In Jerusalem, intra-urban boundaries are experienced and negotiated in deeply embodied ways, and primarily encountered, undermined, and reinforced through mobility. Palestinians' movements are regularly restricted in areas at the geographical periphery of Jerusalem—especially those neighborhoods that have been severed from the rest of the city by the Israeli separation barrier. In expending significant energy to navigate the rules and spaces of the mobility regime, Palestinians must think of their movements from the perspective of Israeli power. This conceptual displacement of the self results in a sense of alienation, both from the spaces they cannot access and from their own capacities. Many feel stuck in both space and time and cannot envision a future for themselves in their city. Conversely, movement in spite of restrictions can also expand residents' appreciation of their own capacity. Leisure mobilities in particular bear a radical potential because they involve the enjoyment of movement through space, rather than being merely a means to an end. As Palestinians in the city assert their claim through embodied movement, they re-appropriate hostile space with light-hearted playfulness. Mobility thus emerges as a useful vehicle for examining not only how Palestinians' agency is constrained by the broader urban context but how their movements affect urban space: as they redraw the boundaries of spatial exclusion from the bottom up, they call into question who and what is considered peripheral to the city. The chapter traces the restriction of everyday movements, as well as the way marginalized residents navigate and defend contested urban terrain, using a phenomenological lens. By engaging Merleau-Ponty's view of the relationship between the body-subject and the world, it argues that everyday movements shape the spatial and temporal horizon. The restriction of movement limits what is conceivable, but at the same time, the mobility of marginal urban residents in spite of those restrictions expands the sense of what is deemed possible.

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MOVING FROM THE MARGINS: PALESTINIAN MOBILITIES, EMBODIMENT, AND AGENCY IN EAST JERUSALEM

Hanna Baumann

Palestinians in East Jerusalem, living under Israeli rule since 1967, hold a precarious status in the city. The municipality's policies are focused primarily on serving the city's Jewish majority, resulting in an ethnically-based allocation of land and resources, often with the explicit aim of increasing the proportion of Jewish residents (Cheshin et al., 1999; Bollens, 2000; Margalit, 2006; Wari, 2011; Dumper, 2014; Chiodelli, 2017). This has restricted the availability of housing for Palestinians, preventing them from building homes legally in their city and resulting in the looming threat of home demolitions for many (Kaminker, 1997; Braverman, 2007; Chiodelli, 2012). At the same time, when Palestinians move out of the city due to this pressure, they risk losing their right to residency (Jefferis, 2012; Ir Amim, 2012). The "impossible situation" (Amir, 2011) in which East Jerusalemites find themselves is commonly described using metaphors of spatial restriction verging on the life-threatening: for example, as a "strangulation" (ARIJ, 2005), or similar to being "choked" or "trapped" (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2012). Life in Jerusalem, it appears, is circumscribed by the parameters set out by Israel and characterized by the Palestinians' inability to act. And yet, despite this restriction, Palestinians have remained in the city for the past fifty years and continue to make their lives there. This raises the questions of how they navigate these restrictions and to what degree they shape the contested space of Jerusalem.

Numerous types of borders cut across the city of Jerusalem (Fig. 1): The 1949 armistice line, known as the Green Line, separates East Jerusalem (which is deemed occupied under international law) from the city's western half. Within Palestinian East Jerusalem, numerous Jewish-only settlements form an advancing internal frontier, threatening residents with dispossession. The West Bank barrier, also referred to as the Israeli separation barrier, which Israel began constructing in 2002, and its associated regime of military checkpoints, has cut the city off for Palestinians in the West Bank—who can now only enter with a military permit—as well as any Palestinian Jerusalemites living in peripheral areas of the city. The separation wall does not always follow the municipal outline but de facto annexes some parts of the West Bank to the city while excluding Palestinian neighborhoods that are part of the

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Fig. 1
Map of the
contested borders
and urban
margins in East
Jerusalem (Hanna
Baumann, 2015).

Jerusalem borders

— Green line

— Separation Wall

■ Municipal area

■ Municipal area
outside the Wall

◉ Checkpoint
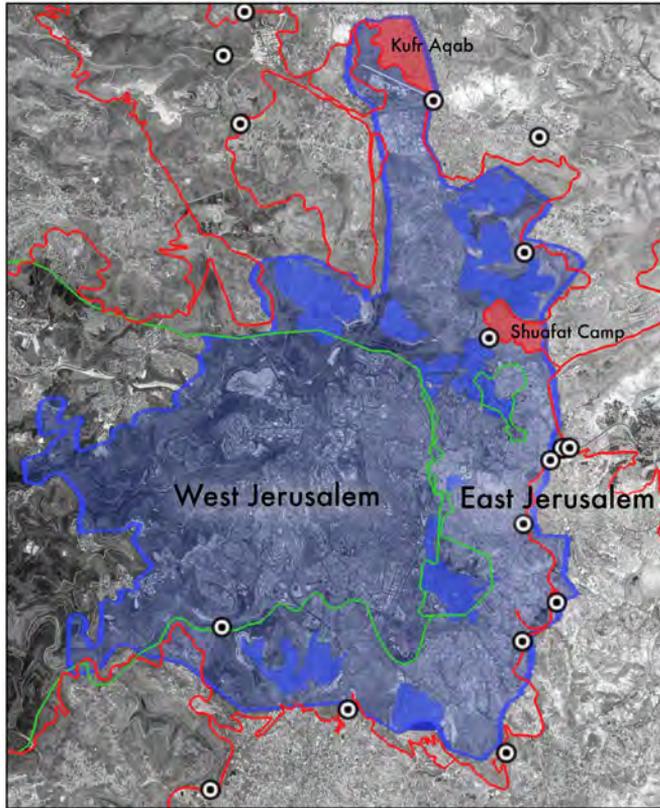
municipality, such as Kufr Aqab and Shuafat Refugee Camp. One third of Jerusalem's Palestinian population now lives in these urban margins, within municipal boundaries but beyond the wall (cf. Baumann & Massalha, 2021).

The areas where Palestinian neighborhoods of Jerusalem—and also the city's suburbs and traditional hinterlands—are cut off from the city by the Israeli separation wall have most obviously become understood as urban "margins" (Abu Hatoum, 2021). However, with Palestinians across the city being side-lined and pushed out by Israeli municipal policies, and due to the omnipresence of exclusionary borders, marginalization takes place not only in the urban peripheries. The "margins," then, are also at work in areas of the city where the frontier has migrated to the center (cf. Pullan, 2015a), meaning that the contestation over international borders takes place in a densely intertwined urban setting. This chapter deals with the effects and contestation of this urban marginalization

by examining everyday and leisure mobilities. It argues that embodied movement has the capacity to resist or undermine physical borders and urban marginalization by expanding what I call the "horizon of possibility," thereby re-centering those who have been relegated to the periphery of the city, both spatially and socially. In this sense, the piece builds on Caldeira's (2017) argument that production of urban space takes place from the periphery, understood not only in a geographical sense, but as any reshaping of the urban terrain that counters official spatial logics.

The Israeli occupation's restriction of Palestinian movement, especially since the early 2000s and in the West Bank, has been discussed as a tool of limiting freedom (Abu-Zahra, 2012; Handel, 2014; Bishara, 2015; Kotef, 2015). It has been shown to undermine social lives by disrupting routines and making both planning ahead and spontaneity impossible (Handel, 2009). By limiting Palestinians' movements to the essential and thus shrinking their social worlds, the Israeli mobility regime minimizes the potential for organized opposition to the military occupation, as Taraki (2008) notes. There is a tendency among those analyzing the strategies and mechanisms of the Israeli occupation to represent its control as omnipresent (e.g., Weizman, 2007), omnipotent (e.g., Kotef & Amir, 2001), and omniscient (e.g., Zureik et al., 2010). On the other hand, Palestinian insistence on mobility in spite of military restrictions has been framed as resistance to that control: Hammami (2004, p. 27) calls it the "everyday resistance of simply getting there" (see also Hammami, 2010), Harker (2009) describes mobility as a form of political contestation; while Tawil-Souri (2009) reads the Palestinian transformation of checkpoints into zones of exchange as subverting the military logic of restricted movement. This chapter examines this tension between restricted movement and mobility in spite of restrictions through an embodied lens. The focus on Palestinian movement in and around the margins of Israeli-occupied East Jerusalem allows us to trace the impact of (im)mobility on the numerous borders dividing the city and restricting Palestinian access to urban space and resources.

Focusing on the phenomenology of im/mobility in and around East Jerusalem, this chapter forms part of my doctoral research, which as a whole involved eight months of on-site research in Jerusalem between 2013 and 2015. For this component of the dissertation, I conducted 46 interviews (in English and/or Arabic) with 28 Palestinian residents of the city and its immediate environs. Of them, 17 were female and 11 male, the majority (24) were between the ages of 20 and 40, and most (21) worked in middle-class and white-collar positions—in part due to the personal networks and snowball method I used to contact respondents. Many of the interviews used a "go-along" approach (cf. Kusenbach, 2003) in which I accompanied respondents on daily commutes or other journeys through the city. This

entailed paying close attention to everyday practices, as well as affect and other "somatic work"—the senses employed when traversing the city (cf. Brown & Shortell, 2015; Low, 2006; Wissmann, 2014). Accompanying residents on their trips proved a good way to access their habitual knowledge as well as witness and co-experience the affective impact of these movements. During fieldwork, my European passport put me in a privileged position. Moving across contested areas or through checkpoints, I could not be treated as arbitrarily as Palestinians under Israeli rule, and I could eventually leave the situation behind entirely. Although my foreign identity certainly imposed a limit on my access and depth of possible understanding of the Palestinian experience, it also allowed me to navigate both Palestinian and Israeli spaces, as well as to traverse different parts of Palestine—a possibility not available to most Palestinians.

The first, conceptual section of this chapter examines the relationship between mobility and embodiment through Maurice Merleau-Ponty's notion of "motility," which suggests that movement forms the link between the individual and the outside world, both spatial and social. Based on this notion, I examine how individuals' subjectivities are shaped by the city and how they exert agency within it. The second section shows how the restricted movements of Palestinians alienate residents from East Jerusalem—which the Palestinians continue to see as their capital in spite of Israel's claim to the entire city—and how this affects their sense of self and their position and future in the city. As they navigate the rules and spaces of the Israeli mobility regime, Palestinians must think of themselves from the perspective of Israeli power. At the same time, the restriction of everyday movements limits the "horizon" of what is conceivable. However, as the third section outlines, movement *in spite* of restrictions can also expand residents' appreciation of their own capacity. Leisure mobilities such as walking, running, biking, and parkour imbue practitioners with a sense of agency over their own bodies and the spaces they inhabit. As marginalized residents assert their claim to the city through movement, if only temporarily, they re-appropriate hostile space with light-hearted playfulness. Thus, the mobility of Palestinian Jerusalemites in spite of restrictions expands the sense of what is deemed possible in the city more broadly. As I argue in the conclusion, mobility emerges as a form of agency, playing an active role in the everyday negotiation of intra-urban boundaries, and thereby affecting both where the margins are located and which futures can be envisioned.

Mobility and embodiment

To Merleau-Ponty (2005), there is a relationality between subject and object: each is part of the other, and movement becomes an expression of that relationship. Mobility is a

site of consciousness and meaning-making and thus deeply implicated in shaping the identities of political subjects—which in turn affect how we traverse the world. Therefore, mobility appears a useful vehicle for examining not only how much political freedom is granted from above, but also how much agency people claim from below. It is a site of contestation between individual freedom and state control. In examining the relationship between residents, their movements, and the city in and around East Jerusalem, I draw upon basic notions of embodiment and motility as articulated by Merleau-Ponty. Embodiment, here, is based on the understanding that our primary relationship to the world is built upon the fact that we—our bodies—are part of it; we can never relate to it as an entirely separate object. From this it would follow that our relationship to the city as a socio-political entity cannot be separated from our bodily experiences of its physical spaces. The manner in which roads are constructed, for instance, determines where and how people move through the city. Borders, too, determine our movements, but the physical outlines of mobility patterns can undermine those borders or form intra-urban fault lines of their own.

The relationship between the perceiving subject and perceived object, according to Merleau-Ponty, is a dialectical one. As our means of communicating and interacting with the world, our bodies are part of the world and intertwined with it. Thus, for Merleau-Ponty, the distinction between body-subject (self) and the outside world cannot be upheld: "Inside and outside are inseparable. The world is wholly inside and I am wholly outside myself" (Merleau-Ponty, 2012, p. 474). Our stance toward, and understanding of, the outside world is mediated by motility—a potential movement or motor act toward the object. Thus, movement becomes the vehicle for experiencing the world, but also for understanding ourselves and our own position within the world. Particularly habitual movements—such as quotidian movements through the city—encapsulate a kind of implicit awareness that is pre-conscious. These pre-reflective unintentional movements show that our bodily interaction with an object cannot be separated from our understanding of it. Accordingly, inhabitants' understanding of the city cannot be separated from the way that they use and engage with it. Their interaction with the city shapes their view just as their preconceived cognitive views shape their physical actions—and at the same time, both shape the space of the city itself.

As the link between the subject and the outside world, the moving body becomes the site of consciousness and identity, the site where meaning is produced. Consciousness, according to Merleau-Ponty, is based on intentions (*Ibid.*, p. 102) and self-perception, always geared with a view "toward a certain task" (*Ibid.*, p. 123). Due to its capacity to shape our stance toward the outside object, and—reciprocally—our understanding of ourselves, motility is the "primary sphere in which initially all significance is engendered" (Merleau-Ponty, 2005, p.

142; cf. Merleau-Ponty, 2012, p. 143). Rather than being derived from a universal realm, meanings are based on the bodily relationship to, and uses of, objects. Movement, then, shapes residents' understanding of the city, and at the same time, the way they traverse the city also shapes their understanding of their own position within it. Everyday movement becomes not only a manner of being part of the city—by bringing the body-subject into relation with the world beyond—but also a means of reinforcing one's identity through habitual actions (Merleau-Ponty, 2012, p. 102).

Marginalization through im/mobility at the periphery

In limiting the use of space and rendering certain spaces inaccessible by disrupting urban trajectories, the Israeli separation wall that cuts through Jerusalem's outskirts affects how residents envision their relationship to, and their own place in, the city. The obstruction and external determination of mobility impacts residents' sense of their own capabilities, leading them to self-limit their movements and actions. By incrementally restricting Palestinians' movements, the mobility regime creates the embodied sense of a lack of options, and as a result, of a viable future in the city—an effect we might think of as a limitation of the "horizon of possibility."

Salma[1] lives in a house that looks directly out onto the separation wall, which passes through her backyard in Abu Dis, a suburb that is part of the Palestinian governorate of Jerusalem but not the Israeli-determined municipality. When Salma went into labor during the time of the wall's construction in the early 2000s, she was so determined to reach a Jerusalem hospital that she climbed over the wall to make it to the city center in time. After now having lived with the wall in her back garden for close to ten years, she finds it "easier to pretend Jerusalem doesn't exist" (Interview, 13 August 2014, Abu Dis). When I spoke to her, she had not visited the city in several years, even though she had the opportunity to do so during Ramadan, because she found her disconnection from Jerusalem so painful. Amneh from Kufr Aqab (a Jerusalem neighborhood that is part of the municipality but outside the wall), who was suffering from various health problems including a slipped disc, had not gone to see her doctor on the western side of the barrier for several weeks because she anticipated the journey across the checkpoint would be too strenuous.

For both Salma and Amneh, the restriction of movement leads to a decreased sense of their own capacities, which in turn leads to self-limitation. Both women seem to

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[1] Names used throughout are pseudonyms.

consciously limit their horizon: they choose to "forget" the other place and not to access it, even when the possibility is open to them. This self-limitation of mobility, due to a sense that the areas once traversed have turned hostile or alien, can become self-reinforcing over time. The consequent prolonged absence, whether externally or self-imposed, can heighten the sense of alienation. Dina, a young woman from Bethlehem, felt uncomfortable when she went to Jerusalem, even after spending several months in the city:

> When I was younger and I had to go to Jerusalem, it felt like a faraway place. They made us feel like it's not ours. I feel very alienated when I am there. […] When I worked there for five months, […] My permit didn't allow me to drive in the city, which restricted my work. I also avoided taking Israeli transportation, because of BDS [the boycott of Israeli institutions], but also for safety reasons. So I felt very restricted. (Interview, 19 August 2015, Ramallah)

Difficulties of access and a lack of familiarity are described here in terms of distance—Jerusalem appears "faraway" although it is not geographically remote from Bethlehem. Dina's inability to autonomously navigate the urban space of Jerusalem made her feel restricted, suggesting that self-determined movement might entail a sense of mastery, ownership, or even belonging. This sentiment was echoed when Bilal, who lives in nearby Ramallah but had not obtained permission to enter Jerusalem for several years, visited the city and found that he could not navigate it easily, in part because the built environment had changed and in part because he had forgotten how to find his way around. Noting that he did not recognize the urban landscape around him, he repeatedly exclaimed to this foreign researcher, "I can't believe that you are showing me around my own city!" (Interview, 1 August 2015, Jerusalem).

What is circumscribed by the horizon is also the space that can be "grasped," which in this case, to speak with Merleau-Ponty, means not only reached in a physical sense, but also comprehended. We might read the sense of alienation that several respondents felt when unable to navigate Jerusalem as a lack of embodied understanding. Rather than a mere inability to navigate logistically, the sense of alienation arose from the dissonance between memories of space and the city actually encountered. According to Merleau-Ponty, to "understand is to experience the accord between what we aim at and what is given, between the intention and the realization" (Merleau-Ponty, 2012, p. 146). When there is a significant gap between the city Palestinians expect and the city they find upon visiting, this results in a sense of incomprehension, and thus, also an inability to make use of the city. When confronted with the city in its current form, the visitor experiences a loss, a conceptual displacement from the city as it was envisioned that is at once alienating and traumatic.

This sense of alienation from certain spaces also affects the sense of self. Writing on feminine embodiment, Young (1980) notes that viewing oneself from the outside, as an object, causes

a sense of alienation from one's own body. This alienation limits the sense of one's own capacities and, consequently, the range of one's movements. Similarly, in expending significant energy to navigate the rules and spaces of the Israeli mobility regime (whether moving within its parameters or seeking to subvert it), Palestinians must think of their movements from the perspective of Israeli power. Their own bodies are no longer the "original coordinate" (*Ibid.*, p. 151) of their perception and motility—they view themselves as peripheral. This is also reflected in the fact that Palestinians in the Jerusalem suburbs cut off by the wall refer to the western side of the barrier as *juwwa* (inside), suggesting that they view themselves as stranded "outside" the city that long constituted the main point of reference of their social and economic lives. This conceptual displacement of the self to the urban periphery results in a sense of alienation, then, both from the spaces they cannot access and from their own capacities.

Those stripped of a sense of their own motility limit their activity. Abdel Halim is a man in his fifties who is originally from Gaza but has lived in the Jerusalem area for fifteen years. Before the construction of the wall was completed, he entered the city on a daily basis for work without a military permit. Deemed an "infiltrator," he frequently had to hide from Israeli military patrols, and thus learned their routines to avoid encounters—thinking of his own movements from their perspective. After being confined to Ezariya—the Jerusalem suburb where he now lives and works—for a decade, he received an ID allowing him to travel across the West Bank, albeit not into Jerusalem. Even after Abdel Halim's ability to traverse space had expanded, his embodied horizon of possibility did not immediately catch up. Because encountering Israeli soldiers would have meant arrest and deportation to Gaza for him in the past, his sense of his own motility remained constrained, manifesting itself in an visceral manner:

> Yes, I travel more freely now, but still, the prison is in my mind. When I see a checkpoint [freezes in mid-gesture and looks panicked] … then I remember I have a West Bank ID. You cannot imagine what limits I put to my mind. (Interview, 2 September 2014, Ezariya)

Sara Ahmed (2006) notes that bodies are shaped by their relationship to "reachable" objects, available within what she calls the "bodily horizon." Their tendency toward some objects rather than others is an effect of repetitive action, rather than an inherent quality. In other words, our actions toward the outside world become inscribed in us over time and shape our understanding of ourselves. Thus, Abdel Halim's decade-long inability to move out of Ezariya, his mobility history, has become "sedimented" in his body, to speak with Butler (1988), affecting where he feels out of place and where he feels he cannot go. He underestimates his own motility, and thus remains limited in his

capabilities even when he has authorization to move. Ongoing restrictions of movement thus appear to lead to a deeply ingrained incapacity to act freely.

To Merleau-Ponty, an object's horizon consists of those aspects that cannot be directly apprehended but are nonetheless perceived as part of it, including what lies beyond our current realm of perception. More broadly speaking, the horizon is not fixed—based on the position of the observer, it moves as we move. While it denotes a limitation of the perceptible world, it is also defined by its openness and flexibility. As we alter our position, we perceive the world beyond our previous horizon and we realize our own potential to access different spaces and perspectives, whether actualized or not. When we move, we gain access to other perspectives, as well as the knowledge that there is always more "out there," beyond our realm of current perception and comprehension. If we are restrained in our movements, our sense of possibilities—not only for ourselves, but more generally—is also constrained.

To those who have not traversed certain areas in some time, those places come to be seen beyond the "horizon of possibility." Given the co-constitution of self and world, Mensch argues (following Merleau-Ponty) that severing that which exceeds the self and which we depend on is deeply traumatic. Cutting off this self-transcendence "is to eliminate the 'I can' that allows an organic being to live by transcending itself" (2009, p. 109). That is, it reduces one's sense of one's own capacity and agency in the world. The restriction of access to Jerusalem, then, is not only violent in that it limits the body's movements (cf. Netz, 2004), but in particular because, in doing so, it limits the body's sense-making capacity (of self and world). If the future is not seen as open to a multiplicity of possibilities, and space is seen as a closed system, there are no grounds for engagement or political action, to paraphrase Massey (2005, p. 11).

Motility, reflected in Merleau-Ponty's notion of consciousness as an "I can," always pertains to a potential, forthcoming action. As such, any orientation is directed toward the future. The horizon one moves into is thus not merely a background, but also indicative of a potential action. Our anticipated future, or potential interaction with an object, then, shapes our baseline perception of this object. How Palestinians are able to navigate the city in the present shapes their understanding of their own future possibilities in it. As Palestinian space and movements are restricted, for many Palestinian Jerusalemites the range of possibilities for the future is diminished along with their sense of their own capacities. While living space in Jerusalem is constricted and expensive, the most apparent alternative, moving to the urban margins located beyond the wall, bears the risk of being excluded from the city in the long term. This lack of choices was a common theme in many discussions with Palestinian Jerusalemites, some of whom had moved back and forth or divided their time between the two sides of

the wall because both had disadvantages. Feeling physically stuck and consequently restricted in their personal development, some Palestinians see leaving the city entirely as their only option (see Baumann, 2019).

Expanding the horizon through speech acts and embodied practices

Aware of the manner in which decreased mobility restricts what is both possible and accessible, Palestinians seek to maintain or restore severed connections. As they move in spite of restrictions, those movements take on heightened meaning. By engaging in embodied practices through leisure mobilities, they reclaim a sense of agency and re-center themselves in the city, thereby undermining the borders imposed by Israeli state power and opening new perspectives on the horizon of what is possible.

In a situation of increasingly restricted horizons, any Palestinian movement defying restrictions denotes a refusal to let their motility be limited, and gains heightened meaning with regard to future possibilities for Palestinian space. Palestinian steadfastness, or *sumud*, was long understood in terms of staying put in response to the threat of deracination. In the wake of the Second Intifada beginning in 2000, it took on a kinetic dimension due to the Israeli restrictions on movement limiting Palestinian everyday life. As Hammami (2016) put it, "maintaining existence is not simply about staying put"—it requires quotidian movements outside the home and interactions beyond one's own realm. Thus, Palestinians' movements are often underpinned by a conviction that this movement serves a broader purpose. Several respondents who crossed checkpoints regularly conceptualized their insistence on movement, in spite of the humiliation and exhaustion caused by the checkpoints, as "maintaining the connection" to Jerusalem that the Israeli occupation was attempting to sever. This was framed as a conscious political choice not to let the mobility regime limit their space of movement and social interaction. Thus, 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 traveled to the Old City of Jerusalem at least once per week to pray at the Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount). Residents of the Jerusalem neighborhoods cut off by the wall insisted that their Jerusalem ID cards conferred the "right" to enter Jerusalem, despite the fact that checkpoints were occasionally closed. Smugglers who help Palestinians cross without a permit are often taxi drivers whose routes have been severed by the wall. Some proudly proclaim that continuing to serve these routes supports the Palestinian "national cause." In insisting on an expansive individual mobility, they thereby also seek to maintain a broader collective horizon of possibility.

In discussing journeys, Palestinians frequently insist on a particular vision of space, even if this does not correspond to the current spatial reality. Everyday journeys are commonly compared to a time prior to the constructions of the wall and the checkpoint regime. The time a journey previously took is invoked as the "real time"—the obstacles in between are thus declared as externally imposed, not accepted, and merely temporary. Even nineteen-year-old Afnan, who probably has little personal recollection of moving from her hometown of Hizma to the center of Jerusalem before the wall was built, said "usually it would take us seven minutes to get to Damascus Gate." By constantly recalling the former connectivity that has been severed, the homeland in its "original" (pre-Israeli) form is reaffirmed as a space of greater motility and possibility.

Similarly, some respondents insisted that their right to access the city was in no way dependent on Israeli-issued permits, thus suggesting that their claim to the land pre-dated and superseded the State of Israel. Bilal, the Ramallah resident without a permit to enter Jerusalem, refused to accept the Israeli mobility regime: "It is my capital, so I will go just to see my friends, to drink tea with them. There doesn't need to be an emergency. I should be allowed to go anytime" (Interview, 14 August 2013, Ramallah). However, despite his insistence on casual visits, Bilal only entered the city without a permit on one occasion over the course of three years. In fact, most respondents cut off from Jerusalem only entered the city without a permit when it was urgently necessary—for a visa appointment at a consulate or to visit a friend or family member in hospital. As Dina noted, "It's not worth the risk just to go for fun." Perhaps, then, we should read such pronouncements on the "actual" space, and the inherent rights of access to Jerusalem, as an insistence on a broader horizon in light of decreasing spatial options. The adherence to maintaining a wider space of potential movement, if only in speech acts, reflects a conscious attempt to not let oneself be limited by the Israeli restrictions on movement, to insist on a space of political possibility wider than that which is currently within reach. By refusing to heed the wall as an obstacle, such speech acts, like the actions of those who continue to make journeys despite exhaustion and risk, declare: "the border crossed us" (Cisneros, 2013). They deny the validity of the regime that imposed the border, thereby asserting their claim to Jerusalem as a Palestinian city, with a Palestinian future.

Mobility related to leisure can also serve to undermine Israeli control and imposed boundaries in Jerusalem's urban space in unique ways. Activities such as walking, running, biking, or parkour resonate with notions of freedom of movement on both an affective and a political level. In the mythology of settler colonial states, freely roaming the landscape is a central means of expanding the frontier and laying claim to the land (Cresswell, 1993). Thus, the Zionist notion of *yediat ha'aretz*, or knowledge of the land, became such a means of connecting
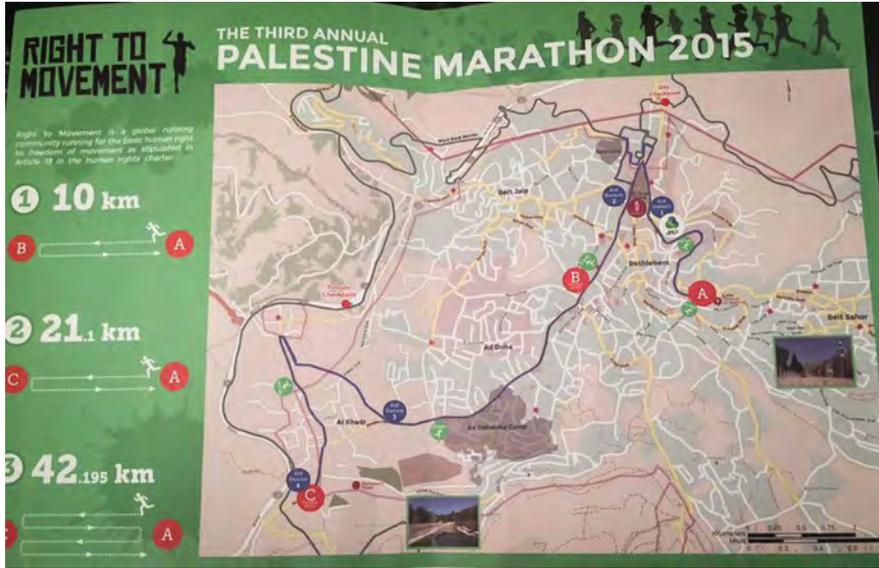
with the territory in the process of settlement (Shavit, 1997). At the same time, roaming of the land has a long history in Palestinian *fellahin* (peasant) traditions. This importance attributed to the unimpeded movement across rural open spaces has only increased with the ongoing Israeli dispossession of Palestinian lands. Explicitly linking embodied experience with collective political visions of space, walks through the Palestinian landscape have therefore been valorised as a means of personally connecting to the land and its history, but also of resisting the increasing fragmentation of Palestinian space (Shehadeh, 2008; Clarno, 2015; on Ramallah's urban landscape see Shehadeh, 2019). The "Right to Movement" Palestine Marathon has used similarly overtly political rhetoric and imagery. Its route is organized in such a way that runners encounter the wall at Jerusalem's southern periphery multiple times. The experience is thus designed to give foreign visitors an embodied sense of the restricted nature of the daily trajectories of Palestinians as they are forced to turn around and run in loops to complete the full length of the marathon (Fig. 2).

Those engaging in leisure mobilities in contested areas challenge boundaries, both spatial and behavioral, personal and social. Dina, who is also a member of the "Right to Movement" group and goes on regular extended runs along the Jerusalem periphery, found that this activity allowed her to experience the "Palestinian landscape" in new ways, both by gaining a better understanding of her homeland and connecting to it

physically and emotionally. While running gave her the sense of being "like a bird set free," she also made the conscious decision to run on roads usually reserved for settlers, and thus to overstep the borders prescribed by the occupation, expanding the space of possibility beyond that of Israeli-sanctioned access (Interview, 19 August 2015, Ramallah). In describing her development as a runner, Dina emphasized the disciplined training required and the confidence she gained by improving her fitness and physical abilities. While running marathons allowed her to travel abroad, it also expanded her horizon of possibility at home: running entailed transgressing physical restrictions imposed by Israel, as well as boundaries of conventional behavior in Palestinian society (see also McGahern, 2019). Jogging alone as a woman, she faced regular harassment from men, but came to brush this off as merely a nuisance. Similarly, those engaging in other outdoor sports such as mountain biking near settlements noted their circumspection, as encounters in seam zones can be dangerous. Several respondents invoked the case of George Khoury, a young Palestinian man who was killed by the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades because he was mistaken for a Jewish Israeli while jogging near the Israeli settlement of French Hill in 2004. Some worried subsequently that engaging in such activities caused potentially dangerous confusion about their identity; one East Jerusalem commuter who cycled to work, for instance, said he was regularly mistaken for an Israeli or foreigner because this was seen as unusual behavior for a Palestinian. In making use of contested spaces, then, if only by passing through them temporarily, Palestinian joggers and cyclists lay a claim to that space, refusing to let the possibility of dangerous or uncomfortable encounters dictate their spaces of mobility.

In the parceled space of Palestine, where everyday travel is often painstakingly slow and carried out with caution, moving at great speed, without adhering to the rules of the road or the occupation, for personal enjoyment rather than economic survival, can have a liberating effect. Youth from the refugee camps near Bethlehem, for instance, regularly go for joyrides along the separation wall, in spaces that have become emptied of activity because they are now cut off from Jerusalem. They perform high-speed turns and intentionally oversteer their cars in order to make them "drift" as the tires lose traction—instilling a sense of unfettered floating at thrill-inducing speeds. In the documentary *Speed Sisters* (dir. Fares, 2015), Palestinian female race car drivers describe the sense of freedom they feel when drifting, even as their practice sessions take place adjacent to an Israeli military base. The velocity and sense of free-fall they experience briefly overrides their usual stark spatial restrictions. Here too, the embodied sense of excitement the women derive from speed car racing is aligned with their transgression of normative gender roles. When one driver's mother says racing "opened [her daughter's] horizons," we can take this to mean more than that it gave her insight into a new

sport, or allowed her to travel to competitions outside of her native city of Jenin. In mastering a new mode of movement, a risky and unusual one at that, she became aware of capacities that were previously beyond her perception and comprehension.

Practitioners of parkour, a form of urban acrobatics born out of the hip-hop culture of the French *banlieues*, engage with buildings and walls, overcoming them by utilizing them as props to propel their bodies. What was once an obstacle or a ruin is thus appropriated for a positive self-determined purpose.[2] In Jerusalem, young people explore the Old City in search of new locations for practicing. This process of "urban rediscovery" (Mould, 2009) allows them to learn about the urban landscape and lay claim to previously unknown sites, such as rooftops (many of which are highly contested or controlled by settlers—Fig. 5). By making use of the built environment for this unsanctioned purpose, they engage with the city in novel ways, testing boundaries of permissible behavior. While the athletic sprints, jumps, and flips can be unexpected and disconcerting in a tense urban environment, it is also difficult for Israeli law enforcement to prohibit them, in part due to their playful nature. Palestinian youths thus occasionally use these displays of physical skill as a means of provocation, undermining the authority of soldiers.

Similarly, those who practice BMX bicycle stunts disrupt the routines of shared and highly securitized spaces, such as the steps at Damascus Gate, making light of a tense situation. Even as it takes the form of "practicing," carrying out jumps, spins, and other stunts inside the amphitheater of this pedestrian node (Fig. 3) is a way to be seen—a performance that intentionally sends a signal. Acting in a spatially expansive manner, blocking the way of ultra-Orthodox Jewish passersby or soldiers on patrol, the bikers display, through their light-hearted acts, that they are not intimidated by Israeli authority. As in European cities, where BMX and skateboarding subcultures claim public spaces against the parameters of their intended use (Borden, 2001; Spinney, 2010), we see a playful dominance over space. Unlike in most European cities, however, in Jerusalem's unpredictable urban space, where Palestinians might get shot for acting suspiciously or moving too quickly, acting outside normal behavioral scripts is a risk. Yet because "overcoming fear" (Saville, 2008) is an essential component of these types of sports, the engagement with Israeli security forces is perhaps a part of the appeal (Figs. 3–5).

Leisure mobilities may be viewed as more self-serving, or even escapist, than traveling to work to feed a family, and at first glance certainly seem "peripheral" to the production of urban space, especially in a context so geopolitically overdetermined. In that they involve

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[2] It is perhaps no coincidence that parkour is especially popular in Gaza, where movement is so severely restricted (see Grima & Ottomanelli, 2013).

the enjoyment of movement through space, however, rather than existing merely as a means to an end, they can be said to bear a more radical potential for (re)defining individual and collective relationships to urban space. In going beyond the essential, leisure mobilities have an expansive quality that survivalism, or the steadfast defense of the status quo, does not. In addition, they open up new opportunities—new ways of moving, new spaces to move into, and new unsanctioned behaviors that expand the range of what is possible beyond the immediate moment. These leisure activities are, for Palestinians, a means of re-imbuing mobility with joyful meaning that counters the strain of moving across Israeli-restricted space. They also aid in reclaiming movement as a self-determined activity—through training and gaining confidence in their abilities, practitioners achieve a new sense of control over their own bodies. Moving through Israeli-controlled spaces can be unpredictable and dangerous for Palestinians. In the riskier of these practices, they may seek to actively exert control over the level of danger they are exposed to, rather than remaining passive recipients of threats. No longer conceiving of their position from the perspective of Israeli power, practitioners thus re-center themselves in their experience of the city—they become the "original coordinate" (Young, 1980, p. 151) rather than marginal subjects transgressing on the center. In redefining practitioners' bodily relationships to space, and opening up entirely new avenues of engaging with it, these sports have the potential to counteract the alienation and limitation of the horizon of possibility.

Conclusion

Merleau-Ponty's understanding of embodiment breaks down the dichotomy between subject and object—between self and world—in a manner that reveals that movement through

space is generative of meaning and identity. If we understand the body as "a system of possible actions" (Merleau-Ponty, 2012, p. 260) and as the ultimate expression of human capacity (*Ibid*, p. 140), then the restriction of the body's movement can affect its sense of its own capacity. If the "horizon" denotes the current limitations and potential future possibilities, then bodily practices can expand this horizon: by offering new vantage points and thereby altering our view of broader situations and our position within them, embodied movement can provide a sense of possibility beyond what is currently known, thereby also altering our sense of our own potential. Conversely, limited movements restrict the view of that which is currently beyond one's reach, but otherwise potentially accessible. As the body is the interface of self and world, the limitation of possible movements affects not just the perception of the outside world, but also one's sense of self, in terms of one's position in the world and one's ability to interact with it. Thus, changes in mobility routines affect Palestinians' understanding of their own capacities, their current position within the city, and their future within it. The difficulties associated with crossing from one side of the wall to the other not only discourage residents from doing so, but also shape their perception of the no-longer accessible spaces.

At the same time, mobility emerges as an expression of agentic capacities. Just as habit is a form of bodily consciousness in Merleau-Ponty's view, consciousness is a somatic stance. Intrinsic to the notion of motility is the intentionality toward an outside object. Similarly, consciousness, too, is based upon the potential to affect the world from one's own position—what we might also call agency. Merleau-Ponty sees motility "unequivocally as original intentionality. Consciousness is originarily not an 'I think that,' but rather an 'I can'" (Merleau-Ponty, 2012, p. 140). Motility, then, is deeply linked to the ability to act. Such a phenomenological understanding of agency constitutes a break with the canonical Western tradition: grounded in the opposition between mind and body, and especially from the Enlightenment onward, agency has been associated with rationality and free will of the autonomous subject (Meynell, 2009). Women and other marginalized groups were defined through their corporeality and pitted as the opposite of rational autonomous agents, and hence could be "legitimately denied some of the privileges of agents." (*Ibid.*, p. 5). Similarly, the Israeli occupation's restriction of the movement of Palestinians reduces them to (dangerous) bodies, subject to being constrained. From the point of view of Israeli power, the ensuing framing of their movement as constant transgression, as Kotef (2015) has argued, is then used to show they are not "good subjects" and should thus be excluded from access to certain rights. Yet the academic focus on the Israeli control, management, and regulation of Palestinian bodies appears to reinforce this logic of power, in

which the state is a coherent, unified, rational actor and Palestinians are merely bodies whose movement and survival are to be managed. By seeking to overcome the mind-body hierarchy and instead emphasizing the interrelations between the two, a phenomenological approach avoids feeding into discourse that denies the free will of Palestinians (if only by omission) and, consequently, their role as political subjects with agency.

In East Jerusalem and its outskirts in particular, where the outright political activity of Palestinians is heavily restricted, the political implications of everyday movements are significant. Although at first glance, they might appear marginal to the formation of geopolitical borders in the city, they can tell us about how Palestinians view their position in the city and how much agency they are able to exert within the limited parameters set by the Israeli occupation. Mobility thus becomes a useful lens for examining not only how Palestinians' ability to act is constrained by the broader urban context but also how their movements affect the city; that is, how they exert agency in space. I have sought to show here how mobility constraints shape Palestinian positionality vis-à-vis the city in an embodied manner. The restriction of movement determines the contours of their daily experience and their vision of themselves in the city through limiting the horizon of possibility, leading to further self-limitation. At the same time, expansive movements in spite of these restrictions and rhetorical insistence on continued access to Jerusalem seek to widen that restricted horizon. Unlike the formal political realm, the urban everyday is an arena in which Palestinians have a wider range of possibilities and options, and thus a degree of self-determination. What we might call "kinetic sumud" is expressed not only in resisting immobility but also in asserting mobility. Through insisting on the enjoyment of that embodied manifestation of personal and collective capacity, contested spaces can be (re)claimed.

The lens of embodied movement thus reveals that movements across space are not merely determined by borders imposed by state power. Rather, both everyday and leisure movements can undermine, create, or uphold such borders. The relationship between borders and mobility, as between the built environment and social practices more generally, is a reciprocal one. In "many-bordered" Jerusalem (Dumper, 2014), physical obstacles may be undermined or overcome, and invisible boundaries may be defended or expanded, through movement or temporary presence. Building on Simmel's proposal that a border "is not a spatial fact with sociological consequences, but a sociological fact that forms itself spatially" (Simmel, 1997, p. 143), we can think of intra-urban borders not only as determined by spatial facts, but also as products of ongoing processes of reinforcement and subversion through everyday actions. By imposing a border from the top down, the separation wall has certainly had a significant effect on patterns of both residency and mobility. Yet by examining its

effect from an embodied perspective, we have seen how the restriction of movement it enacts also affects the ways in which residents perceive their own role in relation to the city. This consequent shift in perception shapes East Jerusalem as a place alien to Palestinians, and one in which a Palestinian future is increasingly difficult to imagine. At the same time, however, the gradual, "quiet encroachment" of Palestinian movements into contested spaces may solidify and become a "new normal" (cf. Bayat, 2009), resulting in borders redrawn through practice. As various groups in the city are engaged in constant negotiation, mobility becomes a site of contestation regarding urban belonging because it is a tool of defining and undermining boundaries. This process is shaped by more than a one-directional cause-and-effect relationship, as borders and mobility co-constitute one another. Residents shape the city through their mobility practices, but at the same time, their movements through contested space shape them, reconfiguring the boundaries of their subjectivity.

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