

Jerusalem is still today a contested city between Palestinians, who believe it should become the capital of the future state of Palestine, and Israelis, who fight to maintain control over it, its status as a capital, demographic majority, and its borders.

This article is aimed to present how urban planning and urban policies in Jerusalem have been used since 1967 as a biopolitical tool of control, or as *disciplinary technologies*, to control Palestinian bodies and reinforce Israeli identity and de facto sovereignty on the city of Jerusalem.

Urban Planning, together with governamentalità and police, is a fundamental tool to guarantee the Jewish majority in the city. The demographic struggle is seen by both Israeli and Palestinian scholars as the main silent conflict in the city, since its unification. Considering urban planning and urban policies as a-political tools is an assumption widely criticized by scholars, such as Scott Bollens (2000).

In the historical analysis of planning and development processes in Jerusalem, it will be analyzed how partial use of zoning plans in the Palestinian areas and the tactical creation of green areas and urban empty spaces has kept the urban territory fluid, aiming to avoid a structured settlement of Palestinian populated neighborhoods, especially in the East part of the city, which has never been recognized by the United Nations as Israeli *de jure* sovereign territory.

We will present also the strategies and consequences of expropriations and house demolitions of the Palestinian Jerusalemites.

In the section about bureaucracy and occupation we will describe all the bureaucratic Gordian knots that Palestinians have to face to obtain building permission. We will also review some reports by Israeli municipal administrations and some publications of Meir Margalit, who is active in the Jerusalem administration and an Israeli expert on the occupation.

In the next section about Public administration and urban policies, we will analyze the discrepancy in budgeting and service delivery between Palestinian and Israeli neighborhoods. Teddy Kollek, the notorious Jerusalem Major, has underlined how service delivery has always been unequal in the city. Education, infrastructure, and other municipal public services are still nowadays delivered unequally. We will envision some budgets in detail and

briefly describe the quality of these services, through a comparison of different neighborhoods. We will compare also budgeting with fiscal drag and resource allocation by ethnicity.

In the last section, we will describe the actual gentrification and urban development processes that have taken place, and which consequences are generating on the Palestinian areas.

This article offers an overall analysis of specific local processes, through also an analysis of the existing literature on the issue, underlining the inequality in government actions in Jerusalem, from which the Palestinian residents are suffering. It is a contribution to the extensive *corpus* of texts about governmentality, occupation and control in Jerusalem, which also considers other scales and territorialization phenomena.

Furthermore, this article is a critical suggestion for urban studies on developing research about how urban planning and urban policies influence the citizens and residents in the cities, and how these tools are used to a biopolitical exclusion and control of specific ethnic groups. Jerusalem (Ur-Shalem) has carved in its name the dream to be a city of inclusion, peace and joy for all the people who live in it. The battleground to achieve peace today is urban planning and urban policies.