

## URBAN CONSEQUENCES OF DIVISION IN ‘DIVIDED CITIES’: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Gizem Caner<sup>1</sup>, Fulin Bölen<sup>2</sup>

### Abstract

In the last three decades, there has been a growing body of literature concerned with a specific form of urban division, classified by its extremity. Whether the cities experiencing extreme division are called *partitioned* (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999), *polarized* (Benvenisti, 1986; Bollens, 1998), *contested* (Hepburn, 2004, 2006), or generally *divided*, the main issues in these cities are agreed upon: disruptive circumstances of extreme tensions related to nationality, ethnicity, religion and culture. Well known examples of such cities are Belfast, Jerusalem, Nicosia, Sarajevo, Mostar, Beirut, and Berlin. Due to their distinctive attributes, these cities have an exclusive discourse differentiating them from other urban areas.

In this context, the central theme of this paper is to comparatively analyse urban consequences of division in selected case studies—Belfast, Beirut, Berlin, Jerusalem. Before starting the analysis, general definitions and concepts of the term ‘divided city’ will be briefly summarized. Then, each city will be analysed in terms of their divisive attributes. As each city has unique attributes of geography, history, and economic development, their division processes and outcomes differ substantially. Therefore, in each city, consequences of division are evaluated in concordance with their division processes.

In the conclusion part, it will be revealed that in spite of differences among cities, a common pattern of functional, structural, and social urban consequences will surface. These general outcomes will be illuminating for future studies that aim to generate planning models to tackle with the problems of divided cities.

### 1. Introduction

A general literature review on divided cities reveals a division between two separate discourses. The first one, mostly developed from 1950s to 1980s, referred to divided cities as common themes and conditions prevailing throughout the developed western world: divisions of capitalist production processes, urban segregation and increasing inequality between the affluent and deprived city districts (Safier, 1997). 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 extremity. This limited sense indicated physical or political contestations in few special cases.

---

<sup>1</sup> PhD Candidate, Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul, Turkey – gizemcaner@gmail.com

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Dr., Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul, Turkey – bolen@itu.edu.tr

According to Anderson (2008) “mainstream urban studies in English-speaking academia have generally concentrated on 'normal', 'undivided' and more or less peaceful cities [...] where these [ordinary] cities are considered 'divided', we have seen it is usually not by nationalism but by other divisions, such as ethnicity per se or social class”.

The above excerpt implies that reasons of division are determinant in identifying which group a city belongs to. Processes like globalization, decolonization and neo-liberal restructuring form socio-economic differences in cities, often layered with ethnic differences. Status, class, welfare, power, race and ethnicity are the lines of division, hence, pluralist disputes are emphasized (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011). These cities—New York, London, Paris etc.—are usually referred to as ‘multicultural’, ‘cosmopolite’ or ‘global’, and are believed to be easier to cope with since they are ‘merely’ divided (Benvenisti, 1986).

On the other hand, most prominent processes behind division in ‘extremely’ divided cities are political and ideological oppressions like wars, as well as divide-and-rule and exit strategies of the colonizers. In these cities, long-standing questions of identity, national sovereignty, territory, culture, language, and religion are to the fore, and they are usually layered with socio-economic differences. The presence of these undisputable aspects turns these cities into areas of challenge by all means.

This paper is mainly concerned with the latter type of divided cities. Four case studies have been chosen from this group: Belfast, Beirut, Berlin, and Jerusalem. Division in these cities can be perceived as an unwanted and unexpected intervention to the city ‘organism’. How this organism responds to this situation from within it, and how outside factors shape the development of the city during and after such an intervention is the main concern of this paper.

As conclusion, this paper aims to find a common pattern valid for all these cities by looking at the case studies’ urban development processes during their division phases. By doing so, it is expected that this paper will contribute to further studies regarding planning approaches and management means in divided cities.

## **2. Case Studies**

Urban consequences of division in case studies are evaluated in a process-oriented manner. The process of division may be composed of following phases: pre-division, division, post-division or reunification (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999). Each phase has a turning point marked by significant changes, and this is reflected on urban space.

Among case studies, Belfast is the only city that has not achieved reunification and remained in the post-division phase. On the other hand, Berlin and Beirut have both been reunified for almost twenty years. The case of Jerusalem stands discrete; even though reunification has been achieved, it was not recognized by the international

community since it was acquired by illegal annexation of West Bank territory. Moreover, latest developments point to a re-division phase in this city.

Within this study, division process and its urban consequences are examined in detail for each case. Each phase of division is analysed by giving specific reference to the changing nature of the physical setting of the city and its urban development patterns. Apart from the consequences of the imposed situation caused by division, other factors exerting force on the shaping of the city—such as planning approaches—are evaluated.

## 2.1 Belfast

**[Pre-division]** Ethnic conflict in Belfast has its roots in the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the British decided to establish a colony on the island by a process known as the *Ulster Plantation*. The newcomers—Protestants—walled themselves to form what the natives—Catholics—perceived to be “pockets of civilization” (Jones, 1960).

With the industrialization boom of Belfast in 19<sup>th</sup> century, labour demand was mainly met by the Catholics living in the hinterland (Boal, 1996). As a result, even though Catholics started to reside within the walls, they lived relatively clustered in their own residential environments (Jones, 1960), which were mainly located on the west side of the city. By clustering linearly on the axis of the Falls Road, they formed the Catholic working class area of Belfast. Similarly, working class Protestants started locating on the north, along the Shankill Road. These clusters are still visible in the city (Figure 1).

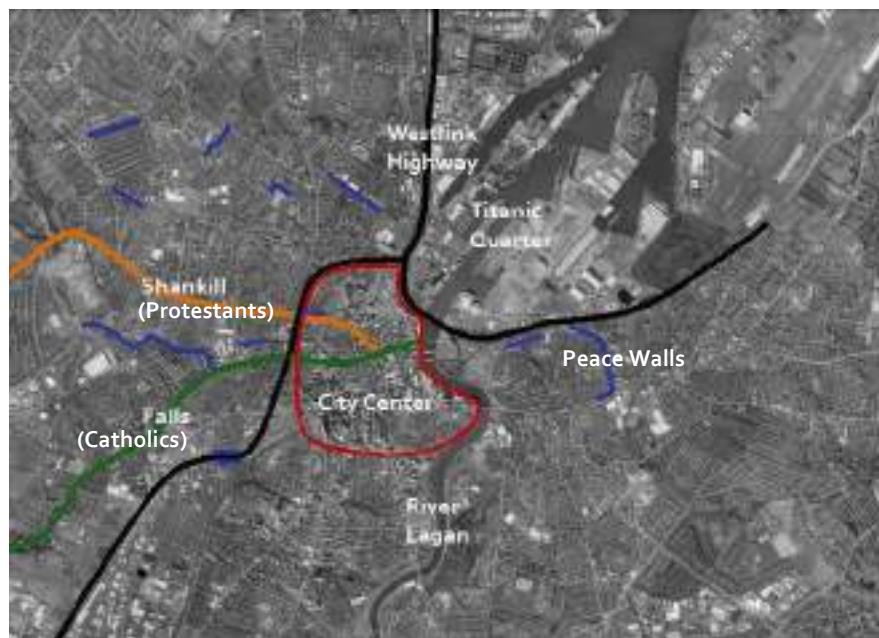


Figure 1. Belfast's Division (1974-2012)

The mainly ethnic and religious division took a nationalist form by the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when Catholics started to voice their demand for Irish independence, and Protestants for reunion with Great Britain (Boal, 2002). Disturbances arose on the streets of Belfast. Catholics were from now on also referred to as Republicans and/or Nationalists, whereas Protestants as Loyalists and/or Unionists. As a result, in 1921, Ireland seceded from the United Kingdom, while only Belfast, which was predominantly British and Protestant, was granted regional autonomy. Consequently, segregation increased gradually during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**[Division]** As Catholics in Belfast became more alienated, they started to retreat into an institutionally self-sufficient world. By 1969, with the beginning of “The Troubles”, spatial artefacts of division, the so-called “Peace Walls” started to appear on the face of the city.

As more Catholics and Protestants moved closer to their own ethnic groups, the boundaries of residential enclaves became more pronounced and symbolically significant (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009). Around 60.000 people moved as result of The Troubles (Brand, 2009).

Peace walls were constructed at ‘interfaces’ – boundaries where segregated Catholic and Protestant neighbourhoods collide with each other. When first constructed in 1969, it was hoped that they would be temporary. However not only are these walls still in place over 40 years later, but many others have subsequently been added to the urban fabric, adding up to a total of 88 up-to-date (Community Relations Council, 2008).

**[Post-division]** Even though Good Friday Agreement was signed in 1998, it did not bring solutions to the fractured structure of the city, or to everyday life within it. Urban arena of Belfast today, is a hyper-segregated one with strict sectarian territoriality (Bollens, 1998). In 2001, around half of the city’s population lived in wards that are 90% Protestant or 90% Catholic community background (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011). As people moved to their homogeneous neighbourhoods, the city centre went through significant population decline. Today, major ‘showcase’ projects like Victoria Square, and other new apartment blocks for city-centre living has been built to overcome this disadvantage. But according to Gaffikin et al (2008), these developments are further dividing the two communities since the sectarian enclaves remain in place.

The ethno-religious clusters are particularly working class, suffering from a low quality of urban environment (Sterrett et al, 2011). In these clusters, social infrastructure, such as hospitals, schools, religious compounds and leisure services are duplicated. Each community builds their own institutions to meet the needs of their own community.

The contemporary urban structure of the inner and central city has been shaped by a comprehensive redevelopment process that emphasized major road infrastructure

projects (Hackett et al 2011). For instance, the new Westlink Motorway cut a path through working class housing areas and became a barrier between Catholics and Protestants. Further problems regarding transportation infrastructure are the increasing presence of cul-de-sacs since the 1980s (Figure 2) due to the eradication of peace walls.



Figure 2. The Layout of Inner City Belfast – 1960s, top; 2000, bottom (Forum for Alternative Belfast, 2006)

Figure-ground ratios of the city have changed drastically over recent years. Car-dominance in the city caused the emergence of spacious car parks, which further contributed to the increase of vacant and derelict land near the inner city. This situation, coupled with derelict buildings and poor pedestrian connections, bring about questions of safety. One measurement against these concerns is the caged houses. These houses are caged by individuals with bars and grills over gardens for protection against flying stones and the like.

Another important consequence of division in Belfast is the transformation of sectarian regions via the use of symbols. Murals are the most visible artefacts of territorial ownership usually displaying solidarity and grief. Curb stones are also transformed into territorial markers through red-white-blue or green-white-orange paint in many Unionist or Nationalist areas, respectively. Flags, being cheap and easy to display, are also used for strengthening groups' identity.

The bitterest artefacts of division without dispute are the 'Peace Walls'. 88 peace walls exist in Belfast today, some as high as ten meters and sometimes several kilometres long. Some have gates which can be closed at specific times of the day; some are operated by the police, some by adjacent communities (Brand, 2009). These walls are usually built upon request of the residents living near interface areas.

Recently, these walls have been painted by graffiti artists around the world to create tourist attraction (Figure 3), but as Brand (2009) implies, beautification legitimizes their existence. Peace walls are the scars of conflict on the urban form of the city, appearing suddenly and unpredictably, interrupting roads/parks, and shaping daily movement patterns of local residents drastically.



Figure 3. Peace Wall Painted with Graffiti, Cupar Way (Authors)

## 2.2 Beirut

**[Pre-division]** Beirut has always functioned as a multicultural city where religious groups coexisted, but lived in separate enclaves, with few mixed neighbourhoods (Silver, 2010). During 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a 25% Christian community, living on the east side of the old city walls which constituted a boundary against Muslims living on the south and west of it. Mixed neighbourhoods existed near the commercial areas of the city (in the west), but even here, sectarian consciousness was strong among the residents (Davie, 1994).

As in Belfast, starting from the mid-19th century, Beirut witnessed rapid urbanization. From 1870s up to the First World War, Maronite peasants were coming from the rural areas and settling on the eastern quarters with the Greek Orthodox community, making Christians the majority in the city (Khalaf, 1993).

During the first years of the French Mandate (1920s), Beirut flourished as the “Paris of the Mediterranean” (Nagel, 2002). There was constant influx of immigrants from neighbouring countries, who preferred to reside with their own ‘kind’. The city doubled in size. Consequently, ‘Lebanism’ of the Christians was pitted against ‘Arabism’ of the Sunni Muslims, and 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, changed the face of Beirut's urban development. Dense shanty towns and refugee camps started to grow in Beirut's urban fringe. The main result was an increase in the Sunni Muslim population in the western part of Beirut.

The first civil war during 1956-1958 saw the first real demarcation line dividing the city along the former commercial axis; '*Rue de Damas*' - Damascus Road. Barricades were constructed across main roads; accentuating territorial identities of Beirut's West-Muslim and East-Christian residents. While Sunni Muslims and Greek-Orthodox communities lived near the city centre, the later coming population of Shiites and Maronites lived in the suburbs (Davie, 1994). When these suburbs carried on expanding, they started to meet; inevitably this led to tensions along interface areas (Davie, 1994), which led to another civil war.

**[Division]** The civil war started in 1975. Paramilitary organizations of the religious sects took power in their territory, and the line established during the first civil war was reactivated, which later became to be known as the Green Line (Figure 4). Permeability between two sectors of the city was entirely blocked.



Figure 4. Beirut's Division (1974-1990)

During the first phase of the war, Beirut experienced an outflow of people from its core, resulting in a process of 'ruralisation' (Tabet, 1993). These population movements escalated the slums and squatter settlements on the outskirts of the city. Ribbon developments appeared, beaches on the south of Beirut became slum areas, and whole coast on the north was ruined by high-rise complexes (Nagel, 2002).

Urban form of Beirut went through enormous changes during years of division; streets widened or narrowed according to exposure to snipers; buildings were classified according to how much they faced the battle zone; and, there was a

disjunction between intended function and effective use (Yahya, 1993). Former commercial and civic buildings, formerly the scene of inter-communal commerce and social interaction, were transformed into militia headquarters (Fricke, 2005). The built-up area, road and infrastructure systems sustained severe damage.

As further fractions into subgroups in East and West of Beirut started to appear the city became spatially fragmented into militia-controlled 'mini-states' (Silver 2010). The proliferation of territories, defined according to sub-national community or sectarian identities, fragmented the urban space into very small structural and functional parts (Makdisi, 1997; Nagel, 2002). Each of these subgroups marked their territory by setting up check-points, drawing graffiti, and building other visible or invisible boundaries (Davie, 1994). Yahya (1993) describes how Beirutis created self-sufficient neighbourhoods and apartment blocks, by generating electric power, providing housing, and safety for their inhabitants.

By the end of the civil war, one fourth of Beirut's buildings were damaged or demolished (Figures 5 and 6), some having been removed to allow movement of military vehicles, and half the population had temporarily or permanently left their homes. As a result, Beirut's primacy in Lebanon as the capital city was dismantled and its functions and services were decentralized to adjoining peri-urban or rural areas (Khalaf, 1993).

**[Reunification]** In October 1990, the civil war in Lebanon ended, "more from exhaustion than from the clear victory of any one group" (Nagel, 2002). Within a couple of months, the paramilitary organizations had been dissolved and the Green Line dismantled. However, the 19th century East-West divide is still there; neither of the two parts wants to pass to the other side (Davie, 1994). Davie (1994) explains this on-going division as follows: "having lived in two different geographies with two different cultural ways of living, each evolved into individual ways" and therefore developed their own social solidarity and self-sufficiency.

According to many authors (Makdisi, 1997; Kassab, 1994; Khalaf and Khoury 1993; Gavin and Maluf 1996; Höckel 2007) reconstruction developments since 1990s has contributed to the on-going division in the city. A master plan executed by a private reconstruction company, *Solidere*, is creating an ultra-modern global cityscape with futuristic urban landscaping (Larkin, 2010) concentrated in Beirut's Central District (BCD).

Critiques have raised many questions and concerns including; marginalization of the state from planning process and the monopoly of a single private company (Makdisi, 1997; Kassab, 1994); inadequacy of sole concentration on central district while the rest of the city remains divided (Nasr, 1996); the ultra-modern landscape appealing only to upper-class groups (Höckel, 1007); and discontinuity from historical bonds (Larkin 2010; Fricke 2005).



Figure 5. Photo of Martyr's Square from a Postcard in 1960s  
(<http://www.habeeb.com/beirut.war.lebanon.02.html>)



Figure 6. Photo of Martyr's Square during the Civil War in 1978  
(<http://www.habeeb.com/beirut.war.lebanon.02.html>)

Even though there have been efforts to address these critical discourses, the modern infrastructure of the downtown contrasts with the persistent poverty of the refugee camps and slums (Silver, 2010). Further, the city is still ethnically divided.

## 2.3 Berlin

**[Pre-division]** Berlin constituted one entity until it was divided in 1945.

**[Division]** After the Second World War, Berlin was forcibly separated into west (UK, USA, France) and east (Soviet Union-SU) sectors. West Berlin was an exclave in Soviet territory, with road, air and rail connections to West Germany.

After the *Berlin Blockade* of 1948-1949, quarrel between East and West Germany culminated in the setting up 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.

The sealing off of the border was a gradual process which first appeared in 1952. GDR was approaching an economic collapse, and people of the East were trying to escape the negativities by fleeing to West Berlin (Elkins et al, 1988). In 1961, to restrict movement, *The Berlin Wall* was erected and armed by military and police forces of the GDR (Figure 7).

Immediately after 1961, roads were torn apart; rail systems were separated; and a full defence depth was erected with alarmed wires, dogs, watch towers etc. (Figure 8). In order to erect the wall, buildings were demolished along its route, usually involving a single street of structures, but sometimes, encompassing entire blocks (Loeb, 2006).

In West Berlin, urban development opportunities were restricted due to limited available land. Therefore, in the first phase of division, during 1950s, reconstruction projects were implemented in the built-up area. Even though the Eastern sector did not have an urban expansion problem, lack of funds and building material, combined with strict planning policies helped to contain the urban sprawl (Von Beyme, 1990). Consequently, both halves of the city evolved compactly. During the second phase of division, between 1960s and 1970s, the growing demand for housing was dealt with construction of massive, high density housing areas on the outskirts of the city in West Berlin. In the Eastern sector, there were also major urban extensions. Again, this caused the two sides of the city to develop in accordance with each other.

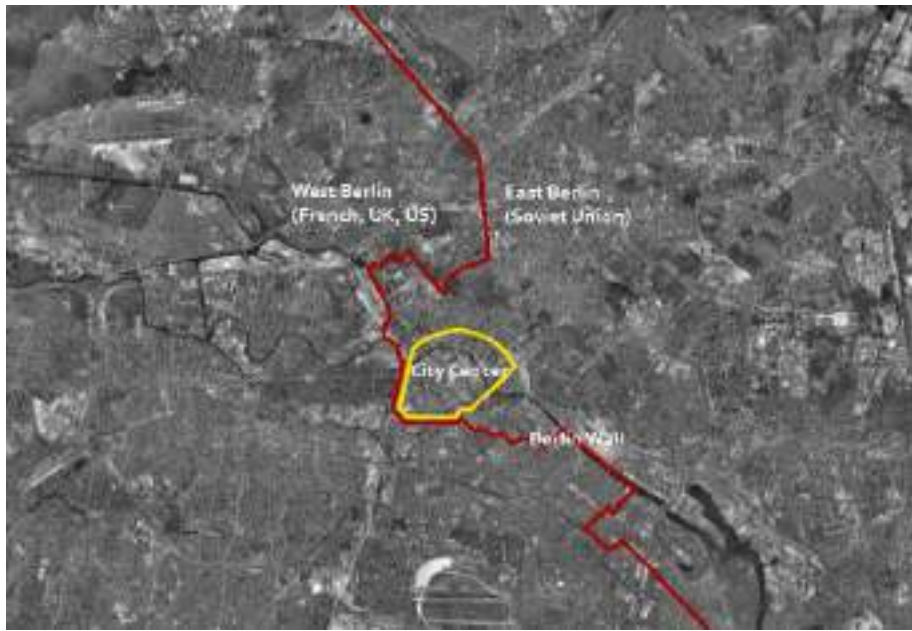


Figure 7. Berlin's Division (1961-1989)



Figure 8. Berlin Wall and its Defence Depth  
([http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/history/images/hist\\_berlin\\_wall.jpg](http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/history/images/hist_berlin_wall.jpg))

The historical city centre (*Mitte*) and the Central Business District (CBD) on the north-east axis (*Friedrichstrasse*) remained in the East (Figure 7). But this commercial axis was treated as any other street in anti-market GDR, and the CBD was further developed in *Alexanderplatz*. West Berlin had to develop a new CBD around the Zoo rail station which was already a secondary commercial centre before division with shopping and entertainment functions. During the years of division a hierarchy of central places developed in West Berlin (Ellger, 1992), making this part of the city polycentric.

On the other hand, a concentric structure was taking shape on the East side (Schwedler, 2000). East Berlin had the advantages and central functions of a capital. It housed all government institutions, top party bureaucracies, headquarters of industrial conglomerates and embassies (Ellger, 1992). In FRG, the capital was moved to Bonn, giving a disadvantageous position to West Berlin in this respect.

The dual landscape of the city was accentuated by infrastructural dissociations. Only the sewage treatment plant in East Berlin served for both parts of the city. There was also collaboration in matters of water infrastructure. Solid waste disposal was also agreed upon after 1971. Most severely affected was the transportation network, which was split up and developed in different directions. Traffic played a smaller role in the GDR than the West; the huge magisterial roads were sufficient (Von Beyme, 1990).

In West Berlin, land use plans (FNP) developed during years of division were made as if no boundary existed. 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 (Figure 9). Construction that would impede a future reunification was not permitted. Contrarily, plans of the Eastern side showed no trace of West Berlin.

**[Reunification]** Almost 45 years of division finalized in 1989 with the end of Cold War. The destruction of the wall started rapidly and works to unite the city socially, physically, economically and politically has carried on up to date.

Since reunification, planning process of the city is shaped by a doctrine which became to be known as *Critical Reconstruction*. This approach to planning is; “a critical re-appropriation of the past’s particular urban virtues” (Murray, 2003). The emphasis is given to pre-1914 history (Marcuse, 1998). There are some scholars who do not find this approach fulfilling (Nasr, 1996; Marcuse, 1998) since the urban environment after reunification did not shelter great historical artefacts. The most criticized development in this respect is the demolishment of GDR Palace of Republic in 2008 to restore the former *Hohenzollern Palace* which stood in this site before division.



Figure 9. Detail of the 1984 Land Use Plan (Loeb, 2006)

Berlin's planning activity has since been focused on three main themes: (1) Physical reunification; (2) Re-establishment of Berlin as the capital; and (3) Showcasing Berlin to create a global city. Specifically the final theme resulted in a number of large projects which are centred in the inner city. These projects have been criticized for creating a segmented city, and as in Beirut, being under the drive of solely the private market (Marcuse, 1998). A well-known example of these projects is the *Potsdamer Platz*.

On the other hand, presence of the Wall was acknowledged in all the plans that were created after reunification. Main consideration is 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 elucidates the significance of the Wall and opportunities it offers for future development of the city as a unity (Loeb, 2006).

## 2.4 Jerusalem

**[Pre-division]** Due to its long history, a great variety of different populations lived in the city. Historically, Jerusalem was a city of quarters, where rigid separations were rare and customary (Pullan, 2009).

Between 1920 and 1948, Jerusalem was administered by the British, as the capital of British Mandate of Palestine, and its political and economic importance expanded. Population grew rapidly (due mostly to Jewish immigration). Although the city was always one entity until 1948, in mid-1930s both the Jewish and Palestinian communities had developed into cohesive and self-sustaining societies (Benvenisti, 1987).

For the purpose of municipal governance, the British designated twelve wards according to religious majorities. These were the first 'ethnic fault-lines' to be formally inscribed in Jerusalem during the twentieth century (Benvenisti, 1986). These were regarded as autonomous communities; enclaves, rather than quarters (Pullan, 2009). This approach fostered intergroup competition, deepening animosities between traditional rivals in Palestine.

**[Division]** After World War II, international support to build an Israeli state emerged and Israel declared independence in 1948 following a civil war (1947-1948). This resulted in division from 1949 to 1967. The *Green Line* marked the international armistice lines between East and West Jerusalem (Figure 10).

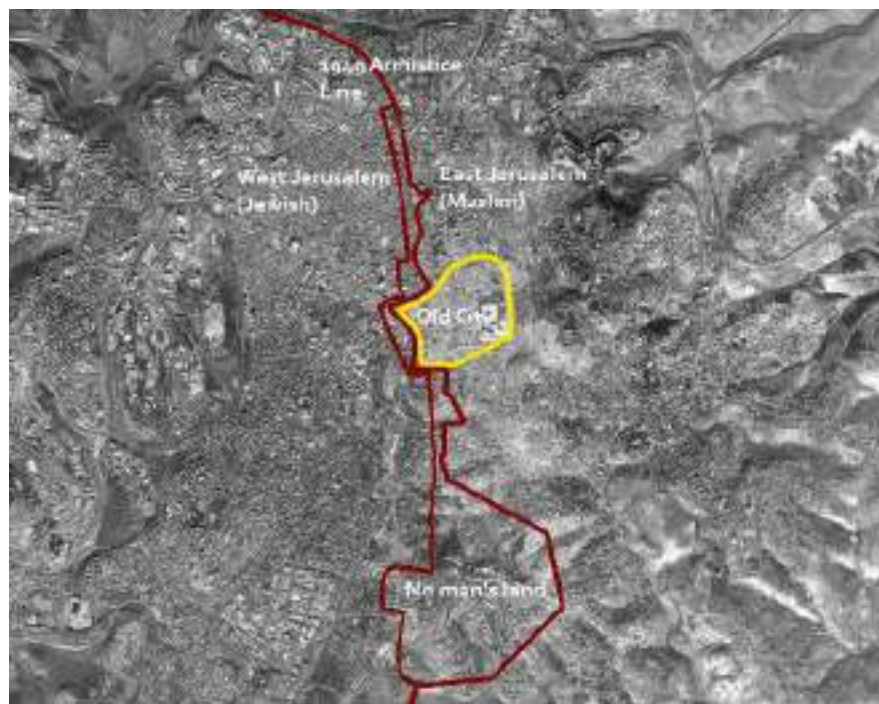


Figure 10. Jerusalem's Division (1949-1967)

During the 1949-67 period, armistice line between Israel and Jordan became an international border running 7 km north to south through the centre of the city. By 1962, the armistice line consisted of a physical barricade of barbed wire through a mined no man's land, with ramparts and blocked roads (Silver, 2010). The two countries each had their own institutions and jurisdiction over their own half of the city. Effectively, Jerusalem had two autonomous urban centres with UN supervision of the border and crossings closed to Arabs and Israelis (Pullan, 2009).

After division West Jerusalem became the capital of the state of Israel. The Israeli government was determined to secure and expand their holdings in West Jerusalem. Immigration was encouraged and government ministries were relocated from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009). As the former commercial

centre of the city along *Jaffa Road* was bombed and deserted after the war, West Jerusalem shifted its business centre away from the Old City walls to the west, north and south. Physical infrastructure projects and housing construction flourished. The built-up area was expanded towards its hinterland, where possible—west and the south. These suburban settlements, over the years, transformed Jerusalem into a city of neighbourhoods, each with its own concentration of homogeneous, socio-economic, ethnic and religious populations (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999).

The population and prosperity of East Jerusalem shrank because investments were focused in the capital, *Amman*. Palestinians preferred to live and work in Amman. Therefore, population growth in East Jerusalem lagged behind. Residential areas developed to the north, integrating rural communities within the urban area. Therefore, urban areas in East Jerusalem were segmented, lacking continuity, with separate population concentrations and lack of infrastructure. Unlike West Jerusalem, there was no organized planning or zoning process.

Residential quarters on both sides of the border became *cul-de-sacs*, so that nobody wanted to live in them. There was a reversal of traditional development patterns. Areas close to the city centre were occupied by frontier residents – immigrants, refugees or the destitute (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009). As might be expected, the two halves of the city shrank away from each other, trying to avoid the negative impacts of border areas: one side was oriented westward to Israel (*Tel-Aviv*) whilst the other focused east on Jordan (*Amman*).

Similar to every other divided city, Jerusalem was obliged to duplicate itself in every way. A dual landscape was visible through separate municipalities, CBDs, hospitals, schools, transportation networks and infrastructural systems.

**[Reunification]** Reunification of Jerusalem was not achieved by rapprochement, but instead by an occupation as a result of the 1967 Six-Day War. This incorporation of East Jerusalem into Israel was not recognized by the international community or the Palestinians. The two halves of the city were reunited by force; hence, two parts remained hostile even though the Green Line was dismantled.

All the barricades and partitions along the former Green Line were demolished and municipal services (water delivery, telephone services, electricity links etc.) unified. Roads were connected and paved, and new signs were posted: Jerusalem was physically re-united. However, there was a stark disparity of social conditions and opportunity between Israeli and Palestinian residents of Jerusalem, and this did not disappear with the barricades. This disparity was further deteriorated by urban planning policies of the Israeli government.

Israeli planning between 1948-67, and especially after 1967 has been shaped by objectives of national security and political control (Bollens, 1998). Many of the new suburbs are designed as individual enclaves, connected by primary road systems for the Jewish population and separated from Palestinians by open landscapes (Figure

11). The aim of urban policies; is to extend the Jewish city, demographically and geographically; to control hilltops for security reasons; to reconnect the formerly partitioned Jewish sites; and, to build scattered but interconnected Jewish neighbourhoods so that division of the city cannot occur again (Bollens, 1998).



Figure 11. View of a Palestinian Neighbourhood from an Israeli Neighbourhood and the Separation Wall in Between (Pullan, 2011)

This kind of planning is nominated as *partisan* planning (Benvenisti, 1986; Bollens, 1998) and establishes a radical form of *frontier urbanism* (Pullan, 2011), *forensic architecture* (Weizman et al, 2010), *conflict urbanism* (Misselwitz and Rienietz, 2009) and a *geometry of occupation* (Weizman, 2006). A local form of gated communities (Pullan, 2011) is the main form of urban development. Without a question, architecture and planning became tools in the conflict themselves.

**[Re-division]** In 2002, Israel began to build systems of physical and electronic separation—known as the *Security Fence*—between Israeli and Palestinian territories and within the Palestinian areas (beyond the internationally recognized Green Line) in northward and eastward directions. This wall is planned to be 570 km long and 6-8m high. The regional barrier passes through Jerusalem with 51 km segment separating Israeli Jerusalem from Palestinian suburbs to the east (Calame and Charlesworth 2009). Today a map of Jerusalem shows this complex patchwork of settlements and villages across the city, with its plethora of borders (Figure 12).



Figure 12. Distribution of Israeli settlements and the route of the Security Fence in Jerusalem and West Bank, 2009 (<http://www.ir-amim.org.il/eng/?CategoryID=162>)

## 2.5 Results

Division process of each city is the main reason why different urban consequences are achieved. Belfast is particularly unique among case studies in that it was not divided by a war, but a colonization process. This caused internal cohesion in each group (colonized and the colonizer's representatives), and therefore the conflict grew from within the social organism. This is the main reason why Belfast's division process took longer than the rest, and why division still lingers.

Berlin, like Belfast, was divided in a long time-span, with more integrated borders, than those of Beirut and Jerusalem, where division was immediate and less penetrable. In Beirut and Jerusalem, it was during wars that the lines separating them were completely sealed, hence making them less permeable. In this respect, Berlin was also divided by an international war, but unlike Jerusalem, it was a relatively relaxed border where some interactions were possible from time to time.

All the case studies were divided through the heart of the city, except for Belfast, where division is scattered all around the city. Furthermore, peace walls in Belfast are not as armed as the others were. Since wars are the main reason of division in other cities, their borders carried a military presence. But all in all, the dividing lines turned streets into *cul-de-sacs* via walls, barbed wires, sandbags, wire meshes, steel and (in Jerusalem and Berlin) land mines.

When the city is divided from the middle, the two halves have restricted options for growth. The traditional pattern of urban sprawl is hindered where each side can only advance on available routes. For example, West Jerusalem could only develop towards the west. Different developmental patterns were observed; linear (Jerusalem), band (West Berlin) or ribbon typed (Beirut) developments. However, even though West Berlin had a hierarchy of centres, East Berlin continued to grow concentrically.

Deterioration of the buildings near the border was not only because of war damage, but also due to population exchanges. In Berlin, a further consequence has been derelict industrial buildings due to lack of finance (East Berlin) or incompetence (West Berlin). In war-torn cities of Berlin, Beirut and Jerusalem, buildings were demolished to give way to military border zones. This caused vacant lands to proliferate near border zones, especially after reunification. On the other hand, vacant lands in Belfast were mainly formed due to new road projects.

Especially in Belfast and reunified Jerusalem, urban fabric is dominated by roads. In Jerusalem, new road projects are used as tools to accentuate existing divisions, and in Belfast, although having the same effect, the aim is to attract new investments.

The most visual artefacts of division are territorial markers used to exert prominence on people's perception and behaviour. For example in Beirut, territorial zones of paramilitary organizations were marked by checkpoints and graffiti. Belfast and Jerusalem, which are not 'reunified', are fruitful areas for the study of artefacts of

division. Murals, flags, curb stones are only some elements reflecting territorial claims through the usage of urban artefacts.

A further consequence of division in war-torn cities has been the changing functions of urban space. The central functions of the urban core were lost; especially due to extensive war damage (in Beirut and Berlin). Once, these areas were the heart of the city with lively commercial and service activities, now they had become edges. Commercial areas moved away from the dividing line and bi-polarized. New CBDs were created, because either the old ones were right inside or partly occupied by the border zone. Bi-polarization of CBDs and reconnection of urban functions were essential problems encountered after reunification, particularly in Berlin.

All four cities were the capital of their respective countries before division. Administrative functions of the capitals remained in place in each, except for West Berlin, where it was carried to Bonn. However, the primacy of capital cities of Berlin, Beirut and Jerusalem faded away during years of division, in accordance with their political instability.

Residential zones in all the cities examined became ethnically homogenized due to population movements and displacements. Intersection points of residential zones were most vulnerable areas for conflict, and either barricades were erected (as in the case of Belfast peace lines), or they turned into derelict sites. People who had the opportunity moved out of these areas for safer havens, and low status immigrants, refugees or homeless people occupied the empty houses. As a result, residential segregation coincided with socio-economic cleavages, further breaching divisions.

The economies of all four cities suffered tremendously due to division. First, because all (except East Berlin and Belfast), lost their hinterland and became an 'end city'. Second, even though West Jerusalem and East Berlin were improved as the capital city, duplication of public facilities, services, transport systems and infrastructure meant enormous waste of resources.

Reunification in Berlin, Beirut and Jerusalem showed that it was easy to re-connect the infrastructure, but hard to reinstate a city which will function as a whole. Among case studies, this is particularly prominent in Jerusalem; where East and West Jerusalem remain divided, and further, new divisions appear each day. Social realities, like chronic fear, contribute to this situation.

### **3. Conclusion**

The results of the analysis show that in spite of differences among case studies, a common pattern of functional, structural and socio-economical urban consequences surface (Table 1). The fact that each city produces unique consequences according to their political, socio-economical and physical transformations should not be neglected. Hence, this list is preliminary and can be altered in consistence with the subject and the choice of case studies.

Table 1. Urban Consequences of Division

Functional consequences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Declining central functions of the urban core</li> <li>* Segregated residential areas, 'ethnic enclaves'</li> <li>* Bi-polarization of commercial areas</li> <li>* Fading primacy of capital city administrative functions</li> <li>* Duplication of urban functions (transportation, services etc.)</li> <li>* Changing functions of urban space</li> </ul>
Structural consequences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Changing urban development patterns (linear, ribbon, concentric/polycentric etc.)</li> <li>* Road-dominated environment (Belfast, Jerusalem)</li> <li>* Proliferation of cul-de-sacs</li> <li>* Presence of frontier landscape</li> <li>* Proliferation of vacant land</li> <li>* Deterioration of buildings</li> <li>* Everyday artefacts of division</li> </ul>
Socio-economic consequences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Economic depression</li> <li>* Chronic fear</li> <li>* Population exchange, homogeneous zones</li> <li>* Socio-economic divisions parallel with ethnic divisions</li> </ul>

All in all, it is expected that illustration of common developmental patterns of division will facilitate early recognition and management of this process. Further, this study can contribute to future studies which aim to construct effective planning approaches and management forms in divided cities.

#### 4. References

Anderson, J., 2008. From Empires to Ethno-National Conflicts : A framework for studying "divided cities" in "contested states" - Part I. Divided Cities/Contested States Working Paper No.1, pp.1-23.

Benvenisti, M., 1986. Conflicts and Contradictions. New York: Villard Books.

Benvenisti, M., 1987. The Peace Process and Intercommunal Strife. Journal of Palestine Studies, 17(1), pp.3-11.

Boal, F. W, 1996. Integration and Division: sharing and segregating in Belfast. Planning Practice and Research, 11(2), pp.151-159.

Boal, F. W., 2002. Belfast: walls within. Political Geography, 21(5), pp.687-694.

Bollens, S. A., 1998. Urban Policy in Ethnically Polarized Societies. International Political Science Review, 19(2), pp.187-215.

Brand, R., 2009a. Written and Unwritten Building Conventions in a Contested City: The Case of Belfast. *Urban Studies*, 46(12), pp.2669-2689

Brand, R., 2009b. Urban Artifacts and Social Practices in a Contested City. *Journal of Urban Technology*, 16(2), pp.35-60.

Calame, J. and Charlesworth, E., 2009. *Divided Cities: Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Community Relations Council, 2008. *Towards Sustainable Security: Interface Barriers and the Legacy of Segregation in Belfast*. Belfast: CRC, pp. 1-44.

Davie, M. F., 1994. Demarcations lines in contemporary Beirut. In: C. H. Schofield & R. N. Schofield, ed. *The Middle East and North Africa*. New York: Routledge, pp. 35-58.

Elkins, T. H. et al, 1988. *Berlin: The Spatial Structure of a Divided City*. London: Routledge.

Ellger, C., 1992. Berlin: legacies of division and problems of unification. *Geographical Journal*, 158(1), pp.40–46.

Forum for Alternative Belfast, 2006. [online] Available at: <http://www.forumbelfast.org/projects/Maps.php> [Accessed 10 May 2012].

Fricke, A., 2005. Forever nearing the finish line: heritage policy and the problem of memory in postwar Beirut. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 12(2), pp.163-181.

Gaffikin, F. and Morrissey, M., 2011. *Planning in divided cities*. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing.

Gaffikin, F. et al., 2008. *Planning Shared Space for A Shared Future*, Research Report for Community Relations Council. Belfast: CRC.

Gavin, A. and Maluf, R., 1996. *Beirut Reborn: the restoration and development of the Central Region*. London: Academy Editions.

Hackett, M., et al, 2011. Mapping and repairing the broken city: Belfast's disjointed and fragmented urban structure. Paper presented in *Urban Conflicts: Ethno-national Divisions, States and Cities Conference*. Queen's University Belfast.

Hepburn, A.C., 2004. *Contested Cities in the Modern West*. New York: Pelgrave.

Hepburn, A.C., 2006. *Ethnicity and Power in Contested Cities*. Urban Update: Comparative Urban Studies Project, Working Paper No. 7, Smithsonian Institution.

Höckel, K., 2007. Beyond Beirut: Why reconstruction in Lebanon did not contribute to State - making and stability. Crisis States Research Centre, LSE, pp.1-19.

Jones, E., 1960. The Segregation of Roman Catholics and Protestants in Belfast. In: Peach, C., ed. Urban Social Segregation, 1975. New York: Longman, pp. 225-244.

Kassab, E. S., 1994. The political, economic and cultural stakes involved in the reconstruction plans for Beirut. In: Dunn, S., ed. Managing Divided Cities. UK: Keele University Press, pp. 64-71

Khalaf, S. and Khouri, P. S., 1993. Recovering Beirut: Urban Design and Post-War Reconstruction. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.

Khalaf, S., 1993. Urban design and recovery of Beirut. In: Khalaf, S. and Khouri, P. S., eds. Recovering Beirut: Urban Design and Post-War Reconstruction. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, pp. 11-61

Kliot, N. and Mansfeld, Y., 1999. Case studies of conflict and territorial organization in divided cities. *Progress in Planning*, 52, pp.167-225.

Larkin, C., 2010. Remaking Beirut: contesting memory, space, and the urban imaginary of Lebanese youth. *City & Community*, 9(4), pp.414-442.

Loeb, C., 2006. Planning reunification: the planning history of the fall of the Berlin Wall. *Planning Perspectives*, 21(1), pp.67-87.

Makdisi, S., 1997. Laying claim to Beirut: urban narrative and spatial identity in the age of Solidere. *Critical Inquiry*, 23(3), pp.660-705.

Marcuse, P., 1998. Reflections on Berlin: the meaning of construction and the construction of meaning. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 22(2), pp.331-338.

Misselwitz, P. and Rieniets, T., 2009. Jerusalem and the principles of conflict urbanism. *Journal of Urban Technology*, 16(2), pp.61-78.

Murray, G.J.A., 2003. The phantom menace: urban renewal in Berlin and the aestheticization of politics. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. Atlanta, pp. 1-19.

Nagel, C., 2002. Reconstructing space, re-creating memory: sectarian politics and urban development in post-war Beirut. *Political Geography*, 21(5), pp.717-725.

Nasr, J.L., 1996. Beirut/Berlin: choices in planning for the suture of two divided cities. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 16(1), pp.27-40.

Pullan, W., 2009. The space of contested Jerusalem. *Jerusalem Quarterly*, 39, pp.39-50.

Pullan, W., 2011. Frontier urbanism: the periphery at the centre of contested cities. *The Journal of Architecture*, 16(1), pp.15-35.

Safier, M., 1997. Managing division. *City*, 2(8), pp.188-190.

Schwedler, H., 2000. A city twice unique: The urban planning context in Berlin. In: W. J. V. Neill and H.-U. Schwedler, eds. *Urban planning and cultural inclusion: lessons from Belfast and Berlin*. New York: Palgrave, pp. 24-34.

Silver, H., 2010. Divided Cities in the Middle East. *City & Community*, 9(4), pp.345-357.

Sterrett, K., et al, 2011. Agitating for a design and regeneration agenda in a post-conflict city: the case of Belfast. *The Journal of Architecture*, 16(1), pp.99-119.

Tabet, J., 1993. Towards a Master Plan for Post-War Lebanon. In: Khalaf, S. and Khouri, P. S., eds. *Recovering Beirut: Urban Design and Post-War Reconstruction*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, pp. 81-94.

Von Beyme, K., 1990, Reconstruction in the German Democratic Republic. In: Diefendorf, J. M., ed. *Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities*. New York: Macmillan, pp. 190-208.

Weizman, E., 2006. The Architecture of Ariel Sharon. *Third Text*, 20(3-4), pp.337-353.

Weizman, E et al, 2010. Forensic architecture. *Architectural Design*, 80(5), pp.58-63.

Yahya, M., 1993. Reconstituting Space: The Aberration of the Urban in Beirut. In: Khalaf, S. and Khouri, P. S., eds. *Recovering Beirut*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, pp. 128-166.