

FIRST WE TAKE BERLIN THEN WE TAKE JERUSALEM: THE GEOPOLITICS OF MAPPING DIVIDED CITIES AND THEIR SEPARATION WALLS*



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This article compares two Separation Barriers and their urban landscape in two very different cultural contexts: in the cities of Jerusalem and Berlin. The focus is on how different mapmakers cartographically represent both physical divisions - such as walls and barriers, as well as imaginary divides - such as geopolitical or socio-ethnic divisions in divided cities. Jerusalem and Berlin are particularly powerful symbols of political partition as the Berlin Wall split the city of Berlin for over 26 years and Jerusalem remains a divided city to this day. In both cases, their walls have become defining feature of their city's urban identity. This article traces the changing politics of the visibility or relative invisibility of walls and the cityscapes they divide at any given time and place.

Keywords: maps; cartography; walls; Jerusalem; Berlin; geopolitics; visual rhetoric; divided cities.

This project compares two Separation Barriers and their urban landscape, in two very different cultural contexts: in the cities of Jerusalem and Berlin. The focus is on how different mapmakers from opposite side of the respective divides represent both physical divisions - such as walls and barriers, as well as imaginary divides - such as geopolitical or socio-ethnic

* I am grateful to numerous respondents in Israel and Palestine for their time and conversations and I am indebted to Ahmad El-Atrash and Gary Fields as well as the editors and reviewers of *Geoforum Perspektiv* for constructive comments and suggestions.

This research has been supported by the Fulbright Scholar Program for the Middle East, North Africa, Central and South Asia Regional Research Program (grantee number G48413539), the Fulbright Specialist Program (grantee number 88100362) and the National Science Foundation (award number 1152322).

divisions. Jerusalem and Berlin are particularly powerful symbols of political partition. Their walls have become defining feature of their city's urban identity. Through much of its history, Berlin became synonymous with the wall that split it for 26 years, and Jerusalem also has become an iconic example of a divided city along physical and imaginary lines (Shlay et al, 2005).

Such barriers – whether they are real or imaged – evoke varied meanings for different social groups in terms of their respective function and consequences (Leuenberger, 2011; 2014). At the same time, they can determine ways of seeing and making visible certain urban infrastructures and socio-ethnic geographies on either side of the divide. In other words, as geopolitical barriers are contested, their urban surroundings also become sites of contention. Indeed, the geographies of physically divided cities – their spaces, infrastructures, locals and streets – are places in which geopolitics dictates that which is made visible and that which is made invisible in maps. Consequently, such barriers help “make-up” cities, their people and geographies in varied ways (Hacking, 1998).

Critical cartographers have long questioned the presumed objectivity of cartography and pointed out that maps, rather than being seemingly “objective” representations of the world “out there”, represent certain social and political concerns, that shape the hierachization of spaces as well as the visual and linguistic information included (Harley, 1991; Kitchin and Dodge, 2007; Wood, 1992). The selection, inclusion and elimination of certain visual and linguistic information hereby serve as tools to affirm the existence of certain features and not others. As a result, maps are more like arguments than representations:

‘...the map is actually a system of propositions (a proposition is a statement affirming or denying the existence of something), an argument...the map has gone on to a long career rich in the affirmation of the existence

of a bewildering variety of things, some whose existence we continue to affirm...some we have come to deny (the island-continent of California, the Northwest Passage, the open polar sea, etc.), but, in any case, things very hard to imagine without the creative intercession of the map...’
(Wood and Krygier, 2009)

If maps can be understood as arguments for the existence and the affirmation of certain features and not others, we need to develop conceptual tools in order to understand their visual rhetoric. Visual rhetoric includes the use of various graphical, symbolic, and linguistic tools to invoke authority, appeal to particular audiences, elaborate social concerns, and make political statements. Some common visual rhetorical devices used in maps include three recurrent elements, such as: visual signifiers (including features such as a map's projections and scale, levels of cartographic detail, and choice of colors); textual signifiers (including the naming of places and other signifiers that load an image and reveals its target audience); and the demarcation of the space (by selecting certain geographical or infrastructural features such as roads, maps can creates a specific spatial hierarchy) (Leuenberger et al, 2010; Pickles, 1991). Arguably how these different elements are used to design maps and hereby co-construct particular geopolitical visions is informed by the social and political context of the maps' production.

To be sure, maps have always intersected with their social and political contexts in interesting ways. Historically, they have long been used as tools to dispossess the colonized, establish sovereign control over territories, and establish states (Black, 1997; Carroll, 2006; Edney, 1997; Harvey, 2009; Pickles, 2004; Scott, 1998; Winichakul, 1994). Indeed, “putting the state on the map meant knowing and imagining it as real and, so, making it a reality” (Agnew, 2007: 401; Monmonier, 1991). The making of maps is part of “knowing the land” (Day, 2008: 38) and has been a precondition for supplanting societies, asserting land claims, and

controlling resources. Yet with the recent democratization of mapping practices enabling anyone with access to the Internet and cartographic software to design maps, “counter-mapping” and “alternative mapping” have become increasingly prevalent (Crampton et al, 2006; Routledge, 1996). Consequently, maps of divided territories and contested spaces and infrastructures serve as particularly powerful examples of the political power maps, as various governmental and non-governmental institutions and stakeholders engage in “map wars” (Leuenberger et al, 2010). What is cartographically depicted, eliminated, or emphasized in different types of maps thus becomes a deeply political endeavor.

The maps presented here provide a preliminary analysis of common mapping strategies used by different governmental and non-governmental institutions and stakeholders when cartographically delineating walls, fences and barriers and the cities they divide. Border Studies scholars have traced the rapid raise of walls, fences and barriers across cities and along national borders. With such “hard” borders becoming increasingly prevalent since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, it is all the more important to reflect on how they can impact the representation and the politics of space (Reece et al, 2016; Vallet et al, 2012). In order to trace how visual rhetoric is used to map disputed spaces and infrastructures I will address the following questions: firstly, how do physical and imaginary divides impact which part of Berlin or Jerusalem was mapped and how and why do these maps include or exclude certain spaces, names, and infrastructures? Secondly, how do various mapmakers represent walls and barriers in these divided cities? Finally, how does the cartographic visibility or invisibility of either Jerusalem’s barrier or the Berlin Wall serve certain geopolitical and/or economic interests? In the following I will first turn to predominant mapping practices in communist East and capitalist West Germany.

THE POLITICS OF MAPPING BERLIN

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was one of the pivotal moments of the 20th century. Since its construction in 1961, the Berlin wall represented one of the great political, economic, and ideological divides of history; it symbolized the Cold War; and it divided communist East Germany – the German Democratic Republic (GDR) - from capitalist West Germany – the Federal Republic of Germany - for decades. During that period, mapmakers in East - and West Germany represented the contested territory of the two Germany’s in different ways. They employed a visual rhetoric that reflected the contested geopolitical realities at the time. How spatial relations and hierarchies were cartographically denoted, in tandem with the use of various visual and textual signifiers (ranging from the colors used to the size of names) served to both claim or erase certain territories and spaces. For instance, maps of the capital Berlin that were produced in communist East versus capitalist West Germany between 1961-1989 represented the city in varied ways and advanced contrary geopolitical visions. While East Germany, under the auspices of the Soviet Union, strove to establish an autonomous socialist state that was to be independent from West Germany, West German policy-makers and politicians continued to treat the two German states as part of one divided nation in need of reunification. These different geopolitical visions become embedded in the maps that were produced on either side.

East German produced maps

In the strive towards independent statehood, East German map-makers demarcated East Germany’s territory, yet they erased West German sites, lands and cities from the map.

A 1988 East German-produced map (fig 1) exemplifies this practice. In this map of the city of Berlin, West Berlin is marked as an empty and unlabeled void in the city’s midst (Henderson, 2013). Moreover, the boundary between the two parts of the city is indicated by a thick pink line,

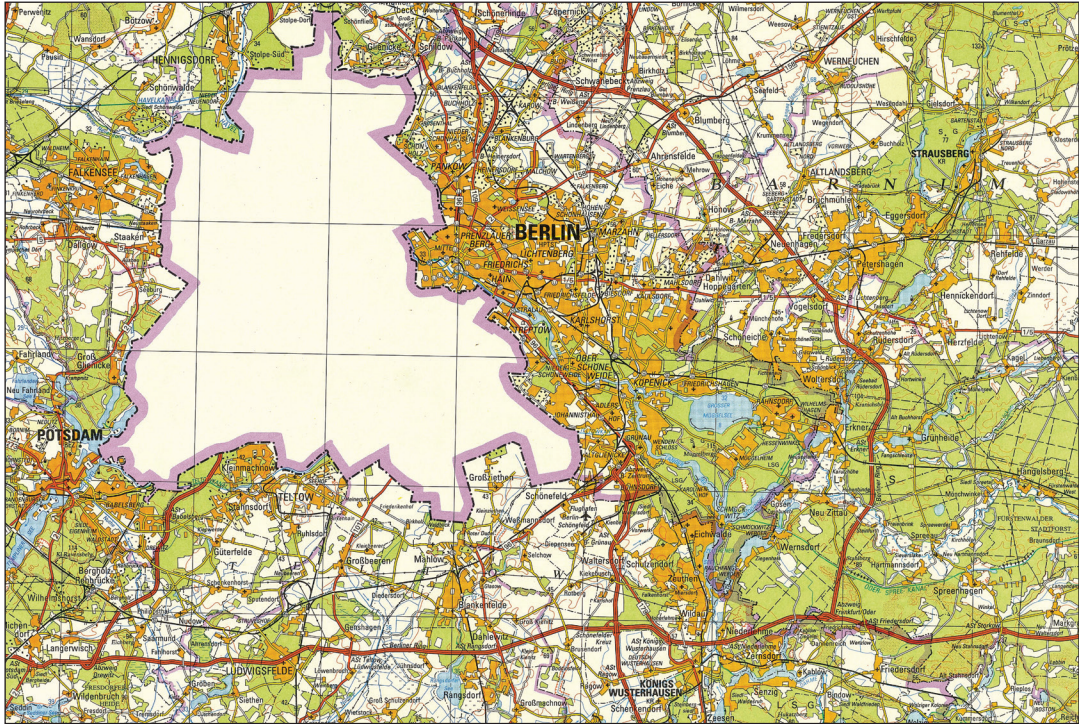


Figure 1. "Topografische Karte 1:200.000," 1988. Zentral-und Landesbibliothek Berlin, online at <http://www.zlb.de/recherche/digitale-angebote/bestandsinformationen/berliner-ansichten-eine-kartografische-zeitreise.html>, accessed 21 May 2016.

yet the "Berlin Wall" that enforced that division remains unmarked. Similarly, in this East German tourist map (fig 2), West Berlin was a void on the edges of the capital of the GDR. It was relegated to its outlying suburbs, with few markings.

When we compare maps from Berlin before the construction of the wall and after – we see that after 1961 the West German part of the city became eradicated (Fig 3a&b).

How can we explain this cartographic eradication? For the East German government the divide was not – what the West named it - "a wall" – that embodied 20th century doctoral power and repression, but it was the "Anti-fascist Protection Bulwark" (der Anti-faschistische Schutzwall). It was set up to control the infiltration of undesirables, including National Socialists, fascists, and smugglers. This "defensive barricade" was seen as a grand achievement of the socialist state – a "demarcati-



Figure 2. Arandjelovic et al, 2014: 9.

on-line" which represented an international border that protected the newly established East German state from its enemies. It was celebrated in postage stamps and state celebrations as securing an independent and sovereign state, controlling its borders, and hindering illegal activities (fig 4). "The

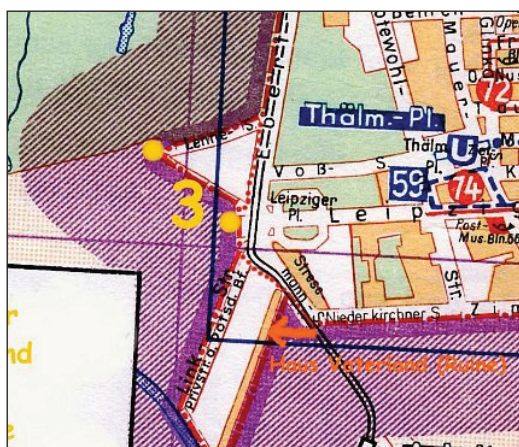
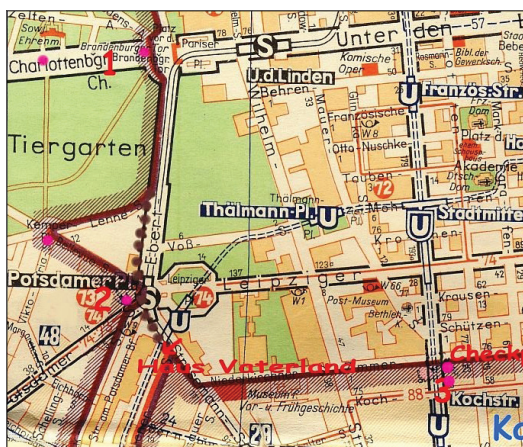


Figure 3a & 3b “Karte Berlin 1960” and “Karte Berlin 1965” produced by VEB Landkartenverlag Berlin, available at: Forum DDR Grenze: DDR Zeitgeschichte Online: www.forum-ddr-grenze.de/g686p11644-Karte-Berlin.html, accessed 21 May 2016.

demarcation-line” was neither represented in stamps or maps as it was considered to be GDR’s official border. According to official accounts:

“We did not take any other action that any other independent, sovereign state would not also take. We solely took our border...under control” (Berliner Mauer Online, 2015).¹



Figure 4. “25 Jahre Antifaschistischer Schutzwall,” Old-Stamps.Com, online at www.old-stamps.com/stamps/east-germany/25-jahre-antifaschistischer-schutzwall-ddr_133.html, accessed 26 August 2015.

Therefore this border was to be depicted like any other border that demarcates the limits of any independent sovereign state (Verordnung zum Schutze der Staatsgrenze der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik vom 19. März 1964).

While the cartographic eradication of West Berlin and West Germany served to ascertain East German national statehood, the use of textual signifiers such as various naming practices also helped to assign different territorial significance to either part of the two Germany’s. Indeed, the names of cities also had become part of identity politics. Historically, newly established states have always understood the importance of renaming a territory and its infrastructures. New names for territories, sites, and cities served to legitimize new political powers and could reflect their particular ideologies, while at the same time erasing the topography of previous inhabitants’. In divided cities, adversaries’ struggle over territory also becomes expressed in a struggle over names. While in Cold War Berlin, both parts of the city adopted the name ‘Berlin’ in order to signify their political legitimacy as the successor state to pre-war Germany, East German maps juxtaposed the names: “Berlin: the capital of the German Democratic Republic” or “democratic Berlin” with “Westberlin” (Beschuß des Ministerrates der Deutschen Demokratischen Repu-

¹ After the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948 a naming commission was put into place in order to establish a Hebrew topography of the land. In Germany, too, renaming practices have always been indicative of political power shifts. After 1933, the National Socialists purged street names deemed unsuitable for the new vision of Germany and instead replaced them with names of what the Nazis considered German heroes. After the end of WWII, the allies decreed the renaming of these same streets in line with their new political visions. In post-1989 Germany, a West German naming commission was to rename the Eastern part of the city to celebrate pluralism and democracy, to eradicate its Stalinist past, and to integrate the formerly divided city (Michele et al, 2005; Azaryahu, 1997; Peteet, 2005).

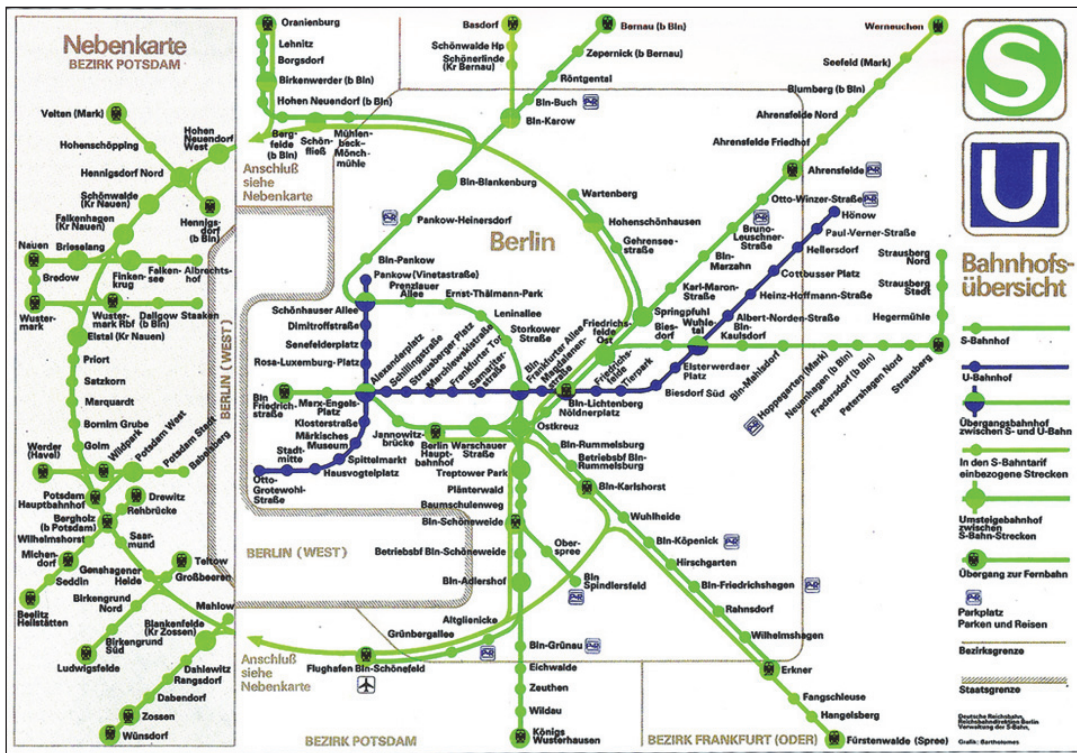


Figure 5. Alte Netzspinnen, "S+U Ost im Osteil wieder ein neues Format, das westliche Umland ist wieder drauf, der Westteil der Stadt nicht", accessed 21 February 2016, http://www.berliner-verkehr.de/netze/_Netze/Netz_1988_klein.gif

blik, 1961). The name "Westberlin" implied that it was neither democratic nor sovereign, but a puppet state of the Western allies. The name also suggested that while the capital of the GDR was connected to its territory under its control, "Westberlin" did not possess such a territorially based legitimacy. As both parts of Germany wanted to be seen to represent the whole of Germany,

"West Germany never officially referred to itself as 'western' but called itself the Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Federal Republic of Germany). Similarly, East Germany never self-applied the moniker Ostdeutschland, but chose Deutsche Demokratische Republik (German Democratic Republic). The geographic, limitative name was generally reserved for the other half" (Jacobs, undated).

Similarly, references to West or East Berlin by either East or West residents respectively was

politically laden as it implied the lack of legitimacy of the other part of the city as the representative capital of all the people.

Besides the use of textual signifiers to legitimize or delegitimize, and to emphasize or erase the status of certain territories, various visual signifiers (including the size and color of names and territories) also served to mark the status of the two Berlins. Indeed, West Berlin remained not only unmarked, but was also frequently cartographically minimized. For instance, in an East-German produced subway map from 1988 (fig 5), West Berlin disappeared into a gray-lined zone that seemingly had no impact on East Berlin's urban spaces (Jacobs, undated nr. 2). Whilst some subway stations did serve as formal crossing points from West to East Berlin (such as at Friedrichstrasse), these potential crossing points and subway lines were not included, not least because only passengers from the Western sector had access to this border crossing.

The visual and spatial configurations in this map served to obliterate West Berlin by superimposing the Potsdam area (a town West of Berlin) onto West Berlin by foreshortening the distance between Potsdam and East Berlin. The map thereby obscures the urban divide and reveals a seemingly continuous East German territory (Schuler, 2014; CityMetric, 2014).

West-German produced Maps

West German-produced maps told a very different cartographic history of the region at that time. For West Germany the “Berlin Wall” was not an international border between sovereign nations, but an internal political division in a city that was supposed to be united. Maps therefore visually emphasized the division by clearly delineating the wall, and they also included, rather than excluded, the East German side of the city. This spatial inclusiveness in maps was in line with the then predominant West German political sentiment that reunification was the only viable political solution.

The following 1961 map (fig 6) contrasts starkly with East-German produced maps at the time, which represented the “protective barricade” as an international border. In this map, the divide is visually clearly demarcated as a glaring redbrick wall (Schuler, 2014) (even though at the time the divide was constructed of barbed wire only) in order to highlight how the wall severed the very heart of the city. This map, like other West German-produced maps at that time, also depicts both West and East Berlin, emphasizing yet again the essential unity of the territory and the artificiality of the geopolitical divide.

Likewise, West German-produced subway maps depicted the whole, albeit divided city, and they showed the transit network as contiguous (fig 7) (Schuler, 2014). By depicting stations in the East (even though they were inaccessible to West German travellers except if they crossed at the Friedrichstrasse border crossing), the city is represented as a contiguous subway-scape. In this 1963 map, unlike in the East-German produced



Figure 6. Mauerpläne, online at www.berlinplaene.de/shop/images/produkte/1961g_g.jpg, accessed 31 January 2016.

map, the subway line linking the Western part of the city with Friedrichstrasse was also marked. A note to the right-hand side of the map states that Friedrichstrasse is the only station where trains stop enabling transit to the East. The cartographic inclusiveness of this map is all the more remarkable given that a gray line, which is described as the “sectorial border” between the Soviet and the Western occupied sectors, is clearly demarcated.

West German-produced maps at the time therefore tended to clearly delineate the wall and

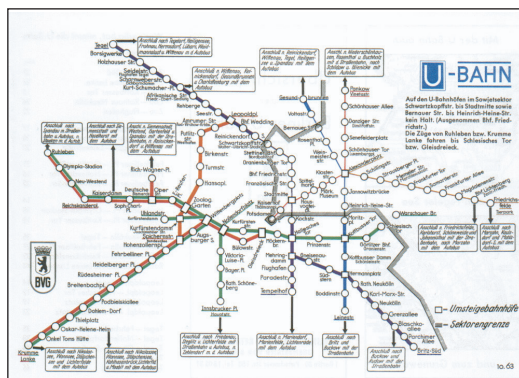


Figure 7. “1963 U: BVG_West: Eröffnung Grenzallee-Britz Süd”, S-, U- und Strassen-Bahn Netzspinnen – die Netze im Spiel der Geschichte. <http://archive.is/b55xS>.

the division, yet they depicted both sides of the urban cityscape so as to claim East Berlin as part of the geography of the city. What is more, maps also would make the connections between West Berlin and West Germany visible, which was particularly important given the aim of the East's Berlin Blockade to sever the links between West Berlin and West Germany (Arandjelovic et al, 2014). Emphasizing West Berlin's connection to West Germany was therefore also politically pertinent and was an integral part of defining the geopolitics of the region.

Maps produced in East and West Germany during the Cold War show how they became a representational battlefield. The diverging geopolitical visions of independent statehood in the East as opposed to the need for reunification in the West dictated what became cartographically visible and what remained invisible in maps. The construction of spatial relations in tandem with the use of various visual and textual signifiers served to select spaces, include or erase places, and hereby reflect wider geopolitical aims. How then does the geopolitical division of present-day Jerusalem dictate which spaces are represented and which names are used?

THE POLITICS OF MAPPING CONTESTED JERUSALEM

Just like the struggle over divided Berlin was a battle over the representation of spaces and territories, so is the territorial battle over divided Jerusalem also a struggle over the depiction and naming of places. The physical and imaginary divides that crisscross the city of Jerusalem have fragmented the city into different ethnically-defined spaces that are not divided linearly, but rather, they form a complex web of divided spaces that serve to exclude, include or guard against various socio-ethnic groups. Indeed, across the West Bank, as well as in the city of Jerusalem, Palestinian and Israelis may reside in close

proximity to one another, yet they are located inside "a giant web" (Boeri, 2003) of interrelated, but disconnected, ethno-social spaces. The consequent fragmentation of Jerusalem's urban spaces is indicative not only of the ethno-social struggle over territory but also of the struggle by two national movements to establish their respective sovereignty and affirm their state's territorial claims. It is these struggles that also informed the design of the city's maps. The various physical and imaginary divides have fuelled cartographic diversity across these divisions in terms of how different map-makers name, represent, include or eliminate different urban spaces and infrastructures.

Israeli-produced Maps

While East and West German produced maps of Berlin conveyed different geopolitical visions of the city, maps of divided Jerusalem reveal pervasive ethno-social divides that are reflected in what they include or exclude. Israeli-produced maps tend to select and emphasize Jewish spaces and erase the Palestinian topography of the city, a practice that has long been part of Israeli state-making efforts. Indeed, ever since the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948, national maps were Hebraized so as to ascertain a Hebrew topography of the land and to designify and symbolically erase Arab spaces (Benvenisti et al, 1988; Collins-Kreiner et al, 2006; Ghazi 1989; 1996). It was the newly established "Governmental Names Commission" that was to Hebraize the map so as to redeem the land from foreign rule and foreign languages. Historically new states have always used maps to claim and control territories and establish their sovereignty; the use of various spatial demarcations as well as different visual and textual devices, including naming practices, have served state-makers in the attempt to do so (Leuenberger et al, 2010; Azaryahu et al, 2001).

The following map entitled "The City of David – Ancient Jerusalem" (fig 8), (produced by the

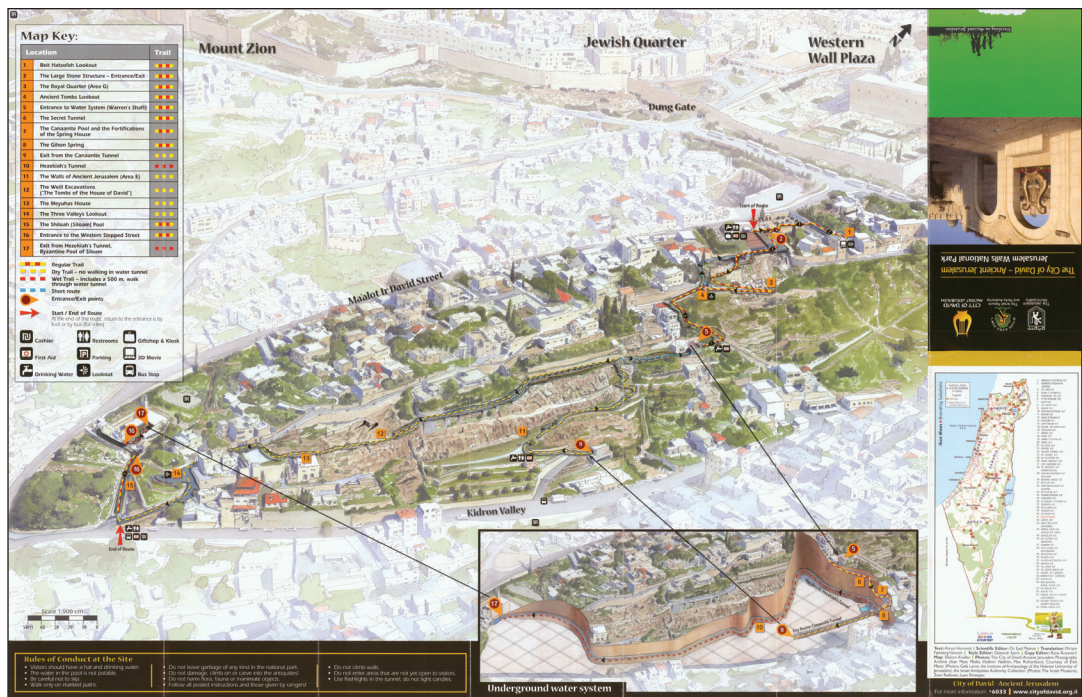


Figure 8. “The City of David – Ancient Jerusalem,” produced by Ir David. Source: Cornell University: Artstor.

Israeli association Ir David (also known as Elad) that aims to strengthen the Jewish connection to Jerusalem) exemplifies how selecting and highlighting some spaces and de-emphasizing others, whilst also imposing particular names, serves to strengthen Jewish claims to the city. This map empathizes the archeological site of the “City of David” in the heart of the Palestinian neighborhood of Silwan, which remains unnamed and fades into the background. Streets have been given biblically-derived Hebrew names so as to emphasize Jewish connections to the area. This is exemplified by “Maalot Ir David Street”, which frames the archeological site to the North (Al-Bushra, accessed 2015; The Times of Israel, 2015). At the same time, Jewish sites, such as the “Jewish Quarter”, “Mount Zion”, and “Western Wall Plaza” are marked and named, while Palestinian sites such as the Al Aqsa Mosque as well as Palestinian Street names (including the Arabic name for “Maalot Ir David

Street”: “Wadi Hilweh Street”) and other Palestinian sites of interest remain unnamed. These kinds of cartographic renderings hereby solidify a Hebrew topography of Jerusalem.

Such maps cannot only establish, what Edward Said (1979) called “imaginary geographies”, but they also have real-world consequences. They can impact planning decisions and they can also remake physical geographies. In 2010 the Jerusalem Municipality published an urban plan to build a biblical park adjacent to the “City of David”. For Jerusalem’s Major at the time, this was to restore the place to what it was 3000 years ago: a garden for King Solomon (however the archeological community is divided over the archeological finds in the area as pertaining to that time period), which entailed demolishing Palestinian homes in the neighborhood (Silwanic.net, accessed 2015). Moreover, by 2015 the Jerusalem municipality renamed East Jerusalem streets. Hebrew names

that first appeared in Elad’s maps, such as “Maalot Ir David Street”, were now official. The power of such maps thus lies in their potential to shape not only “imaginary geographies”, but they can also become tools to recreate urban realities.

Jerusalem city maps also reveal how the demarcation of urban spaces can define spatial hierarchies and hereby impact geopolitics. Whether one purchases a map in West Jerusalem’s Jaffa Street or in East Jerusalem’s Salah Eddin Street, its buyer is provided with a very different sense of what constitutes Jerusalem’s downtown. For the producers of the “Jerusalem City Map” downtown doesn’t include the Eastern part of the city – including Salah Eddin Street - the heart of East Jerusalem-Al Quds. It is either erased from the map (fig 9a) or is marginalized to the city’s fringes (fig 9b). Such maps also Hebraize the geography of the city by processes of selective representation, the exclusion of Palestinian spaces and infrastructures, as well as by Hebraizing streets and sites (Azaryahu, 1997).

Indeed for the Jerusalem municipality, despite its annexation of East Jerusalem in the 1980s and its declaration of Jerusalem as the eternal undivided capital of the Jewish people, “East Jerusalem...is apparently not considered part of the core of Jerusalem – it rather represents its periphery” (Nolte et al, undated). However, while East Jerusalem is not part of the downtown area, it is nevertheless represented as part of the larger Jerusalem municipality. The municipality also includes various Israeli settlements (that are considered illegal under International law) that have become well-connected to each other and to the city center, which at the same time isolated parts of Palestinian East Jerusalem in terms of infrastructural developments and connectivity. Just like West German-produced maps put claims on East Berlin by cartographically depicting it, Israeli mapmakers also make territorial claims be cartographically annexing East Jerusalem.

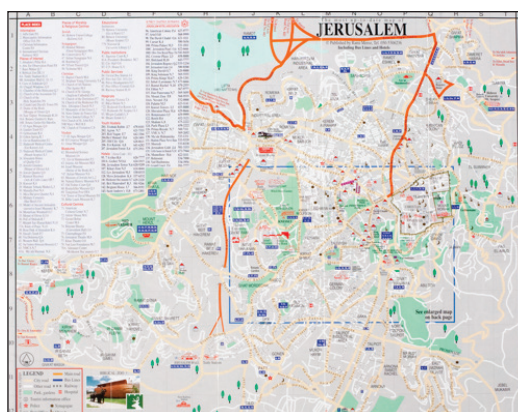
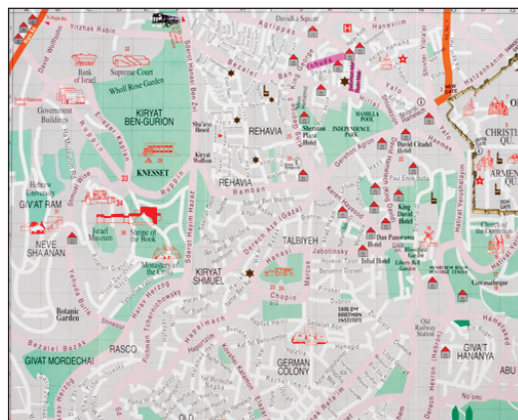


Figure 9a & 9b. “Jerusalem City Map,” 2006–2007, produced by Rami Meroz. Source: Cornell University, ArtStor.

Historically maps have long served as ways to claim a territory and to control it (Day, 2008). Such maps therefore navigate an uncomfortable path between inclusion and exclusion. They reflect the Zionist aim to appropriate “a land without a people for a people without a land” (Khalidi, 2006).

The controversy over the recently built Jerusalem light rail also exemplifies the politics of inclusion and exclusion (fig 10) (City Pass Jerusalem Light Rail, accessed 2015). The light rail is a ““conflict infrastructure” that connects the city physically and segregates it politically” (Nolte et al, 2015). According to the The Civic Coalition for Defending Palestinians’ Rights in Jerusalem:

"The JLRT system is planned to accommodate the transportation needs of 100,000 settlers daily. Planned routes lead to illegal settlements in both northern (Har Hatzofim, French Hill, Pisgat Ze'ev, Ne've Ya'akov, Ramot, Atarot) and southern (Gilo) parts of East Jerusalem. The preferential nature of the first line serves as an indication that the project disregards the transportation needs of the Palestinian population. Of the 23 stations planned along this route (14 km), only three are in the predominantly Palestinian neighbourhood of Shu'afat." (The Civic Coalition for Defending Palestinians' Rights in Jerusalem, accessed May 22 2016)

The light rail's infrastructure hereby expands the definition of what is considered Jerusalem and consolidates Israeli Jewish claims to the city. The map provides the cognitive infrastructure to reshape people's "imaginings" of the city limits. Here again, the "control over the representation of space" becomes "part of the broader struggle over control in and over the city" (Nolte et al, 2015). At the same time, the politics of territorial inclusion goes hand in hand with the marginalization and designification of the Palestinian cityscape. As the lightrail's route skirts the margins of East Jerusalem and only enters one Palestinian neighborhood (Shuafat) on the way to Israeli settlements on the city's outskirts, the railway provides only minimal benefits to Palestinian residents (The Civic Coalition for Defending Palestinians' Rights in Jerusalem, accessed May 22 2016). The cartographic depiction and hebraization of territory in tandem with the establishment of infrastructures of colonization (Ghazi, 1989; 1996; Yiftachel, 2006) hereby serve to expand Jewish territorial "imaginings" and practices. At the same time, Palestinian topographies, spaces and infrastructures remain largely unnamed, unmarked, and fade increasingly into the background.

Palestinian and Internationally produced Maps

Palestinian mapping practices lagged behind the Israeli strive to survey and map the land. A lack of human, technical, material, and financial



Figure 10. CityPass Jerusalem Light Rail Transit route, online at www.citypass.co.il/english/cut/linemap_allstsn_2haavir_s2.pdf, accessed 31 January 2016.

resources; the precarious geopolitical situation on the ground; as well as fragmented and divided Palestinian state institutions have all hampered the development of Palestinian cartographers' and surveyors' ability to survey and map the territory (Abdullah, 2013; Leuenerberger, 2013a). However, by the mid 1990s, Palestinian institutions increasingly produced their own maps, which revealed a very different angle on Jerusalem's downtown. Like in the Israeli-produced maps, in such Palestinian-produced maps, the demarcation of urban spaces most clearly denotes notions of what constitutes the city.

In "Jerusalem Street Map" (fig 11) the focus is on Palestinian East Jerusalem, which is to the North of the Old City walls. At the same time, the Israeli Jewish parts of the city (which on Israeli produced maps extend way to the West) are eliminated. Maps produced by Palestinian governmental institutions, such as the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, also delineate only the eastern part of the city (Statistical Quarters in Jerusalem Localities, 2007).



Figure 11. "Jerusalem Street Map," produced by Pal Map GSE, online at www.palmap.org/images/big-img1.jpg, accessed 26 August 2015.

Thus, commercially produced maps of Jerusalem largely follow the conventions of other Palestinian-produced maps of the Palestinian Territories: they delineate what under International Law is considered to be Palestine and thereby they don't make spatial claims on Jewish parts of the city by way of representing or mapping it. Visual elements that would appear on Hebrew maps of Jerusalem – such as the "City of David" – are thereby also omitted. At the same time, the Palestinian

topography of the city is named, represented, and emphasized through visual signifiers (such as the level of visual detail) as well as through textual signifiers (such as the use of Arab names). The urban geography of the city that is hereby created therefore differs substantially from the geographical configurations put forth in Hebrew maps.

Yet, is there a bird's eye view, a particular way of representing Jerusalem cartographically that can overcome the socio-ethnic divisions so prevalent in

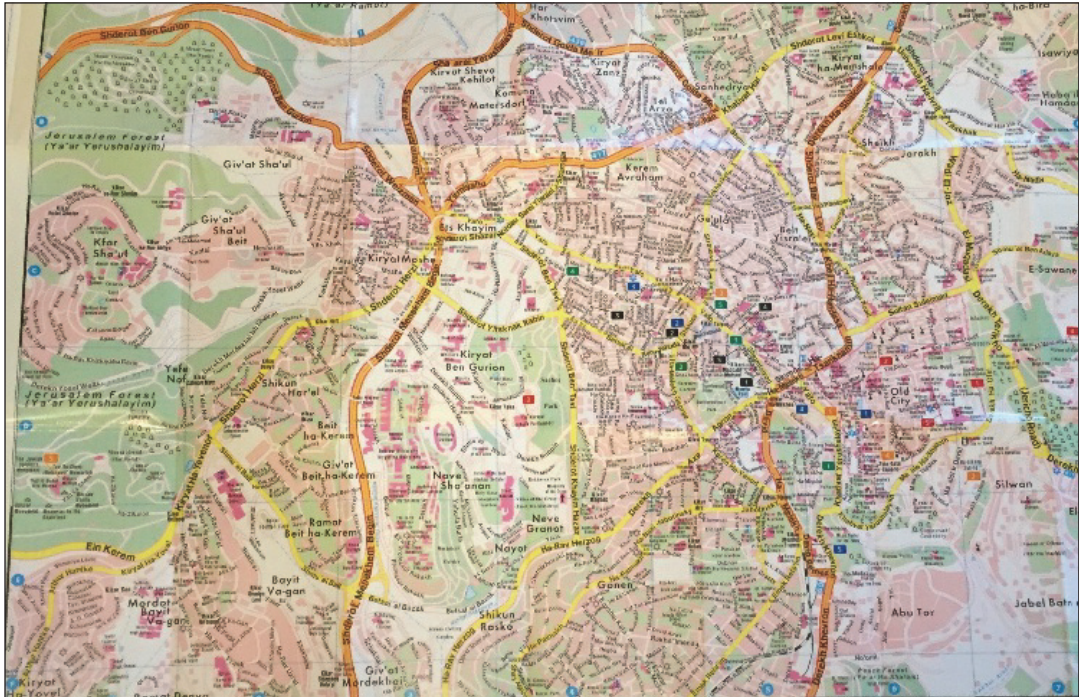


Figure 12. Jerusalem 1:12 500 Freytag & Berndt.

locally produced maps? The “Jerusalem” map produced by the Austrian cartographic publisher Freytag & Berndt (fig 12) provides a different vision of how to spatially demarcate the city. By placing the Old City in the lower right-hand corner of the map, West Jerusalem (as represented in Israeli-produced maps) as well as East Jerusalem (as depicted in Palestinian-produced maps) co-constitute “Jerusalem”. The marginalization of one or another part of the city in locally produced maps thus gives way to form of cartographic inclusiveness. At the same time, various visual and textual signifiers depict and name both Hebrew and Arab sites and streets. This map hereby caters to its likely users –international visitors - for whom the socio-ethical imaginary divisions that matter more to locals – became erased. By unifying the spaces, and centering both parts of the city, the hierarchization and marginalization that is prevalent in locally produced maps, has given way to a “united” city of Jerusalem.

Maps produced by different Israeli- Palestinian- or international mapmakers exemplify how the use

of specific spatial demarcations as well as of various visual and textual signifiers can construct the city’s “imaginary geographies” in different ways. Such visual rhetorical devices hereby become powerful tools to establish competing geopolitical visions of which territories, infrastructures, and people “make up” the city in divided lands.

THE POLITICS OF MAPPING WALLS

Mapping the West Bank Barrier

While maps become arguments to “make-up” cities in different ways, maps of the contested West Bank Barrier exemplify most starkly the power of the politics of maps, as they become visual arguments for particular geopolitical understandings of the barrier’s impact, purpose, and consequences for different communities (Leuenberger, 2013b). The Israeli government started to build what it calls a “security fence” in 2002. It consists partly of a concrete wall (up to 8 meters high along densely populated areas) as well as sections of a “fence system”, 45-70 meters wide, that includes a patrol

road, sand tracks, a ditch and outer fencing on each side. Once completed, the barrier is projected to be 721 km long (twice as long as the internationally recognized Green Line, the 1949 armistice line, marking the boundary between Israel and the West Bank). For Israeli proponents it is the “security fence” or “anti-terrorist fence,” for its opponents it is “the wall” (including the demographic, separation, colonization, annexation, or Apartheid Wall). The BBC, the United Nations and Israeli Human Rights Groups use the term “barrier” as an acceptable generic description, instead of more politically charged terms such as “security fence” or “wall”. Therefore the very name given to the barrier allegedly reveals our politics, as names such as “wall” versus “fence” are intertwined with its alleged function and social consequences.

Jerusalem’s Wall may not cut through the heart of the city as the wall did in Berlin, but it winds its way around the edges of the ever-expanding Jerusalem municipality. While the Israeli government maintains that the barrier’s route is based on security considerations, various Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) argue that other factors determined its construction and routing, including demography. Accordingly, the wall’s route was to exclude as many Palestinians as possible, whilst annexing land, and including Jewish locals in order to strengthen Israel as Jewish state (The Civic Coalition for Defending Palestinians’ Rights in Jerusalem, accessed 2015). Yet, despite the barrier’s impact on the municipality, it is frequently underrepresented or erased in maps. For instance, in a map “Jerusalem Municipal Area” posted on the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ website the municipal boundaries are clearly depicted as a red broken line, yet “the fence” is not represented (fig 13) (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed 2015).

To be sure, the practice of either erasing, underrepresenting or depicting the barrier strictly in terms of its function of security is in line with predominant cartographic practices amongst Israeli mapmakers. However, Israeli political advocacy groups, such as human rights organiza-



Figure 13. “Jerusalem Municipal Area,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, online at mfa.gov.il/MFA/AboutIsrael/Maps/Pages/Israel%20in%20Maps.aspx, accessed 25 August 2015.

tions (including the NGO B’tselem) (fig 14) (B’tselem, accessed 2015; Ir Amin accessed 2015; Stop the Wall accessed 2015) delineate the barrier and contextualize it in terms of the complex realities on the ground. In B’tselem’s map of “the Separation Barrier Jerusalem” the municipal boundary (in yellow) is juxtaposed with the barrier’s route (in red) (whether it is already built or planned) as well as the Green Line. These starkly accentuated lines are superimposed on the territorial divisions and demographic fragmentations of the area so as to highlight how the barrier serves to include Jewish settlements.

For such interest groups, the cartographic visibility of the wall is vital in order to advocate effectively against the barrier and to visually link

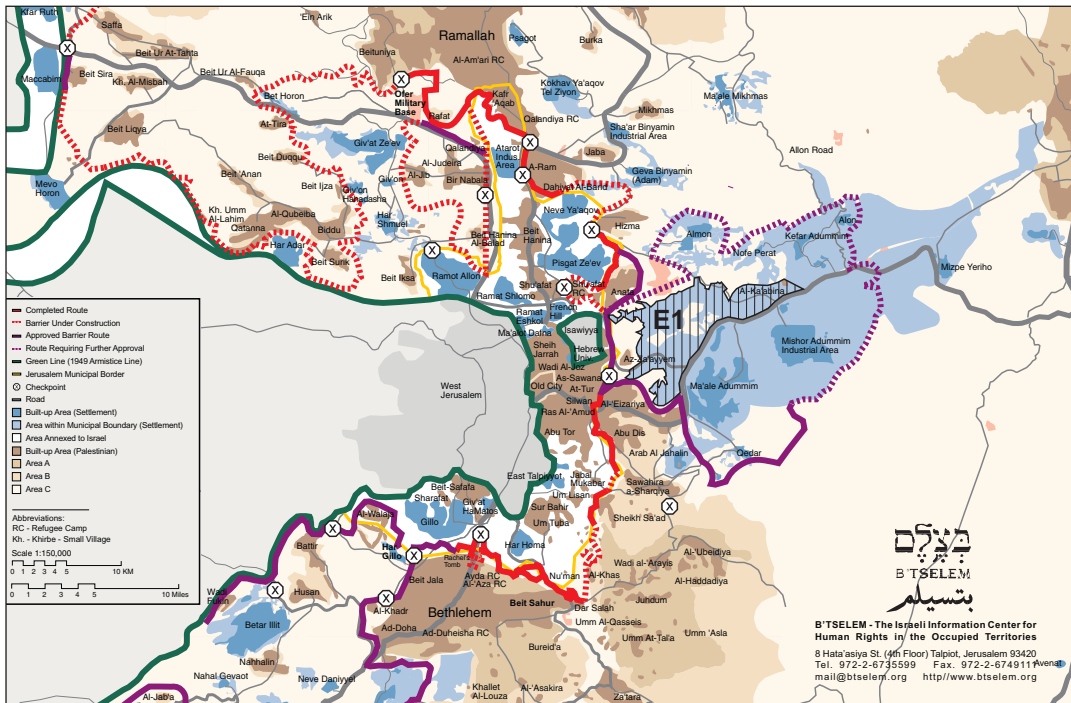


Figure 14. “The Separation Barrier, Jerusalem Area, September 2005,” B’Tselem, online at www.btselem.org/download/jerusalem_separation_barrier_eng.pdf, accessed 31 January 2016.

the demographic composition of the territory with the wall’s route.

Similarly, Palestinian mapmakers tend to trace the route of the wall clearly and distinctly so as to point to its impact on land-and cityscapes, such as in the “Jerusalem Region Map” (fig 15) (Pal-Map, accessed 2015). In this map, what is termed the “Separation Wall” is distinctively marked in black. Its cartographically visibility again is crucial for advocating against ‘the Wall’. In such maps, the barrier is also always described as a “wall”, unlike in many Israeli-produced maps in which it frequently is described as a “fence” that seemingly doesn’t profoundly impact its surroundings.

Mapping the Berlin Wall

Just like the cartographic visibility of Jerusalem’s barrier has served as a call for political action, the cartographic visibility of the Berlin Wall has also served the German tourist industry post-1990 (Leuenberger, 2006). In the wake of the fall of the

Berlin Wall in 1989, local municipalities raced to destroy any visible signs of its infrastructure. Little did the local government expect that the wall was to become one of the city’s more attractive features. For tourists, the wall was its symbol. In an economically strapped city with few industries and a lack of international investments, the tourist industry promised to be one of the more lucrative sources of economic revenue.

By the mid 1990s various attempts were made to make the Berlin wall visible again in various ways. Maps began to trace its route so as to entice people to walk along it (Berlin.de, accessed 2015). Its path was reconstructed by inlaying cobblestones into streets. The Mauergedenkstätte Bernauer Strasse (Mauergedenkstätte Bernauer Strasse, accessed 2015) and the Museum Haus at Checkpoint Charlie (Museum Haus at Checkpoint Charlie, accessed 2015) turned urban spaces into historical pilgrimage sites for political tourists interested in Berlin’s tumultuous political history (Liebhart, 2007; Tölle,

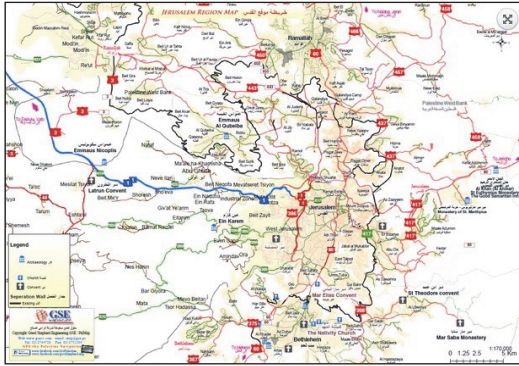


Figure 15. "Jerusalem Region Map," produced by Pal Map GSE, online at www.palmap.org/maps/MapsA4_ForBooks.png, accessed 31 January 2016.

2010). Not only did the historical memorabilia of the Wall make Berlin the most popular tourist destination in Germany, but it also assured Berlin its place as the most popular tourist site in Europe after London and Paris (Land Brandenburg, 2008).

Yet, how the wall is remembered remains disputed. For Hagen Koch, the East German architect of the wall in 1961, a West German perspective on the wall dictates the way the Berlin Wall is remembered and seen: "We commonly understand the term "Berlin Wall" to mean the western side of the border infrastructure" (Koch, accessed 2015). Consequently, the collectively shared memory of the 20th century division that split Germany reflects the history and experience according to the

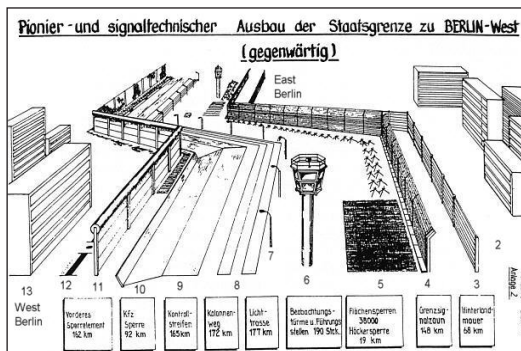


Figure 16. "System of Berlin Wall," Berlin Wall Online, online at www.dailysoft.com/berlinwall/history/facts_03.htm, accessed 31 January 2016. Source: Berlin Wall Archive, Hagen Koch.

victorious powers. The elaborate "fence system" (fig 16) that faced the Eastern side and dug deep into East German territory and, according to the East German ministries at the time, was an international border, has thus been replaced with narratives of a physical wall that divided the two Germanys and embodied 20th century doctoral powers and repression. The politics of visibility of such contentious structures – such as walls and barriers – thus also turn into a politics of historical memory. Neither maps nor memories are therefore likely to ever escape the contentious geopolitics of divided cities.

CONCLUSION

Cartographic practices in divided cities are paradigmatic examples of how maps don't reflect, but create spatial realities that are informed by different geopolitical visions. In divided Berlin as well as in divided Jerusalem maps served as tools to either represent and thereby claim territory, or to erase the topography and spaces of the political adversary. The predominant West German political sentiment, pre-1989, that eventual reunification of the two Germanys was the inevitable solution to the historical injustice of national division was reflected in West German maps produced at the time; they tended to cartographically represent and thus claim East German territory. For East German officials, however, their state was independent and sovereign and East Germany's maps therefore represented only what they perceived as the national territory under their control. At the same time, the infrastructure of division that separated the two territories had fundamentally different meanings to compatriots on either side. Whilst for East Germans, it was a national border; for West Germans it was the Berlin Wall, a symbol of the infringement of human rights and political repression. These contrary political meanings constituted the cartographic representation of a national border or a wall (indicating an internal political division) respectively.

These political tensions are also evident in the

divided city of Jerusalem. Official Israeli-produced maps tend to include both sides of the divided city whereby claiming them as part of the national territory; yet they largely exclude Palestinian infrastructures and names. Israeli NGO's working for peace and reconciliation in the region nevertheless cartographically depict Palestinian topographies and infrastructures so as to emphasize their commitment to International Law and the need for territorial compromise. Palestinian-produced maps, on the other hand, tend to exclude Jewish parts of the city. By not representing Jewish cityscapes they also don't claim it as their own. Moreover, whilst Israeli-produced maps frequently minimize or eliminate the "fence/wall/barrier", Palestinian-produced maps (not unlike West-German produced maps before 1989) tend to emphasize "the Wall" so as to point to its devastating effect on urban spaces. Just like the visibility of the wall become a rallying cry for the unification in Germany pre-1989, in Jerusalem the wall's cartographic prominence has become a rallying call for political activism.

In both cases then, imaginary and physical divides have become catalysts that make visible or erase certain infrastructures, people and geographies. In terms of cartographic representations the politically more powerful actor – West Germany and Israel respectively – represented and cartographically depicted the other side so as to claim the territory, yet in the Palestinian case, its people and their infrastructures become largely invisible. Both East Germany and the Palestinian Authorities refrained from representing and claiming territories on the other side of the divide. Indeed Palestinian governmental and commercially produced maps cartographically depict only territory to which, according to international law, they have a legal right. To be sure, given the Palestinian bid for sovereign statehood, reliance on transnational laws and treaties is one of "the only tools available to

struggle for [the] rights of the disenfranchised" as to do so provides territorial claims with legitimacy and credibility (Merry 2006, 49; Leuenberger 2013b). Internationally produced maps, on the other hand, include both Israeli and Palestinian infrastructures. Cartographic inclusiveness thus becomes a matter of cultural recognition of both socio-ethnic groups. Cartographic representations of the barrier also seem to have become part of a politics that is interlinked with power and legitimacy. While official Israeli maps tend to underrepresent the "fence", Israeli left-wing NGOs tend to emphasize "the wall/barrier" in line with the representational practices of international institutions such as the United Nations. In Berlin, on the other hand, representation of the divide depended on its geopolitical definition as either an international border or an illegally constructed wall. It is only post-1990 when the wall turned from a geopolitical divide into an economically profitable tourist attraction, that it again became visible on the ground and in maps.

Geopolitics thereby not only dictates the varied meanings of walls and barriers, but it also dictates the relative visibility or invisibility of different parts of divided cities and their infrastructures. Yet history often is the final arbitrator in such geopolitical disputes. With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of East Germany's communist regime, only one victorious geopolitical vision remained. It is this vision that has become part of the collectively shared memory of the Berlin Wall; its memorabilia have become part of a thriving political tourist industry. The West Bank Wall and the fraught geopolitics it entails, however, is still a history in the making, and its maps remain us how such divides can shape certain imaginary and physical geographies that continue to divide, rather than unite, cities with walls in their midst.

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