



Cartography for Peace. The Israeli Peace Movement and Mapping the Jewish Settlements in the West Bank

Matthijs van der Beek MA

Name: Matthijs van der Beek

Student number: 911617181

E-mail: matthijsvanderbeek@gmail.com

Course: Religion, Science, and Politics in the Cartography of Israel from the Middle Ages to Our Time

Teacher: Dr. Zur Shalev

Date: 16 July 2015

Introduction

Mapping practices are no longer confined to the state, the academia, and publishing houses, but over the last decades increasingly used by many different social actors who benefited from the rapid development in computer and information technology that made new mapping tools available. Cartography or mapmaking has particularly become an important and widely used practice among social movements and activists that aim to challenge dominant representations of space and power. According to Sebastian Cobarrubias, they have transformed maps “into devices for a public to confront issues and the institutions involved.” Over the last decades, activist mapping has contributed to competitions between maps that show different geographical realities, narratives and ideas. Such competitions emerged when activist groups proposed and created territories in new innovative ways to dispute existing representations of space and power by the state or other official institutions.¹ Social movements often use maps as tools in their political struggle against the establishment to advance their own agenda and to make their intended public more easily aware of the complexity of the issues they are dealing with. Maps have thus become an integral part of their action repertoire, because they can communicate such issues “far more intuitively and effectively than speeches, policy papers or press releases.”² This also counts for the Israeli peace and human rights organizations that since the mid-1980s integrated cartographic practices into their campaigns in order to raise awareness in the Israeli society and international community over what they considered as the increasing control of the State of Israel over the Palestinian occupied territories since the 1967 Six-Day War.³ For almost three decades, the Israeli peace movement has published a wide array of books, articles (online and in print) and leaflets that included maps of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza (until the disengagement in August 2005), which are still seen today as one of the major obstacles towards a peaceful solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

This essay aims to examine the use of maps and cartographic practices by the Israeli peace movement in their recent campaigns against the occupation and settlement policy of the Israeli government and military in the West Bank. While the Israeli government dismantled

¹ Sebastian Cobarrubias, *Mapping Machines, Activist Cartographies of the Border and Labor Lands of Europe* (Dissertation, Chapel Hill, 2009) 7-9, 33-5.

² ‘Mapping for a better world’, *The Economist*, 4 June 2009.

³ In 1984, Meron Benvenisti founded a non-partisan information center in Jerusalem that launched the West Bank Database Project (WBDP) to monitor the settlements and document other developments in the West Bank and Gaza. Maps were used to show the different effects of Israel’s policies on the Palestinian population regarding the building of settlements, seizure of land, and restrictions on land use. See: Meron Benvenisti, *West Bank Data Project : A Survey of Israel's Policies* (Washington D.C., 1984).

the Jewish settlements in Gaza a decade ago, there are still nearly 125 settlements, about one hundred military outposts, and some half a million Israelis living in the West Bank, including East-Jerusalem.⁴ The maps that the Israeli peace camp produced over the last thirty years competed with dominant institutionalized representations of space and power in the West Bank. This competition between dominant and dissenting maps in Israel reflects the very different views and conflicting interests that are at stake, ranging from political, strategic, economic and national-religious interpretations and justifications of Israeli land claims and Jewish settlement. In order to fully understand the political struggle and mapping practices of the Israeli peace movement, it is important to take such different interpretations into account. My research concentrates on maps that are produced over the last decade by the two largest peace and human rights organizations in Israel, Peace Now and B'Tselem. The main question is two-fold: first, how Peace Now and B'Tselem made use of cartographic techniques in their maps about the Jewish settlements in the West Bank to spread their critical views on the Israeli government's policies among the wider public; and second, how both organizations presented new geographical realities and omitted existing dominant or alternative realities to advance their political goals. In order to answer both questions I first provide a brief historical overview of the Israeli peace movement versus the Israeli settlement policy, focusing in particular on Peace Now and B'Tselem and reflect on their specific goals, campaigns, mapping practices, and larger role in the Israeli society. Second, I set out a theoretical framework to analyze the different features, possible distortions and silences in their maps in the context of their political campaigns. The final part is devoted to the analysis of different types of maps that have been produced and distributed by both organizations over the last decade.

Peace Now, B'Tselem and the Settlements

Grassroots activism by protest groups did not become an integral part of the Israeli political culture until the late 1960s and early 1970s. During the first two decades after the State of Israel was established the Israeli government was preoccupied with the process of state-building and marginalized civil participation in politics outside the party system through extra-parliamentary opposition groups. This only changed following the successful Six-Day War in June 1967, when the external security threat to the state largely vanished, which made it easier for the matured political establishment to allow the younger generation to become

⁴ B'Tselem, 'Statistics on Settlements and Settler Population', updated on 11 May 2015. Access to article: <http://www.btselem.org/settlements/statistics> (accessed on 16 July 2015). The census data is provided by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics. It must be noted that at the end of 2013 about 350,000 Israelis lived in the settlements and 197,000 in the Jewish neighborhoods of East-Jerusalem.

more engaged in grassroots political activism, that was inspired by the protests of peers in the United States and Europe. The Israeli military conquest of the West Bank, Gaza, the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights pressed new issues on the political agenda, mainly those regarding the Palestinian occupied territories, that were addressed by new extra-parliamentary groups. Established in 1968, the Movement for Peace and Security was the first peace organization, led by Israeli academics, which publicly warned for the inherent dangers of the Israeli control over the Palestinian territories and promoted the idea of territorial concessions in return for peace. Contrary to the Movement for Greater Israel, it opposed Jewish settlement in the captured areas, that would complicate future peace negotiations between Israel and the neighboring Arab states. After five years of intensive campaigning, the Movement for Peace and Security diminished due to the fierce criticism by the political establishment and the traumatic effect of the Yom Kippur War in October 1973. Although its political achievements had been very limited, political scientist Tamar S. Hermann claimed that it created a “new Israeli dovish discourse” that would later be adopted by the more influential organizations Peace Now and B’Tselem.

The deep sense of crisis and insecurity following the devastating blow of the Yom Kippur War resulted in the loss of credibility of Israel’s most trusted institutions, including its political leadership and military, and the growth of grassroots activism. While the peace camp advocated for the necessity of finding political solutions for the Arab-Israeli conflict, the grassroots national-religious settler movement *Gush Emunim*, founded in February 1974, propagated instead the immediate Jewish settlement of the occupied territories to enhance the security of the state and most importantly to fulfil its religious Zionist agenda.⁵ Until then, the Israeli government had only allowed settlements in areas near Jerusalem and in the Jordan Valley according to the Allon Plan, that would safeguard Israel’s future lines of defense and left the option open to return the Palestinian populated areas to Arab control. The ‘Greater Israel’ idea proved however to be more attractive as *Gush Emunim* succeeded, with the eventual acquiescence of the Labor government, to build numerous settlements in the West Bank what it referred to by the biblical names of Judea and Samaria. The members of *Gush Emunim* believed that the Palestinian territories belonged to the biblical Land of Israel that was promised to the Jewish people and that continued settlement would eventually bring about redemption. By 1977, the Palestinian territories numbered 4,400 Israeli settlers living in 36 settlements, 31 in the West Bank and five in Gaza. While *Gush Emunim* institutionalized,

⁵ Tamar Hermann, *The Israeli peace movement : a shattered dream* (New York, 2009) 51-4, 79-84.

the expansion of settlements became Israel's official policy since the Likud-led government of Prime Minister Menachem Begin came into power, so that by 1985 the West Bank already counted 105 settlements and 44,200 settlers. Although *Gush Emunim* formally ceased to exist by the mid-1980s, it is still regarded as the most influential grassroots organization in Israeli history. It was replaced by many other settler organizations and affiliated associations that in the following decades drew on similar ideological ideas and concepts to support and realize the further settlement in the West Bank and Gaza.⁶ Since every subsequent Israeli government supported the construction of new settlements, the settlement policy cannot merely be understood through its ideological and military strategic dimensions. Some researchers claim that the Israeli settlement policy increasingly served economic goals, since Israelis benefitted from the West Bank for agriculture, industry, tourism, cheap labor and mining, and many incentives were provided by the government to attract the so-called 'economic settlers' who are less ideologically driven to settle in the West Bank. The shift towards economic control over the West Bank already occurred when the Begin government adopted the Drobless Plan in 1978, that allowed settlements to be built on the hilltops around the major Palestinian cities and to be connected by an extended road network to Israel.⁷

While the settler movement grew rapidly, the Israeli peace movement also turned into an active mass movement in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The prospective collapse of the peace negotiations between Israel and Egypt contributed to the spontaneous birth of Peace Now. A letter sent to Begin in March 1978, in which 348 reserve soldiers and officers expressed their great concern about the 'Greater Israel' settlement policy that may harm the peace process, became the formative document of Peace Now as thousands of Israelis signed the letter and joined the subsequent mass demonstrations. Compared to the Movement for Peace and Security, Peace Now was less interested in determining the exact terms of a future peace agreement, but primarily aimed to influence the public opinion to convince people that peace was possible. To broaden the movement Peace Now adhered in its formative phase to the basic tenets that peace was Israel's highest priority, that settlements were an impediment to peace, and that Zionism could not be based on the suppression of another people. Yet while

⁶ David Newman, 'From Hitnachalut to Hitnatkut: The Impact of Gush Emunim and the Settlement Movement on Israel Politics and Society', *Israel Studies* 10:3 (2005) 192-9; Idith Zertal and Akiva Eldar, *Lords of the Land : The War Over Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967-2007* (New York, 2007) 202-9.

⁷ Sara Roy, 'Reconceptualizing the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Key Paradigm Shifts', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 41:3 (2012) 73; Karen Tenenbaum and Ehud Eiran, 'Israel's Settlement Activity in the West Bank and Gaza: A Brief History', *Negotiation Journal* (2005) 173; Joshua Tenenbaum, 'Israel's Economic Motives for Colonizing the West Bank', *Midwest Journal of Undergraduate Research* 4 (2014) 46-61.

Peace Now was able to mobilize thousands of Israelis on the streets throughout the 1980s, the majority of its peace activists belonged to the Ashkenazi middle class, so that it was criticized for being an elitist movement. As Peace Now upheld its mainstream Zionist character, it initially refrained from touching on issues beyond the national consensus. Only after the First Libanon War (1982-1985), Peace Now arranged its first meetings with Palestinian officials, openly promoted the two-state solution and made the settlements its main target, which prevented the Palestinians from establishing a viable contiguous future state.⁸ In this regard, it differed from B'Tselem, that was established in March 1989 by a group of prominent lawyers, academics, journalists and parliamentarians to monitor and document human rights violations in the Palestinian occupied territories since the First Intifada (1987-1990). Unlike Peace Now, B'Tselem did not take a clear political stance on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, nor advocated explicitly for the two-state solution. Nonetheless, it considers the settlements and occupation as the source of human rights abuses and got the reputation of a reliable organization that provides crucial information on the conflict to the public, and is therefore seen as an integral part of the Israeli peace movement. From the outset, B'Tselem drew on a network of reporters in the occupied territories to collect evidence of human rights violations against Palestinians, which was later published in numerous media reports, articles and video reportages.⁹

Since the 1990s, when the heydays of the Israeli peace movement were over, Peace Now and other Israeli peace organizations shifted from demonstrations to other modes of action, including legal appeals and watching-reporting techniques.¹⁰ As early as 1982, Meron Benvenisti started the West Bank Database Project and established its own research institute in Jerusalem to collect data and publish reports on the effects of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. He was the first who with some fellow peace activists systematically acquired information and produced maps on the construction of Jewish settlements and infrastructure, the seizure of Palestinian land, the restrictions on land use, and the financial costs of the occupation.¹¹ Peace Now continued this work when it launched its Settlement Watch project in 1990, which monitored the expansion of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. As this project already runs for twenty-five years, it has become the cornerstone of its

⁸ Hermann, *The Israeli peace movement*, 88-96; Mordechai Bar-On, *In pursuit of peace : a history of the Israeli peace movement* (Washington, 1996) 97-126.

⁹ Bar-On, *In pursuit of peace*, 243-5.

¹⁰ Hermann, *The Israeli peace movement*, 59-60.

¹¹ Joel Brinkly, 'Hard Facts Daunt Israeli Researcher', *The New York Times*, 22 October 1989: <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/10/22/world/hard-facts-daunt-israeli-researcher.html> (accessed on 16 July 2015). See also: Meron Benvenisti, *1986 Report : Demographic, economic, legal, social and political developments in the West Bank* (Jerusalem, 1986).

peace campaign and published numerous maps and reports on the Jewish settlements through surveys, the analysis of official data, and more recently also the use of aerial photography. It aims to document all settlement activity and to determine its impact on the Palestinian population. Peace Now claims that its Settlement Watch Team is currently “the sole provider of this crucial information to the Israeli public, decision-makers, media and the international community.”¹² However, B’Tselem also published various maps and reports on the settlements since the late 1990s. Most recently, Peace Now’s Settlement Watch assisted B’Tselem in its report *By Hook and By Crook : Israeli Settlement Policy in the West Bank* (July 2010) which thoroughly examined the Israeli settlement policy and mechanisms that are used to gain further control over the West Bank.¹³

Methodology for Activist Cartography

The rise of activist mapping in the Israeli peace movement since the early 1980s shows the global shift from state-centered cartography towards counter-cartography or activist cartography and the increased interest in using maps for protest campaigns. As Denis Wood argued, the emergence of the culture of counter-mapping created a new generation of cartographers that with their “new attitudes, visions and radical philosophies” are taking “maps and mapmaking in a whole new direction, a direction with the potential to free maps at last from the tyranny of the state.”¹⁴ Whereas activist mapping can indeed be used to challenge dominant representations of state-centered maps, it remains questionable to what extent social movements are able to get their alternative maps accepted among the wider public and can change dominant perceptions on space and territory. The explosion of mapping tools and (online) computer software has made it much more easy for trained activist cartographers to produce very accurate maps and to disseminate them on the Internet and in the mass media. Although the state and official institutions have lost their monopoly on cartographic practices due to this “cartographic turn,”¹⁵ the maps that are produced by activist groups can still contain the same dominant features depending on the specific aims they have. When activist maps are used to promote certain political agendas, they are still subject to cartographic rules that are embedded in the culture of mapping within a particular society. John Brian Harley

¹² Peace Now, ‘What is Settlement Watch Team’ <http://peacenow.org.il/eng/content/what-settlement-watch-team> (accessed on 16 July 2015); Americans for Peace Now, ‘Peace Now Settlement Watch Team’ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z037ekshlY> (accessed on 16 July 2015).

¹³ B’Tselem, *By Hook and By Crook : Israeli Settlement Policy in the West Bank* (Jerusalem, July 2010): http://www.btselem.org/download/201007_by_hook_and_by_crook_eng.pdf (accessed on 16 July 2015).

¹⁴ Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (New York, 2010) 111.

¹⁵ Cobarrubias, *Mapping Machines, Activist Cartographies of the Border and Labor Lands of Europe*, 34-5.

noted that it is important to take into account the historical, social and technical context of maps. In addition, his understanding of maps as “inherently rhetorical images” indicated that activist maps are no less rhetorical in nature than other kinds of maps as they are aimed to persuade the public to adopt particular political views on space and territory related issues.¹⁶ For the analysis of the maps of the Israeli peace movement I therefore focus on the different aspects of the context of the maps, the rhetorical devices that are employed, and the underlying political discourse and ideological ideas that are present in the various maps.

As Harley considered maps first as historical documents, he stated that historians could not fully understand maps when they did not address the wider context of the maps and the mapping culture. Therefore, he proposed an interpretative strategy that allowed historians to read maps as texts by distinguishing between three different aspects of context, respectively the context of the cartographer, the context of other maps, and the context of the map within the society. Although Harley was primarily concerned with maps from the late early modern period, his approach still applies to modern maps from the twenty-first century for which contextualization is no less important. First, the context of the cartographer deals with the background of mapmakers, their specific intentions to produce maps, and the technical process they use. At this level questions are addressed as why mapmakers produce certain maps, who is involved in the mapmaking process, and how the maps are compiled. For activist groups such as Peace Now and B’Tselem that share maps on their own websites, in the media or in brochures and leaflets this information is often publicly available or can be extracted from the maps themselves. It might be more difficult to reconstruct the entire map-making process, which reveals the different choices made by those involved that are less visible in the final products. Second, the context of other maps seeks to find interrelations and shared characteristics of contemporary maps within the same genre or of the same geographical area. Several studies, for instance, compared maps that depicted the State of Israel and the Palestinian territories.¹⁷ Here the comparative analysis of maps concentrates instead on maps produced by the Israeli peace movement. Historians can compare linear topo-

¹⁶ John Brian Harley, ‘Text and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps’, in: David Buisseret, *From Sea Charts to Satellite Images: Interpreting North American History through Maps* (London, 1990) 5-6, 10-1.

¹⁷ See for example: Noga Collins-Kreiner, Yoel Mansfeld and Nurit Kliot, ‘The Reflection of a Political Conflict in Mapping: The Case of Israel’s Borders and Frontiers’, *Middle Eastern Studies* 42:3 (2006) 381-408; Noga Collins-Kleiner, ‘Maps and Meaning: Reading the Map of the Holy Land’, *The Qualitative Report* 10:2 (2006) 257-75; Christine Leuenberger and Izhak Schnell, ‘The politics of maps: Constructing national territories in Israel’, *Social Studies of Science* 40:6 (2010) 803-42; Yair Wallach, ‘Trapped in mirror-images: The rhetoric of maps in Israel/Palestine’, *Political Geography* 30 (2011) 358-69; Linda Quiquívix, ‘Art of War, Art of Resistance: Palestinian Counter-Cartography on Google Earth’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104:3 (2014) 444-459.

graphical features (such as water resources, territorial boundaries and road networks), place-names or toponomy, and the so-called ‘carto-bibliography.’ The aim of a carto-bibliographic analysis is to bring a series of maps from the same mapmakers together to understand the purpose of a single map in the larger sequence as well as the publication history of maps series. The third level analyzes the context of maps within the society. Maps are considered to be social constructions that communicate with the society. To understand this mutual relationship, historians need to find out how mapmakers are influenced by the society and also how maps are received in the society to sort out their effects. As maps can function as “gateways to information and comprehension,” they can be powerful tools for political actors to convey knowledge, values and certain ideas to the society. In order to transfer such knowledge effectively, mapmakers employ sign systems and political discourses that are shaped and understood by the society.¹⁸

Once the maps under scrutiny are contextualized, the following step is to reveal their rhetorical nature. Harley assumed that all maps are rhetorical texts that state arguments, are propositional in nature, and appeal to a potential readership “through the use of colors, decoration, typography, dedications, or written justifications of their method.” He claimed that every single choice in making maps – selection, omission, simplification, classification – was inherently rhetorical. Historians can apply two interpretative strategies to deconstruct maps as rhetorical texts through the analysis of cartographic conventions and the sign systems used in maps. The first strategy analyzes the rules of cartography that operate beyond the stated purposes of maps. According to Harley, there were two sets of cartographic rules dominant in Western societies that reinforced maps as tools of power: the scientific rules and the rules of ‘the social order.’ Scientific rules comprise those procedures and standards of measurement, accuracy, signs and classifications that govern both the surveying and the technical production of maps. Together these rules contributed to the belief that maps are objective documents that mirror geographical realities, demonstrate truth and present self-evident facts, although this completely ignores the inherent subjectivity in the entire map-making process. Once activist cartographers adhere to these scientific rules they are better able to get their maps accepted as evidence for their arguments. The rules of the social order refer instead to social and cultural standards in the representation of space and territory and the use of particular sign systems. These rules that govern the cultural production of maps are

¹⁸ Harley, ‘Text and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps’, 5-10; Peter Bird, ‘The rhetorical nature of maps’, 1 May 2006: <http://www.stc-phoenix.com/ITWC/Bird%20-%20Rhetoric%20of%20Maps.pdf> (accessed on 16 July 2015) 10.

concerned with the values and statements that are exposed in maps. Maps can expose values and statements on *inter alia* ethnicity, politics, religion, or social class, but can also legitimize or (in the case of activist cartography) criticize certain power relations or the political status-quo. As Harley noted, such “social structures are often disguised beneath an abstract, instrumental space or incarcerated in the coordinates of computer mapping,” so a close reading of maps is required to discover the silences or hidden messages in maps and to understand their social implications.¹⁹

The second strategy proceeds on the rules of cartography in the sense that it can be used to further explain the sign systems that constitute maps as rhetorical texts. The deconstruction of sign systems enables us to understand the visual rhetoric used in maps as each sign, symbol or name has a particular function and meaning. Christine Leuenberger and Izhak Schnell distinguished between three different types of visual rhetorical devices: visual signifiers, textual signifiers, and the demarcation of space. Visual signifiers include the map’s projection and scale, shades and colors, the level of cartographic detail, and the use of certain symbols and visual metaphors. Activist cartographers can use these signifiers to turn the viewer’s focus on certain elements in the map that highlight their stated purpose. Textual signifiers include place names, headings, descriptions, a written justification of methods and other textual signifiers that can reinforce the image, provide further explanation and reveal the purpose of the map and its targeted audience. Most of the activist maps contain for instance politically loaded titles and additional information that persuade the readership to read the maps in the preferred way. Lastly, the demarcation of space is used to create spatial order and hierarchy through the marking of certain borders, routes and sites; the emphasis or omission of certain geographical and infrastructural features; and the selected level of detailed spatial coverage and complexity. The extent that the various visual rhetorical devices are used might depend on the messages that activist groups want to convey to the public. Some activist cartographers prefer textual signifiers over visual signifiers in order to make their message as clear as possible and to frame the map in some political discourse. As Peace Now and B’Tselem both publish maps on the Israeli settlement policy in reports, leaflets and online articles, it is important to take these relations between maps and text into account and to see to what extent they follow the same cartographic rules, use the same visual rhetorical devices and complement each other.²⁰

¹⁹ Harley, ‘Text and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps’, 10-1; John Brian Harley, ‘Deconstructing the map’, *Cartographica* 26:2 (1989) 3-7.

²⁰ Leuenberger and Izhak Schnell, ‘The politics of maps: Constructing national territories in Israel’, 806.

The Forbidden Roads Regime

West Bank

August 2004

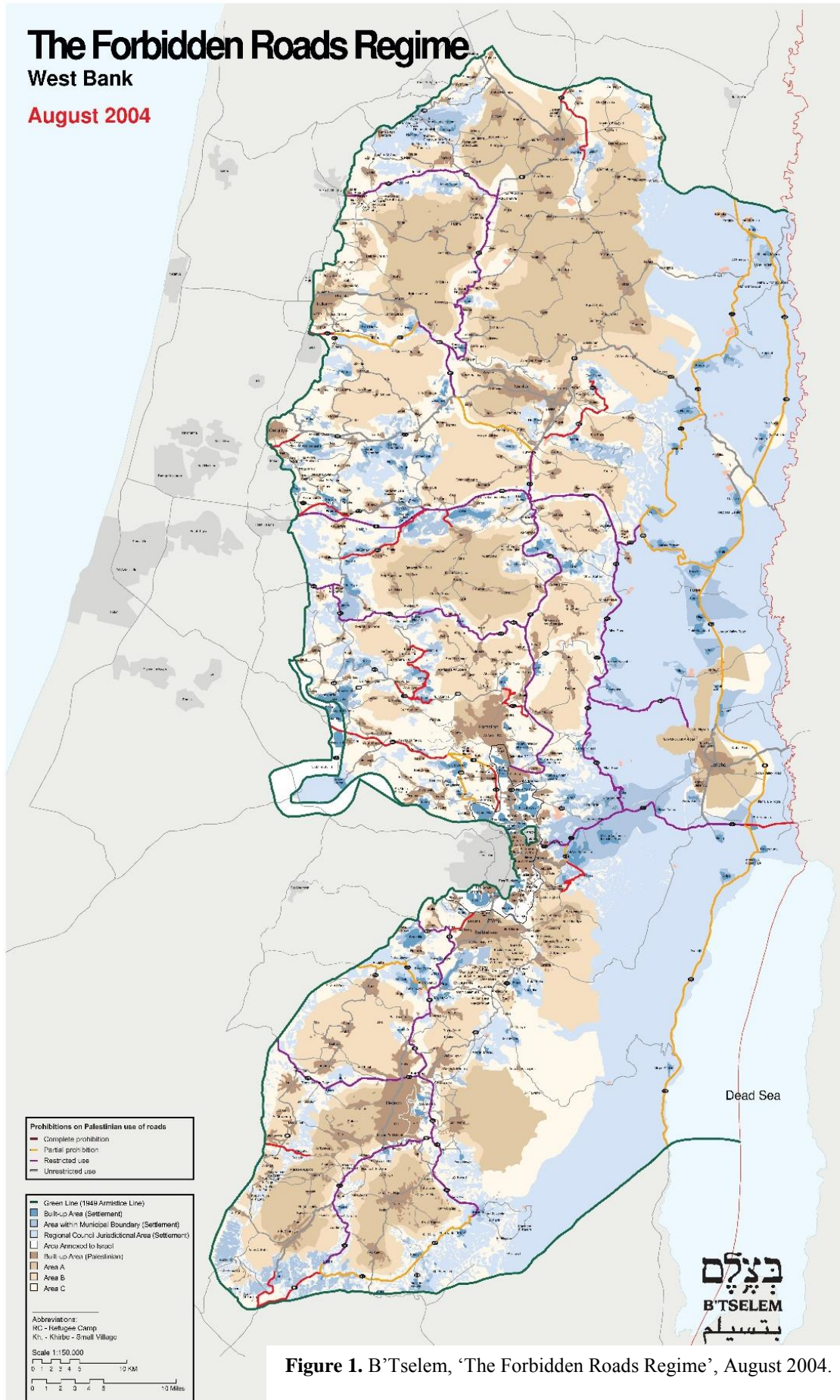
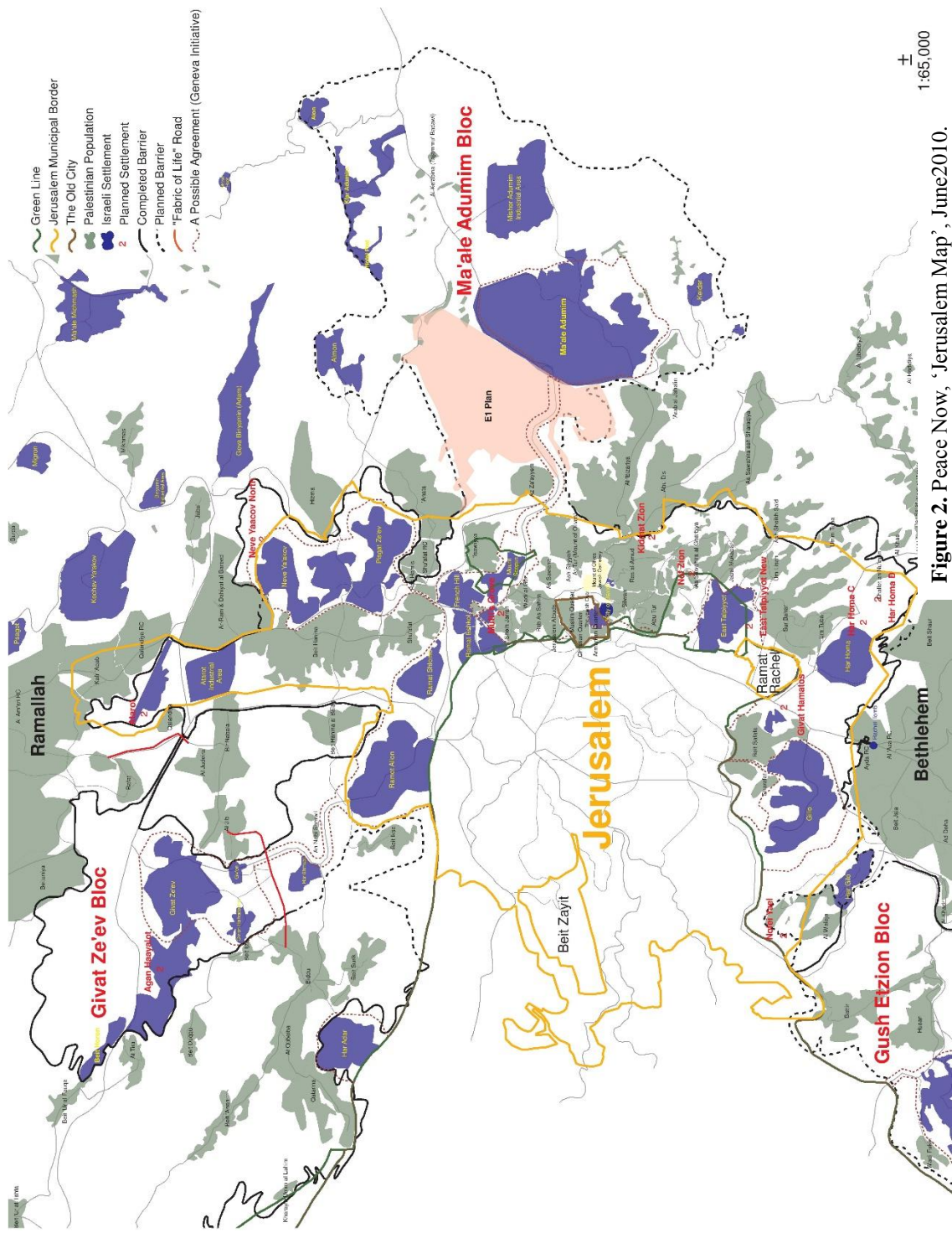


Figure 1. B'Tselem, 'The Forbidden Roads Regime', August 2004.



±
1:65,000

Figure 2. Peace Now, 'Jerusalem Map', June 2010.

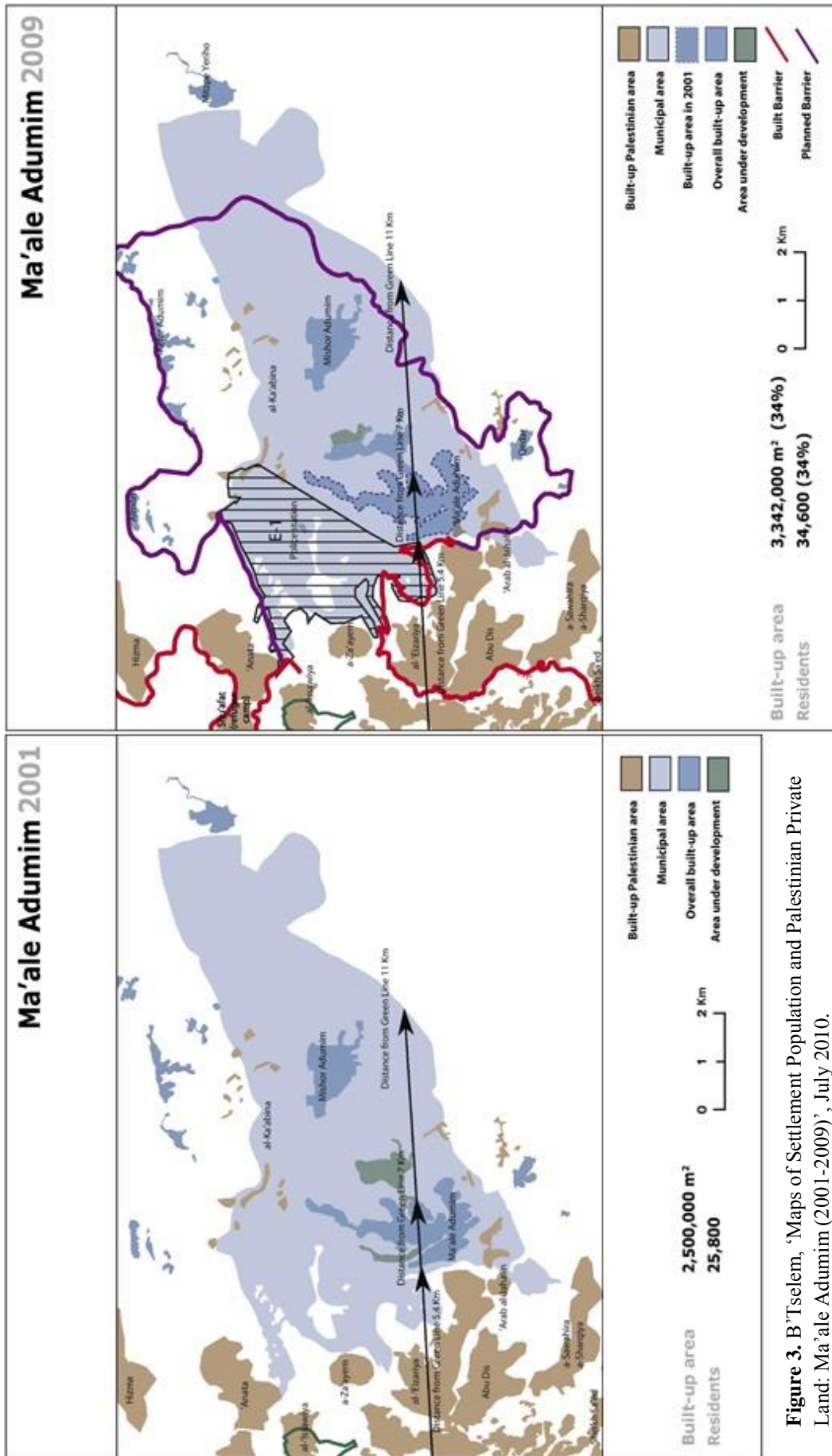


Figure 3. B'Tselem, 'Maps of Settlement Population and Palestinian Private Land: Ma'ale Adumim (2001-2009)', July 2010.

WEST BANK & JERUSALEM MAP

The Settlements:
The Biggest Threat
To A Two-State Solution

Settlement Watch Team / November 2011

PEACE NOW

Learn more about our fight for peace for Israel

facebook | Peace Now Israel | www.peacenow.org.il

Number of Settlers in the West Bank: **310,990**
 Number of Palestinians in the West Bank: **2,360,000**
 Number of Israelis in East Jerusalem: **196,000**
 Number of Palestinians in East Jerusalem: **282,000**

	Number of settlers on the "Palestinian" side of the barrier	Number of settlers on the "Israeli" side of the barrier
The Planned Route of the Separation Barrier	72,641	238,349
The Proposed Border According to the Geneva Initiative	135,303	175,687

The number of settlers and of East Jerusalem is based on figures available by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011. The number of Palestinians in the West Bank is based on figures published by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010.

Since the Oslo Accord (in 1993) until 2011 43,304 new housing units were built in settlements

Construction of New Homes in the Settlements 1986-2011

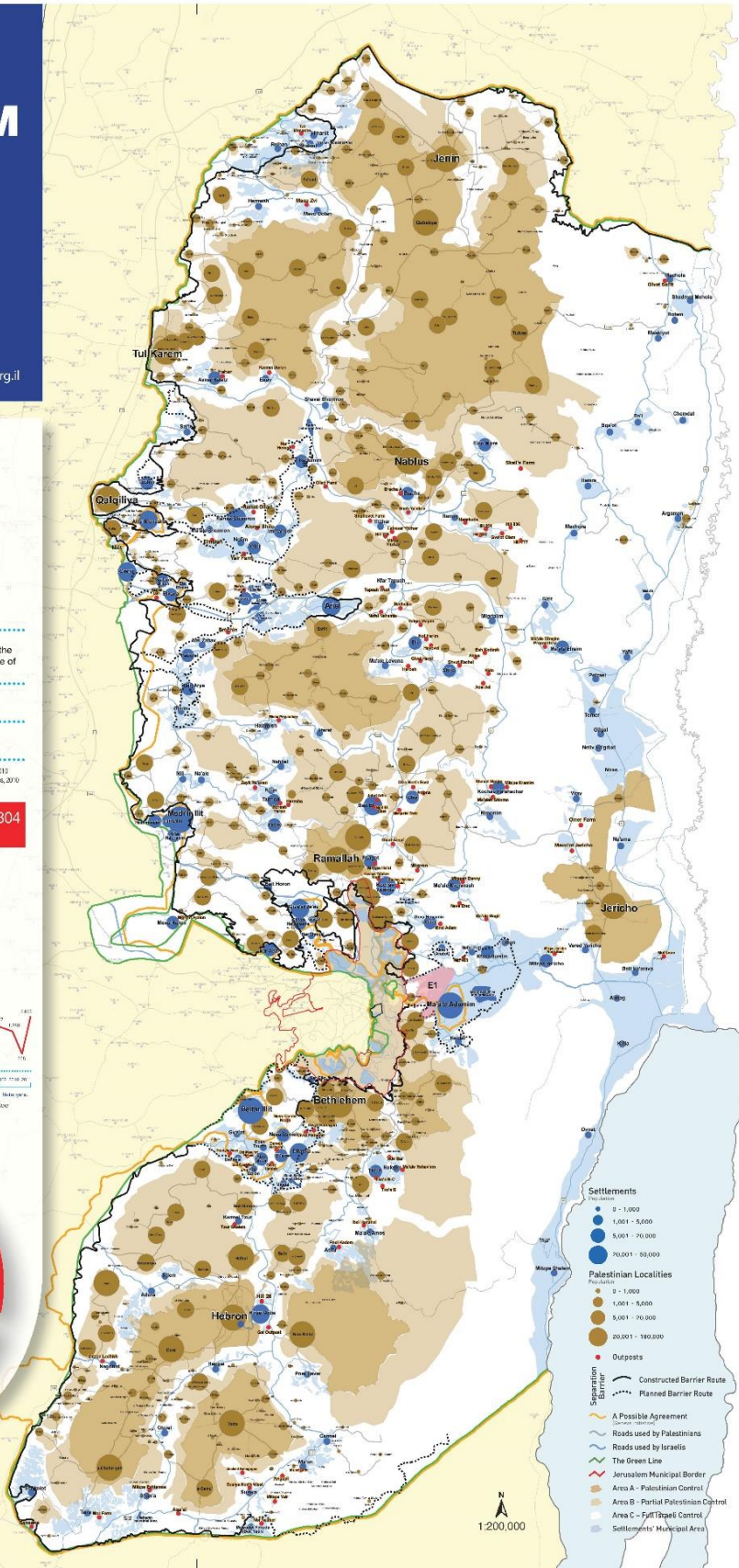
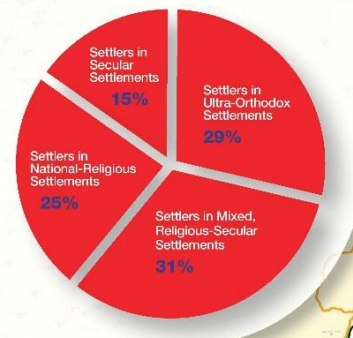
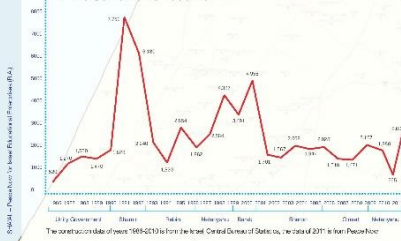
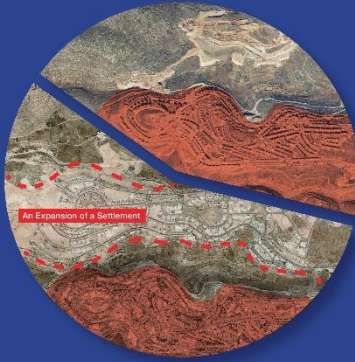


Figure 4.1. Peace Now, 'West Bank and Jerusalem Map', November 2011.

The Expansion of Beitar Illit

Beitar Illit 1999



Beitar Illit 2010



The Settlements in the West Bank
According to Israeli law, settlements in the West Bank are not part of the state of Israel and they are under control of the Israel military. The state of Israel has never annexed the occupied territories, in order to avoid provoking the 2,200,000 Palestinians who live in the West Bank. Despite the Israeli consensus supporting the two state solution, successive Israeli governments have awarded huge amounts of money and resources in for settlement enterprise—building in the settlements, building infrastructure for the settlements, providing security for settlements and settlers, and providing incentives to encourage Israelis to live beyond the Green Line. In 1969, at the beginning of the peace process, there were 116,000 settlers in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem). Today there are 317,000. The message the message to the Palestinians is dangerous: that Israelis will keep moving not only in peace, but rather, has resulted in the more than doubling of the number of settlers. Continued settlement construction not necessarily bring the situation to the point of no return in which an agreement based on two states for two peoples is no longer possible.

East Jerusalem
Unlike the rest of the West Bank, which has never been annexed by Israel, after the 1967 War Israel annexed approximately 71 square kilometers of land occupied during the war, including Jerusalem, Jerusalem and dozens of

displaced Palestinian villages, to create what is referred to as 'East Jerusalem'. It is this annexed land that is today referred to as 'East Jerusalem'. Approximately 250,000 Palestinians reside in East Jerusalem as legal residents of Israel, representing one-third of the total population of Jerusalem. They are eligible for National Insurance payments, as well as government provided health and municipal services, but they are not considered citizens and do not have the right to vote for the Knesset or to carry an Israeli passport. Their residency rights can also be revoked by Israel for any number of reasons, with almost no recourse. Since 1967, one-third of the territory of East Jerusalem has been expropriated by Israel using various means. It is on this expropriated land the government of Israel has built some 20,000 housing units in 12 settlements, where today 160,000 Jews reside. While many refer to Jerusalem as Israel's 'sanctified' capital, the fact is that seven West Jerusalem and Palestinian East Jerusalem have never been incorporated into one united city. It is not too late for a peace agreement that defines Jerusalem along the lines of those suggested by former President Clinton in what are known as the 'Clinton Parameters': what is Palestinian will become part of Palestine and what is Jewish will become part of Israel. However, ongoing settlement construction in East Jerusalem, and particularly settlements activity inside Palestinian neighborhoods—like Silwan, Sheikh Jarrah, At-Tur, and others—increases tensions and friction and threaten to take the status quo to a point where an agreement in Jerusalem will no longer be possible. This, in turn, will mean the end of the two state solution.

Settlement Watch Team
Peace Now's Settlement Watch team provides the Israeli public with information about settlements so that they can understand what is at stake. Israel's future as a Jewish state and its democracy is at stake if settlement growth is not stopped and the two-state solution not implemented.

PEACE NOW
Learn more about our fight for peace for Israel
www.peacenow.org
Join our fight for peace. Meet us at <http://www.facebook.com/peacenowisrael>

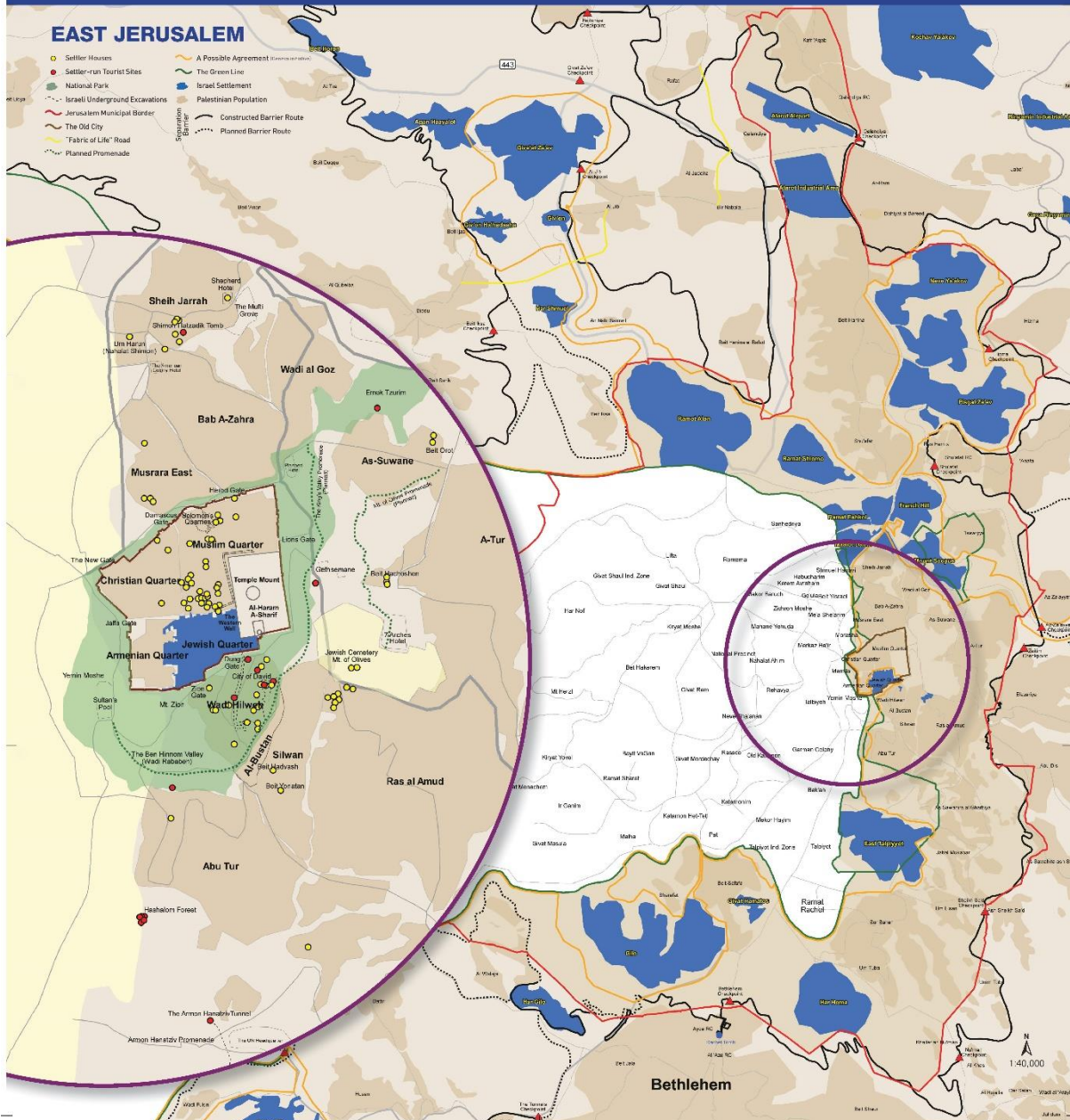


Figure 4.2. Peace Now, 'West Bank and Jerusalem Map', November 2011.

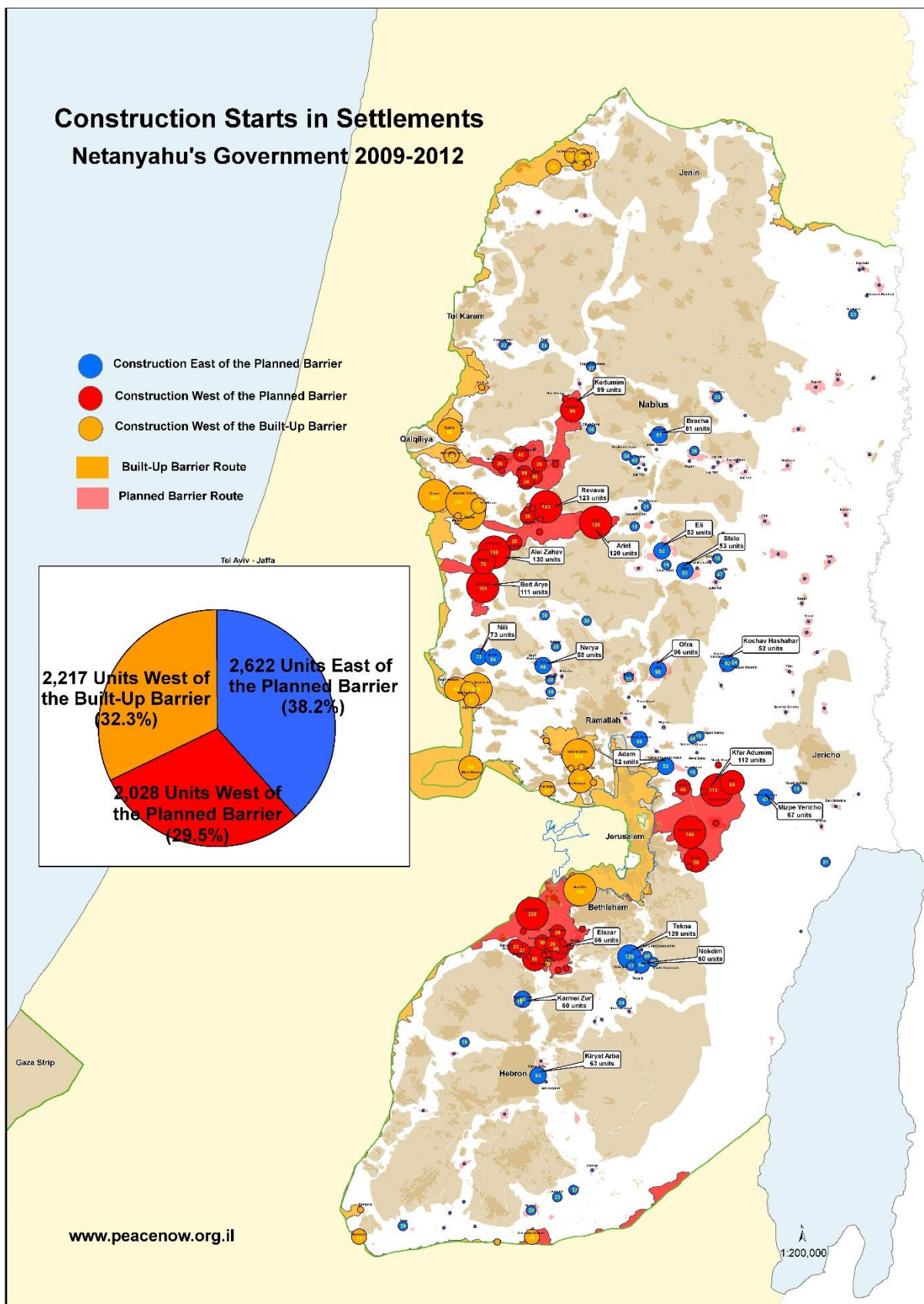


Figure 5. Peace Now, 'Construction Starts in Settlements. Netanyahu's Government 2009-2012', January 2013.

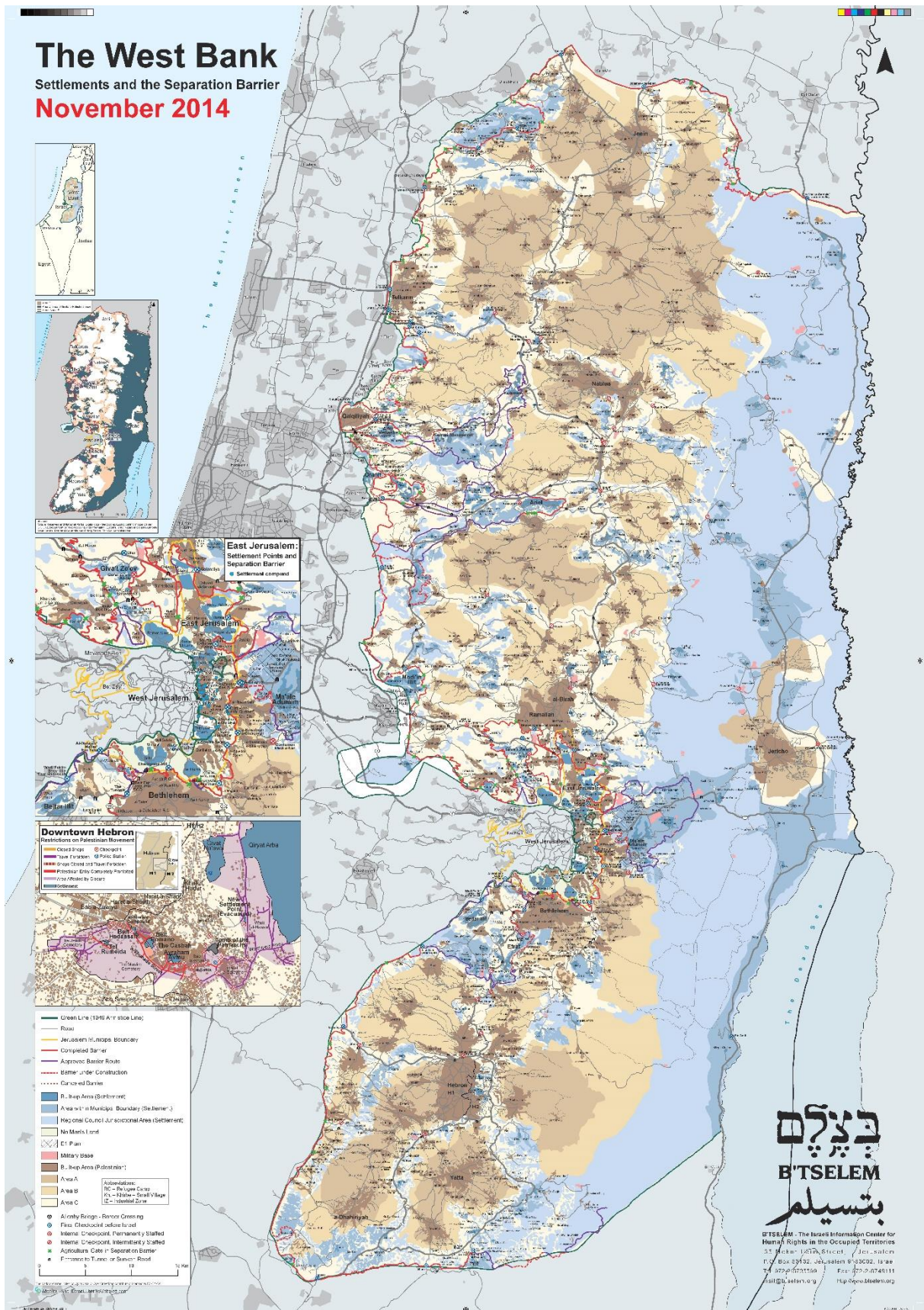


Figure 6. B'Tselem, 'The West Bank: Settlements and the Separation Barrier', November 2014.

Mapping the Jewish Settlements in the West Bank

For the analysis of the maps on the Jewish settlements in the West Bank I selected respectively three maps of both Peace Now and B'Tselem that were published on their websites between 2004 and 2014.²¹ The selection reflects the variety in the wide array of settlement maps that both organizations produced. Whenever there were more versions of maps on the same subject, I chose for the most updated map. From B'Tselem I selected maps on the road system, settlement expansion, and the so-called 'separation barrier'; from Peace Now I chose maps on the settlements near Jerusalem, the population in the West Bank and East-Jerusalem, and the construction of housing units in the settlements. Some of the maps were published alone in the maps section of their official websites, others were published in online reports, articles and leaflets. Most of the maps have been reproduced in Israeli and international media, which indicates that Peace Now and B'Tselem appeal to a large public that can help them to pressure the Israeli government to change its settlement policy in the West Bank. All maps are published in English and provided with map legends to ensure that readers understood the maps correctly. Some of the Peace Now maps that are integrated into leaflets contain text boxes, figures and statistics to amplify their political message and to further convince their readership, while this is less common in the B'Tselem maps. As such additional information is not necessarily in accordance with cartographic conventions, both Peace Now and B'Tselem attempt to present their maps as scientific, objective and accurate, and employ strict methods for that in the surveying, data collection and computerized map production process. Let us now look closer at each map and see how both organizations use these maps as rhetorical tools in their respective peace and human rights campaigns.

The first map titled 'The Forbidden Roads Regime' (see figure 1) was published as supplement to the B'Tselem report *Forbidden Roads : Israel's Discriminatory Roads Regime in the West Bank* in August 2004. The map shows how the movement restrictions for Palestinians on road use in the West Bank are connected to the settlements. Different colors are used to distinguish between the different types of roads, which are completely prohibited, partially prohibited, restricted in use, and unrestricted in use. While partially prohibited roads require special movement permits for Palestinians, roads on which Palestinian travel is

²¹ The respective websites are www.peacenow.org.il/eng/ and www.btselem.org. Both websites have different sections for maps, reports and general information on the settlements, where the maps have been taken from. In this article one can click on the maps to access the original online published maps and to explore them in high resolution. The links to the original maps can also be found at the end of this article.

restricted can only be reached through Israeli checkpoints. According to B'Tselem, this hierarchical road system does not only violate human rights and international law that acknowledge the right to freedom of movement, but is also discriminatory towards the Palestinian population since all Palestinian citizens are subjected to the same road regime and continuously seen as potential security risk. On the map we can see this contrast since the road regime allows Israelis to move freely between the settlements in the Israeli controlled Area C, while Palestinians are in many cases restricted or even prevented to travel via the (main) roads across Areas A and B that are since the 1993 Oslo Accords under fully and partially Palestinian control. The map both explains and criticizes the Israeli policy on road restrictions and complements the report that gives more inside information and further examples on this issue. Although it appears that the map does not directly address the settlement policy, B'Tselem contends that the road regime goes beyond security measures as it serves and perpetuates the Jewish settlements in the West Bank at the expense of the Palestinian population.²² The map shows in different colors all the settlements beyond the clearly depicted Green Line, the internationally recognized border between Israel and the West Bank, and the Palestinian towns and villages that are usually omitted from Israeli maps. Readers may also grab the critique in this map how the settlements and road system divided and fragmented the West Bank into separated Palestinian-controlled blocks, which makes a future contiguous Palestinian state at least very difficult.

The second map is the 'Jerusalem Map' (figure 2) which was published by Peace Now in June 2010 shows the increasing Israeli control over East-Jerusalem and the adjacent areas. The demarcation of space is clearly present in this map as it depicts the Green Line, the municipal border of Jerusalem, the Old City, the completed and planned barrier (in Israel known as the 'security fence'), the Jewish settlements, and the Palestinian inhabited areas. Whereas the Jewish neighborhoods in East-Jerusalem, including the blue colored Jewish Quarter in the Old City, are less known as settlements, Peace Now still defines them as such since they are located across the Green Line. Although the Israeli government does not recognize the legal significance of the Green Line, the Israeli peace movement and the international community consider the establishment of Jewish settlements across the June 1967 borders as violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention and therefore as illegal under international law. If one follows the lines of the completed and planned barrier it is clear how

²² B'Tselem, *Forbidden Roads : Israel's Discriminatory Roads Regime in the West Bank* (Jerusalem, August 2004): http://www.btselem.org/download/200408_forbidden_roads_eng.pdf (accessed on 16 July 2015) 3-4, 9-19.

the main settlement blocks (Givat Ze'ev, Ma'ale Adumim and Gush Etzion) and planned settlements become fully integrated into the State of Israel. As some of the Palestinian villages northwest of Jerusalem, amongst others, have already become totally isolated due to the constructed barrier, Peace Now drew the so-called 'fabric of life' roads which were built by the Israeli government to connect the isolated villages. Since this particular type of roads is only allowed for Palestinians, Peace Now also refers to the 'discriminatory' road regime that aims to further separate Israeli and Palestinian traffic.²³ The last unique feature in this map is the dotted line of the 2003 Geneva Peace Initiative which proposed the Israeli withdrawal from most of the West Bank and East-Jerusalem to enable the Palestinians to establish their own state. As the Geneva Initiative was the outcome of non-official Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations, the draft agreement for a permanent solution to the conflict was non-binding and up to now never implemented by both parties.²⁴ The reference to this possible agreement shows nonetheless that Peace Now supports a two-state solution that might compromise on the 1967 borders and takes into account for instance the current reality of the settlement blocs adjacent to Jerusalem. This reflects Peace Now's general functional and security-oriented approach to the territorial issue, in which the delineation of Israel's future borders is not related to religious or nationalist land claims, but seen as "open to change depending on the circumstances."²⁵ With this more flexible approach, Peace Now tries to revive the infamous 'land for peace' formula in the Israeli society, that lost much of its attraction after the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza in 2005.

The third map of the settlement Ma'ale Adumim (figure 3), located east of Jerusalem, was published by B'Tselem in the maps section of its July 2010 report *By Hook and By Crook*, whose maps analyzed the growth of some settlements between 2001 and 2009. Like the previous maps, this map mentions all the Palestinian villages by name, while the arrows emphasize the assumed illegitimacy of the settlement by showing the distance from the Green Line. As this map zooms in on the development of Ma'ale Adumim, B'Tselem used different

²³ B'Tselem, 'Restriction of movement : Alternative roads for Palestinians', 1 January 2011: http://www.btselem.org/freedom_of_movement/alternative_roads_for_palestinians (accessed on 16 July 2015). The alternative road system, that was developed and implemented by the Israeli authorities since 2006, foresaw in the creation of a separate road network for the Palestinians, while it only allowed Palestinian vehicles to travel on 20% of the Israeli roads. According to B'Tselem, the 'fabric of life roads' entails the expropriation of Palestinian privately owned land, the inefficient use of public property, and the further construction of the 'separation barrier.'

²⁴ Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2009) 829. See also: Menachem Klein, *A Possible Peace Between Israel & Palestine : An Insider's Account of the Geneva Initiative* (New York, 2007).

²⁵ David Newman and Tamar Hermann, 'A Comparative Study of Gush Emunim and Peace Now', *Middle Eastern Studies* 28:3 (1992) 512.

visual and textual signifiers to indicate the growth of the settlement and its planned inclusion into the State of Israel. The colored contrast between the Israeli and the Palestinian built-up area shows how the settlement has expanded and limited the growth opportunities for the adjacent Palestinian neighborhoods of East-Jerusalem. Moreover, the statistics on the Israeli built-up area surface and the number of Israeli residents show substantial increases since 2001 that was not merely the result of natural population growth, but rather of a clear Israeli policy to expand and annex Ma'ale Adumim. The accentuated E-1 area, which Peace Now also highlighted in the former Jerusalem Map, refers to the Israeli-Palestinian dispute on the planned construction in this area that would definitively link Ma'ale Adumim to Jerusalem and strengthen the division of the West Bank into two separate cantons.²⁶ This directly relates to the issue of the planned barrier, that would include almost the entire municipal area of Ma'ale Adumim as well as some minor Palestinian built-up areas, while other villages have already become surrounded by the built barrier. In sum, the micro perspective in this map enables the public to better understand the various complex issues and to see more clearly the consequences of the Israeli settlement policy in certain areas.

The following brochure 'The West Bank and Jerusalem Map' (figure 4.1 and 4.2) was published by Peace Now in November 2011 as clear warning to the Israeli society and international community that the settlements were 'the biggest threat' to the two-state solution. The maps of the West Bank and East-Jerusalem are accompanied of extra information and statistics that explain how the settlements and settler population have increased over the years and classify the different types of settlements on the basis of the religious and secular affiliation of the residents. Both maps share the same linear topographical features that include again the Green Line, the Geneva Initiative, the Jerusalem municipal border, the constructed and planned barrier route, and elements of the hierarchical road system. The clear distinctions in the West Bank map (figure 4.1) between respectively Areas A, B and C, the Israeli and Palestinian roads, and the Jewish settlements and outposts versus Palestinian towns and villages show the various modes of Israeli control over the West Bank and the effects of the settlement policy. The fully and partially Palestinian controlled areas (Areas A and B) have become totally fragmented and look like separate cantons and unconnected islands on the map. Moreover, the map indicates the size of all settlements and Palestinian towns and villages, which emphasizes the fact that some of the larger settlements, such as Ariel and

²⁶ B'Tselem, 'The Hidden Agenda: The Establishment and Expansion Plans of Ma'ale Adummim and their Human Rights Ramifications', December 2009, joint report with Bimkom – Planners for Planning Rights: http://www.btselem.org/publications/summaries/200912_maale_adummim (accessed on 16 July 2015).

Kiryat Arba, are located relatively deep inside the West Bank. Whereas Kiryat Arba was the very first Jewish settlements built by religious settlers in 1968 at the outskirts of the Jewish holy city of Hebron, the map does not mention the sacred or religious meaning of particular places. Such silences are of course related to the political purpose of the map, that addresses the settlements only as major obstacles to a future peace agreement with the Palestinians. Whether that is true or not, it somehow leaves out the opportunity that in some cases there might be peaceful relations or even cooperation between Israeli settlers and Palestinians. The rhetorical nature is that the settlements are quite convincingly framed as the major source of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which suggests that the core of the conflict is about territory, while other explanations of the conflict or cartographic features are omitted from the map. Likewise, the map on East-Jerusalem (figure 4.2) depicts the Jewish neighborhoods and settler houses in Palestinian neighborhoods, which according to Peace Now would prevent a solution wherein East-Jerusalem becomes the capital of a future Palestinian state. The text above the map does mention actually that Jerusalem is referred to in Israel as the unified Jewish capital, but Peace Now states however that it is not too late to divide the city along the lines of the December 2000 “Clinton Parameters” plan of former American President Bill Clinton to ensure a durable peace. As in the case of the Geneva Initiative, Peace Now shows that it seeks to connect to former peace negotiations that have become part of the dovish discourse in the Israeli society, although the division of Jerusalem remains a very difficult and sensitive issue.

More recently, Peace Now shifted its mapping strategy more explicitly to the direct role of the Israeli government in advancing the settlement policy. In January 2013, Peace Now published the map titled ‘Construction Starts in Settlements’ (figure 5) to illustrate the main findings of the report *Settlements and the Netanyahu Government: A Deliberative Policy of Undermining the Two-State Solution* that deals with the settlement policy during the second term of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (2009-2012). The report accused the second Netanyahu government of undermining the two-state solution on the grounds that it allowed large-scale constructions at an unprecedented level, opened tenders, approved future construction in East-Jerusalem and at other disputed locations, legalized illegal settlements and outposts retroactively, and provided preferential funding for settlers and settlements.²⁷ The map solely concentrates instead on the construction of the 8,730 housing units that were

²⁷ Peace Now, *Settlements and the Netanyahu Government: A Deliberative Policy of Undermining the Two-State Solution*, January 2013: <http://peacenow.org.il/eng/sites/default/files/summary-of-4-years-of-netanyahu-government.pdf> (accessed on 16 July 2015).

advanced or approved by the Netanyahu government. The number of housing units per settlement are visually shown by blue, red and orange circles that divide the settlements according to their location within or outside the built-up and planned barrier. The diagram shows that 38 percent of the housing units was planned to be built beyond the planned barrier in remote and isolated settlements. About 30 percent was planned in the large red depicted settlement blocs which are about to be fully integrated into the State of Israel. Although the use of such statistics and symbols on maps deviates from cartographic conventions, it serves as an effective visual tool to criticize the settlement policy.²⁸ As this map puts the emphasis almost exclusively on the settlements by using different colors, while only the major Palestinian cities are mentioned by name, it shows perhaps even more clearly the spread and expansion of the settlements across the West Bank. The rhetorical purpose is again to convince the public that the settlement policy is a grave threat to the two-state solution and that if no action is undertaken against the Israeli government the settlements will only further expand at the expense of the likelihood to make peace.

The final map under discussion is titled ‘The West Bank : Settlements and the Separation Barrier’ (figure 6) and is currently the most updated map made by B’Tselem in November 2014. At first sight it seems that the map is presented as the most complete map since it covers almost every aspect of the Israeli control over the West Bank and was published in high resolution. Four smaller maps on the left visualize respectively the West Bank and Gaza as separated entities, the different areas of control in the West Bank, the Israeli control over East-Jerusalem, and the restrictions on Palestinian movement in Hebron. The principal focus is on the progress that has been made on the construction and approval of the so-called ‘separation barrier,’ which B’Tselem considers as the most extreme solution of Israel to protect its citizens against terror since it severely infringes Palestinian human rights. When completed, some eighty-five percent of the barrier route will run inside the West Bank, rather than along the Green Line, which has already led to Palestinian land dispossession, the removal and replacement of Palestinian communities, and further movement restrictions.²⁹ On the large map this is visualized through the demarcation of the Green Line and constructed barrier which shows the annexation of Israeli settlements. In addition, the purple line depicts the approved construction of the barrier surrounding the large settlements Ariel, Ma’ale Adumim, and Efrat that are located at an even further distance from the Green Line. Although

²⁸ Leuenberger and Izhak Schnell, ‘The politics of maps: Constructing national territories in Israel’, 829.

²⁹ B’Tselem, ‘The Separation Barrier’, 1 January 2011: http://www.btselem.org/separation_barrier/map (accessed on 16 July 2015).

the map offers perhaps too much information to the readers, it explains well how the settlement project has contributed to further Israeli control over the West Bank and Palestinian population through the separation barrier, outposts, checkpoints, agricultural gates (that only provide limited access for Palestinian farmers to their fields located west of the barrier) and the division of land in the West Bank. The effects of the Israeli settlement and security policy on Palestinian daily life, B'Tselem's main interest, is also shown from a micro-perspective in the map of Hebron. Hebron is well-known for the small religious fanatic Jewish community living in the heart of the divided city whose far majority are Palestinians. The map highlights the commercial center in the Old City that has been closed to Palestinian residents after the 1997 Hebron Agreement, and the Palestinian neighborhoods in the Israeli controlled H2 area that are directly affected by the closure. The striking contrast between the small blue Jewish settlements in the Old City and the large purple Palestinian areas affected by the travel and entry prohibitions might invoke feelings of resentment against the settlement policy and occupation. Contrary to other activist maps, this map depicts the Tomb of the Patriarchs, which is a sacred space for Jews, Muslims and Christians alike, but mainly so to emphasize the numerous checkpoints and closed off roads for Palestinians to the shrine. As Hebron is an extreme example of intense inter-communal violence and separation measures, Israeli activist groups sometimes tend to present the situation as a template for the occupation.³⁰ B'Tselem also uses Hebron rhetorically here as side illustration of extensive Palestinian restrictions and harsh Israeli control, while it could have provided more context or chosen other examples of mixed towns or villages where inter-communal relations are less worse.

Conclusion

This essay has shown that maps have become important tools in the campaign of the Israeli peace movement against the Israeli settlement policy in the West Bank. Since the early 1990s, both Peace Now and B'Tselem adopted mapping practices in their peace and human rights campaigns to monitor and visualize the expansion of Jewish settlements in the Palestinian occupied territories in order to raise public awareness in the Israeli society and international community on this highly controversial policy and its negative consequences for the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and the Palestinian population. Unlike the Israeli government, Peace Now and B'Tselem consider the settlements in the West Bank and East-Jerusalem as illegal according to international law. Both organizations convey the argument in their maps that the

³⁰ B'Tselem, 'Hebron City Center', 1 January 2011: <http://www.btselem.org/hebron> (accessed on 16 July 2015).

continued settlement in the West Bank threatens the two-state solution, which is perceived as the only possibility to bring peace after decades of conflict. This implies that the core of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is about territory. Moreover, the B'Tselem maps also highlight human rights violations against the Palestinians which are seen as the harsh outcomes of the settlement and occupation policy. As these maps are used as means of protest against the Israeli government, they tend to appeal to readers by using various rhetorical and cartographic techniques. First, Peace Now and B'Tselem adhere to scientific standards and cartographic conventions in their surveying, data collection, and mapmaking process to gain credibility, while they often integrate maps in more extensive reports, online articles and leaflets providing more information. Second, they frame the settlement issue in the dovish and legal discourses of conflict resolution, human rights and internationally recognized divisions. Every map presented the West Bank and East-Jerusalem as separated entities by referring to the Green Line or June 1967 borders to emphasize the illegitimate status of the settlements and the quest for Palestinian statehood, which obviously deviated from the standard Israeli maps. In addition, most maps referred to the areas of control since the 1993 Oslo Accords to remind the readership of the commitment of Israel to the two-state solution and the lack of progress ever since. Some Peace Now maps connected to more recent peace negotiations for a permanent solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, such as the Clinton Parameters and the Geneva Initiative, while B'Tselem maps emphasized the cumulative infringement of the Palestinians' human rights. Third, all maps in this analysis showed the various modes of Israeli control over the West Bank and East-Jerusalem, including settlements, checkpoints, outposts, the security fence or separation barrier, and the hierarchical road system, which are seen as direct effects of the settlement policy. They tend to explain the complexity and implications of the settlement policy, but thereby offer politically charged interpretations of space and territory and remain silent on other interpretations. As these maps are continuously updated, they also pretend to depict accurate real-time geographical realities, which are otherwise invisible to the intended public. Lastly, Peace Now and B'Tselem varied between a macro and micro perspective in their maps to indicate both the 'national' and local effects of the continued construction of settlements on the Palestinian population. On the national level, the maps argue that the West Bank becomes ever more fragmented and under further Israeli control due to the settlement expansion and the construction of the barrier. On the local level, the settlements near East-Jerusalem are seen for instance as facts on the ground to enable land annexation and to prevent the growth of adjacent Palestinian villages and neighborhoods. In conclusion, over the last decade the Israeli peace movement has produced a wide array of

maps on the Jewish settlements in the West Bank as means of activist cartography to criticize the settlement policy of the Israeli government and to convince the Israeli society and international community that the two-state solution is under serious threat. It remains however questionable to what extent the maps of Peace Now and B'Tselem are effective tools to revive the idea of the two-state solution in the Israeli society, increase pressure on the Israeli government to change its policies, and ultimately help to establish peace.

Bibliography

Literature

Bar-On, Mordechai, *In pursuit of peace : a history of the Israeli peace movement* (Washington, 1996).

Benvenisti, Meron, *West Bank Data Project : A Survey of Israel's Policies* (Washington D.C., 1984).

Benvenisti, Meron, *1986 Report : Demographic, economic, legal, social and political developments in the West Bank* (Jerusalem, 1986).

Bird, Peter, 'The rhetorical nature of maps', 1 May 2006 (online published): <http://www.stc-phoenix.com/ITWC/Bird%20-%20Rhetoric%20of%20Maps.pdf> (accessed on 16 July 2015) 1-12.

Cobarrubias, Sebastián, *Mapping Machines, Activist Cartographies of the Border and Labor Lands of Europe* (Dissertation, Chapel Hill, 2009).

Cobarrubias, Sebastián, and John Pickles, 'Spacing movements: the turn to cartographies and mapping practices in contemporary social movements', in: Barney Warf and Santa Arias, *The Spatial Turn : Interdisciplinary perspectives* (New York, 2009) 36-58.

Collins-Kleiner, Noga, 'Maps and Meaning: Reading the Map of the Holy Land', *The Qualitative Report* 10:2 (2006) 257-75.

Collins-Kreiner, Noga, Yoel Mansfeld and Nurit Kliot, 'The Reflection of a Political Conflict in Mapping: The Case of Israel's Borders and Frontiers', *Middle Eastern Studies* 42:3 (2006) 381-408.

Galchinsky, Michael, 'The Jewish Settlements in the West Bank: International Law and Israeli Jurisprudence', *Israel Studies* 9:3 (2004) 115-36.

Harley, John Brian, 'Deconstructing the map', *Cartographica* 26:2 (1989) 1-20.

Harley, John Brian, 'Text and Contexts in the Interpretation of Early Maps', in: David Buisseret, *From Sea Charts to Satellite Images : Interpreting North American History through Maps* (London, 1990) 3-15.

Hermann, Tamar, *The Israeli peace movement : a shattered dream* (New York, 2009).

Kaufman, Asher, *Contested frontiers in the Syria-Lebanon-Israel region : cartography, sovereignty, and conflict* (Washington, 2014).

Klein, Menachem, *A Possible Peace Between Israel & Palestine : An Insider's Account of the Geneva Initiative* (New York, 2007).

Leuenberger, Christine, and Izhak Schnell, 'The politics of maps: Constructing national territories in Israel', *Social Studies of Science* 40:6 (2010) 803-42.

Newman, David, and Tamar Hermann, 'A Comparative Study of Gush Emunim and Peace Now', *Middle Eastern Studies* 28:3 (1992) 509-30.

Newman, David, 'From Hitnachalut to Hitnatkut: The Impact of Gush Emunim and the Settlement Movement on Israel Politics and Society', *Israel Studies* 10:3 (2005) 192-224.

Quiquívix, Linda, 'Art of War, Art of Resistance: Palestinian Counter-Cartography on Google Earth', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104:3 (2014) 444-459.

Roy, Sara, 'Reconceptualizing the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Key Paradigm Shifts', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 41:3 (2012) 71-91.

Tenenbaum, Joshua, 'Israel's Economic Motives for Colonizing the West Bank', *Midwest Journal of Undergraduate Research* 4 (2014) 46-61.

Tenenbaum, Karen, and Ehud Eiran, 'Israel's Settlement Activity in the West Bank and Gaza: A Brief History', *Negotiation Journal* (2005) 171-5.

Tessler, Mark, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2009).

Wallach, Yair, 'Trapped in mirror-images: The rhetoric of maps in Israel/Palestine', *Political Geography* 30 (2011) 358-69.

Wood, Denis, *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (New York, 2010).

Zertal, Idith, and Akiva Eldar, *Lords of the Land : The War Over Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967-2007* (New York, 2007).

Online reports and articles

B'Tselem, 'Restriction of movement : Alternative roads for Palestinians', 1 January 2011: http://www.btselem.org/freedom_of_movement/alternative_roads_for_palestinians (accessed on 16 July 2015).

B'Tselem, 'Hebron City Center', 1 January 2011: <http://www.btselem.org/hebron> (accessed on 16 July 2015).

B'Tselem, 'Statistics on Settlements and Settler Population', updated on 11 May 2015: <http://www.btselem.org/settlements/statistics> (accessed on 16 July 2015).

B'Tselem, 'The Hidden Agenda: The Establishment and Expansion Plans of Ma'ale Adummim and their Human Rights Ramifications', December 2009, joint report with Bimkom: http://www.btselem.org/publications/summaries/200912_maale_adummim (accessed on 16 July 2015).

B'Tselem, 'The Separation Barrier', 1 January 2011:
http://www.btselem.org/separation_barrier/map (accessed on 16 July 2015).

B'Tselem, *By Hook and By Crook : Israeli Settlement Policy in the West Bank* (Jerusalem, July 2010): http://www.btselem.org/download/201007_by_hook_and_by_crook_eng.pdf (accessed on 16 July 2015) 1-69.

B'Tselem, *Forbidden Roads : Israel's Discriminatory Roads Regime in the West Bank* (Jerusalem, Aug. 2004): http://www.btselem.org/download/200408_forbidden_roads_eng.pdf (accessed on 16 July 2015) 1-55.

Brinkly, Joel, 'Hard Facts Daunt Israeli Researcher', *The New York Times*, 22 October 1989: <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/10/22/world/hard-facts-daunt-israeli-researcher.html> (accessed on 16 July 2015).

Peace Now, 'What is Settlement Watch Team' <http://peacenow.org.il/eng/content/what-settlement-watch-team> (accessed on 2 July 2015).

Peace Now, *Settlements and the Netanyahu Government: A Deliberative Policy of Undermining the Two-State Solution*, January 2013:
<http://peacenow.org.il/eng/sites/default/files/summary-of-4-years-of-netanyahu-government.pdf> (accessed on 16 July 2015).

Maps

Figure 1. B'Tselem, 'The Forbidden Roads Regime', August 2004:
http://www.btselem.org/sites/default/files2/map/forbbiden_roads_map_eng.pdf (accessed on 16 July 2015).

Figure 2. Peace Now, ‘Jerusalem Map’, June 2010:

<http://peacenow.org.il/eng/sites/default/files/JerusalemSideJune2010.pdf> (accessed on 16 July 2015).

Figure 3. B’Tselem, ‘Maps of Settlement Population and Palestinian Private Land: Ma’ale Adumim (2001-2009)’, July 2010:

http://www.btselem.org/download/2009_settlements_maps_eng.pdf (accessed on 16 July 2015).

Figure 4.1. Peace Now, ‘West Bank and Jerusalem Map’, November 2011:

https://settlementwatcheastjerusalem.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/settlements_map_eng.pdf (accessed on 16 July 2015).

Figure 4.2. Peace Now, ‘West Bank and Jerusalem Map’, November 2011:

https://settlementwatcheastjerusalem.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/settlements_map_eng.pdf (accessed on 16 July 2015).

Figure 5. Peace Now, ‘Construction Starts in Settlements. Netanyahu’s Government 2009-2012’, January 2013:

https://settlementwatcheastjerusalem.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/construction_map_netanyahu_gov.pdf (accessed on 16 July 2015).

Figure 6. B’Tselem, ‘The West Bank: Settlements and the Separation Barrier’, November 2014: http://www.btselem.org/download/201411_btselem_map_of_wb_eng.pdf (accessed on 16 July 2015).