

Between Fences

The Enclaves Created by the Separation Barrier

Abstract

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Abstract

The Separation Barrier, most of which lies beyond the Green Line, creates enclaves inhabited by some 250,000 Palestinians. For the residents of these enclaves, the Barrier does not merely restrict their freedom of movement or separate village homes from their agricultural land; it reshapes the physical, social, economic, and functional space in which they live.

The current route of the Separation Barrier adds to the numerous physical and legal restrictions that have been imposed on the Palestinian population in the West Bank for many years. Physical restrictions include the Barrier itself, various roads that are inaccessible or impassable for Palestinians, and localized physical blockades. Legal restrictions include a law almost completely prohibiting the entry of Palestinians into Israel inside the Green Line, as well as a series of military orders restricting freedom of movement in the Seam Zone – the area between the Separation Barrier and the Green Line, as well as entrance into Israeli settlements.

The construction of the Separation Barrier beyond the Green Line has led to the creation of two types of enclaves:

Seam Enclaves: This term relates to Palestinian communities that are trapped between the Barrier and the Green Line. Two of the case studies in this report (the Alfei Menashe enclave and the Barta`a enclave) fall into this category. In areas where the construction of the Barrier is completed, the Seam Zone was declared a closed military zone for Palestinians; any person present in the zone requires a permit.¹ Accordingly, Palestinians whose families have lived in these areas for centuries must now acquire permits, without which their mere presence in their own homes and villages constitutes an offense.

Additional military orders require all Palestinians living outside the Seam Zone to secure an individual permit in order to enter the area. A person living outside the enclave who wishes to move into the area must also secure a permit from the military commander. The various legal measures imposed on the residents of the enclaves in the Seam Zone combine to make their lives a bureaucratic nightmare, where the simplest of routine activities requires a permit.

The movement of residents from these enclaves to the “Palestinian” side of the barrier is severely restricted by the checkpoint at the barrier. On the other hand, the only restriction on movement into Israel is the legal prohibition, since there is no physical barrier at all preventing Palestinians from the Seam Zone entering the Green Line. The fact is that the existence of these seam enclaves effectively contradicts Israel’s main goal in building the Separation Barrier: to create a physical barrier preventing Palestinians from entering Israel. Some 7,200 Palestinians currently live in the seam enclaves. When the barrier is completed at the current route, some 8,400 Palestinians will find themselves locked in seam enclaves.

¹ This declaration does not apply to Israelis, to people (mostly Jews) entitled to immigrate to Israel under the Law of Return, and to tourists.

Internal Enclaves: These enclaves are created as a result of the tortuous route taken by the Separation Barrier, and its encounter with other physical barriers, such as main roads forbidden for use by Palestinians, fences and checkpoints. The Bir Nabala enclave, described in depth in the report, is an example of this type of enclaves.

The main feature of the internal enclaves is that physical barriers prevent not only entry into the Green Line, but also movement to the other parts of the West Bank. The residents of these enclaves are not subject to the pervasive system of permits imposed in the seam enclaves, but they also require permits in order to reach agricultural land on the other side of the barrier. In addition, they are generally prohibited from entering Israel or the Israeli settlements.

Functional and Spatial Affinities

Despite the significant differences between the seam enclaves and the internal enclaves, both seriously undermine the fabric of daily life. The first and most basic harm is the disruption of freedom of movement. This leads in turn to a range of additional harms relating to the destruction of the complex fabric of connections between the communities inside the enclaves, on the one hand, and the communities and urban centers outside these enclaves, on the other hand.

Naturally, no community can survive in the long term without contacts with other communities. The layout of communities in a given geographical area, the roads network in the area, and the demographic and economic profile of each community all combine to create systems of communities. A system of communities may be considered a multisystem in which each component – each of the individual communities within the system – fills a vital function in maintaining the proper functioning of the whole.

This reality can readily be understood in the case of small villages such as those found in the Alfei Menashe enclave (Chapter 4 of the report) and in the Barta'a enclave (Chapter 6 of the report). These small communities depend on adjacent larger communities for vital needs and services. The larger communities are in turn dependent on the main regional city for services in the fields of education, health, administration and infrastructures. Lastly, the regional cities and all the smaller communities are dependent on metropolitan centers that are able to provide specialised services at a particularly high level.

However, the proper daily function of cities and towns also depends on ongoing and uninterrupted contact with the surrounding villages. Cities are dependent on the supply of fresh agricultural produce from the villages. Demand from villagers for services provided in the city constitutes a source of income and employment for some of the urban residents.

Harm to the Fabric of Life

The disruption of the system of communities due to the creation of the enclaves causes severe and extensive damage to almost every aspect of daily life. Although the cities and communities outside the enclave are also harmed, as noted above, the gravest damage is caused to the residents of small and medium-sized communities within the enclaves.

In the sphere of **employment and economics**, the enforced disconnection from the regional city blocks potential sources of employment for many residents of the enclaves who formerly worked in the city. The physical block created by the Barrier also hampers the marketing of agricultural produce from the villages in the cities, undermining the livelihood of farmers and leading to price rises in the city.

In the sphere of **education**, the ability of residents of the enclaves to secure an education is impaired. Some villages in the enclaves do not have any school, while others have only an elementary school. The children from these villages study at institutions that are now on the other side of the Barrier. Due to the difficulties in crossing the gates in the Barrier, a process that entails a security check, many pupils drop out of school. Students are forced to move to the city where they attend university or to forego their studies.

Particularly serious damage is caused to the residents of the enclaves in the sphere of **health**. Most of these communities maintain only minimal health services, and residents are dependent on clinics and hospitals in the adjacent cities. The Barrier and the accompanying blockades make it very difficult for patients to reach medical service centers in the cities of the West Bank in general, and in East Jerusalem in particular. This situation endangers the health of thousands of residents.

Life in the enclaves also entails grave damage to the fabric of life in the **social and family** spheres. In many cases, the Barrier separates first degree relatives. Visits by relatives living outside the enclave to family members inside the enclaves involve a long series of bureaucratic procedures and security checks. Residents of the internal enclaves who wish to visit their relatives on the other side of the Separation Barrier must travel long distances, and often pass through checkpoints and undergo protracted security checks.

The Separation Barrier as a Planning Factor











Although the professed aims of the Separation Barrier are in the field of security, it is first and foremost a planning factor that reshapes the geographical and functional space under its influence. From this perspective, the creation of the enclaves reflects a network of considerations that almost totally ignores the daily needs of the Palestinian population. The route of the Barrier – which in places separates entire neighborhoods from the villages to which they belong (Bir Nabala enclave, Chapter 5 of the report); separates farmers from their agricultural lands (Alfei Menashe enclave, Chapter 4 of the report, and the Bir Nabala enclave); and, in extreme cases, even traps a single family in a prison-like compound surrounded by the Barrier on all sides – imposes itself on the spatial reality without considering the existing fabric of life and the network of affinities between the communities in the area.

An in-depth examination of the route shows that the planners of the Barrier focused almost exclusively on the desire to maintain the fabric of life of Israeli settlers. The creation of the enclaves is the result of one or more of the following three factors: 1) the desire to include as many settlements as possible on the “Israeli” side of the Barrier; 2) the desire to include areas intended for the future expansion of the settlements on the “Israeli” side of the Barrier; 3) the desire to protect roads intended for Israelis only and on which Palestinians are forbidden to travel.

The report shows that the needs of the Palestinian population received only marginal attention from those who planned the route of the Barrier. For example, the planners decided to leave some 4,600 Palestinians in a seam enclave in the Barta`a area and to subject them to a rigid system of permits, all with the goal of leaving four small settlements, with a population of only some 1,500 Israelis, on the “Israeli” side of the Barrier – along with large areas of land intended for the future expansion of these settlements.

A detailed examination of the three case studies (the enclaves of Alfei Menashe, Bir Nabala and Barta`a) leads to the inevitable conclusion that even after the high profile rulings by the Israeli Supreme Court (which led to certain alterations in the route of the Barrier), there has been no meaningful change in the system of considerations guiding the Barrier’s planners. As long as they continue to be guided by a discriminatory approach that views the fabric of life of the Palestinian residents as an almost negligible factor, the residents of these enclaves will continue to face a harsh daily reality. If these trends continue in the long term, it may be expected that some of the communities in these enclaves will be unable to survive in such conditions and will be dismantled.

Legend for the next maps

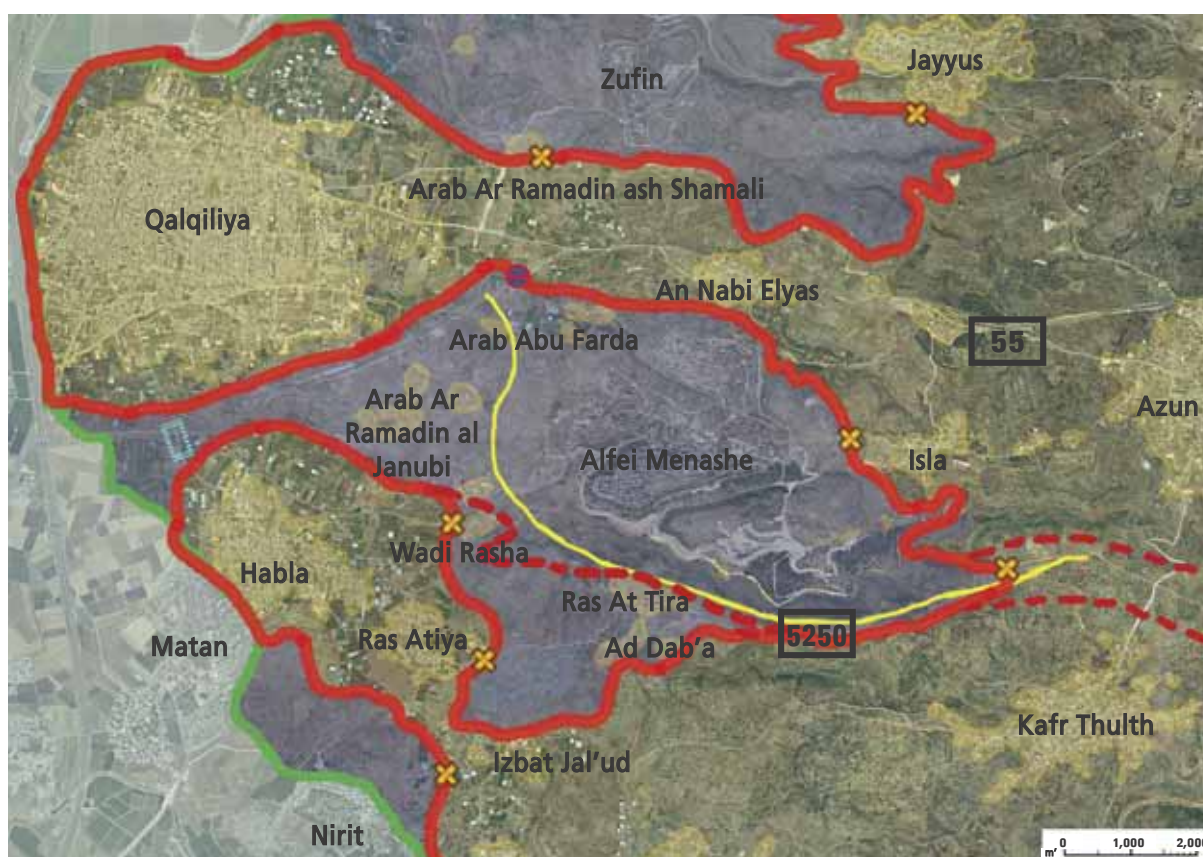
	The Green Line		Gate for Palestinians		Road Number
	Separation Barrier		Checkpoint		Seam zone
	Planned Barrier		Tunnels		
	Built Palestinian Area		Planned Road		

Case Study: Alfei Menashe Enclave

The settlement of Alfei Menashe, which has a population of approximately 5,700, is situated five kilometers east of the Green Line, close to the city of Qalqiliya. The Separation Barrier in the area, which was completed in the summer of 2003, surrounds the settlement, together with large areas intended for its expansion. The long, convoluted route of the Barrier around Alfei Menashe created three enclaves: Qalqiliya enclave to the north and Habla enclave to the south (both internal enclaves), and a seam enclave that includes, alongside Alfei Menashe, five Palestinian villages with a total population of approximately 1,100.

The enclave that traps these five villages is situated in the Seam Zone, which has been subject to a strict regime of permits. Every Palestinian resident of the enclave is required to obtain a permit in order to continue to live in his/her village and to be allowed to return to the village after visiting other parts of the West Bank. The small Palestinian villages cannot meet most of their needs, and are therefore dependent on the city of Qalqiliya and the town of Habla for basic services. As noted, both Qalqiliya and Habla lie on the other side of the Barrier. Travel from these villages to the West Bank is now an extremely lengthy process requiring passage through checkpoints and tunnels. These restrictions have affected all spheres of life: employment and education, the marketing of agricultural produce, access to medical treatment and contacts with relatives and friends.

In September 2005 the Supreme Court ruled that, in view of the severe harm caused to the residents of the five villages, the desire to protect the settlement of Alfei Menashe could not justify the route of the Barrier. The Court ordered the defense system to consider less injurious alternatives. However, it is not expected that the existing Barrier will be dismantled in the near future, and the proposed alternative would still leave two of the five villages trapped inside the seam enclave.



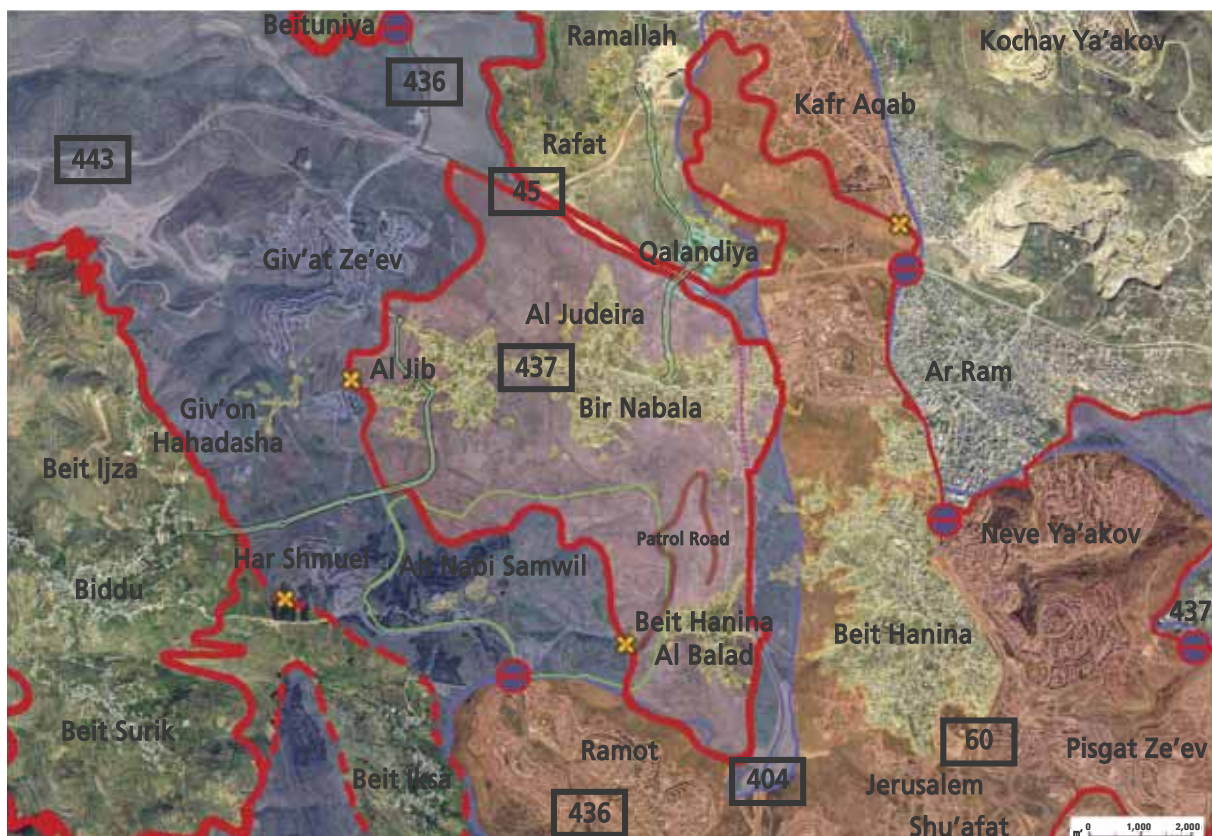
Case Study: The Bir Nabala Enclave

To the northwest of Jerusalem, the route of the Separation Barrier, which is at an advanced stage of construction, creates an internal enclave with an area of approximately 2,750 acres. This enclave will trap some 15,000 Palestinian residents in five villages – Bir Nabala, Al Jib, Al Judeira, Bet Hanina al Balad and Qalandiya – that will be surrounded by the Barrier and its accompanying elements on all sides. Just two roads will leave the enclave, passing in tunnels: one will lead north to Ramallah and the other west to the Biddu area.

The route of the Barrier in the area was planned with the goal of maintaining the fabric of life of the settlers and of residents of the State of Israel itself, who use the main roads in this region. The villages in the area depend on the services provided by Jerusalem, which functions as a social, religious, and economic center. In place of the intricate connection between these villages and Jerusalem (a metropolitan city with a population of 725,600 residents, some 250,000 of whom are Palestinians), the planners of the Barrier seek to impose a connection with Ramallah, a regional city with a population of just 25,467. By virtue of its character and size, Ramallah cannot provide similar services to those offered in Jerusalem.

The route of the Barrier in the area will create a physical separation between three of the villages and their neighborhoods, which will remain on the “Israeli” side of the Barrier.

The ramifications of the Barrier for the lives of the Palestinians in the Bir Nabala area relate to all spheres of life. Extensive agricultural areas will remain outside the enclave; many places of work, schools, hospitals, and religious institutions will become inaccessible; and families with members living on both sides of the Barrier will be separated. In the long term, the enforced disconnection from Jerusalem may lead to the atrophy of the villages in the enclave, possibly resulting in their disintegration.



Summary and Conclusions

Israel has the right to defend its residents, including by means of a Barrier. However, this is not a *carte blanche* to act as it sees fit. As a planning factor, the decisions relating to the Separation Barrier must take into account the interests of the Palestinian population that will be affected by it. In this context, the planners of the route of the Barrier have an obligation to protect existing affinities between the various communities in each area, in order to ensure their proper functioning and continued existence.

In practice, however, these considerations have been subjugated to the desire of the planners to ensure the existence, and indeed the future expansion, of the settlements enterprise. The creation of these enclaves is the most extreme example of this misguided system of considerations that attaches only marginal importance to the interests of the Palestinian residents of the area.

Complete List of the Enclaves – North to South

See General Key Map on Page 52 of the Hebrew text

Number	Seam Enclaves	Palestinian Residents	Number	Internal Enclaves	Palestinian Residents
1	Barta'a Enclave	4,603	10	Qalqiliya	44,709
2	Khirbat Jbara*	327	11	Habla and Ras Atiya	7,750
3	Arab Ar Ramadin Ash Shmali, alongside the settlement of Zufin	71	12	Biddya, Mas-ha and nine other villages	26,551
4	Alfei Menashe (Five villages)**	1,075	13	Az Zawiya, Rafat, Deir Ballut	10,771
5	The Qedumim Finger - the village Wadi Qana	71	14	Rantis	2,893
6	The Ariel Finger – Khirbat Sossa, Izbat Abu Adam, Deir Abu Bassal	67	15	Beit Liqya, Beit Surik and 12 other villages	46,321
7	Azun Atme***	1,670	16	Bir Nabala and four other villages	15,393
8	The Adummim Enclave	3,664	17	Anata and Shu'afat Refugee Camp	24,622
9	Giv'at Ze'ev – the village An Nabi Samwill and the Khlaila Neighborhood of the village Al Jib	420	18	Al Eizariya, Abu Dis, As Sawahira Ash Sharqiya	34,719

Number	Special Internal Enclaves	Palestinian Residents
19	Nkhalin and other villages South-West of Bethlehem	18,717
20	Al Walaja	1,695
21	Villages in South Hebron Mount - between the Barrier and the internal wall	about 2,500

* Under the April 2006 government decision, the Khirbat Jbara enclave is to be dismantled.

** Under the April 2006 government decision, the route will be changed so that the enclave will include two villages of 300 residents only.

*** According to the latest approved route, Azun Atme will be encircled by another fence and will become an internal enclave.

מפת מפתח כללית General key map

