanting my son to come home, and this has left its toll on the boy. We are even afraid to let our kids go to the supermarket, when they go down [we stay] by the windows to see if they’ve arrived ... [we keep] the windows closed and we don’t let our children out when we hear police. The police come every day but not in any specific time. My brother was arrested three years ago, he was 15 and was detained for 6 months, when they would come and search the house had young women and elderly women, their banging on the door would terrify us”.¹²⁴

Rabi Mahmoud says life in Al-’Issawiyah is difficult in every way. “The raids really bother the people of Al-’Issawiyah, border police forces, police, special units, intelligence, the municipality inspectors, the national insurance employs secret informants, you’d go to find you’ve reached the national insurance without knowing how, some people would come and it would be their job to speak with us as if they’re from another institution, they’d get you talking and then you’d find yourself in the national insurance. He adds that “there’s no education, no sports, no functions, there are restrictions on the educational institutions working in the town; when a student goes to school he learns and studies, but when he goes home the army vehicle would come towards him, the boy would be scared and run, they see him run, a police officer or a soldier would chase and beat him or might even shoot him under the pretext of throwing stones. Their raids are provocative. They’d come in and if they see a youth, especially these days, without a mask, they’d fine him.

120. Omar Al-Hroub, Personal Interview, Al-’Issawiyah, 7/7/2020.

121. Omar Attyeh.

122. Young merchant.

123. Housewife.

124. The previous source.

Before the outbreak of the corona pandemic, if a few young men were gathered they'd ask for their IDs, the man isn't carrying one because he's standing in front of his house and they demand to see ID, but he'd be standing in front of his house, and then problems would occur, the army and police would start throwing tear gas and stun grenades. If the army didn't come to Al-'Issawiyah there wouldn't be any problems, they provoke the people.¹²⁵

Ibtisam Obeid's¹²⁶ children suffer from their mother's absence. "She was denied of renewing her residence permit in Jerusalem. This is her testimony: "The children have no mother to help and follow up with their studies, when I would come to see them I would be shocked, their situation is very difficult, no one is more caring than a mother, what is my fault for separating me from my children? I fell ill a while ago and they took me to Hadassah Ein Karem, the removal decision was also for me to leave the hospital. When I first got married, the situation was normal, there wasn't anything throughout the twenty years, but this removal began with me 3 or 4 years ago, I applied for a change of legal status but I was refused under the pretext of my cousins on both sides being detained for life, all my brothers are detainees, and they are pressuring my husband through me, by not allowing me to change my legal status, and God willing we will remain determined".¹²⁷ To not allow the mother to change her legal status is to target the family, and it is also a colonial practice that reaches spaciocide.

Mansour Mahmoud says: "We suffer a great deal, "a demolition order was issued against my house, and my wedding was in two months, I had not built, and I did not restore the existing structure, and it's been constructed for quite a long time, they issued a demolition order a month ago, our lives are difficult, I am subjected to arrest at least 3 or 4 times a month, even my fiancé's family is scared for their daughter, the other thing is lack of employment chances, because no one wants to hire me because of my crim-

inal record. I am detained a few days then released, there is no evidence, but they have to take me in every month for two to three days to interrogate me and then release me¹²⁸". The series of recurring arrests and the frequency of demolition orders, in addition to unemployment are all colonial policies, a part of the spaciocide and dismantling of the society because arrests apply the policies of hegemony and physical restraint, and the demolition orders represent a psychosocial war against the people of Al-'Issawiyah. All these colonial policies are to serve the spaciocide and damage the Palestinian social fabric.

Life is also difficult for women who have not been granted health insurance. Some women who have not been granted change in legal status are not covered by the national insurance benefits. Those who marry from the West Bank and have not been granted a change in legal status do not yet have the health insurance activated, and before the change in the legal status, no centers are allowed to receive any births or pregnancies. They would have to go to hospitals such as the Red Crescent or the French hospital, which are already over-capacity. There are over a thousand women who don't have insurance in Al-'Issawiyah, half of whom have it and the other half don't. And those who do have it are unable to pay 6700 shekels [when they are granted change of status] which have to be paid at once, and most people do not have that sum.¹²⁹

Saleh Sulaiman narrates his tragic story and the manufacturing of lies against the people of Al-'Issawiyah. "Because I filed a case against the police, they closed the case many times, and we appealed it with the high court, and we were shocked to find they had a search order at 3:30 in the morning, they searched the house and stayed until 8 in the morning. While searching the house, they gave us a document that said they found nothing, and they left, after a while we discover, from our neighbors, that our names are posted and they say you have

125. Rabia' Mahmoud, Personal Interview, Al-'Issawiyah, 7/7/2020.

126. A mother from Al-'Issawiyah who had been removed more than once from her home in Al-'Issawiyah.

127. Ibtisam Obeid. Personal Interview, Al-'Issawiyah, 5/7/2020.

128. Mansour Mahmoud.

129. Omar Hroub.

a weapon, I look at the video and it was our house and there is a small cave there and they had put a weapon in it, and they filmed us, and accused us of being terrorists, it was all documented, they tried to show us as terrorists. It was shown on Israeli TV and on YouTube. After that, I went to the Arabic and Hebrew press, I went to the Palestine TV station and exposed them and showed what liars they were, they claimed I had tunnels like Hamas, and that I had weapons, and this is not true. Thankfully, I was able to stop all their plans. There are still lawsuits between us regarding this topic, they want me to stop the lawsuit and use the lawsuit I have for my son as a way to pressure me. I will not withdraw the lawsuit, even the judge in the central court suggested something called “mediation or settlements, which seeks to settle outside of court, but we were determined and appealed three times, we want to gain back our son’s right, a ten-year-old child, there’s someone injured in every household in Al-’Issawiyah”.¹³⁰

Suleiman added regarding the socioeconomic pressure on the people of Al-’Issawiyah that his son was fined: “I told them the car was new and they fined him a thousand shekels and they deemed the car illegal, keeping in mind the car was brand new, the fine was issued only when he saw the name Al-’Issawiyah, that name causes them to oppress us. There’s targeting, these days the people of Al-’Issawiyah don’t carry the appendix to their ID because if they said they’re from Al-’Issawiyah they will be targeted.”¹³¹

Hani Al-’Issawiyah points out that the violations by the occupation’s agencies such as the municipality are constant. In addition to the national insurance, the income tax, all the institutions are targeting the Jerusalemites in general and Al-’Issawiyah bears the brunt. The town’s share in arrests is very high, as is its share of the injured and martyrs. A few years ago, he adds, a man was martyred while standing up to a demolition, his name was Zaki Obeid, also Fadi Al Eisawi and Samir Dari when he was trying to protect his brother from the oppression of the undercover police known as the *mistaaribin*.¹³² One can glimpse the impact of spaciocide through the decreasing number of family members in Al-’Issawiyah.

Omar Attiyeh says: “This town has a natural population growth, but people today are reducing the number of children, there are no lands and no construction, we are marginalized¹³³”. The demographic conflict is part of the Israeli obsession, for the colonial policies work with absolute intensity to realize Israeli demographic success in Jerusalem, and what supports this colonial policy is what the authorities adopt from the spaciocide principle and hitting the Palestinian social fabric, especially the family, which is being targeted through the prohibition on construction, regular arrests, revocation of residency and permits, targeting the education, and these procedures are an attempt at applying spaciocide and hindering the demographic devolvement of the population.

130. Samer Sulaiman.

131. Saleh Suleiman.

132. Hani Al Eisawi.

133. Omar Attiyeh.

Seventh: The People of Al-'Issawiyah and their outlook for their town's future

Despite all the violations and repression, a group of people from Al-'Issawiyah see an improvement in the economic situation in the town, and they are hoping that the demolitions rate will also decrease. Others, meanwhile, believe that Israeli policies seek the containment of al-'Issawiyah. Some have pointed out how the town has been partially integrated into the Israeli system, while others expressed their despair because of the difficulty of the situation. They are concerned that this suffocation will lead to an explosion.

Omar Attiyeh, for instance, notes: "The future of Al-'Issawiyah is going in the direction of becoming more engaged with the Israeli society, today they are trying to pull Al-'Issawiyah into that system, today there is the biggest proposal for an industrial zone in al-'Issawiyah, and that is for the people of al-'Issawiyah, it should be executed and done between six months to a year ... today I have to live my life but I know I am a Palestinian, which means I work and maintain my identity.¹³⁴ The Industrial zone that is to be erected on the lands of Al-'Issawiyah represents a model of colonial settlement exploitation, since it will be built on lands confiscated from the people in addition to employing some of the people of the town who will be exploited for stacking up the benefit of the exploitative settlement colonial model.

Khaled Rishq confirms that the situation will improve economically but the housing crisis will not be resolved because Israel refuses to allow people to expand horizontally. The situation will improve, but not towards the village expanding, it won't expand that much, and the building space will be small, the improvement will be lesser demolition orders, if they keep their word which is the master plan in return

for the national park, we will have reached a stage where there will be no demolition orders, over %80 of the buildings do not have permits, but that does not mean there are demolition orders for them, only about %10 of them have demolition orders or code violations, or some court procedure. When someone opens a shop or a small business, he'd have to pay for it, there isn't much business in the town, but regardless, the person must pay Arnona (property tax) and have a tax file, which is why many do not prefer to invest in that aspect. Had this town been open, and they didn't come into it so viciously, no one would have confronted them; they want to show others that there's a conflict in Jerusalem. Maybe the reason they keep coming here is to intimidate people and discipline them through arrests, without the quietness being the price, they just want to step on us, and then afterwards they may come and offer the town, or you maintain it. Perhaps the direction in which the government is going has changed, the mayor said that in return for quietness I will make a masterplan to organize the town, and allow more room for expansion, and regarding the homes [that are built without permit] before we take any action against it, we will send for you to do the proper procedures to have it according to code, that is the first time the first initiative comes from them.¹³⁵

Hani Al Eisawi says "here is where the long term policy of the occupation authority regarding all of Jerusalem, which is to maintain a demographic balance in favor of the Israeli presence which, according to what they propose is %70 for the Jews and %30 for the Arabs so that it would be easier to merge them with the society, but that policy failed, since the occupation and until this very day, the master plans,

134. The previous source.

135. Khaled Al Reshq.

and all the procedures taken are for the realization of this goal, the reduction of the number of Palestinians to the lowest possible number. The special circumstance of al-'Issawiyah, which is very close to the Israeli settlements and institutions, along with the high pressures of everyday life for the people in Al-'Issawiyah, high rates of unemployment, low standard of living, continuous Israeli procedures, which led to the exploitation of any protest or rebellion. Al-'Issawiyah had a direct role in standing up to these procedures such as the attacks on al-Aqsa mosque, or responding to the general national status such as the war on Gaza or the occupation's procedures against those neighboring to them as the case with the kidnapping of Mohammad Abu Khdeir or the revolution that occurred in Jerusalem. This is where Al-'Issawiyah has an advantage for being closed off unlike the other neighborhoods such as Shufat, Silwan, Al Tor, which are all areas open to their surroundings, whereas Al-'Issawiyah is closed off, the occupation municipality even posted a sign at its western entrance that reads "entry with no exit", this is the situation Al-'Issawiyah lives under, for these Israeli procedures on the one hand and the attempts to break Al-'Issawiyah on the other, as well as forbidding the expression of any and all national or political affiliations, and give in to the surrendering of Al-'Issawiyah and Jerusalem to what the Israeli policies dictate classify as action and reaction, the protest against the Israeli procedures that are met with greater violence and protest, and this is the whirlwind we have been living in for years, for when the occupation forces come into an area, you would think they are reoccupying it all over again, they provoke the people, beat and throw tear gas at them, many have lost their eyes, and many have been directly hit who are of different ages, these are the procedures that make the protest process go on for years, for even at one point one of the officers said we will continue to practice this role in Al-'Issawiyah until I can place my cup of coffee on the car's dashboard, then leave my car and come back to find it unmoved, which means complete silence, but the reality is different, perhaps they were betting on the next generations who

grow up under occupation to be more compliant"¹³⁶

There are positive views for the future of Al-'Issawiyah, but there are other views that see things in an opposite way, Saleh Suleiman says Al-'Issawiyah is headed to an explosion, firstly because of the number of the population, we are increasing and within two or three years it is headed to an explosion, there is no expansion, and there is no place to expand to, which means a classroom in Al-'Issawiyah has 45 students, compare that to other schools, in Beit Safafa for example they have 25 students per classroom, but they don't care, this is an Arab environment, they built a school in the lower area, it became targeted by the army, and came to resemble a military post, they stop the children, they beat them, they don't know about us."¹³⁷

A supermarket owner talked about how the goal of the Israelis is to break the pride of Al-'Issawiyah, since Mohammad Samir Obeid was martyred, they made Al-'Issawiyah go ten years backwards. The whole point of the occupation's policy against Al-'Issawiyah is to bring it to its knees and I do not expect isolation, meaning the application of the Israeli system on the people of Al-'Issawiyah¹³⁸, and the goal of these policies is "they want to ruin human life"¹³⁹

Darwish Darwish excluded the possibility of geographical isolation of Al-'Issawiyah and spoke of the rehabilitation of lands in the eastern area, he said "what helps Al-'Issawiyah is its geographical location, because it is an island on land and surrounded by Israeli institutions, and a network of roads especially from the east area, they can't isolate it. Not all the lands in the east side of Al-'Issawiyah are fully confiscated, there are about 5 thousand dunums on the Khan Al Ahmar area, and there is a group of active youth who are making use of the land, they've invested in no less than 300 dunums and cultivated these lands, the youth are from all the families, and I hope they people of the town support these youth and continue with the agricultural expansion."¹⁴⁰

136. Hani Al Eisawi

137. Saleh Suleiman.

138. Merchant, supermarket owner.

139. Displaced young man from Al-'Issawiyah (A.D).

140. Darwish Darwish.

Eighth: The role of the People of Al-'Issawiyah in Resistive Steadfastness

The people of Al-'Issawiyah see that the town is targeted by the Israeli colonial authorities, and due to that targeting, the people of Al-'Issawiyah have stood in the face of colonialism, put up with all sorts of torture and hazing, and their steadfastness came in the form of living life and the continuation of construction despite the Israeli demolition of homes. Steadfastness in Al-'Issawiyah and not leaving the town, and the steadfastness of its people have rendered the colonial plans for their town, a failure.

Mansour Mahmoud spoke of the steadfastness and gallantry of the people of Al-'Issawiyah, he said "the people of the town still have gallantry, and the people of the town are still putting up with what many wouldn't be able to, and I myself will continue to put up with them with the help of God's grace, and we shall remain in our homes and lands."¹⁴¹ Regarding steadfastness, Rabi Mahmoud says "the people in Al-'Issawiyah are enduring, because they have nothing else to do but to remain in this land to protect it, we are protectors (mourabiteen), if we are to become fed up and leave Al-'Issawiyah, and allow the occupation to take over this land, I consider this land to be the only spot in Jerusalem to not be controlled, it is the sole area in Jerusalem that suffers daily raids. The Israeli policy against Al-'Issawiyah has not succeeded, and it won't succeed, because the mentality of the people of Al-'Issawiyah is different, the people of Al-'Issawiyah have honor, gallantry, magnanimity, dignity and love for the homeland and land"¹⁴²

Ibtisam Obeid, who is removed from Al-'Issawiyah, confirms that the father of her husband is the one who helps them with money, so do my brothers in law, when I am not in the building, they look after the children, and only God knows

of our financial state"¹⁴³ This solidarity quality in the Palestinian society reinforces the idea of resistive steadfastness, and resistive adaptation, and this phenomenon emerges in the Palestinian society when great events happen such as the Intifada.¹⁴⁴ Or when natural or health disasters occur.¹⁴⁵

Mahmoud's family committee works on supporting the members of the family and supporting them in facing Israel's targeting, and Rabi Mahmoud who is a member of the family committee said "we have lands in Al-'Issawiyah, we have lands that are confiscated by the occupation, which are the eastern lands under Maale Adumim, these lands comprise of many dunums, we went to rehabilitate the land, the occupation stopped us and told us these lands are confiscated, and we are trying to sue. These lands are over 600 dunums, we in the family are working with other people to gain back these lands. Currently, we are allowed to only cultivate these lands, and we go to the land as much as we can to farm it, because if anyone doesn't care for their land, they'd come in and take it away from him. We went to Beit Eel [the Israeli civil administration] to produce land certificates and papers for the lands so as to present objections in Israeli courts, because if not presenting objections is like telling them you are fine with them confiscating the land, we are trying to present objections so that we could gain our lands back, with God's grace we will see some improvement, but they put many obstacles in our way, for example Beit Eel being closed to the people of Jerusalem, and it is only for the people of Ramallah, the lawyer asked for large sums of money, and that is an additional suffering, we went to the minister of agriculture and the governor of Jerusalem so that they'd help us, and there is a positive response, but with the COVID situation,

141. Mansour Mahmoud.

142. Rabia Mahmoud.

143. Ibtisam Obeid.

144. Majdi Al-Malki and Others. The Palestinian Society Facing the Occupation: the Sociology of Resisting Adaptation during Al-Aqsa Intifada. Ramallah: The Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy - MUWATIN. 2004.

145. Ahmad Iz Addin Asad, At the Beginning it was the Society: Corona and the Fragility of False Community. Bets. Institute for Palestine Studies, 8/4/2020. Retrieved on 21/8/2020. <https://bit.ly/2EoSuwu>.

and with what's been happening, we've been held back a lot, and the Israeli's took advantage of this to prevent the people of Al-'Issawiyah from going to Beit Eel and look for their lands."¹⁴⁶ The youth initiative of rehabilitating the lands of the eastern area represent a promising model of resistive steadfastness, maintaining the land and benefiting from it.

Omar Attiyeh spoke about the One Hand society and that its working in a relief effort capacity for the people of Al-'Issawiyah, "the society was founded in 2014, the year there was a war against our brothers in the Gaza Strip, we in Al-'Issawiyah tried to take part in something, we began a charity campaign, and we collected in kind and financial donations, we found there to be great responsiveness, we collected two trucks worth of aid and sent them to Gaza Strip, the idea was to for a society, the circumstances the people live under in Al-'Issawiyah are difficult and marginalized by the occupation and the Palestinian

Authority, Al-'Issawiyah is the "forgotten village", that's the name we should call this village, and we the people of Al-'Issawiyah called it that ...¹⁴⁷ and the activities of the society later turned to being for the relief and service of the people of the village, and it focuses on holding training courses and recreational trips.

The steadfastness of the people of Al-'Issawiyah was reinforced due to the social structures that helped in this, and the most important of these structures are the family; as family is considered to be a central social structure in the steadfastness of the people of Al-'Issawiyah, as a family supports and aids each other and offers some services, helps reduce the family members' suffering. Examples of this support is offering those who's houses are demolished a temporary home until they can figure out what to do, the solidarity one whole family offers another in Al-'Issawiyah, and stands by them to protect the eastern lands in Al-'Issawiyah.

146. Rabi'a Mahmoud.

147. Omar Attiyeh.

Ninth: The Role of the Palestinian Authority in strengthening the Steadfastness of Al-'Issawiyah's people

The people of Al-'Issawiyah don't all agree when it comes to evaluating the role of the Palestinian Authority in supporting Al-'Issawiyah and reinforcing its steadfastness; a large portion of them criticize the failure of the Palestinian Authority when it comes to providing support to Al-'Issawiyah, keeping in mind the Palestinian Authority provides financial aid, legal and architectural services as well as, as it appoints lawyers to represent the detainees and the homes that are under the threat of demolition. This is done indirectly through the general administration of legal affairs in the Jerusalem Affairs ministry. Some of the people of Al-'Issawiyah see that there is a failure from the Palestinian Authority despite the support it provides the people of Al-'Issawiyah and Jerusalem; the Israeli occupation prevents the Palestinian Authority from practicing any activity in Jerusalem, and the occupation puts obstacles in the face of any show of sovereignty, and developmental and service work for the Palestinian Authority in Jerusalem.

Rabi Mahmoud says "as a citizen in Al-'Issawiyah, I have seen the people stand with each other more than these institutions have, and the occupation targets these institutions, today, if anyone were to bring in money through the Palestinian National Authority into Al-'Issawiyah, they would be considered as if they were bringing in money from one country to another. The governor of Jerusalem and the minister of Jerusalem affairs visit Al-'Issawiyah? Unfortunately, they came once or twice, not to all the demolitions. When we build, it costs us over 100 thousand shekels, but the PA would come and give up to 40 thousand shekels, what would a person who spent so much money on building a house do. We of course know there is very large financial support for the people of Jerusalem, but unfortunately what we get is the crumbs, and this is something the Palestinian Authority needs to look into".¹⁴⁸ Darwish Darwish said that the role of the Palestinian Authority is very weak, there is assistance but it is simple assistance,

and it does not lead to the development of Al-'Issawiyah.¹⁴⁹ Omar Attiyeh pointed out that the role of the Palestinian Authority is suffering from "absolute failure, they are ambassadors of self-interest."¹⁵⁰

Hani Al Eisawi said that the general Palestinian stance towards the city of Jerusalem, after the Oslo accords, is very weak, because the basis of the problem was putting Jerusalem up to the occupation as an easy target, based on the fact that it would be forbidden for the Palestinian Authority to practice any activity in the city of Jerusalem, and postponing the issue of Jerusalem until the final stage. Also, Israel has been running free in Jerusalem, and the situation has grown worse when Israel backed off from its commitments according to the Oslo agreement and ignored all the laws ... and Israel is insisting on preventing any form or shape of a national expression in the city of Jerusalem, not even the slightest. Even before the arrival of the Palestinian Authority, Jerusalem was the capital of Palestinian political activity, and all the institutions were in it, and all the meetings would happen there. Currently, Israel prevents any activity or feeling of nationalism, even at the end of May when there would be a meeting in Jerusalem at the door steps of the Orient house in commemoration of the death of Faisal Husseini, and although the people present at this were a small number, it was still prevented. Currently, the charitable Ramadan meals have been forbidden by the minister of the police under the pretext of the charitable meals contradict the agreements signed by the Palestinian Authority. Moreover, there is a very large weakness on the part of international and Palestinian institutions when it comes to their responsiveness, for the violations being committed against human rights.¹⁵¹

Also, **Khaled Al Rishq** does not see the role of the Palestinian Authority in Al-'Issawiyah, and he said "I see that the people of Al-'Issawiyah are picking the thorns from their own flesh. Let's go look

148. Rabia' Mahmoud, Personal Interview, Al-'Issawiyah, 7/7/2020.

149. Darwish Darwish.

150. Omar Attiyeh

151. Hani Al Eisawi.

at the aid on the ground, the Palestinian Authority may have offered simple assistance to those who have been affected or their homes demolished, but let's look at how much that assistance is, or compensation for his home that was demolished, you can't compare, the compensation is nominal".¹⁵²

Saleh Suleiman compares between the Palestinian Authority's stance and that of the Arab Knesset members and he said "the Knesset members did their work, they come and they remember it, and they have helped elevate some of the suffering in Al-'Issawiyah through the Knesset, "not one person in Ramallah said reduce the suffering, show me one person who stood up and spoke. Has the president ever spoken about Al-'Issawiyah , no one does, there are many like me who accuse the Palestinian Authority and that it likes what is happening ...The Palestinian Authority is the responsible entity that can stop this suffering, just as it went to the town of Beita and Sorit, you could send people who have Jerusalem ID, they can, if they wanted to they could, but no one cares, people have gotten sick, have gotten tired, and this has been going on for 70 years. I as a father want what's best for my children, I don't want more suffering, my son's blood count is 6, he spent two months in the hospital of Tabariyeh, I took care and treated him, no one cared about him".¹⁵³

Despite the criticism of the role the Palestinian Authority plays in the town of Al-'Issawiyah, but there are facts that cannot be ignored, the occupational authorities do not allow any practice or interference by the Palestinian Authority in Jerusalem in general, as is the case in Al-'Issawiyah. The Israeli Authority considers any interference by the Palestinian Authority in Jerusalem to be a breach of the Israeli sovereignty over the city of Jerusalem.

Ghassan Dudin (deputy assistant in the ministry of Jerusalem Affairs) clarified that there is an indirect intervention from the ministry of Jerusalem Affairs in the town of Al-'Issawiyah and in the governorate of

Jerusalem in general, the ministry does its role and provides its support through a network of lawyers, engineers, contractors and others, and the ministry of Jerusalem Affairs does not show up in the picture of intervention; for example, the ministry has a legal clinic staffed with 10 lawyers, the lawyers that are contracted with the clinic follow up on the cases of the people of Al-'Issawiyah and Jerusalem, thus the clinic's role would be that of a middle man that connects the citizen to the lawyer, and the citizen would then go on to follow up their case directly with the lawyer, and the ministry would pay the fees of everything and the lawyer along with all the financial aspects. The ministry is careful to not show in any form or way, because should any appearance for the ministry or a representative of the Palestinian Authority or any of its departments would lead to the obstruction of that citizen's case file as a punitive procedure. Dudin also said that the ministry pays 30 percent of a building violation fine, with a sum that would not exceed 10 thousand shekels, and there is a legal intervention for the reduction of the fine's amount through the lawyers who are contracted by the clinic, and the ministry would pay 35 thousand shekels to the person who's home was completely demolished, and half that amount for those whose homes were partially demolished. The ministry provides architectural aid and encourages the nonprofit housing projects in the governorate of Jerusalem, as well as financial aid for the sake of permits and organization. The ministry of Jerusalem Affairs gives a lot of attention to the issues of Al-'Issawiyah and Silwan as they are areas that witness big issues recurrently.¹⁵⁴ This data illustrates the role of the ministry of Jerusalem Affairs with the interventions for supporting the steadfastness of the Jerusalemites. Going through the government service manual of the ministry, there are 15 services the ministry provides the people of Jerusalem, most of which is free, in addition to the legal, architectural, and financial aid it provides to support the steadfastness of the Jerusalemites.¹⁵⁵

152. Khaled Al Rishq.

153. The previous source.

154. Ghassan Dudin, Phone Interview, Ramallah, 10/14/2020.

155. The official website for the Palestinian Cabinet, the government service guide, <http://palestinecabinet.gov.ps/GovService/List?OrgId=38>

Tenth: The Needs of Al-'Issawiyah

The needs of Al-'Issawiyah vary and include: cultural institutions, guidance institutions, legal aid, having a structural plan that takes into consideration the natural development of the town, in addition to other needs. Looking at the needs of Al-'Issawiyah , it becomes evident that the nature of the crisis and problems it suffers from; for the need for legal aid institutions is to follow up on the legal aspects pertaining to demolition orders and recurring arrests, as for the need for guidance institutions, it is for following up on the cases of Al-'Issawiyah's youth, especially the children who are detained and the children under house arrest. Al-'Issawiyah's most important need is the structural plan that needs to be finished and approved, the people of Al-'Issawiyah have suffered from a lot of demolitions and building fines.

Mohammad Abu Al-Hummus clarified that the needs of Al-'Issawiyah would be in the form of "national institutions, administrative and cultural to reserve the national approach for the perseverance of Jerusalem, so that Jerusalem remains a cultured flame"¹⁵⁶. The absence of the institutions in Al-'Issawiyah allowed the colonial authorities to exploit the Israeli institutions such as the community center to offer some activities and training courses which has been successful at bringing in some youth and women, thus the importance of the Palestinian institutions in Al-'Issawiyah come in.

Saleh Suleiman pointed out that the needs of Al-'Issawiyah should be in "the legal aspect, raising the awareness of people, in the case of an inspection what are the citizen's rights? He can say no. Stay away from the economic aspect because people are not living in hunger, people should understand what their rights are, the lack is not economic, people need their awareness raised and they need

lawyers, I have been paying a fine since 1992."¹⁵⁷

Hani Al Eisawi stressed the main need of the people of Al-'Issawiyah is to have the structural plan so that a large number of people could be spared the direct threat of demolition, the high fines. The other issue that needs more national attention is the Palestinian entities to stand and help the people of Al-'Issawiyah in their steadfastness, we are currently undergoing two processes simultaneously which are the designation of 2500 dunums of Al-'Issawiyah lands to execute part of the "E1" plan; there was a meeting with the Colonization & Wall Resistance Commission, they were ready to stand with the people of Al-'Issawiyah and help them, the other issue is the attempt at closing off the agricultural areas to not use them which are near the military base erected on the eastern lands of Al-'Issawiyah , which pertains a serious stance as they are trying to close off the road leading to it, we no reach these lands through Al Zayem, and in the recent period they have closed off that way to stop the people from using those lands, and to facilitate taking the lands under the pretext of abandoned lands. What adds to the burdens the people of Al-'Issawiyah endure are the imposed fines due to not having building permits and building violations in addition to other violations that many families do not have the ability to pay, the most important aspect is for the specialized and international institutions to address this suffering and demand real procedures be taken to support the people of Al-'Issawiyah and relieve them of this suffering.¹⁵⁸

A supermarket owner pointed out that Al-'Issawiyah needs national cohesion and for the political factions to cooperate, so that Al-'Issawiyah could be pulled out from the tragic situation it is in, the town's roads need mending, and committees need to be cre-

156. Mohammad Abu Al Hummus.

157. Saleh Sulaiman.

158. Hani Al Eisawi.

ated to solve the violations issue with the municipality, we have done an initiative in the past where we collected \$100 from each person who could reach the sum of 100,000 dollars to then hire an attorney to make the demands on behalf of the town, but this did not happen because of each person's selfishness thinking they could solve their own problems with their connections. The town needs a guidance, psychological, scientific, cultural and legal institutions, I blame the educated group in Al-'Issawiyah as they did not do their part since each one only care about themselves, while the tribes are not doing their preventive role¹⁵⁹. This vision the people of Al-'Issawiyah have may very well help create an interventions program, through a legal clinic, which provides free services for the people of Al-'Issawiyah to follow up on their case files with the municipality and the national insurance in addition to other colonial institutions. It is evident that Al-'Issawiyah and its people have a number of core needs; these needs are connected and intertwined with each other, and can be summed up in a number of core needs. The first need is having social, youth, and cultural institutions that strive towards reinforcing the Palestinian narrative, through the creation of initiative institutions inside the town of Al-'Issawiyah, or networking with other Palestinian institutions in the city of Jerusalem or in other cities so that they would target Al-'Issawiyah with programs, courses and activities that are cultural, social, artistic and historical so that it would reinforce the Palestinian narrative while it deepens the political and cultural awareness to withstand the methods used by the community centers and cultural normalization, as well as the soft interventions the Israeli colonialism offers the town of Al-'Issawiyah as part of the hegemony and inclusion policies.

These institutions should also adopt psychological and mental health guidance because of the psychological suffering the people of Al-'Issawiyah go through. The second need a large number of people in Al-'Issawiyah have is having a legal clinic in the town of Al-'Issawiyah, one that offers all the legal services, follows up on the case files of the

people of Al-'Issawiyah from violations and fines to demolitions and arrests, as well as others. The presence of a legal clinic in the town of Al-'Issawiyah would facilitate receiving legal services for the people of Al-'Issawiyah, in addition to saving them the cost of paying a lawyer. The legal clinic could also hold awareness campaigns for the people of Al-'Issawiyah regarding their multiple issues.

The third need is having an institutional incubator that would provide financial and moral support for the people of Al-'Issawiyah in support of rehabilitating the agricultural and eastern lands of the town, to reserve the land from confiscation and activating the local and international roles in rehabilitating and farming the land to increase the agricultural productivity in the town of Al-'Issawiyah, in place of relying on the Israeli labor market so heavily.

Regarding the fourth need; developing, supporting and creating social initiatives in the town of Al-'Issawiyah to solve the basic problems in the town such as the violations, the demolition orders, the fines and arbitrary arrests; this would mean developing campaigns and initiatives from the people of Al-'Issawiyah in cooperation and coordination with rights and civil institutions as well as others, so that they would take the problems of the town more seriously in the aspect of legal resistance, steadfastness and solidarity when it comes to standing up to the intense campaign of violations the town suffers from.

As for the fifth need the people of Al-'Issawiyah have, it is related to the rehabilitation of the town and its infrastructure, seeming as the town suffers from acute overcrowding, its streets are small and not properly facilitated, in addition to the high pressure the sewage system suffers from. Al-'Issawiyah needs local and international interventions to pressure the municipality of Jerusalem into executing the infrastructure projects in Al-'Issawiyah, which the people of the town are paying for through multiple taxes including Arnona (property tax).

159. Merchant supermarket owner.

Eleventh: Conclusion

The town of Al-'Issawiyah has suffered from a number of structural violations; most prominent of which are: arresting the people of the town, the removal of its people, house arrests, recurring invasions, psychological war, a policy of indirect displacement, targeting the eyes of children, the absence of the structural map, ghettoizing the town, home demolitions, educational problems, the soft power and normalization policy through the community center. The abovementioned procedures and policies represent structural violations that aim to break the people of Al-'Issawiyah and transform the town into a ghetto that is isolated from its geographic, social and national surroundings.

When dissecting the violations Al-'Issawiyah is subjected to, it shows that every violation aims to achieve the erasure and removal of the colonized Jerusalemite, for the policy of arrests and house arrests, along with the removal aim for the social erasure and ruin the Palestinian social construct, especially dismantling the Palestinian family and separating it; whereas the policy of targeting the eyes of the children represents the physical and psychosocial erasure of the Palestinian, seeing as the loss of one eye transforms the injured person into someone with special needs, making that individual a special case that needs a lot of care attention from their family, which disrupts the normal course of a family's life. Moreover, there are policies and violations that aim towards spaciocide, economic and cultural erasure, such as the demolition of homes and the absence of the structural map; this colonial racist policy is economically draining for the people of Al-'Issawiyah because of the fines and demolitions, in addition to the constant psychological pressure and recurring fear of demolitions happening any time.

The town of Al-'Issawiyah has been targeted by a number of Israeli institutions, especially: the Israeli army, the Israeli police, special forces, the municipality of Jerusalem, the Israeli national insurance, Hadassah hospital that is expanding onto the lands of Al-'Issawiyah, the Hebrew university that was built on parts of

the town's land, the Israeli environmental authority, the Israeli civil administration, the community centers, in addition to other institutions, which means the town of Al-'Issawiyah suffers from complex colonial policies and violations that several institutions of the colonial system that represent the state's ideological apparatuses and the tools of a violent state.

Despite surrounding Al-'Issawiyah with a number of the Israeli colonial project tools that include the Hebrew university, Hadassah hospital, the French hill neighborhood, the ring roads, in addition to other isolating and separating tools that have transformed Al-'Issawiyah into an actual Palestinian ghetto, in parallel with the violent Israeli colonial campaign that has targeted large groups of people in Al-'Issawiyah; however, the people of Al-'Issawiyah are still determined and will not back down from remaining in their homes and lands. The people of Al-'Issawiyah see it as the price they have to pay for neighboring, resisting and defending Al Aqsa mosque, for despite all the colonial violence, the people of Al-'Issawiyah are patient and steadfast in the face of the Israeli colonial arrogance.

Some of the people of Al-'Issawiyah see that the goal of the Israeli policies are to isolate and break Al-'Issawiyah, while others see that geographical isolation would be impossible to achieve and link the town to the West Bank, but there are more dangerous isolating policies than the geographical one, which is the national, political and social isolation of the town, for ghettoizing the overcrowded Al-'Issawiyah that is full of problems, violence and pain will transform this ghetto into becoming psychosocially isolated from the other Jerusalemite neighborhoods and villages, seeing as Al-'Issawiyah is, as one of the interviewees said "resembles a village in the West Bank"; this is the stereotypical image the colonial authority is trying to generalize until it is normalized in the minds of the Al-'Issawiyah people and the Jerusalemites that Al-'Issawiyah is another isolated place, and does not resemble that which is of and like Jerusalem.

Twelfth: The Recommendations

- Detailed and serious documentation of the violations the town of Al-'Issawiyah suffers from; for there is information institutions specialized in the aspect of detainees, are lacking in regards to the number of detained children. The civil and local society institutions in the city of Jerusalem could contribute through offering training courses about field documentation, camera documentation, a documentary that would document the suffering and violations the people and town of Al-'Issawiyah are subjected to, especially with the vast spread of digital photographic and video content, so that the Israeli colonial practices could be investigated and also to immortalize the steadfastness of the people of Al-'Issawiyah.
- Providing financial, political, legal and psychological support for the Al-'Issawiyah youth initiative in rehabilitating the eastern area lands of Al-'Issawiyah, the legal awareness of the youth could be raised in regards to the importance of their initiative in protecting the lands of Al-'Issawiyah, providing legal counseling for dealing with the Israeli institutions, and trying to build an institutional nucleus for the social youth work in the town of Al-'Issawiyah to reinforce the collective spirit in defending the lands of the village and demanding its needs be met.
- Providing recreational and cultural institutions for the women and youth of Al-'Issawiyah, where these institutions would be a warm environment to care for the children, youth and women, as well as solve the problems those groups face, which would in turn reinforce the psychosocial and cultural immunity of all of Al-'Issawiyah's components.
- To do an international and local legal, political and media campaign for the people of Al-'Issawiyah to obtain a structural plan that takes into consideration the natural expansion of the town and the population growth. This can be achieved through networking between the institutions and the activities in Al-'Issawiyah with international, regional and local institutions that are specialized in media, politics and human rights.
- Transforming part of the work of some of the institutions in Al-'Issawiyah from that of an emergency and relief role to permanent structural development. Some institutions focus on providing relief services to specific groups of people in the town of Al-'Issawiyah, and this relief intervention may not achieve real development opportunities, for developmental efforts are of a sustainable and continuous nature, and perhaps some of the institutions in Al-'Issawiyah need a coordination board between them so that each institute takes on a certain intervention, thus the efforts of the institutions are not lost.
- Studying the opportunities of taking the cases of the children who lost their eyes due to Israeli bullets, to the international courts to sue the Israeli occupation, its soldiers and political leadership, through following up the cases with legal experts, international and local human rights institutions.
- Reinforcing the morale and psychosocial steadfastness of the people of Al-'Issawiyah, through popular, official and institutional Palestinian solidarity. This can be achieved through providing financial and morale support for the people who have been affected in Al-'Issawiyah, as well as building Jerusalem social network that would reinforce the steadfastness of the people of Al-'Issawiyah who are under a vicious attack.
- Organizing local and international solidarity campaigns to adopt the case of Al-'Issawiyah, while making good use of all the synergies, potential allies and influencers in the solidarity campaign, as well as creating a field solidarity campaign for the consuls, parliament members, as well as members of regional and international organizations, in order to visit Al-'Issawiyah and become acquainted with the suffering of its people, through speaking to the people who have been hurt by the Israeli colonial policies.
- Activating the Palestinian Authority's strategy which works on supporting and reinforcing Al-'Issawiyah and its steadfastness. Also, for the strategy to not be limited to financial support in the case of demolitions, but to develop an intervention in the aspects of supporting the resistive steadfastness, in addition to providing all sufficient support to the housing aspect, seeing as the Israeli plans aim to empty Al-'Issawiyah and Jerusalem in general.

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