

Urban planning approaches in divided cities

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Abstract

This paper provides a comparative analysis of planning approaches in divided cities in order to investigate the role of planning in alleviating or exacerbating urban division in these societies. It analyses four urban areas—Berlin, Beirut, Belfast, Jerusalem—either of which has experienced or still experiences extreme divisions related to nationality, ethnicity, religion, and/or culture. Each case study is investigated in terms of planning approaches before division and after reunification (if applicable).

The relation between division and planning is reciprocal: planning effects, and is effected by urban division. Therefore, it is generally assumed that traditional planning approaches are insufficient and that the recognized engagement methods of planners in the planning process are ineffective to overcome the problems posed by divided cities. Theoretically, a variety of urban scholars have proposed different perspectives on this challenge. In analysing the role of planning in divided cities, both the role of planners, and planning interventions are evaluated within the light of related literature.

The case studies indicate that even though different planning approaches have different consequences on the ground, there is a universal trend in harmony with the rest of the world in reshaping these cities. This conclusion draws another one; the contemporary planning interventions in divided cities do not address the root causes of division. Hence, incorporation of ‘difference’ as a prominent feature of the city to its plans is not addressed as it should be in these special cases.

Keywords

Urban space, Divided cities, Divided societies, Urban planning, Segregation.



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1. Introduction

A search on the term 'divided city' reveals the work of a variety of urban scholars who use the same term but have very different research perspectives. These different approaches appear in a duality. The first discourse focuses on divided cities as places where divisions of capitalist production processes are more pronounced. They emphasise class, race and gender relations, urban segregation and increasing inequality between the affluent and deprived city districts as their main concerns. Their geographical concern is with global cities such as New York, London, Paris and Tokyo (see, for example, Mallenkopf and Castells, 1991, Fainstein et al., 1992, Marcuse and van Kempen, 2002; Marcuse, 1995).

In the last three decades however, there has been a growing body of literature concerned about a more specific form of urban division, classified by its extremeness (Safier, 1997). These divided cities are less in numbers and indicate physical or political contestations in certain special cases. Well-known examples of such cities are Belfast, Jerusalem, Nicosia, Mostar, Beirut, and Berlin. Prominent scholars working in this field (see, for example, Bollens, 1998, 2007, 2009; Calame and Charlesworth, 2009; Boal, 1994; Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011; Hepburn, 2004; Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999; Kotek, 1999), in time, have developed, what came to be known as the 'Divided Cities Discourse' (DCD).

This paper is concerned with the second type of divided cities and resides with the literature generated by DCD writers. In this framework, the first section of the paper gives a brief literature review regarding planning in divided cities. It identifies the existing models of planning approaches suggested by different scholars and, hence, sets a basis for comparison and evaluation for case studies. The following section is devoted to a comprehensive comparative analysis of the case studies, regarding planning approaches before division and (if applicable) after reunification. For conclusion, a chart is drawn to visualise and summarise planning approaches, professional attitudes and actual interventions in each

city to observe commonalities as well as incoherencies between case studies. This conclusion will reveal that in spite of the unique attributes these cities shelter, their contemporary planning approaches are in harmony with the rest of the world in reshaping the urban. All in all, it is expected that this paper will contribute to further studies which aim to understand urban division and strive to change it with the help of urban planning.

2. Planning in divided cities

When dealing with divided cities, planning profession becomes insufficient to cope with the fierce situations caused by contestations over space. In such circumstances, it has to be re-conceptualized to go beyond the narrow framework of physical land-use planning. Taking into account that planning has the power to change the spatial, economic, social, and political dimensions of urban space, the question becomes, which of these dimensions can be used to intensify or lessen contestations over space in divided cities?

Bollens (1998, 2002, 2007) and Yiftachel (1995) propose a group of urban ethnic dimensions which are used in planning processes to exert control or repression in divided cities: 1) The *territorial dimension* is the most powerful tool used to control and distribute ethnic groups spatially via the usage of zoning policies. Problems of land ownership, drawing of jurisdictional boundaries, displacements etc. are also important tools for control (Ellis, 2000); 2) The *procedural dimension* can be used to include or exclude different sections of society from access to decision-making processes; 3) The *economic dimension* is used to allocate urban services and spending. The negative and positive externalities of urbanisation are distributed by planning processes causing situations like deprivation or dependence of certain areas; and, 4) The *cultural dimension* where group identity is maintained or threatened through cultural institutions, education and religious expression.

According to these scholars, planning has to deal with these conditions in order to achieve an effective plan-

Table 1. Models of urban policy strategies (adapted from Benvenisti, 1986; Bollens, 2007).

Urban Planning Model	Strategies
Neutral Strategy <i>Tactic:</i> Address urban symptoms of ethnic conflict at individual level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employs technical criteria in allocating urban resources and services • Distances itself from issues of ethnic identity, power inequalities and political exclusion
Partisan Strategy <i>Tactic:</i> Maintain/Increase disparities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Furthers an empowered ethnic group's values/authority and rejects the claims of disenfranchised group • Strategies seek to entrench and expand territorial claims or enforce exclusionary control of access
Equity Strategy <i>Tactic:</i> Address urban symptoms of ethnic conflict at ethnic group level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gives primacy to ethnic affiliation in order to decrease inter-group inequalities • Allocation of urban services and spending is based on group identity
Resolver Strategy <i>Tactic:</i> Address root causes/sovereignty issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To connect urban issues to root causes of urban polarization • Impacts and authority of government policy is challenged

ning process in divided cities. Building on to Benvenisti's (1986) views on partisan and resolver planning approaches in divided cities, Bollens (1998) suggests a four-model approach that can be conceptualised around the degree it addresses above-mentioned urban ethnic dimensions (Table 1).

According to Bollens (2007); 1) *neutral strategy*, approaches to division technically and distances itself from the problems caused by division; 2) *partisan strategy*, aims to increase disparities between two groups and seeks to empower the dominant group's authority further; 3) *equity strategy*, gives primacy to ethnic group identity and allocates urban services based on this identity; 4) *resolver planning*, connects urban problems to division and addresses root causes of division.⁶

In a more extreme vein, Yiftachel and Yacobi (2003) and Yiftachel (2009) identify an 'ethnocratic strategy' where all dimensions of planning (territorial, procedural, economic and cultural) combine to create the ethnocratic city; "this city is classified and represented as mixed but it is dominated by one ethno-national group. Urban citizenship [in the ethnocratic city] is unequal, with resources and services allocated on the basis of ethnicity, not residency. Urban politics are ethnicised, with a

gradual process of ethno-political polarization. Housing and employment markets are officially open, yet marked by deep patterns of ethnic segregation." (Yiftachel, 2006: 299). The ethnocratic strategy appears a step further from Bollens' (2007) partisan model.

In their book, *Planning in Divided Cities* (2011), Gaffikin and Morrissey conclude that planning in these cities has to encompass a collaborative model. This approach denotes public policy decision-making that is inclusive and based on dialogue among all stakeholders, producing ideally consensual outcomes (Brand et al., 2008). Communicative, dialogic, argumentative or deliberative planning are related concepts to collaborative planning (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011).

According to Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011), the challenge for collaborative planning in divided cities is that there are multiple and rival publics instead of a single one. Since public discourse is closely linked to public space, they suggest that shared spaces have to be created for shared futures. The difference of shared space from public space is that there is not only contact, but also engagement. Amin (2002) refers to these places as "sites of cultural transgression of a prosaic nature" and gives examples like colleges, leisure places, and neighbourhood ventures

⁶Bollens (2007) associates a different meaning to Benvenisti's (1986) resolver strategy. According to Benvenisti (1986), resolvers intervene to a binary situation by a third-party intervention, which inevitably causes either irrelevance or rejection. This negative attribute is taken out of the equation by Bollens (2007), by suggesting the elimination of the third-party. Hence, Bollens' (2007) adaptation is more far-reaching and optimistic.

like common gardens. The shared future Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011) are talking about, should be based on creating soft boundaries for facilitating integrated living and collaborative working across divides, rooted in principles of inclusion, respect for diversity, equity and interdependence. To achieve all this, the aim should shift from managing division, to transforming it.

Misselwitz and Rienits (2009) evaluate the role of planning in mediating conflicts by a dual classification. According to them, *mediated conflicts* are where conflicting interests are being absorbed and resolved or contained by established mechanisms of mediation, to the extent that they do not erupt into violence. In *unmediated conflicts* on the other hand, there is destructive confrontation, where accepted norms and mechanisms of mediation fail. These authors' views suggest that architecture and urban planning can become tools in the conflict themselves. In the case of mediated conflicts, the subjects are 'ordinary' cities (Amin and Graham, 1997) where well-established planning mechanisms keep the conflict mediated to a degree. On the other hand, unmediated conflicts are more appropriate for explaining the challenges faced by planners in divided cities.

Yiftachel (2006) argues that the above mentioned collaborative, communicative, deliberative, or discursive planning debates focus on 'the role of *planners* rather than *planning*'. This raises another important subject for planning in divided cities; professional responses. To evaluate the role of planners in divided cities, we will reside with Calame and Charlesworth's (2009) classification among four professional approaches; compliance, avoidance, engagement and advocacy. These professional approaches reflect the planner perspectives of Bollens' (2007) planning models. *Strategies of compliance* coincide with Bollens' (2007) neutral strategy where professionals show a degree of willingness to comply with the orders of political masters. This attitude induces ignorance of political pressures and invites irrelevant implementations (interventions are generally in public and commercial spaces that are perceived to be

more 'neutral'); eventually generating discontent among urban communities. *Strategies of avoidance* also reflects the neutral strategy of Bollens (2007), however, in a more severe context. Unlike strategies of compliance where planners intervene in 'neutral' grounds; planners who engage with an attitude of avoidance withhold their participation until a clear political outcome (for example, peace agreement) is achieved. They tend to disengage from the ethnic conflict and remain passive. *Strategies of engagement* can be pursued via various routes. Engagement through centralised planning can cause planners to gain Bollens' (2007) partisan strategy, if the municipality the planners are relying on is lopsided. Engagement through collaborative planning can become successful only if it is supported by politicians (local government etc.) and/or a social reform. If maintained, it can transform into Bollens' (2007) equity and resolver planning models. Engagement through privatisation occurs when the local government becomes too dysfunctional to provide a platform for professional intervention. By giving in to market forces, professionals once again engage neutrally. *Strategies of advocacy*, like engagement through collaboration, coincide with Bollens' (2007) equity and/or resolver models. Here, planning professionals confront the political processes that cause conflict; they advocate for the well-being of their city and the urban community; and in the way, they create a public debate.

Case studies below are evaluated within this theoretical framework with a temporal approach. A comparative analysis is carried out regarding planning systems, planners' responses and planning interventions in order to portray the contemporary situation in each city.

3. Comparative analysis: Case studies

In each case study, introductory information on the historical evolution of division will be given. This will be followed by presenting planning approaches during division and after reunification (if applicable). We will also be able to observe the effects/interventions of these planning approaches on

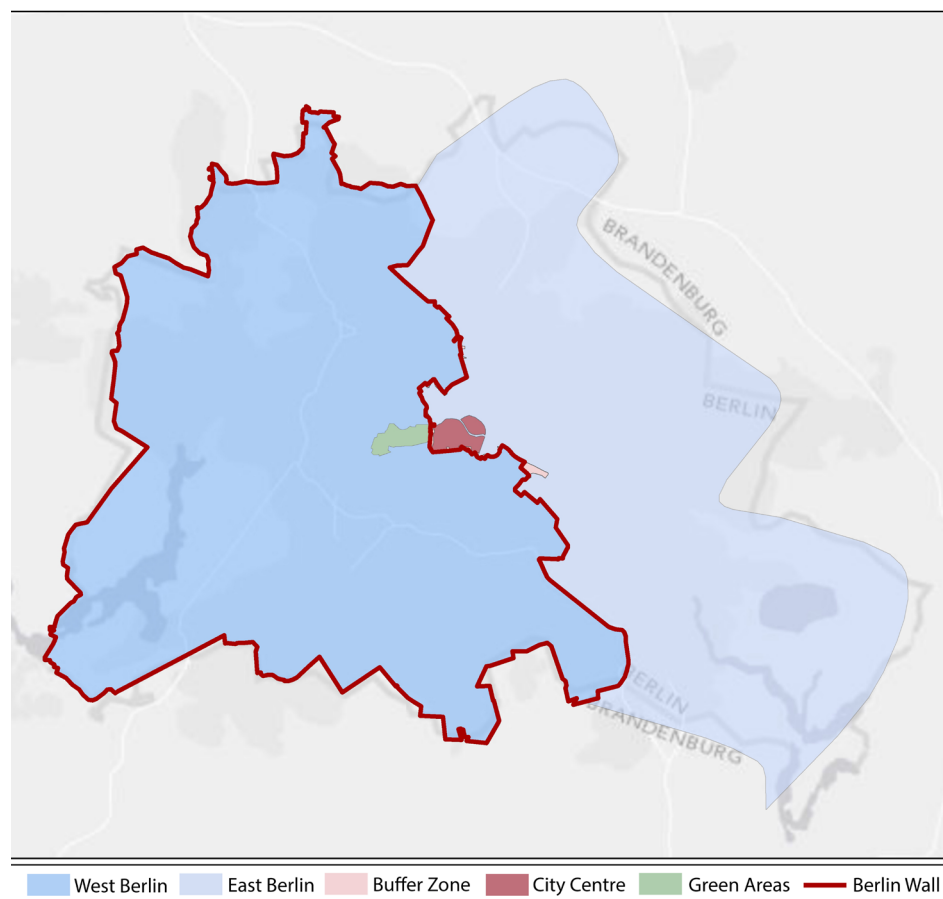


Figure 1. Berlin and Berlin Wall during division, 1961-1989.

the urban ground. As a consequence, the role of planning in divided cities will be understood comprehensively.

3.1. Berlin

History of division in Berlin

Berlin is different from other case studies examined in this study because it resembles an ideological separation caused by political differences, rather than ethnic, national or religious ones. Berlin was forcibly separated between the Allied powers—British, American, French and Russia—after the Second World War. While the rest of the country was divided into four zones of occupation, Berlin, as the seat of the Allied Control Council, was excluded from all the zones and put under a separate four-power regime (Robinson, 1953). The city was divided into West (UK, USA, and France) and East (Soviet Union) sectors. West Berlin was an exclave in Soviet territory, with road, air and rail connections to West Germany (Figure 1).

In 1948, tension between Allies and the Soviet Union accelerated and

caused the City Council, which managed the city as a unity, to disintegrate. A separate council was set up in the East, claiming to be the only legitimate body in Berlin (Elkins et al., 1988). This culminated in the formation of two rival states; in Western Germany the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), comprising the American, British, and French Zones; and in Eastern Germany the German Democratic Republic (GDR), comprising the Soviet Zone. GDR declared East Berlin as its capital, while FRG carried its capital city to Bonn.

Despite the political division, there was no physical division until 1961. At this time, The Berlin Wall was erected to restrict movement and was armed by military and police forces of the GDR. On two sides of Berlin, there was mutual non-recognition and ideological conflict; the two sides claimed to be the only legitimate successor of former Berlin.

Relationship among the two sides started to cool off in 1980s and this eventually led to the removal of the wall

in 1989. The fall of Berlin Wall is generally seen as the end of the Cold War and disintegration of eastern European countries from the Soviet Union (Loeb, 2006).

Planning during division

Due to ideological differences between Capitalist and Socialist regimes, planning discourses evolved differently during the years of division. Yet, similarities can be observed as well. In the first years of division until 1950s, both sides were mainly concerned with clearing the rubbles of war and reconstruction. Then came the process of mega housing projects, usually implemented on the outskirts of Berlin in both sides. In the last phase, both authorities were more concerned with conservation efforts in city centres.

In the East, planning and implementation were centralized at the state level. The plans showed no sign of the west and the development of the city was pursued as if the city would never reunite. Urban construction was formulated in 1950s with the 'Sixteen Principles' (Von Beyme, 1990; Elkins et al., 1988). Some principles, like limitation on growth of the city and support for the construction of skyscrapers, were consistent with western modernists' planning ideologies (Von Beyme, 1990).

In the West, the main instrument that guided development was the land-use plan (FNP) – and still is. Created by the administrative department responsible for city planning, it contrasted with the East's centralized decision-making and implementation processes. These plans were made "as if no sector boundary existed, and as if the city planning office had not been divided in 1950, the plans for the central area stretched eastwards to include the historic inner city" (Elkins et al., 1988: 180). The context of the surrounding GDR was included in pale grey, and major routes that would be reconnected following reunification were indicated by dashes in a light tone (Loeb, 2006). Contrary to the East, construction that would impede a future reunification was not permitted.

As can be seen, planning model of the GDR was neutral, where the plan-

ners employed technical skills only to allocate urban resources and services. Planners engaged through centralised planning and complied with the political administrators. Strategies of avoidance, rendering the planning process ineffective in the face of political realities were also in effect. On the other hand, planning in the West did not ignore the other side and did not limit itself with division. Planners also engaged through centralised planning, but here, the political administrators anticipated a future reunion, rendering professionals more effective and responsible in the process.

Planning after reunification

With the fall of Berlin Wall, immediate action to reunite the city took off immediately. Main considerations were:

- Physical reunification; reconnecting East and West in terms of infrastructure and spatial organization. Prominent issues were housing conditions, green spaces, clean air and water provision, and establishment of equal living standards between the inhabitants of the East and West (Loeb, 2006).
- The capital; re-establishing Berlin as the capital of a reunified Germany. This demanded the revitalisation of central functions of a capital city; which meant new construction sites for new buildings and renovation of usable older ones to serve governmental needs.
- Showcase Berlin; constructing an image as well as a set of modern buildings (Marcuse, 1998). International corporations' investments had to be redirected to Berlin to create a competitive, global city.

The main doctrine which shaped planning processes after reunification came to be identified as '*Critical Reconstruction*'; postulated at the International Building Exhibition (IBA) held right after the fall of the wall. It describes "a critical re-appropriation of the past's particular urban virtues" (Murray, 2003: 4) meaning that objectives of planning were shaped according to historical claims. The emphasis was given to pre-1914 history (Marcuse, 1998). There are some scholars

who do not find this approach fulfilling (Nasr, 1996; Marcuse, 1998) because, the urban environment after reunification did not shelter great historical artefacts and was rather an empty plate; anything could have been done in these vacant lands.

A coordinating committee was designated (Specialist Group on Space near the Border), composed of relevant district planning officers with a balanced participation from the East and West (Loeb, 2006). This collaborative planning approach had hints of equity and resolver planning models suggested Bollens (2007), as well as professional engagement and advocacy strategies proposed by Calame and Charlesworth (2009).

Presence of the Wall was acknowledged in all the plans that were created after reunification. Main consideration was to preserve the memory of the wall; by locating landmarks; leaving walkways and bicycle paths along the border strip; and preventing temporary uses along the border zone. A report developed in 2000 by the City Development Office gives details on certain developments which occurred after reunification around the Wall:

“By far the largest amount of freed land was devoted to green spaces and recreational areas (38%), while streets account for the second largest (25%). Buildings account for 20% of the new land area, while the rest is part of the canal and river (11%) or mass-transit (6%) systems.” (Loeb 2006: 80)

Berlin planning activity has since been focused on a number of large projects which are centred in the inner city. These projects have generated criticism in several respects, for instance, Marcuse asserts that “the private market decides what will be built, only the form of the buildings are open to discussion” (Marcuse, 1998: 333). *Potsdamer Platz* is an example for such large scaled, market-driven projects.

3.2. Beirut

History of division in Beirut

Beirut has always functioned as a multicultural city where religious groups coexisted, but lived in separate enclaves, with few mixed neighbourhoods (Silver, 2010). During the 19th century, the Sunni Muslim majority

lived in the south and west, while the 25% Christian population lived on the east of the city.

During 1920s, in the first years of the French Mandate, Beirut went through rapid urbanisation and industrialisation. Immigrants coming from neighbouring countries preferred to reside with their own ‘kind’. Consequently, during 1930s there were violent clashes between Christian and Muslim gangs (Khalaf, 1993). After independence in 1943, due to the Arab-Israeli war in 1948, another influx of populations, this time Palestinians entered the city’s urban fringes, increasing the Sunni Muslim population of western Beirut.

During the first civil war (1956-1958) a demarcation line which divided the city along the former commercial axis; ‘*Rue de Damas*’- Damascus Road was drawn. This line accentuated territorial identities of Beirut’s West-Muslim and East-Christian residents (Figure 2).

When the suburbs of the city expanded, Shiite and Maronite communities clashed (Davie, 1994) and this led to the second civil war (1975-1990). The government was incapable of restraining the conflict (Nagel, 2002), causing paramilitary organizations to take over. The exact demarcation line established during the hostilities of 1956-1958 was reactivated, this time known as the Green Line.

In October 1990, the civil war in Lebanon finally ended. The state was brought back to power, with equal representatives of Muslims and Christians in administration. However, it is generally asserted that (Davie, 1994; Calame and Charlesworth, 2009; Makdisi, 1997), division still lingers in the city, and planning remains indifferent to this reality. There are still clashes between different religious groups as we have witnessed in May 2012 and June 2013 (url-1; url-2).

Planning during division

In pre-war Beirut, institutional structures of planning had shortcomings (Salaam, 1993). Beirut was associated with the phenomena of primacy and over-urbanization (Tabet, 1993), mainly because of *laissez-faire* approaches to planning since the first years of independence.

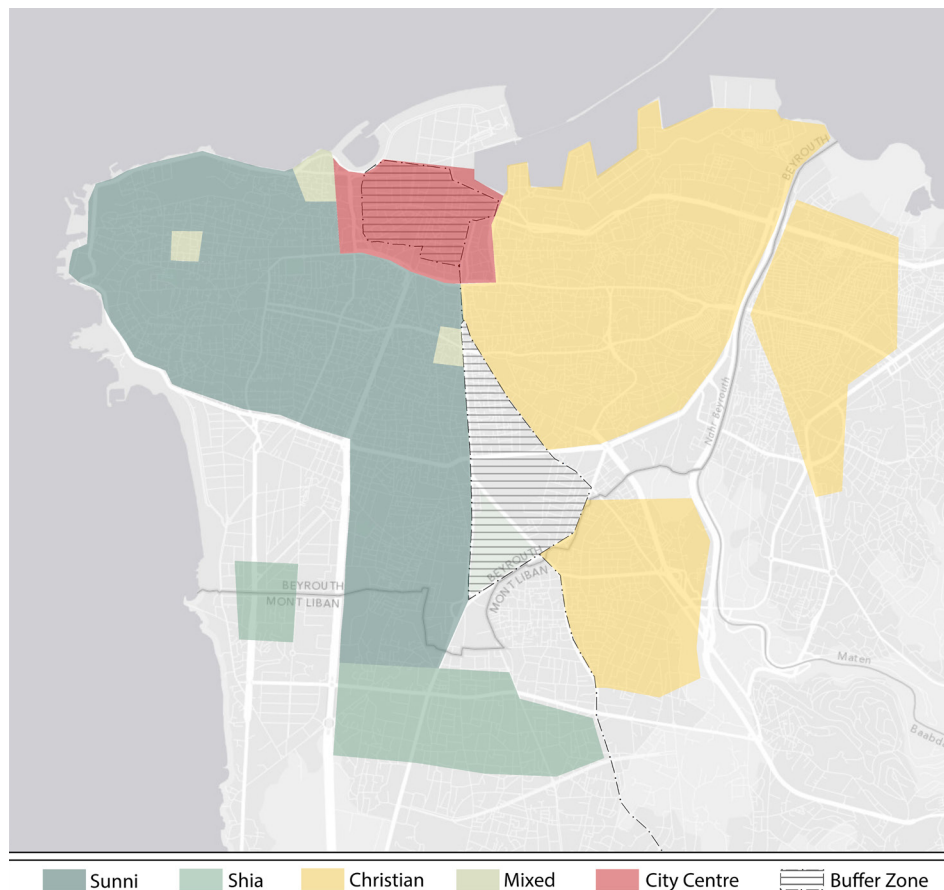


Figure 2. Beirut during division, 1975-1990 (redrawn from Chami, 2013).

Following the close of 1975-1976 traumatic events, the war seemed to be over and in 1977 a plan was commissioned to rebuild the city centre, to restore its centrality, and to improve its infrastructure (Makdisi, 1997). But the war carried on, and in 1983 a private engineering firm owned by Rafiq Hariri took over the reconstruction project and commissioned a master plan. In 1984, another round of violence once again took hold of Beirut, interrupting the reconstruction process.

Planning after reunification

Following the end of the war, reconstruction during 1990s was concentrated in Beirut's Central District (BCD) and became marked with Rafiq Hariri's reconstruction company *Solidere* (Höckel, 2007). This project is on-going and it promises social recovery through economic renewal (Fricke, 2005). An ultra-modern global cityscape is being created by futuristic urban landscaping (Larkin, 2010) and this process is under great critique (see, for example, Khalaf and Khoury,

1993; Makdisi, 1997; Gavin and Maluf, 1996).

The necessity of a single private company was justified by two reasons: 1) extreme fragmentation of property rights in certain zones of the city centre; and 2) financial and administrative incapacity of the city to carry out the needed reconstruction at the time (Kassab, 1994).

Solidere's thirty year Master Plan (1994-2024) incorporates 191 ha: a third of which is reclaimed land, 71 ha allocated for new developments such as a marina, hotels and global commerce, and only 21 ha of which are part of Beirut's original urban fabric (url-3). Throughout the early 90s, *Solidere* systematically cleared the war damaged urban fabric, creating a *tabula rasa* at the heart of the city (Larkin, 2010; Nasr, 1996). Makdisi (1997) suggests that by 1993, as much as 80% of all the structures in the downtown were damaged beyond repair, yet only a third of this destruction was war-inflicted.

These developments coupled with displacement of an estimated 2600

families, owners and tenants (Larkin, 2010) has generated considerable unease in public, academic and civic realms. The main concerns of criticism are:

- The usage of state resources to transform the central city into an island for the rich, while most of the country remains underdeveloped and segmented due to economic inequalities and sectarian divides (Makdisi, 1997; Kassab, 1994).
- Public services which do not have an economic value, such as public transport or social housing, are not included in the plan (Höckel, 2007).
- Shaping public space by private enterprise marginalizes the State from planning process and raises questions about public wellbeing and common good (Kassab, 1994).
- Discontinuity from historical bonds challenges Beirut's cultural and historical memory (Larkin, 2010; Fricke, 2005).

As we have observed, in Beirut, planning during the years of division was out of the question. Following reunification, Bollens' (2007) neutral planning model was adapted due to ignoring the root causes of division and trying to build a city anew. Engagement through privatisation was seen as inevitable in the face of a dysfunctional administration. However, this approach rendered the planners neutral and passive in the face of a divided city.

3.3. Belfast

History of division in Belfast

Ethnic conflict in Belfast has its roots in the 17th century British colonial rule. For the native Catholic population, new towns outside city walls were built by the Protestant colonisers (Jones, 1960). With the industrial boom of the 19th century, labour need was mainly met from these rural Catholics. Disturbances rose as the numbers of Catholics increased. They settled along Falls Road, while the Protestants remained around Shankill Road (Figure 3).

Irish nationalism grew in opposition to the movements in support of union with Great Britain, consequently transforming the conflict into a political one. A new political label was add-

ed to religious (Catholic-Protestant) and ethnic (Irish-British) divisions; Nationalist-Unionist (Boal, 1996). In 1921, partition took place. Ireland was now 80% of the island (mostly Irish/Catholic) that seceded from the UK; while Northern Ireland (predominantly British/Protestant) was granted a degree of regional autonomy, with Belfast as their capital. As a consequence, segregation in Belfast gradually increased during the 20th century (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009).

The period after 1969, when the first Peace Wall/Peace Line was erected, is referred to as 'The Troubles'. As segregation increased, the concentration of each ethnic group increased, and the boundaries between two groups became well-defined with physical barriers (peace walls). The government supported these walls aiming to minimize or eliminate conflict among the two groups; hence they were intended to be temporary. However today, these walls still remain and many others have subsequently been added to the urban fabric, adding up to a total of 88 peace walls within the city (CRC, 2008) (Figure 3).

The duration of The Troubles date from the end of 1960s to 1998 Good Friday Agreement. However, political agreements changed the nature of political violence rather than eliminated it (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011). Today, division still lingers and new peace lines are demanded and planned to be built in addition to the existing ones.

Planning during 'The Troubles'

During The Troubles, planning in Northern Ireland pursued a strategy of formal technocratic neutrality (Ellis, 2001; Bollens, 1998). In other words, there was no effort to tackle residential segregation from the field of planning (Murtagh, 2004).

Planning system in Belfast was established in 1972, by British intervention to stabilize the volatile political conflict. Due to this centralized system of policy-making, the locally elected Belfast City Council had little policy making power (Bollens, 1998; Ellis 2000, 2001). Instead, power was located in Department of the Environment, in London.

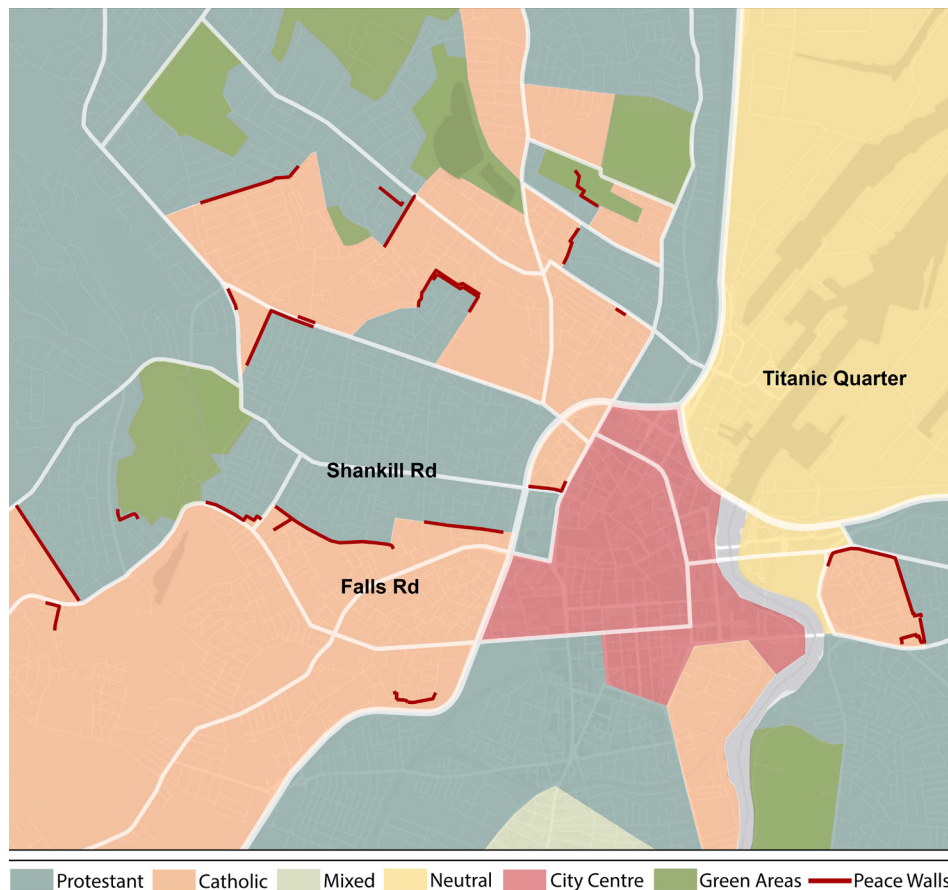


Figure 3. Physical appearance of the divided city, Belfast, 2014 (redrawn from Gaffikin et al., 2008).

The operative principles of Belfast urban policymakers and administrators were to: (1) position government's role and image in Belfast as a *neutral* participant not biased toward either Protestant or Catholic; and (2) assure that government policy does not exacerbate sectarian tensions by managing ethnic space in a way that reacts to, and reflects, residents' wishes (Bollens 1998, 2001). The planning policy distanced itself from any involvement in politics and by ignoring the sectarian divides in the society, perpetuated them further.

In the three decades of direct rule, hardly any effort was made to understand, evaluate or prioritize the significance of residential segregation within planning, urban regeneration or housing management arenas (Murtagh, 2004).

Planning after Good Friday Agreement

The peace process developed a new administrative order; the centralized structure of the government was abolished. Two Northern Ireland de-

partments were made responsible for planning issues: Department of Environment and Department of Regional Development.

The severity of political violence created an urgent need for community relations work (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011). Thus, Northern Ireland Act of 1998 obligated government departments to present equity schemes, aiming to: 1) promote community relations; 2) celebrate cultural diversity; 3) promote equality through service delivery; and, 4) promote equality through a representative workforce (Dennis, 2011). Planning policy made a commitment both to tackle the effects of residential segregation and to promote neutral sites for employment, recreation and housing (Murtagh, 2004).

In order to address equality schemes and promote good relations, a 'community cohesion' objective was adopted in The Regional Development Strategy, produced in 2001. The aim was to foster development which contributes to community relations, recognises

cultural diversity and reduces socioeconomic differentials within Northern Ireland (DRD, 2001).

Because of the legislative weight of the equality provisions, its delivery has not been as effective as first envisaged (Ellis, 2001; Murtagh and Keaveney, 2006). Even if other governmental bodies have taken up some of the challenges, these commitments are not followed through to development plans and planning policy (Gaffikin et al., 2008).

Murtagh (2002, in Conway and Byrne, 2005) asserts that Department of Environment (DENI) uses “wedge planning”, whereby industrial, business or public space is planned as a buffer between contentious areas. This can be seen as a positive alternative to building a peace line, however it does not guarantee that conflict will decrease since it does not mean that these areas will remain neutral (Bown, 2007).

The neutrality of planning in Northern Ireland has been widely acknowledged (Benvenisti, 1986; Boal, 1996; Bollens, 1998, 2001; Ellis, 2000; Hackett et al., 2011). The search for new investment and the attempt to counter the image of a city at war, a *laissez faire* approach to city planning has been adapted. This approach helped create “the legacy that now bedevils the central city” (Sterrett et al., 2011: 103) with its vast road projects and proliferation of vacant land. Show case areas are selected for prestigious projects to be implemented, such as the Titanic Quarter, and new apartment blocks for city-centre living have been built. As a consequence, as Gaffikin et al. assert; “while some now regard this ‘new’ Belfast as a cosmopolitan oasis, surrounded largely by the ‘old’ fortress Belfast of sectarian enclaves, the spatial splits in the city are more differentiated” (Gaffikin et al., 2008: 17).

Planning practices after the peace agreement has nevertheless remained neutral in Belfast. Professional engagement of planners have been compliance, avoidance and technical neutrality since the beginning of the division process. Belfast has become a stereotype for exemplifying the ‘neutral planning model’ of Bollens (2007), and as we have emphasized, this is a widely

accepted phenomenon.

3.4 Jerusalem

History of division in Jerusalem

To trace the history of division in Jerusalem, Benvenisti (1987) asserts that one must fix the starting point to 1882, when the first Zionist settlement was established. But the conflict took a stark change starting from mid-1930s, during the British rule.

Jerusalem was the capital of British Mandate of Palestine between 1920 and 1948. At the time, the city was composed of religious quarters, and the British carried on administering the city in this manner (Pullan, 2009). However, British quarters were more autonomous than their predecessors, causing Jewish and Palestinian communities to develop into cohesive and self-sustaining societies (Benvenisti, 1987).

Right after World War II, international support for an Israeli state emerged (Wasserstein, 2002) and culminated into a civil war in 1947-1948. This resulted in the termination of British Mandate and Israel’s declaration of independence. Following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the formal division of Jerusalem took place in 1949 as a result of a UN Resolution. From 1949 to 1967, the Green Line marked the international armistice lines between Israel and Jordan as well as East and West Jerusalem. The city became socially, physically and functionally divided.

Jerusalem was not reunified by agreement, but instead by an occupation as a result of the 1967 Six-Day War. East Jerusalem was incorporated into Israel and this was not recognized by the international community or the Palestinians. Since the two halves of the city were reunited by force, they remained hostile even though the Green Line was dismantled.

The persisting mental wall among communities is joined by a physical one since 2002—the Security Fence—throughout Jerusalem and the West Bank. This is, in a sense, a re-division of the city. Systems of physical and electronic separation are being built between Israeli and Palestinian territories and within the Palestinian areas (beyond the internationally recog-

nized Green Line) in northward and eastward directions (Klein, 2005). The regional barrier separates Israeli Jerusalem from Palestinian suburbs to the east. Today, a bird's eye of Jerusalem shows this complex patchwork of settlements and villages across the city, with its plethora of borders (Figure 4).

Planning during British mandate (1914-1948)

During the 30 years of British rule, Jerusalem was administered and planned as one urban entity. Five land-use plans were prepared which all had one common feature; the separation of the sacred Old City from the religious territories that surrounded it, transforming it into a *corpus separatum* (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999), which never materialized. Even though the British administered the whole city as one urban entity in all infrastructural elements, the inter-communal struggle led to separate Arab/Jewish communal services, and eventually to separate development of commerce and economy.

Planning during division (1948-1967) and after reunification

Israeli planning between 1948 and 67, and especially after 1967 followed the direction of British planning system; many of the new suburbs continued to be designed as individual enclaves, accessed and structured by primary road systems and separated by open landscapes (Pullan, 2009). But these enclaves were mainly built only for the Jewish population for nationalistic purposes: "Since 1967, urban policies have been shaped by objectives of national security and political control" (Bollens, 1998: 8). Bollens gives details of the goals of planning policies after 1967 as follows:

- To extend the Jewish city demographically and geographically.
- To control the heights for military security, requiring Jewish neighbourhoods to be built on strategic hilltops or in areas needed to secure hilltops.
- To reconnect the formerly partitioned areas.
- To build Jewish neighbourhoods so that division of the city in terms of political control and sovereignty

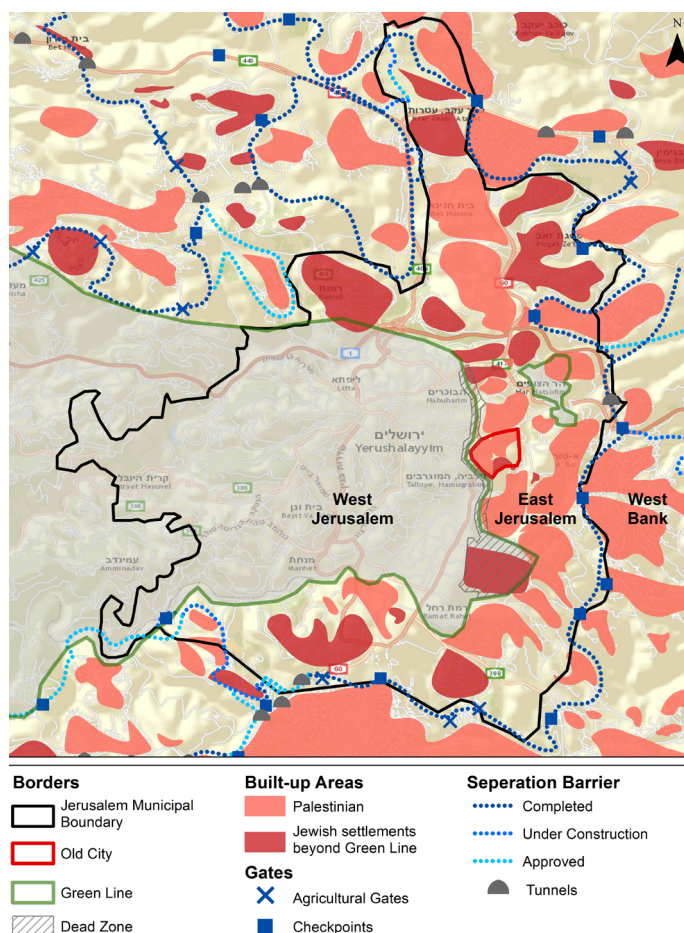


Figure 4. Physical appearance of the divided city, Jerusalem, 2014 (redrawn from Chiodelli, 2013).

would never again be possible.

Chiodelli (2012) refers to the planning policies of Israel as "Judaisation" and reports that; since 1967, 35% of Palestinian land has been annexed to build 51 000 Jewish houses, in exclusive Jewish neighbourhoods.

This kind of planning is nominat-ed as "partisan" planning (Benvenisti, 1986; Bollens, 1999) and establishes a radical form of "frontier urbanism" (Pullan, 2011), "forensic architecture" (Weizman et al., 2010), "conflict urbanism" (Misselwitz and Rieniets, 2009) and a "geometry of occupation" (Weizman, 2006). A local form of gated communities is the main form of urban development (Pullan, 2011). These statements are an evidence of how architecture, planning and urban design are used as a tool in the conflict themselves (Misselwitz and Rieniets, 2009). To add on to this, a 'security fence' dividing Israel from the West Bank is being built amid growing international concern. Israel repeatedly states that the wall is for security, with

the intention of preventing Palestinian infiltration from the West Bank, especially suicide bombers.

In 2000 Jerusalem Master Plan was launched, which was the first plan to include the whole area of Jerusalem, including the east. To this day, the plan has not yet been approved due to revisions and critiques but is a frame of reference for current planning decisions in Jerusalem (url-4). The plan is highly criticized for having racist overtones and discriminatory approaches. Only one Arab is included in the planning team composed of 39 professional workers (Margalit, 2005). Chiodelli (2012) and Margalit (2005) imply that the plan is inapplicable as it is unrealistic. It ignores the spatial consequences of the wall (Chiodelli, 2012, 2013) and states that the complicated situations arising from its presence will be treated 'case by case' (Chiodelli, 2012).

Yiftachel and Yacobi (2003) and Yiftachel's (2009) identification of the 'ethnocratic regime' where all dimensions of planning (territorial, procedural, economic and cultural) combine to create the 'ethnocratic city' is actually given to explain Jerusalem's urban policies and planning approaches.

The well-acknowledged partisan planning model of Jerusalem is mostly possible because the Israeli planners are engaging through centralised planning, without questioning the directives from above. They perceive themselves as technical experts, comply with the authorities and disengage from the ethnic conflict and remain passive. Hence, it would not be wrong to assert that, it is unlikely to observe such a degree of partisanship in planning in any other urban context.

4. Conclusions

Assessment of planning approaches during division firstly reveals that, division has deliberately been overlooked by certain cities (East Berlin, Belfast); while in others, planning was/is used as a tool to divide a city even further (Jerusalem). In the case of Beirut, planning during years of division was out of question since the city was in total chaos.

Secondly, during division, the two sides of the divide develop according

to different planning principles. For instance, in Berlin, the East acknowledged the Sixteen Principles, while the West developed according to FNPs. On the other hand, the absence of planning due to either civil war (Beirut, Jerusalem) or ineffective planning authorities (Belfast, Beirut, East Jerusalem) cause different development patterns to occur in two sides of the city. This becomes a major problem after reunification.

Another problem originating from years of division and burdening the city after reunification occurs in cities where division has been prolonged. Not only due to the fact that these cities are planned to operate in a self-sufficient manner during the years of division, but also, in some, the dividing line is ignored and construction impeding a future reunification is supported. East Berlin has chosen this path. Today, this is the main reason why the two halves of the city still cannot be fully integrated (physically).

Indifference of planning to specific problems faced by divided cities, or in other words, *neutral planning*, can promote divisions in the city. Belfast and British Mandate Jerusalem are examples of this situation. Even though measures of equity have been strategized in Belfast after the Good Friday Agreement, not referring to root causes of division did not help much in eliminating differences.

After reunification, one of the main challenges becomes planning a city that was once planned by two bodies. For instance, after reunification, Berlin had to restore its planning institutions among other problems caused by division. Further, rapprochement becomes a necessity and the question of public interest turns into one of the most debated issues. If the process of planning is conducted by a private institution (like Solidere in Beirut) protecting the interests of the public becomes questionable. Even if planning is performed by government institutions, both sides may not benefit as equals (as it is in Jerusalem today). A seemingly simple procedure in a 'normal city', like the addition of a bus line, can become problematic in a divided city.

The tendency of all case studies to

Table 2. *Current planning approaches, interventions and professional responses to division in divided cities.*

City	Planning Approach	Physical Interventions	Professional Responses
Berlin	Area reconstruction	New quarters in the city (i. e. Potsdamer Platz)	Engagement through collaborative planning
Beirut	Urban redevelopment	Beirut Central District	Engagement through privatization
Belfast	Area redevelopment	New quarters in the city (i.e. Titanic Quarter)	Engagement through centralized planning / Compliance / Neutral / Technocratic
Jerusalem	Urban development strategies	Metropolitan expansion / Separation	Engagement through centralized planning / Compliance / Avoidance / Technocratic / Partisan

showcase their cities as competitive and global is in line with what other cities around the world are doing today. Divided cities want to show the world that they are not different and that they can compete with other cities as part of globalisation. For instance, Solidere's development strategy of the BCD as a super-modern island has no historical claims and is in great contrast with the city's present-day problems (related to its history of division). This approach pulls them away from the realities of that they are (or once were) divided. However, by acknowledging the wall's existence, Berlin seems to be a step further in this regard. The aim to re-build the city with an image dating to pre-war period has been helpful in promoting commonalities between the two sides, rather than their differences.

The main concern of this paper has been to investigate whether current interventions in divided cities are addressing the problems deriving from division, or not. Even though different planning approaches have been adapted in each case study, the results reveal that their planning processes are no different than that of other cities around the world.

In accordance with the theoretical framework given in the introduction, conclusions drawn from the comparative analysis of contemporary planning approaches have been summarized in Table 2. Berlin stands out among other divided cities as the example of most successfully achieved reunification. The fact that planning in Berlin does not ignore the existence of the Berlin Wall and instead embraces it and uses

it as an advantage, needs to be emphasized. There is a collaborative planning process which integrates the planners of East and West to make plans that integrate the East and West of the city. At the same time, the aim to showcase the city as a global one is causing project-oriented development. Via area reconstruction, new quarters like Mediaspree are being built in the city to raise its reputation as a global city.

Privatization of planning in Beirut, claiming to accomplish social recovery via economic development, has proven to be successful only for the latter. Economic recovery of the city and the country since reunification as a whole cannot be ignored, but this approach could have been more successful if economic recovery was supported by social and physical policies which included the whole of the city, instead of only the central district.

The fact that Belfast was divided from entirely within the organism, with no war or any other intervention (other than colonisation) to the urban system, makes its reunification process much harder. There is an illusion of normalcy in the city. This is why; planning in Belfast generally seems to favour its hyper-segregated structure. Planners tend to comply with the aims of the central planning authority to act neutral regarding divisions in the city. And as in Berlin and Beirut, Belfast tries to place itself back on the world map by enduring major area redevelopment projects, like the Titanic Quarter.

Jerusalem is the most postulated example of how planning can be used as

a tool in divided cities. Here, planning is used to reshape the urban structure and community according to the dominant society's norms and principles. This process is referred to as *partisan planning*. Planners are indifferent to the reality of exclusion of the Palestinians and they are only included in the process through technic lenses. Political discourses are prominent in planning procedures and they are not questioned by the planners.

The case studies indicate that even though different planning approaches have different consequences on the ground, there is a universal trend in harmony with the rest of the world in reshaping the urban. This approach is based on showcasing the city as a place to invest in, in order to increase its competitiveness in the global network of cities. This conclusion draws another one; the contemporary planning interventions in divided cities do not address the root causes of division. Hence, incorporation of 'difference' as a prominent feature of the city to its plans is not addressed as it should be in these special cases. In other words, implementing modern, major projects in a piecemeal manner is not helping these cities to face their history and present.

This paper aimed to investigate planning approaches of divided cities in addressing their problems deriving from division. All in all, it is believed that this paper will contribute to further studies which aim to understand urban division and strive to change it with the help of urban planning.

As explained in the introduction, the term divided city may refer to two different types of cities (global cities and divided cities) in urban literature. The comparative perspective of urban division studies is usually focussed only among divided cities within themselves or global ones, but not between them. Further research which compares these two types of cities may help to close this gap by providing a comprehensive comparative perspective.

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