Audio file

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Transcript

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Thank you so much for coming and thank you, Yaakov, for this kind introduction and warm welcome to Oxford more generally. And I'm very excited to present you today with this project. I call this talk Seeing Through the Slash, Attentional Apartheid in the Mental Maps of Al-Quds slash Jerusalem. So I want to begin with the mental maps themselves, kind of to provide the authority to my informants. My very I'm very grateful for these persons who are brave and open enough to talk with me about such a charge and sensitive topic. And at the heart of my project, I asked a very, I would say, basic elementary sociological question, what the locals, Israelis and Palestinians see in their city. So you can already see, already, I think at first glance, even those in the back, you can see that the mental maps are very, very different. These are sketch maps which Dawon and Fauzi drew on a blank paper. I hardly provided them with guidelines, no boundaries, no definitions. Even the name of the city was not inscribed to them. So the one is a Jewish Israeli man from Tel Piyot and Fauzi is an Arab-Palestinian man from Zur Bahar. Now you can already notice that I do this kind of hyphenate attribute of the ethnic and the national descriptions of identities. And I did that following my interviewees understanding of the social reality. Most of them used the ethnic and the national attribute as interchangeable. Of course, that's only one part of the identity classification, but broadly speaking, I would say they use it as synonymic to one another, and it also aligns with their anthropological literature of the local political cultures of Israel-Palestine. Now, Fawzi and Darwan are actually neighbors. They live in a, you know, Papiov and Sol Baha are very close by. It's a walking distance. And what is it, what I find even more striking is that when they draw the maps, they are telling me they are standing at the very same observation point that I want to achieve observation for. It's a classic kind of touristic promenade where you can see much of the city. So both of them are imagining they are standing there, but they see very different ethno-national landscape. Fauzi is beginning with the old city, the walls, the Ottoman walls, and he depicts Al-Aqsa Mosque inside, and then he starts to surround the old city with a lot of Arab Palestinian villages. And you can see that all his drawing is in Arabic almost. Afterwards when we talk, he adds another layer of all kinds of important relevant lines to his mental map. This is the green line. And he's attesting that he is watching the city to the east of the green line. By that he means the 49th ceasefire line between Jordan

and Israel. And when the city was divided in 49 until 67. And this is another important line he draws afterwards. This is the separation barrier. And according to his view, it cuts across the natural continum, as it calls it, of Palestinian villages. And this is the map of Doron. Doron is also beginning with the old city. But for him, it's not a central place. It's a border kind of market of the city. And this is actually the boundary of his Jewish Israeli Jerusalem. And it draws all the way to the west until the entrance, the western entrance to Jerusalem, where you go actually to Tel Aviv, towards Tel Aviv. Now he depicts very different units, mostly Jewish Israeli neighborhoods of all kinds, of all kinds of Jewish communities actually who reside in Jerusalem. He also depicts all kinds of sites of interest, but I would say sites of interest of everyday Jewish experience of Jerusalem. We have the teddy stadium, we have the mall and the market and the hospital and the court and the university, and also some kind of nostalgic everyday common places like the monster playground, which every Jerusalemite would smile when he hears about this site. Okay, so we see very different political landscape national landscape, I would say, ethnonational senses of places. And they call this landscape in very different names, Arab Jerusalem, the Arab city, East Jerusalem, Eastern Jerusalem, or just Al-Kutz. And on the Jewish perspective, they call it Jewish Jerusalem, Western Jerusalem, or just Jerusalem. Now, you can already sense that I'm doing this symmetrizing, right, between the Palestinian and the Israeli perspective. But you can already also see that we have kind of an asymmetrical social discourse, right? Because in both sides, they use the word Jerusalem. Of course, the Jewish Israeli object of this discourse is much more dominant. And my informants are leaving this duality on the one hand holding their ethnonational perspective of place and on the other hand struggling to understand what is asymmetric about the whole situation. We'll see it later in my analysis. I want to say something about the struggle of the informants. Fauzi and the wrong are not physically blind. They are kind of their mental maps are blind to one another, but they are not physically blind. They are not politically blind. They are aware of the existence of the other person, of the other nation, I would say. But they struggled to map the other side. And most of my informants were not satisfied by that. Like they drew the map. They were, as I said, open and brave and kind of intuitively told me what they see, where they go, how do they locate everything. But they were highly embarrassed by that. I mean, sometimes they said, oh, I forgot the other side. I dismissed it. I was so wrong. But then when I asked them to map everything they know about Jerusalem, they still found it really hard to map the other side. They were embarrassed about it. And together we tried to understand how come. How come we know about the existence of the other, but we are not able to map it? So it was kind of a mutual effort of analysis. So the difference is striking, but actually everyone who traveled or visited a divided city or any contested space or even segregated big cities knows this experience, right? We know that people of different social groups experience the reality very differently. And in theoretical sense, in sociological sense, it shouldn't come as a surprise as well, right? For a long time now, since the 60s, critical

geographers, social psychology, sociologists are talking about the fact that we must understand that there is no one kind of natural map of space. We have many mental maps of the locally experienced, socially constructed perspective place. And mental maps, cognitive maps, sketch maps, many terminologies actually used very effectively to show us how people of different genders, religions, nationalities, races actually navigate the space in very different ways and experience it in very different manners. And this is especially true for contested spaces, where we have a lot of place-making disputes, cultural wars over names, boundaries, and maps. And Israel and Palestine is, of course, a parabolic case of social dispute over territory. Here we have this study was made by geographers, and they asked Israeli students to map the green line. And they try to understand how the social background of 1 influences the way one sees the boundaries of one's space. So we have contested cities and divided cities and contested spaces, which are actually very revealing sites to see this place-making contestations. And for all these reasons, I treat Jerusalem on Kutz as a prototypical contested city. The city is ground for wars in most literal sense. People fight about it all the time. It is considered a capital for both nations and a border city for both. This is where the line goes between Palestine and Israel today. And even within the Jewish and the Palestinian communities, the communities are highly segregated, many, many kinds of Jewish communities within the same metropolitan. But it's also ground for wars in the most figurative sense, and by that I mean that it is a key symbol for both political cultures, The city and particularly the old city and the whole city, all the area of Mount Temple, the Western Wall, Al-Aqsa Mosque, these remain a core issue, kind of the ground zero of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which, as I said, is problematic in itself for a territorial dispute. I brought these maps and I'm trying to avoid, let's see how much time I have. You're good, you're good. Can I? Five more minutes. Can I go? No, my voice is okay. I'm trying to avoid the intellectual trap of telling you all kinds of details about the city. Because if I will tell you how much people live in the city, the demographics, the statistics, the boundaries, or maybe the main historical sites, then I am deciding what to tell you about the city, what are the boundaries of the city. Well, it's highly contested, right? And my main kind of agenda was to see what people from bottom up see about the city. But how can you talk about the city without even naming it? So I brought these maps in order to show you the very different contested layers of mapping Jerusalem and Kudz, and to show you some relevant elements to the analysis. So Shao Lavieri's map provide us with the municipal line of Jerusalem. and the green line. The municipal line is in pink, the green line is in green. Okay, so the green line is kind of the ceasefire line of 49, where the city was practically divided between Israel and Jordan. This was considered eastern Jerusalem then. This is the old city. And then after 67, Israel practically occupied the whole states you see in the map, both the brown and the green area. The ground is what we call occupied territory, the West Bank, and it is under military law. And the green area was annexed to Israel, which means This area is part of municipal Jerusalem. It is under Israeli law. However, the Palestinian residents of these

built-up areas, considered Eastern Jerusalem, are not full citizens of Israel. They are only permanent residents. You can see Shaola really mapped. The green spots are the Arab Palestinian built-up areas. and the blue spots. And accordingly, it's really hard to name them. He is saying built up areas, okay? Because if he would say neighborhoods, it means he is talking about the Israeli mainstream and official culture neighborhoods as part of the municipal Jerusalem, as if these are neighborhoods like in the West Jerusalem. the Palestinian perspective would call them settlements, right? Because these are in the unoccupied area. And according to international law, of course, these are considered settlements, the blue spots of Jewish settlements or neighborhoods. Okay, I brought also the ERMI map to show you yet another boundary to Jerusalem. And this is the red line. We have the green line again. The blue line is the municipal line here, and the red line is the separation barrier, constructed since 2003, nearly completed in Jerusalem, or I think maybe fully completed. We also call it the barrier, the fence, the separation barrier. We have tons of Words for this war: Ruby Cosenthal, an Israeli linguist, once said, That's our vocabulary in Israel-Palestine, the boundary, the border, the fence, but you can see it is generally following the municipal line, but not always. So, for example, the Sharifat refugee camp is Jerusalem neighborhood, according to municipal boundaries, but it was pushed out of Jerusalem in this case. Practically, they need to cross a checkpoint in order to get to their, to do business in the city, to visit friends, to visit family. We have different cases in Tulbacher area, the place where Fawzi lives, we have this village. There was a major struggle over this village because it is not considered part of Jerusalem. It is not under Israeli law, but actually, and they are not considered residents even of Israel, but the wall kinds of includes them in the Jerusalemic all kinds of these awkwardness situations. Okay, so we can see that in Jerusalem we are not only fighting or contesting what is inside the city and what is the meaning of each site, but also the very boundaries and definitions of the city are contested themselves. In other words, we are not talking only on, struggle of, I would say, the adjective of Jerusalem. Is it holy? Is it divided? Is it a city? Is it, we are struggling over the noun Jerusalem. What is Jerusalem from the 1st place? Okay, so these are two GIS maps. GIS is supposed to be kind of natural or unbiased. It's made by GPS, not by kind of biased subject, but we can see different layers, different legends and different boundaries. Here you can see the green line and the separation. Well, here in the municipal Jerusalem map, you will never see the green line or the separation. it's just not relevant in municipal terms. So we actually have a struggle over relevance. What is relevant and what is not relevant? So Mark Montmonier had this famous phrase, not only is it easy to lie with maps, it's essential. So I'm not going to focus on the word lie, but I want to focus for a minute on the word essential. Whenever we construct a map, we have to be using selective attention. We have to select what is relevant and what is not. And we have to highlight different visibility and invisibleize other details. And this is precisely what I was interested in my analysis of mental maps. I was interested to see what is the line of relevance. How do my informants decide what is relevant and what is

not? So Fauzi and Doron are, they are creating different mental maps. And these mental maps differ not only in their visibilities, but also in their invisibilities. What they don't count as relevant and what cannot be considered as belonging to the map. And usually my informants would not use explicitly political terminology. They wouldn't say something like, no, I don't include all the Arabs, or I'm not looking at the Jewish side. They would use all kinds of euphemisms, all kinds of, I call it epistemological framework, all kinds of knowledge sets in a very discursive way, but actually they build up into a very one-sided ethno-national view. So I don't want to go into the methods, and we don't have a lot of time for that, but I can provide more details about the tensions and concerns of the method. I will say that I found sketch mapping and mental mapping very strong to understand both phenomenological understanding of space and both classificatory kind of decisions. Okay, because when we sketch a map, we kind of get close to the very intuitive way of understanding our space. But we also need to make a lot of decisions about boundaries and about relevance. So at the beginning, I began with this icebreaker of asking for the first association that comes into mind. Usually it was the old city from different perspectives, but not only, like sentimental memories, childhood streets. And then I asked the interviewee to kind of imagine he or she goes upper and upper and views the city from above without further instructions. And I closely followed, the addings, the process, the boundary making, and also the frustration moments where they get stuck, where they get lost, where they decide, this is just a bad map and they tear it apart. And then we had a conversation about the map. They made me this tool, explaining me all the particles and all the problems they encountered. And we talked a lot about structure, organization, unit and boundaries. And I termed mental map, both the visual and the verbal parts together. And then we repeated the process, the whole process, with another city they chose. I will not talk about that today. I can talk about it in the Q&A, but it provided me with a lot of supportive information about the interviewee and about the way one sees space of the world. But I would say, this task of, drawing your own space seems so trivial, right? What is more trivial or elementary than, talking about the place you grew up in and you were born and all about it? But actually, most of my informants felt it was very triggering. and very difficult. Some were upset, some refused to participate in the study. And many, turned a lot of unsettling feeling towards me, saying, but what kind of map do you want me to, what do you want from me? But what kind of map do you want me to draw? According to what? And at the beginning, I was very anxious about these responses, but it took me time to realize that, this frustration actually touches what I'm asking them. And I turned the question back and it said, I know it's impossible. I know nobody can map everything. You have to choose and I want to know what you choose to do. And I want to know how you answer this challenge. and according to what, kind of map you choose to draw. So in my analysis, I identified 2 predominant epistemological prisms for Jerusalem or Cruz views, 2 spatial filters that, you know, locals are using in order to create this ethno-national attention of blindness. And these are the

phenomenological frameworks of residential units and cardinal directions. Okay, so let's begin with the first framework, the residential units. The Palestinians and Israelis whom I interviewed are using these templates as basic units of the city, fundamental and elementary kind of form. which build up the cities. You can see here the map of Haya from Shoif Fat, and she's terming these structures villages or Arab villages. And this is the map of Mirav from Ramon, Al Havia, and Catamon. I will try to always locate the Arab-Palestinian maps here and the Jewish-Israeli maps here for your convenience. And you can see it's a different shape, right? And this shape kind of has this context, this kind of texture of what, Jewish experience of a closed neighborhood, of a walled kind of community. And the village has this, stony, Jerusalemic kind of authentic, ancient texture. But overall, you can see that, thinking in formal terms, it's the same structure of basic units, kind of a conglomerate of all kinds of units, which are very different, but similar in ethnic and historical sense. So when Haya is building her map, she is compiling village after village, and then she scribbles this little thing here, and I'm asking her, what is that? And she's saying, just another village. She doesn't remember the name, but it doesn't really matter, okay, because it's just another unit. And when Lital is beginning her map, Lital is from Frenchville in the German colony, and she's a Jewish Israeli, and she's saying, when I think of Jerusalem, I think of neighborhoods. That's the first unit that comes into mind. And for Jerusalemites and Kutzis, that sounds very trivial, very natural. It's kind of a technical terminology. However, this technical terminology carries a lot of ethnic kind of discourse of ethnic identity. And I want to say something more important. Usually they use the words village and neighborhoods, but they mean to say Arabs and Jewish, okay? And when I ask them, what do you mean by village? What do you mean by neighborhood? They say it. I mean, it's not a secret or something like that. It's A euphemism in most of the time. But it's a very helpful euphemism to create this socio-mental lumping between very different Jewish neighborhoods and very different Palestinian villages bridging, very long distance in the Jewish case and bridging a lot of social diversity in the Palestinian case under these kind of allo zones interchangeable units. Okay. But as I said, these are also ethno-national markets, and accordingly they are telling kind of, they're providing a key script of the historical development of the city. So here is Sharon for one form or not. See, if I were to explain the city to a tourist, we would start, I assume, from the area of the Western world and the old city in the middle. And then there are neighborhoods which are more ancient and neighborhoods which are newer. And here is Samira from Bezar Fafa. And if we'll have time in the Q&A, Bezar Fafa is a really interesting case. And it's not a coincidence that Samira is insisting that Bezar Fafa is not a neighborhood, it's a village. According to municipal kind of terminology, it is a neighborhood in Jerusalem. some would say in Western Jerusalem. But according to Samira, we should insist to call it a village. So she's telling a very similar story from a different angle. Jerusalem, maybe for me, the way it comes to my mind is the old city. But even so, the suburbs all around there, like that's also Jerusalem. Like even in the old books about how Jerusalem used

to be before 48, then that's how they used to say it. Jerusalem, the old city and its surroundings. And that's all these areas because the village of Bezafa also belongs to it. So that's why I mention it. And then I'm asking her, interesting, when you mention Bezafa, you relate to it as a village, and she is saying, yes, a village. And I'm asking her, not a neighborhood? And she's answering, no, a village. We are a village. We are like a neighborhood because the rural manifestation isn't evident anymore. There are no any farmers and there are shepherds with their flocks and there are tall buildings. Yes, but at least we do keep, we want to keep the whole village to characterize because that's an Arab characteristic. If we say neighborhood, it's as if we are saying we are a neighborhood like Jewish neighborhoods of the Piyot Patriot. We want to be, these are very close by Jewish built up areas. We want to be characterized as a village, as a neighborhood which is Arab. So village is simply the appropriate name because it really was a village. So a few important points about Samira's perception of place. It really was a village. She is struggling to preserve the landscape before 48, like most of my Palestinian informants, including sometimes depicting Arab villages which were distracted. And the communities were distracted, but they still nabbied at the western side of the city where we have today Jewish neighborhoods. This quote also emphasizes the fact that locals view the units of neighborhoods and villages as binary contrast. A neighborhood and a village, this doesn't have to be necessarily the cotomos to one another or the opposite, but they do use it as opposite. It's either we are neighborhood or we are a village, and this binary construct is being exaggerated, and you'll see it in the West-East contrast even better. Okay, so I brought you these Wikipedia images. I didn't take this picture. I just opened the Wikipedia to see how Wikipedia presents the different neighborhoods of villages. So this is The village of Isawia, most of my informants would call it a village. Most of the Jewish Israelis would call that a village. And the Arab Palestinian informants, of course, will turn that as a village. But you can see, you know, the infrastructure, the view. It looks like a modern, bustling, humbling, I would say, neighborhood. It's actually functioning like a little town. It's huge. It doesn't look like a village, at least when from a farm. And this is in Karen, considered a Jewish neighborhood built on actually a Palestinian village, which was there before 48. You can see the pastoral, the greenish kind of view, but we call it a neighborhood. So I call this kind of mental struggle or mental walk villaging or neighborhooding of their space. Okay, so we have this saying in Hebrew and Arabic. It's actually a very common proverb. A nearby neighbor is better than a far away brother. And we see that in local experience the opposite is true, okay? And so when this only provides the neighborhoods and villages of eastern Jerusalem, but the work is done also on the west. When Jewish people are viewing the space, they are actually kind of merging and lumping all the blue spaces while jumping over the yellow spaces and the other way around is done. So we are doing lamping, but we're also doing splitting to the other side using binary frameworks. So usually in the Jewish-Israeli maps, you wouldn't see Arab Palestinians at all, not their sites, not their, I would say, villages or neighborhoods,

nothing. And in Palestinian Arab Mental maps, it's much more complex. But overall, I would say that kind of the legend of the map excludes Jewish Israeli sites. And sometimes they do encounter one another, encounter all kinds of built-up areas, all kinds of religious sites. And then there is kind of a perceptual shock. I see this Arab village in this Jewish map, but I don't know how to locate it. And usually when someone is attending a spatial object that is associated with the other side, it kind of marks the boundary of 1 city, the border. And I call this phenomenon the other is a border. So whenever Jewish Israel is not Jerusalem, the Arab village is experienced as a counterplace, as kind of an ex-territory in the local Jewish perspective. Here's his hand branch here. So here we come to East Jerusalem, which is, well, talking about borders in this whole area is really, really complicated. But even in physical terms, you don't really see a burden. you go from a very central Jerusalem kind of area, then you go down the valley and suddenly there are olive trees and suddenly you are basically in an Arab village. In other words, there is a neighborhood that is Jerusalem, but really it isn't. It's simply an Arab village. And it just keeps on in that direction in the same spirit. So, Chen, he knows that really that is Jerusalem, okay? You don't see the green line in Jerusalem. You just, you know, cross it and suddenly he encounters the Arab village, which really simply an Arab village, it isn't like it isn't Jerusalem. It doesn't feel like Jerusalem with all this olive trees and valley. And you can see that, you know, the natural kind of sense of place is considered by Jewish Israelis as kind of something that is outside. It's outside our kind of settlement at the city, the buildup area, the urban. The rural is kind of belongs to the Arab and it's wild. It's outside the city space. And here is Ella. Elah is not just perceiving the Arab village as a counterplace, but also as a non-place, as a dangerous wilderness place. For me, Nevea Akov is always perceived as the border. Nevea Akov is at the very northern part of Jerusalem. It's a settlement in eastern Jerusalem, and it's right nearby, the separation barrier. And she's looking towards, the separation barrier and try to explain why that is the end of Jerusalem for her. Nevaia Kov is always perceived as the border because after Nevaia Kov, there are thousand Arab neighborhoods, villages. Again, she's fixing that. and no one knows what's out there beyond the horizon. Is there any law there? No one can tell. And she's being sarcastic, but she realizes what she's saying at the moment. For me, when I didn't know geography, and up to a certain age when I already knew geography, Neve Aakov was the edge of Jerusalem. Beyond Neve Aakov, here be dragons. When she grew up, there was no separation war, but it was still considered the edge of Jerusalem in her experience of safety and danger of culture and nature. And in Palestinian sense, the Jewish neighborhood is a deviant in space. It is a prosthetic disruption modern settlements, modern houses, the city hall, the city center, Mount Herzl, and Jewish neighborhoods were experienced as wedges. And that's a quote of one of my Palestinian interviewees, the disrupt the natural continuum of the authentic nativist Arab landscape. Okay? So, you know, in Palestinian view, the very fact that it's kind of natural and authentic, really the olive trees, That's a proof for the Jewish Israeli present to be a deviant, to be an

aberration in space. And most remarkable was the struggle to map the separation wall. Now, I want to say something about the separation wall. It's a massive monument in Jerusalem, okay? So, you know, everyone is always drawing and talking about the Ottoman wars and in the Western world, really important and really, I would say, striking architectures. But the separation wall is visible almost from everywhere. You cannot miss it. However, when Palestinian and Arab informants are trying to view it, they find it very, very difficult because the separation wall in many times doesn't separate between Jewish and Arab population, it separates between Palestinian population. So there is a contrast here between a physical barrier and social continuity. So here is Shirin from Fanshil, and she is explaining me, I'm asking her about the end of the city, and she is explaining me her way to Ramallah. She is trying herself to understand when it is already Ramallah and not Jerusalem. I think the city practically ends everywhere when I start to go on the way to Ramallah from here. And then I see the world. And you know, practically you are stopped. Behind the checkpoint should be Jerusalem, I think. But then, theoretically, it should be Jerusalem, okay? Sociologically, it is Jerusalem, but physically, it's not. And Sohera provides us a beautiful poetic metaphor for this situation. She calls it the glassworm. Sohera is from still one, and she also kind of talking about the way to Hamara. I do see beyond the wall, but I can't cross. Like, I do see the houses and even the people behind the separation barrier. And so I'm asking her, what people do you see? What houses? What places? And she's answering. Like, it seems to me that it's the same things I see next to it inside Jerusalem. Like Silvan or Beth Hanina, neighborhoods in Eastern Jerusalem. It's the same thing. Nothing has changed. Nothing changed except that I can't cross. Like the barrier is something like glass, okay? Glass that I can't cross, but I can see everything. Jerusalem doesn't enter. As far as I'm concerned, it's the same thing. Really, there is no difference. I don't really make distinctions among Jerusalemites. At this point, I want just to highlight again this kind of problem of symmetry and asymmetry in my analysis. Okay, so we see this topological equivalence. Both Palestinians and Israelis are using the same binary spatial units, the neighborhood and the village, to centralize an ethnonational space and they kind of exaggerate this binary contrast in order to show that. But the relations of power are not symmetrical at all. And also the discourse of space. So when someone is using neighborhoods, someone is actually using the very official mainstream unit of Jerusalem today. When someone is using a Palestinian village, someone is kind of struggling the mainstream discourse. It's a very different mental effort, okay, that is made here. Although it's very similar in structure, but it's very different in terms of context. And same, I would say, about denial, to deny the Palestinian landscape is a different effort than to deny the Israeli Jewish presence in space, okay? And this is what Mahmoud Awish called a map of absent. I think it's a beautiful. metaphor or description of this situation. Okay, the second prism, okay, still the time, is west and east. Now, I told you that neighborhoods and villages are used as technical items, as kind of unusual terminology. Think about cardinal direction even more. It feels as a given kind

of category, right? What is more objective or inevitable? West and East. I mean, we don't control it. The geographer told us that this is kind of part of life or part of the world. East, West, North and West. We don't even kind of contest these categories. But again, the local dwellers are using it in order to contrast a binary, which is much more exaggerated than in reality. So here are the maps of Shireen and Cheni. Both grew up at the same neighborhood. The French is a settlement at Eastern Jerusalem. But I think most of my Jewish-Israeli informants wouldn't recognize that as a settlement. It's a very legitimate neighborhood in Jerusalem, and it's also in many ways a mixed neighborhood between Palestinians and Israelis. But she draws the old city. You see it's huge in her map. And then she draws commercial areas and residential areas of our Palestinian public space. and the way to Amara, to Jericho, and Bethlehem. Okay, this spread, this, I would say, metropolitan spread. And then she draws this line, and she writes, Il Marrab, City West. Okay, that doesn't belong to her space. That's kind of a boundary work that she is doing. And, you know, ironically, Chen is kind of zooming in to him. He's drawing the complementary side of the city. This is the old city for him, again, a boundary for him, and all the way to the west. Okay, so I asked them to view the city from above, but actually the ways of looking is positioned, ethnocentrically positioned, I would say. So I brought you some association images. I told you I will not analyze them today, but I wanted to show you because this is beautiful to see and very illustrative. Usually they drew the holy sites, but the Jewish Israelis usually drew it from southwest. They looked at the walls from southwest. And our Palestinians looked, they came kind of approaching the old city mainly from east and north. Okay, so this is the map of Salah from Israel. And you can see he's writing here west, east. In the east, he kind of locates Arab villages, Jewish neighborhoods here. And this is the old city on his side. The old city is always on the informant side, no matter who is the informant. And then you can see this huge gap. We don't have this gap in reality, but it is an experienced distance. In COVID, we used to say social distance, but we actually meant to say physical distance. This is a social distance. So East and West is kind of an idealized binary contrast. I also brought this map to show you, the city is generally divided into east-west, but not exactly, right? We have this neighborhood of Elan. It is eastern to Beit Khamena, it is eastern to Dexafafa, right? So, we have many Jewish neighborhood on the east. Anyone knows how many or want to guess what is the proportion in the east of Jewish and Arab populations? Someone want to guess? Almost half. Okay. 40% of Eastern Jerusalem is actually Jewish settlement. So we have many Jewish people in the west. We have some Arab populations on the on the more western side, like that's a far from not a lot. Okay. And here again, whenever they kind of try to turn their back, kind of, I'm looking to the west, but I am, as an interviewee, asking them to look to the east and the other way around, they encounter a puzzle. They somehow, when I look to the, if I'm drawing to the west and I'm suddenly asked to look to the east, I'm getting puzzled and disoriented. So here is the one. And the one drew this western kind of city. And when we talk, I'm asking him to look at this side, to kind of look to Zobacher and tell me what he sees

there. And he's answering. If we're looking at it from Talpiyot, then Sulbaher already means moving into East Jerusalem. Which, as far as I'm concerned, I'm not sure if I consider that Jerusalem or not. It is not my Jerusalem. I mean, I don't enter there. I don't know it. I guess that the area around the promenade and Armon Nazi is really the eastern border. in which I don't go beyond that. And here is Fawzi, Fawzi grew an eastern kind of city, and he testified that he projects from the green line to the east because we are looking at it from an aerial view, which is really interesting. I mean, that is aerial view. And then I'm asking him, to the west, is it Jerusalem as far as you're concerned? And he's answering, I don't see that on the picture. It's dark to me. So he's kind of attesting on his kind of optical impossibility to look to the West. And I'm saying, interesting, if you had to explain to me the borders of Jerusalem, and he's answering, of Jerusalem, it ends on rd number one in the city. I can't manage to move over to West Jerusalem. It's alien to me. So we can see that both epistemological prism, the residential units and cardinal direction, serve as effective filters of attention, foregrounding one's ethno-national view of place while backgrounding the other's place. So, you know, in both cases of, you know, the neighborhood village contrast, and the West East, we have this perceptual reliance on semi-objective, seemingly neutral spatial categorization, which provides a lot of authority to the agronational view. Okay? I was just, you know, drawing villages and neighborhood because that's how the city is structured. I was just looking to the East. I mean, what could be more given than that? And they use a lot of marking of one another. I can go into the, there's all kinds of markedness, semiotics if someone is interested later. Okay, and together it builds up into what I call attentional apartheid, as there was some spatial perception. Attentional apartheid by contrast to regular apartheid is a discriminatory regime of perception. It prescribes an asymmetrical distribution of focus rather than of material resources and social rights. And it is a dislocation of the territory of cultural relevance. And I really like this figure of Edgar Rubin, the vase faces illusion, the figure of ground, because my interviewees do recognize the fact that the other exists in space, okay? They, have no doubt about it. But whenever we see the faces, the black faces, we cannot see the white vase. almost by definition. And whenever we look at the vase, we cannot see the faces. So the other's place is not merely this attended or less attended. They didn't just forget about it or kind of accidentally missed it, but inherently inattended. It's kind of by definition either or zero-sum spatial perception. The other is not simply different but irrelevant, and the other is not only mentally distant and separate, but pushed out of focus. So we can see that the Palestinian and Israeli mental maps are not just different takes on the same city, but they actually provide us a one-sided picture. A mutually exclusive perception and A1 topological whole. As a structure, it's a whole. It's not that they take parts of the city. They don't share anything in perceptual terms. So we don't have two parts or two sides or kind of two styles of seeing the city. We have two cities which are kind of independent of one another and excluding one another. In fact, the others' presence marks the border of one's place. So I brought all these kind of

topologies. Usually in studies of contested spaces, we have this kind of, I would say, imagination of a multicultural city, a divided city, and kind of what I call overlapping. city. And in all these kind of drawings, we have something that is shared by the populations. We have a shared space or even a shared boundary to fight or a shared kind of municipal boundary. In the maps of local Israelis and Palestinians, we don't have anything to share. We are in the figure, the other is at the background. So there are many kind of inter-paradox and irony in this pattern of a shared view of unshared reality. Because Palestinians and Israeli actually share in their slash perception. They share the slash. That's the only thing they share is that they don't see one another. And the more they become, the more they invisibilize one another, the more they come closer as attentional communities, as people who share the same mindset of erasing one another, of denying one another, in a sense that this lash experience is a shared experience by Palestinians and Israelis. And this is the place that I think can be applied to many other sins and spells in local Israeli-Palestinian perception and experience of reality, because we see this extremely polarized classification of reality also in terms of time and identity. So versatile space, this all or nothing views, we saw it a lot in the last three years. So for example, in place names, We have Judea and Samaria and we have the occupied territories. And it always feels like one isn't forced to choose. You are with us or against us. Are you Arab or Jewish, Palestinian or Israeli? And this either or approach is also applied to time. Okay, we have the Nakba and the independence law. We have these counter histories and we have these counter identities, okay? So you can see that even NGOs, all kinds of semi-neutral or supposedly neutral humanitarian aid organizations, the local populations will always try to figure out they're pro or anti. Are they with us or against us? Are they Palestinians or Israelis. I think it's most revealing to see the treatment of people who have this in-between identity, Arab Israelis, Palestinian Jews, Palestinian Israelis, and the local societies are broadly rejecting this in-between ambiguous identities or neutral positions. And, you know, in my current postdoctoral project, I am I am very busy with this social denial of non-binary and binary situations. All these ambiguous situations really trigger the local discourse because the discourse is so much polarized. Thank you. And I put here the article if someone wants to read it. Thank you, Charlie. Fascinating. Lots of food for thought and obviously for questions.