

The intimacy of infrastructure: vulnerability and abjection in Palestinian Jerusalem

Hanna Baumann

Chapter published in E. Boehmer, D. Davies (Eds.), *Planned Violence: Post/colonial Urban Infrastructures and Literature*. London: Palgrave.

As this book and the concept of ‘planned violence’ seeks to emphasise, colonial infrastructures often serve to appropriate territory or extract resources, but they can also disrupt and reroute existing circulations, excluding populations from spaces or public services. Such disruption of urban utility lines facilitating movement, transmitting electricity and communications signals, as well as transporting water and sewage, has been examined as a strategic aspect of warfare and planning. The manner in which we depend on them to maintain the most intimate facets of our lives, however, is a less recognised feature of the violence perpetrated via infrastructures. Next to its potential to disrupt personal relationships and bodily integrity, this infrastructural violence also resonates on symbolic registers. As most critical accounts view the role of infrastructure in Israel/Palestine in terms of geopolitics or military strategy, this chapter argues that cultural engagements with the personal, embodied, and symbolic effects can help us understand infrastructural violence better. We find in these intimate effects an integral aspect of how this violence operates.

Using the work of Palestinian visual artist Khaled Jarrar as my starting point, I use findings from my research in and around East Jerusalem to highlight the embodied and affective impact of the violence of infrastructures. I do so with a particular view towards the Israeli Separation Wall, built in the midst of East Jerusalem’s urban fabric over the past fifteen years. Based on Judith Butler’s notion of vulnerability (2016), I argue that infrastructural violence is experienced in intimate ways due to our deeply ingrained dependence on urban linkages. At the same time, infrastructures, as the basis of spatial, social and political inclusion in the city, can become both the site and the object of protest, and the vulnerability they create can become a means for resistance. Jarrar’s artistic interventions bring to the fore this ambiguity of vulnerability: on the one hand, his works show how residents are cut off from the city by the Wall and how the resulting abjection serves as an additional, symbolic and embodied, form of exclusion. On the other, we see how Palestinians nonetheless attempt to maintain severed trajectories and expose their vulnerability to uphold their connection to Jerusalem.

Infrastructural developments are ‘an ideal colonial technology’ in that they both facilitate access and serve to cement and expand territorial control (Freed, 2010). Opening up remote areas to colonial control and exploitation, roads and other infrastructures bring about a ‘tyranny of proximity’ through the extension of the colonial reach (Edwards, 2006). Beyond their potential for seizing or exploiting territory by establishing linkages, colonial infrastructures also function through symbolic registers, as icons of modernity vis-à-vis a less ‘civilised’ local populations (Masquelier, 2002). In the Zionist project, infrastructural development was seen as a key method for enacting the Jewish claim to the land. By remaking and ‘modernising’ Palestine through infrastructural networks, Zionists lent legitimacy to their claim, and thus appropriated it in the symbolic as well as the physical sense (Salamanca, 2015; see also Shamir, 2013). Discourses of modernity were a key element in gaining a hold on, while also excluding and absorbing, Palestinian cities such as Jaffa, which came to represent the backwards Other to the ‘modern’ Jewish city of Tel Aviv (LeVine, 2005; Rotbard, 2015). Such colonial infrastructures that seek to expand the frontier, extract resources, or tie native populations into their project through modernity’s appeal

to the ‘colonial sublime’ are at work in Jerusalem too (Larkin, 2013).¹ However, as Khaled Jarrar’s work focuses on those Palestinians excluded by the Wall, the focus in this chapter is on the absence of public infrastructural services and the severing of urban connections that exclude and expel the native population in a settler colonial city.²

The disconnection of infrastructures in Israel/Palestine, as in other recent violent conflicts in the Middle East, has been discussed mainly in terms of ‘infrastructural warfare’ (Graham, 2002). Such wilful disruption or destruction of key infrastructural nodes like power stations or sewage plants, as seen in Iraq and Gaza, may not entail the direct targeting of the local population but can cause death and disease nonetheless. The infrastructures thus become ‘both target and weapon’ (Jabary Salamanca, 2011). Whilst researchers exploring infrastructural warfare are undoubtedly concerned with the devastating impact this has on civilian populations, vulnerability here is understood as socio-technical systems’ susceptibility to disruption. Hence Graham’s comment that the most infrastructurally ‘developed’ places become ‘most vulnerable’ in situations of asymmetrical warfare (2010). As in other arenas of international relations, then, infrastructural warfare is often studied from a ‘disembodied’ perspective, despite the fact that embodiment is a central aspect of violence (Wilcox, 2015).

To date, discussions of comparatively latent forms of violence by way of infrastructure have lacked a bottom-up examination. As the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories, now in its sixth decade, can be seen as an ongoing low-intensity conflict, it is not surprising that Weizman argues that architecture and planning function as the ‘continuation of war by other means’ (2007).³ In less overtly contested cities than Jerusalem, too, the lack of access to urban utilities has been discussed as ‘infrastructural violence’ (Rodgers and O’Neill, 2012). This less outright violence is ‘structural’ in the sense outlined by Johan Galtung: its ‘infra’ quality lies not only in the fact that utilities such as telephone cables and water pipes are constitutive parts of the city while often remaining invisible and underground. This violence is also ‘built into the structure’, rather than being of the sort where one person ‘directly harm another person’ (Galtung, 1969; see also Boehmer and Davies, 2015). In urban planning processes, complex assemblages of bureaucracy, voting patterns, budgets, technical standards, and topography might be at work when certain areas do not obtain access to the same amenities as others. Yet even if one cannot pinpoint a specific perpetrator, violence is continuously enacted as it affects its victims in visceral ways. Nonetheless, the academic approach has been similar to the one adopted with respect to infrastructural warfare. Even Weizman’s ‘forensic’ examinations of the spatial manifestations of inequality and violence remain restricted to a top-down perspective, as the planner’s intentionality translates directly into the victimisation of Palestinians. Rodgers’ and O’Neill’s notion of infrastructural violence as a political failure, on the other hand, takes for granted that the absence of access to utilities is violent, without examining how this violence operates.

If we are to understand what *kind* of violence infrastructural violence is, and how it functions, our social and bodily vulnerability must remain an important consideration. Judith Butler argues that subjecthood is marked by relationality and interconnection (2016). Her theorisation of the human body as ontologically characterised by ‘dependency on infrastructure’, including human and non-human support systems, echoes Matthew Gandy’s (2005) understanding of infrastructures as a form of ‘exoskeleton’—that is, as extensions of our bodily selves upon which we rely for our very survival. The vulnerability brought on by this dependency on outside support is both a basic human quality and a political issue, in that some are more vulnerable than others. By locating

¹ I have discussed incorporative infrastructures such as the Jerusalem light rail elsewhere (Baumann, 2016).

² As Wolfe (2006) argues, both expulsion and assimilation are part of the settler colonial drive to ‘eliminate’ the native.

³ Jabary Salamanca (2011) points out the continuum between outright warfare and ‘peacetime’ in besieged Gaza.

vulnerability in lacking support systems, Butler shows how the fight for such infrastructures is often the object of political struggles, as well as its tool. Linking vulnerability to resistance in this manner can be viewed as part of a broader feminist project of rethinking agency—as not only located in the autonomous, individual subject, but as possible within a framework of interdependency and intersubjectivity (see Campbell *et al.*, 2009).

Similarly concerned with calling into question the distinction between the individual and the social in the study of violence, others have argued for recognising its multi-scalar nature, ranging from ‘intimacy’ to ‘geopolitics’ (Pain and Staeheli, 2014). Our personal relationships and our most private realms, including our bodily integrity and health, it is argued, are influenced by developments on the global level (Mountz and Hyndman, 2006). In the Palestinian context, the connections between the ethno-national conflict and the intimate realms of home, family and romantic relations have been highlighted (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2010, Harker, 2014, Marshall, 2014). Yet infrastructure in Jerusalem is often discussed in top-down terms of planning, governmentality and geopolitics. Thus, pointing to the embodied effects of infrastructures can create a similarly productive slippage in scales. A lens that is attentive to the intimate effects of infrastructural violence allows for a fuller account of how it works, with personal vulnerability foregrounded rather than being reduced to a side effect of the ‘political’ realm of planning. Indeed, this vulnerability is essential to the way in which violence is exerted, even if through indirect means.

The Wall as a disruption of urban circuits

Focussing on this quality of infrastructures as the interface between policy and the intimate realm, as realising—or inflicting—urban politics on the body, I engage several works by the Palestinian visual artist Khaled Jarrar on the Separation Wall. This highly visible Barrier, which manifests as a nine-meter concrete wall in urban areas, has been understood as a monumental performance of uncontested sovereignty and a demarcation of inside/outside (Brown, 2010; Busbridge, 2013), in a situation where there is in fact no such clarity (Azoulay and Ophir, 2013). In ‘many-bordered’ Jerusalem in particular, it intersects with various other boundaries: the armistice line of 1949 known as the ‘Green Line’; the Municipal Border determined by Israel, which effectively annexed East Jerusalem without including its population, who are deemed stateless ‘permanent residents’; and the Jewish settlements inside East Jerusalem (Dumper, 2014; see Fig. 1). In addition to separating East Jerusalem from its historical hinterlands in the West Bank, the Wall also severs two significant ‘exclaves’ of the municipal area—Kufr Aqab in the north and Shuafat Refugee Camp in the east—leaving one third of Palestinian inhabitants cut off from rest of the city.

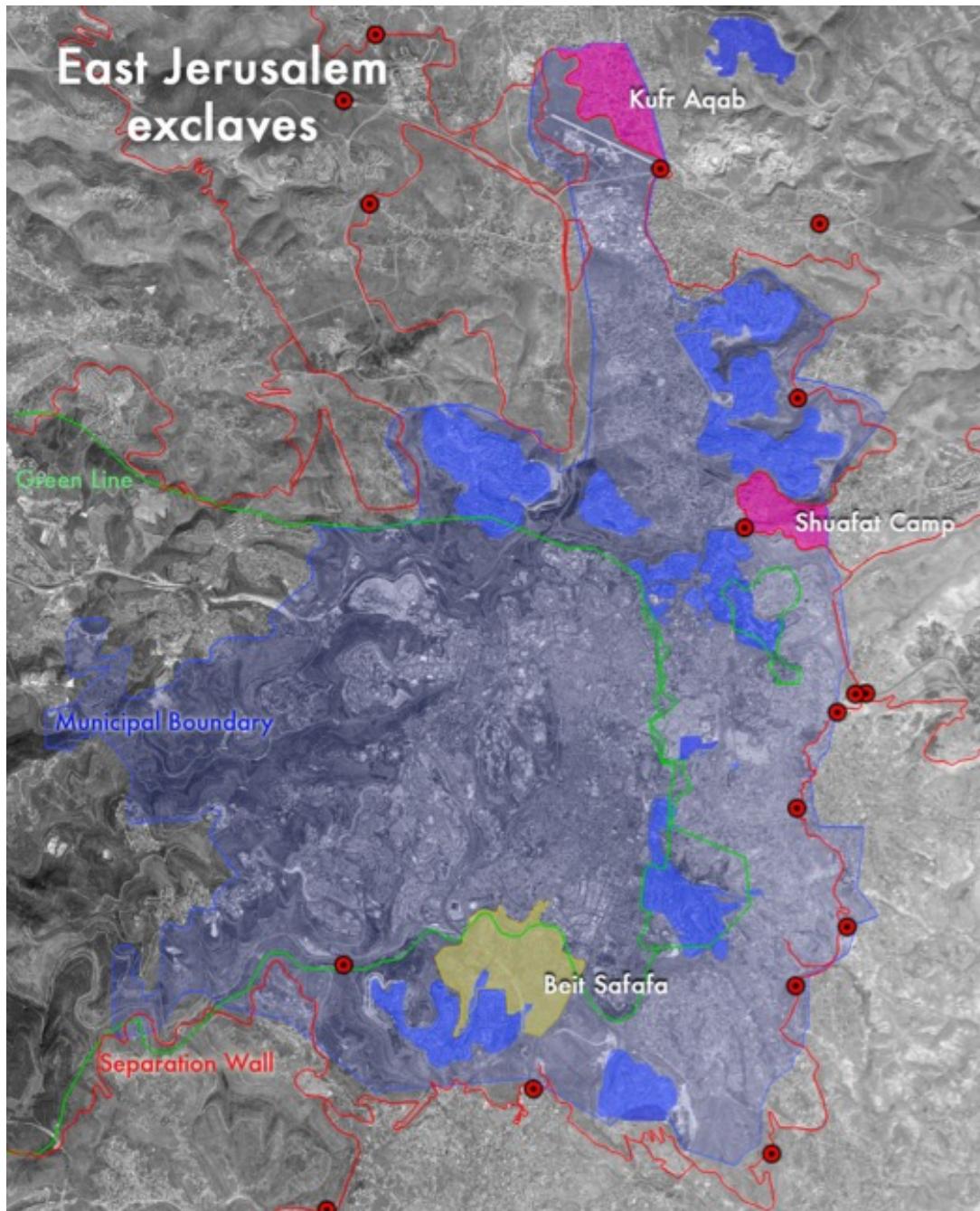


Fig. 1: Map of Jerusalem and environs, including multiple, transecting borders and the ‘exclaves’ of the city cut off by the Separation Wall.

Born in the West Bank city of Jenin in 1976, Khaled Jarrar engages with the Separation Wall not only as a monumental and highly visible symbol, but examines how it operates by disrupting quotidian circulations. For his project *Whole in the Wall* (2013), he manually chiselled concrete out of the Barrier. He then used this material to reconstitute everyday objects of leisure, including a ping pong set and football boots; a football, a volleyball, and a basketball; a set of juggling pins; and a traditional ring-shaped Jerusalem bread called *ka'ek* (see Fig. 2). Quotidian and personal objects usually marked by their light, even playful nature, become heavy and violent. As the viewer might imagine attempting to handle a ball, juggle with the concrete pins, or bite into the fluffy bread, a visceral response is elicited—objects that are known as tools or means of enjoyment become obstacles, potential sources of (unexpected) pain. And indeed, that is how many Palestinians—especially those who must cross the Wall frequently—describe its impact on their

lives. As everyday journeys and routines become hard and exhausting, people's capacity to relate to the city as a space of leisure or enjoyment is obstructed or impaired. In his study of the history of barbed wire, Reviel Netz (2004) posits that the prevention of a body's motion constitutes a form of violence. While he seems to anchor this in the potential physical harm that would arise from continued motion—flesh being torn by razor-blade-sharp steel, or colliding with an eight-meter slab of concrete—the Wall is not an absolute obstacle. The fact that Jarrar can approach it, and even take a chisel to it, suggests that the violence lies not in the physical presence of the obstacle but in its less direct consequences. It excludes those in the exclaves from the circuits of the city, who are exhausted by constantly re-routing their lives, and subject to the abjection and symbolic expulsion of infrastructural disconnect.



Fig. 2: Film still and reconstituted concrete objects from *Whole in the Wall* (2013)

Residents of the exclaves on the 'eastern' side of the Wall whom I have interviewed described the Wall and its effects as a dominant factor in the making of numerous personal life decisions, from where to live, work, or send their children to school, to whom to marry, or even whether to remain married.⁴ Many felt so restricted in their options and so exhausted from the everyday struggles that simply maintaining their routine caused their intimate relationships to suffer. With the construction of the Wall, not only did Palestinians' daily journeys take significantly longer, but the uncertainty and risk of passing through Israeli military checkpoints was a source of anxiety, as well as a drain on time and energy for many commuters. Residents of the exclaves were often so depleted by quotidian commutes that they avoided any non-essential travel, including for social obligations or

⁴ Residents' names used throughout are pseudonyms.

leisure activities. Mariam, who lives in Kufr Aqab and commutes to work in Jerusalem daily, reflected on the personal impact of the Israeli mobility regime: ‘I am so exhausted from the commute every day, I don’t visit friends much at all. It’s even affecting the relationship with my parents. Now I visit them twice per month at the most.’ Similarly, Sameer noted that he was not able to enjoy his proximity to Ramallah after moving to Kufr Aqab: ‘in the four years I lived there, I went to Ramallah maybe three or four times. Because I was always tired.’ Preoccupied with economic subsistence and the maintenance of residency status, trips to generate an income take precedence over visits to reaffirm social ties or engage in cultural activities. The city becomes a space of survival rather than of participation and meaning-making. The physical co-presence that is so essential for the reproduction of social ties, as well as one’s own sense of self and well-being, is neglected for the sake of simply getting by.



Fig. 3: Film still from *Infiltrators* (2012)

Reflecting this, in Jarrar’s 2012 feature-length film *Infiltrators*, we see a woman seeking to maintain emotional and physical closeness with her elderly mother, whose house is located on the other side of the Wall. Sliding her hand underneath a metal gate, she caresses the old woman’s hand while telling Jarrar that she is worried because she cannot care for her (see Fig. 3). In the most basic sense, infrastructures spatially define relationships, drawing ‘humans, things, words and non-humans into patterned conjunctures’ (Murphy cited in Wilson, 2016). The divisive infrastructure of the Wall, bisecting direct routes and the everyday mobilities they facilitate, unravels not only trajectories but also personal relationships. As humans depend on outside support, and social ties are part of what makes us human, the severance of these ties turns vulnerability into violence. As Pullan (2013) notes, the social impact of urban border walls can be more lasting and detrimental than the initial imposition of a physical obstacle in urban space. Rather than simply visually demarcating a geopolitical boundary, the violence of the Wall lies in the manner in which it transforms and dismembers social lives.

Disconnecting the metabolic circuits of the city

In addition to transport infrastructures, ‘metabolic’ circulations of water, sewage, and waste hold the city together as a unified organism (Swyngedouw, 2006). Being cut off from these urban circuits not only compounds the sense of exclusion in the exclaves, but carries with it a sense of stigma. All Palestinian areas of Jerusalem suffer from low levels of service provision: they receive only ten percent of the municipal budget, although Palestinians make up one third of the city’s population; half of the houses in East Jerusalem are not connected to the municipal water system and instead use septic tanks; while there is one rubbish bin for every 39 residents of West Jerusalem, in the east of the city, there is one per 5,641 residents (Margalit, 2003 and 2006; Ir Amim, 2014; ACRI, 2015). This situation of infrastructural neglect is exacerbated behind the Wall, where even basic levels of sanitation are not guaranteed, even though residents here also pay taxes and therefore have a claim to municipal services. Most Kufr Aqab residents suffer from low levels of irregular water supply, meaning they must ration how much water they use for bathing and laundry. In 2014, residents of Shuafat Refugee Camp were entirely without running water for several months. Garbage collection services are almost entirely absent, causing high levels of respiratory and skin diseases among locals, in part because burning rubbish is one of the only ways of eliminating it, causing toxic fumes. Because of the density of construction, one couple said, ‘there is no air circulation, and the smells rise up to our window.’ Residents’ committees in both exclaves have appealed repeatedly to the municipality for services which they view as their right. In the rare instances that these services are provided, they are read as signs that—despite the Wall—these areas have not been fully disconnected from Jerusalem.

In a short film titled *Journey 110* (2008), Jarrar accompanied a group of Palestinians of all ages on their journey to Jerusalem. They crossed underneath the Wall through a 110-meter-long sewage tunnel. From the start of the film, the camerawork is shaky and much of what the viewer sees is darkness, conveying the disorientation experienced by those inside the tunnel. There is a sense of confusion as members of the group begin to shout and some turn back to the entrance of the tunnel after a warning that the army is waiting on the other side. Figures in the tunnel can barely be made out as human (see Fig. 4), perhaps suggesting their dehumanisation, as they wade through sewage. A prolonged, deliberately slowed-down scene shows a woman struggling to cover her shoes with plastic bags. She eventually gives up and wades through the wastewater barefoot, her shoes in hand. In the darkness, the exit on the ‘Jerusalem’ side of the Wall appears as a literal light at the end of the tunnel. Nevertheless, this imagery of salvation is tinted with cynicism given the degrading journey there. As the infiltrators emerge from the darkness, the camera is pointed not at what they see above ground, but at their feet, sometimes naked, sometimes in shoes or wrapped in plastic, but always covered in filth.



Fig. 4: Film still from *Journey 110* (2008)

In *Journey 110*, the focus on sewage, and Palestinians' contamination by it, highlights the abjecting aspects of infrastructural violence at work across East Jerusalem, and especially in the exclaves, where sanitation infrastructure is particularly lacking. In Kristeva's terms, abjection is the rejection of that which is other within oneself. Sewage and excrement function as the ultimate abject, because not only have they been expelled from within (that is, they were once part of the self), but they are associated with disease and infection and thus elicit a response of bodily disgust. Following Douglas' work on filth as 'matter out of place' (Douglas, 2002 [1966]), Sibley has argued that dominant groups use abjection to minimise ambiguity in liminal zones and thus achieve a 'purification of space' (Sibley, 1988). Marking the exclaves—whose legal status is confusing and ambiguous—as external to the city through infrastructural exclusion and abjection, they become the 'constitutive outside' of the city proper (see Kristeva, 1982).⁵

As this suggests, the conflation of Palestinian areas with the abject can be understood as a symbolic expulsion, or a reinforcement of boundaries in preparation for displacement or dispossession. Following Israel's conquest of East Jerusalem in 1967, long-time mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, reportedly noted the 'unbearable stench' of the Arab neighbourhoods (cited in Weizman, 2007). By highlighting the smell of the native population, Kollek followed a long colonial tradition in which expropriation is justified through the lacking sanitation of locals (see Nightingale, 2012). Bad odours, in particular emanating from excrement, are not only associated with amorality (Tan, 2013), but also transgression (Stallybrass and White, 1986; Cresswell, 1996). More broadly, dominant urban discourses have historically conflated lacking hygiene in marginalised areas with the moral defects of their inhabitants, legitimising the existing social order (Cohen, 1985; Sennett, 1994; Stedman Jones, 2014 [1971]), and justifying 'slum clearance' and other forms of dispossession (Roy, 2004). Similarly, current-day discourses of blight and decay are used to

⁵ As I argue elsewhere (Baumann, forthcoming), this abjection might be seen as the reverberation of earlier violence: as the conflict at the heart of the Israeli self-definition as both a Jewish state and a democratic one remains particularly unresolved in Jerusalem, excluding a significant portion of the city's Palestinian inhabitants from access and rights to the city reduces their 'demographic threat' to the city's Jewish character.

legitimise interventions of urban renewal that displace the local population (Gray and Mooney, 2011). In these ways, abjection marking Palestinians as ‘out of place’ lays the groundwork for justifying the further exclusion of residents.

Across East Jerusalem, infrastructural neglect, as a structural form of violence (a lack of investment, or de-regulation), leads to dire sanitation situations which in turn heightens stigma. Yet the Israeli state also uses abjection in more direct forms of violence. Since 2014, an artificial liquid with a sewage-like smell called ‘skunk’—previously only used as a non-lethal crowd control mechanism against protesters in the West Bank—has been employed regularly in East Jerusalem. It is used to break up assemblies, as well as in a more punitive manner. Entire streets, including homes, storefronts, and parked vehicles are sprayed with the liquid (ACRI, 2014), and its odour causes physical revulsion and clings to surfaces for weeks. Like uncollected rubbish, lack of water, or free-flowing sewage, the targeted use of skunk affects residents’ perception of themselves and their neighbourhoods. In a sensory manner, it demarcates the boundary around those areas considered abject and those residents considered external to the Israeli state or in need of purification.

Infrastructural violence, then, appears both embodied, presenting a threat to intimate relationships and one’s bodily integrity, and symbolic, in that it signals expulsion and exclusion. For Israel, the Wall serves as a purifying, separating, gesture of sovereignty, while for Palestinians it increases the sense of abjection long felt across East Jerusalem. Disrupting the inside/outside separation, it brings that which is to be banned from the personal sphere closer to the body. If the purpose of infrastructures is to lend support by making that which is beyond the body accessible, as Butler argues, it is also removing, or keeping at bay, that which may be harmful to the body. Modernity is marked by more than ever-increasing interconnection, it appears. Rather, modern infrastructures serve to selectively channel circulations, modulating flows through linkages and separations, with the two parts always co-constituting one another. The modern city as a space of hygiene could not exist without the ‘dystopian underbelly’ of waste as its counterpart (Kaika and Swyngedouw, 2000).

Like more creeping forms of infrastructural violence, infrastructural warfare also entails the dehumanisation of its targets. Where infrastructure is the very epitome of modernity (Edwards, 2003; Larkin, 2013), those who have been taken off the grid are no longer part of civilised humanity and their victimisation is retrospectively legitimised. Graham terms this ‘forced demodernization’ (2005). Those brandishing ‘humane’, high-tech, super-targeted weapons have little in common with those who have been ‘bombed back to the stone age’ (Goldenberg, 2006). The lives of people who must resort to basic means of survival, people who cannot bathe themselves or flush their toilets, who must drink contaminated water, work by the light of a candle and sleep without air-conditioning are deemed as less ‘grievable’ than others (Butler, 2009). We see, therefore, that the geopolitical violence of infrastructural war also operates through bodily and symbolic vulnerability.

Maintaining the connection, putting bodies on the line

Khaled Jarrar’s work highlights the disruption of everyday intimate relationships and the abjection of Palestinians severed from Jerusalem by the Wall. Yet the documentation of *Whole in Wall* also shows the artist unafraid to approach and even attack the Wall. In grinding down the Wall’s substance and turning it into something entirely different, his act suggests that the Barrier is malleable rather than solid, and that Palestinians themselves can determine the form it will take. He undermines its symbolic power by calling into question its permanence. There seem to be no repercussions for his chiselling chunks out of it, suggesting the Wall is not the insurmountable, or even indestructible, obstacle it appears to be. A similar point is highlighted in *Infiltrators*: it shows

numerous instances of Palestinians refusing to acknowledge the Wall as an obstacle, as they continue to cross into Jerusalem without a permit. Jarrar focuses in particular on those who do not cross for survival alone but for leisure: one woman scales the eight-meter obstacle with the support of several helpers in order to attend a concert. In another scene, two young boys are engaged in ‘smuggling’ *ka’ek* from one side of the Wall to the other, proudly announcing that they have pressed 1,000 rings of bread through a small drainage hole (Fig. 5). Though fresh bread from Jerusalem may not appear to be an essential item for those living beyond the Wall, the act reflects a refusal to let circuits be disrupted, an attempt to maintain severed trajectories of food distribution.



Fig. 5: Film still from *Infiltrators* (2012)

To mend disrupted connections, Palestinians must evade the Israeli control apparatus. They must utilise tricks to move and make do even when urban networks are disrupted. Constantly adapting to changing circumstances, they find ways to minimise exhaustion, risk, and uncertainty. The ubiquity of borders and restricted areas turns Palestinians into constant transgressors in the eyes of Israeli power, so that even Palestinians whose lives have long centred around Jerusalem are considered ‘infiltrators’ when they enter the city without an Israeli permit. An estimated 14,000 Palestinian labourers cross into Israel and Jerusalem without a permit per day (UN OCHA, 2013). The respondents I worked with recounted their use of various tactics to make journeys more predictable and to mitigate the disruptive effects of restricted movement, some bearing the potential of building new affinities and solidarities. In circumventing checkpoints, or knowing which routes to use at which times, they displayed an intimate knowledge of the surveillance and control regime. Several respondents used informal means of transport that circumvent certain checkpoints. Walking was another tactic for remaining undetected by Israeli security forces. For years, Abdel Halim walked through the hills for several hours each day to get to work because this route, however convoluted, was free of soldiers. Pedestrian movement also allows Palestinians to evade Israeli controls by using small alleyways and back routes on foot to evade arrest or surprise Israeli security forces. Along with the knowledge of the local topography both urban and rural, walking thus opens up possibilities of movement beyond the predetermined routes imposed by state power (see also Amiry, 2010).

Those who cross into Jerusalem without a permit relayed knowledge about which checkpoints are the easiest to pass through without inspection, and developed tactics to give the impression of being Israeli. Even those who had a permit relished in ‘fooling’ the checkpoint security staff with their appearance or accent, avoiding further interrogation but also gaining a sense of empowerment. Others used personal advantages such as knowledge of Hebrew, or an Israeli or international employer, to make use of checkpoints usually reserved for diplomatic or NGO staff. The lack of clarity regarding the rules at these small checkpoints and the commuters’ routine knowledge of army shifts, platoon rotations and general attitudes, allowed them to use the system to their advantage. These methods of ‘getting by’ can be viewed as tactics, in the sense that de Certeau outlines, in that they ‘make use of the cracks that particular conjuncions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers’ (1984: 37). The enjoyment derived from deceiving the Israeli mobility regime can be traced back to the underlying non-acceptance of its rules, conveying the sense that the system as a whole is illegitimate. The mending of disrupted urban connections also establishes new socialities. *Infiltrators* shows a group of middle-aged men obviously unaccustomed to scaling large obstacles, failing repeatedly in their attempt to cross from one side of the wall to the other using a makeshift ladder. As they make self-deprecating jokes, their group seems to form a bond of solidarity. In order to better predict the constantly changing spatial circumstances, many commuters also make use of social media to obtain updates on traffic and security situations at checkpoints surrounding Jerusalem. Facilitating members’ commutes to and from Jerusalem, this online network acts to reconstruct the circuits destroyed by the Wall and checkpoints. As such, ‘smuggling’ and information networks can be seen as what Simone refers to as ‘people as infrastructure’ (2004), provisional collaborations of marginalised individuals to navigate an adverse environment.

As responses to the spatial strategies of the occupation, these tactics are reactive and temporary. Yet, while they reflect the efforts Palestinians must exert to maintain their status quo in a situation of increasingly restricted horizons, they also denote a refusal to let connection to the city be severed. Indeed, Palestinians’ movements are often underpinned by a conviction that this movement serves a broader purpose. Several respondents who crossed checkpoints regularly conceptualised their insistence on movement, in spite of hardships, as ‘maintaining the connection’ the Israeli occupation was attempting to sever. This was a conscious political choice not to let the mobility regime limit their spatial movement and social interaction. For them, a daily commute constituted an act imbued with political significance—or even religious duty, as in the case of Aya from Kufr Aqab, who travelled to the Old City of Jerusalem at least once a week to pray at the Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount). Residents of the exclaves insisted that their Jerusalem ID cards conferred the ‘right’ to enter Jerusalem, despite the fact that checkpoints were occasionally closed to them and that Israeli officials have made clear they do not see this right as unshakeable.⁶ Many smugglers who help Palestinians cross illegally are taxi drivers whose routes have been severed by the Wall. They are proud of their work, understanding their continued servicing of these routes as aiding the ‘national cause’, as one taxi driver/smuggler proclaims in *Infiltrators*.

By crossing into Jerusalem—the city they consider their capital—without Israeli permission, Palestinians take significant risks, including being shot by border guards. Putting one’s body on the line in this way bears radical potential, as Butler notes: ‘vulnerability, understood as a deliberate exposure to power, is part of the very meaning of political resistance as an embodied enactment’

⁶ In January 2010, Yakir Segev, in charge of the East Jerusalem Affairs portfolio, said that the neighbourhoods ‘are outside the jurisdiction of the state, and certainly the municipality. For all practical purposes, they are Ramallah’ (Hasson, 2010). In late 2011, Jerusalem mayor Nir Barkat himself publicly stated his view that the city should ‘give up on the municipal areas of Jerusalem that lie outside the Separation Barrier’ (ACRI, 2011). In 2015, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu considered the option of revoking residency right of those residents, who in his view reaped the benefits of residency without paying their dues as residents of Jerusalem (Ravid, 2015).

(Butler, 2016: 22). Crossing the boundaries that might be reinforced, claiming public space through presence, and opposing state violence by exposing oneself to it are ways of mobilising vulnerability as a means of resistance. To take up space and claim it through one's body is a way of insisting on a 'right to the city' through daily practice (Harvey, 2008). To do so in spite of the dangers and hardships that 'infiltration' can involve is a way to prioritise the expression of that right over personal comfort. Finding occasional enjoyment in this movement, despite the city's geographies of fear and segregation, reflects a refusal to let everyday life become concerned solely with survival.

Conclusion

Infrastructures link various layers of the city: past spatial arrangements with plans for the future, the human with the non-human, the intimate with the geopolitical. The cultural meanings of modernity and civilisation ascribed to the separation and interconnection facilitated by urban infrastructure serve to delineate realms of inclusion in and exclusion from the city, as the symbolic expulsion of abjecting infrastructure in Jerusalem has shown. Foucault has argued that the 'matter of organizing circulation' is a key element of governing cities (Foucault, 2007: 18, see also 65). Paying attention to the manner in which urban flows are modulated therefore seems crucial to understanding who is excluded and how. Infrastructure, as the basic support network to connect with others, is required for urban residents to act politically, but it often also becomes the grounds, as well as the object, of struggle. In Jerusalem, both the instantiation and disruption of infrastructural networks can serve as the sites of symbolic expulsion. Yet infrastructures are also means of remaining connected to the city—when residents cross to the other side of the Barrier through a sewage tunnel—and the subject of demands for inclusion—as in Kufr Aqab, where residents sued the municipality for better services and viewed their court victory as proof that they remain part of the city. The violence of infrastructure works through the body; this is not an unintended side-effect, but a key aspect of the way it operates. By connecting the realms of urban planning and military strategy with the embodied experience of urban life, infrastructure itself functions along a sliding scale of 'intimacy-geopolitics'. As it determines relationships, it forms an important site of negotiation between the most private realms and the more formal political arena.

Jarrar's work on the Wall scales down this imposing border marker from the realm of the geopolitical to that of the everyday. Rather than falling into clichéd narratives of Palestinian victimhood or heroic resistance, his engagement with infrastructural violence highlights both vulnerability and agency and shows how they are linked. We see the multiple shapes infrastructural violence takes: it serves to both connect and separate, whilst its effects are both embodied and symbolic. Meanwhile, vulnerability based on interdependency can also foster mutual support and solidarity. It is a testament to Jarrar's work that it can contain the multiple levels of ambiguity at work in East Jerusalem. Such a feat of undermining power without being prescriptive is perhaps something that only artistic forms of resisting infrastructural violence can achieve.

References cited

- ACRI. (2011). 'Jerusalem Municipality Is Responsible for Its Residents Beyond the Barrier', 15 December 2011.
- ACRI. (2014). *Concerns of Excessive Use of Skunk Spray in East Jerusalem*. Online Source: www.acri.org.il/en/2014/08/10/skunk-ej/. Accessed 5 April 2016.
- ACRI. (2015). 'East Jerusalem 2015: Facts and Figures. Jerusalem: Association for Civil Rights in Israel', 12 May 2015.
- Amiry, S. (2010) *Nothing to Lose but Your Life: An 18-Hour Journey with Murad*. Doha: Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing.
- Azoulay, A. & Ophir, A. (2013). *The One-State Condition: Occupation and Democracy in Israel/Palestine*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Baumann, H. (2016). 'Enclaves, Borders, and Everyday Movements: Palestinian Marginal Mobility in East Jerusalem'. *Cities*, 59, pp.173–182.
- Baumann, H. (forthcoming). 'Infrastructural Violence in Jerusalem: Exclusion, Incorporation and Resistance in a Contested "Cyborg City"'. In Navaro, Y., Biner, Z. O. Z., Von Bieberstein, A. & Altug, S., eds., *Reverberations: Violence across Time and Space*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Boehmer, E. & Davies, D. (2015). 'Literature, Planning and Infrastructure: Investigating the Southern City through Postcolonial Texts'. *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 51(4), pp.395-409.
- Brown, W. (2010). *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. New York: Zone Books.
- Busbridge, R. (2013). 'Performing Colonial Sovereignty and the Israeli "Separation" Wall'. *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 19(5), pp.653-669.
- Butler, J. (2009). *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* London: Verso.
- Butler, J. (2016). 'Rethinking Vulnerability and Resistance'. In Butler, J., Gambetti, Z. & Sabsay, L., eds., *Vulnerability in Resistance*. North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Campbell, S., Meynell, L. & Sherwin, S., eds. (2009). *Embodiment and Agency*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Cohen, S. (1985). *Visions of Social Control: Crime, Punishment and Classification*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Cresswell, T. (1996). *In Place/out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- De Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Douglas, M. (2002) [1966]. *Purity and Danger*. London: Routledge.
- Dumper, M. (2014). *Jerusalem Unbound: Geography, History, and the Future of the Holy City*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Edwards, P. (2006). 'The Tyranny of Proximity: Power and Mobility in Colonial Cambodia, 1863-1954'. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 37(3), pp.421-443.
- Edwards, P. N. (2003). 'Infrastructure and Modernity: Force, Time, and Social Organization in the History of Sociotechnical Systems'. In Misa, T. J., Brey, P. & Feenberg, A., eds. *Modernity and Technology*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Foucault, M. (2007). *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College De France, 1977-78*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Freed, L. (2010). 'Networks of (Colonial) Power: Roads in French Central Africa after World War I'. *History and Technology: An International Journal*, 26(3), pp.203-223.
- Galtung, J. (1969). 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research'. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), pp.167-191.
- Gandy, M. (2005). 'Cyborg Urbanization: Complexity and Monstrosity in the Contemporary City'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(1), pp.26-49.
- Goldenberg, S. (2006). 'Bush Threatened to Bomb Pakistan, Says Musharraf'. *The Guardian*, 22 September 2006.
- Graham, S. (2002). 'Bulldozers and Bombs: The Latest Palestinian-Israeli Conflict as Asymmetric Urbicide'. *Antipode*, 34(4), pp.642-649.

- Graham, S. (2005). 'Urban Metabolism as Target: Contemporary War as Forced Demodernization'. In Swyngedouw, E., Heynen, N. & Kaika, M., eds., *In the Nature of Cities: Urban Political Ecology and the Politics of Urban Metabolism*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Graham, S. (2010). 'Disruption by Design: Urban Infrastructure and Political Violence'. In Graham, S., ed., *Disrupted Cities: When Infrastructure Fails*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Gray, N. & Mooney, G. (2011). 'Glasgow's New Urban Frontier: "Civilising" the Population of "Glasgow East"'. *City*, 15(1), pp.4-24.
- Harker, C. (2014). 'The Ambiguities of Cohabitation'. *Area*, 46(4), pp.355-356.
- Harvey, D. (2008). 'The Right to the City'. *New Left Review*, 53, pp.23-40.
- Hasson, N. (2010). 'Jerusalem Official: Areas East of the Fence Not Part of the City', *Ha'aretz*, 8 January 2010.
- Ir Amim (2014). 'Jerusalem Municipality Budget Analysis for 2013: Share of Investment in East Jerusalem'. Jerusalem: Ir Amim.
- Jabary Salamanca, O. (2011). 'Unplug and Play: Manufacturing Collapse in Gaza'. *Human Geography*, 4(1), pp.1-16.
- Jabary Salamanca, O. (2015). 'Road 443: Cementing Dispossession, Normalizing Segregation and Disrupting Everyday Life in Palestine'. In McFarlane, C. & Graham, S., eds., *Infrastructural Lives: Infrastructure in Context*. London: Routledge.
- Kaika, M. & Swyngedouw, E. (2000). 'Fetishising the Modern City: The Phantasmagoria of Urban Technological Networks'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24(1), pp.122-48.
- Kristeva, J. (1982). *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Larkin, B. (2013). 'The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure'. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 42(1), pp.327-43.
- Levine, M. 2005. *OVERTHROWING GEOGRAPHY: JAFFA, TEL AVIV, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PALESTINE, 1880-1948*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Margalit, M. (2003). 'Chronic Discrimination in East Jerusalem: Evidence from the Municipal Budget'. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Social & Economic Rights.
- Margalit, M. (2006). 'Discrimination in the Heart of the Holy City'. Jerusalem: The International Peace and Cooperation Centre.
- Marshall, D. J. (2014). 'Love Stories of the Occupation: Storytelling and the Counter-Geopolitics of Intimacy'. *Area*, 46(4), pp.349-351.
- Masquelier, A. (2002). 'Road Mythographies: Space, Mobility, and the Historical Imagination in Postcolonial Niger'. *American Ethnologist*, 29(4), pp.829-856.
- Mountz, A. & Hyndman, J. (2006). 'Feminist Approaches to the Global Intimate'. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 34(1/2), pp.446-463.
- Netz, R. (2004). *Barbed Wire: An Ecology of Modernity*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Nightingale, C. H. (2012). *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pain, R. & Staeheli, L. (2014). 'Introduction: Intimacy-Geopolitics and Violence'. *Area*, 46(4), pp.344-347.
- Pullan, W. (2013). 'Spatial Discontinuities: Conflict Infrastructures in Contested Cities'. In Pullan, W. & Baillie, B., eds., *Locating Urban Conflicts: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Everyday*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Ravid, B. (2015). 'Netanyahu Mulls Revoking Residency of Palestinians Beyond E. Jerusalem Separation Barrier'. *Ha'aretz*, 25 October 2015.
- Rodgers, D. & O'Neill, B. (2012). 'Infrastructural Violence: Introduction to the Special Issue'. *Ethnography*, 13(4), pp.401-412.
- Rotbard, S. (2015). *White City, Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv and Jaffa*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

- Roy, A. (2004). 'Transnational Trespassings: The Geopolitics of Urban Informality'. In Roy, A. & Alsayyad, N., eds. *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America and South Asia*. Lanham: Lexington Books
- Sennett, R. (1994). *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. (2010). 'Palestinian Women and the Politics of Invisibility: Towards a Feminist Methodology'. *Peace Prints: South Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, 3(1), pp.1-21.
- Shamir, R. (2013). *Current Flow: The Electrification of Palestine*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Sibley, D. (1988). 'Survey 13: Purification of Space'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 6(4), pp.409-421.
- Simone, A. (2004). 'People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg'. *Public Culture*, 16(3), pp.407-429.
- Stallybrass, P. & White, A. (1986). *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Stedman Jones, G. (2014) [1971]. *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society*. London: Verso.
- Swyngedouw, E. (2006). 'Metabolic Urbanization: The Making of Cyborg Cities'. In Heynen, N., Kaika, M. & Swyngedouw, E., eds., *In the Nature of Cities: Urban Political Ecology and the Politics of Urban Metabolism*. London: Routledge.
- Tan, Q. H. (2013). 'Smell in the City: Smoking and Olfactory Politics'. *Urban Studies*, 50(1), pp.55-71.
- UN OCHA. (2013). 'The Humanitarian Impact of the West Bank Barrier on Palestinian Communities: East Jerusalem'. *Factsheet, July 2013*. Jerusalem: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, occupied Palestinian territory.
- Weizman, E. (2007). *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*. London: Verso.
- Wilcox, L. B. (2015). *Bodies of Violence: Theorizing Embodied Subjects in International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wilson, A. (2016). 'The Infrastructure of Intimacy'. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 41(2), pp.247-280.