



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

The modular security toolbox

Assembling state and citizenship in Jerusalem

Volinz, L.

Publication date

2019

Document Version

Other version

License

Other

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Volinz, L. (2019). *The modular security toolbox: Assembling state and citizenship in Jerusalem*.

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrahamsen, R., & Williams, M. C. (2009). Security Beyond the State: Global Security Assemblages in International Politics1. *International Political Sociology*, 3(1), 1-17.
- Abrahamsen, R., & Williams, M. C. (2011). Security Privatization and Global Security Assemblages. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 18(1), 171-180.
- Abu-Sitta, S. (2016). *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ACRI (Association for Civil Rights in Israel) (2010). *Unsafe Space: The Israeli Authorities' Failure to Protect Human Rights amid Settlements in East Jerusalem*. <http://www.acri.org.il/pdf/unsafe-space-en.pdf> (accessed July 2016).
- ACRI (The Association for Civil Rights in Israel) (2015). *End the Use of Dangerous New Bullets*. <http://www.acri.org.il/en/2015/03/24/black-bullets/> (accessed February 2017).
- Adalah (2013). *The Discriminatory Laws Database*. <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/7771> (accessed February 2017).
- Adey, P., & Anderson, B. (2012). Anticipating Emergencies: Technologies of Preparedness and the Matter of Security. *Security Dialogue*, 43(2), 99-117.
- Adey, P., Brayer, L., Masson, D., Murphy, P., Simpson, P., & Tixier, N. (2013). 'Pour votre tranquillité': Ambiance, Atmosphere, and Surveillance. *Geoforum*, 49, 299-309.
- Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

- Amir, M. (2011). On the Border of Indeterminacy: The Separation Wall in East Jerusalem. *Geopolitics*, 16(4), 768-792.
- Amir, M. (2013). The Making of a Void Sovereignty: Political Implications of the Military Checkpoints in the West Bank. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 31(2), 227-244.
- Anand, N. (2011). Pressure: The Politechnics of Water Supply in Mumbai. *Cultural Anthropology*, 26(4), 542-564.
- Aradau, C. (2010). Security that Matters: Critical Infrastructure and Objects of Protection. *Security Dialogue*, 41(5), 491-514.
- Athwal, H. (2015). 'I don't have a life to live': Deaths and UK Detention. *Race & Class*, 56(3), 50-68.
- Avant, D.D. (2006). The Privatization of Security: Lessons from Iraq. *Orbis*, 50(2), 327-342.
- Azoulay, A., & Ophir, A. (2007). *This Regime which is not one: Occupation and Democracy between the Sea and the River (1967-)* [Hebrew]. Tel Aviv: Resling.
- B'tselem (2015). Mount Scopus Slopes National Park and its harm to al-Issawiyia and a-Thuri [Hebrew]. http://btselem.org/hebrew/jerusalem/national_parks_mount_scopus_slopes_(accessed March 2017)
- Balzacq, T. (2008). The Policy Tools of Securitization: Information exchange, EU Foreign and Interior Policies. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 46(1), 75-100.
- Barakat, R. (2008). Jerusalem: 1948-2008. *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture*, 15(1-2).

- Bar-Tal, D., & Salomon, G. (2006). Israeli-Jewish Narratives of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Evolvement, Contents, Functions and Consequences. In R.I. Rotberg (Ed.). *Israeli and Palestinian narratives of conflict: History's Double Helix*. 19-47. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Baumann, H. (2015). Enclaves, Borders, and Everyday movements: Palestinian Marginal Mobility in East Jerusalem. *Cities*, 59, 173-182.
- Beck, U. (2009). *World at Risk*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Berda, Y. (2012). *The Bureaucracy of the Occupation: The Permit Regime in the West Bank 2000 -2006* [Hebrew]. Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: The Van Leer Institute and Hakibbutz Hameuchad
- Berda, Y. (2017). *Living Emergency: Israel's Permit Regime in the Occupied West Bank*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Bernard H. R (2012). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Berndtsson, J., & Stern, M. (2011). Private Security and the Public-Private Divide: Contested Lines of Distinction and Modes of Governance in the Stockholm-Arlanda Security Assemblage. *International Political Sociology*, 5(4), 408-425.
- Bicchi, F. (2016). Europe under Occupation: the European Diplomatic Community of Practice in the Jerusalem Area, *European Security*, 25(4), 461-477.
- Bigo, D. (2002). Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease. *Alternatives*, 27(1), 63-92.
- Bigo, D. (2014). War and Crime, Military and Police: the Assemblage of Violence by Security?. In Bachmann, J., Bell, C. & Holmqvist, C. (eds.), *War, Police and Assemblages of Intervention*, 204-2114. New York: Routledge.

- Boano, C., & Martén, R. (2013). Agamben's Urbanism of Exception: Jerusalem's border Mechanics and Biopolitical Strongholds. *Cities*, 34, 6-17.
- Boholm, Å. (2003). The Cultural Nature of Risk: Can there be an Anthropology of Uncertainty?. *Ethnos*, 68(2), 159-178.
- Bollens, S. A. (2001). City and Soul: Sarajevo, Johannesburg, Jerusalem, Nicosia. *City*, 5(2), 169-187.
- Braithwaite, J. (2008). *Regulatory Capitalism: How it works, Ideas for Making it Work Better*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Bratich, J. (2006). Public secrecy and Immanent security: A Strategic Analysis. *Cultural Studies*, 20(4-5), 493-511.
- Braverman, I. (2011). Civilized Borders: A Study of Israel's new Crossing Administration. *Antipode*, 43(2), 264-295.
- Braverman, I. (2007). Powers of Illegality: House Demolitions and Resistance in East Jerusalem. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 32(2), 333-372.
- Brenner, N., Madden, D. J., & Wachsmuth, D. (2011). Assemblage Urbanism and the Challenges of Critical Urban Theory. *City*, 15(2), 225-240.
- Calame, J., & Charlesworth, E. (2011). *Divided Cities: Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Caplan, N. (2011). *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: Contested Histories (Vol. 16)*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.
- Cerwonka, A. (2008). Nervous Conditions. In Cerwonka, A., & Malkki, L. H. *Improvising theory: Process and temporality in ethnographic fieldwork*, 1-41. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Chatterjee, P. (2004). *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chiodelli, F. (2013). Re-shaping Jerusalem: The Transformation of Jerusalem's Metropolitan Area by the Israeli Barrier. *Cities*, 31, 417-424.
- Coaffee, J. (2003). *Terrorism, Risk and the City: The Making of a Contemporary Urban Landscape*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Coaffee, J. (2016). Normalising Exceptional Public Space Security. In De Backer, M., Melgaço, L., Varna, G. and Menichelli F. (ds.) *Order and Conflict in Public Space*, 15-36. New York: Routledge.
- Coaffee, J., O'Hare, P. & Hawkesworth, M. (2009). The visibility of (in)security: The aesthetics of planning urban defences against terrorism. *Security Dialogue*, 40(4-5), 489-511.
- Cohen, H. (2007). *The Rise and fall of Arab Jerusalem, 1967-2007* [Hebrew]. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies.
- Corbridge, S., Williams, G., Srivastava, M., & Véron, R. (2005). *Seeing the state: Governance and governmentality in India* (Vol. 10). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cowen, D. (2014). *The deadly life of logistics: Mapping violence in global trade*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Coyles, D. (2017). The security-threat-community. *City*, 21(6), 699-723.
- Crawford, A. (2013). The police, policing and the future of the 'extended policing family'. In Brown, J. *The Future of Policing: Papers Prepared for the Stevens Independent Commission into the Future of Policing in England and Wales*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Cresswell, T. (2006). *On the move: Mobility in the modern western world*. New York: Routledge.

- CWV – City Without Violence (2017). *Combined Policing* [Hebrew]. <http://www.cwv.gov.il/Enforcement/Pages/CombinedPolicing.aspx> (accessed March 2017)
- Dalakoglou, D., & Harvey, P. (2012). Roads and anthropology: Ethnographic perspectives on space, time and (im) mobility. *Mobilities*, 7(4), 459-465.
- Darwish, M. (2015). Passport. *Nadwah*, <http://www.arabicnadwah.com/arabicpoetry/darwish-passport.htm> (accessed May 2018).
- Das, V. (2004). The signature of the state: the paradox of illegibility. In Das, V. & Poolde, D. (eds.), *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*, 225-252. Oxford: School of American Research.
- Davis, D.E. (2011). Conclusion. In Davis, D. E., & de Duren, N. L (eds.). *Cities and sovereignty: Identity politics in urban spaces*, 226-257. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- DeLanda, M. (2006a). *A new philosophy of society: Assemblage theory and social complexity*. Edinburgh: A&C Black.
- DeLanda, M. (2006b). Deleuzian social ontology and assemblage theory. In Fuglsang, M. & Sorensen, B. (eds.). *Deleuze and the Social*, 250-266. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1988). *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Diakonia (2013). *Securing Injustice: Legal Analysis of G4S Israel Operations in Occupied Palestinian Territory*. Diakonia International Humanitarian Law Resource Centre.
- Diphooorn, T. G. (2015). Twilight policing: private security practices in South Africa. *British Journal of Criminology*, 56(2), 313-331.

- Doty, R. L., & Wheatley, E. S. (2013). Private detention and the immigration industrial complex. *International Political Sociology*, 7(4), 426-443.
- Dumper, M. (2013). Policing divided cities: stabilization and law enforcement in Palestinian East Jerusalem. *International Affairs*, 89(5), 1247-1264.
- Dumper, M. (2014). *Jerusalem unbound: Geography, history, and the future of the holy city*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Dumper, M., & Pullan, W. (2010). *Jerusalem: The cost of failure*. London: Chatham House/Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Dupont, B. (2006). Delivering Security through Networks: Surveying the Relational Landscape of Security Managers in an Urban Setting. *Crime, law and social change*, 45(3), 165-184.
- Emek Shaveh (2014). *Making Content: Development of National Parks in East Jerusalem*. [Hebrew] <http://alt-arch.org/he/national-parks-2014-heb/> (accessed March 2017).
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fenster, T. & Shlomo, O. (2011). In the Shadow of the Wall and Separation: Everyday Life in East Jerusalem. *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture*, 17 (1/2), 45-63.
- Ferguson, J. (1990). *The anti-politics machine: 'development', depoliticization and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Flint, C. (2013). *Spaces of Hate: Geographies of Discrimination and Intolerance in the USA*. New York: Routledge.

- Foucault, M. (2007). *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*. New York: Springer.
- Freilich, C. D. (2015). Israel's Counter-Terrorism Policy: How Effective?. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29(2), 359-376.
- Ganon, T. and Peled, M. (2016). The brutal investigative methods of the NII are revealed [Hebrew]. *Calcalist*. <https://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3698225,00.html> (accessed October 2017).
- Goldstein, D. M. (2010). Toward a Critical Anthropology of Security. *Current Anthropology*, 51(4), 487-517.
- Goldstein, D. M. (2016). *Owners of the Sidewalk: Security and Survival in the Informal City*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Gordon, N. (2008). *Israel's Occupation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gordon, A., & Stack, T. (2007). Citizenship beyond the state: Thinking with early modern citizenship in the contemporary world. *Citizenship Studies*, 11(2), 117-133.
- Gould, A. (2015). Global assemblages and counter-piracy: public and private in maritime policing. *Policing and Society*, 27(4), 408-418.
- Graham, S. (2012). *Cities under siege: The new military urbanism*. New York: Verso Books.
- Grassiani, E. (2013). *Soldiering under Occupation: Processes of Numbing among Israeli Soldiers in the al-Aqsa Intifada*. New York: Berghahn books.
- Grassiani, E. (2017). Commercialized Occupation Skills: Israeli Security Experience as an International Brand. In Leese, M. & Wittendorp, S. (eds.), *Security/Mobility: Politics of Movement*, 57-74. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Grassiani E. & Volinz L. (2016). Intimidation, Reassurance and Invisibility: Israeli Security Agents in the Old City of Jerusalem. *Focaal*, 75), 14-30.
- Greenberg, R. (2009). Towards an Inclusive Archaeology in Jerusalem: The case of Silwan/The City of David. *Public Archaeology*, 8(1), 35-50.
- Hagihon (2017). *Hagihon Company: About us* [Hebrew]. <https://www.hagihon.co.il/RichText/GeneralPage.aspx?nodeId=139> (accessed March 2017).
- Handel, A. (2011). Exclusionary Surveillance and Spatial Uncertainty in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. In Zureik, E., Lyon D. and Abu-Laban Y. (eds.), *Surveillance and control in Israel/Palestine: Population, territory and power*, 259-276. New York: Routledge.
- Hansen, S. J. (2008). Private Security & Local Politics in Somalia. *Review of African Political Economy*, 35(118), 585-598.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hasson, N. (2014). A Third Intifada? Many East Jerusalem Officials Expect the Turmoil to Die Down, *Haaretz*, <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.603327> (accessed March 2017)
- Hasson, N. (2015a). Jerusalem's Municipality Blacklists to Punish East Jerusalem's Arab Residents [Hebrew]. *Haaretz*. <http://www.haaretz.co.il/.premium-1.2585214> (accessed February 2017)
- Hasson, N. (2015b). Knesset Approves Additional 33 million Shekels for Security Provision of Settlements in East Jerusalem [Hebrew]. *Haaretz*. <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/.premium-1.2777136> (accessed June 2017).

- Hasson, N. (2016a). Barkat is proud of punitive measures against residents of East Jerusalem [Hebrew]. *The Marker*. <http://themark-er.com/misc/themarkersmartphoneapp/.premium-1.3062315> (accessed February 2017)
- Hasson, N. (2016b). The police and the Jerusalem municipality shut down dozens of shops in East Jerusalem following the attack. *Haaretz*. <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/1.3072441> (accessed February 2017)
- Hasson, N. (2017). *Urshalim: Israelis and Palestinians in Jerusalem, 1967-2017* [Hebrew]. Tel Aviv: Books in the Attic Publishing House.
- Havkin, S. (2014). *The Privatization of the Checkpoints in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip: Policy Paper (Hebrew)*. Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute.
- Hegemann, H., & Kahl, M. (2018). Security Governance and the limits of Depoliticisation: EU Policies to Protect Critical Infrastructures and Prevent Radicalisation. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 21(3), 552-579.
- Hendrikse R.P. & Sidaway J. (2010). Neoliberalism 3.0. *Environment and Planning A*. 42(9), 2037-2042.
- Hodgson, D. L. (1999). Critical interventions: dilemmas of accountability in contemporary ethnographic research. *Identities Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 6(2-3), 201-224.
- Holston, J. (2008). *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University press.
- Holston, J. & Appadurai, A. (1996). Cities and Citizenship. *Public Culture*, 8(2), 187-204.

- Hull, M. S. (2012). *Government of Paper: The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Human Rights Watch (2015). *World Report 2015*. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015> (accessed March 2017)
- Human Rights Watch (2017). *Israel: Jerusalem Palestinians Stripped of Status* <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/08/08/israel-jerusalem-palestinians-stripped-status> (accessed May 2018).
- Huysmans, J. (2006). Agency and the Politics of Protection. In Huysmans, J., Dobson A. & Prokhovnik R. (eds.). *The Politics of Protection: Sites of Insecurity and Political Agency*, 1-19. New York: Routledge.
- Ir Amim (2015). *Displaced in their Own City*. <http://ir-amim.org.il/en/report/displaced-their-own-city-impact-israeli-policy-east-jerusalem-palestinian-neighborhoods-city> (accessed April 2018).
- Ir Amim (2018). *Greater Jerusalem 2018*. <http://www.ir-amim.org.il/en/node/2153> (accessed April 2018).
- Insin, E. F. (2002). *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Insin, E. F., & Nielsen, G. M. (2013). *Acts of Citizenship*. London: Zed Books.
- Israel Police (2015). *A New Municipal Policing Unit will Start Operations in Jerusalem*. <https://www.police.gov.il/articlePage.aspx?aid=4778> (accessed March 2017).
- Izraeli, D. L. (2001). Paradoxes of Women's Service in the Israel Defense Forces. In Maman, D., Rosenhek Z. & Ben Ari, E. (eds.), *Military, State and Society in Israel*, 203-238. Piscataway: Transaction Publishers.

- J. Siam and others vs. State of Israel (2011). *Protocol of Appeal Proceedings 8001/11* [Hebrew]. Supreme Court of Israel.
- Jabareen, Y. R. (2010). The Politics of State Planning in Achieving Geopolitical Ends: The case of the recent master plan for Jerusalem. *International Development Planning Review*, 32(1), 27-43.
- Jacobson, A. (2011). *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem between Ottoman and British Rule*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Jaffe, R. (2018). Cities and the political imagination. *The Sociological Review*. In press. DOI: 10.1177/0038026118769832
- Jamal, A. (2002). Beyond 'ethnic democracy': State structure, multicultural conflict and differentiated citizenship in Israel. *New Political Science*, 24(3), 411-431.
- Jefferis, D. C. (2012). Institutionalizing statelessness: the revocation of residency rights of Palestinians in East Jerusalem. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 24(2), 202-230.
- Jensen, S. (2010). The security and development nexus in Cape Town: War on gangs, counterinsurgency and citizenship. *Security Dialogue*, 41(1), 77-97.
- Jerusalem District Court (2014). *Court Ruling 32869-10-14* [Hebrew].
- Jerusalem District Court (2015). *Court Ruling 21290-08-11* [Hebrew].
- Jerusalem Municipality (2014). *Jerusalemites are going for safety* [Hebrew]. <https://www.jerusalem.muni.il/Messages/newsletter/Pages/december2014/jerusalemcitizensafe.aspx> (accessed March 2017).
- Jerusalem GIS (2016). Municipal mapping system. *Jerusalem municipality website*. https://www1.jerusalem.muni.il/jer_sys/gis/open.htm (accessed August 2016).

- Jessop, B. (2002). Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A state–theoretical perspective. *Antipode*, 34(3), 452-472.
- Jones, R. W. (1995). ‘Message in a bottle’? Theory and praxis in critical security studies. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 16(3), 299-319.
- Kalir, B. & Wissink, L. (2016). The deportation continuum: Convergences between state agents and NGO workers in the Dutch deportation field. *Citizenship Studies*, 20(1), 34-49.
- Kim, J. (2011). Establishing Identity: Documents, Performance, and Biometric Information in Immigration Proceedings. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 36(3), 760-786.
- Knesset committee for Public Relations (2014). *Protocol dated 19.02.2014* [Hebrew]. <http://www.knesset.gov.il/protocols/data/rtf/zibur/2014-02-19.rtf> (Accessed March 2018).
- Knesset Internal Affairs committee (2010). *Knesset Internal Affairs committee protocol dated 22.12.2010* [Hebrew]. <http://www.knesset.gov.il/protocols/data/rtf/pnim/2010-12-22.rtf> (Accessed July 2016).
- Knesset Labour, Welfare and Health Committee (2003). *Protocol 84 dated 09.12.2003* [Hebrew]. <http://knesset.gov.il/protocols/data/rtf/avoda/2003-12-09.rtf> (accessed June 2016)
- Kovats-Bernat, J. C. (2002). Negotiating dangerous fields: Pragmatic strategies for fieldwork amid violence and terror. *American Anthropologist*, 104(1), 208-222.
- Kubovitz, Y., Harel, A. & Hasson, N. (2015). Police plans for Jerusalem: deploying another 1000 policemen and establishing stations in the Arab neighbourhoods [Hebrew]. *Haaretz*. <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/.premium-1.2527230> (accessed February 2017)

- Kushner, R. (2016) We are all orphans here. *The New York Times Magazine*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/01/magazine/we-are-orphans-here.html> (accessed February 2017)
- Landau, I. (2012). *A view with no Arabs: The National Parks Authority in East Jerusalem* [Hebrew]. <http://idanlandau.com/2012/02/15/arabs-bad-for-landscape/>(accessed July 2018).
- Lavie, S. (2014). *Wrapped in the flag of Israel: Mizrahi single mothers and bureaucratic torture*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Leander, A. (2008). Securing sovereignty by governing security through markets. *Sovereignty Games*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lee, D. (2015). Absolute Traffic: Infrastructural Aptitude in Urban Indonesia. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 39(2), 234-250.
- Lefebvre, H. (1996). The right to the city. In Lefebvre, H., Kofman E. & Lebas E. (eds.). *Writings on Cities*, 63-184. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Levine-Schnur, R. (2011). Privatization, Segregation, Discrimination: The Cessation of Land Settlement in East Jerusalem [Hebrew]. *Tel Aviv UL Rev.*, 34, 183-238.
- Li, Murray, T. (2007). Practices of assemblage and community forest management. *Economy and Society*, 36(2), 263-293.
- Lindekilde, L. (2012). Neo-liberal Governing of 'Radicals': Danish Radicalization Prevention Policies and Potential Iatrogenic Effects. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 6(1). 109-125.
- Loader, I. (2000). Plural policing and democratic governance. *Social & legal studies*, 9(3), 323-345.

- Loader, I. (1999). Consumer culture and the commodification of policing and security. *Sociology*, 33(2), 373-392.
- Loader, I., & Walker, N. (2007). *Civilizing Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Löfstrand, H. C., Loftus, B., & Loader, I. (2017). Private security as moral drama: a tale of two scandals. *Policing and Society*, Preprint. 1-17.
- Mahtani, M. (2002). Interrogating the hyphen-nation: Canadian multicultural policy and 'mixed race' identities. *Social Identities*, 8(1), 67-90.
- Maoz, E. (2010). *The Privatization of the Checkpoints and the Late Occupation*. Tel Aviv: Who profits.
- McCormack, D. P. (2008). Engineering Affective Atmospheres on the Moving Geographies of the 1897 Andrée Expedition. *Cultural Geographies*, 15(4), 413-430.
- McGahern, U. (2016). Spatial Regimes of Power: Combined Municipal Policing in the Arab City of Nazareth. *International Political Sociology*, 10(3), 206-222.
- Melgaço, L. (2011). The injustices of urban securitization in the Brazilian city of Campinas. *Justice Spatiale-Spatial Justice*, 4.
- Ministry of Housing, Israel (2012). *Public Tender 21/2012 for the Provision of Protection and Security Guard Services in East Jerusalem's Compounds* [Hebrew].
- Mizrachi, Y. (2011). Difficult to live, difficult to die [Hebrew]. *Ha-okets*. <http://www.haokets.org/2011/04/11/מג-השק-תויחל-השק-תומל/> (accessed February 2017)

- Müller, F. I. (2017). Urban Informality as a Signifier: Performing Urban Reordering in Suburban Rio de Janeiro. *International Sociology*, 32(4), 493-511.
- Musako, Y. (2014). A glimpse into Jerusalem's most Dangerous and Explosive Neighborhood [Hebrew, video article]. *Mako News*. http://www.mako.co.il/news-military/security-q4_2014/Article-1b87234a6d66941004.htm (accessed March 2017)
- Mynet (2017). *Operation 700. Video by: Police spokesperson*. (Video). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ONabuIOtz-8> (accessed February 2018).
- Nagle, J. (2009). Sites of social centrality and segregation: Lefebvre in Belfast, a "divided city". *Antipode*, 41(2), 326-347.
- National Workers Union vs. State of Israel (2012). *Statement of Claim 33122/2012* [Hebrew]. Jerusalem Labour Court.
- Navaro-Yashin, Y. (2012). *The Make-Believe Space. Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity*, London: Duke Press.
- Neocleous, M. (2006). Theoretical Foundations of the 'New Police Science'. In: Dubber M. & Valverde M. (eds.). *The New Police Science: The Police Power in Domestic and International Governance*, 17-41. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Neocleous, M. (2007). Security, liberty and the myth of balance: Towards a critique of security politics. *Contemporary Political Theory*, 6(2), 131-149.
- Neocleous, M. (2008). *Critique of Security*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Nordstrom, C. (2007). *Global Outlaws: Crime, Money, and Power in the Contemporary World* (Vol. 16). Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Nuseibeh, R. A. (2015). *Political Conflict and Exclusion in Jerusalem: The Provision of Education and Social Services*. New York: Routledge.
- O'malley, P. (2012). *Risk, Uncertainty and Government*. New York: Routledge.
- O'malley, P. (2010). Resilient subjects: Uncertainty, warfare and liberalism. *Economy and Society*, 39(4), 488-509.
- Ochs, J. (2011). *Security and Suspicion: An Ethnography of Everyday Life in Israel*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ong, A. (2004). The Chinese axis: Zoning Technologies and Variegated Sovereignty. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 4(1), 69-96.
- Ong, A. (2006). *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Or, U. et al. (2006). *Report of the Public Committee to Examine the Security and Guarding of Compounds in East Jerusalem*. State of Israel.
- Pappe, I. (2004). *A history of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Parker, N., & Adler-Nissen, R. (2012). Picking and choosing the 'sovereign' border: A theory of changing state bordering practices. *Geopolitics*, 17(4), 773-796.
- Peabody, R. L., Hammond S. W., Torcom J., Brown L. P., Thompson C. & Kolodny R. (1990). Interviewing Political Elites. *Political Science and Politics*, 23, 451- 455.
- Peace Now (2014). *The Settlements in the Palestinian neighbourhoods in East Jerusalem* [Hebrew]. Report. <http://www.peacenow.org.il/content/מילשורי-חרזמ> (accessed June 2016)

- Pido, E. J. (2012). The Performance of Property: Suburban Homeownership as a Claim to Citizenship for Filipinos in Daly City. *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 15(1), 69-104.
- Pullan, W. (2011). Frontier Urbanism: the Periphery at the Centre of Contested Cities. *The Journal of Architecture*, 16(1), 15-35.
- Pullan, W., Misselwitz, P., Nasrallah, R., & Yacobi, H. (2007). Jerusalem's Road 1: an Inner City Frontier?. *City*, 11(2), 176-198.
- Ramon, A. (2017). *Residents, Not Citizens: Israeli Policy towards the Arabs in East Jerusalem, 1967-2017*. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies.
- Rapoport, M. (2006). Evyatar Cohen will not divide Jerusalem [Hebrew]. *Haaretz*. <http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.1076194> (accessed July 2018)
- Rasch, E. D., & van Drunen, S. (2017). Engaged Ethnography as Solidarity? Exploring Sites for Academic-Activist Dialogues and Collaborations in Engaged Ethnographic Research in the Field of Natural Resource Conflicts. *Etnofoor*, 29(2), 23-38.
- Roth, N. (2016). How Israel's military gov't keeps Palestinians in the dark. *972 Magazine*. <http://972mag.com/how-israels-military-govt-keeps-palestinians-in-the-dark/115933/> (accessed Feb 2017).
- Ryan B (2014). A Mediterranean Police Assemblage. In Bachmann, J., Bell, C. & Holmqvist, C. (eds.), *War, Police and Assemblages of Intervention*, 147-164. London: Routledge.
- Samara, T. R. (2011). *Cape Town after Apartheid: Crime and Governance in the Divided City*. Minneapolis: Minnesota Press.
- Sassen, S. (2006). *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Sassen, S. (2017). When the Pursuit of National Security Produces Urban Insecurity. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (Spotlight series) <http://www.ijurr.org/spotlight-on-overview/the-city-at-war/sassen/> (accessed March 2017)
- Schouten P (2014). Security as Controversy: Reassembling Security at Amsterdam Airport. *Security Dialogue*, 45(1), 23-42.
- Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Seidman I. G. (2014). Military and Privatization [Hebrew], *Journal of Law and Business*, 17, 15-339.
- Shadmi, E. (2012). *Securitized Land: Police, Policism and the Politics of Personal Safety* [Hebrew]. Bnei Brak: Kibbutz Meuchad Publishing.
- Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. (2015). *Security Theology, Surveillance and the Politics of Fear*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shapira, A. (2012). *Israel: A history*. Waltham: Brandeis.
- Shipler, D. K. (2015). *Arab and Jew: Wounded spirits in a promised land*. Portland: Broadway Books.
- Shlomo, O. (2016). Between Discrimination and Stabilization: The Exceptional Governmentalities of East Jerusalem. *City*, 20(3), 428-440.
- Shtern, M. (2017). *Polarized Labor Integration: East Jerusalem Palestinians in the City's Employment Market*. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies.
- Shuttleworth, K. (2014). Palestinian stone throwers could face 20 years in jail. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/04/israel-palestinian-stone-throwers-jail> (accessed February 2017)

- Simone, A. (2010). *City Life from Jakarta to Dakar: Movements at the Crossroads*. New York: Routledge.
- Somers, M. R. (2008). *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to have Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spearin, C. (2008). Private, armed and humanitarian? States, NGOs, international private security companies and shifting humanitarianism. *Security Dialogue*, 39(4), 363-382.
- Stevens, A. (2011). *Surveillance policies, practices and technologies in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories: Assessing the security state*. The New Transparency - Working papers of the SSC.
- Swedenburg, T. (2014). *Memories of Revolt: The 1936–1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past*. University of Arkansas Press.
- Taureck, R. (2006). Securitization Theory and Securitization Studies. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 9(1), 53-61.
- Tawil-Souri, H. (2011a). Colored Identity the Politics and Materiality of ID cards in Palestine/Israel. *Social Text*, 29(2-107), 67-97.
- Tawil-Souri, H. (2011b). Qalandia Checkpoint as Space and Non-place. *Space and Culture*, 14(1), 4-26.
- Till, K. E., Sundberg, J., Pullan, W., Psaltis, C., Makriyianni, C., Celal, R. Z. & Dowler, L. (2013). Interventions in the Political Geographies of Walls. *Political Geography*, 33(5), 52-56.
- Tzfadia, E. (2000). Immigrant Dispersal in Settler Societies: Mizrahim and Russians in Israel under the Press of Hegemony. *Geography Research Forum*, 20, 52-69.
- Tzfadia, E., & Yacobi, H. (2011). *Rethinking Israeli Space: Periphery and Identity*. New York: Routledge.

- UN-OHCHR (2015). *UN Inquiry Reports Gross Human Rights Violations in Eritrea*. <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16054> (accessed January 2016)
- Vandergeest, P., & Peluso, N. (1995). Territorialization and State Power in Thailand. *Theory and Society*, 24(3), 385-426.
- Veracini, L. (2015). *The Settler Colonial Present*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Volinz, L. (2017). Comparative Military Urbanism: Topographies of Citizenship and Security Threats in Brussels and Jerusalem. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (Spotlight series). <http://www.ijurr.org/spotlight-on-overview/the-city-at-war/volinz/> (accessed March 2017).
- Volinz, L. (2018). The State Effects of Public and Private Security Providers at East Jerusalem's National Parks' in Burgess, J.P., Reniers, G., Ponnet, K., Hardyns, W. & Smit, W. (eds.). *Socially Responsible Innovation in Security: Critical Reflections*. London: Routledge.
- Weizman, E. (2007). *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*. New York: Verso Books.
- Williams, M. C. (2003). Words, images, enemies: Securitization and international politics. *International Studies Quarterly*, 47(4), 511-531.
- Wolcott, H. F. (1999). *Ethnography: A way of Seeing*. Lanham: Rowman Altamira.
- Woolford, A., & Nelund, A. (2013). The Responsibilities of the Poor: Performing Neoliberal Citizenship within the Bureaucratic Field. *Social Service Review*, 87(2), 292-318.

- Yacobi, H. (2015). Jerusalem: from a 'Divided' to a 'Contested' city—and next to a Neo-apartheid city?. *City*, 19(4), 579-584.
- Yiftachel, O. (2006). *Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Zeiderman, A., Kaker, S. A., Silver, J., & Wood, A. (2015). Uncertainty and Urban Life. *Public Culture*, 27(2-76), 281-304.
- Zeitoun, Y. (2015). Beatings, Humiliations and Careless Inspection [Hebrew]. *Ynet News Portal*, <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4680563,00.html> (accessed February 2016).
- Zender, L. (2000). 'The pursuit of security' in Hope, T. and Sparks, R. (eds.), *Crime, risk and insecurity: Law and Order in Everyday Life and Political Discourse*, 200-215. New York: Routledge.
- Zureik, E. (2011). Colonialism, Surveillance, and Population Control: Israel/Palestine. In Zureik, E., Lyon, D. & Abu-Laban Y. (eds.), *Surveillance and control in Israel/Palestine: Population, territory and power*, 3-46. New York: Routledge.

ENGLISH SUMMARY

In this doctoral dissertation I explore how, and to what end, do state security actors pursue security pluralization and privatization in Jerusalem – and subsequently – what are the implications of these processes for the (re)production of differentiated citizenship and its negotiation in Jerusalem. In light of the discussions on the neoliberal (re)assembly of the state (Sassen 2006, Ong 2006), scholarship attended widely to the entanglements of state security actors with a wider ‘policing family’ (Crawford 2013), and to lesser degree to the unequal implications of these entanglements on different citizens. In this dissertation I go beyond the existing discussion on the transformed security landscape and its implications to different citizens. I argue that the differential allocation of rights, resources and political decision-making is not merely a by-product of security privatization and pluralization, but can actually be its desired goal. I seek to capture these interactivities by attending to the (re) production of substantive citizenship, a distinction marked not by formal belonging to a state, but instead dependent upon the provision of rights, resources and political decision-making as part of an incorporated political, civil or social community (Holston 2008, Gordon and Stack 2007).

In this dissertation I employ an assemblage approach (Delanda 2006a, Ryan 2014), which highlights the relations – hierarchical, reciprocal and rhizomatic – emerging and dissolving between different actors and actants in an ever-changing assemblage. I follow Li’s (2007) suggestion that assemblages never emerge out of thin air, but instead someone, or something, is needed to bring the diverse elements together and produce the relations between them. My focus is thus on the act of assembly - on who assembles the diverse security actors, materialities and technologies, and how they do so, to what end, and with which implications. Through my findings I bring forth the conceptualization of a modular security toolbox: of how state security actors

enlist and instruct additional private and public actors, technologies and materialities outside the spectrum of the police, the military and the criminal justice system, aiming to enhance their capacity to pursue controversial security policies that they would be unable, or unwilling, to pursue otherwise.

My intent in this dissertation is to advance knowledge on the parallel processes of security privatization and security pluralization, by analyzing the governance logic articulated in their emergence, and the implications they have on different residents of the city. This dissertation pivots around Jerusalem: a holy city, a site of worship and devotion, but also of violence and occupation; a city that captivated a major part of humanity throughout millennia. Jerusalem, where the Israeli security provision is torn between the application of brute force and the nominal adherence to a democratic rule of law, provides a good example of the interactivities at the core of this research. Considering this, I discuss the historical and political developments in Jerusalem in Chapter 2, 'Researching Jerusalem'. I then continue to explore the methodological tools used in this research. Data for this research were collected through 11-months of ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Jerusalem, which included extensive participant observation at sites of encounter between different residents and Israeli security agents. Furthermore, I conducted 92 semi-structured interviews with different residents of Jerusalem, with security agents, activists, legal advocates and policymakers. I conclude Chapter 2 by discussing the scope and limitations of my methodology – and extending on the ethical dilemmas I faced in the duration of this research.

In the four empirical chapters of this dissertation I approach the Israeli modular security toolbox from different angles. Each chapter makes its own contribution to the discussion on the assembling of a modular security toolbox, its differential (re)production of substantive citizenship, and how it can be negotiated by citizens. While every chapter delves into different cases in different spaces, together my findings suggest an answer to the questions I pose: the

how and why of the security pluralization and privatization, and the outline of the differential implications of these processes to different residents of the city.

Chapter 3, ‘Governance through Pluralization’, is where I foreground my theoretical intervention, in which I conceptualize modular security as a mode of governance. The chapter takes stock of the emergence of a modular governance logic in security provision, by exploring how urban security is increasingly diffused into differing modules - security actors, performances, technologies and materialities. I focus on security pluralization in Jerusalem - where security roles are delegated to administrative and regulatory state bodies. In the course of this chapter I identify four features of urban modular security provisions: the heterogeneity of its public and private components, the development of reserved capacities, the differential multifacetedness of its performances and practices towards residents and the ubiquity of informal knowledge and information transfers between different actors. This chapter’s findings highlight how the modular assembling of security actors complements and replaces traditional policing institutions with other informal disciplinary, punitive, state-crafting and dispossessing powers, in a manner which unequally distributes rights and resources to different residents of the city.

My exploration of the assembling of a modular security toolbox was further extended in Chapter 4, ‘Crafting and Reinforcing the State through Security Privatization’, by a detailed discussion on how and why state authorities pursue security privatization. In this chapter I explore the emergence of a public-private security assemblage at Jewish-Israeli settlement compounds in East Jerusalem, where the provision of security has been outsourced to private security companies. My findings illustrate how the privatization of security provision can reinforce, rather than erode the state, by contributing to state actors’ capacity to pursue the territorialization of areas beyond the full grasp of the state. I posit that state authority and responsibility can be diffused into multiple nodes of private authority in the operation, performance, and supervision of security and violence – while keeping the state monopoly over legitimate violence in-

tact. I suggest that such relations can be in the interest of state security actors, seeing as they are able to differentially distribute (in)security by outsourcing security provision and evade accountability as well as deflect public and legal challenges to controversial state-led projects.

Next, I proceed to delve into the differential implications of security pluralization and privatization, by analysing the Israeli material, affective and temporal security interventions at checkpoints in and around Jerusalem, through the lens of (un)certainty. My findings in Chapter 5, 'Outsourced Security and the Politics of Uncertainty', suggest that (un)certainty can be employed as a mode of governance. I propose that uncertainty can be strategically employed and adjusted by means of irregular operation, managerial obfuscation, lack of accountability as well as contradictory or oft-altered directives and regulatory framework by public and private security actors. I explore each of these by observing how Israeli security actors enlist a plurality of actors, technologies and materialities to differentially produce (un)certainty at checkpoints, facilitating the mobility of some residents while impeding the movement of others. I conclude this chapter by suggesting that the prospect of residents' entrance and exit from the city, as well as the reliability and predictability of their movement, create different patterns of (im)mobility, economic dependency, and social and political fragmentation.

In Chapter 6, 'Negotiating Citizenship and Countering Jerusalem's Residency Revocation Policy', I examine the home as a site of citizenship (re)production, while discussing the different manners in which residents negotiate security pluralization and privatization. Israel is pursuing a policy of revoking Palestinian Jerusalemites' residency permits through a plurality of public and private modules, enlisted as part of the Israeli security toolbox. In response, Palestinian residents assemble their own modular toolbox, intended to negotiate and resist the Israeli attempts to exclude them from their own city. I posit that Palestinian Jerusalemites do so through a citizenship enactment (Isin and Nielsen 2013) in which they perform an eligible version of their Jerusalem home. I

explore this performance through the distinct dimensions of socio-material practices, the mobilization of social relations and the procurement of bureaucratic documentation. My findings highlight the highly political nature of domestic space, where citizenship can be performed in order to maintain limited rights, resources and mobility in the face of urban exclusion and demographic engineering.

Finally, Chapter 7 concludes this dissertation. In the conclusion I juxtapose my findings from the empirical chapters and point out their significance for concurrent debates on privatized and pluralized security provision, on citizenship, and on the political, spatial and social developments in Jerusalem. Theoretically, I propose that the (re)configuration of the security landscape through pluralization and privatization precipitates a differential allocation of rights, resources and privileges according to a logic of protection (Huysmans 2006) in which populations are sorted on a spectrum between those considered worthy of enhanced protection, and those designated as potential threats. This differential (re)production of substantive citizenship is not only a coincidental outcome of the emergence of a modular security toolbox, but can actually be its desired goal: the assembling of security enables state actors to pursue controversial policies while evading accountability and averting legal and political pressure. I proceed to suggest possible further research trajectories, which could extend the scope of this dissertation. Lastly, I highlight how the implications of this dissertation's findings extend far beyond Jerusalem, to other diverse cases where the emergence of new state-led security configurations contributes to the differential (re)production of substantive citizenship. I conclude that our understanding of the social, political and economic ramifications of security provision would be incomplete without adequate attention to the assembling of security, considering how (in)security grows to encompass an ever-growing domain, replacing the nominal equality of urban and national citizenship with a differentiation based upon the perception of risk and threat.

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

In deze dissertatie onderzoek ik allereest hoe, en met welk doel, actoren in staatsveiligheid diversificatie en privatisering najagen, en vervolgens wat de implicaties zijn van deze processen voor het (opnieuw) voortbrengen van gedifferentieerd burgerschap en hoe men daarmee omgaat in Jeruzalem. In navolging van de verhandelingen over de neoliberale '(her)assemblage' van de staat (Sassen 2006, Ong 2006), hebben onderzoekers aandacht gegeven aan de verwevenheid van actoren in staatsveiligheid en de bredere 'policing familie' (Crawford 2013), en in mindere mate aan de implicaties die deze verwevenheid heeft voor verschillende burgers. In deze dissertatie kijk ik verder dan de bestaande discussie over het veranderde veiligheidslandschap en de implicaties ervan voor verschillende burgers en stel ik dat de gedifferentieerde toewijzing van rechten, middelen en politieke besluitvorming niet louter een nevenproduct is van veiligheidsprivatisering en diversificatie, maar ook als beoogd doel kan fungeren. Ik poog deze interacties inzichtelijk te maken door me te richten op het (opnieuw) voortbrengen van inhoudelijk burgerschap, een onderscheid dat niet gekenmerkt wordt door het officieel behoren tot een staat, maar in plaats daarvan afhangt van de voorziening van rechten, middelen en politieke besluitvorming, die onderdeel is van een geïntegreerde politieke, civiele of sociale gemeenschap (Holston 2008, Gordon en Stack 2007).

In deze dissertatie pas ik de assemblage benadering toe (Delanda 2006a, Ryan 2014), die de nadruk legt op hiërarchische, wederkerige, en rizomatische relaties die opkomen en ontbonden worden tussen actoren en actanten in een assemblage die voortdurend aan verandering onderhevig is. Ik volg Li (2007) in haar voorstel dat een assemblage niet uit het niets voortkomt, maar dat iets of iemand nodig is om de verschillende elementen bijeen te brengen en de relaties tussen die elementen tot stand te brengen. Ik focus dus op de handeling van assemblage, op degenen die deze handeling uitvoeren met de verscheidene veiligheidsactoren, materialiteit-

en en technologieën, hoe ze dit doen, waarom ze dit doen, en welke implicaties het heeft. Op basis van mijn bevindingen construeer ik het beeld van een veiligheidsgereedheidskist: hoe actoren in staatsveiligheid aanvullende private en publieke actoren, technologieën en materialiteiten buiten het spectrum van politie, leger en strafrecht werven en inzetten, met het doel hun capaciteit te verhogen om omstreden veiligheidsbeleid na te streven dat ze anderszins niet zouden kunnen of willen nastreven.

Het is mijn intentie om met deze dissertatie de kennis van de evenwijdige processen van veiligheidsprivatisering en veiligheidsdiversificatie naar een hoger niveau te tillen door het analyseren van bestuurslogica zoals die geformuleerd wordt tijdens het opkomen van deze processen en de implicaties die ze hebben voor verschillende inwoners van de stad. De spil van deze dissertatie is Jeruzalem: een heilige stad, een plaats van aanbidding en toewijding, maar ook een plaats van geweld en bezetting. De stad die al millennialang een bijzondere aantrekkingskracht heeft op een groot deel van de mensheid. Jeruzalem, waar de Israëlische veiligheidsvoorziening aan de ene kant bruut geweld toepast en aan de andere kant zogenaamd trouw blijft aan de democratische rechtsstaat, vormt een goed voorbeeld van de interacties die het onderwerp zijn van dit onderzoek. In dit licht bespreek ik in hoofdstuk 2, 'Researching Jerusalem' de historische en politieke ontwikkelingen in Jeruzalem. Vervolgens behandel ik de methoden die in dit onderzoek gebruikt zijn. De gegevens voor dit onderzoek zijn verzameld door middel van etnografisch veldwerk in Jeruzalem dat elf maanden in beslag nam. Dit omvatte uitgebreide observatie van participanten op locaties waar verschillende inwoners en Israëlisch veiligheidspersoneel elkaar troffen. Verder heb ik 92 semigestructureerde interviews gehouden met verschillende inwoners van Jeruzalem: veiligheidspersoneel, activisten, juridische advocaten en beleidsmakers. Ik sluit hoofdstuk 2 af met een bespreking van het bereik en de beperkingen van mijn methodologie en met een uitweiding over de ethische dilemma's waarmee ik geconfronteerd werd gedurende dit onderzoek.

In de vier empirische hoofdstukken van deze dissertatie bekijk ik de Israëlische modulaire veiligheidsgereedschapskist vanuit verschillende hoeken. Elk hoofdstuk draagt zijn deel bij aan de algehele bespreking van de samenstelling van de modulaire veiligheidsgereedschapskist, hoe deze gedifferentieerde inhoudelijk burgerschap (opnieuw) voortbrengt, en hoe burgers ermee omgaan. Hoewel elk hoofdstuk verschillende casussen in verschillende ruimtes uitdiept, suggereren mijn bevindingen gezamenlijk een antwoord op de vraag die ik stel: het hoe en wat van de veiligheidsdiversificatie en privatisering en de hoofdlijnen van de gedifferentieerde implicaties van deze processen voor de verschillende inwoners van de stad.

In hoofdstuk 3, 'Governance through Pluralization', zet ik mijn theoretische bijdrage op de voorgrond en zet ik modulaire veiligheid neer als een wijze van bestuur. Dit hoofdstuk maakt de balans op van de opkomst van een modulaire bestuurslogica in veiligheidsvoorziening door te verkennen hoe stedelijke veiligheid in toenemende mate verspreid raakt over verschillende modules: veiligheidsactoren, uitvoering, technologieën en materialiteiten. Ik richt mij voornamelijk op veiligheidsdiversificatie in Jeruzalem, waar veiligheidsrollen aan administratieve en regelgevende instanties gedelegeerd worden. In het verloop van het hoofdstuk identificeer ik vier kenmerken van stedelijke modulaire veiligheidsvoorzieningen: de heterogeniteit van publieke en private componenten, de opbouw van gereserveerde capaciteiten, de gedifferentieerde veelzijdigheid van hun uitvoering en handelen richting inwoners en de alomtegenwoordigheid van de uitwisseling van informele kennis en informatie tussen verschillende actoren. De bevindingen van dit hoofdstuk vestigen de aandacht op hoe de modulaire samenstelling van veiligheidsactoren traditionele toezichthoudende instituties aanvult en vervangt met andere informele correctieve, straffende, staatsvormende en onteigenende machten op een wijze waarbij rechten en middelen ongelijk verdeeld worden onder verschillende inwoners van de stad.

Mijn verkenning van de samenstelling van de modulaire veiligheidsgereddschapskist wordt verder uitgewerkt in hoofdstuk 4, 'Crafting and Reinforcing the State through Security Privatization', met een gedetailleerde bespreking van hoe en waarom staatsautoriteiten veiligheidsprivatisering nastreven. In dit hoofdstuk verken ik de opkomst van een publiek-private veiligheidsassemblage bij Joods Israëlische nederzettingsterreinen in Oost-Jeruzalem, waar de voorziening van veiligheid uitbesteed is aan private veiligheidsbedrijven. Mijn bevindingen illustreren hoe de privatisering van veiligheidsvoorzieningen de staat niet perse aantast maar kan versterken, omdat die bijdraagt aan de capaciteit van staatsactoren in hun streven naar territorialisering van de gebieden die buiten de volledige controle van de staat vallen. Ik stel dat staatsautoriteit en verantwoordelijkheid verspreid kunnen zijn over meerdere geledingen van private autoriteit in de handeling en uitvoering van en het toezichthouden op veiligheid en geweld, terwijl het staatsmonopolie op legitiem geweld intact gehouden wordt. Ik stel dat dergelijke relaties in het voordeel van veiligheidsactoren van de staat kunnen zijn, aangezien de uitbesteding van veiligheidsvoorziening hen in staat stelt (on)veiligheid gedifferentieerd te verdelen, aansprakelijkheid te vermijden en publieke en rechtelijke protesten tegen controversiële door de staat geleide projecten af te wenden.

Vervolgens verdiep ik mij in de gedifferentieerde implicaties van veiligheidsdiversificatie en privatisering door het analyseren van het Israëlische materiële, tijdelijke en affectieve veiligheidsingrepen rond controleposten in en nabij Jeruzalem, door de lens van (on)zekerheid. Mijn bevindingen in hoofdstuk 5, 'Outsourced Security and the Politics of Uncertainty', suggereren dat (on)zekerheid aangewend kan worden als wijze van bestuur. Ik stel dat onzekerheid strategisch ingezet en aangepast kan worden door publieke en private veiligheidsactoren zowel door middel van onregelmatige handelingen, non-transparant leidinggeven en gebrek aan aansprakelijkheid alsmede door het uitbrengen van conflicterende of regelmatig veranderende instructies en regelgeving. Ik verken elk van deze aspecten

door te observeren hoe Israëlische veiligheidsactoren een diversiteit aan actoren en technologieën en materialiteiten inzetten om gedifferentieerd (on)zekerheid te creëren bij controleposten, door de mobiliteit van sommige inwoners te vergemakkelijken en die van anderen te hinderen. Ik sluit dit hoofdstuk af met de stelling dat het vooruitzicht van het binnengaan en verlaten van de stad door inwoners, alsmede de betrouwbaarheid en voorspelbaarheid van hun mobiliteit, verschillende patronen van (im) mobiliteit, economische afhankelijkheid en sociale en politieke fragmentatie creëren.

In hoofdstuk 6, 'Negotiating Citizenship and Countering Jerusalem's Residency Revocation Policy', onderzoek ik het 'thuis' als plek waar burgerschap (opnieuw) voortgebracht wordt, terwijl ik de verscheidene manieren bespreek waarop inwoners omgaan met veiligheidsdiversificatie en privatisering. Israël streeft een beleid na dat de verblijfsvergunningen van Palestijnse bewoners van Jeruzalem intrekt door middel van een diversiteit aan publieke en private modules die worden ingezet als onderdeel van de Israëlische veiligheidsgereedschapskist. Als reactie hierop stellen Palestijnse inwoners hun eigen modulaire gereedschapskist samen, bedoeld om het hoofd te bieden aan en zich te verzetten tegen de Israëlische pogingen hen buiten te sluiten uit hun eigen stad. Ik stel dat Palestijnse bewoners van Jeruzalem dit doen door bevestiging van burgerschap (Isin and Nielsen 2013), doordat ze een gepaste versie van hun thuis in Jeruzalem opvoeren. Ik verken deze opvoering door de verschillende dimensies van socio materiële handelingen, mobilisatie van sociale relaties en het verkrijgen van bureaucratische documenten. Mijn bevindingen benadrukken de zeer politieke natuur van het huiselijke domein, waar burgerschap uitgevoerd kan worden om beperkte rechten, middelen en mobiliteit te behouden onder aanwezigheid van stedelijke uitsluiting en demografische manipulatie.

Hoofdstuk 7 sluit deze dissertatie af. In de conclusie zet ik mijn bevindingen uit de empirische hoofdstukken naast elkaar en duid ik hun betekenis

voor gelijksoortige besprekingen van geprivatiseerde en gediversifieerde veiligheidsvoorzieningen, van burgerschap, en van politieke, ruimtelijke en sociale ontwikkelingen in Jeruzalem. Wat betreft theorie stel ik dat de (her)indeling van het veiligheidslandschap door diversificatie en privatisering een differentiële toewijzing van rechten, middelen en privileges ten gevolge heeft, overeenstemmend met protectionistische logica (Huysmans 2006) volgens welke bevolkingsgroepen ingedeeld worden op een schaal met aan de ene zijde degenen die waardig geacht worden om in aanmerking te komen voor betere bescherming, en aan de andere zijde degenen die aangemerkt worden als potentiële bedreiging. Dit differentiële (opnieuw) voortbrengen van inhoudelijk burgerschap is niet enkel een toevallige bijkomstigheid van de opkomst van een modulaire veiligheidsgereedschapskist, maar kan het beoogde doel zijn: het samenstellen van veiligheid stelt staatactoren in staat om een omstreden beleid na te streven en tegelijkertijd aansprakelijkheid te ontwijken en rechtelijke en politieke druk af te wenden. Ik opper vervolgens mogelijke richtingen voor toekomstig onderzoek die de reikwijdte van deze dissertatie zouden vergroten. Tenslotte benadruk ik hoe de implicaties van de bevindingen in deze dissertatie veel verder dan Jeruzalem reiken, tot verschillende gevallen waarbij de opkomst van nieuwe, door de staat geleide veiligheidsindelingen bijdragen aan het differentiële (opnieuw) voortbrengen van inhoudelijk burgerschap. Ik concludeer dat ons begrip van de sociale, politieke en economische effecten van veiligheidsvoorziening onvolledig zouden zijn wanneer het samenstellen van veiligheid onvoldoende in acht genomen wordt, in aanmerking genomen hoe (on)zekerheid toeneemt en een steeds groter wordend terrein inneemt en de zogenaamde gelijkheid in stedelijk en nationaal burgerschap vervangt door een differentiatie gebaseerd op een perceptie van risico en bedreiging. ■