Settler Colonialism and Digital Tools of Elimination in Palestinian Jerusalem

Shahd Qannam and Jamal Abu Eisheh

Abstract

This article examines various ways in which the Israeli security apparatus utilizes digital tools to surveil and control Palestinians in East Jerusalem and beyond. Authors Shahd Qannam and Jamal Abu Eisheh argue that such digital tools are part of the Israeli settler-colonial goal of eliminating the Indigenous Palestinians. They identify three ways in which digital tools contribute to the elimination of Palestinians and Palestinianness in Jerusalem: first, tools that allow the tracking of the movement of Palestinians, such as CCTV cameras, biometric information, and electronic ankle monitors, enable the Israeli regime to digitally track Palestinians and criminalize their movement, in order to subsequently physically remove them from the city. Second, the authors detail how Israel produces digital maps that deliberately erase the Palestinian identity of the city, promoting instead an exclusionary Zionist narrative. Third, they explain how social media serve both as tools of censorship that further erase the Palestinian narrative, and as tools of surveillance that push Palestinians to self-censorship, thereby eliminating expressions of Palestinianness.

Keywords

Settler colonialism; digital tools; cyberspaces; surveillance; censorship; erasure; discipline; elimination; Jerusalem.

Editor's Note

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The Israeli government uses myriad forms of digital tools to oppress Palestinians across colonized Palestine, and especially in the occupied West Bank, including East Jerusalem. These practices are designed to eliminate Palestinians from the land in a relentless effort to Judaize/Zionize it. This paper focuses on Israel's weaponization of digital tools against Palestinians in East Jerusalem. It demonstrates how digital spaces are juxtaposed with the physical landscape, and how these tools are deployed to erase Palestinians and their claims to the land in order to exert Israeli control over the entirety of Jerusalem and colonized Palestine.

In Jerusalem, Israeli digital surveillance shapes public order and dictates public access to space, especially among Palestinians. Importantly, however, Israeli digital surveillance in East Jerusalem not only targets the Palestinian population of the city; it also systematically attacks what Palestinian civil society organizations and scholars refer to as "the Palestinian national project."[1] In this essay, we argue that the digital sphere provides Israel with an additional tool to exercise the settler-colonial "logic of elimination,"[2] and we show how the Israeli regime uses digital tools to simultaneously exercise physical and digital elimination of Palestinians.

The essay begins with an explanation of how the elimination of the Palestinians from the land is part and parcel of the Zionist settler-colonial project in Palestine. It then identifies three ways in which digital tools allow Israel to exercise this elimination. First, we discuss how Israel uses "traditional" surveillance, which tracks the movement of Palestinians through equipment such as CCTV cameras, biometric information, and electronic ankle monitors, to revoke the residency of Palestinians in Jerusalem. Second, we explore how Israeli online maps eliminate Palestine symbolically by separating it from the landscape or erasing it altogether from digital cartographies. Third, we analyze how social media are used both as a tool of surveillance and censorship, leading to the elimination of expressions of Palestinianness. Combining these three elements of Israeli digital oppression, we demonstrate how Israel deploys digital tools to supplement physical forms of elimination.

The Eliminatory Logic of Zionist Settler Colonialism

As exemplified by the 1948 Palestinian Nakba, the Israeli settler-colonial project continuously seeks to remove Palestinian presence from the land. Fayez Sayegh points to the racist ethnic exclusivity and territorially expansionist characteristics of Zionism, explaining that Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine clearly aims at the creation of a state, making territory the principal objective of the Zionist project rather than labor, as in cases of non-settler colonialism.[3] Specifically, the Zionist project aims at acquiring the largest amount of land, removing Palestinians from it, and replacing them with Jewish settlers.[4] Settler-colonial policies and practices toward the Indigenous are guided by what Patrick Wolfe calls "the logic of elimination": to delegitimize, deny, and replace the existence of an Indigenous population over the land. Importantly, settler colonialism is a "structure not an event," suggesting its temporal continuation.[5]

Israeli occupation forces' denial and revocation of Palestinians' residency rights in Jerusalem is just one mechanism used to realize the Zionist goal of physically removing Palestinians from the land. Between 1967 and 1994, when Israel directly administered the West Bank and Gaza, a quarter of a million Palestinians living in the West Bank (excluding Jerusalem) and the Gaza Strip had their residency IDs revoked.[6] The establishment of the Palestinian Authority consequent to the 1993 Oslo accords brought the administration of the West Bank and Gaza Strip under the mandate of the new authority, meaning that Israeli authorities could no longer revoke the residency permits or identification cards of Palestinians in the West Bank (excluding Jerusalem) and the Gaza Strip.[7] In East Jerusalem, however, Palestinians have a more precarious legal status. After Israel illegally occupied it in 1967, Palestinians residing there were given the status of "permanent resident," which is revocable according to Israeli law and does not provide political rights. Israeli Ministry of Interior data revealed that from 1967 to 2015, at least 14,000 Palestinians in East Jerusalem had their "permanent" residency status revoked.[8]

However, the erasure of Indigenous people is not only physical. Lorenzo Veracini exposes a variety of ways in which the settler-colonial state can erase the presence of an Indigenous population. This could be, among other ways, through the erasure of Indigenous narrative and culture, the non-recognition of Indigenous legal rights, or the denying of the ties between the Indigenous population and the land – all expressions of Indigeneity that challenge the legitimacy of the settler colonizer.[9] This is what Wolfe terms the elimination of nativeness.[10] In this way, the varied nature and structured characteristics of settler-colonial policies mean that there is a multiplicity of spaces in which they can be enacted and challenged.

The digital and online realms are such spaces that become sites of struggle between the eliminatory settler-colonial logic and Indigenous resistance to erasure. After all, it is *territory* that is central to settler colonialism, and insomuch as digital space is a territory, it is critical to examine Israel's practices of domination of it.[11]

Helga Tawil-Souri explains that since the Oslo accords, Israel has retained control over all communication infrastructure used by Palestinians. This includes phone lines, and mobile and internet networks.[12] In what Tawil-Souri calls "digital occupation," Israel extends its control over Palestinians from the physical realm, where it controls their bodies, to the digital realm. She reminds us that "digital networks, too, are spaces of control."[13] For Israel, digital spaces as sites of control and erasure are arguably more advantageous that the physical realm because the tools deployed in them are "frictionless."[14] Digital control and surveillance technologies have allowed Israeli occupation forces to remove themselves to a certain extent from the "battlefield," thereby rendering the processes of erasing Palestinians less visibly violent.[15] In the next three sections, we explore how these "frictionless" digital spaces constitute forms of elimination of Palestinians, thus contributing to fulfilling the Zionist settler-colonial mission.

Tracking as a Tool for Elimination

The Colonial Gaze and Israeli CCTV

Surveillance has become essential for the Israeli regime in Jerusalem. Tawil-Souri explains that the logic of surveillance in East Jerusalem is that Palestinians are surveilled because they are always *a priori* guilty of something.[16] Their guilt, for Israel, might simply be the mere fact that they *are* in Jerusalem. As Wolfe puts it: "So far as Indigenous people are concerned, where they are is who they are, and not only by their own reckoning."[17] As Israeli settler colonialism is fundamentally a battle for space, removing the presence of the Palestinian other from the land is a constant preoccupation. This places Palestinians under what Elia Zureik calls the "Israeli gaze."[18]

This deliberate gaze is not meant to go unnoticed: Palestinians are constantly reminded that Israel is watching them, which is why Israeli occupation forces have invested so heavily in making their presence known, including through "photographing raids." The concept is simple: soldiers raid Palestinian houses, take pictures of their residents, and leave.[19] The pictures are not necessarily stored or used for any purpose, but the raid itself is a reminder that the Israeli military is here and can *see* what Palestinians do. Another example is the use of the Bluewolf application by the Israeli military, which allows soldiers to upload pictures of Palestinians and run a search in a large database. An equivalent application was developed for use by Jewish settlers in the West Bank.[20] These tactics of reminding Palestinians about Israeli presence show Palestinians that they cannot escape surveillance.

The surveillance technology Israel deploys in Jerusalem is named Mabat 2000, "meaning both the Hebrew word for 'gaze' and an acronym for 'technological & surveillance center.'"[21] The system relies on networks of CCTV cameras, averaging one camera per one hundred persons in the Old City of Jerusalem, and facial recognition was added to this system in 2017.[22] It is now estimated that "CCTVs have been installed to cover 95 percent of public areas in occupied East Jerusalem."[23] Additionally, some cameras can look directly into Palestinian homes, invading the privacy of the few Palestinian spaces left in Jerusalem.[24] With these intimidatingly visible cameras, the Israeli regime thus succeeds at making itself appear omnipresent and undeniable.[25]

Importantly, the network of cameras used to impose the Israeli gaze on Palestinians also serves to defend Jewish Israeli settler violence. In other words, Israel simultaneously uses its surveillance technology to criminalize and exterminate Palestinians, and to turn a blind eye to the near-daily instances of Israeli settler violence against Palestinians, as many Palestinian Jerusalemites have testified.[26] This has the added effect of providing Israeli settlers with a layer of security, advancing the process of Judaizing the city by eliminating its Palestinians.[27]

In March 2018, Israel amended Article 11 of the 1952 Entry into Israel Law "granting the interior minister full power to revoke the Jerusalem residencies of

Palestinians over allegations of 'breaching allegiance' or 'loyalty' to the Israeli state."[28] This, coupled with the increasing presence of CCTV cameras across East Jerusalem has led to growing concern among Palestinians over their ability to undertake political action. Indeed, Israel can use CCTV footage to arbitrarily accuse Palestinians of breaching loyalty to the state, thereby stripping them of their residency and leading to their expulsion from the city. To be sure, this eliminatory logic extends to Palestinian citizens of Israel, too. In July 2022, the Israeli Supreme Court decided to uphold a 2008 amendment to Article 11(2)(b) of the 1952 Citizenship Law authorizing a "court of administrative affairs, at the request of the Interior Minister, to revoke the Israeli citizenship of persons who have 'committed an act that constitutes a breach of loyalty to the State of Israel.'"[29] Unsurprisingly, what constitutes a "breach of loyalty" is left unclear, but raising the Palestinian flag in public, which the Israeli regime recently banned, could be grounds for breach of loyalty.[30]

Cameras work hand in hand with the collection and processing of biometric data as part of the Israeli Biometric Project.[31] In 2009, the Israeli Knesset adopted a law to issue biometric IDs and passports, and to establish a database with the biometric information of residents of Israel, which includes Palestinian residents of Jerusalem. This means that information on all residents would now be stored in one place accessible to the government, rather than having each resident carry their information with them. The project started with a pilot period and was officially adopted by the Israeli Ministry of Interior (MoI) in 2017. While the objective of the project was purportedly to prevent the forgery of ID cards, critics raised concerns about the potential abuse of the database.[32] Indeed, a databank of all of this information constitutes a "needless blow to the individual's right to dignity, liberty, and privacy."[33]

The major concern is that such a database will be abused by security forces and the MoI. This is because these "smart" IDs have expiration dates, unlike the previous IDs Jerusalemites held. Prior to the database, the MoI would summon Palestinians for questioning if it suspected that they were not primarily residing in Jerusalem – a requirement for holding a permanent residency status. However, the new IDs require Palestinians to visit the MoI regularly for renewal, though renewal is not guaranteed.[34] Each time they visit the MoI in Wadi al-Joz, Palestinians must present sufficient evidence that Israel (including occupied East Jerusalem) is their "center of life" – a requirement deliberately designed to be virtually impossible to fulfill.[35] If all the requirements are not met, the MoI has the power to revoke Palestinian residency permits. In fact, it is well documented that the MoI deliberately uses the "center of life" policy to revoke Palestinian residency permits rather than renew them.[36] What is more, this biometric technology is used at checkpoints throughout the West Bank, and at crossings into Jerusalem, allowing Israeli authorities to identify Palestinians who may be breaching the "center of life" requirements by residing primarily in the West Bank.[37] Thus, biometric technology furthers the Zionist mission of erasing Palestinians from the land, especially in Jerusalem.

Incarceration at Home: Ankle Monitors

The Israeli regime's violence enacted through digital tools is backed by powerful state and legal institutions that legitimize the use of such tools. This can be seen in the case of electronic ankle monitors. In 2005, the Israeli Ministry of Public Security created a pilot program to electronically monitor Palestinians under house arrest as a substitute for incarceration in Israeli prisons. In 2007, the Unit for Coordination of Electronic Monitoring was established as an operational unit within the Ministry of Public Security, and in 2009, the duties and responsibilities of the unit were transferred to the Israel Prison Service (IPS).[38] Then, in 2014, the Knesset passed the Electronic Monitoring Law to regulate the electronic monitoring program, which installs invasive equipment in Palestinian homes, including receivers and electronic ankle monitors that send signals to the IPS control room about detainees' movements. If they leave the space demarcated for them by the court, IPS is alerted and the detainee suffers further repercussions. The Commission for Detainees and Ex-Detainees Affairs reported that Israeli courts placed more than six hundred Palestinian children, mostly from Jerusalem, under house arrest in 2022.[39]

Israeli courts use this electronic monitoring technology on children under the age of fourteen since imprisoning them is "illegal" under Israeli law. The detention of children in their homes comes in one of two forms: either the child is detained in their own home, putting their families in the excruciating burden of preventing them from leaving the home; or, the child is forcibly removed from their home and placed under house arrest in another, undisclosed location.[40] Unable to incarcerate them, Israeli courts order their house arrest until the end of their trials, which often take months. Importantly, their house arrest does not count as time served once their sentence is issued at the end of the trial.[41]

Electronic ankle monitors constitute a form of incarceration, which is a powerful tool the Israeli regime uses to eliminate Palestinians. Indeed, scholars of Indigenous studies have demonstrated the inherent links between incarceration, criminalization, and settler colonialism.[42] The confinement of an Indigenous person to one place effectively removes them from all other places, and breaks their links with their communities – a form of elimination. Among a range of other methods, the shrinking of Palestinian spaces in Jerusalem and the imposition of the Israeli gaze through CCTV cameras and ankle monitors render life increasingly unlivable for Palestinians in Jerusalem, thus leaving many with no choice but to leave the city and possibly the country, if they have the means. Jeff Halper uses the term "bureaucratic strangulation" to describe Israeli policies that insidiously make life unlivable for Palestinians in Jerusalem, thus spurring their elimination from the land.[43] Building on Halper's terminology, we posit that the matrix of digital tools Israeli occupation forces use to monitor and expel Palestinians constitutes "surveillance strangulation."

Maps and Online Erasure

Palestinians have to defend themselves from erasure in another digital space: the worldwide web, especially when it comes to the many maps of historic Palestine that deny their existence. Maps hold a certain political and representational power, assumed to depict geographies with an almost inherent objectivity.[44] That is, maps are visual tools used by regimes of power to claim or deny the presence of geographic and topographic features, including entire nations and states. Examining the criteria for the selection and omission of data in maps therefore reveals a great deal about the motivations of their creators.[45]

A notable example that illustrates the power of maps to assert existence and enact erasure occurred when the terms "West Bank" and "Gaza Strip" disappeared from Google Maps in 2016.[46] Although the incident was reported as a glitch, and Google claimed objectivity, Valentina Carraro reminds us that the process of map-making is not neutral, as "a lot of work goes into selecting, formatting, sorting and arranging these data."[47] Google does indeed obtain its data from third-party and publicly available sources, which might suggest the supposed glitch was in the data on which Google relies. Regardless of the reason behind the glitch, the online map becomes a site for elimination.

In Jerusalem specifically, the digital erasure of Palestinian spaces is evident in the ways they are categorized on maps. Carraro explains how the navigation application Waze collaborated with the Israeli police to categorize Palestinian spaces in Jerusalem as dangerous and, therefore, as best to avoid. Carraro demonstrates that this categorization resembles "an 'architecture of war' that divides the city into us/them, safe/dangerous, here/there, generating a sense of constant danger."[48] Representing Palestinians as dangerous others in dangerous spaces, they are effectively rendered undesirable in the geography of the "safe" city, thus justifying efforts to remove them. Importantly, categorizing Indigenous spaces as dangerous fulfills the settler-colonial logic of eliminating them.[49] Digital maps on widely used navigation applications are thus critical in achieving this agenda.

Ironically, these digital maps on Waze proved contentious, as some high-ranking Israeli figures argued that the application, by categorizing spaces in and around Jerusalem as dangerous and Palestinian, was implying that parts of Jerusalem fall under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority (PA), challenging the official Israeli narrative of Jerusalem being the united capital of the state.[50] In fact, Waze categorizes parts of the West Bank similarly, warning Israeli users not to visit certain "dangerous" areas. This, too, challenges the Zionist narrative that represents Palestinians as negligible and dismissible. The conundrum was resolved, however, when Waze ultimately gave in to pressure and stopped defining Palestinian neighborhoods of Jerusalem as dangerous. Carraro explains that an Israeli journalist interpreted this to be an indication that Israel did not concede any part of "the virtual map."[51] In

other words, Israeli users of the Waze application were able to both slate Palestinian neighborhoods for elimination by designating them as dangerous, *and* to eliminate their existence altogether by affirming the supposed safety of a united and Israeli Jerusalem.

In this way, Israel's illegal physical annexation of the city is complemented by a virtual one, reflecting the Zionist logic of non-recognition of Palestinianness. Indeed, Israel's annexation of Jerusalem through digital maps can also be seen in Google Maps searches for Jerusalem, which now identify the city as part of Israel. Even major checkpoints, such as Hizma and Qalandiya, that connect East Jerusalem to the rest of the West Bank, are defined as "border crossings," effectively delineating two separate territories. In denying that occupied East Jerusalem is part of the occupied West Bank, Google Maps allows for Israel's virtual annexation of the entirety of Jerusalem.

Social Media

Social media also fulfill the Zionist settler-colonial logic of eliminating Palestinians. Indeed, control over social media allows regimes of power to exercise both surveillance and censorship – forms of control considered less detectable and oppressive, as social media platforms are "deemed beyond the reach of state violence."[52] In the context of Palestine, however, Israel's use of social media as part of its eliminatory project constitutes what Kuntsman and Stein call "digital militarism," which "renders the Israeli occupation at once palpable and out of reach, both visible and invisible."[53] This dual functionality allows social media to be powerful tools in Israel's digital militarism against Palestinians. Specifically, it is the fact of invisibility that offers Israel a distinct advantage, allowing it to make political decisions outside of social media platforms that it then uses to harm Palestinians social media users. For example, in 2016, Facebook collaborated with the Israeli government to monitor and tackle "inciting content" against Israel.[54] And in 2017, Facebook also approved a large number of requests by the Israeli regime to block or remove content and accounts deemed inciteful; eighty-three pages were removed in the first half of 2018 alone.[55]

More recently, Facebook and its parent company Meta, which also owns Instagram, once again participated in the censorship of Palestinians. During the Unity Intifada which began in May 2021 following weeks of Palestinian protests across historic Palestine at the expulsion of Palestinians from their homes in East Jerusalem, as well as Israeli raids on the al-Aqsa Mosque compound and its bombardment of Gaza, Palestinian social media users and their allies reported "deleted posts, suspended or restricted accounts, disabled groups, reduced visibility, lower engagement with content, and blocked hashtags."[56] The majority of the deleted content depicted Palestinian experiences of Israeli brutality in Jerusalem and elsewhere; thus, Meta is complicit in both the perpetuation of Israeli state violence and its cover-up.

The way in which Facebook works in such instances reveals larger dynamics at play. The consultancy Business for Social Responsibility (BSR) explains that Facebook restricts content in Arabic much more than it does content in Hebrew. This is because

Meta does not have the necessary algorithms to detect "hostile speech" in Hebrew, while it does for Arabic.[57] As a result, violent and inciteful posts in Hebrew against Palestinians were far less likely to be deleted. In this instance, social media become part of promoting the settler-colonial political project, suppressing the Indigenous Palestinian narrative and promoting the Israeli settler-colonial one.

In addition to censorship, social media platforms are fertile grounds for surveillance. Israeli use of social media algorithms facilitates and maximizes the effectiveness of online surveillance. The ability of social media to extract and collect data about individuals is what helps algorithms function. Distretti and Cristiano explain that, "as a consequence of the 'datafication' of most facets of human experience, algorithms have become autonomous actors of power."[58] Making algorithms autonomous is not complicated: you can teach the algorithm what is dangerous and then ask it to identify anything that fits the description. Israeli companies have developed such an algorithm that can allegedly "predict" the future behavior of Palestinians, based on social media activity. Therefore, Israeli security services can locate them using biometric information or other surveillance methods, to eventually arrest them. The algorithm works by searching for "keywords" such as *shahid* (martyr) or *al-Quds* (Jerusalem). It also looks for photos shared by users, including of martyrs.[59] The information is then collected and compared to what other users who are already categorized as suspicious are posting, suggesting that "the number of people singled out as potential suspects is expanded simply based on their style of writing."[60] This effectively criminalizes Palestinian social media users based on biased predictions that have no way of being verified.

Indeed, the algorithms are not necessarily reliable. For instance, in 2017, Israeli occupation forces arrested a Palestinian worker who posted "good morning" in Arabic on his Facebook account, which was mistakenly translated to "hurt them" in English and "attack them" in Hebrew.[61] Therefore, algorithmic surveillance, whether deliberately or accidentally, serves the Israeli goal of silencing Palestinian voices and removing Palestinian presence from the digital sphere. The impacts of such algorithms are grave, as the Palestinian Prisoners Studies Center documented that around five hundred Palestinians, including children, were arrested between 2015 and 2018 on charges of incitement over social media.[62]

Social media surveillance also serves to manipulate Palestinians. In 2014, forty-three agents of the Israeli intelligence Unit 8200 (Israel's legendary high-tech snoops) revealed that Unit 8200 spies not only on phones, emails, and other devices of high-profile Palestinians, but also on vulnerable Palestinians, aiming to find personal secrets about them to blackmail them into collaborating with the Unit.[63] Israeli state agents have even created fake Facebook profiles to try and obtain information about Palestinians' "sexual orientation, medical and mental conditions, and marital and financial status" in order to extort them.[64]

These pervasive digital tools of control and surveillance, all of which are known yet invisible, have compelled Palestinians to be excessively cautious in their online expression. Sharing certain pictures or writing certain posts now require careful

thinking.[65] The case of Dareen Tatour illustrates this: the Palestinian poet posted a poem on Facebook and was charged by the Israeli police with online incitement of terrorism.[66] Such instances have a chilling effect on Palestinians, leading to a decrease in their online political activity for fear of Israeli retribution, which could come in the form of questioning, imprisonment, and even harassment of the individual's family.[67] Israeli digital surveillance has thus managed to create cycles of repression – visible and otherwise – where Palestinians must silence themselves and each other, amounting to yet another form of elimination.

The omnipresence of Israeli surveillance and censorship on social media platforms show the extent to which the regime's aim is to discipline Palestinians by silencing and eliminating them. In this sense, digital surveillance, along with other forms of surveillance, "disturbs, appropriates, and disciplines populations to obtain and then sustain its 'obedience,' to slowly eliminate its claim to Indigeneity, while maintaining it under control."[68] As Palestinians are placed in a state of "must disappear," social media not only allow the Israeli security apparatus to force this disappearance through censorship, but also prevent the "appearance" of expressions of Palestinianness through intimidation that leads to self-censorship.[69]

Conclusion

Surveillance over Palestinians has always been an integral part of the settler-colonial project in Palestine. Israeli disciplinary surveillance tactics against Palestinians initially included the issuance of specific identification cards, the establishment of watchtowers and population registries, and imprisonment, among others. However, Israel has evolved its techniques to surveil Palestinians in Jerusalem and beyond into the digital sphere. This includes the use of digital surveillance technology to monitor and control Palestinian movement and presence both in physical spaces and in cyberspaces. Settler-colonial policies against Palestinian digital visibility have thus transformed the cyberspace from a sphere where Palestinians and their allies could raise their voices against oppression to an open arena for colonial control and elimination.

From CCTV cameras, biometric information, and electronic ankle monitors that track Palestinian movements around Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine, to digital maps that designate Palestinian spaces as dangerous or deny their existence altogether, and to silencing and punishing Palestinians social media users for their posts, the Israeli settler-colonial regime entrenches its goal of ethnically cleansing Palestine of its indigenous population in order to advance the Judaization/Zionization of historic Palestine, especially in Jerusalem. Indeed, the erasure of Palestine through online maps that exclusively refer to all parts of Jerusalem as Israel contributes to the ongoing efforts of obliterating the Palestinian national project and denying the Palestinian presence in Jerusalem. Likewise, criminalizing Palestinians under house arrest with ankle monitoring devices while awaiting trial, and through censoring

their expressions of Palestinianness online, contribute to dispossessing Palestinians and revoking their permanent residency status in Jerusalem. In this way, the Israeli regime's repressive digital policies against Palestinians not only suppress Palestinian digital mobility and the Palestinian national project, they also serve to legitimize the Zionist settler-colonial claim to Jerusalem and the entirety of Palestine.

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