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Anti-Displacement and Affordable Housing Strategies in Jaffa, Israel

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree Master of Urban and Regional Planning

by

Noy Ramon

2021

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Anti-Displacement and Affordable Housing Strategies in Jaffa, Israel

By

Noy Ramon

Master of Urban and Regional Planning

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Ananya Roy, Chair

The thesis examines the incorporation of anti-displacement measures to protect the vulnerable community into redevelopment and renewal projects that have taken place between 2000-2020 in the district of Jaffa in Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Israel. In addition, the thesis examines state and city initiatives to provide affordable housing solutions in the district. This is done in response to city government's statements and commitments in the city strategic plans to the vulnerable community of Jaffa, and primarily to the Arab community of Jaffa over the past twenty years. Using document and literature review as well as interviews with various stakeholders, I review five redevelopment and renewal projects as well as city and state affordable housing initiatives. I concluded that the city in the past ten years increased its efforts to provide affordable housing solutions and to protect the vulnerable community of Jaffa from the increased gentrification; however, its neoliberal approach to planning and its goal to attract younger middle-class residents to Jaffa overcome its commitment to the vulnerable community of Jaffa and limits its ability to incorporate anti-displacement measures in the district.

The thesis of Noy Ramon is approved.

Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris

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2021

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Part 0: Introduction

Introduction

Research questions and conceptual framework

This thesis focuses on the city of Tel-Aviv-Jafa in Israel, examining and analyzing its recent planning efforts for the district of Jaffa, and evaluating how contested planning goals are dealt with. Specifically, the thesis focuses on anti-displacement efforts that the city initiated in the past ten years to protect the local community of Jaffa from the escalating gentrification in the district. The city government had two contested goals for the district of Jaffa: 1) to develop the area and attract new residents to it; 2) to protect from displacement local low-income and minority communities, which in this thesis are referred to as the vulnerable population of Jaffa. The thesis evaluates how these two contested goals are working together and whether one goal overcomes the other.

Since 2005, the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa in Israel, published three Strategic Plans which provide guidelines and vision for the future planning of the city and address urging issues concerning housing, education and the quality of life within the city. The decision to publish these documents and adopt such planning methods came from the desire to be up to date with the latest global trends for urban planning and presented a shift in attitude towards planning for the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. The decision was made to benefit its residents, but also to establish its status as a global city that acts as a cultural and economic center. It was also made in order to attract new residents, specifically the young middle-class community, and to bring tourists to the city to increase both city status and revenues¹. To further promote these goals, and to mark its status within the global community, in 2016, Tel Aviv-Jaffa was selected to be part of the

¹ 2005 City Vision - introduction to building the city's vision. The city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

global network of cities, '100 Resilience Cities', of the Rockefeller Foundation. This move led the city to revise its strategic plan in 2019 for the third time in the past two decades, to put emphasis on participatory planning practices and affordable housing solutions. The strategic plans reveal the conflict the city's government faces; On the one hand, the municipality wishes to respond to the needs of all its citizens but specifically its vulnerable population, which consists of ethnic minorities and low-income residents, and provide them with affordable housing solutions, minimize their displacement, and provide social services. On the other hand, it desires to redevelop and attract young educated middle-income residents to the city, specifically to poor areas of the city in order to revive these districts, and to establish and affirm its status as a young attractive city and as an economic and cultural worldwide hub. While one goal is dependent on anti-displacement mechanisms and community empowering methods, the other relies on the influx of higher-income residents and private investment to the poorest districts of the city.

The case of Jaffa

This thesis examines whether one of these contested goals of the city's government overcomes the other by looking at the case of Jaffa, the poorest and most diverse district of the city that has seen large municipal investment in the form of redevelopment and renewal projects in the past twenty years. This investment has been accompanied by a rapid gentrification process that continues to spread across the districts, displacing Jaffa's vulnerable population. I define the vulnerable population of Jaffa as a marginalized community that consists of minority ethnic groups and long-term low-income residents. Specifically, it is composed of the Arab community (both Muslims and Christians), long-term Jewish community (that arrived during 1950-1970), Jewish Ethiopian community, Jewish immigrants from the former USSR and foreign immigrant workers².

² The foreign immigrant community consists primarily with illegal immigrants who seek refuge in Israel from Sudan and Eritrea (https://www.gov.il/BlobFolder/generalpage/foreign_workers_stats/he/ZARIM_q4_2020.pdf)

To examine whether one of the contested city goals are privileged **this thesis focuses on five public redevelopment and renewal projects that were developed in Jaffa in the past twenty years and examines city and state mechanisms to provide affordable housing solutions and minimize the displacement of Jaffa's vulnerable population. It asks whether these projects and mechanisms favor one of the city's goals over the other: does the city provide housing solutions and uses mechanisms to protect Jaffa's vulnerable population from displacement throughout its projects and anti-displacement mechanisms? Or do these programs further push away the local community from the city and give space to a more affluent younger community?**

Jaffa's case is unique as it is not only the poorest district, but also the only mixed district in Tel Aviv-Jaffa where both Jewish and Arab (Muslims and Christians) communities reside. Although the vulnerable community of Jaffa is composed of various groups, it is primarily consisting of the Arab community which makes up approximately one-third of Jaffa's population. The Arab community is at its highest risk of displacement as it has the least amount of migration options, since it relies on specific public services that are dedicated to its community, such as schools, religious institutions and community centers. These services are only offered in Arab villages and in the Mixed Cities in Israel³ (Jerusalem, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Haifa, Ramla, Lod, Ma'alot-Tarshiha, Nof-Hagalil, Acre).

There is a long city and state history of prioritizing one ethnic group, the Jewish, over the other, the Arab. The Arab community of Jaffa has been experiencing discrimination since the establishment of Israel in 1948⁴. The discrimination took form through both the enactment of state and city policies and through forced spatial distribution and displacement throughout

³ Mixed cities are defined according to the Israel Democracy Institute as an urban space where several ethnic groups reside and where the minority group within the city makes a large portion of the total population. In Israel such minority group is the Arab population, and the definition refers to cities where both Jewish and Arab residents reside.

⁴

Jaffa's neighborhoods. For this reason, **the thesis also asks whether the new approach to planning that the city has adopted, continues past ethnocentric practices, or steps away from them making amends and protecting the Arab population of Jaffa from displacement. Specifically, it asks if the redevelopment and renewal projects, and anti-displacement mechanism apply directly to the Arab community of Jaffa or continue to exclude it.**

Why Jaffa?

Outdated research and data

While the contested goals of the city's government in the context of Jaffa and its commitment to make amends with the Arab population of Jaffa were previously discussed in the academic literature primarily by Daniel Monterescu (1997;2007), they were mostly studied in the first decade of the 21st century, which as a result, excludes important public projects, city programs and city policies that were enacted in the past ten years. In addition, the current literature focuses mostly on the situation of the vulnerable community of Jaffa, and specifically the Arab population, providing information about the community and its housing crisis relying on data mostly from 2010 or earlier. It does not provide a thorough examination of the redevelopment and renewal projects, and the programs the city developed for Jaffa in the past twenty years and does not study them against the latest city's commitments and goals laid out in city Strategic Plans.

Time is of the essence: Gentrification is at its peak, and public projects are in the frontier

The latest revisions for the previously mentioned city Strategic Plan were published in 2019. Even though the previous Strategic Plans discussed the social, economic and housing issues facing Jaffa, and included commitment to developing the district while protecting its residents, the latest Strategic Plan further emphasizes these goals. The latest Strategic Plan, which was

designed after the city joined the 100 Resilience Cities, stresses the housing crisis and the social issues that exist in Jaffa and puts the district as a top priority for the city. Thus, now more than ever it is important to examine and review the city's latest plans for the district in order to identify whether the city was able to implement its goals.

Moreover, now more than ever the situation of the vulnerable population of Jaffa is at stake. With redevelopment and renewal projects in the frontier or in their last phases, there is an opportunity for the city to move away from its past practices and build into its projects anti-displacement measures to help the mistreated vulnerable population of Jaffa. Since the gentrification process in Jaffa is currently at its peak, it is crucial to examine current city programs and efforts to provide the vulnerable population with affordable housing solutions and to protect the unique, ethnically mixed fabric of its community. The latest redevelopment projects and renewal plans target the southern and eastern areas of the district, which unlike the north-western area, have not yet seen significant gentrification (see figure xx). Thus, in order to minimize the spread of gentrification to the south and east areas, which may lead to the displacement of the local vulnerable population, it is important to examine both the latest plans for the south and east neighborhoods, as well as the redevelopment projects that were implemented in the north-western part of the district in order to avoid past mistakes and improve the planning and implementation process of the latest plans for the district.

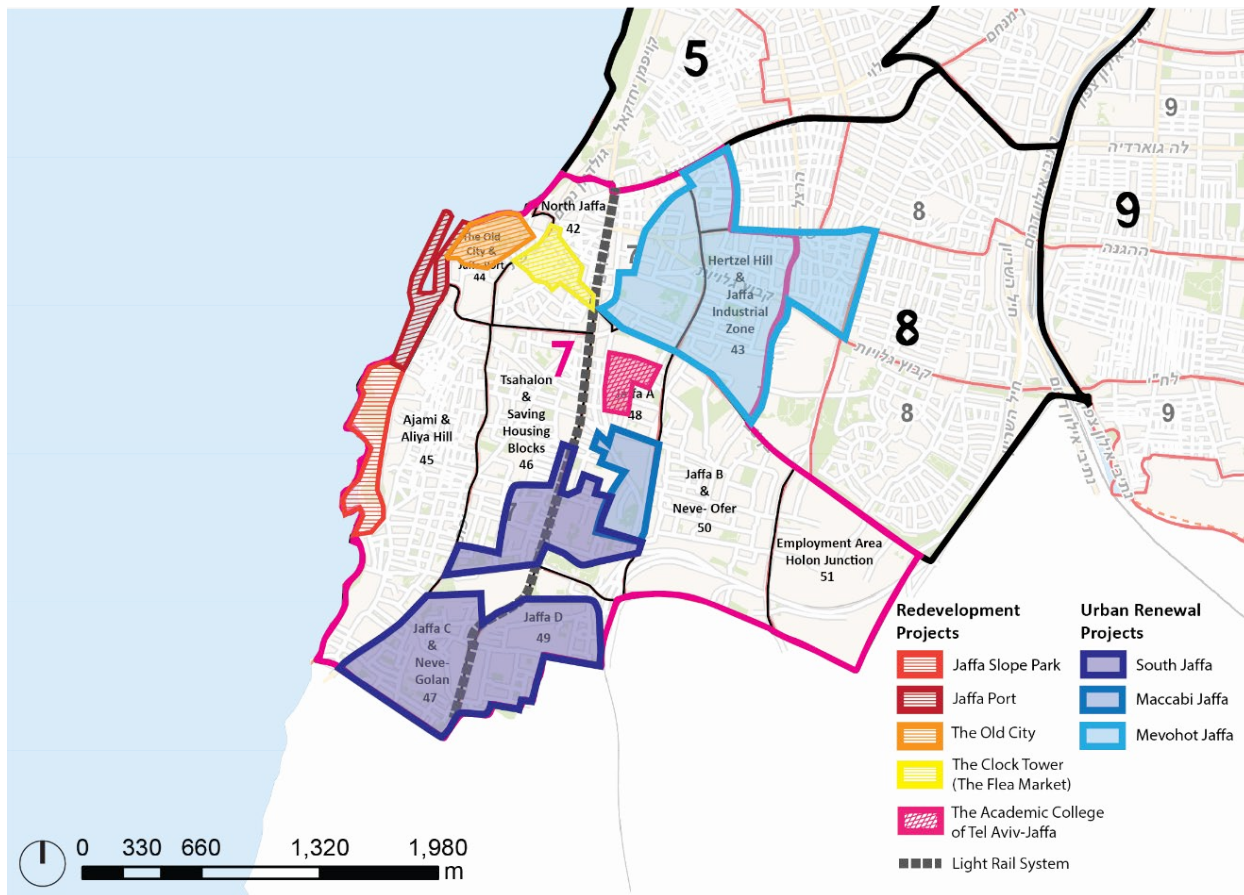


Figure 1: Diagram of major urban redevelopment and urban renewal projects

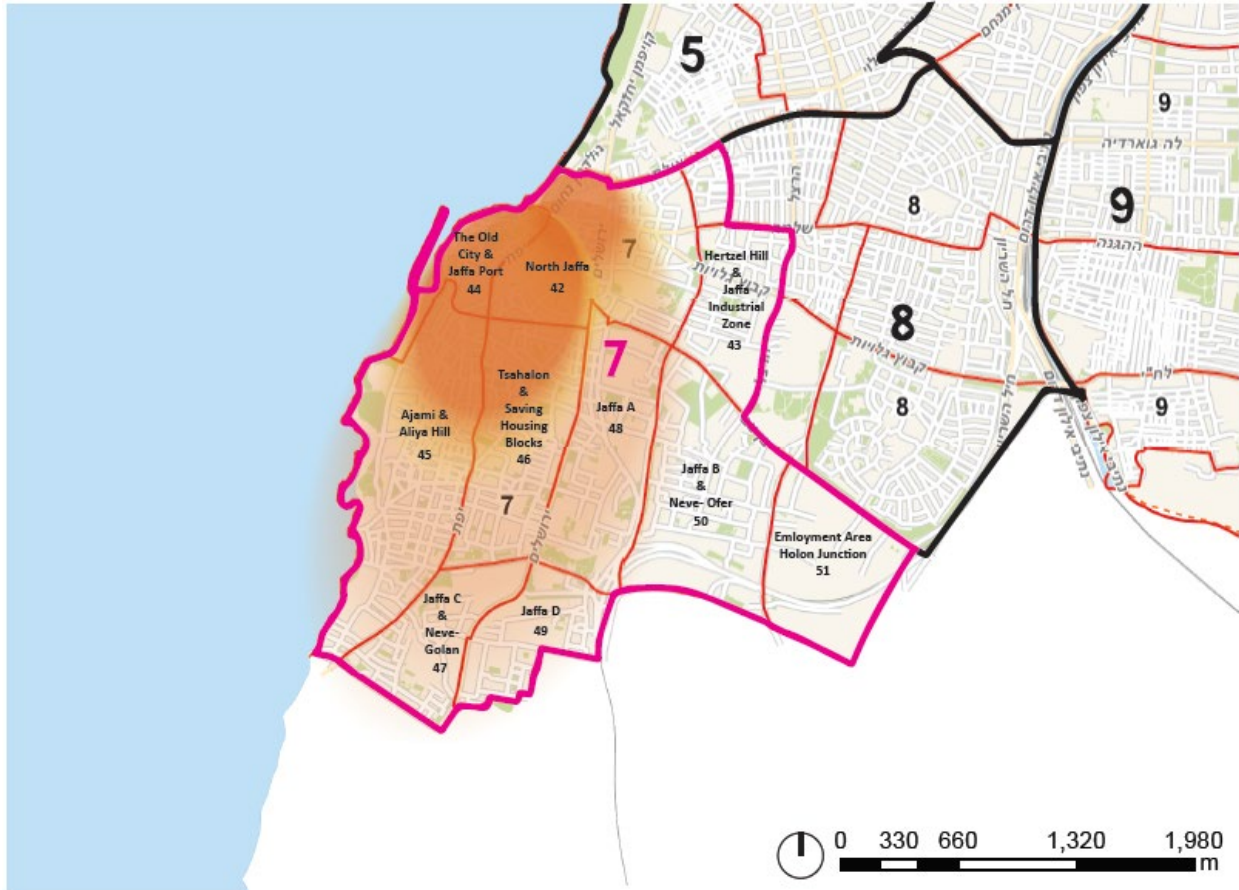


Figure 2: Jaffa's neighborhoods map. The orange circle indicates the current location where the gentrification process is at its peak, and the direction it is heading (south-east).

Lack of thorough research on anti-displacement efforts of the city in the district of Jaffa

Although organization efforts of residents and activist groups in the past two decades have raised awareness to the urgent issues of the vulnerable population of Jaffa, there has been no research that examined the city efforts as a whole to protect the community from displacement. As the city invested a large amount of money and efforts to improving the facial appearance of Jaffa and committed to protect the vulnerable community from displacement, it is important to examine whether such city commitments were translated into actions. Aesthetic improvements by the city took place for the benefit of the residents, but also for the goal of marking the area as prime touristic attraction and drawing private investment and new residents to the district.

While doing so, the city also committed to protecting the vulnerable population of Jaffa from displacement, specifically referring to the low-income and Arab residents of the district. The city has the power to enact policies and regulations that can protect the community, and therefore, examining its actions over the past twenty years can shed light on the anti-displacement strategies and tools the city chose to use. These findings could be compared to efforts that other cities have taken, and future research could assess whether such strategies have been effective in minimizing and even preventing displacement of local communities.

Tension in Jaffa due to ethnocratic approaches of state policies and discrimination of the Israeli Arab community

In the past few months tension between the Arab and the Jewish communities in Israel have escalated, reaching one of the most extreme moments of dispute in May 2021 during ‘Operation Guardian of the Wall’ in the Gaza Strip. Although the conflict was between Gaza and Israel, it was triggered due to an internal dispute between Arabs and Jews over land in East Jerusalem. The conflict surfaced the discrimination Israeli Arabs face due to the fact that Israel defines itself above all as a Jewish state, favoring Jewish residents over Arabs through its actions and policies. Such favoritism is defined by Oren Yiftachel as ethnocracy, where governing authorities put one ethnic group above others (Yiftachel, 2006). The Arab residents of Jaffa have long suffered from such favoritism, and thus, when the dispute surfaced in May, the situation in Jaffa, where Arabs and Jews usually coexist, became extreme and violence took over the streets. This followed by a strong presence of army and police forces, which were brought to control the growing violence and tension in the district. While the district’s residents claim that the violence was initiated by ‘outsiders’, the district was still tremendously impacted by the events. Popular areas such as the Flea Market and the Old City, which are usually populated with tourists, visitors, and locals, became vacant and the businesses which already had suffered a year of

closure due to COVID-19, continued to stay closed due to the ongoing conflict⁵. Even though tension between the two communities has always been part of Jaffa's existence, the latest events interrupted the relationship between the communities in the district. Therefore, I argue that now the case of Jaffa is more relevant than ever before, and it is important to specifically examine whether the city's commitments to the Arab community to protect its space within the district and to regain its trust are manifested through the city's projects and plans for the district.

The story of Jaffa

Since 1985, and specifically in the past twenty years, the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa has been targeting its most southern district (district number 7, see figure 1), Jaffa, as one of its primary areas for urban redevelopment and renewal projects. Jaffa, an ancient port city that was under the control of various rulers through its history, was incorporated to the city of Tel Aviv in 1949, a year after the establishment of Israel. It is located at the south edge of the city along the border of the city of Bat-Yam and is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea to its west, Ayalon highway to its east⁶, and with Florentin and Shapira neighborhoods to the north (see figure xx).

⁵ Levy L. (2021, June 7). Jewish-Arab Clashes Turned Jaffa's Flea Market Into a Ghost Town. Haaretz <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.MAGAZINE-covid-and-the-gaza-war-sucked-the-life-out-of-tel-aviv-jaffa-s-flea-market-1.9881153>

⁶ Ayalon Highway is the only highway in the city which is located along the east edge of the city and runs north-south connecting the city to the larger metropolitan of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

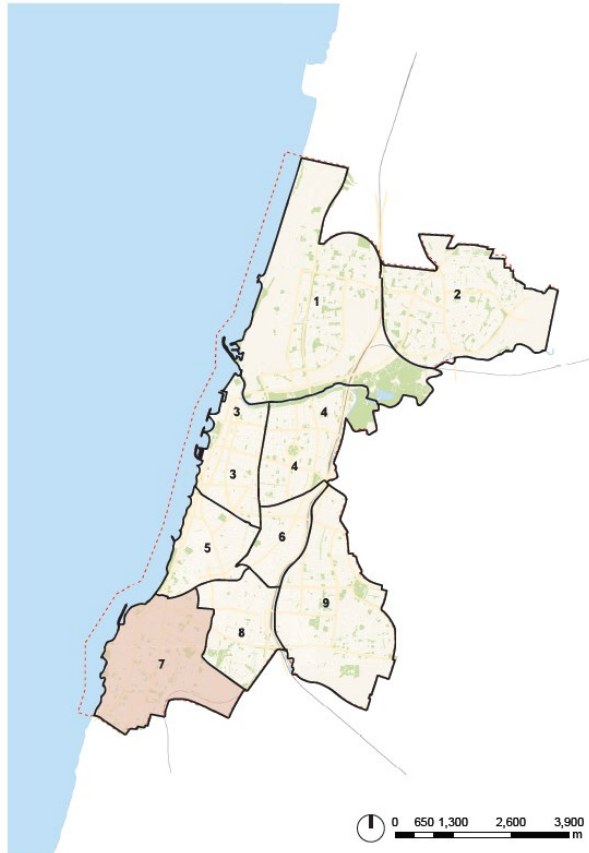


Figure 3: General Map of Tel Aviv-Jaffa districts. The location of Jaffa, District 7 is highlighted.

Prior to the establishment of Israel, under the British Mandate, Jaffa was considered the main trade and cultural center of Palestine and consisted of a diverse population of approximately 80,000 Christians, Muslims and Jews residents. However, the Arab Muslim population of Jaffa was the dominant one, and this was also reflected in its urban fabric, which was characterized by Islamic architecture. After the establishment of Israel in 1948, the War of 1948, and the incorporation of Jaffa to its neighboring north city, Tel Aviv, the social and architectural character, as well as the status of Jaffa as a city altered. Instead of a dominant Arab Muslim city, it became a Jewish dominant district, with Jewish refugees residing in abandoned Arab damaged houses, and in new housing blocks, that were built rapidly and owned by the state. The Arab community that was left in Jaffa was relocated by the state to Ajami, which was already a

dominated Arab neighborhood along the west central edge of the district (see figure xx); their homes became the property of the state, and their rights as homeowners were taken and replaced by a status of Protected Renters under the supervision of the state agency, Amidar. Beaten by the war, the once flourishing port city became a pile of ruined urban fabric, filled with damaged houses that were occupied by a broken Arab community and a hurting Jewish refugee community that wished to rebuild itself and find home in the houses of others.

After the War of 1948, aside of the construction of housing blocks in Jaffa during the early years of Israel, Jaffa experienced an era of neglect by both the state and the city that lasted until 1985. Lack of infrastructure and the limitation on renovations that were imposed by a lack of city plans for the area, led to the deterioration of the urban fabric as well as of Jaffa's communities. The Arab communities and the Jewish community of the district shrunk, as whoever could, fled the area to seek better living conditions. Thus, the community that was left in Jaffa was primarily characterized as a low-income mixed community of both Arabs and Jews.

The era of neglect and disinvestment stopped in 1985, when the long-standing mayor of the city, Shlomo Lahat, recognized the struggle of the residents of the southern districts and committed to reversing the situation and investing in the south of the city under the slogan 'Looking Southwards'. This strategy followed the city's bankruptcy in 1984, that resulted from the city debt of four billion Israeli Shekels to the banks and various state agencies⁷. It was also in conjunction with the city's overall shift towards a neo-liberal approach to governing. As the situation in Jaffa was specifically severe due to the lack of trust between the Arab population and the municipality, and due to the previous policy, or lack of policy, which did not allow for development, Jaffa required special attention and the mayor decided to take specific steps in order to revive the area. While such forward thinking was honorable, it was also driven by a

⁷ Beh Horin I. (1984, September 4). Tel Aviv municipality owes to the banks 4 billion Shekels. Maariv. <https://www.nli.org.il/he/newspapers/mar/1984/09/04/01/article/85/?e=-----he-20--1--img-txIN%7ctxTI-----1>

neoliberal approach to planning adopted by the city, as the area was recognized for its high land value due to its close proximity to the waterfront and its historic urban fabric that could generate profit as a touristic attraction and attract affluent residents to the area.

While investment in the district began in 1985, it escalated dramatically during the 21st century, when a new mayor, Ron Huldai, was elected. The investment manifested through the execution of large redevelopment projects primarily in the first decade and was followed by renewal plans in the second decade of the 21st century. These projects were guided by the strategic plans that the city began to develop in 2005, which included the city's approach to housing, economic development, social equity and sustainability. Continuing the 'Looking Southwards' strategy that was initiated by Lahat, the city and the state of Israel identified the district as a major tourist destination and invested large amounts of money and resources to reshape the urban fabric of the south district of Jaffa. Indeed, due to this strategy, the old city of Jaffa, was ranked as the most popular tourist destination in the city, as 70% of the tourists that visited the city in 2017 explored this historic Jaffa's neighborhood⁸. This city strategy generated winners and losers, giving leverage to high-income residents and tourists, while compromising the vulnerable population of Jaffa.

The redevelopment projects of the first decade of the 21st century, focused mainly on improving basic infrastructure systems, transportation systems, and public amenities, for the main goal of redefining Jaffa as a unique touristic destination to attract private investment. The city's efforts have proved to be successful, and projects such as the Jaffa Slope Park (waterfront promenade), the renovation of the historic Flea Market, and the rehabilitation of Jaffa Port (ancient historic port), 'revived' Jaffa and brought large numbers of both foreign and local private investment to the area. The investment from the part of both the city and private entities, which prioritized

⁸ 2030 Vision and Master Plan. Tourism in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/About/DocLib5/%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%9B%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%AA%20%D7%90%D7%91%20%D7%AA%D7%99%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%AA%202030.pdf>

resources to the north-west section of the district, captured the interest of higher income residents from Israel and abroad, which now dominate this area of Jaffa, populating luxury residential projects and gated communities that became common figures in the urban landscape. These are juxtaposed against deteriorating homes of the vulnerable population, specifically of the low-income Arab community. As expected, property and land value have escalated and continue to do so, while long-term residents, specifically the vulnerable population of Jaffa, are being pushed outside of their neighborhoods and the district.



Figure 4: Two of the city's redevelopment projects: Jaffa Port and The Old City of Jaffa. Image credit:

<https://israel.travel/ joys-of-jaffa/>



Figure 5: Gated community and deteriorating houses in the Arab dominated neighborhood Ajami, south of the Old City and Jaffa Port. Images source: <https://www.agoda.com/andromeda-hill-apartments-spa/hotel/tel-aviv-il.html?cid=1844104> ; <https://www.tarbush.org/%D7%A2%D7%92%D7%9E%D7%99/>



Figure 6: contrasting urban fabrics. Right Images by: Ofer Vaknin. Left image by Asaf Pinchuk. Source: <https://www.themarket.com/realestate/.premium-MAGAZINE-1.9220703>

In more recent years, from 2011 onwards, following the guidelines of its Strategic Plans, the city shifted its focus from public amenities development that attracts tourists, to renewal projects of residential areas within the south and east areas of the district for the benefit of the current residents, but also for the purposes of attracting new residents to Jaffa⁹. The renewal plans utilize state programs, such as the National Outline Plan 38, and ‘Pinui Binui’ (Evacuation and Reconstruction projects) in order to increase the number of units in the area and provide current homeowners improved renovated or new units. The renewal plans are expected to revitalize the neighborhoods, provide them with better housing conditions, public amenities such as neighborhood parks, and improved public facilities such as schools and community centers. While the renewal plans benefit local homeowners, they are also expected to increase land values and attract new residents to the area, which will push away the current renters who enjoy the low rents these neighborhoods offer (a rare find within the city). As rents around the

⁹ Information taken from city strategic plans documents for the district of Jaffa in the last decade

city are one of the highest in the country, low-income renters in Jaffa may find themselves needing to not only leave the district and their community, but also the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Therefore, the latest renewal plans for the district may result in the spread of the gentrification process that dominated the northwest area of Jaffa, to its eastern and southern neighborhoods, limiting affordable housing options throughout the district.

From a first glance, the story of Jaffa sounds like a typical gentrification story: the city designated a district for redevelopment to improve the livelihood of area residents; private stakeholders noticed the city's efforts and invested in the area; land values rose; local low-income communities could no longer afford living in the area and moved out from their neighborhoods. Thus, the city's efforts to develop and invest in the district, which were supposed to serve all city residents, and specifically the local community, resulted in the displacement of its vulnerable population. However, the Jaffa story is not that simple. As the only 'mixed district' in the city, relocation options for its low-income Arab community, who can no longer afford living in Jaffa, are limited within the city as no other district in the Jewish dominant city offers the community public infrastructures such as schools and religious. Moreover, as large numbers of the Arab community live as Protected Renters in state-owned properties, they are subject to displacement by the state, who is in the process of privatizing its land. Thus, Jaffa's unique ethnic mix and its complex history of land ownership, bring to the 'typical' gentrification story another layer of ethnic discrimination that is rooted in historical events. The gentrification story of Jaffa is therefore enhanced by ethnocracy, "a political regime that facilitates expansion and control by a dominant ethnicity in contested lands" as defined by Oren Yiftachel (2006). The ethnocratic approach to urban development in Israel, which favors Jewish residents over Arab residents for the sake of advancing the state of Israel as a Jewish state (Yiftachel, 2006), is exemplified through the history of the urban development in Jaffa and

is emphasized through the gentrification process that the district is experiencing specifically in the past two decades.

The past twenty years of intense city investments in Jaffa were supposed to recover the long hurting vulnerable community, but instead, the process continued to displace and dismantle it, pushing it outside the boundaries of the district. City investment in redeveloping the Jaffa Port, for example, prioritized the desire of the city to market the area for tourists and, while it did involve the local community of fishermen in the design process, when it came to plan execution, it neglected the needs of the fishermen, who depend on the port for their income and living (Avni, 2017). Similarly, the infrastructure investment and renovation of the Flea Market, which was supposed to help the local vendors and provide them with adequate facilities, eventually pushed them from the market and gave room to bars and restaurants instead. Another development, the waterfront park, Jaffa Slope Park, that is located adjacent to Ajami, the poorest Arab dominant neighborhood in Jaffa, was designed to serve the local community, and its design process included community feedback. However, the park development increased the land values in the neighborhood which brought private investment and a new affluent Jewish community to Ajami. The latest renewal plans, which target the eastern and southern neighborhoods of the district, utilized participatory planning process and put the current residents' interest in mind by incorporating state programs that allow for the construction of better housing conditions for current residents, but at the same time, they specifically attracted middle-income young population and increased the land values in the area, which has the potential to push the current low-income renters from the neighborhoods. Some homeowners in these neighborhoods also choose to leave the area after selling their properties to developers. Thus, the investment of the city in the past twenty years instead of benefitting the vulnerable population, has left the community yet again, poor, frustrated, hopeless, and in some cases, homeless.

In 2019, the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa stated in its Strategic Plan that it acknowledges the distrust between the Arab community of Jaffa and the city and pledged to rebuild and redefine this relationship¹⁰. This statement is not the first time that the city has pledged to protect the vulnerable community of Jaffa, and specifically the Arab community. In 2005, the city indicated in its first Strategic Plan that it will pay specific attention to the housing crisis in Jaffa and will work to slow down and eliminate the gentrification and displacement processes¹¹. Although these statements may bring some comfort to the community, it is only the first step in a long process of recovery, which will require the city to negotiate between its ethnocentric and neoliberal attitudes for planning, and its promises to shield the vulnerable community of Jaffa from displacement. These statements further stress the contested goals of the city government to attract new affluent residents to the area, while wishing to make amends and providing housing options to its vulnerable population.

Research Questions and Methodology

In the light of the above city statements, the thesis primary asks the following research questions:

- 1. What anti-displacement policies and mechanisms has the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa enacted in the past twenty years?**
- 2. What have been the city's efforts to provide adequate housing options to the vulnerable population of Jaffa, specifically in the past ten years?**
- 3. Does the city's commitment to protect its vulnerable community translate into actions through the incorporation of anti-displacement measures into such projects?**

¹⁰The Strategic Plan for the City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa Strategic Plan 2019, The city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, June 2019

¹¹ Strategic Plan for the City of Tel-Aviv Jaffa 2005, City of Tel-Aviv Jaffa, P.74, <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Forms/%D7%A7%D7%95%20%D7%90%D7%A1%D7%98%D7%A8%D7%98%D7%92%D7%99%20%20-%20%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A8%20%D7%9C%D7%9B%D7%9C%20%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%A9%D7%91%D7%99%D7%94.pdf>

4. Do the city's redevelopment projects and renewal plans point to a deviation from its neoliberal and ethnocentric approach to planning of the previous decades or do they continue this approach?

As redevelopment and renewal projects have dominated the landscape of the district in the past twenty years, the thesis focuses on the relationship between redevelopment and urban renewal projects and anti-displacement measures in Jaffa between 2000 and 2020. The thesis is driven by the city's recognition, included in its 2005 Strategic Plan, that redevelopment projects play a role in the gentrification and displacement of long-term residents and vulnerable communities, and that anti-displacement policies can help minimize displacement and preserve the character of local communities¹².

To answer the research questions, I analyze the process, implementation and execution of five redevelopment and renewal projects that took place between 2000-2020 in Jaffa: 1) The Flea Market; 2) Jaffa Slope Park; 3) Maccabi Jaffa ; 4) South Jaffa 'Shikunei Darom'; and 5) East Jaffa 'Mevohot Jaffa'.

These projects fall under four typologies: (1) Redevelopment projects to improve infrastructure and transportation systems (The Flea Market); (2) Redevelopment projects that provide public amenities (Jaffa Slope Park - waterfront park); (3) Renewal plans that provide rezoning and planning guidelines for residential areas (Maccabi Jaffa and South Jaffa 'Shikunei Darom'); and (4) Renewal plans that provide rezoning and planning guidelines for commercial area (East Jaffa 'Mevohot Jaffa'). By analyzing these projects, I aim to determine if anti-displacement measures to protect the vulnerable population are incorporated either within the projects, in parallel to them, or after their execution. In addition to analyzing these projects, the thesis also examines specific state and city programs related to urban renewal that have been implemented

¹² Ibid.

in Jaffa attempting to provide housing and social services to Jaffa's residents. I examine who these programs have intended to serve and whether they provided adequate housing solutions to the most vulnerable population of Jaffa.

To answer the research questions, the examination of the projects and city programs must be done within the context of the complex history of the vulnerable community of Jaffa, and specifically of the Arab community, to land and home ownership. Therefore, the thesis begins with a review of the urban development in Jaffa since the establishment of Israel in 1948, as well as a literature review of the ethnocentric and neoliberal approach to planning in Israel and in Jaffa specifically, which are essential to the understanding of urban development in Jaffa. The thesis also includes an overview of the current urban and social fabrics of Jaffa, in order to put the city's projects in the most up to date context of the district. As part of these sections of the thesis, I ask: ***what are the historical context and processes that have shaped the urban environment of Jaffa? How do they define the housing situation of Jaffa's vulnerable community, and specifically the Arab community? What is the current urban fabric and social conditions that exist in Jaffa?***

I utilize two methods to answer the research questions: document analysis and policy review. I review and analyze the current literature about redevelopment in Jaffa and the situation of the vulnerable community, primarily from two significant scholars who have written about the subject, Daniel Monterescu and Nufar Avni. Additionally, I review and analyze city documents produced in the past twenty years, at the city, district and neighborhood scale, and which refer specifically to Jaffa. Data was collected through policy and document reviews, which I then analyzed through content and discourse analyses. I also collected data through a thematic analysis of interviews with Bimkon (a non-profit planning organization in Israel), Hamishlama of Jaffa (a city agency that focuses on the urban development of Jaffa and provides social services with regards to urban renewal to the district), Amidar (the state agency for public

housing), and the City Department of Strategic Planning. While I had hoped to conduct additional interviews with residents and other city officials, due to limitations imposed by COVID-19, such as travel restrictions and the country's shutdowns, I was unable to do so.

Literature review

The project adds a case study to the existing literature of two academic scholarships; the first is the global literature about governing authorities' responses to gentrification and displacement and their anti-displacement strategies; the second is the literature on ethnocracy in the context of urban studies and urban planning in Israel. The project also attempts to fill the gap in the literature about urban development in the past twenty years in Jaffa, specifically in its relationship to the vulnerable community of Jaffa. This section provides a review of relevant literature within the two scholarships, identifies the gaps within them, and explains how the thesis attempts to fill the gaps and contribute to the literature.

Adding a case study to the literature about anti-displacement

This thesis is building on the observation and critique of Loretta Lees (2003) that gentrification scholarship focuses on the criticism of existing policies rather than on the analysis of policy with the goal of providing alternatives. The current literature about anti-displacement strategies around the world is limited, and there is barely any research that investigates the success and failure of such policies. This thesis adds to this growing scholarship by introducing the case study of Jaffa, and by examining the incorporation, (or lack of it) of anti-displacement strategies into urban development projects. By studying Jaffa, the thesis provides an additional case study that could potentially be compared in the future to other efforts around the world, and therefore, adds a case to the comparative literature of anti-displacement strategies.

Adding a case study to the literature about Ethnocratic policies in Israel

The ethnocratic approach to planning in Israel was well identified by scholars such as Oren Yiftachel and Nufar Avni (Yiftachel, 2002; Avni, 2012). Similarly, urban processes in Jaffa have also been framed and explained as contributing to such planning approaches in the scholarship

about Jaffa's urban development. Some specific redevelopment projects of the past twenty years in Jaffa, such as the renovation of the Port of Jaffa (Avni, 2017), have been examined by scholars in terms of their impact on the local community and in terms of their relation to ethnocentric and neoliberal approaches to planning in Israel and in Jaffa. However, an overview of all the redevelopment projects of the past twenty years is missing from the scholarship. Such a review is important in order to identify whether redevelopment projects continue the ethnocentric and neoliberal approach to planning that have been shaping the urban and social fabric of Jaffa. This project will add to the existing literature of ethnocracy in Israel, and to the ethnocentric approach to planning in Israel, by reviewing several redevelopment projects and urban renewal projects in Jaffa in the past twenty years.

Gentrification, Displacement and Anti-displacement Strategies

The current literature about anti-displacement strategies in general and specifically about the incorporation of anti-displacement strategies into urban renewal or urban redevelopment projects is very limited. Although some comparison work has been done, and some case studies have been produced by several scholars, such as Porter and Shaw (2009), Chapple and Loukaitou-Sideris (2019), Uitermark et al., (2013) the literature on the subject only seems to have taken its first steps towards a robust and completed scholarship. This thesis adds the case study of Jaffa to this growing global literature about urban redevelopment and anti-displacement strategies and provides the scholarship with an example of anti-displacement strategies that are attempted to be executed within a deeply conflicted urban context where two contested ethnic groups reside. The case study of Jaffa will add a layer of complexity to the incorporation of anti-displacement measures within redevelopment projects and will demonstrate the power of local political context over the effectiveness of anti-displacement strategies. While the gentrification in Jaffa has been driven by a neoliberal approach to planning, it has also been related to the desire to expand the Jewish presence in Jaffa, or to the

'Judaization' of Jaffa that is not necessarily a result of only city government actions but also of private entities and individuals.

The next subsections introduce the basic definitions that the thesis will use from the existing literature as well as the current body of knowledge about anti-displacement strategies within urban redevelopment/regeneration projects. The literature about anti-displacement expands and builds upon the dense literature on gentrification advancing it by identifying responses to its outcome of displacement. As gentrification has been associated with urban development and with displacement of vulnerable communities, such topics are linked throughout the literature and are essential components in the study of gentrification. In fact, Peter Marcuse has argued that displacement is the central factor in the study of gentrification (Marcuse, 2010). Therefore, the study of anti-displacement measures contributes to the study of displacement, which connects back to the study of gentrification. This section provides a brief overview about the literature on gentrification as well as city led gentrification.

Defining gentrification

The term "gentrification" was first defined by Ruth Glass in the 1960s in London and described a change in social character of neighborhoods due to the movement of middle and upper-class households into disadvantaged working-class neighborhoods, which result in the rise of housing prices and the displacement of the working class community (Glass, 1964). A more recent redefinition refers to the displacement of low-income racial or ethnic minorities due to the arrival of affluent high-income residents that are part of a racial or ethnic majority group (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001). Smith (1987) argues that gentrification relates to the social, physical and economic change in a neighborhood. In his theory about the rent gap, he ties gentrification to the forces of capitalism, identifying the rent gap as the main economic condition of gentrification: "Gentrification occurs when the gap is wide enough that developers

can purchase shells cheaply, can pay the builders' costs and profit for rehabilitation, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can then sell the end product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developer. The entire ground rent, or a large portion of it, is now capitalized: the neighborhood has been "recycled" and begins a new cycle of use "(Smith 1979:545). Scholarship concludes that gentrification can be identified when some of these conditions exist in a neighborhood: demographic change, lifestyle and cultural change, physical change, opportunity for investment due to lack of investment, new professional opportunities that target higher income residents (Smith, 1979; Hamnett 1991; Rose 1984). In the case of Jaffa, all of the above conditions were met by 2010 as reviewed and examined by scholars (Monterescu, 2007; Wallerstein, 2009; Avni, 2012).

City led gentrification

Gentrification and its relation to public investment has been widely researched by scholars. Gentrification has been investigated as a phenomenon from both a traditional perspective of Gentrification with capital 'G' as identified by Ruth Glass in the 1960s in London, and from a global perspective, that is gentrification in plural with a small 'g' that is influenced and shaped by local trajectories and is therefore defined in a context specific manner (Shin, 2019). In both cases it has been looked at as having a relationship with public investment and public renewal/development projects and policies. Gentrification in the United States has been investigated as both an intended or unintended consequence of public renewal projects (Zuk, et al. 2015). Public investment, and specifically public infrastructure projects, can impact the physical and social arrangement of neighborhoods (Zuk, et al. 2015). Studies have shown, for example, that public investment in the rail system in urban areas results in a rise of land value in the adjacent areas and leads to a demographic shift within them (Lin 2002; Cervero and Duncan 2004). Other studies have shown that public investment in parks may also lead to neighborhood

upscaling and increase in land value, a phenomenon called “green gentrification” (Troy and Grove 2008; Bolizer and Netusil 2000).

While the gentrification process in North America and Europe during the early years of gentrification (1960s-1970s), when the term was first used, has been recognized as a problem for urban policy, nowadays gentrification is considered as a solution to urban policy (Lees and Lay, 2008), and public policy has attempted to generate ‘positive’ gentrification to achieve urban revitalization (Cameron and Coaffee, 2005). This relationship between public policy or government/city-led gentrification is defined by Cameron and Coaffee as the ‘third wave’ of gentrification. Government/city or policy-led gentrification that resulted in displacement has been traced not only in capitalist countries such as the United States, and England, but also in socialist countries such as China (Specifically in Shanghai), and Sweden (Lees and Lay, 2008; He, 2007; Lindbom, 2007).

City-led gentrification has been described in scholarship as demonstrating neoliberal attitudes toward urban development projects with the goal of diversifying and reviving low-income neighborhoods, even if the price is displacement of vulnerable disadvantaged communities (Uitermark and Loopmans 2013). This is accompanied by policies that aim to reduce social housing and increase private development that provide housing to people from various socioeconomic backgrounds, referred to as Mixed-Income Policies (Uitermark and Loopmans, 2013). Such policies are developed under the assumption that low-income residents are the problem in declining neighborhoods and that the introduction of higher-income residents would allow low-income residents to upgrade their socioeconomic status, and that such colonization will push them out of the cycle of poverty (DeFilippis and Fraser, 2010). These types of policies disguise the displacement of long-term low-income communities, harming such communities rather than providing them with opportunities (Bridge, Bulter, Lees, 2012). Examples of this

global trend have been documented in England, United States, Netherlands, Belgium, and other places around the globe (Uitermark et al. 2013).

In the case of Jaffa, the gentrification process that began in 1985, included city investment in infrastructure and public amenities, which had the goal of attracting private investment to the area as well as new residents to revive the district. The city hoped that public investment would drive the private market and bring prosperity to previously disinvested areas. The strategy of Tel Aviv-Jaffa to encourage private investment through public investment follows trends in Global Cities characterized as global financial and cultural centers, and consisting of a diverse population with large socio-economic gaps¹³. Although strategies of city-led-gentrification have been vastly criticized by scholars, it has been argued that the literature focuses too much on the flaws of such strategies rather than examining and reviewing alternative options to redevelopment projects that can be executed without harming disadvantaged communities (Lees, 2008). My thesis project built upon Lees's observation and criticism and hopes to add to the research on anti-replacement strategies by introducing the case of Jaffa, reviewing the incorporation of anti-displacement measures within urban redevelopment projects and other city and state efforts to provide housing solutions to local vulnerable communities in gentrified areas.

Urban Regeneration and anti-displacement strategies

Urban regeneration is broadly defined by Porter and Shaw (2009) as an elastic term, that relates to the “reinvestment in a place after a period of disinvestment”. This investment, as they define it, can be generated by the state and/or the private markets. It could be the community itself that is being regenerated; the economy of a place being renewed; the physical space and the

¹³ The information is based on a city report that was done by the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa in 2017 to observe the impact of the strategy that the city has adopted since the early 2000.

commercial infrastructure that is redeveloped; and/or the image of a place that is being regenerated (Cochrane, 2007). Regeneration can be considered gentrification, if it includes displacement of communities or exclusion of specific communities from the regenerated space (Porter, Shaw, 2009). Regeneration projects usually result in winners and losers; the winners are middle class residents, newcomers and visitors, and losers are low-income local residents whose desires for better housing, employment and services are not met (Robinson, 1989). Cities around the globe have been taking different approaches to urban regeneration, some resulting in displacement and some successfully avoiding it (Porter et al. 2009). Some cities have been experimenting with various strategies to find solutions to the displacement of low-income communities in gentrified or regenerated neighborhoods. In Belgium, for example, the government experimented with a federal housing contract policy with the goal of promoting social urban renewal projects that do not trigger displacement (Uitermark et al. 2013). Counties and cities such as San Francisco and Los Angeles in the United States introduce anti-displacement strategies and affordable housing policies along Transit Oriented Development (TOD), in an effort to mitigate displacement and provide housing solution to disadvantaged communities and local low-income communities in such areas (Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2017). TOD plans and specific station development areas in Los Angeles for example, incentivize and in some cases require the incorporation of a certain affordable housing percentage to assure availability of affordable housing around the new station (Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2017). Inclusionary housing and zoning as well as rent control are also mentioned as effective strategies to preserve local communities and minimize displacement (Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2017). In addition to state, county and city efforts to implement anti-displacement strategies, efforts from the communities themselves to protect residents from displacement have also been documented in the literature (Perry, 2007; Porter et al. 2009; Kwak 2018). Some of the community efforts have specifically led to the revision of regeneration projects to include anti-displacement measures, such as in the case of Berne, Switzerland and in the case of Salvador,

Brazil (Stienen, Blumer, 2009; Tarsi 2009). A common theme of regeneration projects that include anti-displacement measures is prioritizing use over exchange, orienting the urban regeneration to support the local low-income community, rather than leading to their displacement (Porter et al. 2009). The ‘cautious urban renewal’ strategy that was adopted in Berlin during the 1980s utilized rent control and relied on strong tenant participation in order to execute a socially oriented approach to redevelopment (Bader, Bialluch, 2009).

Incorporation of anti-displacement strategies into urban regeneration or urban development projects has been mostly studied through case study analysis that includes policy, document review and interviews with stakeholders. The scale that case studies are mostly focused on are the neighborhood or district scale, where urban regeneration projects take place. In addition, some approaches, such as in the case of the Anti-Displacement Policy Analysis that was done by scholars from both the University of Berkeley and UCLA, look at the county scale for policies and guidelines for anti-displacement strategies (Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2017). Nevertheless, most of the current research examines specific regeneration projects as case studies, whether these apply to the county, city, district or neighborhood scale. The most prominent attempt in the current literature to bring together various case studies and draw conclusions about anti-displacement efforts as they relate to urban regeneration projects was done by Porter and Shaw in 2009 in their book *Whose Urban Renaissance?*. Borrowing from the existing methods that are currently used in the literature on anti-displacement strategies, my thesis examines the case of Jaffa and focuses on specific redevelopment projects within the district. Similar to previous case studies about anti-displacement, the project relies on policy and document analysis as well as interviews with stakeholders to draw conclusions. In addition, the thesis also looks at statewide programs that attempt to increase the housing stock to draw down the prices of the housing market, as well as statewide programs that provide affordable housing.

Urban Ethnocracy and the ethnocratic approach to planning in Israel

Ethnocracy, argued by Oren Yiftachel, shapes policy making in Israel, and therefore, can be found at the core of city agendas and policies for urban development. Ethnocracy as defined by Yiftachel (2006), refers to “a political regime that facilitates expansion and control by a dominant ethnicity in contested lands”. Yiftachel argues that ethnocracy influences planning policies in Israel, in order to promote the goal of expanding the dominance of Jewish residents over Arab residents, both Muslims and Christians (Yiftachel, 1994). Previously dominated Arab cities in the territory that is today claimed by the state of Israel, such as Lod, has been targeted by the governing authorities as prime locations for Jewish dominance and expansion, and such strategy has directed planning goals since the establishment of Israel (Yiftachel, Yacobi 2002). The coexistence of Jewish and Arab communities within the same jurisdiction, whether this is a ‘mixed city’ or a ‘mixed district’, resulted from the Judaization process of previously Arab cities, rather than from a voluntary desire to coexist (Yiftachel, et al. 2002). The process of Judaization can be characterized as one where the Jewish authority expands its spatial, political and social dominance over the Arab territory, encouraging segregation between the two ethnic groups, while marginalizing and dispossessing the Arab community from its physical, cultural and social space (Yiftachel et al., 2002). Yiftachel argues therefore, that ‘mixed cities’ in Israel should be described as ‘ethnocratic cities,’ as the policies they enact primarily serve the goal of Judaization (Yiftachel et al., 2002). Cities and urban planning policies significantly shape the contested spaces and relationship between ethnic groups, and in the case of Israel, between Arab and Jewish communities, promoting the nationalist goal of the state (Yiftachel et al., 2002). Yacobi and Tzfadia (2018) refer to such prioritization of one group over another, Jewish over Arab in Israel, as ‘Selective Privatization’ which they define as: “Allocation of limited spatial rights to specific populations”, which serves as a mirror to the social hierarchy in the country. Selective privatization, they argue, promotes ethno-class stratification in Israel, as it provides rights over

land to selected private entities for the purpose of excluding other ethnic groups from such rights while growing the dominance and control of Jewish people over the land.

John McGarry (1998) characterizes state-directed movement of ethnic groups, as a tool that is used by authorities to further state goals. Preferred ethnic groups, or agents, are being settled by the state within areas that are dominated by minorities groups, or enemies, in order to change the demographic and spatial order of a territory. Enemies are being displaced to other territories to serve the state's goals, without appropriate relocation or redistribution (McGarry, 1998).

McGarry directly ties state-directed movement of ethnic groups with states that are controlled by one ethnic group and therefore are ethnocratic in nature. In states where contested ethnic groups live among each other, at one form or another, minorities of ethnic groups are seen as a security concern to the dominant ethnic group and thus, states are encouraged to enact state-directed movements to overcome such national security threats (McGarry, 1998). Such state-directed movement is evidenced in the urban policies that have shaped the physical and social fabric of Israel, mixed cities, and Jaffa in particular. In Israel, the Israeli-Arab conflict is deeply rooted within the cultural, social and political environment of the state, and the idea of state-directed movement is used to promote security as well as represents the prime goal of Israel to be a Jewish majority state. Scholars have already demonstrated how such ethnocratic approach to urban planning in Jaffa, in past decades, has led to the neglect, discrimination and displacement of Jaffa's Arab community (Abu-Schada et al, 2010; Monterescu, 2007). However, little research has been done to examine whether urban redevelopment in the past twenty years in Jaffa have contributed to a legacy of urban ethnocracy or deviated from it. By examining redevelopment projects from 2000-2020 the thesis will contribute to the literature about ethnocratic policies in Israel, and will fill in the gap within the literature about redevelopment projects and their relation to the ethnocratic approach to planning.

Neoliberalism became evident in Israeli policies since 1990s through a large movement towards privatization of state-owned land as well as through National Outline Plans #35 and #31 (Tzfadia, Yacobi, 2018). While privatization was driven from the economic interest of the state to promote economic and tourist development, Tzfadia and Yacobi argue that it was also directly related to ethno-national interests, as it incentivized Jewish farmers who leased agriculture land from Israel Land Administration (ILA)¹⁴ by permitting them to use the land for other purposes such as commercial and residential uses, which could generate greater value. The combination of neoliberalism and ethnocracy is evident in Jaffa, as the desire to develop the area as a tourist attraction to increase revenues was accompanied by city-led gentrification that brought Jewish high-income residents to the only area in the city where Arab residents reside. The thesis highlights the relationship between neoliberalism and ethnocracy in Jaffa and examines whether it is being manifested and evidenced within the urban redevelopment and urban renewal plans of the past twenty years.

¹⁴ ILA is the agency that managed and administered state-owned land in Israel

Part I: Urban Development in Jaffa

This section provides an historical overview of the urban development in Jaffa since the establishment of Israel in 1948 unit today primarily based on the work of Daniel Monterescu. I describe the important planning strategies that have influenced the urban and social fabrics of Jaffa and focus on the shift in planning strategy that began in 1985 and escalated through the 21st century. The section ends with an analysis of the current physical and social conditions of Jaffa's neighborhoods to better understand the current urban and social landscape.

Urban policies and changes from 1948-1985: History of urban development since the establishment of Israel

Jaffa's old standing history

Jaffa is an ancient port city along the Mediterranean coast that acted as an independent city until 1949 when it became part of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa under the State of Israel. In its past 4000 years of existence the city has passed through the hands of numerous empires, and from the 15th to the 20th century alone it was under the control of the Ottoman Empire, Napoleon Bonaparte, and the British Empire, until it was incorporated to the State of Israel in 1948. Through its history, Jaffa acted as an important port city and was home to Christian, Muslim and Jewish communities. During the first half of the 20th century, under the British Mandate, Jaffa was considered the main trade and cultural center of Palestine, and its population grew at its peak to approximately 80,000 people of which the majority were Muslims (Abu-Schada and Sheveita, 2010).



Figure 7: A picture of the northern area of Jaffa before the War of 1948. [Source](#): Manshia webpage WikiWand

[Jaffa under the first years of the State of Israel](#)

The complex history of the current population mix of Jaffa begins with the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. In 1947, the United Nation announced its resolution for the division of Palestine into two states, a Jewish State and a Muslim State. Due to the large number of Muslims in Jaffa, the United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine included Jaffa as an ‘island’ of the Muslim State inside the Jewish State territory¹⁵. Shortly after the announcement of the UN partition plan (UN Resolution 181), a war erupted between the Jewish and the Muslim communities throughout the land of Palestine/Israel, known as the War of 1948 or among the Jewish community as The Independence War and among the Arab community as The Nakba (translate as The Catastrophe). In Jaffa, fights over the city’s territory led to the destruction of

¹⁵ UN Partition Plan - Resolution 181 (1947). Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
<https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/aboutisrael/maps/pages/1947%20un%20partition%20plan.aspx>

the urban fabric of the city and to the flight of most of the Arab community to Jordan and Lebanon. By the 1950s, the Arab population (both Christian and Muslim) of Jaffa was reduced to only approx. 5000 people (Avni, 2012). From 1948 to 1949, the city was under the control of the Israeli military, which required the Arab population of Jaffa to relocate into two neighborhoods in Jaffa that were already dominated by the Arab community. These neighborhoods were Ajami and Gabaliya, which are located on the west side of Jaffa along the shore of the Mediterranean, south of the old city. During this time, the rest of Jaffa's neighborhoods were populated by the state with Jewish immigrants that came primarily from Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries. After the end of the military regime in Jaffa in 1949, Jaffa became officially part of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa and was designated as District 7. The new Jewish immigrants, the old remaining Arab population, and some new Arab population who came to the city to look for jobs and an Arab community, all resided in the ruins of Jaffa, where they shared rooms in old ruined and vacant houses (Monterescu, 2007).



Figure 8: Jaffa after the War of 1948. Image Sources: Right: The neighborhood of Manshia. [Source](#): Manshia webpage WikiWand ; Right: Jaffa after Independent War (War of 1948). Image by Gabi Antebi. 1948 . Pikiwiki. [Source](#)



Figure 9: Jaffa under military control 1948. Image of an Arab resident of Jaffa sit in the Arab area of the city that was enclosed by the army in 1948. [Source](#): Israeli Defense Forces Archive. Haaretz

[Homeownership in Jaffa during the 1950s & 1960s](#)

One of the major policies that shaped the urban environment and land ownership in Jaffa from 1950 onwards was the Absentee Property Law of 1950, which allowed the state to legally confiscate the properties of the Arab population who abandoned it during the war. In the 1950s, more than 14,000 housing units in Jaffa became the property of the state, and the residents that the state located within them were defined as Protected Renters under special rental agreements. These residents were composed of both the Arab community and the new Jewish immigrant community, which dominated the area at the time. The city of Jaffa became known as the city of the ‘Landlord,’ which was the appointed personnel by the state that was responsible for managing and controlling the state’s newly owned properties. The ‘Landlord’ had the power to decide who lives where, and to do as they pleased with the property (and its residences). After

the war, some of the Arab population who fled came back to Jaffa, however, under the new law, they had to rent homes in the areas that the 'Landlord' dictated, and they were not allowed to return or have ownership of their original properties. The small Arab population who stayed during the war and which was forced to relocate to the designated areas under the military control, also lost its rights to own its original properties, and its homeowners became renters under the new law. In the 1960s, the power of the 'Landlord' was transferred to a state-owned housing company, Amidar, that operated under the Land Administrative Agency, and was responsible for the control and management of the state-owned housing properties. The status of the renters in Jaffa was now controlled by Amidar, which provided strict rules and regulations with regards to housing renovations and expansions. The rights of the renters were protected by special rental agreements and the Rental Law, which limited the rent the state was allowed to charge, prevented the state from relocating residences without a justified reason, and allowed the renters to sell their renting rights. However, the restrictions that came with the rents were strict and limited the ability of renters to improve their living conditions. Most of the contracts and the laws were (and still are) written in Hebrew whereas not all the members of the Arab community knew (and still don't know) how to read or write in Hebrew as their everyday language is Arabic. In addition, the laws and the rental agreement had some contradictions, which led to confusion among protected renters with regards to what regulations they need to follow (Bimkom, 2009). Often, the renters were not even aware of the restrictions that came with their rents and unknowingly violated them, which automatically defined them as 'intruders' under the law, stripping them from their protective rights (Avni, 2012).

[Tel Aviv-Jaffa's Erase and Rebuild policy and its impact on housing conditions in Jaffa](#)

Between 1960-1985 the city neglected Jaffa and did not invest any resources in its built environment, and its citizens. The long-lasting neglect by the city and the state's housing company, Amidar, also included the destruction of existing old structures that were owned by

the state as part of the plan to Erase and Rebuild. More than 70% of the Old City of Jaffa was destroyed, its northern neighborhood Manshia was completely erased, and a large number of residents from the Arab dominated neighborhoods, Ajami and Jabalia, were encouraged to leave or were displaced due to deteriorating housing conditions; from the approximately 23,000 Arab residents of these neighborhoods in 1961, approximately 4000 have remained by 1981 (Monterescu, 2007). The reason for implementing this planning policy was that in order to 'revive' and rehabilitate Jaffa, the existing fabric had first to be destroyed and then rebuilt to modern standards (Monterescu, 2005). Monterescu notes that the city planner who was responsible for initiating the policy in 1954, was influenced by the attitude of city officials after the establishment of Israel, such as the deputy mayor of Tel Aviv in 1948, who believed that the poor housing conditions in Jaffa directly related to cultural and social degradation (Monterescu, 2005); thus, erasing the existing fabric, was believed to be the solution for the poverty and the high crime rates in the district. The annual strategic plan of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa from 1954, identified the Arab neighborhoods along the shore, the Old City and the northern neighborhood Manshia, as 'slums' with poor population that needed to be erased and rebuilt to modern standards (Monterescu, 2007). The strategy that the city took did not allow any construction to begin until all neighborhoods were first destroyed, and their residents had left. This included a ban on any expansion or renovation efforts of residents (Bimkom, 2009). The residents were offered either alternative housing solutions or financial compensation, however, the offers differed between the Jewish residents and Arab residents, which reflects the discriminatory planning practices that were implemented at that time. The Jewish residents were also offered housing solutions in the new housing blocks that the state built in Jaffa or financial compensation for their displacement. The Arab community on the other hand, was offered to be displaced in one housing project, or financial compensation that did not allow them to build themselves a new home in Jaffa (Monterescu, 2005).

Although the city government put efforts in destroying a large portion of the city, no efforts were invested at that time to reconstruct and rebuild the neighborhoods and their infrastructure systems. Thus, the city ended up implementing the ‘Erase’ portion of the policy, while omitting the ‘Rebuild’ part, with the excuse that only after all the old fabric would be fully destroyed, reconstruction could begin. During this time, a large portion of the Jewish community left Jaffa and migrated to other districts of the city, was relocated to the new housing blocks in the south and east neighborhoods of Jaffa or chose to move to other cities that offered better living conditions. During the 1970s specific plans for Old Jaffa and the Port of Jaffa were adopted, however, these prioritized historic and architectural preservation and neglected to include any infrastructure needed to support the local population (Bimkom, 2009). The city’s strategy during this time period left Jaffa broken, poor and without basic urban and social resources. The only population that remained was the one who couldn’t afford to leave, which primarily consisted of the poor Arab population, who also depended on the area as its social and community center. As construction and development was not allowed duringr this time period, the remaining Protected Renters knowingly or unknowingly violated their contracts and expanded or renovated their deteriorating housing units. Consequently, they became ‘intruders’ and their rental rights were waived. Although the city knew about the ‘illegal’ construction, it chose to look the other way and without saying anything, which encouraged the residents to continue their practice (Monterescu, 2007).

Jaffa under the era of state-owned land privatization and the neoliberal approach to urban planning “looking south” 1985-2000

In 1985 the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa dramatically shifted its policy with regards to Jaffa and acknowledged that its previous strategic plan Erase and Rebuild had failed (Bimkom, 2009). The reason for the shift in attitude was explained by the Jaffa Planning Agency that was established in 1985 as part of the shift in attitude. The agency explained that in the beginning of

the 1980s a new mayor was elected, Shlomo Lahat, who recognized the struggle of the residents of the southern districts and committed to reversing the situation and investing in the south of the city. As the situation in Jaffa was specifically severe, due to lack of trust between the Arab population and the municipality, and due to the previous policy, which did not allow for development, Jaffa required special attention and the mayor decided to take specific steps in order to be able to revive the area¹⁶.

The city recognized that the Erase and Rebuild policy failed due to several reasons. First due to a lack of understanding of the policy and of the special urban fabric of Jaffa; second, the policy required the displacement of the local Arab population which created a lack of trust between the city and community and led to the frustration of the local community; third, economically the policy was not feasible as it required large amounts of demolition work before new construction could commence; and lastly, the policy didn't allow for immediate infrastructure work to take place (Monterescu, 2007). Thus, the mayor decided to shift gears and develop new policies and tools to reinvest in Jaffa (and the other southern districts). One of the first steps was to establish the Jaffa Planning Agency and identify the following goals for the recovering process of Jaffa: Preservation of the Old City, stopping the forced displacement of local population and putting effort to recover it instead, and above all, reviving Jaffa by attracting new population, specifically Jewish, and private investment to the area (Monterescu, 2007). This approach was characterized by Monterescu as a neoliberal approach to planning as it aimed to rehabilitate by using privatization processes. Nevertheless, Monterescu argues that the new planning approach included conflicted strategies as one the one hand, it aimed to privatize and dismantle existing public infrastructure, while committing to find housing solutions for the local low-income population (Monterescu, 2007). As part of implementing the neoliberal approach, the city and

¹⁶ This text was translated and paraphrased from a quote of the Jaffa Planning Agency that was included in an article by Danielle Monterescu 'Urban Planning Policy in Jaffa: from "Erase and Rebuild" to "Redevelopment and Renewal" '. The article was published as part of a series of articles that were included in a 2007 conference organized by Bimkom. The subject of the conference was to push towards spatial rights, civil society vs. establishment.

Amidar have begun the process of privatizing the land. While the city stated that its goal is to find housing solutions and stop the displacement, it required Amidar to allocate profit from the sale of land in Jaffa to investment in infrastructure within Jaffa that was necessary for building the new image of the district, rather than to the construction of new housing for the vulnerable population (Bimkom,2009). This only verified that the city's intention was primarily driven by a neoliberal approach to planning rather than social intention to support its vulnerable community.

The Jaffa Agency has raised funds from both state programs and Jewish communities around the world to reconstruct the district. In the early 1990s, the city developed new strategic plans for the district which allowed the immediate construction of new private and public projects. The city planners at the time defined that any existing structures, whether legal or illegal, would be considered as existing structures. Although such decision did not legalize unauthorized structures, it did require their consideration in the development of new city plans for Jaffa¹⁷. In 1997, with the election of mayor Ron Huldai (who was recently elected again for the 5th time), the city established the urban renewal agency “Hamishlema,” which added to the continued efforts of the city to market Jaffa as an attractive redevelopment area. The agency was responsible for the rehabilitation and the renewal of Jaffa. The city used the ancient history of Jaffa as the main marketing strategy to attract private investment to the revived district, and successfully established it as one of the city’s main tourist attractions.

The early signs of the gentrification process in Jaffa can be tracked to the 1960s-70s, when artists were drawn to the area as rents and land values were very low. However, the more substantial gentrification process started in the 1980s, when young middle-income residents arrived in response to the early efforts of the city to revive the district. By the 1990s, foreign and

¹⁷ This decision was made by the city planner in a city meeting in 5.1.95 with regards to existing structures in Jaffa.

local investment in real estate had risen the land values in Jaffa, which in return, attracted higher income Jewish residents from around the globe who bought properties for millions of dollars (Avni, 2012). The city's actions during this time period led to an expedited gentrification process that continues to escalate until this day. Although one of the city's stated main goals since 1985 was to rehabilitate the local population, its actions have led to the opposite result, and its most vulnerable population was (again) left poor, neglected, and without adequate housing solutions.

In 1997 the state decided to privatize its state-owned properties, primarily to save state money and to release the dependency of protected renters from the state (Bimkom 2009). The state aimed to sell the properties to the protected residents and through that to provide the residents the option to become homeowners, and to keep their property for their next generations.

Following the government decision, Amidar began the selling processes of its properties and allowed the Protected Renters who reside in them to have the first right to buy their houses. The properties were offered to the residents with a 40-60% discount of the property price, with the limit of no more than 200,000 Israeli Shekel (approx. \$50,000) per property discount¹⁸.

However, since the land and property values in Jaffa increased significantly by the end of the 1990s and continued to escalate during the 2000s, most of the low-income residents were unable to afford buying the properties from the state, even after the discount offered to them (Bimkom, 2009). As most of the low-income population of Jaffa was housed in state-owned housing, this decision was detrimental to their future. Supposedly, this new policy was to help this mistreated population and provide them with the ability to become homeowners again, however, in reality, the prices were unrealistic, unaffordable and way beyond their reach.

Amidar's policy was that if the current renters were not able or willing to buy the properties they live in, the properties would be offered to the general public in public bids, even if the current

¹⁸ Israeli Land Administration, decision number 921 for "selling of state-owned properties". 2001 January 14.

residents still occupied them (Bimkom, 2009). If the properties were still occupied by the Protected Renters, the private developers who bought the state-owned properties became the responsible entity for the renters and were required to find them another housing solution (Bimkom, 2009). Unfortunately, the state didn't put in place any mechanism to guarantee that private developers provide proper housing solutions to the protected renters, and therefore, it was not guaranteed that the renters would be provided with housing solutions that suited their needs.

The population who suffered the most from the state decision to privatize the state-owned housing were the so called 'intruders'. As mentioned before, Amidar's lack of proper communication with the Protected Renters, as well as the lack of enforcement of the renovation actions of the residents from 1950s until the late 1990s by both the city and Amidar, led to a large number of Protected Renters considered as 'intruders' by Amidar, which stripped their rights as Protected Renters for adequate housing solution in case of required eviction by the state. Intruders were not only Protected Renters who violated the agreements through renovation or expansion of the properties, but also second and third generation of protected renters who lived in the properties after the descent of their parents or grandparents (Bimkom, 2009). According to the Protected Renter Law (updated in 1972), second generations can earn the right to become protected renters as long as they lived with the first generation for a period of at least six months before the descent of the first generation and as long as they didn't live in any other property during that time; and third generations are not permitted to receive the rights of their first generation¹⁹. As many families were not aware of these restrictions, and such restrictions were not enforced until the late 1990s, second and third generations have lived in the state-owned units without knowing that they were disobeying the law and without knowing they have no right to live in the homes they grew up in (Bimkom, 2009). The 'intruders' were

¹⁹ Protected Renter Law, updated version from 1972

not eligible to buy the properties since they violated the rental agreement according to Amidar, either through renovations or by living in the units illegally after their parents or grandparents passed away. After the state's decision to privatize the state-owned houses in 1997, Amidar began to identify the intruders, and to enforce their eviction from the state-owned properties. This resulted in the sudden evictions of low-income communities in Jaffa, especially the Arab community, during the late 1990s and the 2000s. Such residents were forced to leave their homes and were not offered any alternative housing solutions (Bimkom, 2009). In 2007 alone, 497 eviction orders were issued for protected renters who lived in state-owned housing in Jaffa; the majority of them were in Ajami, and almost all of them consisted of Arab residents.

It can be concluded that the decision of Amidar to suddenly enforce eviction and identify 'intruders' came from the desire of the state to sell its properties as soon as possible and to relinquish its responsibility to the Protected Renters, which are members of low-income, minority and marginalized populations. Moreover, it was estimated by a report prepared in 2009 by the planning rights/human rights organization Bimkom, that in the beginning of 2000, approx. 37% of the 14,900 Arab residents of Jaffa had been living in state-owned housing managed by either Amidar or Halamish (the city agency which handled state owned housing), and an additional 20% were renting from private landlords, while only approx. 31% of the Arab residents were homeowners²⁰. This data indicates that almost 60% of the residents were renters, which means that the rise of land values as well as the privatization of the state-owned housing posed an existential threat to their housing situation and most likely would result in their displacement.

²⁰ As stated in The Report about the Housing Crisis of the Palestinian Population of Jaffa in 2009 by Bimkom and other partners, this information is only rough estimation that was calculated by the author as explicit numbers were not available at the time of the report. Nevertheless, the estimation was analyzed based on valid statistical information that was published by the city of Tel-Aviv Jaffa.

Strategic Plans, redevelopment projects and the peak of gentrification

From 2000 until today, the city and the state have continued to invest large amounts of money and resources in the development of Jaffa. Both state and city budgets were allocated to redevelopment projects of both infrastructure and public amenities in Jaffa, such as the development of the waterfront promenade, the establishment of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa college in the center of Jaffa, reconstruction of the Old City Flea Market, and most recently, the new light rail system, a state led project, that is currently under construction and which is passing through Jerusalem Boulevard, the main boulevard of Jaffa.

As the district continues to rapidly develop, the physical and social spaces of its most vulnerable population continue to destabilize, and the situation of Protected Renters is more vulnerable than ever. With the privatization of the state-owned housing and the continued escalation in land value prices in Jaffa, low-income residences are displaced, and most of them are forced to leave their community behind. Since Jaffa is the only mixed district within the city, the situation of the Arab community (Muslims and Christians) is especially vulnerable. As a Mixed district, Jaffa has public schools that offer Islamic and Christian education, religious institutions as well as other state facilities that are otherwise only offered in Arab villages or in one of the six mixed cities in Israel (cities where both Arabs and Jewish communities reside). Therefore, the migration options of the Arab community are much more limited than those offered to their low-income Jewish neighbors. As I previously stated, the neoliberal approach that the city has adopted since 1985, focused on the redevelopment of the city infrastructure and improving it to attract new residents, while neglecting its second goal of providing housing solutions to its Jaffa's population.

In the past decade, the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa and the state of Israel have started to develop affordable housing solutions for both renters and homeowners but primarily favoring homeowners; however, neither the city nor the state have developed specific programs to protect

local vulnerable populations from gentrification and displacement. The long history of ethnocratic policies that are characterized by ethnic discrimination, along with the emphasis on the neoliberal approach to city development in Jaffa, have left its most vulnerable community at the risk of extinction. In the past twenty years, local community activists and non-profit statewide organizations have raised the issue of Jaffa's vulnerable community to the public discourse. Although in recent years the city has put much more effort and has committed to protect the vulnerable community, its actions have not yet provided adequate solutions to the housing crises of the community. Nevertheless, based on city documents of the past 5 years, it seems as if the city is committed to finding solutions and is investigating ways to protect the vulnerable community of Jaffa. Such efforts, and whether they are equally distributed among Jaffa's vulnerable community, will be discussed in part 3 and 4 of this thesis.

Shifting Attitude from 2000 onwards: evidence from City Profiles and Strategic Plans

Since 2000s, the city has begun to publish City Profile documents and Strategic Plans that outline the current state of the city and its plans and responses through both policy and development to urging issues concerning housing, education and the quality of city life in general. The documents were produced through a participatory planning process that included a dialogue with residents of the various neighborhoods. It also included a large variety of stakeholders such as non-profit organizations, business owners, city officials, and private consultant companies who provided feedback and helped in shaping the documents to reflect the needs and goals of the people who live in the city and utilize its services.

In these documents, there is clear evidence of the contested goals of the city that characterized the city approach to planning since 1985: On the one hand, the city government wishes to respond to the needs of vulnerable low-income populations, specifically in its southern districts, and provide them with affordable housing and a vibrant urban fabric. On the other hand, the city government works to redevelop the southern districts and attract young educated middle

income residents to this area in order to attract investment, 'revitalize' the south of the city, and strengthen its image as a young, attractive global city. These conflicted goals can be one of the reasons for the lack of success the city has experienced thus far in providing adequate response to the needs of the vulnerable population of Jaffa.

In 2005 the city published its first Strategic Plan to act as a guideline for short-term and long-term planning decisions²¹. The plan was drafted based on a three-step process. First it was based on the City Profile document that was produced in 2002, which included the current state of the city and the main issues and challenges the city was faced at that time. The second step was to produce a City Vision document which, as its name suggests, drew a vision plan for the city that is based on the challenges and findings outlined in the City Profile document. This document, as the City Profile, was done through a participatory planning process and was sent to more than 225,000 residents and business owners in the city a year prior to its publication to receive additional feedback²². The city received feedback from 4,500 residents, and 70% of them supported the main points of the document. These two steps led to the development of the first Strategic Plan for the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa in 2005. The Strategic Plan acted as a guideline and a framework for specific plans that have a legal stand for various areas in the city. These plans not only refer to zoning provisions and the actual urban fabric of the city but also set the guidelines for sustainable practices and related social policies.

The first document that was published was the 2002 City Profile. The document includes information about the state of the city at that time, but also outlines areas where the city needs to improve, therefore, setting guidelines for future policies and changes of various aspects relating to both services for residents and the development of the urban fabric. The document

²¹ 2005 Opening Words for the process of developing the city profile. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. 2005. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Forms/%D7%A4%D7%AA%D7%97%20%D7%93%D7%91%D7%A8-%20%D7%AA%D7%94%D7%9C%D7%99%D7%9A%20%D7%94%D7%9B%D7%A0%D7%AA%20%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%A4%D7%99%D7%9C%20%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A8.pdf>

²² 2005 Strategic Plan. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

was done in a participatory planning process which included 600 residents and other stakeholders who receive services from the city (businesses, non-profit organizations, etc.). The document refers to the socio-economic gaps between the north and south areas of the city, one of the biggest challenges facing the city. It acknowledges that the gap is mainly due to the neglect of the city and the failure of past policies with regards to urban development and the needs of the south district residents²³. The document states the importance of responding to this gap by providing social, community, educational and extracurricular services to guarantee a high quality of living and provide an answer to the needs of all residents²⁴. It emphasizes that the city focuses its efforts on improving such services within its southern districts to close the socio-economic gaps between the north and the south. Although the state budget had been cut for welfare and social services, the document stresses that social services, such as providing shelter to the homeless population and providing aid to foreign workers, had already been provided by the city. In the document there is a direct reference to the city efforts and commitment to urban renewal and redevelopment, as well as city services, specifically in the southern districts, to improve the quality of life. Although the document does not indicate that such efforts are undertaken to improve the livelihood of low-income residents, it does note that specific services are being developed for specific populations, which are seniors (60 plus), children (0-6 years old), and people with disabilities. Another important acknowledgment of the city that is embedded in the document is that there is a lack of collaboration with city residents in policy making and decision making that impacts the residents directly. This is an important acknowledgment, as it sets the tone for further steps that the city will take in the next following years. The document also refers to the special urban fabric of certain areas of the city and mentions Jaffa twice; first, it refers to the importance of preserving the ancient urban fabric of the Old City of Jaffa, and second, it refers to the preservation of the special urban fabric of

²³ City Profile 2002. City of Tel Aviv Jaffa

²⁴ Ibid.

Ajami. With regards to Ajami, there is a direct reference to the need to preserve the urban fabric and the existing structures on the one hand, while allowing for additional development within the neighborhood. However, the document notes that there is still no general strategic plan to such special areas within the city that could provide a guideline to the development.

Nevertheless, the city does encourage the renovation and reconstruction of neglected houses within neighborhoods such as Ajami, where past policies led to deterioration especially of exterior facades, through programs that led by Ezra and Biztron (city agency that is responsible on the construction and development public city led projects²⁵). The discussion about Ajami does not refer specifically to the needs of the Arab population who reside there , and seems to be more concerned with the spatial configuration and appearance of the neighborhood rather than finding housing solutions for neighborhood residents. The document also indicates that the city is planning to address in the next few years the lack of connectivity between the beach and the city fabric, specifically along Jaffa's shoreline. It notes that the Jaffa shoreline is characterized as neglected and does not utilize the potential of the beach as a public space. Lastly, the document refers to the reliance of the city on private-public ventures, whether with NGOs or private entities. It stresses that when such ventures take place, the responsibility of supervision and quality control should still fall on the city to ensure the quality of service. The document notes how such public-private alliances have the potential to encourage the development of affordable housing solutions to the low-income population of the city; however, it notes that such potential future alliances are not something the city had already committed to develop.

²⁵ About. Ezra and Biztron. <https://www.e-b.co.il/category/%D7%90%D7%95%D7%93%D7%95%D7%AA/>

ethnocracy and to the recognition that past policies were ethnocratic in nature, favoring Jewish population over Arab population. A specific point with regards to the low socio-economic status of the community in comparison to the Jewish community of Jaffa, as well as to the city as a whole is also included, and a mention about the housing crisis that the Arab community faces follows it. The document also speaks about the commitment that the city made in 1999 to revive and redevelop Jaffa, and about its steps towards affirmative action which started with the establishment of the Mishlama of Jaffa in 1999, a city agency that among other responsibilities, is focusing on affirmative action for the Arab community of Jaffa²⁶. Another important point the document flags is that along with being satisfied with the development of infrastructure and amenities in Jaffa, the Arab community fears that such development will benefit only the Jewish community and will neglect the Arab community. Including such a statement is important as it points to the fact that the city seeks to include the real concerns of members of the vulnerable community within its documents.

Along with an emphasis on the Arab community, there is also a paragraph about the new Jewish immigrants who arrived in the 1990s, mostly from the former USSR, which specifically mentions how this community primarily resides in the southern districts of the city, including Jaffa. Within the chapter about Jaffa there is also a discussion about the urban processes that happened in Jaffa which mentions specifically the period of neglect by the city and the state from 1960-1985. However, it does emphasize that since 1999 the city has put Jaffa as a priority, focusing specifically on developing infrastructure, redevelopment projects, such as The Academic College of Tel Aviv–Yaffo, and the development of Jaffa as a touristic center and as a housing hub for young couples²⁷. The document notes that in Jaffa there is a phenomenon of illegal construction of a relatively large scale, which ‘undermines the law’ and prevents the

²⁶ 2002 City Profile, Chapter 1: People and Society, City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Forms/%D7%90%D7%A0%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%9D%20%D7%95%D7%97%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%94.pdf>

²⁷ 2002 City Profile, Chapter 7: City Districts, City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Forms/%D7%90%D7%96%D7%95%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9D%20%D7%91%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A8.pdf>

authorities from executing the new plans for the area. Unfortunately, such statement does not reference the reasons behind such illegal construction and when such construction was primarily undertaken (during the period of neglect by the city between 1960-1985), which could have provided an explanation for such construction. Although in the document the city acknowledges that there is a housing crisis within the Arab community specifically in Jaffa, it states that such crisis is mostly due to the struggle of low-income households and blames the state government for not providing adequate social services and public housing solutions²⁸. The City Profile document frames the gentrification process as well as the development in the district as one of Jaffa's threats. Even though gentrification reshapes Jaffa, upgrades the standard of living, and attracts welcomed higher-income residents to the district according to the city, it does provide a threat to the local low-income community, specifically the Arab community, which is being constantly pushed to the east of the city and outside of it, and it also increases the socio-economic gap in the area. Lastly, the document lists the various efforts of the city to improve the quality of living in Jaffa that were active at that time such as: infrastructure development in Jaffa specifically in Ajami and the Heart of Jaffa, which included street restoration, public park development, and the renovation of kindergartens; efforts to connect and involve both the Arab and the Jewish communities in the development of Jaffa and its neighborhoods; housing projects that are targeting Jaffa residents rather than new residents; and, of course, the development of Jaffa as a tourist center.

Following the City Profile document, the City Vision was produced which outlined four strategic guidelines for the city as a framework for the City Strategic Plan: 1. The city as an economic and cultural center 2. The city as a place for all its residents 3. Participatory and transparent governing system 4. attractive urban environment. In each of the four strategic guidelines there is an emphasis on the development and the special attention that the south districts of the city

²⁸ Ibid.

must receive, which includes Jaffa. Although each of the four strategic guidelines mention Jaffa and are important to the new approach that the city had framed within its Strategic Plan, for the purposes of this thesis I only emphasize the major points from the first two strategic guidelines, as these relate specifically to the urban and housing development in Jaffa.

In the first strategic guideline, *the city as an economic and cultural hub*, it is mentioned that the north of Jaffa is targeted as a cultural and entertainment center. Such a cultural hub includes the area of Jaffa Port, Jaffa Old City, the Flea Market and the area around it. It is specifically mentioned that this area is targeted for tourist activities. Under this first strategic guideline, the city also includes the importance of the development of an academic hub in Jaffa in order to revive the area and attract young educated population to it²⁹. As part of the efforts the city commits to is the provision of scholarships to residents of the south districts to attend such academic center; the city also notes that it will work with private developers to develop student housing within the area. Such commitments were realized by the city in the following years when it assisted in opening The Academic College of Tel Aviv–Yaffo and approved the construction of student housing in recent years.

The first strategy of the second strategic guideline is about making the city an attractive place for living. It refers directly to Jaffa by mentioning how urban renewal through housing renovation can help neighborhoods such as Jaffa C and Jaffa D which mostly include old public housing complexes that were built during the 1960s and 1970s by the state. Such renovation efforts can be feasible through financial aid tools that the state (not the city) provides to low-income residents and new immigrants, as well as through potential city tax reductions that the city can provide³⁰. In addition, specific assistance to homeowners, and specifically those in the southern district, would be provided to increase the awareness of their rights as homeowners and

²⁹ 2005 First Strategic Guideline. The city as an economic and cultural center. Overall Vision. 2005 City Vision. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

³⁰ 2005 Second Strategic Guideline. The city as a place for all its resident. Overall Vision. 2005 City Vision. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

residents. An important principle that is stated under this second strategic guideline is an acknowledgment that **while the city wants to encourage the entrance of young educated and higher income residents to developed areas (i.e areas that are targeted for urban renewal), regulations, tools and policies must be in place in order to prevent the displacement of existing local residents.** The document refers specifically to tools that are being used in the United States and Europe that provide incentives to developers to ensure the protection of local communities from displacement. Additional tools that are mentioned that should be analyzed and potentially adopted by the city in order to encourage the construction of additional rental units and to create affordable housing units include public-private partnership, city bonds, and Real Estate Investment Trusts (REIT), specifically looking at models from the United States.

The second strategic guideline also has a specific section that is dedicated to Jaffa and the Arab community. It mentions that special attention to the Arab community must be taken, as it suffers more than the Jewish community³¹. In order to assist the community several actions are framed in the document:

1. Assisting residents in renovating their units through existing statewide programs and state loans.
2. Encouraging the construction of medium density housing complexes (4-6 stories) that will include the construction of small size units that are more affordable than large units
3. Restraining the gentrification process in Jaffa, which is defined in the document as ‘the entrance of Jewish residents from a high socio-economic status that is much higher than this of the local Arab residents’. Gentrification in the document is therefore described as the change in both socio-economic status as well as the ethnic characteristics of the residents. It is mentioned that

³¹ Ibid.

it could be restrained by dedicating most of the new future housing units to local residents and to residents that seek affordable housing solutions³².

4. Focusing on participatory planning that will include the Arab community in decision making about planning and redevelopment plans within their living environment.

A specific reference to the state-owned housing units that are managed by Amidar and Halamish is included, which refers to the commitment of the city to push such public agencies to renovate the houses of Protected Renters, who have suffered from lack of state attention for decades. An additional goal that is proposed is the improvement of the Arab community housing situation by encouraging the construction and selling of affordable housing units. The city recognizes that past attempts of the state to increase homeownership among the Arab community in Jaffa have failed, primarily due to the lack of ability of low-income residents to pay their mortgages and proposes to adapt a system such as the Fannie Mae Foundation which exists in the United State and real estate trust funds from Arab investors.

Even though the goals within the second strategic guideline are novel and with good intentions, when it comes to Jaffa there is a clear conflict between the goal of the city to protect the local community, while also attracting young and educated new residents to the area, in order to ‘strengthen’ it. This tension appears within each single one of the city’s subsequent strategic plans, issued in the following years, and may be the reason why some of its good intentions to protect the local community, and specifically the Arab community, from gentrification, have not been fully realized until today.

Only at the end of 2016, 11 years after the strategic plan for the city was published, the city had finally translated the 2005 Strategic Plan into an official Outline Plan, TA/5000 (אנ/5000), that includes clear policies and regulations that follow the four strategic guidelines that the city

³² Ibid.

defined in the 2005 Strategic Plan. The plan provides clear guidelines to any local outline plans and specific plans and is based on the forecasted amount of population and business that the city will need to accommodate by 2025³³. The long period of time between the initial strategic plan and the final outline plan for the city does not necessarily mean that actions to meet the goals and guidelines framed within the strategic plan did not take place. For example, the city did follow its goal to develop Jaffa as a tourist's destination, an attractive district for new young residents, and an urban renewal hotspot to serve both new and local communities. Such goals were achieved through the development of public amenities areas, such as Jaffa Slope Park and Jaffa Port, as well as through the development of the urban renewal plan for Mevohot Jaffa, and Maccabi Jaffa. The first was planned as a new employment and residential hub, while the second as a renovated housing area for local and new residents alike. Nevertheless, the long gap between the execution of the outline plan and the strategic plan that guided it, does reflect the complicated and bureaucratic process that the city operates under, and which has delayed the production and implementation of meaningful and important equitable policies.

An important section within the outline plan is section number 5.3.2 Urban Renewal Area. Among the provisions that apply to this section, the document states that conditions which encourage the remaining of the local community within the area of renewal must be addressed, while keeping the current social fabric and community character of the area³⁴. Although this is an important provision to be included for urban renewal areas, it does not specifically state that the local community must be preserved or protected by the projected development, but rather, it only requires the fostering of conditions that prevent the displacement of local communities.

³³ City Outline Plan 5000/TA, City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, December 2016

³⁴ Ibid.

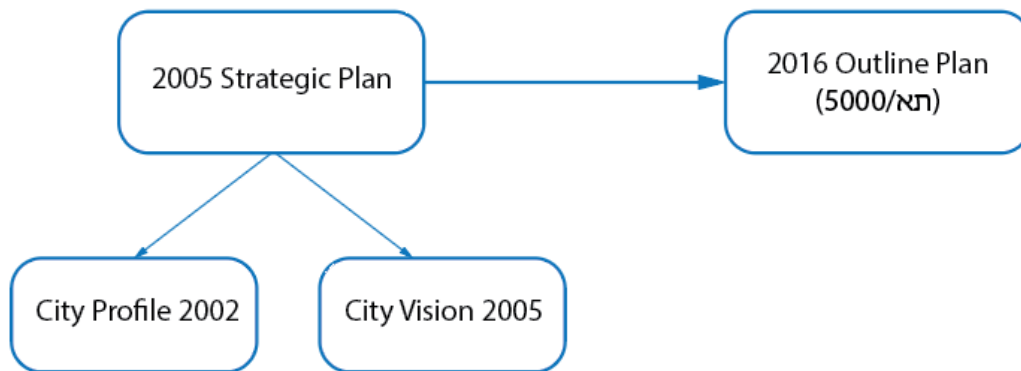


Figure 11: Relationship between city documents. By author.

In September 2017, the city published City Profile and City Vision documents as part of a revised Strategic Plan for the city. The need for a revised Strategic Plan is due to the integration of the City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa within the 100 Resilient Cities program of the Rockefeller Foundation and its need to adjust its Strategic Plan and develop a Resilient Plan that would build on existing goals and will eliminate some previous ones³⁵. Tel Aviv-Jaffa joined the program as part of the program's third cycle in 2016 and is the only city in Israel to participate in it. Selected cities are characterized as cities with high density, high rates of entrepreneurship, innovative, and cities who are interested in working with various stakeholders (residents, non-profit, government agencies, private sector, other cities etc.) to develop themselves³⁶. The mission of the 100 Resilient Cities program is to provide support and resources to cities to develop resilient plans and projects, and to build a global network that shares data and information that can assist in promoting resilient cities³⁷. The program connects between cities and assists in becoming

³⁵ 2017 City Profile. 2017 Strategic Plan for Tel Aviv-Jaffa. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Residents/Development/DocLib1/%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%97%20%D7%9E%D7%A6%D7%91%20%D7%A7%D7%99%D7%99%D7%9D%20%E2%80%93%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%A4%D7%99%D7%9C%20%D7%94%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A8%202017.pdf>

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Resilient Cities Network. Our Story. <https://resilientcitiesnetwork.org/our-story/>

resilient in facing their physical, social, and economic challenges³⁸. Resiliency is being measured through the welfare and the standard of living of the city residents, the social and financial systems that the city operates, the infrastructure systems and sustainable practices the city implements, and through effective leadership that empowers its residents and utilizes participatory planning. Cities within the program receive the following support: 1. Financial and logistic guidance to implementing a new position within the city of an urban resilient manager. 2. Support to the urban resilient manager in developing a strategy for resiliency 3. Access to tools and services from various stakeholders who can help in implementing the resilient plan 4. A global network where cities can share and learn from each other to improve their resiliency³⁹.

The 2017 Strategic Plan included the city vision and planning strategy for the year 2035 (unlike the previous one which was planned for 2025) and focuses on a clear plan for the following years. Similar to the previous Strategic Plan, the 2017 Strategic Plan was produced through a participatory planning process that included residents, city and state officials, representatives of economic, social and environmental organizations, private consultant companies, and academic scholars. As part of the process, for the City Profile for example, the city invited 25 stakeholders to participate in meetings that took place for four months, and after that the documents that were produced were uploaded to the city website for residents or whoever wished to respond and provide comments. The document does not specify how the 25 stakeholders were selected; however, it does mention that they included residents who are socially active within their communities, representative from community organizations, representatives from the private sector, government officials and others⁴⁰. The city emphasizes in the introduction to the 2017 City Profile, that in order to follow global trends, the city must adjust its strategic plan every five

³⁸ 2017 City Profile. 2017 Strategic Plan for Tel Aviv-Jaffa. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Residents/Development/DocLib1/%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%97%20%D7%9E%D7%A6%D7%91%20%D7%A7%D7%99%D7%99%D7%9D%20%E2%80%93%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%A4%D7%99%D7%9C%20%D7%94%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A8%202017.pdf>

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

years or so as other global cities around the world are doing, such as New York. The emphasis on being part of a global network of leading cities around the world, seems to be the main theme and motivation of the reason to adjust the strategic plan of the city. The document specifically notes that innovative concepts such as sustainable city, resilient city, and smart city will put Tel Aviv-Jaffa 'on the map' as a leading city in city planning and strategic planning.

Similar to the previous plan, the revised Strategic Plan, begins with a City Profile document, continues with a City Vision document, which is followed by a strategic plan that is translated into specific and outline plans and city projects. The process ends with a quality control system that makes sure that the goals of the vision are being followed by the city projects and specific plans. For this strategic plan four main guidelines led the process: Successful urban growth and development, equality and equity, sustainability, and resiliency. Resiliency is being defined as being resilient to natural phenomena, such as earthquakes and floods, to terrorism, as well as to social phenomena, such as unemployment, violence, and socio-economic gaps. Although on the one hand, the emphasis and the goal of the city is to be known in the world as a global city, and to be recognized as a leading city around the world, the fact that it joined the 100 Resilient Cities program also 'forces' the city to focus on issues emphasized by this program, which were already on the city's agenda. One of the important issues that the program stresses is for cities to develop solutions for all their residents, and especially for poor and vulnerable populations. Being part of this global network also encourages the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa to learn from housing solutions around the world and from other cities. For example, in its City Profile document, the city refers directly to Amsterdam, San Francisco, and New York City, as cities which developed affordable and public housing solutions that the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa can learn from and perhaps adapt⁴¹.

⁴¹ Ibid. P.68

The City Profile document emphasizes again, as its predecessor, the social inequality between the south and the north areas of the city; however, it puts this gap not only within the historic context of the city development but also within the context of the growth of the global city and in the context of employment within such a global city. There is a growing population of high skilled and educated workers, such as high-tech workers, while at the same time a growth of low skilled and less educated workers for the service industry, such as custodial workers and waitresses. This process pushes out middle class workers such as public administrators and small business owners from the city due to the high living prices in the global city⁴². In addition, the City Profile dedicates a whole chapter to social segregation and explains the process of gentrification that happens in the southern districts which are experiencing urban development and urban renewal processes. It mentions Jaffa as an example of such a district, which has been targeted by the city in the past few years as an urban renewal area. It indicates that what helped Jaffa to become an attractive destination for higher income population and developers is its high-valued land that has not yet been fully developed. Such underdeveloped land can be referred to areas in Jaffa that are in close proximity to the beach and the city center. The document notes that such a process increases social segregation and pushes the lower income local population out of the gentrified area.

While describing this process, the document refers to the 2011 Israeli Social Justice Protests that took place in Israel and describes it as a direct protest against the high prices of housing in the city and the lack of space for the lower income and even middle-income populations (the protest and its impact on the city approach to the lower-income residents and to Jaffa in particular will be further discussed in the next section). **The document further emphasizes the importance of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa to focus not only on the physical planning of the southern districts but primarily on the social aspects and refers to the**

⁴² Ibid.

theory of Henri Lefebvre about the right to the city. Therefore, in this document the city clearly emphasizes its new direction and goal to overcome the socio-economic gaps that exist between the south and the north of the city. However, when the document discusses such commitment, it notes that the city must find ways for fulfilling the economic potential that exists within the residents of the southern districts, and states that one way to achieve that is to provide a lifetime education, professional education, and by introducing technology and innovation to traditional industries and to lower skilled workers⁴³. This statement, although attempting to provide a ‘solution’ to the growing gap between the southern and the northern residents of the city, is based on a capitalist approach that attempts to increase the socio-economic status of lower income residents through their integration in a higher income jobs, rather than recognizing that social solutions such as public and affordable housing may also be required to minimize the socio-economic gap and provide a space for lower income residents in the city. Nevertheless, in the conclusion of this chapter in the City Profile document, the city notes that several steps must be taken in order to minimize the socio-economic gaps in the city, and one of them does refer to the development of affordable housing solutions and improvement of existing housing conditions that must be done while protecting the local existing communities of the areas. It notes that the housing prices must match the income of the residents in order to protect them from displacement, and this can be achieved through incentivizing developers and city involvement in the development process. In another section of the document, however, the city emphasizes the importance of the young population of the city and its goal in keeping them within the city and attracting additional ones from the suburbs. For that the city notes the importance of the development of affordable housing solutions that will be attractive to the young educated population. It also notes that five community centers that support young populations (age 25-34) were opened in the past years specifically to address the

⁴³ Ibid.

needs of such population – all of them were mainly in the southern districts, such as in Jaffa, where the young population can find more affordable housing and living conditions.

Thus, this document, similar to its previous one, points to the struggle of the city that on the one hand, wants to support its lower income population through affordable housing solutions, but on the other hand, aims to develop the city and attract new middle class young residents by providing them with affordable housing solutions. As part of the global theme of this document, the chapter concludes that the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa should learn from cities such as Los Angeles and San Francisco with regards to their approach to the informal economy, and from Copenhagen, Hong Kong and Singapore with regards to their development of affordable housing solutions.

Another important section within the City Profile document is dedicated to the Arab community of the city, even though it only consisted of 4.2% of the total population of the city in 2015. The emphasis of the city on this population within the document points again to the city's changing attitude towards the Arab community and its desire to make amends with it. The document states that the city is committed to the integration of Jaffa, where 86% of the Arab population resides, to the rest of the city, and to the blurring of the social gap between Tel Aviv and Jaffa⁴⁴. It is doing so and plans to continue to do so through investment in infrastructure, by providing social support through the Mishlama and community centers, and through the development of Jewish-Arab programs that deal with city and district issues. However, the document also states that the mistrust experienced by the Arab community is not only between this community and the city, but also between the Jewish community and the Arab community in Jaffa. Such mistrust and lack of will to integrate according to the document is mutual and comes from both

⁴⁴ Ibid.

communities. The document states that one of its goals is to work towards building social and tolerant urban spaces for the two groups; however, it does not state how this will be achieved.

Recently, in June 2019, the city published its Urban Resiliency Plan as part of its Strategic Plan for the city. This new section of the strategic plan was developed as part of the city joining the 100 Resilient Cities program. Following the program's guideline, the city chose five elements to focus on which were selected based on these three parameters: Strengthening the community involvement, enhancing social stability, and embracing social justice and economic development with the focus on vulnerable communities. For each element, the city identified plans and projects which it is planning to implement in order to build trust between the residents and the city government and to build resiliency. One of the elements the city chose to focus on is developing tools to strengthen the trust between the residents of the district and the city government, promoting collaboration between the two, and improving the community life – all with a focus on the Arab community of Jaffa. The reason for focusing specifically on the Arab community comes from the recognition that the community is an integral part of Jaffa and has an influence on Jaffa as a whole⁴⁵. Unlike previous documents the discussion with the local Arab community focused on the relationship of the community with the city, on understanding their community life and their relationship to Jaffa from a cultural as well as a physical perspective. After an intense dialogue with the members of the Arab community of Jaffa, the city came to the conclusion that one of the main issues is the mistrust that the residents have in the city government's interest in investing in Jaffa; even though the city has invested tremendous efforts in the development of Jaffa in the past two decades, the Arab community feels neglected and disengaged, and as a whole, feels as if the investment of the city was not done for the benefit of the Arab community of Jaffa. The urban renewal process that the district has been going through along with the escalating gentrification makes the community feel that is being pushed

⁴⁵ Urban Resiliency. June 2019. 2019 Strategic Plan for Tel Aviv-Jaffa. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

from its territory, just as it was pushed in 1948 when Israel was established⁴⁶. Based on this dialogue the city understood that the lack of equity in Jaffa between the communities and the mistrust that the Arab community felt must be targeted as part of its resilience plan for the area. Two areas that the city chose to address were improving the education level and the professional training of the Arab community as well as on finding affordable housing solutions for the community. To address housing issues, the document indicates that two specific projects were initiated that provide 300 affordable housing units specifically to the Arab community.

While the document repeats most of the commitments that were mentioned early in the strategic plan of 2005, the main difference with this document is that it proposes specific projects to improve the relationship between the Arab community and the city government, and to improve the social and housing situation of the Arab community. The document indicates that the city adopted the strategy of ‘nothing about us without us is for us’ which involves deep engagement with the community to understand its needs, culture and desires. Seven projects are proposed in the document with the primary goal to empower the community and to build a strong middle class within it.

To conclude, the strategic plans that were developed since 2005 had some contested goals for Jaffa: on the one hand, the city developed Jaffa to attract affluent residents and revive the area, while at the same time it had the goal to take care and protect local vulnerable communities from gentrification. As the purpose of these documents is to guide future development, physical, economic, as well as social, the contested goals may result in contradicting policies that aim to balance the development as well as the preservation of Jaffa’s social fabric. Unlike the earlier strategic plan, the latest version as well as the resiliency plan show a deep commitment to

⁴⁶ Ibid.

finding housing solutions to the vulnerable communities of Jaffa, and specifically to the Arab community, and therefore, provide an optimistic prospect to the communities.

What shaped the housing and social approach of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa in the past two decades? The impact of 2011 Israeli Social Justice Protests

A major event that shaped the approach of the city specifically in the past decade to housing and socioeconomic issues in Israel and in Tel Aviv-Jaffa in particular, is the 2011 Israeli Social Justice Protests which took place from July 14th until October 2011. However, prior to this major event which will be discussed shortly, two events helped raise awareness specifically to the housing crisis of the Arab community in Israel and in Jaffa.

The first event took place in the middle of the 1990s. The uprising of the Arab community for housing rights in Jaffa and their right to the city escalated and surfaced in 1995, at what came to be known as the “Housing Intifada” (Monterescu and Shaindlinger, 2013). By 1995, only 36% of the Arab families were designated as homeowners and the rest were renters of poorly maintained houses that were either privately owned or state-owned properties, and which were built prior to 1965⁴⁷. As gentrification and neoliberal policies had begun to reshape the urban fabric of Jaffa, and Ajami specifically, 100 Arab families decided to occupy for six days vacant state-owned houses that were designated for future private development⁴⁸. This strong protest ended when a state-sponsored plan for affordable housing was proposed, and when negotiation between the Arab community of Jaffa and the city began over housing solutions (Monterescu and Shaindlinger, 2013). In an agreement between the leaders of the Arab community of Jaffa and the Israeli Land Authority, it was decided that 400 units will be provided to eligible families within a year from the event. Even though the agreement sounded promising, by 1999 only 175

⁴⁷ Yehoshua, Y. (2002 September 10). Jaffa's Arabs struggling to purchase apartments in a project that was dedicated for them. Haaretz. <https://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.823367>

⁴⁸ Ibid.

housing units had been offered, only 24 Arab families had signed up for the program, and only nine families eventually purchased units⁴⁹. Two reasons were given for the failure of the program. The first was the high prices of the development of the new units, and the second was the lack of cooperation of the Arab community due to their lack of trust in the state and the city authorities⁵⁰.

The second event which helped reshape the state and city attitude, specifically towards the situation of the Arab community, was the October 2000 Events. These series of events helped to bring the struggle and the fight of the Arab community of Jaffa into the frontline. The October 2000 events were nationwide protests of Israeli Arabs framed around solidarity with West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem Arabs, as well as around inequality and discrimination against Israeli Arabs by the state of Israel. The protests escalated and resulted in violent encounters between Arab protestors and the Israeli police, who overreacted to the protests with strong force that resulted in the death of 12 Israeli Arab citizens. Although most of the protests were in the north of Israel, a quiet protest that turned violent took place in Jaffa, where the Arab community of Jaffa went to the streets to vocalize their struggle. The state response to the October 2000 events was to acknowledge the inequality and discrimination of the state against the Israeli Arab community, and to allocate 4 billion Israeli Shekels (ILS) to an investment program in the Israeli Arab community (Bari-Soliziano and Darawsha, 2013). Although the state program was not fully fulfilled, it did trigger a series of responses towards closing the socio-economic gap between the Jewish and the Arab citizens of Israel and led to the recognition of the government of the everyday struggles of the Israeli Arabs (Bari-Soliziano and Darawsha, 2013).

The Housing Intifada and the October 2000 Events had marked a change in the attitude of the state and the city towards the struggle of the Arab community in Israel and in Jaffa and led to a

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

change in attitude of the Arab community of Jaffa towards their right to housing and their right to Jaffa. Nevertheless, the 2011 Social Justice Protests and Movement was an important milestone, which further escalated the fight of the community to push for affordable housing solutions and pushed the city to attempt to provide solutions. As Monterescu and Shaindinger wrote in 2013:” the struggle over the Palestinian (the Arab) ‘right to the city’ continues in courts, in the media, and through grassroots activism, which came to fruition with the advent of the protest in the summer of 2011”. The 2011 Israeli Social Justice Protests started when a film student from Tel Aviv-Jaffa decided to organize an encampment site in one of Tel Aviv-Jaffa luxurious boulevards, Rothschild Boulevard, as an act of protest against the high prices of housing and living; she invited people to join her via a Facebook event. The event was very successful and after a month, the protest and the encampment spread to 41 cities in Israel (Ram and Filc, 2013). The act of protest in Israel and its success should also be understood in the global context of two important global uprising events. The first is the Arab Spring that took place in the beginning of the 2010s in Arab countries throughout the middle east; its main agenda was against corruption, the economic gap as well as inequality within the countries. The second, is the Occupy Movement which also took place from 2011 in the United States and triggered a series of protests around the world challenging the capitalist system and criticizing it for embracing economic and social inequalities.

The first protest of the Israeli Social Justice Protests which took place in the encampment in Tel Aviv-Jaffa, brought together approximately 20,000 people who gathered under the slogan ‘The nation demands social justice!’ (Ram and Filc, 2013). Towards the end of the protests, in September, more than 400,000 people came to Tel Aviv-Jaffa to participate in the protest, 300,000 of them were Tel Aviv-Jaffa’s residents (Ram and Filc, 2013). The protests not only drew the attention of the larger public and the media, who highly supported the cause and promoted the agenda of the protestors, but also, of the political leaders. The Prime Minister at

the time, Benjamin Netanyahu, who is a prime supporter of the capitalist and neoliberal systems, stated at the time of the protests that he understands that a shift in his approaches must be taken (Ram and Filc, 2013). It is important to note that even though the protestors claimed to represent the larger public and all the nation, the majority of the participants were young adults, who were part of the Israeli Jewish middle-class, primarily of Jewish Ashkenazi origin, and primarily from the large cities rather than the periphery.

The presence of the Israeli Arab community in these nationwide protests was limited. Ram and Filc, argue that although some Israeli Arabs joined the protests and some encampments were initiated in Arab cities, such as Tybeh and Sachnin, the presence of the Israeli Arab community was not vocalized. One explanation to this, Joseph Hassan argued, could be that Israeli Arabs feel more connected to their Palestinian nationality rather than their Israeli one, and that the social and cultural gap between the Jewish and Arab communities in Israel also adds to the growing feeling of not belonging experienced by the Arab community⁵¹.

Nevertheless, in the encampment in Tel Aviv-Jaffa there was one tent which represented Arab social activists from Jaffa, and some Arab speakers participated in the protests (Ram and Filc, 2013). The Jaffa encampment included both Israeli Arabs from Jaffa, Jewish residents from Jaffa, as well as Jewish radical activists who came to show their support. The tension among these groups led to a split within the tent that circled around the main cause of the tent (Monterescu and Shaindinger, 2013). Jewish radical activists pushed for the Jaffa tent to include within its cause the fight of the Palestinians to a recognition by the state, while most of the Arabs wanted to focus their protest around the issue of housing, displacement, lack of public housing, and the latest eviction orders from 2007 which were issued by the Israel Land Administration to 497 houses in Ajami that were owned by the state and were occupied by Israeli Arabs Protected Renters (Monterescu et al, 2013). The split within the tent led to the

⁵¹ Hassan J. (2011 October 1). Where are the Arabs?. My Julis. <https://www.myjulis.co.il/node/2166>

undermining of both causes of the groups. One action that did draw attention to the housing struggle of the Arab community of Jaffa, was a protest that was held in Jaffa as part of the series of the 2011 social justice protests. Protestors that included both Israeli Arabs from Jaffa, prominent political Arab figures, and various Jewish groups, marched together calling for the renewal of public housing, “Jaffa: the periphery at the center – housing first”, and against the Israeli occupation (Monterescu et al, 2013).

Overall, the 2011 Social Justice Protests in Israel did not yield the exact result that the protesters demanded, such as immediate reduction in rent prices and moving away from privatization to more progressive and socially oriented policies (Ram and Filc, 2013). Although the protests were framed against the socio-economic system of neoliberalism that led most of the policy making decisions in Israel since 1985, and dismantled the socio-democratic policies that were in place before, it failed in demanding a radical change to the neoliberal system in place (Monterescu and Shaindinger, 2013). Nevertheless, the protests did change the public discourse which started focusing more on the internal socio-economic issues in Israel, and primarily, on the high prices of goods and housing. Moreover, the protests led to a series of committees, which focused on finding solutions to the social and economic crises that the protests had brought to surface. The most prominent of them was the Trajtenberg Committee, which recommended a series of steps to address changes in the main areas that the protests were framed around (housing prices, prices of living and goods, the issue of lack of competition within the economic markets, poor public services, and high taxation). The committee, appointed by the government at the time, included 14 members from the public sector, academia, and private sector⁵². To reduce the housing prices and provide more affordable housing solutions, the committee provided 23 recommendations that were framed under the following goals:

⁵² Trajtenberg Committee. Globes.

https://www.globes.co.il/news/%D7%95%D7%A2%D7%93%D7%AA_%D7%98%D7%A8%D7%9B%D7%98%D7%A0%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%92.tag

1. To significantly increase the supply of housing over time
2. To increase the construction of small long term rental units, especially in the main popular cities, such as Tel Aviv-Jaffa
3. To offer additional affordable housing solutions to those in need, and specifically for people who are eligible for public housing as well as seniors
4. To find specific housing solutions to the Israeli Arab community that address its specific needs and invest in both planning and infrastructure within the areas that this community resides; and
5. To create a strategic plan for the dominant metropolitan areas, such as Tel Aviv-Jaffa and Jerusalem, that will include quick implementation of urban renewal projects, investment in innovative public transportation networks and development of housing solutions to the diverse urban communities⁵³.

Out of the total 23 recommendations only six were fully adopted and 9 were partially adopted by 2016⁵⁴. Ultimately, based on an evaluation that was done in 2021 by the Israeli economic newspaper Globes, very little has been adopted from the recommendations of the committee and while programs, such as long-term rental program were developed (An Apartment for Rent), their implementations are minor⁵⁵.

In Tel Aviv-Jaffa, the heart of the 2011 protests, the mayor, Ron Huldai, initiated a program that one can directly relate to the efforts and goals of the protestors. The program ‘Young Residents – New Policy’ was published in January 2012 and included the participation of 150 young residents in their 20s. The program created a framework for the city to specifically address the

⁵³ Azran E. and Shtol-Traoring A. (2011, September 26). Conclusions of Trajtenberg Committee: The Full Report. Haaretz. <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/education/1.1484032>

⁵⁴ Amsterdamski S. (2016, July 7). The Recommendations of Trajtenberg Committee: What's left, what destroyed and what was thrown to the garbage. Calcalist. <https://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3692517,00.html>

⁵⁵ Levi-Weinrib E. (2021, June 26). Rewind of 2011 Chapters: Most of the recommendations of Trajtenberg Committee stays as recommendations. Globes. <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1001375834>

needs of its young adult residents who wish to live, work and enjoy the city⁵⁶. Although it is not specifically stated in the program that it was initiated because of the 2011 protests, the fact that it primarily targets young adults and focuses on the need for affordable housing and for the reduction in the cost of living, indicates that the program indeed responds directly to the main issues raised by the protests. One of the main themes that the program emphasized, aside from addressing the everyday issues of young adults in the city (financial as well as social), is that the city is interested in an open dialogue with the community and aims to address the issues and the struggles of the young residents of the city. As part of the 150 young residents who participated in the program there were also two groups from the Arab community of the city, which indicates that the city understood that it is important to include this minority group in the conversation⁵⁷.

To conclude, the 2011 protests and the two previous protests marked a shift in the attitude of the city and the state towards affordable housing policies in Tel Aviv-Jaffa and in Israel in general. Since 2011 onwards the city has begun to build new programs to minimize the economic gap within it and has begun to strategize and initiate affordable housing projects within the city, and specifically within the poorest areas of the city, including Jaffa. Public housing though, continues to be in high demand with limited supply in the city and in the country as a whole. Thus, while the protests triggered attention to the housing crisis, the solutions were mostly provided to middle-income citizens while neglecting the very low-income ones.

⁵⁶ Young Residents- New Policy, City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. January 2012. <https://mazeh9.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%9B%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%AA-%D7%94%D7%90%D7%91.pdf>

⁵⁷ Ibid

The current neighborhoods of Jaffa: land use and socio-economic characteristics

Today Jaffa's jurisdiction covers 12.3% of the total area of the city of Tel Aviv Jaffa, and the built area in the district consists of 9.6% of the city. Jaffa is divided into 10 neighborhoods that are designated by the numbers 42-51 (see figure xx). Out of the built area, 51.6% is dedicated to residential, according to 2014 city data. The average apartment size has grown over the years, from 62 square meters in 1995 to 71 square meters in 2014. Similarly, the number of residential units has grown from 15,565 in 1995 to 18,694 in 2014, which is evidence of the large amount of investment and construction in the district. Unlike other areas of the city, housing density in Jaffa during 2014 was 27.9 square meters per person which was significantly higher than the city average. In addition, 51.3% of the households owned their apartment which is higher than the city average at the time, which was 44.8%⁵⁸. The city targeted the district with urban renewal projects in the past 20 years, and such development is evident in the number of additional units that have been added or are planned to be added to the district. According to data from 2014, there were approved plans for additional 10,784 units, however, only 2,446 units were built by 2014, while 5,210 units were in their proposal stages⁵⁹. Most of the approved plans are located along the west side of Jaffa, whereas the proposed plans are located in the east side of the district (figure xx). In the city document about the statistics of the district from 2014, there is a clear indication with regards to the development of the district and its availability for new incoming residents; It mentions the north-east area of the district along Shlavim Street in neighborhood number 43 (Hertzel Hill and Jaffa Industrial Area) can become a new commercial and residential area that will serve new incoming residents⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ Statistic data from the City of Tel Aviv website: statistic information about District 7 - Jaffa, 2014.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

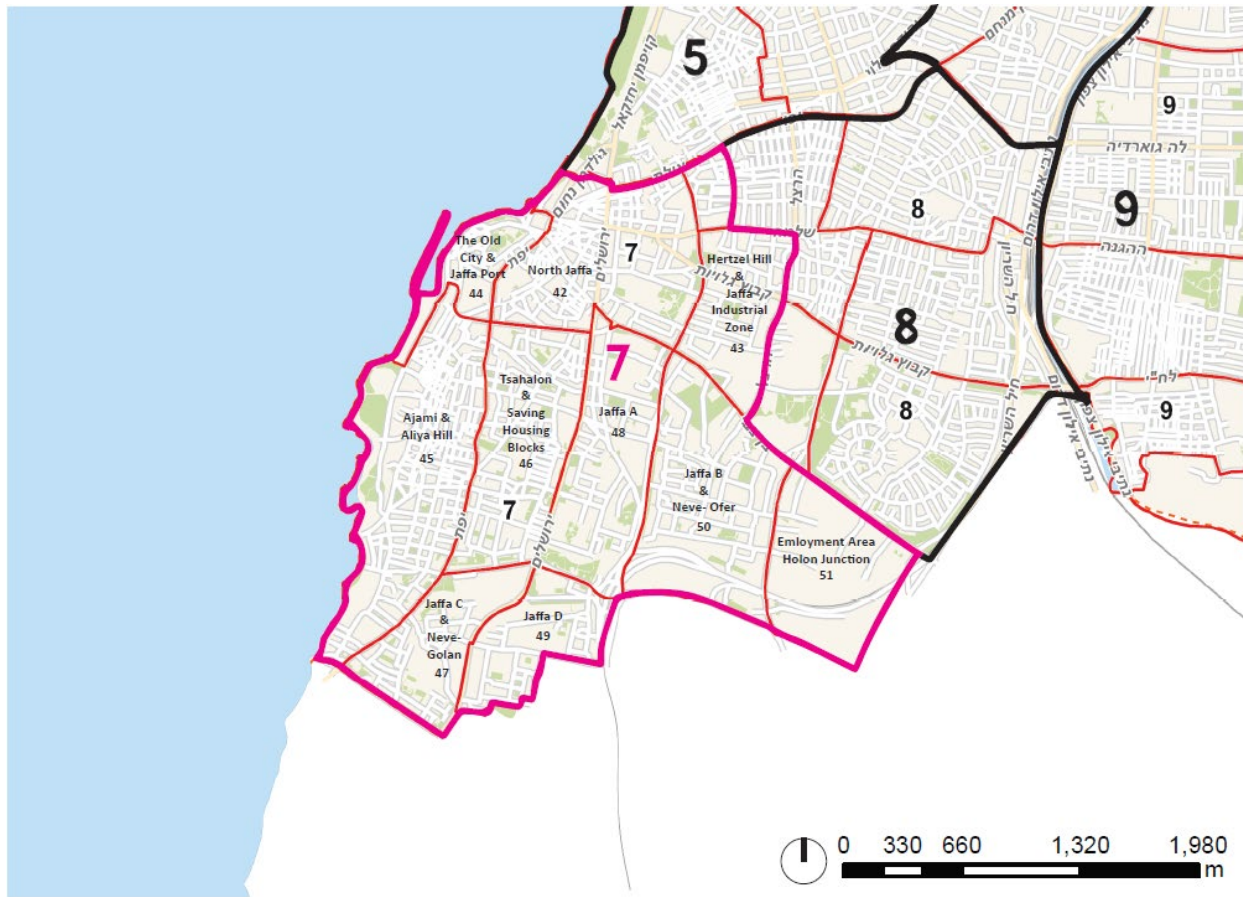


Figure 12: The district of Jaffa and its neighborhoods

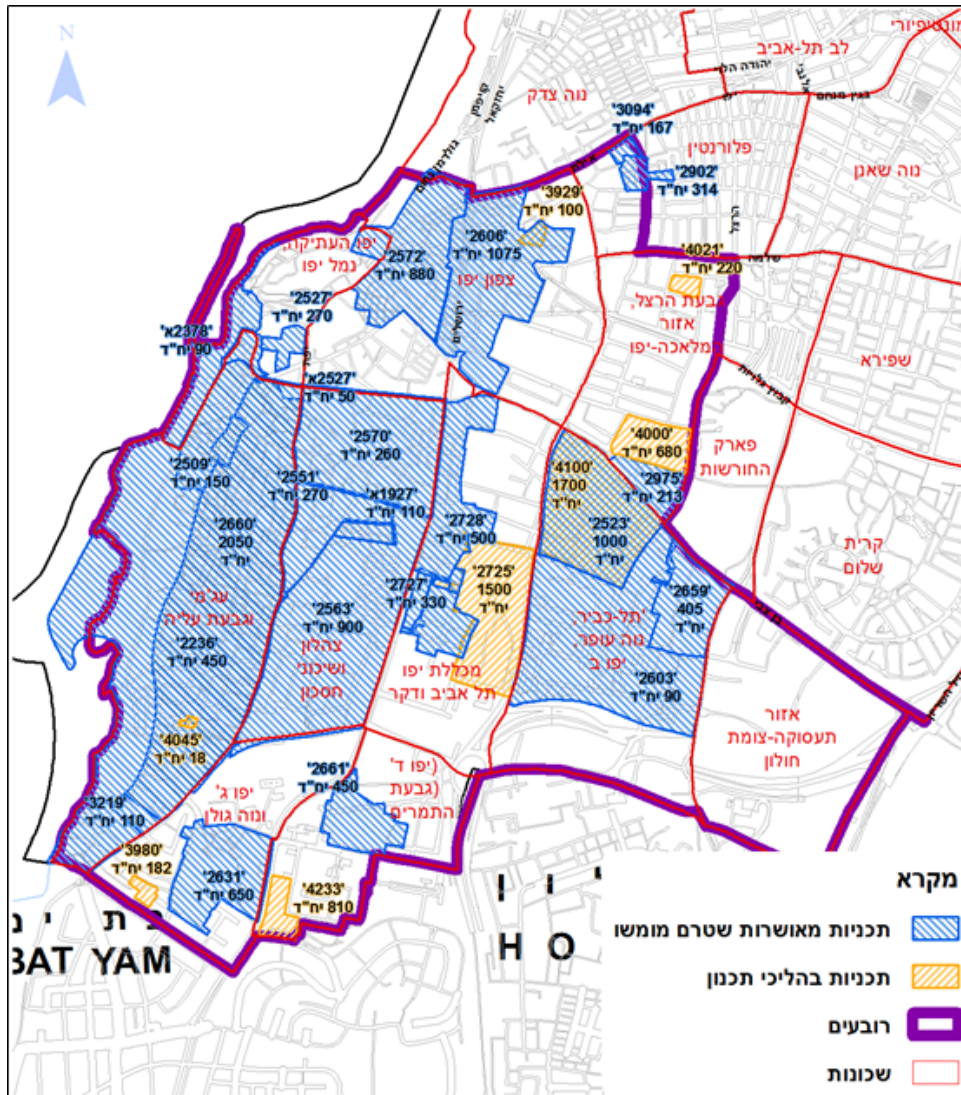


Figure 13: Redevelopment and renewal plans in Jaffa from 2015. In blue are approved plans that have not yet been realized (as of 2015), In yellow are proposed plans. All plans include the development of housing units as well as public facilities and public spaces. Some of the plans also include commercial spaces. Purple outline represents the outline of District 7, Jaffa. Red outline represents the ten neighborhoods of the district.

Jaffa consists of various uses; however, it is primarily dedicated to housing, except for the northern area which includes mixed-use, commercial, cultural and residential uses. The north-east of the district also includes light industrial uses in addition to residential uses; however, this area is targeted for urban renewal that calls for the elimination of the light industry uses

and for its replacement with commercial and residential uses⁶¹. Nevertheless, most of Jaffa is dedicated to housing and includes various types of housing⁶². Traditional housing dated prior to 1948 is mostly located in Ajami, Heart of Jaffa and the Old City of Jaffa. Public housing complexes are in the south, middle and east of Jaffa and were built during the 50s-70s for Jewish immigrants⁶³; and newly constructed complexes that began to appear in the early 2000s are mostly located in the north of Jaffa around the Old City of Jaffa and the touristic destinations, which are adjacent to Ajami.

As new public spaces have been developed in Jaffa, such as Jaffa Slope Park, the total area devoted to public space has increased. Data from 2014 indicates that 1,015 square meters, which is 16% of the district area, was devoted to public open space. However, the amount of public space that was available per person in the district was still slightly smaller than the city average and was 30.8 square meters per capita⁶⁴. This information is surprising considering the number of public amenities that have been developed in the district since the 2000s, and further emphasizes the disinvestment that the district experienced in the past.

The public redevelopment projects in Jaffa during the first decade of the 21st century primarily targeted the western-north edge of the city and continued the existing beach promenade of Tel Aviv and Neve-Tzedek neighborhood (one of Tel Aviv-Jaffa's most desirable and luxurious neighborhoods). The projects were public amenities redevelopment projects and infrastructure development and were developed in North Jaffa (number 42), The Old City and Jaffa Port (number 44) and Ajami and Jabalia (number 45). They include the renovation-rehabilitation of Jaffa Port (which is currently at its last phase), the long-term renovation-rehabilitation project

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Master Plans and Policies. Plan and Development. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Residents/Development/Pages/BlueprintsAndPolicy.aspx>

⁶⁴ Ibid.

of The Old City (that began in the 1960s), the renovation of the Flea Market (completed in 2009), and the redevelopment project Jaffa Slope Park (completed in 2010). In the past 10 years however, the city shifted its focus from public amenities development to renewal projects of residential areas within the city for the benefit of the current residents but also for the purposes of attracting new residents to the city⁶⁵. These projects are distributed among almost all of the neighborhoods, however, they specifically target the southern and eastern neighborhoods, which have not seen development and investment since the 1960s. The city investment in this area is no coincidence and is directly related to the state led project of the construction of the light rail that is currently under construction. The light rail passes in the heart of Jaffa along its main boulevard, Jerusalem Boulevard, which crosses north to south in the center of the district and is expected to easily connect the southern and eastern neighborhoods of Jaffa to the center of Tel Aviv-Jaffa.

For the purposes of this thesis the most eastern neighborhood in Jaffa, Employment Area Holon Junction will be ignored from the analysis, as this neighborhood is not a residential area and is mostly vacant.

The Western Neighborhoods

The ten neighborhoods of Jaffa are distinctive in character, and such distinction is reflected both in their land use, physical fabrics, architecture, as well as their social ones. The west neighborhoods are bounded by the Mediterranean Sea; they consist of neighborhood 44 and 45 which are named 'The Old City and Jaffa Port', and 'Ajami and Jabalia' respectively (Jabalia was converted to Aliya Hills to give it a Hebrew name). The Old City and Jaffa Port are characterized by mixed uses, the most dominant of them are residential (42%) and public services and

⁶⁵ Information taken from City Strategic Plans for the district of Jaffa in the last decade

facilities (43%)⁶⁶. Ajami and Jabalia on the other hand, are primarily occupied by residential uses (79%). These two neighborhoods are also the oldest ones and mostly include structures (and housing units) that are dated prior to 1939. While Ajami and Jabalia are dominated by Arab Population (~78%), The Old City and Jaffa Port consist of almost 70% Jewish residents. As mentioned above, these two neighborhoods have witnessed large amounts of city investment in public amenities and infrastructure projects during the first decade of the 21st century. All of the projects, except for Jaffa Slope Park that was completed in 2010, were located in The Old City and Jaffa Port. The Old City and Jaffa Port has also been the most attractive area for new affluent residents, and the land value in this neighborhood is one of the highest (along with North Jaffa) in Jaffa. Affluent new residents have begun to infiltrate Ajami and Jabalia as well, buying prime real estate along the waterfront promenade on the northern edge of the neighborhood.



Figure 14: Old city of Jaffa and Jaffa Port. Right: Old City Jaffa. [Source](#): Lee J. (2021 March 9). 14 Top-Rated Tourist Attractions in Tel Aviv. Planet Ware; Left: Jaffa Port. [Source](#): The Old City of Jaffa. Visit Tel Aviv.

⁶⁶ The information is based on statistical information about the various districts in Tel Aviv-Jaffa that was published by the city in 2014. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Transparency/Pages/Quarter.aspx>



Figure 15: The neighborhood of Ajami and Aliya Hill. [Source](#): Humphries E. (2008, July). *The Nakba Continues: The Ethnic Cleansing of Jaffa's Ajami Neighborhood*. *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. P 14-15.

Adjacent to these two western neighborhoods on the other side of Yeffet Street, are three neighborhoods: North Jaffa (number 42), Tsahalon and Saving Housing Blocks (Shikunei Hisachon in Hebrew, Tsahalon in short, number 46), and Jaffa C & Neve-Golan (Jaffa C in short, number 47) that is located at the southern edge. Almost 65% of the structures in North Jaffa were built prior to 1949, and as the neighborhood has been redeveloped since the 2000s, it has seen an increase in construction and 8% of its structures were built between 2000-2013. From 2010 to 2017 the number of dwelling units increased in 20%, to the amount of 3,548⁶⁷. In Tsahalon, most of the structures were built prior to 1949 (~54%), however, this neighborhood also experienced construction during the 1950s, specifically of housing blocks that were built to house the large number of Jewish immigrants. This 1950s construction represents 25% of the neighborhood structures. Tsahalon, has also seen development in recent years due to its prime location, close to Jerusalem Boulevard (where the new light rail will go through), and the sea; from 2,802 units in 2010 the numbers increased to 3,095 in 2017, an increase of 10%⁶⁸. Unlike

⁶⁷ Data is based on 2017 information from the open data platform of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://opendata.tel-aviv.gov.il/he/Pages/item.aspx?ids=4>

⁶⁸ Ibid.

these two neighborhoods, Jaffa C is characterized by structures from 1960-1980 (~74%). These were also housing blocks that were built for the incoming Jewish immigrants. As the southernmost neighborhood of the three, Jaffa C saw very little construction during the 2000s, and the structures from 2000-2013 represented only 1.6% of its total built area. As expected, North Jaffa consists of mostly Jewish residents (~70%), due to new incoming affluent residents. Jaffa C is also mostly Jewish (~70%), however, most of its residents are long-term Jewish residents that immigrated before the 2000s. Jaffa C also includes more recent Jewish immigrants who arrived during the 2000s from Ethiopia. Tsahalon, which is located between the two Jewish dominated neighborhoods, is primarily an Arab neighborhood, where approximately 70% of its residents are non-Jewish. Some of the Arab residents that live in this neighborhood occupy the previous Orchard area that is called Dalek Orchard. Within the orchard area informal structures are enclosed and bounded by the remainder of the orchard. The minority Jewish residents who live in this neighborhood consists of two groups; the first, are long-term Jewish residents who migrated to Israel during the 1960s; and the second are Jewish immigrants who migrated during the 1990s. According to data from 2017 and 2019, Tsahalon consist with 3,095 dwelling units that serve 7,992 residents⁶⁹⁷⁰. However, it is not clear if these numbers include the area of Dalek Orchard. Jaffa C has a lower number of dwelling units and residents, 2,378 and 6,264, respectively. In both of these neighborhoods 50% of the dwelling units are small and are between 50-70 square meters. Of the three, North Jaffa is the only neighborhood that experienced intense attention from the city during 2000-2010. The Clock Tower Area and The Flea Market that is located within it were renovated as part of a large redevelopment project for the area that was initiated in 2000. The redevelopment project

⁶⁹ Data is based on 2019 population information and on 2017 dwelling units information from the open data platform of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://opendata.tel-aviv.gov.il/he/Pages/item.aspx?ids=4>

⁷⁰ Renewal Plan Document for South Jaffa. (2017 March). The Department of Planning Jaffa and the South. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Residents/Development/Documents/%D7%9E%D7%A1%D7%9E%D7%9A%20%D7%94%D7%AA%D7%97%D7%93%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%AA%20%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%9D%20%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95.pdf>

included rezoning of the area to accommodate additional housing units, and the renovation of the infrastructure and the market area. The redevelopment project that was completed by 2009 transformed the area, brought private developers to the area which built new housing complexes that attracted new residents. Nowadays, North Jaffa along with The Old City and Jaffa Port, are considered the most attractive tourist and living destinations in Jaffa, and their land value reflects this trend. Tsahalon and Jaffa C, are both next in line to see investment and redevelopment from the city. In fact, an increase in land values in Tsahalon has already been seen and new residents are already attracted to the neighborhood. Unlike North Jaffa where the city investment was primarily designated for tourism, in the case of these two neighborhoods, the city is investing for the past 10 years in renewal housing projects that include massive rezoning of the current urban fabric for the purpose of increasing and renovating the available housing stock in the area. The south part of Tsahalon, the south part of Jaffa A, Jaffa C and Jaffa D are all parts of the city Renewal Plan for South Jaffa (Shikunei Darom), which was approved in 2017⁷¹. The plan, which I explain in further details in chapter IV, calls for redevelopment to maximize its relationship to the existing and future infrastructure in the area, such as the new light rail, and includes the development of additional 14,000 housing units, public open spaces and structures, and additional supporting uses that are not residential (retail, commercial etc.)⁷² This renewal plan along with the development of the new light rail system that expects completion in 2023, has already attracted several real estate entrepreneurs to the area who recognize the increase in land value that the light rail will bring to the neighborhoods, and seek to take advantage of the city rezoning plans.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.



Figure 16: New and old housing in Jaffa. To the left: A new development in North Jaffa. Image by Amit Garon. [Image Source](#); To the right: Housing complexes from the 1960-70s in Jaffa C. Image by Avi Hai. [Image Source](#)

The eastern neighborhoods

On the east side of Jerusalem Boulevard, two neighborhoods are located: Jaffa D (number 49) in the south edge, and Jaffa-Tel Aviv College and Dakar (Also known as Jaffa A and will be referred to as such in this thesis, number 48), located just north of it. Similar to Jaffa C, Jaffa D was mainly constructed between 1960-1980 (85% of its structures were built during this time) to house Jewish immigrants in modern style housing complexes. Only 4% of the neighborhood structures were built between 2000-2013, continuing the trend of lack of interest in development in the southern area of Jaffa during this time. This is a residential neighborhood, where 90% of the structures are used for residential and the additional 10% are dedicated for services and facilities for residents (such as schools and community services). Jaffa D, as Jaffa C, is dominated by Jewish residents (80% Jewish), most of them from the former USSR and Ethiopia, who migrated to Israel in the 1990s and the 2000s respectively. Jaffa D also includes Abu Sayyaf Orchard within its area, which consists of informal housing that serves the Arab population. According to data from 2017, Jaffa D consists of 2,471 housing units that are home to 6,650 residents. More than 50% of the units, similar to Tsahalon and Jaffa C, are small units that are between 50-70 square meters. On the other hand, Jaffa A, is characterized primarily

with structures that were built prior to 1949 (~65%), and structures that were built between 1960-1980 (~27%). This distribution also reflects its diverse population, which consists of only 55% Jewish residents and approximately 45% Arab residents. The primary use of this neighborhood is also residential and residential services, which covers 87% of its built environment. However, the neighborhood also consists of Jaffa-Tel Aviv College campus which opened in 2004⁷³. A student housing complex of 400 units was recently completed and added to the campus in 2019⁷⁴. This new development and the establishment of the campus itself in 2004 brought new residents to the area. Similar to Jaffa D, this neighborhood consists of an informal housing area that is named Daka Orchard, located on the southern part of the neighborhood, which is home to an Arab population. The Jewish population in Jaffa D consists of both long-term Jewish immigrants, and more recent immigrants from former USSR and Ethiopia. Both of these central Jaffa neighborhoods consist of low-income residents. In Jaffa D, 46% of the households have an average income that is lower than the minimum wage salary in Israel, while only ~1.7% earn twice above the state average income. In Jaffa A, 52% of the households have an average income that is lower than the minimum wage salary in Israel, while only ~5% earn twice above the state average income. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Jaffa D and the south part of Jaffa A, are targeted by the City as part of the city Renewal Plans for South Jaffa, which was laid out in 2017⁷⁵. Both of these neighborhoods are bordered by Jerusalem Boulevard along their eastern border, and therefore, with the construction of the new light rail they become more attractive to real estate development and new residents. Jaffa A, can arguably be considered as one of the most interesting neighborhoods in Jaffa at the moment. Along with having the Jaffa-

⁷³ Academic Campus. The establishment of The Academic College of Tel Aviv-Yaffo
<https://web.archive.org/web/20090228065701/http://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Hebrew/Yafo/Academic/Index.asp>

⁷⁴ Thinking about studying in Tel Aviv? Come live there. The Academic College of Tel Aviv-Yaffo
https://applicants.mta.ac.il/student-dormitories/?_ga=2.8447024.482409639.1614726493-1013457062.1614726493

⁷⁵ Renewal Plan Document for South Jaffa. (2017 March). The Department of Planning Jaffa and the South. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa.
<https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Residents/Development/Documents/%D7%9E%D7%A1%D7%9E%D7%9A%20%D7%94%D7%AA%D7%97%D7%93%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%AA%20%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%9D%20%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95.pdf>

Tel Aviv College within its area, and being included in the city's Renewal Plan for South Jaffa as well as the city's Renewal Plan Maccabi Jaffa, this neighborhood is targeted by the city and the state for a master redevelopment project which includes approximately 1,500 new residential units, with almost half of them designated as affordable housing units for sale, as part of the state's program "Price for the New Homeowner" (דיוור למשתכן). This boost of development and targeting by the city, and the proximity of the neighborhood to Jaffa-Tel Aviv College and the new light rail, is going to make Jaffa A attractive to new incoming residents, and especially young families who could purchase an apartment for an affordable price as part of the state's program. Nowadays, the real estate prices in the area are around 31,000 ILS (approx. \$10k) per square meter, which is considerably low compared to the square meter price in the northern-west neighborhoods of the district (~45,000 ILS). This number, however, is expected to rise by at least 10% in the next few years due to the large investment of the city⁷⁶.

The most eastern neighborhoods of Jaffa include Hertzal Hill and Jaffa Industrial Zone (Herzel Hill in short, number 43) to the north, Jaffa B (number 50), and Employment Area Holon Junction in the south edge of Jaffa (number 51). Hertzal Hill is mostly dedicated for light industry and commercial uses, and only 10% of its built square meters is dedicated to residential uses. In 2013, the area only included 770 residential units. More than 55% of the structures in the area were built between 1940-1960, and very little development has happened between 2000-2013 (less than 3%). Based on data from 2012, from the 870 residents who live in the neighborhood, approximately 71% are Jewish. Jaffa B, which is located south of Hertzal Hill, is a mixed-use neighborhood with a bit more than 51% of its built square meters dedicated to residential purposes, consisting of 3,113 units (2013 data). The neighborhood was mostly built during the 1960s and 1970s, when more than 60% of its structures were built. These structures

⁷⁶ Zion E. (2021, January 8). Real Estate Bonanza: Which neighborhoods will gain from the Metro. Ynet. <https://www.ynet.co.il/economy/article/Sye0E94CP>

were built by the government for Jewish immigrants in a modernist style to quickly house the masses, similar to the construction that Jaffa C and D had seen at that time. Between 2000-2013, additional structures were built, which make up about 7% of the total structures in the neighborhood. The neighborhood is predominantly Jewish, with 94.5% of its 7,830 residents Jewish (data from 2012). 21% of the Jewish immigrants arrived after 1990, which indicates that most of them arrived from the former USSR and Ethiopia. Based on data from 2013 about school distribution, the neighborhood consists of approximately 40% Jewish religious residents who send their children to religious institutions⁷⁷. Similar to the rest of Jaffa's neighborhoods, 45% of the residents earn less than the minimum income benchmark in Israel, and only 3% earn twice more than the average income in Israel, clearly designating this neighborhood as poor. The third neighborhood, Employment Area Holon Junction does not have a separated statistical data information, as it is mostly undeveloped and consists of commercial areas and the training football field for the football team Maccabi Jaffa. Hertzal Hill along with the east part of North Jaffa neighborhoods are part of a renewal project that is called Mevohot Jaffa. The project was initiated in the early 2000s and its plan was drafted in 2007.

Overall, the neighborhoods of Jaffa are still characterized as poor and most of the construction within them was mainly built more than 50 years ago. Nevertheless, the renewal plans and redevelopment projects of the past 20 years were already followed by the construction of luxury residential complexes and is now expected to be followed by the construction of affordable housing complexes. This boost in construction is expected to change the urban and social fabric of the district.

⁷⁷ This is a rough estimation based on the percentage of children who attend religious schools vs. secular public schools in the neighborhood. The data is taken from the statistical data for the area that was generated by the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Department of Education in 2012/2013.

socio-demographic and land-use information about Jaffa's neighborhoods								
Neighborhoods	Area (square meters)	Population Size⁷⁸	% Jewish Population	% Arab Population (or non-Jewish population)	Number dwelling units⁷⁹	Primary land use	% of household with income <5,300 ILS	Redevelopment/ Renewal Projects
The Old City & Jaffa Port (44)	300,000	1034	70%	30%	435	Residential/ Public Services and Facilities (tourism)	42.5%	The Old City; Jaffa Port
Ajami & Aliya Hill (45)	1,038,000	6030	22%	78%	2,165	Residential		Jaffa Slope Park (2010)
North Jaffa (42)	949,000	2547	70%	30%	3,548	Residential/ Public Services and Facilities/ Light Industry	37.7%	The Clock Tower Area & The Flea Market (2009)
Tsahalon & Saving Housing Blocks (46)	698,000	7992	30%	70%	3,095	Residential	47%	Renewal Plan for South Jaffa
Jaffa C & Neve-Golan (47)	444,000	6264	70%	30%	2,378	Residential	49%	Renewal Plan for South Jaffa
Jaffa A (48) (Jaffa Tel-Aviv College and Dakar)	675,000	3590	55%	45%	2,237	Residential/ Public Services and Facilities		Renewal Plan for South Jaffa; Maccabi Jaffa
Jaffa D (49)	388,000	6674	80%	20%	2,526	Residential	46.5%	Renewal Plan for South Jaffa

⁷⁸ Data is based on 2019 information from the open data platform of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://opendata.tel-aviv.gov.il/he/Pages/item.aspx?ids=4>

⁷⁹ Data is based on 2017 information from the open data platform of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://opendata.tel-aviv.gov.il/he/Pages/item.aspx?ids=3>

Hertzel Hill & Jaffa Industrial Zone (43)	619,000	14	71%	29%	977	Light Industry/Commercial and/ Public Services	N/A	Mevohot Jaffa
Jaffa B & Neve-Ofer (50)	1,486,000	7729	95%	5%	3,119	Mixed Residential & Light Industry (50% residential)	45%	

Figure 17: Table summarizes socio-demographic and land-use information about Jaffa’s neighborhoods.

Conclusions

To conclude, until 2000 Jaffa provided a space for new immigrants and low-income residents who resided there either because of economic reasons or historical heritage. As the city started to intensely invest in the district from 2000 onwards, the character of both the physical and the social composition of Jaffa altered, and Jaffa became more Jewish and more rich. The gentrification that is already prominent in the western-northern portion of Jaffa, where the city invested during the first decade of the 21th century, is now spreading to the southern and eastern areas of the city, following the location of the latest renewal plans for Jaffa. While Jaffa is still consisting of mostly low-income lower middle-class residents, this is expected to change as new residential projects and convenient transportation infrastructure attract new residents to the area.

Part II: The current situation of the vulnerable population of Jaffa: Socioeconomic and housing distribution that is shaped by the past

Vulnerable Population: Definition

The state does not have a specific definition for its vulnerable population. However, the state does define certain populations who are in need of financial support and are eligible to receive such support from the state. While social support to people in need was given to Israeli citizens since the 1950s, in 1980 the government passed the law for 'guaranteed income' which institutionalized and clarified who is eligible and what are the financial support services they receive through the Bituah Leumi (the social security institution of Israel)⁸⁰. The law guarantees that a payment is given to any person and family in Israel who do not have the ability to have income for living on their own⁸¹. A person in Israel that is eligible for a monthly financial support from the state that is given by the social security institution is defined as: 1. A citizen of the state of Israel 2. at least 20 years of age, 3. Has a maximum income of certain amount which is defined by the person's age and family status (married, with kids or not), for example a single person between the age of 20-54, with a maximum monthly income of 3,044 ILS (~\$915) will be eligible for financial aid from the state 4. If the person owns or leases a vehicle, the value of the vehicle must be less than 41,373 ILS (~\$12,415) 5. A person must register with the Israeli Employment Services, and if a job is offered to them, they must accept it, if not, their right to financial aid will be waived 6. Unless the person is a single parent, if the person is pursuing higher education and/or religious studies they are not eligible for financial assistance⁸². The

⁸⁰ The 1980s. Bituah Leumi. <https://www.btl.gov.il/About/Israel60/80/Pages/default.aspx>

⁸¹ Guaranteed Income Law 1980. Nevo. https://www.nevo.co.il/law_html/law01/079_001.htm

⁸² Eligibility for state income support. Bituah Leumi. https://www.btl.gov.il/benefits/Income_support/Pages/zacautnew.aspx

state, therefore, provides financial support to very low-income citizens, who comply with the provisions described above.

In addition, the state provides a limited amount of public housing that is dedicated to people that have a financial need or to people with disabilities. To be eligible for public housing, Israeli citizens must comply with the following provisions: 1. Must be non-homeowners, which means that they did not own an apartment or portion of it in the prior ten years⁸³ 2. Families with a minimum of three children that have either received 24 months state financial aid, or 12 months additional income from the state, or such families with a single parent that have received financial state assistance for 24 months 3. A family in which one of the parents are using a wheelchair and their total income is not above the average income in the state (as of 2021 the average monthly income is 8,112 ILS, which is approximately \$2450) 4. A married couple with at least two children and one of the partners has a disability and is eligible for state financial aid 5. A married couple in which one of the partners has a disability and is eligible for state financial aid and has at least one child with disability that receives financial aid from the state 6. A married couple in which both partners have a disability and receive financial aid from the state and have at least one child 7. A married couple in which both partners have a disability and receive temporary financial aid from the state for 24 months and have at least 3 children⁸⁴. In addition to families and people with disabilities, new Jewish immigrants and elders (women above the age of 64 and men above the age of 67) who comply with specific provisions are also eligible for public housing.

While the state does not specifically define which population is considered vulnerable, it does define who is eligible for financial aid and public housing. The two definitions allude to the fact

⁸³ Some exceptions to this provision apply, such as for single parents, or for people who owned an apartment and sold it in less than a certain amount as defined by the regulations. https://www.gov.il/he/Departments/Guides/hagdarat_chasrey_dira?chapterIndex=1

⁸⁴ Eligibility for public housing. Ministry of Construction and Housing of Israel. https://www.gov.il/he/Departments/Guides/public_housing_guide_step_by_step?chapterIndex=2

that there is a link between low-income and state support. It can also be concluded that most of the support is given to very low-income households, primarily to large families rather than singles, to families with disabilities, elders and low-income new Jewish immigrants.

The state identifies areas that are financially weaker than other by ranking the economic status of citizens using the Socio-Economic Index that is administered and published by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics⁸⁵. The index is being used as a tool to compare between cities and villages in Israel and helps in identifying areas that require social welfare services or distressed areas⁸⁶. The index divides the ranking based on geographic units, such as cities, villages, districts etc. and it is measured based on the following parameters⁸⁷:

1. Demographic characteristics: age, dependency on other house members (such as children), average household members.
2. Education: average number of years of education for people between the age of 25-54, number of people with higher education for people between the age of 25-54, and number of people who work in academia or in management.
3. Standard of living: average monthly income per person, average car ownership for people above the age of 18 per household, average number of rooms per person within household, average number of bathrooms per person within household, average number of households that own a computer and have internet connection.
4. Employment and retirement: number of people above the age of 15 with income, number of women between the age of 25-54 who do not work in the private market, number of people for whom their income is more than double of the average income, number of people with income

⁸⁵ Socio-economic index. Central Bureau of Statistics. <https://www.cbs.gov.il/he/Pages/%D7%9B%D7%9C-%D7%94%D7%9E%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%97%D7%99%D7%9D.aspx?k=%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%93+%D7%97%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%AA%D7%99-%D7%9B%D7%9C%D7%9B%D7%9C%D7%99>

⁸⁶ Agmon T. (2016 July 10). The Socio-economic index of The Central Bureau of Statistics, Description and analysis of its use for municipal budgets and a description of other measures. Center for Research and Information of The Knesset. <https://din-online.info/pdf/kn255.pdf>

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

that is lower than the minimum income, number of people who receive guaranteed income from the state or financial age for elders.

The index gives a rank of 1-10 to each geographic unit where 1 is the lowest socio-economic status and 10 is the highest. In Israel, the very low-income populations that is counted under the lowest ranking are primarily associated with the Israeli Arabs, Jewish orthodox, and Ethiopian Jews. The city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa usually receives higher ranking as a city, and in the past two ranking publications in 2015 and 2017, it was ranked as number 8⁸⁸.

In a similar manner to the state, the city does not specifically define vulnerable communities or vulnerable populations in a direct or clear way but refers to a specific socio-economic affiliation as a 'vulnerable population' and refers to vulnerable populations as the poor populations of the city⁸⁹. The city also refers to minority groups such as Ethiopian Jews, and Israeli Arabs as vulnerable populations. In its 2017 City Profile document, it was mentioned that more than a third of the city population has socio-economic characteristics that are associated with the lower and medium socio-economic status in Israel, which is within the 4-5 rank of the Socio-Economic Index. The majority, if not all of the vulnerable population, resides in the southern districts of the city, districts 7 to 9, and includes Jewish immigrants who arrived during the 1950s from Arab countries (such as Morocco and Algeria), residents of public housing or any housing that is owned by the state (i.e the Arab population of Jaffa and very low-income families), and approximately 46,000 foreign non-Jewish immigrants and refugees who seek shelter and work opportunities in the city⁹⁰. This vulnerable population is approximately 40% of the city's overall population.

⁸⁸ Table A: Local authorities in ascending order of the socio-economic index 2017. Index Value, Rank and Cluster., and changes compare to 2015. Central Bureau of Statistics https://www.cbs.gov.il/he/mediarelease/doclib/2020/403/24_20_403t1.pdf

⁸⁹ 2017 City Profile, City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

⁹⁰ Ibid.

Since the city and the state both use socio-economic status to either identify distressed areas that require welfare services or to refer to vulnerable populations, for the purposes of this thesis I define the vulnerable population of Jaffa in a similar manner. It is composed of low-income residents who are associated with various minority groups in Israel. The majority of the vulnerable population is part of the Arab community; some are low-income long-term Jewish residents who arrived during the 1950s and 1960s; some are Jewish immigrants from the former USSR, primarily from Russia and Ukraine, who immigrated to Israel in 1990s; approximately 600 families of Jewish Ethiopians who immigrated to Israel during the mid-2000s⁹¹; a low-income Jewish religious community; and the most recent group are foreign immigrant workers (documented and undocumented), mostly from various countries in Africa, such as Sudan.

Jaffa: a low-income bubble within a high-income city

Although overall Tel Aviv-Jaffa is considered to have a high socio-economic status compared to other cities in Israel, there is a clear socio-economic gap between the northern and southern districts of the city⁹². Based on the Socio-Economic Index, the north is of higher economic status, while the south is of lower economic status. In a scale from 1-10, where one is the lowest socio-economic status and 10 is the highest, the northern areas of the city are ranked between 7.7-9.2, while the southern neighborhoods are ranked between 3.5-4.6, and Jaffa received the lowest ranking of 3.5⁹³. Moreover, the number of families who utilize social welfare services is much higher in the southern districts of the city and the number of families who live under the

⁹¹ Successful Aliya Project, Aviv HaTora. Aminadav.

<https://aminadav.org.il/%D7%92%D7%A8%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%9D/%D7%92%D7%A8%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%9F-%D7%90%D7%91%D7%99%D7%91-%D7%94%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%A8%D7%94-%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%99%D7%99%D7%A7%D7%98-%D7%A2%D7%95%D7%9C%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%91%D7%94%D7%A6%D7%9C%D7%97%D7%94/>

⁹² City Profile, 2002. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

⁹³ The socio-economic index of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, based on 2008 data. The center for socio-economic research. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Transparency/DocLib6/%D7%94%D7%93%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%92%20%D7%94%D7%97%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%AA%D7%99-%D7%9B%D7%9C%D7%9B%D7%9C%D7%99%20%D7%A9%D7%9C%20%D7%AA%D7%9C-%D7%90%D7%91%D7%99%D7%91-%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95.%202013.pdf>

poverty line is significantly higher. The housing characteristics are also significantly different, as an average apartment size in the north is approximately 40 square meters per person, while in the south it is 25 square meters per person⁹⁴.

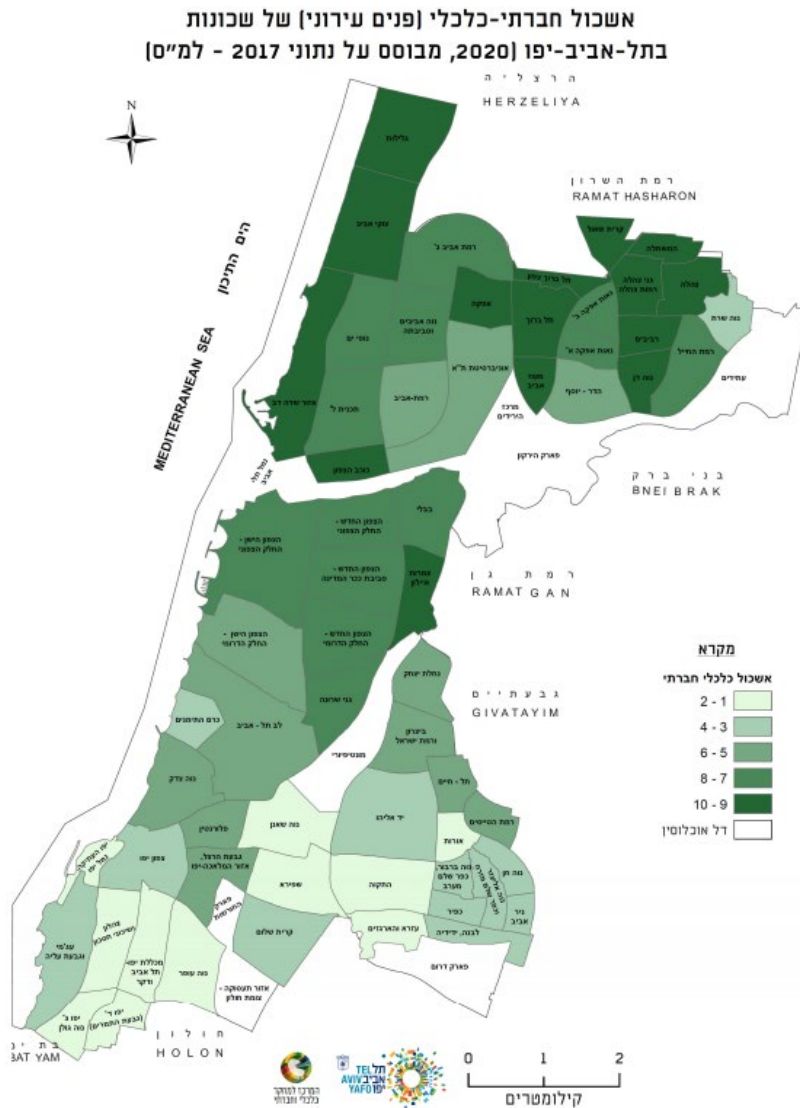


Figure 18: socio-economic index map neighborhood scale for the City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, 2017. **Light Green** represents the lower socio-economic status, while **dark green** represents highest economic status. White refers to areas with low population rates, such as industrial areas. [Source](#).

⁹⁴ City Profile, 2002. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

Past planning practices can be one of the explanations for the large economic gap between the two areas of the city. First, in the north, Tel Aviv University can be found, along with an ample amount of commercial, retail, museums and office buildings which provide commerce, cultural, and high paying job opportunities. In contrast, the south is dominated by light industrial facilities, wholesale retail, transportation hubs (such as the central bus station), and public housing that were built between the 1950-1970. Second, the southern part of the city, unlike the northern area, has seen periods of neglect from the city where plans for development were 'frozen' and no development was allowed due to policies such as Erase and Rebuild between 1960-1985. This policy was one of the main reasons for the growing gap between the south and the north areas of the city⁹⁵. Lastly, the state's decision to locate Jewish immigrants throughout the years from the early years of the establishment of Israel until today, within the southern districts of the city and specifically in old public housing complexes, also directly influenced the socio-economic status of the residents of the southern districts. Thus, the planning decisions of the past and the state policies that were (and are) in place, directly influence not only the gap between the urban development of the south and the north, but also the socio-economic status of the residents of the southern districts.

While the Jewish immigrants who arrived to the city since the 1990s were not placed by the city or the state in the southern districts, the majority of them reside in the south and their reason to do so were probably driven by financial reasons, as such districts provide cheaper housing solutions. Most of these Jewish immigrants are primarily from the former USSR and Ethiopia and are associated with low socio-economic status. In Jaffa, they composed 20% of the 50,852

⁹⁵ City Profile, 2002. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

residents (according to data from 2017), whereas in one of the northern districts (district number 2) the immigrants were only 6% of the total population⁹⁶.

The overall economic status of Jaffa's residents is generally associated with lower income residents, and a higher percentage of residents without academic degrees. This is not only in comparison to the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, but also to the state of Israel as a whole (Bimkom, 2009). Jaffa also has a unique ethnic mix as its Arab Population consists of a third of Jaffa's population (one third Christian and two thirds are Muslims). Since this population has been oppressed and discriminated against by both the state and the city over the years, as previously mentioned, its socio-economic status is one of the lowest within the city, which adds to the overall low socio-economic status of the district. Out of the total population of the city that receives social welfare support, 21% of it is from Jaffa, and most of the people are members of the Arab community (Shohat-Radom and Paz Pines, 2021).

Within Jaffa itself, there is also a gap between the rich and the poor. Such a gap relates directly to the housing struggle of the low-income residents of Jaffa. In Jaffa between the years of 1975 to 1985, 3,125 units were demolished as part of the Erase and Rebuild policy. In the poorest neighborhoods of Jaffa, Ajami and Aliya Hill (The Hebrew name of Jabaliya), where the majority of the Arab community resides, between 1973 to 1993 there was a decline of 41% of the available housing units, while in the newer neighborhoods of Jaffa to the east, which are primarily occupied by Jewish residents, there has been a 30% increase⁹⁷. City documents from 2005 indicate that only 31.5% of Ajami and Aliya Hill's residents own their own house in comparison to 64% in the center of Jaffa⁹⁸.

⁹⁶ 2019 annual statistics. Main statistics and patterns. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Transparency/Documents/%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A7%D7%A8%D7%99%20%D7%94%D7%A0%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%9D%20%D7%95%D7%9E%D7%92%D7%9E%D7%95%D7%AA%202019.pdf>

⁹⁷ 2005 City Profile, Chapter 7: City Districts, City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

⁹⁸ Ibid.

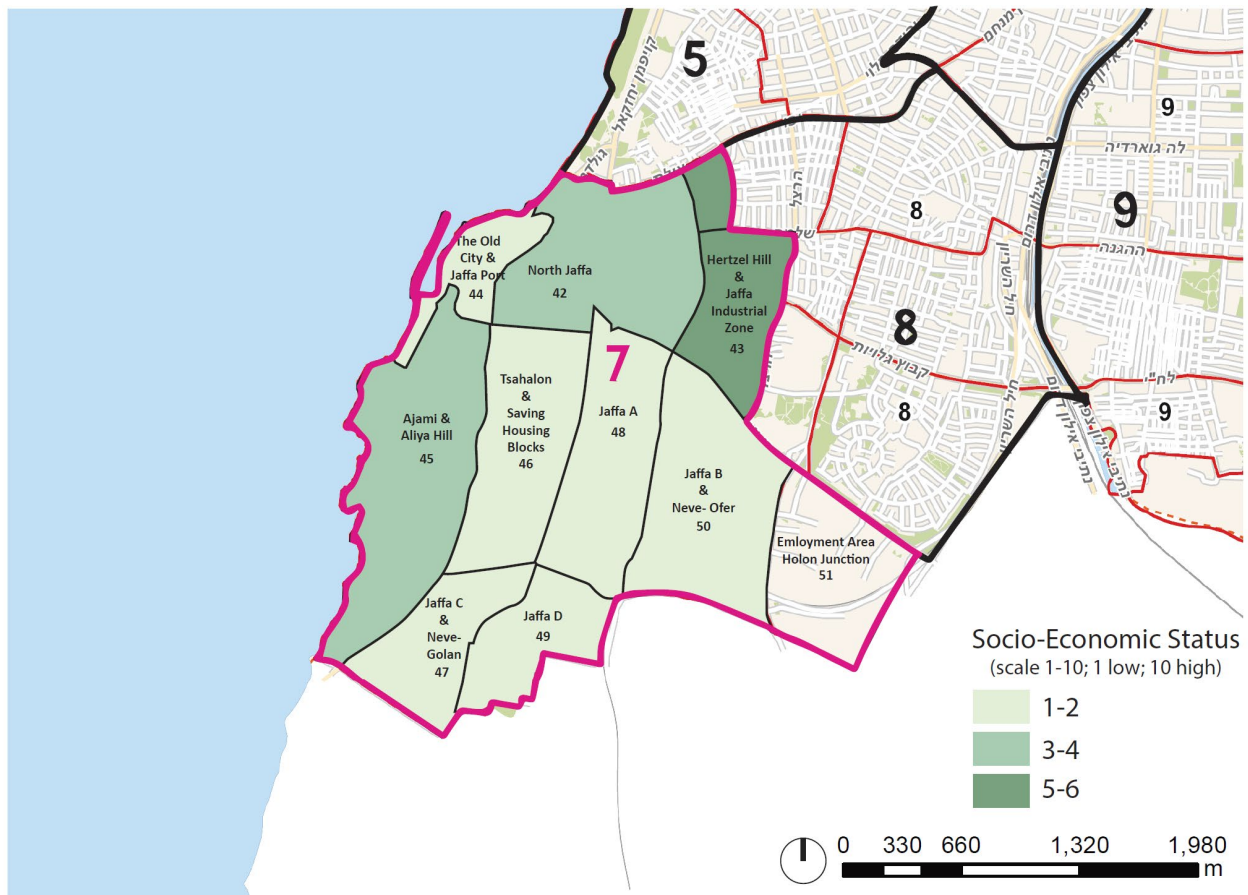


Figure 19: Socio-economic distribution map in Jaffa's neighborhoods

The vulnerable population of Jaffa: Characteristics

The lack of investment in Jaffa until 1985 resulted in the fleeing of upper- and middle-income households, in the decrease of the population, and marked Jaffa as the district of the poor. Nevertheless, since the beginning of 2010s, in parallel to the city's investment in the district, there has been a slight increase in the total population, and an increase in Jewish higher-income residents. Data from 2014 indicates that the total population of Jaffa was 47,580 residents, and the majority of them were Jewish. Moreover, the number of Jewish residents in the district grew from 63.8% in 2008 to 71% in 2014 alone. The growing Jewish population in the area and the decreasing Arab population reflects the gentrification process that continues to escalate, and the

lack of housing affordability in Jaffa to its vulnerable population. While the number of higher income residents continues to increase, the district is still one of the poorest in the city and is still the home of the most vulnerable population in the city. As previously explained, the vulnerable population of Jaffa is defined in this thesis as Jaffa's minority groups that are associated with lower socio-economic status. While each group is important, I chose to focus in this section on three vulnerable population groups with unique characteristics and which, within the city, exist almost exclusively in Jaffa: The Arab community, The Jewish Ethiopian community and the long-term low-income Jewish residents. In this section I describe the socio-economic conditions, housing characteristics, as well as the groups' relationships with city agencies.

The Arab Community

The Arab community who resided in Jaffa long before the establishment of the state of Israel, owned single family homes or apartments in various locations in Jaffa. After the establishment of Israel most of the Arab population left the area, and the ones who chose to stay were displaced into two Arab dominant neighborhoods, Ajami and Jabaliya, by the Israeli military who controlled Jaffa from 1948-1949 (Avni, 2021). The displaced Arab population were then given the status of Protected Renters and were no longer recognized as homeowners. Any Arabs that returned to Jaffa after the 1950s and wanted to reclaim their homes were denied under the Absentee property Law (1950), which allowed the state to legally confiscate the properties of the Arab population who left it during the war⁹⁹. This law gave the state the power to take ownership over more than 14,000 housing units in Jaffa, and the residents who populated such units were given the status of Protected Renters. The Protected Renters, which included both the displaced population as well as the returning Arab population as mentioned above, were

⁹⁹ Absentees' Property Law, 5710-1950. <https://www.adalah.org/uploads/oldfiles/Public/files/Discriminatory-Laws-Database/English/04-Absentees-Property-Law-1950.pdf>

subjected to a special rental agreement which allowed them to live within the now owned state property. Amidar, a state-owned housing company that was established in 1949, became the operator and the management company of the properties in the 1960s, and continues in this role today¹⁰⁰. Under the Protected Renter rights, the renters are protected by special rental agreements and the Rental Law, which limits the rent the state can charge, prevents the state from relocating residences without a justified reason, and allows the renters to sell their renting rights. In 1972, the government instituted the Protected Renter Law, which further expanded the rights of Protected Renters, and stated that they are considered as owners of 60% of the units they occupy¹⁰¹. While all these pro-renter regulations protect the Protected Renters, there are some major issues with them. The restrictions that come with being Protected Renters are strict and limiting, preventing renters from improving their living conditions through both renovations and expansions. Most of the contracts and the laws are in Hebrew whereas not all the members of the Arab community are fluent in reading or writing in Hebrew as their everyday language is Arabic. In addition, the laws and the rental agreements have some contradictions which lead to confusion with regards to what regulations the renters should follow (Bimkom, 2009). Often, renters are not even aware of the restrictions that came with their rents and have unknowingly violated them, which automatically defines them as ‘intruders’ under the law, stripping them from their protective rights (Avni, 2012).

The ‘Erase and Rebuild’ policy that the city followed during the 1960s, did not help the population of the Protected Renters in Jaffa. The policy which aimed to demolish the old urban fabric in order to construct a new modern one in its place, resulted in the lack of a clear strategic plan for Jaffa, which prevented the issuing of any construction permits for either new construction or renovation projects (Monterescu, 2007). The state-owned residences that the

¹⁰⁰ Amidar. Kol Zchut. <https://www.kolzchut.org.il/he/%D7%A2%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%93%D7%A8>

¹⁰¹ Protected Renter Law, 1972. Nevo. https://www.nevo.co.il/law_html/law01/085_002.htm#med4

Protected Renters occupied were already in bad condition after the war of 1948, and the city policy along with the restrictions of the rental agreements resulted in further deterioration of the properties. As a consequence, most of the population of Ajami and Jabaliya fled the area. From almost 23,000 residents in 1961, these neighborhoods' population shrunk to 4,033 in 1989, and the people who were left behind were of very low-income that couldn't afford to leave the area (Monterescu, 2007). The residents who remained resisted the policy of the city to demolish the neighborhoods' urban fabric, and their homes, and refused to evacuate their homes (Monterescu, 2007). As some of the properties were in very poor conditions, the state was able to forcefully displace the residents of such units, under the claim that the units are structurally unsafe, and by law as the owner of the properties, the state could require the residents to leave the premises, as long as it provided them with an equivalent housing solution. During the 1980s the state utilized this power and used it to displace Protected Renters and move them to three public housing complexes in Jaffa that were also operated and managed by Amidar (Bimkom, 2009). The three complexes were located at Jabaliya, close to the southern edge of Ajami¹⁰². Since the 1960s, some of the renters who have stayed and were not relocated by the state to public housing, illegally expanded and renovated their units, in order to maintain minimal livable conditions. Some of these practices were also performed prior to the 1960s, however, not all renters were aware that such interventions were illegal under their rental agreements (Avni, 2012). The city and the state chose to ignore such practices and not to evacuate renters who violated their agreements, mostly due to the fact that there was no interest in doing so (Bimkom, 2009).

¹⁰² Renewal Plan Document for South Jaffa. (2017 March). The Department of Planning Jaffa and the South. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Residents/Development/Documents/%D7%9E%D7%A1%D7%9E%D7%9A%20%D7%94%D7%AA%D7%97%D7%93%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%AA%20%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%9D%20%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95.pdf>

In 1997 the government made an important decision to sell the state-owned properties that it owns and are managed by Amidar (Bimkom 2009). This was done in order to reduce ownership and management expenses (Bimkom 2009). The decision has been posing a significant burden on the Protected Renters population in Jaffa, and specifically the Arab population. According to the government decision, the residents of the units are given a first right to buy the properties at discounted prices that are significantly lower than the market prices. However, since the land value in Jaffa rapidly escalated since the 1990s and the 2000s, the discounted purchasing prices offered to the residents are not low enough to allow the low-income residents the option to buy the properties (Bimkom, 2009). Moreover, Arab low-income population has been struggling to get mortgages from banks (Bimkom, 2009). Another option that the Amidar provided to Protected Renters who are willing to evacuate their properties, is that Amidar will buy the residents' share of the unit, for a fixed price of 1.8 Million ILS (approx. \$550k)¹⁰³. This number is based on a value of 1000 ILS per square meter and is offered to Protected Renters regardless of the size of their houses. The offer unfortunately is not providing a realistic solution to the renters as housing units in Jaffa are sold for much higher prices, and therefore, accepting such an offer also means displacement - leaving the community and migrating to another Mixed City or Arab village. The Arab population does not have the privilege that the Jewish population has in terms of mobility, as they rely on public facilities such as dual language, or Arab language schools, which are only offered in locations of Arab dominancy (such as Mixed Cities and Arab villages). Properties of residents who are not able to purchase their units, and/or refuse to take Amidar's offer are then offered by Amidar in a public bid to public developers, and the negotiation with the Protected Renters over the homes is transferred to the hands of private entities. Based on Amidar's data, between 2002-2008, 396 units were sold to Protected Renters, and 112 were offered to private developers in public bids (Bimkom, 2009).

¹⁰³ Information is based on a conversation with the head of the property management department of Amidar in Jaffa.

The government's decision to privatize its properties also led to the state's sudden enforcement of the so called 'Intruders', the Protected Renters who violated the rental agreements by expanding or renovating their properties during the years. After years of lack of enforcement, in 2007 Amidar released 497 evacuation orders to households of Protected Renters in Ajami. This is a significant number, considering the fact that in 2007 Amidar managed approximately 20% of its approximately 2,700 housing units, which almost all of them are located in Ajami¹⁰⁴. Residents were not offered any compensation as they were recognized by Amidar as intruders who violated their rental agreements, and therefore were no longer eligible for their compensation rights as protected renters.

According to Amidar's data, there are currently 1,600 properties that are owned by the Israel Land Administration (ILA) and are managed by Amidar for the Development Agency of the state¹⁰⁵. Most of these properties, approximately 90%, are used for housing and are mostly located in Ajami, although some are also located in Maccabi Jaffa (a neighborhood in south-east Jaffa). These properties are nicknamed 'Arab Houses', as they are primarily occupied by the Arab families who were relocated to these units in 1948 by the state.

Several Outline Plans were developed for Jaffa since the early 2000 to continue the reshaping of the city according to the goals that were stated in 1985. An Outline Plan number 2660 for Ajami, which covered the area of the neighborhood of Ajami and provided revised plans for this residential area, was developed in 2001. The non-profit organization Bimkom analyzed the plan and concluded that it didn't prioritize the needs and the character of the local residents, which almost exclusively consists of the Arab population (Bimkom, 2009). The goals of the plan as stated in the city official Outline Plan, are to improve the housing conditions, living conditions

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Information is based on a conversation with the head of the property management department of Amidar in Jaffa. The Development Agency is a government agency that is responsible for the development of all state-owned properties (רשות הפיתוח)

and facilities that are provided within the area, while keeping the unique urban fabric and the architectural character of the structures in the neighborhood¹⁰⁶. The plan aimed to achieve these goals through the establishment of a maximum number of units in the area and their sizes, allowing for additional units to be built (3,804 units), permission to expand existing structures, improving public facilities and infrastructure, and the encouragement of renovation and rehabilitation of existing structures (Bimkom, 2009). While the plan allowed for the construction of new units and the renovation of existing structure, Bimkom concluded that its specific provision did not benefit the local low-income community. First, the plan did not specifically discuss the housing crisis within the neighborhood and did not refer to the Arab low-income population and its specific needs; second, the size of the units that were planned prioritized large units not smaller than 90 square meters which excluded the ability of low-income families to afford living within such large residences; third, even though renovation of units were permitted under the plan, these were bounded by strict restrictions that resulted in high out of pocket expenses to local residents; lastly, although the plan increased the current density in the neighborhood, it limited construction to three stories construction which resulted in high prices for the potential construction. Bimkom concluded that the Outline Plan for Ajami prioritized the preservation of the urban and historic fabric, while compromising the housing needs of the local low-income population.

According to data from 2015, the population of Ajami and Jabaliya increased to 5,863. Based on city data from 2014, this population resided in 1,957 units (both single family homes and multifamily residences)¹⁰⁷. Most of the population continues to be characterized as low-income and its majority is still Arab. 71% of the units were built prior to 1949, and 13.6% of them were

¹⁰⁶ Outline Plan number 2660 "Ajami", plan goals section 2. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

¹⁰⁷ Population by neighborhood and age (2015). City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa database. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Transparency/DocLib13/%D7%90%D7%95%D7%9B%D7%9C%D7%95%D7%A1%D7%99%D7%99%D7%94,%20%D7%9C%D7%A4%D7%99%20%D7%A9%D7%9B%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%94%20%D7%95%D7%92%D7%99%D7%9C.pdf>; Quarters Tel Aviv-Jaffa. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Transparency/Pages/Quarter.aspx> ;

built between 2000-2013¹⁰⁸. This clearly reflects the population distribution as well: the low-income Arab population that dominates the area and consists of 78% of the neighborhoods' population¹⁰⁹ resides in the old, poorly maintained houses that were built prior to the establishment of Israel, while affluent, high-income, and mostly Jewish population resides in the newly built units that are located in the northern part of the neighborhood. Such units were built when the area was 'rediscovered' by real estate entrepreneurs, who arrived after witnessing the city's intense investment in the area. The majority of the population of these neighborhoods, primarily the Arab population, continues to be characterized as poor, where more than 40% of households' income is below the minimum wage in Israel¹¹⁰. Almost 73% of the neighborhoods' households rent their units, while only 27% are homeowners¹¹¹.

Among the modernist complexes there are three informal housing areas that are home to the Arab population. The informal housing areas, known as the three orchards, Dalek, Abu-Sayef, and Daka used to be orchards that were cultivated by the Arab residents. In the past, Jaffa was known for its unique oranges, and the families who owned the orchards throughout Jaffa (not only the three that were left) were wealthy Arab families. However, in 1948, most of the families left their orchards and their properties and fled the area, leaving it to the state of Israel. The orchards that were left used to belong to three families that still reside in what is left of the orchard areas. Today, Arab families as well as Jewish families live in informal structures in the area and suffer from poor housing conditions and public services. The three areas are badly maintained and lack proper infrastructure such as a sewage system. The residents of the orchards live in a separate urban bubble from the rest of Jaffa that resembles the countryside

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

more than the center of the city¹¹². The city designated the area for urban renewal which on the one hand will improve the living conditions of the residents, but on the other hand will also lead to their displacement and destruction of the unique culture and lifestyle that exists in these territories.

While there is a general co-existence between the Jewish residents and the Arab residents of Jaffa, there is still tension between the groups. Some tension is a result of the high-income Jewish residents who slowly increase their presence around Ajami, however, some of the tension is also due to two Jewish religious establishments who decided to buy properties in the heart of Ajami. The two religious establishments came to Jaffa to enhance the Jewish identity in Jaffa and increase the Jewish presence in the mixed district of the city¹¹³. The purpose of the first establishment, 'Yeshiva Shirat Moshe Yaffo', which was established in 2008, is to operate a religious institution and provide a space to study the Tora (the bible), to spread the Tora and the Jewish culture, to operate a local Jewish school, to provide financial and spiritual assistance to people in need, and to provide educational and cultural events in schools and youth groups¹¹⁴. The second establishment is Jaffa Social Nucleus, which was established in 2007 and its purpose is to reinforce Jewish-Zionist identity within Jaffa through educational, social and cultural activities and programs in Jaffa¹¹⁵. The two establishments, which receive financial support from the state, increased the tension between the Jewish and the Arab community in Jaffa, mainly because they chose to reside in the heart of the Arab dominant neighborhood of Ajami. In 2011, the tension resulted in a large protest of the Arab community against the two groups; the community protested the Judaization of Jaffa, and the displacement of their community out of

¹¹² Lehari I. (2017, August). The End of The Orange Season: A tour in the last orchards of south Jaffa. TimeOut. <https://timeout.co.il/%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%93%D7%A1%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%91%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95/>

¹¹³ Garinim Toraniim. Molad: The Center for the Renewal of Israeli Democracy. <http://www.molad.org/images/upload/files/GarinimToraniim.pdf>

¹¹⁴ Meirim Beyafo. <https://www.yafo.org.il/>

¹¹⁵ The Torani Community of Jaffa. <https://www.gyafa.co.il/home-english>

Jaffa's boundaries¹¹⁶. While the groups do not directly displace the Arab community, they encourage Jewish religious community to move to Jaffa. Since their base is in Ajami, the result is that the number of Jewish religious residents in the Arab neighborhood has increased. As mentioned before, the mobility options of the Arab community are limited and the increased Jewish community within their territory leads to the displacement of this vulnerable community. From a recent article written by the Mayor of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Ron Huldai, it can be interpreted that the mayor does not agree with the decision of the two establishments to locate in Ajami; as he wrote, it is unclear to him why a city needs to increase its Jewish population percentages, especially since two-third of Jaffa's residents are Jewish¹¹⁷. Nevertheless, whether the mayor supports these groups or not, the city could not prevent the groups from residing in Ajami, or prevent Arab residents from residing in a Jewish dominant neighborhood. The difference though, is that the Arab community is a minority group of primarily low-income residents and their power against powerful forces that are supported by the state and take over their territory is very limited.

Long-term low-income Jewish residents

Jewish immigrants who arrived in the 1950s were also considered Protected Renters by the state and were located at the abandoned Arab houses in Jaffa in the other neighborhoods (not in Ajami and Jabaliya). These residents were Jewish immigrants that came primarily from Eastern Europe and the Balkan countries. This immigrant group were primarily holocaust survivors who migrated to Israel after WWII. With no assets or any valuables, this community was given homes and a new fresh start in the occupied houses of Arabs in Jaffa. Because of the shortage of housing, the first to arrive shared deteriorating homes with other families, where each family

¹¹⁶ Cohen G. (2011 January 31) Itay Grank, does the Torani Community of Jaffa tries to build a settlement in Jaffa?. Haaretz. <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/education/1.1470051>

¹¹⁷ Huldai R. (2021, May 5). The uprising in Jaffa is understandable. Why does a city with 95% Jewish residents need Judaization?. The Marker. <https://www.themarker.com/blogs/1.9775246>

lived in a room and the common spaces were shared among them. While most of these families came with nothing they were heavily supported by the government, and by the 1960s and 1970s most of these residents had left Jaffa, primarily relocating to the city of Bat Yam (south of Tel Aviv-Jaffa), and to newer apartments that they were able to either rent or purchase. Within the social hierarchy of Israel these Jewish families not only had more mobility options than their Arab neighbors but also had more job opportunities, and with that the option to climb the socio-economic ladder. The Jewish immigrants that were left in Jaffa, were mostly of low-income status that could not afford to leave the area.

Jewish immigrants that arrived after the 1950s were located by the state in public housing complexes that were built by the state, in the southern-east area of Jaffa. The housing complexes were designed as enclosed minimalist rectangular boxes, under Le Corbusier's modernist principles and the concept of the house as a machine for living¹¹⁸. This design approach did not consider the social or environmental context of the area¹¹⁹. Approximately 260 buildings that consisted of 6,300 units were constructed to provide homes to the new immigrants. Most of the units were designed as small units, between 50-70 square meters. Today, they are mostly occupied by a low-income Jewish population, consisting of long-term residents who stayed in the area, immigrants from the former USSR that arrived to Israel in the 1990s and Ethiopian immigrants who arrived in the mid-2000s. As the housing complexes were built more than half a decade ago, their condition is very bad and most of the units require massive renovation to be up to date with today's standard of living. The units are also poorly maintained; as almost all residents are of low socio-economic status they do not have the means to renovate.

¹¹⁸ Renewal Plan Document for South Jaffa. (2017 March). The Department of Planning Jaffa and the South. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Residents/Development/Documents/%D7%9E%D7%A1%D7%9E%D7%9A%20%D7%94%D7%AA%D7%97%D7%93%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%AA%20%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%9D%20%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95.pdf>

¹¹⁹ Ibid.



נווה גולן – רח' פיקוס

יפו א' - שד' ירושלים 151

Figure 20: Typical housing complexes in the south of Jaffa. Source: [Policy Document for South of Jaffa](#), City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

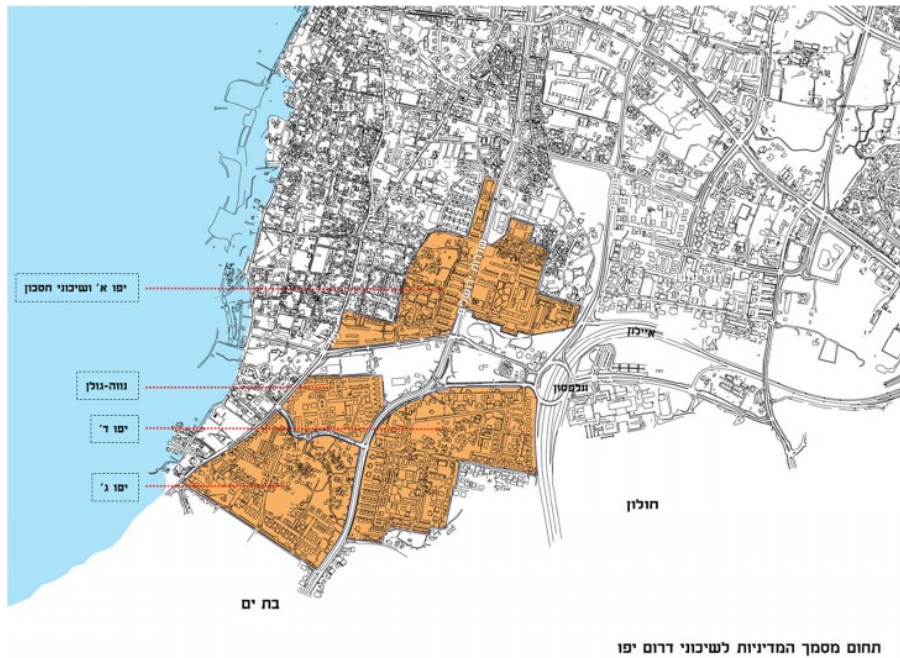


Figure 21: Map that shows the location of Public Housing that were built in Jaffa during 1950-70. Source: [Renewal Plan Document for South Jaffa, 2017](#), City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

The Jewish Ethiopian community

Jaffa is the main home to the Ethiopian community of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, as 2,800 out of the 3,000 community members reside in Jaffa (Shohat-Radom and Paz Pines, 2021). The community is

built from Jewish Ethiopian migrants who arrived to Israel since 2005¹²⁰. According to data from 2010 most of the community lives in the neighborhoods of Jaffa C and Jaffa D at the south area of the district¹²¹, an area that is characterized with low-income residents. However, the city doesn't have exact data with regards to the geographic distribution of the community in the city. Most of the community members are religious, and their children are studying in public religious schools throughout the city, which requires them to travel either by foot or via public transportation to schools outside of their neighborhoods¹²².

The Ethiopian community in Israel begun to immigrate to Israel at the end of the 1960s, however in 1979, with the rise of a new regime in Ethiopia, bringing Ethiopian Jews to Israel became a rescue mission as they became refugees within their own country¹²³. Since then, approximately 90,000 Jewish Ethiopian immigrants arrived in Israel, primarily during the 1979-1985, and the 1990s¹²⁴. Unfortunately, the Ethiopian community encountered (and is still encountering) various barriers in integrating to the Israeli society. Coming from a traditional society that is built around village life and agriculture, the community had to deal with moving into a modern society and to the lifestyle of the city. Language poses an additional and major obstacle for the community members, who, even though must go through an intensive Hebrew course, still struggle with using the language. The visual appearance, and specifically the black skin color of the community also creates a barrier for the community in integrating the white dominant society of Israel, which stigmatizes the community as Black, and associates it with people of lower status (Fisher, 2003). An additional aspect that further restricts the integration

¹²⁰ A tour and a meeting to review the integration of Jewish immigrants in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. (2016, March 26). Open source of the Knesset. <https://oknesset.org/meetings/5/7/577999.html>

¹²¹ Ben Yosef M. (2010 March, 23). Transparent: who counts the Ethiopian in Jaffa. Tel Aviv Time. Nrg. <https://www.makorrishon.co.il/nrg/online/54/ART2/083/452.html>

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ History. Alyia from Ethiopia. The Jewish Agency for Israel. <https://archive.jewishagency.org/he/ethiopian-aliyah/program/8921>

¹²⁴ The Alyia of the Jewish Ethiopian. The Jewish Agency for Israel. <https://archive.jewishagency.org/he/historical-aliyah/content/22095>

of the community to the Israeli society is the fact that when the immigrants arrive in Israel, they are placed in integration centers. The integration centers provide the immigrants with basic needs as they arrive in Israel such as food, shelter, and include a cultural as well as language courses to prepare them for the Israeli society. However, the integration centers, despite of their name, intensify the segregation of the community from the Israeli society, as they are isolating the community from the rest of the society and promote a dependency on government support (Fisher, 2003). In her article, Eti Fisher argues that the integration centers suite Israel bureaucracy system more than they benefit the Ethiopian community; the way the state has treated the community prevented them from performing their everyday roles, developed a dependency on social services and other government support, and in the long run limited their job opportunities (Fisher, 2003). All these barriers limit the integration of the Ethiopian community to the Israeli society and prevent its members from improving their socio-economic status.

The Ethiopian community of Jaffa is not different from the rest of the Ethiopian community of Israel: it is associated with the lowest socio-economic status, and it encounters difficulties in blending into the Israeli society. Similar to the rest of the community, some of the reasons for this are the language barrier, especially for the elder community who struggle learning Hebrew, as well as cultural differences (Fisher, 2003).

In 2008 the city established The Absorption Center for Ethiopian Immigrants of the City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, which is in one of the southern neighborhoods of Jaffa, Neve Golan (part of Jaffa C). The center operates under The Mishlama of Jaffa, a city agency that handles the community and urban development of Jaffa, and is subsidized both by the city and the state¹²⁵. One of the main goals of the center is to provide various services to the Ethiopian community in order to better

¹²⁵ A tour and a meeting to review the integration of Jewish immigrants in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. (2016, March 26). Open source of the Knesset. <https://oknesset.org/meetings/5/7/577999.html>

integrate them to the Israeli society and the community of Jaffa¹²⁶. The center provides assistance in finding employment opportunities, language lessons, and social services to elders and youth. The center employs a community guide that assists in integrating children into various after-hours activities specifically outside of the community, in order to help them integrate into the society and allow them to meet children outside of the Ethiopian community¹²⁷. It also organizes cultural events for the community, such as a community Passover dinner which one time included approximately 1,800 community members, and created a community garden that provided daily activity for the elders¹²⁸. In order to better integrate the Ethiopian community within the overall community of the city, and to expose the rest of the residents to the Ethiopian community and its unique culture, the city purposefully initiated events that celebrate the community outside of their neighborhoods; for example, the city organized an event in one of the northern and wealthiest neighborhoods of the city, Ramat-Aviv, to celebrate the 35 years anniversary of the Aliya of the Ethiopian community¹²⁹. At the end of 2018, the city completed the development of a community center that is specifically dedicated to the Ethiopian community, where it can celebrate large scale community events. The community center was built after multiple requests from the community to provide them a space where they can conduct large scale gatherings for celebrations and mourning¹³⁰. This is the first structure that the city built specifically for the needs of a specific community¹³¹. These actions confirm that The Mihslama and the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa understand the unique needs of this vulnerable community and work in various routes to address them.

¹²⁶ ibid.

¹²⁷ ibid.

¹²⁸ ibid.

¹²⁹ ibid.

¹³⁰ Ben Yosef M. (2010 March, 23). Transparent: who counts the Ethiopian in Jaffa. Tel Aviv Time. Nrg. <https://www.makorishon.co.il/nrg/online/54/ART2/083/452.html>

¹³¹ A tour and a meeting to review the integration of Jewish immigrants in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. (2016, March 26). Open source of the Knesset. <https://oknesset.org/meetings/5/7/577999.html>

In addition to the work of The Mishlama, the community is being assisted by the organization Aviv Ha-Tora, a Jewish religious organization which has developed the project 'Successful Aliya'¹³² along with the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa and the Ministry of Aliyah and Integration, and other organizations. The project, which launched in 2007, helps the Ethiopian residents of Jaffa in integrating into Israeli society and adjusting to the Israeli culture. As part of their work the organization provides leadership courses for youth, professional workshops to help the community seek better job opportunities and create after school hours activities for children¹³³.

Nevertheless, despite all the efforts by the city, and the non-profit organizations, the housing situation as well as the socio-economic status of this community is among the worst in the country. The Ethiopian community in Jaffa still suffers from cultural and language barriers that prevent them from properly integrating to the community of Jaffa, and the Israeli society, which directly impacts their ability to climb up in the socio-economic ladder.

Another issue is the community's housing situation. When the community arrived in Israel, each family was given 100,000 ILS to purchase a unit, and at this price point, with the technical and administrative assistance of the state, they were able to purchase units in the southern neighborhoods of Jaffa, primarily Jaffa C and D¹³⁴. The units were 90% subsidized by the state, however, 10% was the responsibility of the newly immigrants to pay through monthly mortgage payments¹³⁵. Even though the mortgages were highly subsidized, the community members struggled, and are still struggling today to make the payments as they mostly work in minimum wage jobs, and the salaries they earn are not enough to sustain their family in Israel and the

¹³² Aliya is a term in Hebrew that refers to the process of Jewish people that decide to immigrate to Israel.

¹³³ About. Successful Aliya. <https://www.successfulaliya.org/about>

¹³⁴ Dekel Shalev E. (2009, January 30). Who pay the price of government's decisions?. Yaffo Portal. http://www.yaffo.co.il/article_k.asp?id=36

¹³⁵ A tour and a meeting to review the integration of Jewish immigrants in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. (2016, March 26). Open source of the Knesset. <https://oknesset.org/meetings/5/7/577999.html>

family members they left in Ethiopia (who are dependent on their financial support)¹³⁶. As almost all community members live in the neighborhoods of Jaffa C and Jaffa D, they are also segregated from the rest of the community of Jaffa and the rest of the city. While the community is given free choice with regards to where and which house to buy, within the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, with the allowance community members receive for purchasing a unit, it is almost impossible to purchase in another area of the city. Therefore, one can argue that in a way the state does not give free choice to the community and restricts their choice to low-income neighborhoods or to neighborhoods in suburban cities where jobs are limited.

In addition, the housing units which the community was able to purchase, are not only located in low-income neighborhoods, but are also old and badly maintained. Most of the units where the community resides are in housing complexes that were built by the state in the 1970s or earlier and were managed by Amidar. As the units became vacant, due to the departure of other residents, they were offered to the Ethiopian community. The living conditions in these apartments are not ideal due to their age and the lack of proper maintenance over the years¹³⁷. Unfortunately, the community members purchased the deteriorating apartments due to the lack of knowledge and lack of familiarity with the real estate market. It is unclear why the state did not oversee such purchases and allowed this vulnerable community of newly immigrants to purchase unmaintained and deteriorating units.

¹³⁶ Ben Yosef M. (2010 March, 23). Transparent: who counts the Ethiopian in Jaffa. Tel Aviv Time. Nrg. <https://www.makorrishon.co.il/nrg/online/54/ART2/083/452.html>

¹³⁷ A tour and a meeting to review the integration of Jewish immigrants in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. (2016, March 26). Open source of the Knesset. <https://oknesset.org/meetings/5/7/577999.html>

Part III: Examining redevelopment and renewal projects of the past twenty years in Jaffa

Introduction

In the past two decades the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa invested in numerous redevelopment projects and renewal plans in Jaffa. According to the former CEO of the Mishlaha of Jaffa (a city agency that is responsible for redevelopment, rehabilitation and community development in Jaffa), the redevelopment projects in Jaffa were part of the city 'affirmative action' policy that the city adopted for Jaffa, which included the investment of more than one billion ILS in the first decade of the 21st century¹³⁸. After decades of disinvestment and neglect, the projects intended to revive Jaffa as a prime tourist destination, as well as an attractive location for living. The early projects that were approved between 2000-2010, focused on improving infrastructures and rehabilitating the ancient section in the north-west of the district. These projects included the rehabilitation of Jaffa Port, the Old City, the Flea Market area, and the development of a waterfront park on a previous landfill site (Jaffa Slope Park).

The municipality's investment in Jaffa, paid off, as real estate prices significantly increased and led to the increase of new affluent residents to the area. Between 2009-2019, prices for a 3-bedroom apartment for example, increased by 132% specifically around areas where the city invested in redevelopment projects, such as the north of Jaffa and central Jaffa¹³⁹.

Quoted in an article to the newspaper TheMarker in October 2020, Irit Sayag-Oryan, the manager of the planning department of Jaffa and the South of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, mentioned that

¹³⁸ Shalita C. (2012, October 4). 300 ILS for a plate: on the redevelopment of the flea market. Globes. <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000787946>

¹³⁹ Malinsky G. (2020, October 9). The apartment prices jumped in 132%, the new hotels are empty: COVID got here. The Marker. <https://www.themarker.com/realestate/.premium-MAGAZINE-1.9220703>

the biggest challenge is to find the balance between the needs of the local community and the tourist areas of Jaffa¹⁴⁰. Therefore, the investment of the city in the redevelopment and renewal projects in Jaffa was complemented in the last decade by investment in education, community, infrastructure as well as increased police presence and enforcement¹⁴¹.

The redevelopment and urban renewal projects can be divided into four types: Infrastructure and transportation systems; public amenities; urban renewal plans for residential areas; and urban renewal plans for commercial and industrial areas. This part of the thesis reviews five city projects in Jaffa (highlighted in the table below) and examines whether anti-displacement measures were integrated within them.

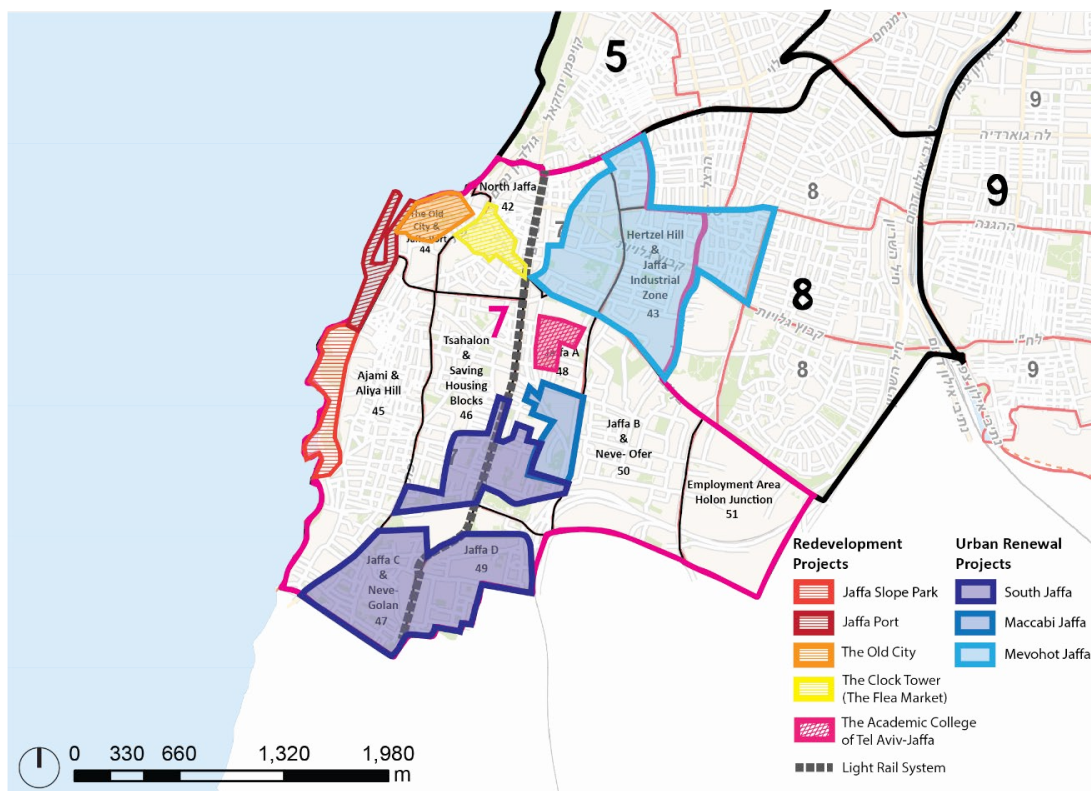


Figure 22: Diagram of major urban redevelopment and urban renewal projects

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

Major Urban development and urban renewal project 2000-2020		
Typology	Project	Year
Infrastructure and Transportation systems	<p>The Clock Tower Area & The Flea Market (The Flea Market): Infrastructure improvement and rezoning around the market and the city clock area. Anti-displacement (commercial) measure that was enacted after the completion of the project: Limiting restaurants & bar licenses in the renovated market area to prevent the displacement of local businesses who were experiencing less attention after the renovation.</p>	2000-2009
	<p>Light Rail Project (State project): Jerusalem Boulevard Section. located in the main commercial Boulevard, in the heart of Jaffa. Anti-displacement measure: While the project was under construction the city initiated an incentive program that gave 30% cash-back to customers who shopped in the businesses along Jerusalem Boulevard. When the program maximized its budget, the city declared Jerusalem Boulevard a tax free area to encourage customers to continue shopping in the local business</p>	2018-Present (first initiated in 1997)
Public Amenities	<p>Jaffa Port: Renovation and redevelopment of the ancient port of Jaffa as a public amenity and a fishermen port Anti-displacement measure: the city worked with the local fishermen to guarantee that their work environment will not get hurt from the redevelopment project. However, even though the fishermen were part of the planning process, their needs and their space in the port was compromised (Avni, 2017).</p>	1997-Present
	<p>Jaffa Slope Park: Waterfront promenade and public park Anti-displacement measure: the city conducted a participatory planning process that included the local vulnerable communities adjacent to the park. While the park was designed according to the needs of the residents, the project did not include any measure that protected the area from the expected land value increase and therefore, the project contributed to the gentrification in the surrounding area, pushing out vulnerable low-income populations which it intended to serve.</p>	2003-2010
Urban renewal	'Mevohot Jaffa' (Jaffa Gateway): Urban renewal policy document for a	2007; 2019

<p>plans (for residential and commercial areas)</p>	<p>light industry area at the north border of Jaffa that include urban development plan, as well as economic plan for the area.</p> <p>The policy includes a master plan that converts a light industry area to a mixed-use area with employment hub and residences.</p> <p>Anti-displacement measure: the city worked with an architecture firm to develop a computer program that can identify what social and economic changes the area will experience when a certain business will be displaced as a result of the urban renewal plan for the area. The program was based on a dialogue with the local businesses.</p>	2021-present
	<p>Maccabi Jaffa: Urban renewal project with a specific plan for a residential area.</p> <p>Anti-displacement measure: The large scale project adds a large number of new units to the area and includes two state programs that provide affordable housing for rent and affordable housing for sale. While the programs provide affordable housing solutions to local residents, the number of dedicated units is small compared to the market rate units. The project also include the state programs Pinui-Binui and NOP #38 which both intend to benefit local homeowners. The two programs incentivize homeowners to demolish or renovate their existing structures by providing them with additional floor area within their property. Developers who take advantage of the programs offer local homeowners to renovate their property, and in exchange they provide them with a renovated or new unit, while they get to sell the additional units they gained from the redevelopment.</p>	2012-Present
	<p>South Jaffa ‘Shikunei Darom’: Urban renewal policy document that provides rezoning and design guidelines for a large area in south Jaffa.</p> <p>Anti-displacement measure: The project includes the state programs Pinui-Binui and NOP #38 which both intend to benefit local homeowners. The rezoning as well attempts to preserve the local community.</p>	2017

Figure 23: Table of major urban redevelopment and urban renewal project 2000-2020

Infrastructure and Transportation Projects

The Clock Circle, The Flea Market and its surrounding: 2000-2009

In the north-west section of Jaffa, Jaffa Clock Tower marks the north-west entrance to Jaffa. The Old City and the Port of Jaffa are located west of the Clock Tower, and the Greek Market and the Flea Market area located east of it on the other side of Yeffet Street. The two markets are situated within small streets and old structures that were built in the late 19th century and during the 1930s outside of the gate of the Old City of Jaffa. They were abutting Beit Eshel Street, which was an important route that led the way from Jaffa to Jerusalem¹⁴². In 1995, as part of the city's investment in Jaffa, the city approved a redevelopment plan for the area of the Clock Tower, which included the areas of The Greek Market and The Flea Market. The plan, '2572-Kikar HaShaaon' (2572 the Clock Tower), applied to a large area around the markets that included 170,000 square meters. The purpose of the plan was to 'revive the area as a mixed-use space with new and renovated 880 residential units, while capturing and preserving the authentic and unique character of Jaffa'¹⁴³. The redevelopment plan included a zoning change which doubled the construction rights in the area, from 40,000 square meters (sm) to 80,000 sm, for both residential and commercial uses; the existing 40,000 sm were assigned for the renovation and preservation of the existing structures, where the additional 40,000 were zoned for residential uses¹⁴⁴. The plan converted the light industry zones that surround the market into a pedestrian promenade with commercial spaces and residential units above them (see existing vs. revised

¹⁴² Uses Policy for The Flea Market – discussion for approving the policy (2) – report to the community. 7/17/2013. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Official records. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Business/BusinessLicense/DocLib/%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%99%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%95%D7%AA%20%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%AA%20%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%A7%20%D7%A4%D7%A9%D7%A4%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%9D%20%D7%95%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%A7%20%D7%A2%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%A2%D7%93.pdf>

¹⁴³ Specific Plan number 2752 'The Clock Circle Area of Jaffa' (1995, March 3). Local Planning Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://apps.land.gov.il/lturTabotData/takanonim/telmer/5004906.pdf>

¹⁴⁴ Practical plan for the development of tourism in Jaffa. TIK Projects. http://www.tikproj.co.il/html5/arclookup.taf?&_id=30737&did=8878&g=10105&title=%FA%EB%F0%E9%FA%20%E9%E9%F9%E5%ED%20%EC%F4%E9%FA%E5%E7%20%E4%FA%E9%E9%F8%E5%FA%20%E1%E9%F4%E5

plan for the area below). Incentives for redevelopment and renovations were given to encourage the construction of residential units on top of the existing commercial one-story structures. Infrastructure improvements and new traffic routes and circulation were planned to encourage pedestrian circulation and to better navigate vehicular traffic. The area was one of the first to be targeted for redevelopment since it had suffered from poor and deteriorated infrastructure, and due to its ideal location, close to the south edge of Tel Aviv, and to tourist destinations such as the Old City and Jaffa Port.

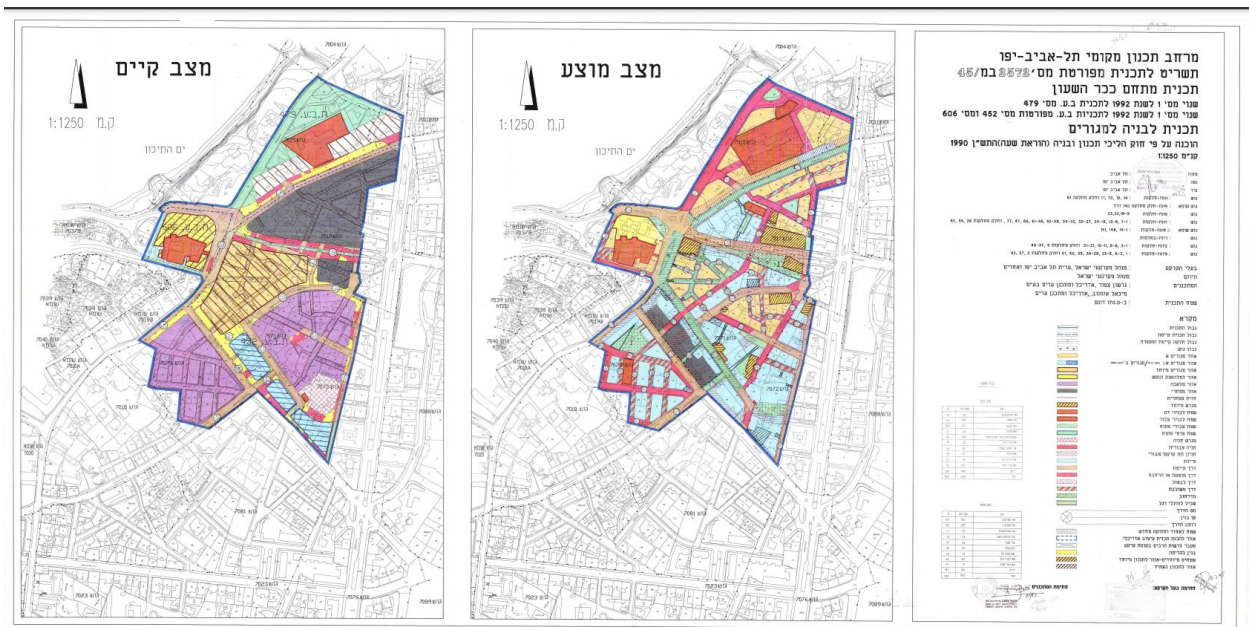


Figure 24: To the right a map of the existing zoning, and to the left the proposed rezoning map for the area. In the map to the right, the purple areas represent light industry areas, and the dark gray represents commercial areas. Based on the proposed map these areas are converted to public promenade, represented in light blue with commercial areas around, and to residential areas represented in light orange. Source

Two additional plans were developed during the 2000s that contributed to marking the area as a prime tourist destination. Between 2000-2003 the Ministry of Tourism worked with the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa to develop a plan with the goal of developing Jaffa as a tourist destination. The plan, which applied to the north-west area of Jaffa, included three touristic zones: the port, the

Old City, and the markets area (including both the Flea Market and the Greek Market which borders the Flea Market to the north). The plan included physical improvement, an economic development plan and a marketing strategy that promoted the area primarily as a tourist attraction¹⁴⁵. The main design principle that guided the plan was to create connections between the three areas and to develop 'meandering space' for pedestrians primarily within the Flea Market area¹⁴⁶. Another principle was to develop the area specifically for the Christian tourists by emphasizing the historic use of this area of Jaffa as an entrance point to the holy land which led the way to Jerusalem¹⁴⁷. Lastly, the plan reimagined Jaffa as a cultural and art destination that continues a strip of cultural and commercial hubs that stretch north-south across the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa¹⁴⁸. The plan that was approved in 2004, envisioned the market above all as an important element for the new touristic image of Jaffa that will draw visitors who could enjoy a shopping and cultural experience, themed by the historic urban fabric. To support the plan that was led by the Ministry of Tourism an additional city plan was approved (2572/2) which provided guidelines for the development of public spaces in the area and restricted part of the market area for pedestrian use¹⁴⁹. Overall, the city and the state invested more than 150 million ILS in the redevelopment of the market area, where more than 51 million were dedicated for infrastructure¹⁵⁰.

While the redevelopment improved the infrastructure and the city services (schools, social services etc.) within the area, it also resulted in gentrification, and brought new residents and

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Blumenkrantz Z. (2002 June 4). A plan to develop the tourism in Jaffa in 150 million ILS. Haaretz. <https://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.799488>

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ A discussion to approve the policy for uses within the Flea Market in Jaffa. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Business/BusinessLicense/DocLib/%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%99%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%95%D7%AA%20%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%AA%20%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%A7%20%D7%A4%D7%A9%D7%A4%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%9D%20%D7%95%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%A7%20%D7%A2%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%A2%D7%93.pdf>

¹⁵⁰ Shalita C. (2012, October 4). 300 ILS for a plate: on the redevelopment of the flea market. Globes. <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000787946>

new businesses to the area, while pushing away low-income residents and traditional business owners.

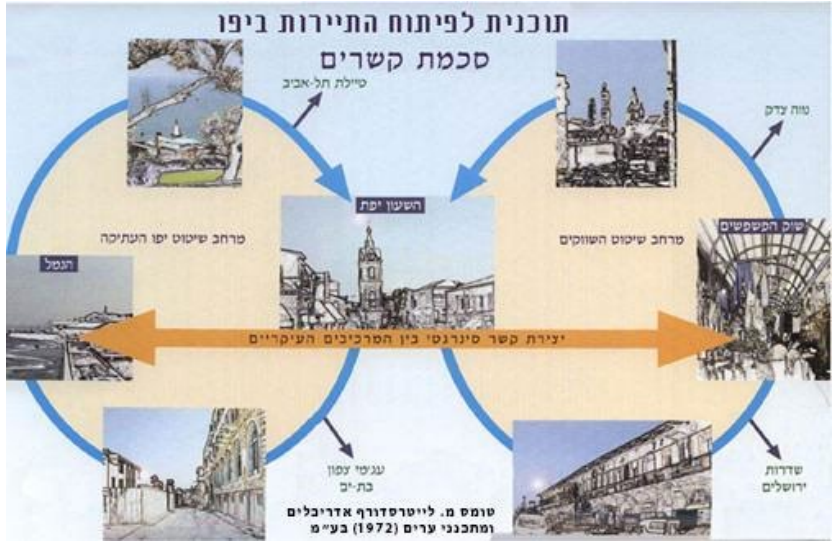


Figure 25: Strategic tourism plan for the north of Jaffa. A diagram that explains the concept for the project connecting the port, the clock area and the flea market area through two meandering areas, one of the markets and the other of the Old City. [Source](#): Practical plan for the development of tourism in Jaffa.TIK Projects.

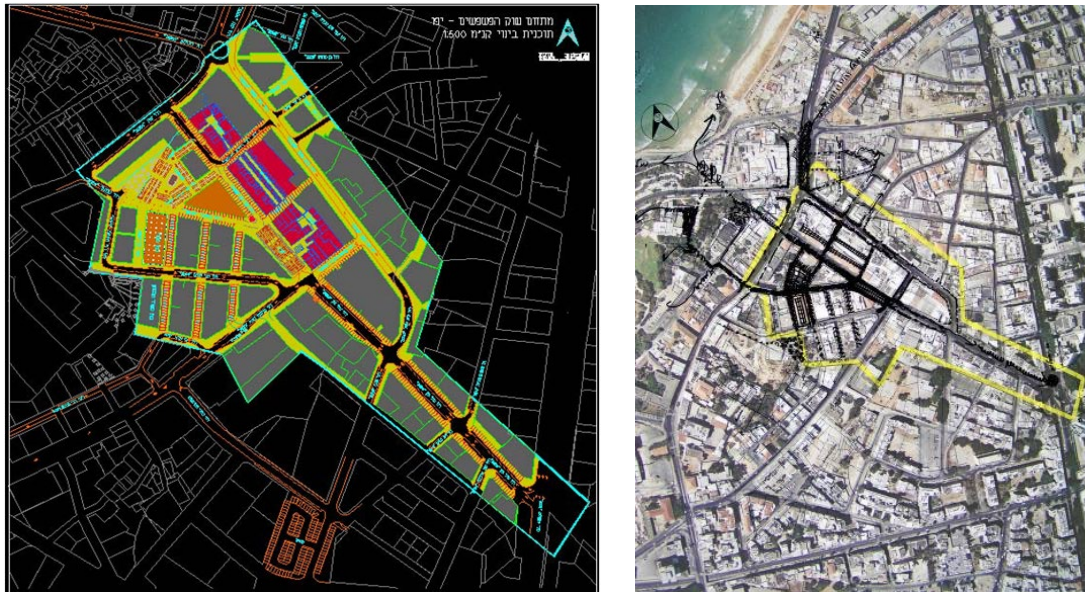


Figure 26: A plan for the Flea Market area by Kisselov Kaye Architects. [Source](#): The Flea Market in Jaffa. Kisselov Kaye Architects

The Flea Market spreads over 65,000 square meters, and is where one could traditionally find second hand as well as new clothes and jewelry, antiques, carpets and small workshops. As expected, the Flea Market, after its ‘facelift’, became an attractive destination for tourists from Israel and around the world. As part of the redesign of the market, a new plaza was created that consolidated the informal bazaar of the Flea Market, and restrictions were made and enforced against informal carts outside of the designated area. In 2008, the city initiated a ‘night market’ during the summer that increased the popularity of the site. Restaurants, bars, and designer clothes and accessories shops were opened in the market area, and galleries started to overcrowd the area. By 2009 the renovation and redevelopment work were fully completed, and the market and its surrounding area were completely transformed. In 2013, the new businesses and the restaurants that opened in the market composed more than 28% of the total businesses in the market, and the traditional businesses consisted of only 26%¹⁵¹. The new luxury businesses pushed away the local traditional businesses, changed the character of the market and left the local business owners without jobs¹⁵². While the number of visitors increased, their profile changed and instead of looking for secondhand clothes and antiques, the new visitors were drawn to the market for its stylish boutiques and restaurants, leaving the old market shops empty. Thus, the renovation of the market, which aimed to capture the local culture and the authentic character of the Flea Market that was dominated by Arab merchants and long-term Jewish Jaffa residents, achieved just the opposite. As one of the local vendors described in a newspaper article in 2012 ‘the renovation of the market destroyed the antiques market. The new visitors that visit the old shops perceive us as a museum. We {the traditional vendors} do not gain from the redevelopment. The new audience is the wrong audience for us, they are not

¹⁵¹ Uses Policy for The Flea Market – discussion for approving the policy (2) – report to the community. 7/17/2013. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Official records. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Business/BusinessLicense/DocLib/%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%99%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%95%D7%AA%20%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%AA%20%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%A7%20%D7%A4%D7%A9%D7%A4%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%9D%20%D7%95%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%A7%20%D7%A2%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%A2%D7%93.pdf>

¹⁵² Ibid.

interested in antiques or second hand stores, and the old audience stopped coming¹⁵³. Thus, the redevelopment of the market continued a legacy of ethnocentric policies that pushed away the Arab merchants to provide space for young Jewish business owners. The Arab community, whose cultural space within Jaffa was already limited, was pushed out, as a result of the redevelopment of its most dominant spaces in Jaffa; the market which used to serve primarily the local community, became a space for affluent Jewish residents and visitors, as well as for tourists from around the globe¹⁵⁴.

The redevelopment project also turned out to be a neoliberal tool. It increased the revenues of the municipality while inviting affluent residents to the area. The Israeli professor, urban planner and lawyer, Rachel Alterman, mentioned in an article about the redevelopment of the market in 2012, that it was easier for the city to collect taxes after the redevelopment was done, as it was able to regulate the informal vendors; thus, this could have been one of the incentives for the city to invest in the area¹⁵⁵. The redevelopment of the market also directly influenced the land values around it, which increased and attracted investors and new residents to the new and renovated residential buildings that surround the market. Developers took advantage of the rezoning and developed luxury apartments that attracted affluent residents. The old ruined 'Arab' structures that date prior to 1948, were bought by developers, renovated and turned into luxury apartments for rent and sale. In 2020 apartments were sold around the market area for 50,000-80,000 ILS per square meter (approx. \$15,240- \$24,400) which is considered to be expensive¹⁵⁶. For example, a price for a 3-bedroom apartment within the attractive area of the

¹⁵³ Shalita C. (2012, October 4). 300 ILS for a plate: on the redevelopment of the flea market. Globes. <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000787946>

¹⁵⁴ Bsoul J. (2018 January 11). This is Jaffa: Why does the cultural scene in Jaffa exclude the Arabs?. TimeOut. <https://timeout.co.il/%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9A-%D7%94%D7%A9%D7%9B%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%95%D7%AA-%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95/>

¹⁵⁵ Shalita C. (2012, October 4). 300 ILS for a plate: on the redevelopment of the flea market. Globes. <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000787946>

¹⁵⁶ Cohen E. (2020, September 6). How much does an apartment cost in Jaffa and are the prices expected to increase? Biz Portal. <https://www.bizportal.co.il/realestates/news/article/784222>

market, increased by 134% between 2009-2019, from 1.18 million ILS to 2.77 million ILS¹⁵⁷. The new and renovated apartments also require a management fee of approximately 2,000 ILS (~\$650), making it only affordable for those who can spare such sums on a monthly basis. In the past decade, after the area of the market and north of Jaffa was ‘revived by the city’, more than four luxury hotels opened in the area and four additional ones are in planning phases, with an overall private investment of more than one billion ILS¹⁵⁸. Thus, the redevelopment of the market and its area, reshaped not only the physical and cultural aspects of the area but also its economic and social character, increasing the revenues of the city, while pushing away the local community, and helping expedite a Jewish gentrification in the area.



Figure 27: Development in the north of Jaffa. To the left: Image of the restaurant area in the market. Image by Eyal Toaag, The Marker, [Source](#); To the right: One of the luxury new hotels in the north of Jaffa. Image by Assaf Pinchuk, The Marker, [Source](#).

In 2012, city officials recognized that the market became ‘too attractive’ and that the new businesses pushed out the old authentic businesses of the market, which were essential ingredients to the marketing strategy and image they had built for the area¹⁵⁹. To overcome the

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Malinsky G. (2020, October 9). The apartment prices jumped in 132%, the new hotels are empty: COVID got here. The Marker. <https://www.themarker.com/realestate/.premium-MAGAZINE-1.9220703>

¹⁵⁹ Shalita C. (2012, October 4). 300 ILS for a plate: on the redevelopment of the flea market. Globes. <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000787946>

problem of the overflow of restaurants and bars in the area, in 2011, the city restricted the number of permits for restaurants and bars in the area to 25% but argued that it cannot prevent other types of businesses such as clothing stores and home good shops from opening¹⁶⁰. The decision was finally adopted as a policy in 2013, and its purpose was to preserve the unique character of the market while keeping a balance between the traditional businesses, new businesses and the development of the residential neighborhood around it¹⁶¹. In addition, the city suggested the creation of daytime events to attract more people to the area during the day rather than during the night, to encourage visitors to shop in the old and new stores, and to not only see the market as a nightlife attraction¹⁶².

The next area within the redevelopment plan of the city that is expected to be fully transformed in the next couple of years is the Greek Market area that spreads over approximately 7,500 square meters and is located north of the Flea Market. The market, that was established in the late 19th century, was used as a home to various merchandise shops that served the travelers who took the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. It was owned by the Greek Orthodox church (one of the biggest landowners in Israel) who rented the storefronts to retailers, and even to Jewish Zionist organizations such as the ErezIsraeli Office (המשרד הארצישראלי), which was an office that handled the financing and management of the Jewish settlement in Israel¹⁶³. Interestingly its structures were built from Jerusalem Stone and not from the typical Jaffa Stone like the rest of the old structures in Jaffa¹⁶⁴. Therefore, this area was designated specifically for preservation

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Uses Policy for The Flea Market – discussion for approving the policy (2) – report to the community. 7/17/2013. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Official records. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Business/BusinessLicense/DocLib/%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%99%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%95%D7%AA%20%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%AA%20%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%A7%20%D7%A4%D7%A9%D7%A4%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%9D%20%D7%95%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%A7%20%D7%A2%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%A2%D7%93.pdf>

¹⁶² Shalita C. (2012, October 4). 300 ILS for a plate: on the redevelopment of the flea market. Globes. <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000787946>

¹⁶³ Bar Sela D. (2021, January 22). Jaffa behind the scenes. Beyafo.

<https://www.beyafo.com/post/%D7%94%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%A7-%D7%94%D7%99%D7%95%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%99>

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

within the 1995 redevelopment plan of the city. Until recent years, the Greek Market and the structures around it were mostly abandoned and consisted of small workshops. However, in the past decade restaurants, bars, vintage stores and art galleries began to populate the empty storefronts. In 2017, a development company bought the area of the Greek Market with the intention of redeveloping it as a tourist attraction, with 155 residential units and 100 hotel units, taking advantage of the zoning incentives that the city provides as part of the redevelopment plan. The plan, that is currently in the approval process, includes the renovation of the existing structures, which are designated for preservation by the city, the construction of new stories on top of some of the existing buildings, and the conversion of some of the streets to pedestrian paths only¹⁶⁵. The proposal of the developer actually exceeds the allowable construction for the area as defined by the redevelopment plan; it proposes six additional residential units and includes hotel units which are not included in the original redevelopment plan. In 2019, the local city committee rejected the plan, as it did not see the need for the additional hotel units and argued that the additional building rights as allowed by the redevelopment plan that was approved in 1995, give enough incentives to developers while preserving the historical character of the buildings and the area¹⁶⁶. Nevertheless, while the city tried to object to the developer's plans, the county authorities ruled in their favor. In 2020, the county committee (which has higher authority than the local city committee) approved the plan, arguing that the area is a popular tourist destination and that the proposed plan that includes hotel units, will benefit and elevate the area¹⁶⁷. This latest development only further strengthens the argument that the neoliberal forces overcome the goal of the city to preserve the historic character of the area. Additional hotel units will increase the flow of tourism and will further lead to an increase of

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Zur S. (2020 January 9). Despite city objection: 255 units and hotel rooms are on their way to the Greek Market in Jaffa. Calcalist. https://www.calcalist.co.il/real_estate/articles/0,7340,L-3777358,00.html

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

land values in this already expensive section of Jaffa and will likely push away any last remnants of local residents and traditional business owners.



Figure 28: Before and after image of the Greek Market area. Image credit: to the left Amit Shaal; to the right, Ilan Pivko Architects. [source: Calcalist](#)

To conclude, the redevelopment of the market and its surrounding area improved the infrastructure of the area and its appearance, but while doing so, it induced the gentrification process, invited affluent businesses and residents to the area and pushed long-term residents and traditional businesses from the market. The efforts of the city did not reverse the damage that was done to the traditional businesses, and the area that was targeted for redevelopment changed its character and its residents. Unfortunately, the decision to protect the local business owners came too late in the gentrification process and therefore, the restrictions the city enforced were not as effective in stopping the land value from rising and prevented current residents and business owners from finding alternative housing and income opportunities. Therefore, the anti-displacement strategy that the city implemented failed to save the residents and business owners. The city did not implement any anti-displacement strategy such as limiting the type of business in the area from the beginning of the process and did not require that specific units within the area are dedicated for affordable housing, nor did it apply rent control that could have prevented the displacement of the local businesses and residents.

Public Amenities

Jaffa Slope Park (Midron Jaffa): 2003-2010

Jaffa Slope Park is a waterfront public park that opened to the public in April 2010, reconnecting the neighborhood of Ajami and the shoreline. The park was designed by the landscape architecture firm Braudo Maoz for the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. The firm was also responsible for the design of Jaffa Port that is located north of the park, as well as the waterfront promenade and parks along the shoreline of Tel Aviv-Jaffa north of Jaffa. The park spreads over 50 acres and covers 1.5 kilometers north to south along the shoreline from Jaffa Port to the neighborhood of Aliya Hill. The park is part of the waterfront promenade along the shoreline of the city which includes pedestrian and bicycle paths, connecting the city to the sea and enhancing the relationship between the two. The project is a realization of the city's fourth strategic goal that was framed in the 2005 City Vision to create an attractive urban environment by redeveloping the shoreline for the public, developing point of interest and activities along it¹⁶⁸.

The goal of the project was to develop the park through a participatory planning process for the benefit of the residents (social purpose) and the environment (environmental goal). Forty percent of the park consists of three man-made lawny hills that were constructed from construction debris that was located on the site as part of its prior use as a landfill. The hills are programmed with seating areas and provide panoramic views of the sea, the shoreline of Tel Aviv-Jaffa and the surrounding neighborhoods of Jaffa. The green hills are a dominant feature in the Jewish landscape architecture design and, therefore, their presence in this project in the heart of the Arab neighborhood of Ajami emphasizes the 'Judaization' of the once Arab city of Jaffa (Meishar, 2017). Biking and pedestrian paths are located along the shoreline north to

¹⁶⁸ 2005 City Vision. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

south, along the edge of the residential neighborhood of Ajami running north to south, and east to west connecting the neighborhood and the park. The paths not only provide access to Ajami but also provide views of the sea, the surrounding neighborhoods and the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. The shoreline path continues the public promenade that stretches along the shoreline of Tel Aviv-Jaffa north of the park and connects the park directly to its adjacent redevelopment project of Jaffa Port. Parking lots are located at the north and south edges of the park as well as in the center-east, providing vehicular access to the park and the other attractions around it. An amphitheater with a plaza was incorporated to provide a gathering space for the community and the visitors of the park. An additional plaza is located on the northern portion of the park, providing additional gathering opportunities. The park also includes recreational amenities: playground, adult workout equipment and a fishing/viewing pier overlooking the Mediterranean Sea. Adjacent to the sea, the design includes a rock shallow wall that protects the promenade and the park from storms.

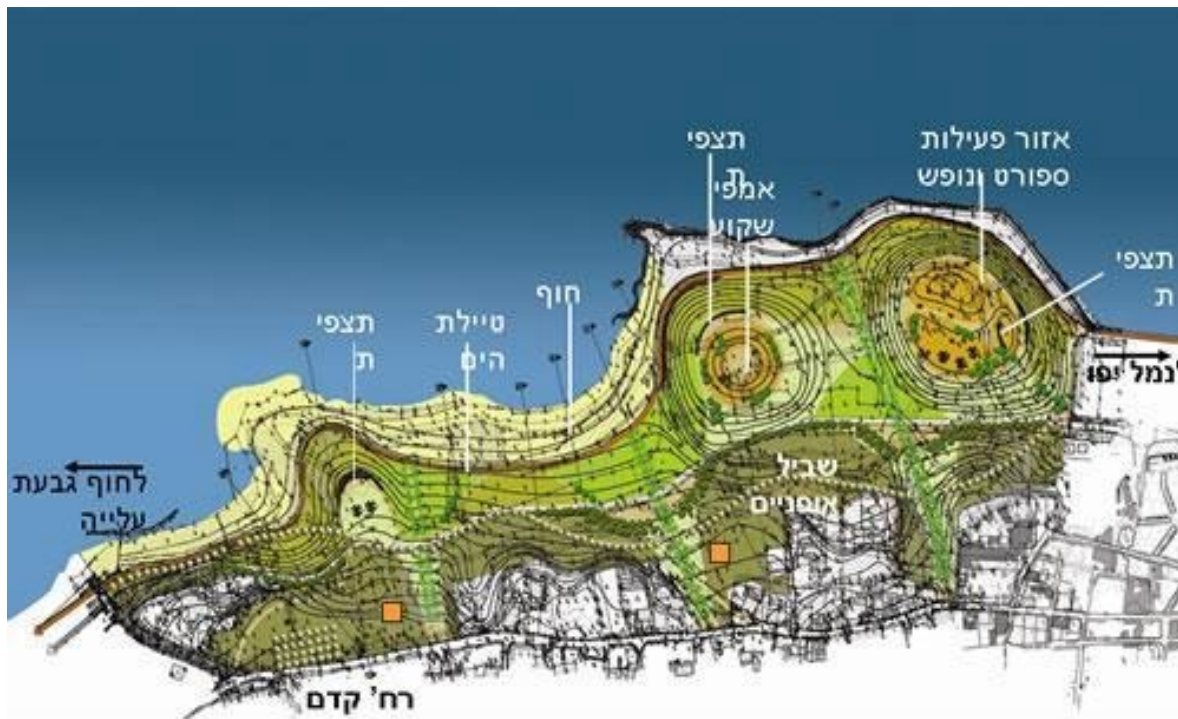


Figure 29: Plan diagram of Jaffa Slope Park. [Source](#): Shezaf Tzur website. Jaffa Slope Park.



Figure 30: Images of Jaffa Slope Park. *Source: Braudo-Maoz Landscape Architecture website*



Figure 31: Image of the plaza in Jaffa Park Slope. Images by Tomer Apelbaum

Jaffa Slope Park was built on the ruins of the once flourishing Arab neighborhood, Ajami, and on a landfill site that the city created in 1975 along the shoreline¹⁶⁹. It is the largest recycling and rehabilitation project that was done in Israel and is considered an environmental success (Meishar, 2017). The landfill site, which was nicknamed ‘the garbage mountain’, was used for depositing construction debris from approximately 2000 Arab houses that were built prior to 1948 (Monterescu, 2015). Arab houses which were used to house Jewish immigrants during the first years of Israel, and which were vacant by the 1960s as Jewish residents moved away from Jaffa, were demolished by the city as part of its policy of Erase and Rebuild, and their ruins were

¹⁶⁹ Jaffa Slope Park. Ezra and Bitzaron. <https://www.e-b.co.il/projects/%D7%A4%D7%90%D7%A8%D7%A7-%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%9F-%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95/#:~:text=%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%9F%20%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95%20%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%9E%D7%A9%20%D7%94%D7%97%D7%9C%20%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%A0%D7%AA,%2D%D7%A4%D7%A0%D7%99%20%D7%9B%2D200%20%D7%93%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%9D>.

piled along the shore, creating an environmental hazard for the residents of Ajami and one that poils the sea¹⁷⁰.



Figure 32: A diagram by Naama Meishar that illustrates the change in the landscape of the site since 1949 until the creation of the park (Meishar, 2012)

Between 1970-1989 the landfill was also used for dumping construction debris from the surrounding region, and for this purpose, about 150 square meters of the sea were dried to provide space for the landfill¹⁷¹. The location of the dumping site, adjacent to the poor Arab neighborhood of Ajami, symbolized the neglect and lack of attention, as well as the discriminating attitude which characterized the city's urban planning policy towards Jaffa up until 1985. During the 1980s, residents as well as environmental advocates protested the continuous dumping of construction debris, and as a response the city ended the hazardous practice in 1988¹⁷². It is important to note that the city did not voluntarily stop the dumping; in 1987 the organization 'Arabita', an Organization For Jaffa's Arabs, filed a lawsuit against the city

¹⁷⁰ Fagot M. and Atres F. (2020, October). Jaffa Slope Park project. Zochrot. <https://www.zochrot.org/he/article/56521>

¹⁷¹ Azoulay Y. (2005 September 29) Jaffa Seaside Dump to Become a Park. Haaretz. <https://www.haaretz.com/1.4876341?lts=1625085304602>

¹⁷² Ibid.

in the Supreme Court of Israel objecting against the illegal dumping and the destruction of the shoreline and the Sea¹⁷³. Following the lawsuit in 1988 the Supreme Court ruled that the city must stop the dumping. After the court's decision, some Jaffa's residents leading the non-profit organization, Yaffo Yeffat Yamim, proposed a redevelopment plan for the site which aimed to develop the area for Jaffa's residents, giving them back the beach and providing them with a park, beach promenade, new residential complexes, commercial area and public facilities (see figure xx). The core principles that guided the proposal were to bring back the sea to the city through the removal of the garbage mountain and the reconstruction of the original shoreline, and to preserve the unique character of Jaffa through the design of the area¹⁷⁴. At that time the city ignored the proposal of the residents and instead proposed to build a marina which required additional sea area to be dried, however, this plan was not executed, and the garbage mountain remained on the site.



Figure 33: The proposal of Yaffo Yeffat Yamim for the dumping site. Image [source](#): Shezaf Zur

¹⁷³ Shezaf T. (2004, June 20). Jaffa Slope Park. <https://shezaf.net/%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%9F-%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95/>

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

Even though the court ordered for the dumping to stop, until the rehabilitation project broke ground in 2005, illegal dumping continued to occur on the site, which continued to be an environmental, aesthetic as well as a health hazard to the adjacent neighborhood of Ajami and its residents. Occasional fires occur on the site due to flammable materials which contaminate the land and the sea. In 2003, the city announced a rehabilitation project, which included the cleaning of the landfill, the recycling of the debris, and the transformation of the area to a public park¹⁷⁵. 1.275 tons of construction debris were recycled and used to build the park and other infrastructure projects throughout the country¹⁷⁶. Specifically, 200,000 cubic meters were used on site to construct the three hills, the paths and the plazas (Hatuka and Saaroni, 2014). The city referred to the project as an ‘anchor project’ in Jaffa’s redevelopment, which was initiated to make amends with the hurting community who suffered from the municipality’s past mistakes¹⁷⁷. However, there were other reasons for the development of the park. First and foremost, the city wanted to resolve the environmental hazard which they had created and to rehabilitate the beach and the shoreline from the 15 meters high garbage mountain¹⁷⁸. Second, the city wanted to benefit the residents of Ajami and provide them with a public amenity and access to the beach. Third, the city wanted to take advantage of the prominent location and provide panoramic views of the Mediterranean Sea from the adjacent neighborhoods, primarily Ajami. Lastly, they wanted to continue the public realm along the shoreline by cleaning the area and providing a public park with public spaces that can be used for gathering by both tourists and residents.

¹⁷⁵ Zandberg E. (2016, May 5). Jaffa Slope Park is an environmental success, but who actually enjoy it?. Haaretz. <https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/architecture/environment/.premium-1.2934239?lts=1625086487323>

¹⁷⁶ The opening event of Jaffa Slope Park. Kinderland. <https://kinderland.co.il/events/%D7%97%D7%A0%D7%95%D7%9B%D7%AA-%D7%A4%D7%90%D7%A8%D7%A7-%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%9F-%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95/>

¹⁷⁷ Zandberg E. (2016, May 5). Jaffa Slope Park is an environmental success, but who actually enjoy it?. Haaretz. <https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/architecture/environment/.premium-1.2934239?lts=1625086487323>

¹⁷⁸ Jaffa Landfill Park. Braudo Maoz Landscape Architecture. <https://www.bm-landscape.co.il/he/%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%99%D7%99%D7%A7%D7%98%D7%99%D7%9D/73-%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%9F-%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95/>

The redevelopment project, which opened to the public in 2010, was built for the benefit of Jaffa's residents, and specifically for Ajami's residents, and was designed through a participatory process with community stakeholders, landscape architects, consultants and city officials. 350 of Jaffa's residents from various socioeconomic backgrounds and representatives of local organizations participated in ten public hearings during 2004-2005¹⁷⁹. The meetings included representatives of the Jewish and Arab Scouts of Jaffa, school children, The Muslim Women Organization, Yafo Yefat Yamim (a non-profit organization in Jaffa of both Arabs and Jewish residents) and residents and business owners of the streets in Ajami that reside adjacent to the park, representatives and leaders of the Arab community of Jaffa, committees and activists of the Jewish neighborhood, and activists from Jaffa (Hatuka and Saaroni, 2014; Mann, 2015). The purpose of the meetings was to receive public support and to understand the needs of the community which the park will primarily serve. The participants were divided into eight groups, which discussed and commented on the initial design for the park and had the chance to vocalize their desires and needs to the city. It was important that each group would be separated from the other so that certain groups within the population, such as the Arab women group, would be able to express their needs and desires without the presence of other groups. The goal of the city officials and the design team from conducting separate meetings was to understand the needs of all the participants and then find a common ground between them all, so that the design could address the most prominent concerns and desires of all the residents (Hatuka and Saaroni, 2014). After the meetings, a survey was distributed, and the participants were asked to rate the proposed facilities from the most desired to the least. Based on this process the following principles were chosen to guide the design: providing access to the beach and reestablishing the relationship between the beach and the adjacent neighborhood; creating visual relationship between the sea and the city; removal of the 'garbage mountain'; providing

¹⁷⁹ Azoulay Y. (2005 September 29) Jaffa Seaside Dump to Become a Park. Haaretz. <https://www.haaretz.com/1.4876341?lts=1625085304602>

access to the park from west to east and north to south; providing diverse recreation activities throughout the park; providing shade and greenery; and creating a safe and secure environment for all¹⁸⁰. Overall, the participatory process was successful and led to the general support of the residents in the redevelopment project.

One of the main things that influenced the landscape design of the park was a request of one resident to preserve the existing garbage mountain to commemorate the destruction of the Arab community of Jaffa experienced after the establishment of Israel in 1948. To respect this request, the landscape architect decided to commemorate the past events that the site and the community had experienced by reusing the debris throughout the park. A path that marks the location of the old shoreline was constructed from the construction debris of the old Arab houses that once stood in its place; the surfaces of the two park plazas were composed of broken tiles which were found in the garbage mountain; and large pieces of the ruined houses were displayed in the park landscape. While these design gestures provided a historical reference to the Arab houses that once dominated the area of the park, they did not provide a clear reference to the historical events that took place, and which led to the destruction of the houses. Therefore, the gesture remains merely aesthetic and symbolic in meaning rather than educational and monumental. The design does not act as a memory-site for the hurting Arab community of Jaffa or as a place to demonstrate the historical event that took place, but rather, it acts as a public park that provides amenities and beauty to the district, increasing the land values in the area and advancing the Jewish gentrification in Ajami and Jaffa.

Tzur Shezaf, a journalist and a novelist who wrote a book about the beaches of Israel, wrote in 2004 about the redevelopment plan for Jaffa Slope Park that the city does not have sentiments

¹⁸⁰ Meshrewi A. (2009, October 9). Jaffa Slope Park is almost ready. Yaffo Portal. http://www.yaffo.co.il/article_y.asp?id=483

about the beach, and that its only interest is real estate¹⁸¹. Shezaf was one of the advocates against the garbage mountain and fought for the rehabilitation of the area alongside other Jaffa's residents. He criticized the project and the municipality for not pulling back the sea to its original shoreline, and for keeping the dried area and developing it as a park. In his article, 'Midron Jaffa', Shezaf describes the past characteristics of the area indicating that the area was used for bathing and fishing, and that it had beautiful tide pools with rich wildlife, until the city decided to dry the beach and bury garbage and debris with the area. He writes that originally the city planned on building a transit station along the dried surface as well as thousands of public housing units, however, since the debris was thrown in the area without the final goal in mind it prevented from such development to occur, and the use of the surface as a dumping site became its ultimate usage. Shezaf argues along with the organization Yaffo Yeffat Yamim that what Jaffa needs is more beach and shoreline and therefore, in their proposal for the city they asked that the project would bring back the original shoreline that was far more inland than the current shoreline and would revive the original lagoon and its wildlife that occupied it. While Shezaf writes that the redevelopment project does bring back the relationship between Jaffa and the sea, he stresses that the project prioritizes real estate interests over environmental ones, and that the city should have reconstructed the original shoreline and the beach that was on the site before it destroyed it with garbage and debris.

Another criticism about the redevelopment project comes from Tali Hatuka and Hadas Saaroni, who argue in their article 'The Need for Advocating Regional Human Comfort Design Codes for Public Spaces: A Case Study of a Mediterranean Urban Park' that the park poorly addresses climate considerations (Hatuka and Saaroni, 2014). In their article the authors concluded that the design of the park was primarily driven by aesthetics and accessibility concerns, rather than

¹⁸¹ Shezaf T. (2004, June 20). Jaffa Slope Park. <https://shezaf.net/%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%9F-%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95/>

climate and environmental concerns that relate to human comfort and water preservation (Hatuka and Saaroni, 2014). In a hot climate area such as Israel that does not receive significant amounts of precipitation, the decision to use grass as the primary park's surface seems to be solely related to an aesthetic agenda rather than sustainable one. The use of green lawns also relates to ethnocracy, as the lawns are a common figure in the Zionists' landscape design; therefore, the use of this design feature further advances the Judaization of Jaffa. Moreover, the minimal amount of shade throughout the park also came from a desire of the designers to portray a certain agenda, such as to not block the views, and seems to ignore the fact that in such a hot climate the need of shade is incredibly important. The aesthetic concerns that lead the design go hand in hand with the efforts of the municipality to invest in the south area of the city, to beautify it, and improve its overall image (Hatuka and Saaroni, 2014). These concerns overcome the environmental needs that the climate in the area dictates for the sake of portraying a new image to the Jaffa.

There is no doubt that the redevelopment project of Jaffa Slope Park provided Jaffa's residents and specifically Ajami's residents, with a much-needed public park. The project also reestablished the relationship between Ajami and the beach, providing residents and all visitors with access to the sea. The public amenity is aesthetically pleasing and allows for an ample amount of gathering and recreation space for the community. However, the park also significantly increased the land values in the already gentrified neighborhood of Ajami. Between 2004-2010 while the project was under construction, the real estate prices in Ajami increased between 40%-100%¹⁸². In that sense, the beautiful new waterfront park continues the ethnocratic neoliberal planning of public spaces in the district, attracting Jewish higherincome residents to Ajami, while pushing away its vulnerable Arab community. During the years that

¹⁸² Zandberg E. (2016, May 5). Jaffa Slope Park is an environmental success, but who actually enjoy it?. Haaretz. <https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/architecture/environment/.premium-1.2934239?lts=1625086487323>

the park was constructed, the state evicted one third of the Protected Renters who resided in Ajami, members of the Arab community, as part of the state's privatization process of its state-owned properties. This act only enhanced the gentrification process in Ajami and worsened the housing situation of the vulnerable community of Jaffa.

While the park provided the residents a public amenity, and beautified Jaffa as well as addressed an environmental hazard, it did not assist in any way in solving the housing crisis in Jaffa – on the contrary, it worsened it by increasing the land values. The large park that consists of 50 acres, could have been reduced in scale to provide affordable housing for Jaffa's low-income residents. As it sits in land where houses of the Arab community once stood, the city could have taken the opportunity of the redevelopment and dedicate certain percentage of the land to affordable housing to make amends with the Arab community. Indeed, during the public participation planning process, a Jewish resident suggested that some of the area of the park be dedicated for public housing for the Arab community (Meishar, 2012). Nevertheless, city planners and other city officials did not incorporate public housing, affordable housing, or any other anti-displacement mechanism to protect the area in the vicinity of the site from gentrification and from the increase of land values.

Criticizing this project for its lack of policy or practical response to the housing crisis in Jaffa, Neama Meihzar stated that 'another beautiful garden is not going to save the world', claiming that the city could have found a way to rehabilitate the beach without triggering increase in land value and could have reduced the scale of the project to providing adequate housing solution to the community of Jaffa¹⁸³.

¹⁸³ Zandberg E. (2004, May 24). Another beautiful garden is not going to save the world. Haaretz. <https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/1.968886>

While the redevelopment of the area was motivated by environmental and social agendas, it is also important to emphasize that the city had a financial incentive for the project. First, the project as mentioned before, increased the land values in the area and brought new more affluent residents to the poor neighborhood of Ajami, who wanted to take advantage of the proximity to the beach, and the views of the sea that were now available from Ajami; the new incomers and the increase in land values meant additional tax revenues for the city. Second, the park, due to its direct connection to Jaffa Port and the promenade along the shoreline of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, attracts visitors from Israel and abroad to the city which also means additional revenues to the city (more businesses will open to serve additional tourists, more hotels etc.). Lastly, according to Peer Visner, who was the Deputy Mayor in the time the project took place, the recycling of the construction debris itself brought revenues to the city; the city sold the copper and the steel, which was salvaged from the landfill to projects throughout the country (Hatuka and Saaroni, 2014). Thus, it can be concluded that Jaffa Slope Park was also motivated by a neoliberal agenda to beautify the city for financial purposes and in order to draw private investment to the area.

To conclude, the design process of Jaffa Slope Park involved the community and attempted to fulfill the community members' needs and desires for the area. While the project was successful in that sense, unfortunately, it lacked provisions that could have protected the space around the site from experiencing intense gentrification. The local vulnerable community which the design attempted to serve suffered from displacement due to land value increase in the area, rather than enjoying the public amenity that was built for their needs.

Renewal Plans

Maccabi Jaffa: 1997-Present

Maccabi Jaffa, urban renewal plan number, 2725/אנ, was first discussed in 1997 by the city and the Israel Land Administration (ILA) and was finalized, approved and officially issued only 20 years later in 2017. The plan includes a rezoning and a new layout for approximately 40 acres in the neighborhood of Jaffa A. 65% of the land is owned by ILA while the rest is owned by the City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa¹⁸⁴. The plan provides guidelines for the construction and development of the specific designated area, and attempts to incorporate the future urban fabric that includes housing, commercial areas, public open spaces and public facilities, into the existing urban environment¹⁸⁵. The designated area of the renewal plan includes open fields to the north where the old football stadium was located, deteriorating single family houses that were built prior to 1948, and alongside them renovated villas. The goal of the plan is to develop a new residential area that includes 1,459 market rate units, 120 special housing units (public units for protected renters and public housing, where 50% of them are dedicated to renters), mixed use construction, open public spaces and public facilities, as well as new roads and green routes for pedestrian and bicycles. The development is to be achieved by the demolition of the existing urban fabric and existing buildings, which include structures that were built prior to 1948 that are occupied by protected renters, and through the development and construction of new structures and urban landscape. In order to start the new construction, the 70 families of protected renters, who occupy the area will need to be displaced. The plan also includes the renovation of Maccabi Jaffa football stadium, which is located within the designated area.

¹⁸⁴ Maccabi Jaffa, Specific Plan, City of Tel Aviv Jaffa, <https://apps.land.gov.il/IturTabotData/takanonim/telmer/5009491.pdf>

¹⁸⁵ Maccabi Jaffa Plan Guidelines. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

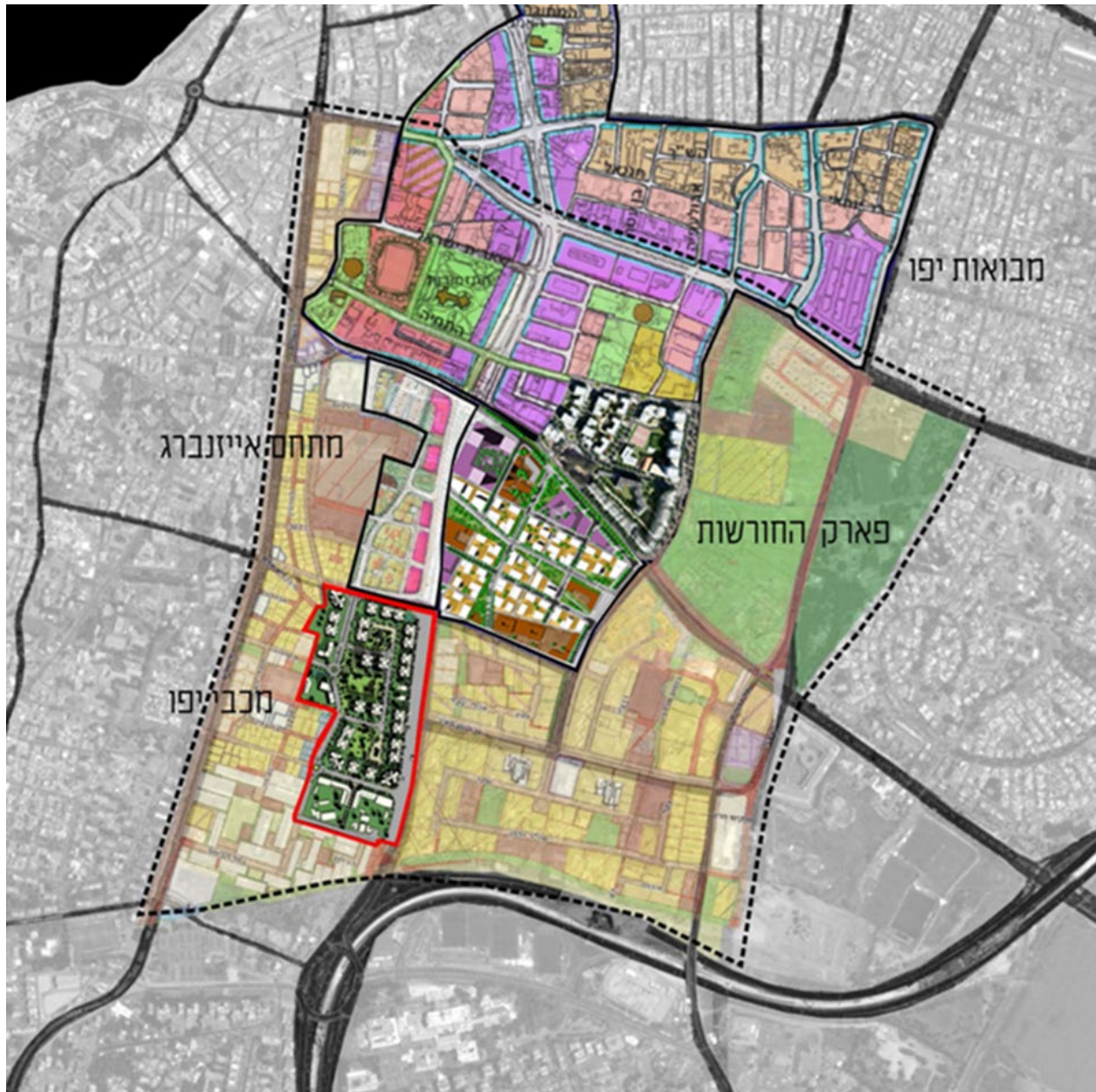


Figure 34: The area of the Renewal Plan of Maccabi Jaffa outlined in red. The project is shown in the context of additional future development in Jaffa. [Source](#): Frenkel B. (2017, December 12). For the first time: Price for the New Homeowner in Tel Aviv. Ynet.



Figure 35: Image of the current state of portion of the urban renewal area of Maccabi Jaffa. Image by Tamar Matsafi. [Source](#): Tafuchi T. (2018 August, 21). Price for the New Homeowner arrives to Tel Aviv: What will be the price of each apartment and how much the developer will gain?. Globes



Figure 36: The existing old football Gaon stadium in Maccabi Jaffa area plan. [Source](#): Gazit A. (2017, June 7). Shikun and Binui and The city of Tel Aviv flights over Gaon stadium. Calcalist.



Figure 37: A render of the future development of Maccabi Jaffa. [Source](#): Frenkel B. (2017, December 12). For the first time: Price for the New Homeowner in Tel Aviv. Ynet.

Maccabi Jaffa utilizes two state programs, and one city program that are intended to increase the number of affordable housing units for rent and sale in the area: 'Price for the New Homeowner' a state program that offers apartment for sale in reduced prices; 'Apartment for Rent' a state program that offers apartments for long term rent in reduced prices; and 'Co-Living' which is a city program.

The first state program which applies to more than half of the units in the renewal plan is 'Price for the New Homeowner'. This renewal plan is the first one in the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa to include units as part of this state sponsored program for affordable housing for sale. The goal of the state program is to provide affordable housing for eligible candidates, mostly young adults and families who are not homeowners, to increase the number of homeowners in the state (the next chapter further elaborates about the program as part of the state efforts to provide affordable housing). The public open bid for the program, which consists of the development of

three different areas, area A, B and C, located within the renewal plan, was issued in 2018; it included the development of 774 units under the Price for the New Homeowner program and 505 market rate units¹⁸⁶. The units under the Price for the New Homeowner program were offered to eligible candidates for 1.86 million ISR rather than their market rate of 2.5 million ISR¹⁸⁷. The public bid included three areas that were to be developed with both market rate units and reduced-price units. Although some of the buildings are dedicated only to market rate units, others are intended to include both unit types¹⁸⁸. This will allow for a mix of residents from various socio-economic backgrounds. Out of the 774 units that are being offered as part of the Price for the New Homeowner program, 335 units will be dedicated to residents of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, while 30 of them will be dedicated specifically to Jaffa's residents¹⁸⁹. Out of the total units that are to be built under the program only 10 units will be dedicated to public housing, and only 3 of them will be reserved for protected renters who currently live in the designated program area¹⁹⁰. This number is significantly disproportionate to the current number of residents who currently live in the area, which is 70 families¹⁹¹.

In October 2018, the first winners of the first bid for area C were announced, Acro Nadlan and Ashdar Construction. The two companies received the rights to develop 343 units, with 163 of them dedicated to affordable housing under the state program and only three units dedicated to public housing¹⁹². Three development and construction companies won in December 2018 to develop area A. The companies, Meshulam Levinstein, Zemach Hammerman, and Elad Israel,

¹⁸⁶ Tafuchi T. (2018 August, 21). Price for the New Homeowner arrives to Tel Aviv: What will be the price of each apartment and how much the developer will gain?. Globes. <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1001250505>

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Danieli A. (2018, July 24). Price for the New Homeowner in South Tel Aviv: Half of the reduced price units will be raffled to city residents. Calcalist. https://www.calcalist.co.il/real_estate/articles/0,7340,L-3743022,00.html

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Gazit A. (2017, June 7). Shikun and Binui and The city of Tel Aviv flights over Gaon stadium. Calcalist. https://www.calcalist.co.il/real_estate/articles/0,7340,L-3714637,00.html

¹⁹² Nisan Y. (2019, January 1). After two failures: The winners of the Price for the Homeowner in Tel Aviv were announced. Nadlan Center. <https://www.nadlancenter.co.il/article/525>

bought the property from the state and the city for 292 million ILS¹⁹³. Area A includes 17 dunams, and the development will include 14 buildings of 8 to 10 stories high with a total of 631 units; 336 of them will be dedicated to the state program, and only three will be dedicated to public housing. The area also includes public green spaces that the city is responsible to develop for the benefit of the residents¹⁹⁴. For area B no winners have been selected yet. The public bids struggled to find developers, even though the three areas are considered prime locations that are very attractive to young residents and families and are expected to be in full occupancy once they hit the market. The main reason for that is that the city and the ILA required the winning bidders to negotiate with the remaining 30 protected renter families who occupy the area, and did not accept the offers they received for their displacement from ILA¹⁹⁵. Although 40 families out of the 70 have negotiated their displacement agreements with ILA, 30 families did not accept their offers and therefore the developers will have to negotiate with them as the new property owners¹⁹⁶. This situation not only discouraged potential developers to apply for the bid, but also created a situation where the faith of the protected renters, who are under the responsibility of ILA, is now in the hand of private entities. Although the current residents are protected by the Renter Law, the fact that they will no longer be under the management and responsibility of a state entity, makes their situation more vulnerable to pressure by the new private owners.

¹⁹³ Nardy G. (2020, April 5). 100 units will be added to Elad, Levinshtein and Tzemach Hamerman in Tel Aviv. Globes. <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1001324571>

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Nisan Y. (2019, January 1). After two failures: The winners of the Price for the Homeowner in Tel Aviv were announced. Nadlan Center. <https://www.nadlancenter.co.il/article/525>

¹⁹⁶ Danieli A. (2018, August 30). A bid with a missing element: Protected Renters will delay the construction of Price for the New Homeowner in Tel Aviv. Calcalist. https://www.calcalist.co.il/real_estate/articles/0,7340,L-3745286,00.html



Figure 38: Existing housing that are occupied by protected renters in Maccabi Jaffa plan area. Image by Anat Danieli [Source](#): Danieli A. (2018, August 30). A bid with a missing element: Protected Renters will delay the construction of Price for the New Homeowner in Tel Aviv. *Calcalist*.

An additional state program, Apartment for Rent, that targets renters rather than homeowners is also included in the renewal plan and applies to 180 of the units¹⁹⁷. As part of the state's National Project for Housing, the program that was initiated in 2015, offers apartments for long term rents of ten years and provides an alternative for owning a house¹⁹⁸. 25% of the units that are provided as part of the program are offered in affordable rates that are 20% less than the market rate.¹⁹⁹ Although the program does provide reduced price rates for a portion of the units and long-term rents that give peace of mind to renters, most of the units under the program are offered as market rate units.

¹⁹⁷ Frenkel B. (2017, December 12). For the first time: Price for the New Homeowner in Tel Aviv. Ynet. <https://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5055739,00.html>

¹⁹⁸ Renter - An Apartment for Rent official government website. <https://www.aprent.co.il/template/?Cid=1&Pid=1>

¹⁹⁹ [Ibid.](#)



Figure 39: The proposed areas for new development by the winning developers of the public bid in 2018. The areas include both market rate units and reduced priced units as part of the Price for the New Homeowner state program. Renders by Architect Orit Milbauer. [Source](#): Price for the New Homeowner, Maccabi Jaffa, Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Muhlbauer Architects Website

The city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa also included a pilot program within the renewal plan, which is the first one of its kind in the city. The program refers to the 120 special units within the renewal plan, that the city hopes to develop as ‘Co-Living’. Co Living is not clearly defined by the city’s request for proposal that was published in 2019²⁰⁰. Instead, the city mentioned in the RFP that it asks for the proposals to include creative ideas for the economic, social and architectural design of the Co-Living. The purpose of the project is to provide creative affordable solution to the high housing prices in the city, and to enhance the sense of community through alternative housing configurations²⁰¹. In addition, the city hopes that through creative housing models that include small units and shared public uses, it will be able to offer affordable housing solutions to the residents of the city and of Jaffa specifically²⁰². Although the official city Renewal Plan document mentions that the 120 special units are dedicated to protected renters and public housing, the RFP does not specifically refer to this community as the residents of these units,

²⁰⁰ Kol Kore: Co-Living. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Pages/NewsPage.aspx?WebID=3af57d92-807c-43c5-8d5f-6fd455eb2776&ListID=24047e51-b88d-4d61-aa30-9bf3b2cbffd2&ItemId=560>

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Bouso N. (2019, March 4). Tel Aviv asks for proposals for Co-Living in south of the city. Calcalist. https://www.calcalist.co.il/real_estate/articles/0,7340,L-3757545,00.html

which raises the question of which units will be offered to protected renters as part of the plan, and if such units are intended to be integrated within market rate complexes or are going to be developed within separate buildings.

Although the renewal plan of Maccabi Jaffa increases the number of units in Jaffa and includes state and city programs that increase the number of affordable units for sale and rent, it still does not provide concrete housing solutions for very low-income residents. As the mayor of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Ron Huldai, stated, the urban renewal plan primarily targets the young residents of the city who are part of the middle-income class²⁰³. The plan only designated less than 10% of the new units as special units for protected renters and public housing. Within the plan, the 120 units which are designated as special units are instructed to be designed as small units, 60 square meters (~645 square feet), that usually cannot accommodate more than one or small two bedrooms. This means that large families who are in need of affordable housing solutions will not find affordable housing in this plan. On the contrary, the market rate units are instructed to be designed as larger units, 85 square meters (~915 square feet), except for 292 units that are designated as small units in order to provide solutions for singles and small families and to increase the stock of small units as part of a state effort.

The renewal plan has been in planning for more than 20 years, however, the existing residents, which the majority of them are protected renters who live in houses that were built prior to 1948, indicated in 2017 that the city did not include them in the planning process, nor did it consider them as stakeholders with property rights to the land²⁰⁴. 15 out of the 70 families who live in these residences not only claim that the city did not include them in the process, but also

²⁰³ Frenkel B. (2017, December 12). For the first time: Price for the New Homeowner in Tel Aviv. Ynet. <https://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5055739,00.html>

²⁰⁴ Bousso N. (2019, March 4). Tel Aviv asks for proposals for Co-Living in south of the city. Calcalist. https://www.calcalist.co.il/real_estate/articles/0,7340,L-3757545,00.html

that the new plan does not fit the existing character of the area²⁰⁵. The city on the other hand, claimed in 2017 that the residents who live in residences that belong to the state will be compensated according to their rights under the Protected Renter Law by the ILA (Israel Land Administration).

To conclude, the plan provides affordable housing solutions to both homeowners and renters and increases the number of units in Jaffa and in Jaffa A specifically, which in turn may increase competition and reduce the prices of housing in the area. However, the plan favors middle class non-homeowners who can afford putting a down payment for the reduced priced apartments and can get a loan from the bank to secure their unit. Unfortunately, such 'affordable housing' is not providing appropriate solutions to low-income families who are in need of public housing and depend on state financial aid. Low-income families, specifically protected renters in Jaffa, need public housing solutions that can accommodate their housing and social needs. Although the plan includes a small number of public housing units, the amount that is provided is not proportional to the number of residents in need. Moreover, it seems as if the planning phases of the renewal plan did not include the local residents, and therefore their feedback and input was not included in the finalized plan. The lack of participatory planning is evident by the local community critics on the project for ignoring the existing urban fabric as well as ignoring their right to the properties they occupy as protected renters. Lastly, the state's and city's decision to continue with the public bid before ILA had finished to negotiate all displacement terms with the protected renters on site, and to put such responsibility on the private developers who won the bid, emphasizes their decision to prioritize privatization over the needs and rights of the local residents. Although the language within the official plan mentions that the plan intends to

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

serve the needs of both new and current residents, one can argue that it favors newcomers over the local community.

Nevertheless, the urban design and uses of the plan do attempt to create a vibrant urban fabric that continues the existing mixed-use corridor along Jerusalem Boulevard, and provides additional community facilities and open spaces for the benefit of the residents and the general public. The plan connects the neighborhood to the rest of the urban fabric through bike routes, pedestrian paths and green corridors. In addition, it activates the ground floors of the residential buildings by including approximately 70,000 square meters of retail and public facilities within them²⁰⁶. Public open spaces such as green areas and plazas are distributed between the residential buildings for the benefit of the residents.

South Jaffa (Shikunei Darom): 2014-2017

South Jaffa Renewal Plan applies to the southern neighborhoods of Jaffa which include, Jaffa A, Shikunei Hisachon, Neve-Golan, Jaffa C and Jaffa D – all abutting Jerusalem Boulevard, where the light rail is expected to pass in the near future (2023) and three of its stations will pass through the designated area that the policy document applies to. The policy document provides guidelines to the specific plans that will be developed for the area. According to the policy document, the goal of the plan is to provide tools for urban renewal in the designated area that will renew the public realm, the residential structures, introduce new programs to the area, and improve its connection to the other neighborhoods through continuous public spaces and improved urban fabric²⁰⁷. Unlike the common approach to urban renewal in Israel, which assumes that renovation and reconstruction of buildings and the introduction of new population

²⁰⁶ Plan Outline. Maccabi Jaffa Specific Plan 2752/חנ. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. 2017, October. <https://apps.land.gov.il/IturTabotData/takanonim/telmer/5009491.pdf>

²⁰⁷ Renewal Plan Document for South Jaffa. March 2017. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa Department of Planning, Department of Planning Jaffa and the South.

to an area improves the livelihood and the quality of life in a neighborhood, the policy document is taking a different approach. It provides guidelines to urban renewal that are based on the importance and the value that is inherited in the existing conditions of the area, both the physical as well as, and primarily, the social²⁰⁸. Therefore, the document sets as a goal to develop an implementation plan that provides solutions to protect the local community from displacement and is designed to empower the local residents and provide assistance for community organizing. One of the documents' purposes, according to a city official who worked on developing the document, is to provide a clear structure to the residents of the area with regards to the new zoning in their neighborhoods. It attempts to help residents in understanding what developers can and cannot do in the area, and therefore, when they are approached by developers who want to redevelop their property, they will be able to better assess whether the developers' new plan for the property is feasible. This became a priority in Jaffa, as developers who heard about the new plans for the southern neighborhoods began to approach residents and promised that they will develop their property in ways that are not aligned with the renewal plan for the area. While these goals are admirable and the policy document does emphasize community participation and includes guidelines that attempt to protect the local community from displacement, it is important to note that ultimately the policy document attempts to redevelop the area and to introduce new, and more affluent residents to the south of Jaffa in order to make the investment attractive for developers. Thus, similar to the Maccabi Jaffa specific plan, the policy document demonstrates once again the paradox of the city's reported desire to protect the local community while attempting to build a new one.

The area the policy document applies to is located adjacent to Maccabi Jaffa plan, creating a continuous new urban fabric in Jaffa A that spreads southwards to the neighborhoods of Jaffa D and Jaffa C. The policy document was approved by the Local Committee in 2017 and applies to a

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

large area of 1,065,000 square meters. There are currently 6,300 residential units in the area, which were built between 1950 to 1970 and are located within 260 structures that provide home to 15,600 residents. Most of the units, (approximately 53% of them) are small and consist of 50-70 square meters, while only approximately 20% of the units are larger than 70 square meters. The units are primarily owned by private residents, however, some of them are public housing units which belong to the state and are managed by Amidar²⁰⁹. While most of the area is used for residential uses, there are some commercial areas which are located on land that belongs to the city, the Israeli Land Authority (ILA), and private owners²¹⁰. The area also includes three orchards, Abu Sayef, Daka and Dalek, where informal construction that provides homes primarily to the Arab community is located. Within the designated area there is also a 'green belt' as the city defines it, which includes sport and recreation facilities and a public park, Davidof park. As described by the city, the current design of the area creates internal residential enclaves that are disconnected from one another and show their backs to the main boulevards of Jaffa, such as Jerusalem Boulevard²¹¹.

In addition to allowing new development on undeveloped area, the policy document permits redevelopment of already developed land using two state programs for urban renewal, National Outline Plan #38 (NOP #38), and Pinui-Binui. NOP #38 incentivizes developers and homeowners to perform seismic improvements to their buildings by giving them additional floor area and tax incentives. While this program is primarily aiming to improve buildings that were build prior to 1980 so they will be more resilient to earthquakes, it is considered a primary tool in increasing density and units in a neighborhood (additional details about the program are included in the next chapter). Pinui-Binui is another state program that incentivizes developers and homeowners to demolish and rebuild new residential structures by providing additional

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

building rights. Unlike, NOP #38, which can be used both for renovation of existing buildings and for demolition and new construction, Pinui-Binui is only used for demolition and rebuilding. In addition, NOP #38 is restricted in terms of the additional floors that it allows to be added to buildings (usually two), while Pinui-Binui allows for a higher number of stories to be built, and therefore, allows for a higher number of units to be added to an area.

The plan for the portion of Jaffa A neighborhood that is included in the designated area, is to preserve the urban fabric through redevelopment and new construction, utilizing new development on undeveloped land, as well as the two state programs on developed land. The current structures in this area are housing blocks that were built by the state in the 1950-70 and consist of four stories of rectangular long structures. In this area, the relationship between the public spaces and the ground floor of the buildings is successful in a sense that it creates activated public spaces for the residents. Therefore, for this area the policy document states that the character of the urban fabric must be preserved by the new development. This is also the reason that the internal portion of the neighborhood is designated as an NOP #38, while its edges are designated as Pinui-Binui or new development on undeveloped land.

In Shikunei Hisachon and Neve-Golan, similarly to Jaffa A, most of the new construction and development along with the implementation of Pinui-Binui will take place along the edge of the designated area, along Jerusalem Boulevard and Yeffet street (commercial boulevards). The internal area will also be dedicated to NOP #38 to preserve the urban fabric as well as the open public spaces in the neighborhood. Similar to Jaffa A, these neighborhoods are primarily characterized by housing block structures that were built by the state in the 1950-70 and consist of 3-4 stories, although some reach 8 stories as well (specifically in Neve-Golan). Jaffa C, located south of Neve-Golan and bordered with the city of Bat-Yam along its south edge, includes Daka Orchard within its territory. The policy document targets the orchard area as its main area for development in the neighborhood and zones it for new development of residential structures

that are 25-story high. This area is currently occupied by the Arab community, descendant of the Daka family, and consists of informal housing structures. The area lacks proper infrastructure and is considered as an enclosed enclave inside Jaffa C. Jaffa D is expected to be developed in a similar manner to the other neighborhoods in the policy document. The edges are dedicated for Pinui-Binui and new construction, while the internal neighborhood area is dedicated for NOP #38. Similar to Jaffa C the neighborhood consists of an orchard that is characterized by informal structures of the Arab community that resides within it. The orchard area is destined to be developed through the Pinui-Binui program with structures that rise from 8 to 15 stories.



Figure 40: The area of South Jaffa Renewal Plan. The area that is included as part of the plan is colored in orange.

Source: Renewal Plan Document for South Jaffa, 2017, City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

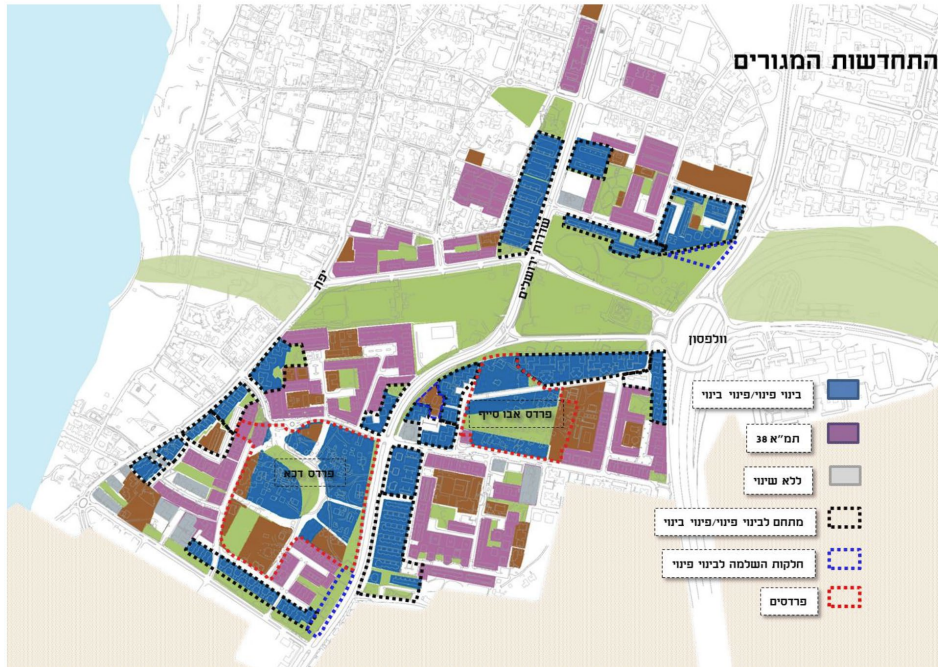


Figure 41: Map illustrates the applicable plans for new development that will be allowed in each area. *Blue* indicates Pinui-Binui or new construction on undeveloped land. *Purple* indicates area where NOP #38 will be implemented. *Dotted orange* indicates the orchard areas. *Gray* indicates no change. *Green* indicates open public spaces and *brown* indicates public facilities such as schools. [Source](#): Renewal Plan Document for South Jaffa, 2017, City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

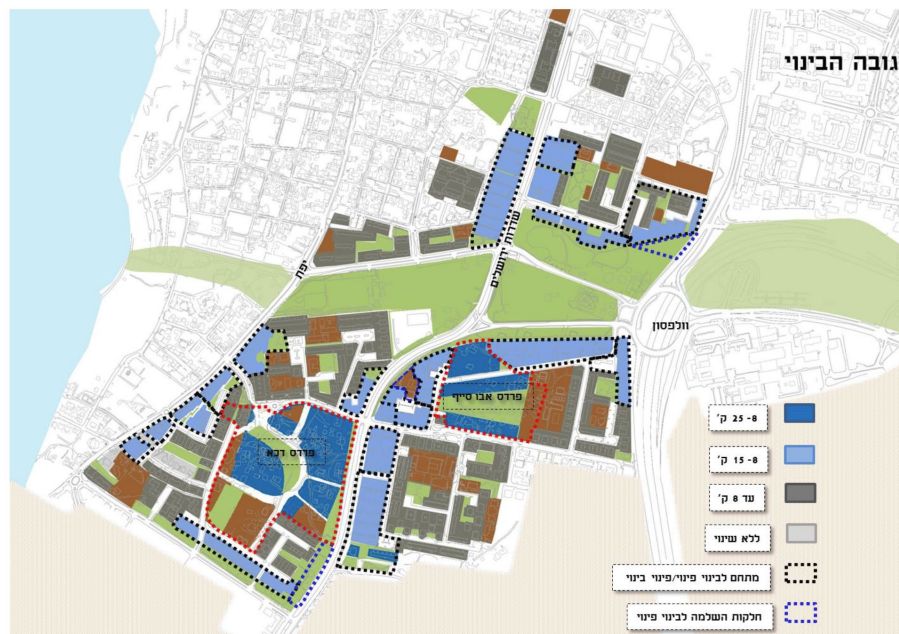


Figure 42: Map illustrates the allowable heights in the planned area. *Dark blue* refers to 8-25 stories; *light blue* to 8-15 stories; and *dark gray* to up to 8 stories. *Light gray* indicates no change. [Source](#): Renewal Plan Document for South Jaffa, 2017, City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa



Figure 43: Map illustrates public facilities and open spaces. *Brown* indicates public structures; *Green* represents public open spaces. [Source](#): Renewal Plan Document for South Jaffa, 2017, City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

The finalized policy document that was approved by the Local Committee of the city in 2017, included a participatory planning process with the local community that was led by the Mishlama, community workers, and Ezra and Biztron. The participatory planning process took place to not only understand the physical and spatial conditions of the area, but also the communal and social needs of the residents²¹². In 2014 a participatory process with the community that lives in the area began, and the communication with it continued through the help of the Mishlama and community/social workers. According to city records, there were a large number of meetings with the community where their needs and desires were vocalized.

²¹² Ibid.

During these three years there were three specific meetings with residents of each of the neighborhoods that are included in the plan. One of the ways that the city tried to approach and bring the community into the discussion was through the distribution of flyers into the residents' mailboxes. When the planning process started, the city created several types of meetings. The first were done in order to understand the existing conditions in the area; this was done in six different community meetings that each included 25 community members. To understand the existing conditions, several site visits of city officials and architects took place. Then a preliminary policy document was developed and presented to the community in four different meetings that included approximately 100 people each. After the initial community feedback on the policy document, a plan was drafted which was then presented to the community through a series of in-depth meetings and urban renewal courses where the community had the chance to participate in the development of the plan. This was the first time the city introduced urban renewal courses as a tool of participatory planning to develop a policy document. Approximately 60 residents participated in the course the city offered. A specific attention was given to include the Ethiopian Jewish population in the area, and this community was approached directly by the city in order to receive feedback from its community members and to understand their needs. In 2016, the city conducted additional community meetings as well as specific meetings with the neighborhood councils and site visits in the area that each focused on a different issue to improve the plan according to the residents' needs. The city worked to incorporate the feedback of the residents into the final policy document for the plan; for example, in some of the community meetings the city learned that residents of a specific street that they hoped to include in the renewal plan were not interested in urban renewal and therefore, the street was excluded from the plan was revised accordingly to respect the desire of the residents²¹³. Communicating with the community also helped determine where Pinui-Binui

²¹³ Ibid.

projects would take place, as such projects may result in the displacement of the local community. Pinui-Binui projects, unlike NOP #38 projects tend to allow more building rights and therefore, may bring a larger number of new populations of higher income to an area. Thus, such projects may trigger gentrification and may push the existing population out of a neighborhood. Another change that the policy document adopted from the community participation process, was to increase open public spaces. For that, every Pinui-Binui project that will take place in the plan area will be required to increase the open space the area currently has. Only after the three-year process with the community the city presented the revised plan for the approval of the Local Committee of the city, the authority that is responsible for approving the policy document. After the approval of the policy document, it was presented again to the community during four community meetings.

Although all these efforts to create a participatory process with the community were done by the city and its various agencies, the first time the policy document was presented to the Local Committee, it rejected the proposal in the claim that residents complained about lack of a participatory process. As a result, a meeting was scheduled to review all the documents that were produced from the community meetings to understand whether a sufficient participatory process took place. One of the main criticisms of the community participation process was that most of the people who vocalized their concerns and needs were community workers employed by the city that work with the community and leaders of community councils rather than the community members themselves. In addition, members of the Local Committee noted that the community reports from the community meetings did not clearly address or clearly document the main needs and concerns of the community; for example, the reports mentioned that the residents asked that a Jewish Public elementary school be added to the plan, however, such school does not exist as part of the proposed policy document for the plan²¹⁴. The residents also

²¹⁴ Ibid.

mentioned in the community meetings that the plan does not elaborate on the uses and specifics of the public open spaces that are included in the plan, and that they expected the plan to include information on what type of open spaces will be developed for the area. Such a comment was also not addressed by the policy document. Nevertheless, the members and the head of the review meeting concluded based on the information they received a sufficient process was performed and therefore, in 2017 the policy document was finally approved by the Local Committee.

The plan indicates that along the main commercial boulevards, which are zoned to include mixed use buildings, a Pinui-Binui program will take place, allowing for high-rise structures of up to 25 stories to be built. In contrast, in the inner areas that are dedicated primarily for residential uses, NOP #38 will take place, which will restrict the height of the buildings to 8-stories. This decision was made not only to create spatial hierarchy and arrangement between the inner neighborhoods and the main boulevards, but also to preserve the existing urban fabric of the area and to protect the existing residents from displacement²¹⁵. The policy document also indicates that if developers want additional floor area ratio that will allow them to build up to 15 stories, they will have to provide additional square meters of public space in the neighborhoods.

Overall, based on the information provided in the policy document as well as reports from the Local Committee meetings for approving the project, it seems as if the city has made efforts to create a participatory planning process in the area. Since the area includes primarily vulnerable populations from low socio-economic status it was important to develop such a participatory process in order to allow such residents to vocalize their desires and concerns and create an inclusionary process that represents the new approach to urban renewal that the city decided to take. This policy document exemplifies the shift in the city's approach to planning and to local

²¹⁵ Ibid.

and vulnerable communities in Jaffa and in the city in general and provides an important milestone towards a more inclusionary urban renewal process in the city. Nevertheless, there is still a place for improvement and the city should find ways to reach more community members. Further, the city should also make the reports from the community meetings easily accessible to the general public. Such transparency will help other community members who were not able to attend the meetings to review the subjects that were discussed. In addition, publishing the reports will help the residents hold the city more accountable, and will allow both the residents and the city to review whether the residents' needs were addressed and incorporated into the policy document. Nevertheless, the policy document does exemplify how the city attempts to create a participatory planning process and try through its policy document for the renewal plan to protect the vulnerable community and the rest of the local population from displacement.

East Jaffa 'Mevohot Jaffa': 2007; 2020-Present

The renewal plan for Mevohot Jaffa (or 'Jaffa's Entryway') applies to a large area consisting of 1,000,000 square meters that is located along the north-east edge of Jaffa and along the south-west edge of the neighborhood of Florentin (part of district 8). Within Jaffa, the plan applies to portion of the North Jaffa neighborhood and to Hertzal Hill & Jaffa Industrial Zone. While the plan is not considered as part of the redevelopment and urban renewal efforts in Jaffa, as it is located just at its northern border, I chose to include it as the strategy of developing the area exemplifies the city's efforts in preserving the local urban fabric and its residents. The renewal plan impacts Jaffa directly not only because a portion of it is included applied to the districts, but also because the large-scale development will result in increases in land values that would influence the adjacent surrounding – that is the district of Jaffa.

to act as a guiding document for any future development. It includes guidelines for urban physical development, economic development, social development, and for environmental planning within the area. By creating such comprehensive policy document, the city hopes to redefine the area as a lively urban environment that is complementing its surroundings, rather than harming it, and to rebrand the area as ‘Jaffa’s Entryway’, from the center of Tel Aviv to the district of Jaffa²¹⁷. The city recognized that the area has a large unfulfilled potential due to its prime location, close to the center of Tel Aviv and at the border of Jaffa and Tel Aviv, and therefore, through its plan for the area it aimed to develop it primarily as a mixed-use attractive employment hub.

Four main principles led the city in building its vision and policy document for the area. First, the city wanted to reduce the number of light industry areas in order to improve air quality and reduce environmental hazards; this principle was based on the idea that light industry can operate from the periphery and serve the city from a distance rather than from within.

Converting Mevohot Jaffa from a light industry zone to a mixed-use employment hub promotes this city goal. Second, the city wanted to bring in residential uses to the area to create a safer environment that is active both during the day and night; according to the policy document, since the area was mainly used during the day for light industry and commercial purposes, during the nighttime, it was empty and attracted ‘unwanted’ uses. Thus, a mixed-use area would help keep out such unwanted behaviors under the assumption that the residential uses would act as guards to the area during the night. Third, the city aimed to create urban continuity throughout its neighborhoods so the urban environment would create a flow from one area to another. Thus, through its plan for the area it hoped to continue the residential neighborhoods that border the area and create a central employment hub within it that serves the residents. The last principle, was to develop a physical planning strategy for the area along with economic,

²¹⁷ Ibid.

social, infrastructure, enforcement and organizational strategies in order to generate change within the area and guarantee that the development would be successful; this was adopted under the assumption that in order to create a successful urban renewal process, physical strategy and zoning guidelines must be accommodated by city investment in new infrastructure and in a clear enforcement and organizational strategies for the area, and must include incentives for the private sector to invest within the area of the plan.

In order to generate urban renewal, the policy document included a specific line of actions that is based on three steps that take place simultaneously. The first is to promote change in the area by:

- i. Renewing the existing infrastructure such as sewage and drainage systems
- ii. Improving the transportation paths by creating a hierarchy of commercial paths vs. residential oriented paths that respond to and directly continue the existing paths in the surrounding neighborhoods.
- iii. Developing pedestrian accessible paths and bike routes to encourage non-vehicular movement and more sustainable means of transportation.
- iv. Improving the environmental quality by reducing the number of industrial businesses through enforcement, putting restrictions on permits, and rezoning
- v. Providing economic incentives to the private sector for developing residential and non-harming industrial and commercial businesses.
- vi. Investing in remarketing the area.

Second, is to develop a physical planning strategy for the area that includes rezoning the area into four sections:

1. Employment hub at the center of the area that includes non-hazardous industrial uses and commercial uses along commercial boulevards.
2. Continuous residential fabric that connects the residential areas that border the designated area.
3. New residential zone that connects to the existing botanical garden and private school within the area.
4. Mixed use area that creates a smooth transition between the employment hub and the residential areas.

The different zones are spread throughout the area based on their relationship to the area and its surroundings. The employment hub is located along the main path of the area (the **purple area** on the plan below) creating a central and vibrant area within the plan; the mixed use area (represented in **light pink** on the plan) acts as a transition area between the residential areas and the employment hub, and the residential zones continue the residential areas that border the designated area, each is designed to specifically respond to the existing urban fabric through its FAR (floor area ratio), heights and density restrictions. The physical plan also provides guidelines for development such as FAR, heights restrictions as well as specific design guidelines, so that the urban fabric would continue and would respond to the existing conditions in the surrounding neighborhoods.

were identified as critical projects. Each project focuses on a different goal that the city hoped to promote through the renewal project for the area, such as increasing residential units, converting hazardous uses to environmentally friendly ones, revisiting existing public amenities, and improving infrastructure and transportation routes. Project number 1 focuses on increasing the number and quality of the residential units in the area and includes the development of one of the residential cores within the designated area; project number 2 focuses on rethinking the football stadium structure ,which is home to the three football teams of Tel Aviv-Jaffa and was poorly maintained, with the aim of transforming it to a sport and community center for Mevohot Jaffa; Project number 3 focuses on creating a green public realm with recreation areas that will serve the residences of Mevohot Jaffa and the adjacent neighborhoods in an area that consists of poorly maintained open spaces and public institutions; Project number 6 focuses on removing one of the environmentally hazardous industries from the area, an old flour mill, and relocating it to a different area while working together with the owner of the mill to guarantee that the relocation will have as minimal an impact as possible; lastly, project number 13 focuses on rethinking the transportation and urban design of a prototypical area within the plan that has suffered from congestion and lack of a cohesive urban fabric.

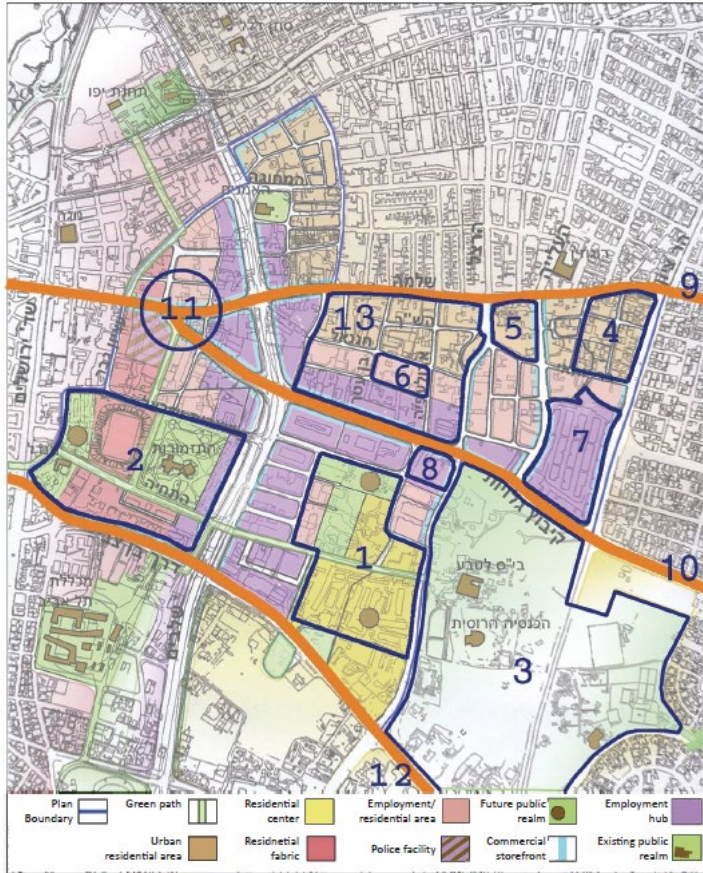


Figure 46: Area of development projects within the renewal plan area that the city promotes. Source: Policy Document for Mevohot Jaffa 2007. City of Tel Aviv Jaffa.

Since the renewal plan and policy were published in 2007, several of the projects which the city promoted were approved, and even completed. In 2012, a plan for project number 1 was approved which is expected to add more than 670 units to the area, with 20% of them designated as small units (less than 75 square meters)²¹⁸. The increase in small units came as a response to the 2011 Social Justice Protest, which demanded the city and the state to provide more affordable units. The city responded by developing small size units that could be marketed to young adults and young families at lower prices than bigger units. The area of project number

²¹⁸ Levy D. (2012, June 24). The city of Tel Aviv approved the construction of 670 units in the Bezeq area in the south of the city. Calcalist. https://www.calcalist.co.il/real_estate/articles/0,7340,L-3575073,00.html

1 was mainly occupied by garages, old residential structures and a large station of the telephone company, Bezeq, and is expected to be developed as a residential core with residential structures with 6 stories in the internal streets and up to 16 stories along the commercial streets. The development also includes residential amenities such as new schools and a community center. In 2018, construction finally started by the private developing company who had bought the area in 2011.

In 2019 after four years of renovation, project number 2, the football stadium, was completed. The project cost reached almost half a billion ILS as the mayor of the city insisted on developing the stadium to international standards²¹⁹. The city made a bold decision not to invest in a parking lot for the stadium in order to reduce the traffic in the area, and instead it provides public shuttles to the stadium and hopes that visitors will use the future light rail system that is expected to operate in the next few years in the area. The city's decision benefits the residents in the area who suffered from congestion as well as pollution that was produced from the large number of vehicles who arrived at the area every weekend to watch the football games.

²¹⁹ Alagem S. (2019, August 17). The final cost of Bloomfield's renovation: 500 million Shekels. Mako. https://www.mako.co.il/Sports-football-il/premier-league-q3_2019/Article-c57e55d97ee9c61026.htm



Figure 47: An image of the renovated Bloomfield football stadium. Image by Barak Barniker. [Source](#): Kremer O. (2020, June 15). We were standing in your gate: Bloomfield is the heart. TimeOut.

As the city had hoped, the area started to see large number of projects led by private developers in recent years and identified by the media as the next real estate fantasy of Tel Aviv-Jaffa²²⁰. New luxury residential complexes replace the old structures and the light industry business, slowly transforming the character of the area. Although the city hoped to preserve some of the light industries that do not pose any environmental hazard, such businesses are offered deals by developers that they find hard to resist, and therefore, leave the area providing room for more luxury residential complexes²²¹.

²²⁰ Jacobson M. (2018, October 3). The Salame method: the dirty street of south Tel Aviv become a real estate fantasy. Ynet. <https://xnet.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5342211,00.html>

²²¹ Bousso N. (2019, February 14). A city without light industry: The light industry area in Florentin is about to be erased. Calcalist. <https://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3756063,00.html>

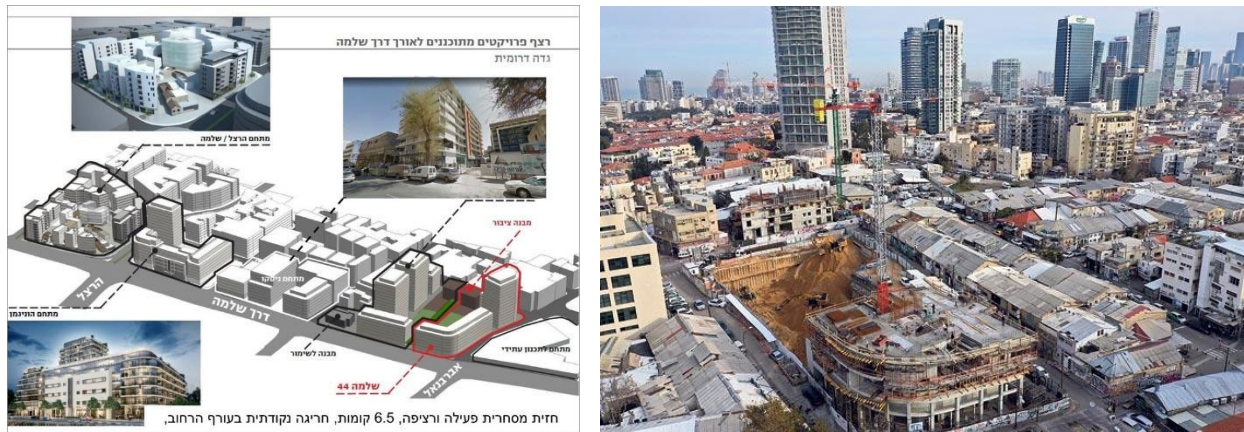


Figure 48: Development in Mevohot Jaffa. To the left: Expected projects on one of the commercial paths of Mevohot Jaffa, Salame street. The diagram exemplifies the high-end residential developments that are expected to be built along the street. [Source](#): Jacobson M. (2018, October 3). The Salame method: the dirty street of south Tel Aviv become a real estate fantasy. Ynet. To the right: New construction in Mevohot Jaffa. Image by Or-El Cohen. [Source](#): Bousso N. (2019, February 14). A city without light industry: The light industry area in Florentin is about to be erased. Calcalist.

Nevertheless, in 2019 the city began developing a master plan for an area within Mevohot Jaffa, named ‘Menoot Jaffa Plan’, which aims to identify the core area businesses and the core area characteristics and preserve them while allowing the area to keep developing. The city’s efforts seek to minimize the commercial gentrification that the area has experienced and therefore can be considered as anti-displacement measures. In a lecture by the owner of the architecture firm who worked with the city to develop the plan, Erez Ella of HQ explained that their proposal for the area attempts to preserve the unique character of the city by using urban analytics to understand the urban and social fabric of the area²²². Lorit Lebovitz, Head of Local Sustainability Center at The Heschel Center, was hired for this project to analyze the area from within. Her conversations with the local business led to the development of a network diagram that describes the dependent relationships of the businesses in the area and its surroundings

²²² Research Lab: A look at the new policy document for Mevohot Jaffa. Liebling Haus The White City Center. Liebling Haus Facebook Page. Posted on 2021, January 11 <https://www.facebook.com/626173404059608/videos/885017268932452>

and identifies the main actors that hold the network together. Her analysis was incorporated into Erez Ella's work to develop a computer program which can predict the impact of any new development on the area, and if it would lead to the displacement of any existing business. In addition to preserving local businesses, the analysis that HQ and the city developed identified existing structures for preservation based on their architectural and design characteristics. The design approach for the area is not to develop a traditional block but to let a block develop organically based on the existing businesses and the new uses to come, whether such are retail, residential or 'clean' industry (new tech such as 3d printing companies for example). In HQ's website the firm describes the urban analytic tool they developed as follows:

*"To maintain this mosaic of uses, we developed a tool that allows keeping the DNA of the place and a statutory mechanism that permits keeping the local community, uses, and the entire existing balance, while developing the neighborhood according to their current needs. The Masterplan's precise and thoughtful approach is based on an extensive research regarding the daily usage of the area and working together with many different divisions of the Tel Aviv municipality, leading to the creation of a large database emphasizing on the unique qualities of the area. Through data analysis we discovered patterns of people's movement across the area, activity hours for every use, and understood how two contradicting functions can operate simultaneously (residential and industrial). This knowledge was encapsulated into a policy paper aiming to create urban resilience and maintain the existing uses, while developing the neighborhood as a mixed-use urban quarter. Following our data analysis, the next stage of our proposal incorporated translating the database into a parametric system, which allows us to create simulations of future planning scenarios. In this manner, city planners and architects can have a deeper understanding of how a plan for a single property could affect the whole urban system."*²²³.

²²³ Jaffa Gateway. HQ Architects. <https://www.hqa.co.il/home/jaffa-gateway>



Figure 49: An example of a typical block in Mevohot Jaffa Plan. [Source](#): Jaffa Gateway. HQ Architects.



Figure 50: An example of urban analytics by HQ Architects. [Source](#): Jaffa Gateway. HQ Architects.

To conclude, while the original urban renewal plan for Mevohot Jaffa aimed to primarily rebrand the image of the area and to transform the urban fabric, its latest efforts through Mevohot Jaffa’s plan seems to use innovative planning strategies to preserve the local long-term businesses in the area. The renewal plan puts emphasis on the physical aspects of the urban

fabric more than its social ones, however, it does aim to develop a vibrant urban fabric in an area that has been deteriorating and overlooked by the city for a long time. Therefore, the efforts of the city to redevelop the area, while they most likely push long-term businesses away from the area, would benefit the infrastructure, the environment and the overall physical fabric of the area. Moreover, the plan brings residential units to a strategic area in the city which would increase the limited housing stock in the city. The latest efforts of the city to rethink how to preserve the local business and the process the city conducted which included a conversation with the local business, exemplified the change in attitude towards planning practices in the last decade. Such an attitude reflects going towards a more inclusionary planning process that takes into consideration the social fabric of the area.

Conclusion

By reviewing the five redevelopment and urban renewal projects, it is clear that the city makes efforts to reach out to the community and include local residents in the planning process. The more recent projects of the past ten years, and especially the urban renewal plans, further put an emphasis on a participatory planning process, on protecting the local community from displacement, and on incorporating affordable housing within them. Participatory planning is used almost in all the projects, but primarily in recent projects of the past decade. In its most recent plan, Mevohot Jaffa Plan, the city uses innovative computer software that is based on a dialogue with the local community to better understand the local community and the impact urban renewal would have on residents and businesses.

While some programs include affordable housing so that local communities could stay in the area, the efforts are minimal and the use of anti-displacement measures within the plans is minimal. There were no rent stabilization provisions or construction of affordable housing in areas that were prone to gentrification, specifically around redevelopment projects such as The

Flea Market or Jaffa Park Slope, which resulted in an increase in land values that pushed away local vulnerable communities. The specific plan, Maccabi Jaffa, incorporated state programs that provide reduced price units for both sale and rent, specifically for the local community, but unfortunately the number of such units is limited and rather insignificant, compared to the number of market rate units which target the young middle class, most likely Jewish, new residents. Moreover, the state programs do not provide solutions for the very low-income residents who need state public housing. The city does attempt to develop Co-Living as part of the specific plan of Maccabi Jaffa, which may result in an innovative solution to a communal style affordable housing for local residents.

The city has a priority to bring new young middle-class residents to the area, and all projects seem to put this goal above all others. Anti-displacement measures are minimal and mostly protect existing homeowners through the state programs NOP #38 and Pinui-Binui which increase the housing stock in an area while preserving the local homeowners, giving them better housing conditions. However, even though these programs provide better housing to local homeowners, they encourage the perception of the property that was once considered a home to be as a commodified asset; local residents end up renting the new units they receive or in some cases selling them to new residents to make a profit, which eventually results in their displacement. The next chapter reviews these programs and additional state and city efforts to protect the local community and provide affordable housing solutions and assesses whether such solutions are accessible to the vulnerable community of Jaffa.

Thus, the redevelopment projects and renewal projects in Jaffa, although including some efforts to protect or preserve the local community, primarily attempt to generate a new image for Jaffa: to change the urban fabric and to reshape its social fabric by attracting new, more affluent residents to the area. In the case of redevelopment and urban renewal in Jaffa, the goal of attracting new residents overcomes the goal of protecting the local vulnerable community.

Part IV: City and state initiatives for affordable housing solutions: implementation in Jaffa

The development of affordable housing by the state and the city: reasons and feasibility

After the 2011 Israeli Social Justice Protests, the city and the state increased their efforts to develop policies and programs for affordable housing and for increasing the housing stock. In 2015 a report named 'the housing crisis' that the State Comptroller of Israel published, mentioned that the sale prices of housing in Israel increased by 55% from 2008 to 2013 and that the average rent price increased by 30%²²⁴. Some of the main reasons for such drastic increases include the lack of adequate housing stock due to a decrease in new construction and an increase in new households²²⁵. According to a research that was done by the Israeli Bank in 2011, the lack of units in the housing stock, which stood at that time at 115,000 units, explains the 37% of the increase in housing prices for sale and 75% of the increase in housing prices for rent²²⁶. The report of the State Comptroller of Israel concluded that aside from not having enough units in the market, the existing units are primarily large units of two-bedroom or more, which limits the ability of small families and individuals to purchase or rent suitable units for their households. Only 6% of the units that were built from 2013 to 2014 were small units with less than two-bedrooms. This number is in great contrast to the 42% of such units whose construction had commenced in 1980²²⁷. This conclusion explains the goal of both the city and the state in promoting the construction of small units through their programs and policies. The

²²⁴ The housing crisis. Special report, 2015. The State Comptroller of Israel
https://www.mevaker.gov.il/he/Reports/Report_279/f43ab2c3-db98-447c-8e49-8b3977bc660d/003-diur-1-new.pdf?AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

report further states that the state and the local municipalities have the power to influence the housing market by increasing the housing stock and developing policies for affordable housing solutions for the middle and low-income classes in the county.

In the past, state programs primarily focused on increasing the housing stock in the state in order to draw market rate prices down; however, in the past ten years, the state as well as the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa have been developing affordable housing programs that provide housing solutions in reduced prices for both purchasing and renting. While the programs along with the renewal plans of the city will increase the housing stock in Jaffa in the next few years, they still fail to provide housing solutions to the most vulnerable populations of Jaffa who are in need of public housing and governmental support to maintain their livelihood. The housing solutions that the state and city provide target specific populations, primarily young middle class who do not own homes. While some of the programs favor the local population of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, and one even targets specifically the Arab population of Jaffa, they also encourage the entrance of new middle-class population to the district, which will increase the already existing gentrification process and will spread it to the southern and eastern neighborhoods of Jaffa. Thus, the state and city programs illustrate the conflict that the city government faces: Even though it attempts to help local communities in need, it also works to increase the presence of higher income populations in distressed and undeveloped areas of the city in order to revitalize them. Such conflicted goals, in some cases, come at the expense of the local community, as housing prices increase in the area and are no longer affordable for the local low-income population who find themselves displaced. The city eventually operated within the capitalist neoliberal system that is led by the country, and therefore, its social efforts to protect local populations need to be understood under such a system. Thus, even though the city attempts to protect local population from gentrification, its primary goal is to increase revenues by

privatizing its land and by attracting higher income residents to its territory, specifically to its low-income neighborhoods.

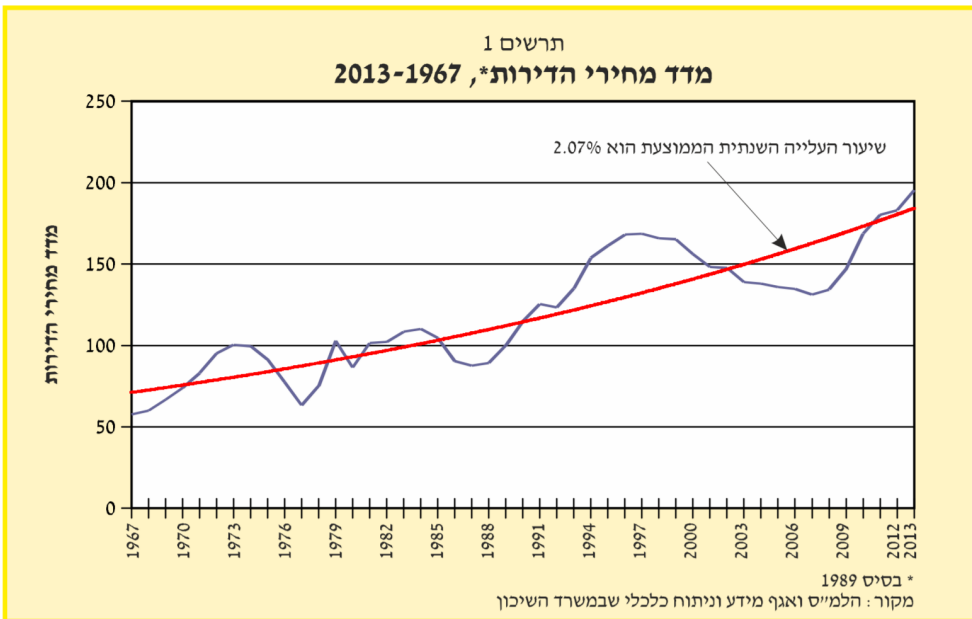


Figure 51: Increase in housing prices from 1967-2013 in Israel. Average increase is ~2%, while the average increase between 2008-2013 has been 9%. The Y axis represents the price of units and the X axis represents years. [Source: The housing crisis. Special report, 2015. The State Comptroller of Israel](#)

The biggest challenge the city and the state face is making sure that the apartments they have dedicated to affordable housing are being populated by the people who actually need them, meaning local residents who meet the eligibility criteria for the state or city programs. It is difficult for the city and especially for the state to include within the specific plans a requirement that the apartments must be dedicated to a specific population, such as the Arab population. When the state dedicates its land for the development of housing, it basically sells it to private developers who by contract are required to provide units at a certain price to eligible candidates based on their housing status, income etc. The state or the city can specify that a certain percentage of the units within the program will be dedicated to the residents of the city in which the project is built. However, that does not guarantee that the minority groups within the city

will be the ones who will win the reduced-price units in the open lottery. For example, if the state or the city build a project in one of the south districts of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, all the eligible residents from all areas of the city can sign up for the lottery and win the reduced-price unit; for example a young couple from the north part of the city who come from an affluent family but they themselves are not homeowners and meet the required criteria for one of the state programs for new homeowners, may win the lottery and be eligible to purchase a reduced price unit in the southern part of the city. Thus, even though the state and the city build in certain areas in order to provide housing solutions to specific low-income local population and minority groups, they cannot guarantee that the units will be populated by such. Such efforts may lead to the entrance of affluent populations into low-income neighborhoods and may trigger or advance the gentrification process within them. This is primarily true in cases where the state aims to build housing for the Arab and the Jewish orthodox communities, who are among the poorest communities in Israel. For example, in 2018 the state initiated a housing project in Jisr Az-Zarqa, an Arab village in the north of Israel along the shore and hoped that such a project would serve the local Arab population as it would offer attractive prices. However, aside from the 50 units which were sold to eligible candidates from the village, the rest of the units, which were offered at market rates, were not sold to the local Arab population but rather to the Jewish affluent population who could afford the high market rate prices²²⁸. Thus, since the state cannot prevent high-income groups from purchasing the market rate units, the program that was supposed to benefit the local Arab population eventually resulted in an increase of housing prices and with the entrance of Jewish population to an Arab dominant area. The limitation of the state in regulating market rate projects such as this one, which was built on state-owned land, and portion of it was dedicated to an affordable housing program of the state, only

²²⁸ Kashti O. (2021 March 26). A new development asks to create heaven in Jisr Az-Zarqa. Not necessarily to its residents. Haaretz. <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/local/.premium-MAGAZINE-1.9656538>

continues the pattern of ethnocentric urban policies, favoring and advancing land ownership for Jewish communities over Arab communities.

While efforts are being undertaken and the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa has recently initiated a project that is dedicated exclusively to the Arab community, such projects are subject to lawsuits for being discriminatory in nature. Indeed, the project Michelangelo 15 just faced such a lawsuit in June 2021, however, in this case the judge ruled in favor of the city. The city dedicated the project to 'Arabs who are Christians or Muslims', offering 28 reduced priced units for sale in prices that are 30% less than the market rate²²⁹. The project was challenged in the district court by Jewish residents of Jaffa for being discriminatory and biased towards a community based on race, however, in this case, the judge ruled in favor of the city, because it provided housing solutions to a specific population as part of an affirmative action to a community that has been suffering systematic discrimination. The city argued that its action is not discriminatory based on a past rule of the Supreme Court of Israel which ruled that providing affordable housing solutions to a community based on its cultural identity in a place where it is necessary for the community to continue to preserve its social and cultural life, is not considered an unlawful discrimination²³⁰. While the court this time ruled in favor of the city, the case may still be challenged in the supreme court which could choose to rule against the project.

Suitable land for the development of affordable housing

When the city chooses to initiate such honorable projects to protect vulnerable populations, it can most successfully execute them on properties which the city owns. In Tel Aviv-Jaffa there

²²⁹ Bandel N. (2021, June 2). The attorney general review whether the lottery for land in Jaffa that is dedicated only for Arabs is legal. Haaretz. <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/law/.premium-1.9865366>

²³⁰ Ibid.

are four types of land ownership. The first is land that is owned by the state, which the state can choose to develop for affordable housing using one of its programs, primarily through Price for the New Homeowner, or Apartment for Rent (both will be further discussed in this chapter). While the state can define criteria for who is eligible for participating in the programs, as previously explained, such restrictions cannot be based on race and must avoid discriminatory measures, and therefore, cannot be dedicated only for the Arab community, for example. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the state can dedicate a certain percentage of the units to eligible residents of the specific municipality where the project will take place. The case of Jaffa is unique, as even though it merged with the city of Tel-Aviv, Jaffa still has its own city symbol, an administrative number that allows Jaffa to be considered for administrative purposes as a separate city from Tel Aviv. The city symbol allows the state to define Jaffa as a separate city from Tel Aviv-Jaffa and therefore, for state programs in Jaffa the state can decide that a certain percentage of the units will only be accessible for Jaffa's residents (rather than for all residents of Tel Aviv-Jaffa).

The second type of land is land that is owned by the city and is dedicated for public use. In this land the city can develop public institutions and facilities but can also develop affordable housing. If the city chooses to develop affordable housing on such land it is still subject to state laws that prevent it from dedicating the housing to a specific population based on race, and therefore, it is harder for the city to dedicate such land to only Jewish or only Arab populations.

The third type of land is land that is owned by the city but is not dedicated specifically for public use. In the case of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, unlike most of the municipalities in Israel, the city owns land that it can rent for purposes other than public use. Such land was given to the city prior to the establishment of Israel. In this type of land, the city can develop affordable housing and may choose to dedicate it to a specific minority group, such as the Arab community, however, as I

mentioned before it most likely be subject to lawsuits. Nevertheless, this type of land is the most suitable for developing affordable housing for vulnerable communities in the city. The last type of land is privately owned land, which is the hardest one to develop for affordable housing. Even if the city provides incentives for developers such as an increase in floor area if the developers dedicate a certain percentage of units to affordable housing, it is very hard for the city to enforce such provisions, as proper enforcement measures are not yet utilized by the city.

Thus, while city and state may have the best intentions in developing affordable housing, eventually land ownership and laws against discrimination may restrict the feasibility of such projects that the city and state attempt to provide for vulnerable populations. Nevertheless, the state and city programs are important as they do provide additional housing solutions to the general public. This chapter provides an overview of the current programs that the state and city implement in Jaffa and describes additional initiatives the city developed in order to assist vulnerable communities in Jaffa.

State Programs

Price for the New Homeowner

It has been a long tradition in Israel to provide affordable housing solutions by increasing the supply of housing. This is based on the idea that the additional supply will lower the real estate prices and will provide affordable housing solutions²³¹. The Price for the New Homeowner work on a similar principle while incorporating reduced price unit as part of the developments. The nationwide program is led by the Ministry of Treasury, Ministry of Construction and Housing, and the Israel Land Administration (ILA). The goal is to promote the construction of affordable

²³¹ Price for the New Homeowner. Globes.

https://www.globes.co.il/news/%D7%9E%D7%97%D7%99%D7%A8_%D7%9C%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%AA%D7%9B%D7%9F.tag

new housing units by incentivizing developers. The program attempts to achieve that by offering reduced price state lands (up to 80% reduction in market rate price) through open bids to private developers who offer the lowest selling price per unit²³². The project was first initiated in the 1990s when a large number of Jewish immigrants arrived in Israel, primarily from the former USSR. The state involvement in producing housing for the new immigrants was evidence in the large amount of new housing that was built under the public initiative, which in 1992 reached 50% of the total housing construction in Israel (22,700 units were built under government initiative compared to 23,330 which were built by private investment)²³³. In September 2000, following the October Riots, where a series of protests by Israeli Arabs, followed by riots by Israeli Jews, took place right after the beginning of the Second Intifada, the number of new housing construction declined, mainly due to a lack of construction workers from the West Bank and because of the unstable economic and security situation in Israel²³⁴. This decline continued, and by 2003 the state-initiated housing projects had only contributed 14% to the overall housing construction market (4,200 state-initiated units compared to 25,800 that were initiated by the private market). One of the main reasons for the decline in state-initiated housing projects was the government's neoliberal decision to reduce its direct involvement in the construction of new homes, and to allow the private market to take control²³⁵.

Even though the program was first initiated during the 1990s, it was significantly reformed in 2015, when the Minister of Finance, Moshe Kachlon, revised and expanded it. This reform was

²³² Kooperak N. (2018, December 25). General overview of the Price for the New Homeowner, updated version. The Knesset Center for Research and Information. [https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/f3deb948-7403-e911-80e7-00155d0aeea3_11_13563.pdf](https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/f3deb948-7403-e911-80e7-00155d0aeea3/2_f3deb948-7403-e911-80e7-00155d0aeea3_11_13563.pdf)

²³³ Oltzvar A. (2004, March 11). General review about: the development of the construction field between 1990-2003. The Knesset Center for Research and Information. [https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/d4f74620-9732-e811-80de-00155d0a0235_11_9733.pdf](https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/d4f74620-9732-e811-80de-00155d0a0235/2_d4f74620-9732-e811-80de-00155d0a0235_11_9733.pdf)

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

primarily the result of the 2011 Israeli Social Justice Protests, which focused on the high price of housing and living in Israel. The protests that were led by the Jewish middle class, were the main and first large-scale protests against the Neoliberal socio-economic approach that was adopted in Israel since 1985 (Ram and Filc, 2013). Kachlon, who was elected under the agenda of providing affordable housing solutions to young families and non-homeowners, took upon himself to upgrade the government program and make it more accessible especially for married couples and singles above the age of 35 who did not own an apartment in the prior five years period²³⁶. The revised program, which was reinitiated in June 2015 also came as a response to the increased prices in real estate and housing in the prior decade²³⁷.

One of the downsides of the program is that most of the people are hoping to get an apartment in the central cities, or adjacent to Tel Aviv-Jaffa, however, most of the units are offered in the periphery. This situation has led to a lottery process, as the demand overcomes the supply. Based on data from the end of 2018, the state has invested more than 5.5 billion ILS in the program.

As part of the program, 362 apartments are supposed to be available for eligible candidates to apply for in Tel Aviv-Jaffa, all located in the urban renewal project, Maccabi Jaffa, in Jaffa²³⁸. The first lottery took place in 2019 and included 199 apartments out of 527 apartments that were built as part of phase one of the project²³⁹. As expected, the apartments were in a high demand, with about 8000 households competing for the 199 units; 85 of these apartments were

²³⁶ Price for the New Homeowner. Globes.

https://www.globes.co.il/news/%D7%9E%D7%97%D7%99%D7%A8_%D7%9C%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%AA%D7%9B%D7%9F.tag

²³⁷ Kooperak N. (2018, December 25). General overview of the Price for the New Homeowner, updated version. The Knesset Center for Research and Information. https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/f3deb948-7403-e911-80e7-00155d0aeea3/2_f3deb948-7403-e911-80e7-00155d0aeea3_11_13563.pdf

²³⁸ A map of affordable housing in Israel. Ministry of Construction and Housing of Israel. Accessed on August 2nd 2021.

<https://moch.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=40c996fd924c46f6815e77a9eef81362>

²³⁹ Additional information on Berner Complex. Price for the New Homeowner. Ministry of Construction and Housing of Israel. Accessed on August 2nd 2021. <https://www.dira.moch.gov.il/51598/1131/ProjectInfo>

dedicated for residents of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa (all the city not only for Jaffa residents)²⁴⁰. In the second phase of the project, additional 163 units out of 340 units will be available for the program; however, it is not clear what percentage of these units would be dedicated for residents of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, and whether some will be dedicated only to Jaffa's residents²⁴¹. The apartments that were sold were offered at a discount price as part of the program; for example, a 4-bedroom apartment was sold at 1.9 million ILS, in comparison to its market rate of 2.5 million ILS²⁴². Even though this program is successful in that it increases the housing stock and appeals to many middle class household who do not own a home, the availability of apartments, specifically in Tel Aviv-Jaffa is very limited, and most of the people who are in need for an affordable unit must compete for the limited supply.

²⁴⁰ Kastel N. (2019). The results of the New Price for the Homeowner are finally in Tel Aviv. Hon. <https://www.hon.co.il/%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%A6%D7%90%D7%95%D7%AA-%D7%9E%D7%97%D7%99%D7%A8-%D7%9C%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%AA%D7%9B%D7%9F-%D7%A1%D7%95%D7%A3-%D7%A1%D7%95%D7%A3-%D7%91%D7%AA%D7%9C-%D7%90%D7%91%D7%99%D7%91/>

²⁴¹ Additional information on Berner Complex. Price for the New Homeowner. Ministry of Construction and Housing of Israel. Accessed on August 2nd 2021. <https://www.dira.moch.gov.il/51598/1131/ProjectInfo>

²⁴² Price for the New Homeowner. Maazan. <http://tradeit.bizportal.co.il/mashkanta/mechir-lamishtaken-tel-aviv-yafo/>

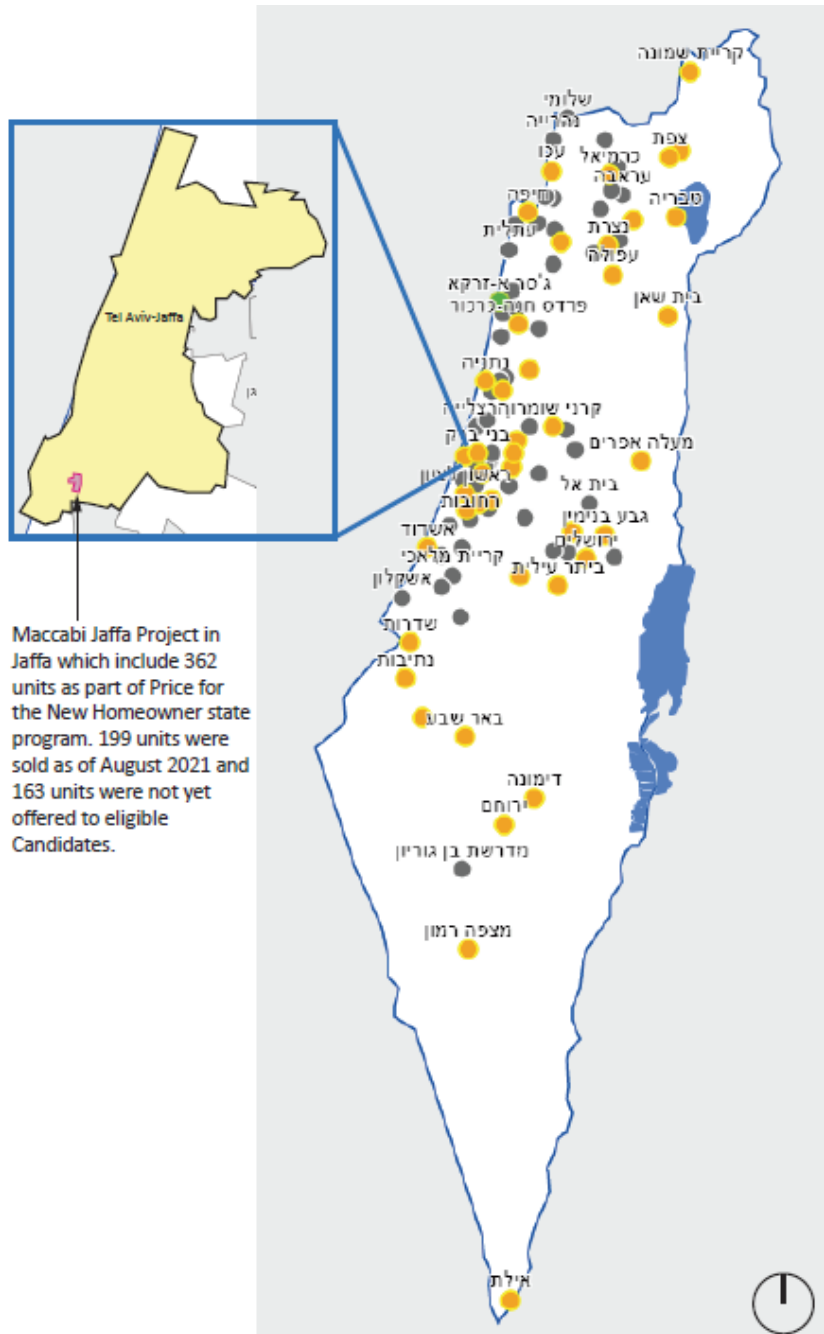


Figure 52: Diagram shows where Price for The New Homeowner Program is offered in Israel. Green circle represents locations where current lotteries are taking place (as of August 2021); Orange circles represent locations where future lotteries will take place; gray circles represent locations where lotteries were already performed. The map shows that in Tel Aviv-Jaffa there is only one project as part of the program, which is in Jaffa. Ministry of Construction and Housing of Israel. Accessed on August 2nd 2021.

<https://moch.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=40c996fd924c46f6815e77a9eef81362>

An Apartment for Rent

From 2007 the state has expanded its investment in long term rental programs on state owned properties around the country²⁴³. In June 2013, the government decided to develop a policy plan for the development of apartment for long term rents on state-owned land²⁴⁴, and following this decision in October 2013 the state established a state company for such purpose which was named An Apartment for Rent²⁴⁵. Since the establishment of the company, 9000 units have been built throughout Israel offering long-term rent of 20 years, some prices that are 20% lower than the market rate. The company works in several ways to increase the number of apartments for long term rentals in Israel. First it identifies state-owned land and works with local municipalities to prepare specific plans for them so that the state could develop housing within them. After the specific plans are prepared, the state publishes a public bid for the land, and invites private developers to make offers. The developer with the lowest bid, who meets all standards of the state and is capable of developing units according to the company's requirements, is chosen for the project. The developer commits to providing apartments for long term rentals with a portion of the units being offered at affordable rates that are 20% lower than the local market rate. As the state in this process sells the state-owned land to the developer, after the 20 years commitment to provide long-term rent, the developers are free to do as they wish with the units. During the 20-year commitment period, state representatives are assigned to the project to ensure that rent is not increasing, and that the developer is performing according to the agreement. To be eligible for reduced-price, long-term rental units, candidates must meet the same standards that are required for the state program Price for the New

²⁴³ The housing crisis. Special report, 2015. The State Comptroller of Israel
https://www.mevaker.gov.il/he/Reports/Report_279/f43ab2c3-db98-447c-8e49-8b3977bc660d/003-diur-1-new.pdf?AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Government decisions with regards to units for rent. Renten.

<https://www.aprent.co.il/%D7%90%D7%95%D7%93%D7%95%D7%AA/%D7%94%D7%97%D7%9C%D7%98%D7%95%D7%AA-%D7%9E%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%9C%D7%94/>

Homeowner. Thus, in order to be eligible, the main criterion is to be defined as not a homeowner.

In addition to the development of long-term rental units, the company An Apartment for Rent works to increase the housing stock in Israel specifically for minority and specific communities. The company promotes residential projects on privately owned land in order to increase the housing stock, specifically in municipalities that are dominated by minority groups²⁴⁶. The company works together with municipalities and provides financial assistance for the development of housing. In addition, the company develops dorms for students at affordable prices all over the country in proximity to the main campuses. It works together with local municipalities and the academic institutions to develop and operate the dorms for 25 years²⁴⁷. Lastly, the company works to convert state-owned land that is dedicated to public use to land that could be used for the development of affordable long-term rental housing.

In Jaffa, the company works on developing long term rental units in several areas that are going through urban renewal such as Maccabi Jaffa, and in Mevohot Jaffa. The project in Mevohot Jaffa, 'The Gadna' includes 370 units for long term rental that are spread throughout six buildings that are nine story high and are expected to be populated during 2021. Twenty-five percent of the units, 92 units, are offered at reduced rent while the rest of the units are offered at market rates. Unlike other city and state projects that are focused on increasing the number of small units in the market, this project targets families as well as singles as it offers 2,3 and 4 rooms apartments. Following the guidelines of the program of the long-term rentals, the apartments in this project are rented for up to ten years where the renters can choose to

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

terminate the contract without penalty after every year²⁴⁸. An apartment with two rooms in the project was offered for rent during August 2021 for 4,740 ILS (~\$1,475), thus, an affordable unit was offered for approximately 20% less than this rate. Considering the fact that the monthly minimum wage in the country is 5,300 ILS, one can assume that a single resident that is earning minimum wage may still find this unit unaffordable²⁴⁹. Thus, the units do not specifically serve the low-income community of Jaffa, a large portion of which earn less than the minimum wage. With that said, the prices are following the patterns of the surroundings market and units are even offered at lower prices than other units in the area²⁵⁰.



Figure 53: A render of 'The Gadna' project in Mevohot Jaffa. *Source:* The Gadna Tel Aviv. Renten.

²⁴⁸ About the Project. Ashrtom residences for rent Tel Aviv. <http://ashrtom4rent.co.il/agadna/%d7%90%d7%95%d7%93%d7%95%d7%aa/>

²⁴⁹ Minimum wage calculator. Hilan. <https://www.hilan.co.il/%D7%9E%D7%A8%D7%9B%D7%96-%D7%99%D7%93%D7%A2/%D7%9E%D7%97%D7%A9%D7%91%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%9D/%D7%A9%D7%9B%D7%A8-%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%9E%D7%95%D7%9D/>

²⁵⁰ I compared unit prices in the area and concluded that prices were either equal or 10-15% lower or higher than the units that are offered as market rate in the project.

While this process seems to favor developers and privatizes state-owned land, which follows a neoliberal practice, it does benefit the general public by increasing the housing stock in Israel as well as by providing reduced price units in the market that can be sold specifically to local residents. The main issue with the program is that in gentrified areas such as Jaffa the real estate market is very hot, and the unit prices continue to escalate. Therefore, a price reduction of 20% from the market rate is not sufficient in creating attractive affordable housing solutions to middle-low class residents.

'Pinui Binui', Evacuation and Reconstruction projects

Pinui Binui is an urban renewal strategy in Israel that has been enacted since 1998. The policy allows the state and cities to define buildings/areas as potential areas for renewal, usually for the development of higher density housing and for the purpose of increasing the stock of housing in Israel and in specific jurisdictions. This is an evacuation and reconstruction program where developers can offer homeowners of a specific building that is located within the program area to demolish their existing building and build a new one instead. The policy was first initiated in 1965, inspired by American and European policies of urban renewal, in order to renovate housing blocks in neighborhoods that were built rapidly in the 1950s to accommodate the large number of Jewish immigrants that arrived at that time²⁵¹. It was later officially adopted as a state policy in 1998²⁵², which identified 122 areas in the state as eligible for the program. However, only one project was initiated by 2001 which took 14 years to execute, demonstrating the flaws of the policy as it was written at that time²⁵³. As the years passed, the policy was revised to encourage developers, cities and homeowners to utilize it. Originally the policy did not

²⁵¹ Nisan Y. (2019 January 19). Pinui Binui – The guide for 2021. Nadlan Center. <https://www.nadlancenter.co.il/article/565>

²⁵² What is Pinui Binui. Urban Renewal Corporation. <http://www.en.pinuibinui.org.il/html5/?id=15452&did=15336&G=15438&&SM=15452>

²⁵³ Nisan Y. (2019 January 19). Pinui Binui – The guide for 2021. Nadlan Center. <https://www.nadlancenter.co.il/article/565>

require the consent of the building residents in order to demolish and rebuild their residences, nor it guaranteed the residents an apartment in the newly built structure. Instead, it provided the displaced residents with cash for their trouble and home²⁵⁴. In 1996 a government committee was established to revise the policy, and this resulted in the official adaptation of the policy by the state. In 2006, a law was passed which clearly defines that the developer is responsible for finding suitable accommodations for the building's residents while the project is under construction, or alternatively the developer is required to negotiate a selling price for the units with the building owners²⁵⁵. An additional provision of the law requires the consent of only 80% of the residents to move forward with a project, rather than 100%, and the residents who oppose the project can be sued by the residents who support the project for losses²⁵⁶. Until this provision was added, a consensus of all building owners must have been reached before a project could move forward; however, such limitation restricted a lot of projects from being executed; it was enough that one apartment owner out of 20 owners for example, rejected the project for it to take place. While the 80% restriction that is imposed by the law violates the rights of the opposing owners to choose what would be the fate of their own property, it not only benefits most of the residents of the building, but also adds units to the limited housing stock in the country.

In addition, for a property to be designated by the Ministry of Construction and Housing of Israel as part of the project, the project requires the approval of both the city and the county committees. Developers are required to develop the new structure in accordance with the guidelines of the renewal plans and the latest zoning and municipal codes. This guarantees that the project will contribute to the development of the urban fabric in accordance with the city's

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Pinui-Binui Law 2006. State of Israel.

latest plans and that the buildings will be up to date with any building safety requirements. Developers are also required to provide homeowners with an apartment within the new building (unless selling of the unit is negotiated and accepted by all parties) that is either equal to the one they had in terms of size and location or provide a bigger and better located apartment within the new building. While the new building is under construction, it is the responsibility of the developer to provide the homeowners an alternative housing solution until their new apartment is ready. The building must be built in modern standards, include modern infrastructure, a secured room in each unit²⁵⁷, private parking and bicycle parking, storage room and storage spaces, as well as an elevator²⁵⁸. Developers are incentivized to invest in such projects as they receive building rights to build additional floor area which they can then sell or rent for profit in the free market. Such incentive is valuable to developers specifically in Tel Aviv-Jaffa, where the value of each square meter of a market rate unit is very high²⁵⁹. In addition, developers receive tax incentives to further encourage them to develop Pinui-Binui projects.²⁶⁰

There are two ways to initiate a Pinui-Binui project. The first is when the state identifies an area as eligible for the program and gives the city the responsibility of promoting and developing the program within its jurisdiction. This requires the city to develop a specific plan for the eligible area and to prepare the infrastructure in the area to accommodate for the increased density, with the state funds it receives from the program²⁶¹. Building owners and developers can then apply for the program for the specific eligible buildings that are within the designated area. The

²⁵⁷ Secured room is a structurally reinforced room that act as a bomb shelter and is required to be built in Israel in each apartment or house by law.

²⁵⁸ What is Pinui Binui. Urban Renewal Corporation.

http://www.en.pinuibinui.org.il/html5/?_id=15452&did=15336&G=15438&&SM=15452

²⁵⁹ Table 2.2: Average prices of units. January 2021. Israel Central Bureau of Statistics

https://www.cbs.gov.il/he/publications/madad/doclib/2021/price03aa/aa2_2_h.pdf

²⁶⁰ Pinui Binui. Globes.

https://www.globes.co.il/news/%D7%A4%D7%99%D7%A0%D7%95%D7%99_%D7%91%D7%99%D7%A0%D7%95%D7%99.tag

²⁶¹ Nisan Y. (2019 January 19). Pinui Binui – The guide for 2021. Nadlan Center. <https://www.nadlancenter.co.il/article/565>

second route is when a private developer or building owners decide that they would like their building to participate in the state program. In such case, the developer asks the state to add the area to the program and is responsible for the costs of the specific plan that must be developed²⁶². However, through this route, since the developer pays for the development of the specific plan, the cost of the land, as well as various taxes, such as purchasing tax, are waived. This could encourage developers to pursue potential projects that are not included within areas that the state has designated as part of the program, especially in areas such as Tel Aviv-Jaffa where the land value is very high. As the projects of Piniu-Binui are usually associated with areas where renewal plans apply, it makes such projects very attractive, as the residents know that the neighborhood itself is being developed and invested by the city. The state provided suggested guidelines for homeowners to follow when communicating with developers throughout the initial phases before applying for the program and starting the application process under the program²⁶³. Such guidelines were issued in order to protect homeowners' rights and include a specific recommendation for homeowners to organize as a group before the process starts in order to achieve consensus.

According to data from 2019, the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa approved 94 Pinui-Binui projects, which situates it in the first place in the state in terms of project numbers²⁶⁴. The city's development company, Ezra and Bitzaron, promotes Pinui-Binui projects and assists residents throughout the process. After residents organize and decide that they would like to pursue a Pinui-Binui project, the company helps residents to develop a specific plan according to their needs and the needs of the community around. The company provides consultation throughout the whole process and helps residents to prepare prior to signing with the developer. The company has

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

developed a nine-tier step by step process to exemplify to residents all the necessary steps to execute the projects²⁶⁵. Through these steps the company provides legal, economic design and planning assistance to the residents. The company publishes a public bid for the specific projects for developers to apply, and such bid is being reviewed both by the city and the residents of the building, to guarantee that their voices and opinions are heard. Once a developer is selected, Ezra and Bitzaron helps with the legal documents and guarantees that all the project's requirements and promises to the residents are kept and are included in the final agreements. This process and commitment of the city points to the priority the city gives to the program, as a way to increase the housing stock in the city and in renewing areas of the city that are targets for urban renewal. Further, Pinui-Binui projects that are promoted and developed by Ezra and Bitzaron are in areas where the market is not yet attractive enough for developers and where new renewal plans by the city are taking place²⁶⁶. Such targeting helps to develop weaker areas where additional units can attract new residents, while providing improved housing solutions to the local residents.

Although Pinui-Binui projects generally work for the favor of the residents, the situation is trickier if the residents are protected renters and or non-homeowners, as the state/city can find a way to disqualify such residents from their rights for a unit (as protected renters) in the new development, such as defining them as intruders.

In Jaffa there are several Pinui-Binui projects that are taking place, most of them are in the south and east neighborhoods of the city, such as Jaffa A, C and D. These neighborhoods are characterized with low-income households primarily from the Jewish community and consist

²⁶⁵ https://www.e-b.co.il/project_category/%d7%a9%d7%9c%d7%91-%d7%90%d7%97%d7%a8-%d7%a9%d7%9c%d7%91-evacuation-of-construction/

²⁶⁶ Tsion H. (2021, January 27). Face lift to Kfar Shalem and Jaffa C: 400 units for Pinui-Binui. Ynet. <https://www.ynet.co.il/economy/article/B1U4mJgxu>

of structures that were built during the early days of the state of Israel, or prior to its establishment. The Pinui-Binui projects are initiated both by the city and by private developers. While there are several projects that were approved in the past years, I will only focus on a few which exemplify the approach of the city to development within Jaffa. In 2020 the first project of Pinui-Binui in Jaffa D was approved by the city and includes 800 units, which will add almost 600 units to the designated project area²⁶⁷. The project, which was in planning for eight years, includes 12 buildings that are 9-29 story high and aligns with the renewal plans for the area²⁶⁸. It is located along Jerusalem Boulevard and therefore benefits from its close proximity to the new light rail system. Only 50 units are dedicated for affordable housing and will be designated as units for long-term rent, and 270 units are designated as small units (~65 meters which can usually accommodate two-bedrooms)²⁶⁹. Small units are considered an important component of new developments by the city as they provide housing solutions to young families in an area, a population that the city targets. As mentioned by the developer in an article about the project, the project specifically targets young couples who cannot afford to purchase an apartment in the center of Tel Aviv-Jaffa²⁷⁰. Such a statement points to the gentrification process that the southern and eastern neighborhoods of Jaffa that are targeted by the city with renewal plans, are about to experience due to the increased construction of units that are affordable to the Jewish middle class. The agreement between the developer and the residents provides each resident with a unit that is 40 square meters larger than their original one, and includes a balcony and an underground parking. In addition, the developer has committed to pay for the housing

²⁶⁷ Yekuthieli A. (2020, February 1) First Pinui-Binui plan was approved in Jaffa D; 800 units along Jerusalem Boulevard. Nadlan Center. <https://www.nadlancenter.co.il/article/2239>

²⁶⁸ Levy D. (2019, August 12). Jaffa is rising: Tel Aviv municipality approved Pinui-Binui in Jaffa D. Calcalist. https://www.calcalist.co.il/real_estate/articles/0,7340,L-3768079,00.html

²⁶⁹ Yekuthieli A. (2020, February 1) First Pinui-Binui plan was approved in Jaffa D; 800 units along Jerusalem Boulevard. Nadlan Center. <https://www.nadlancenter.co.il/article/2239>

²⁷⁰ S.B.A The Israeli Renewal Company Ltd. A giant Pinui-Binui project in Rubinstein area in Jaffa D is launching. The Marker. <https://www.themarker.com/labels/1.5933060>

maintenance expenses of each of the existing residents for the first ten years²⁷¹.

Another project in Jaffa C was published for public review in January 2021 and includes the development of 273 units²⁷². The project is developed by Ezra and Bitzaron and is expected to be published for a public bid after the public review process. The project includes six buildings where the first one will include 15 stories with 80 units which will provide new units for the current residents on the property. The additional five buildings will include seven stories and will include 50 units each. Out of the 273 units, 21 units will be dedicated for affordable housing.

While these two projects benefit the local residents and include agreements which improve the livelihood of the residents, they also attract middle class residents to these low-income neighborhoods, which may escalate the gentrification process in Jaffa and will bring gentrification to the south and east neighborhoods of the district.

The local community of Jaffa that is not part of the Pinui-Binui project is not offered housing solutions within the project, except for the minimal number of affordable housing units that are included within them, which they can apply for as residents of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa (however, they are not guaranteed to win in the competitive lottery process). The city desires to improve the area and introduce young middle-class residents to it, is once again exemplified by its approval of Pinui-Binui projects in the southern and eastern neighborhoods of Jaffa. The new infrastructure and development of public amenities that are done by the city as part of these projects will benefit the local residents that are part of the projects but will also increase the land value in the area and will prevent low-income population from purchasing or even renting units

²⁷¹ Levy D. (2019, August 12). Jaffa is rising: Tel Aviv municipality approved Pinui-Binui in Jaffa D. Calcalist. https://www.calcalist.co.il/real_estate/articles/0,7340,L-3768079,00.html

²⁷² Tsion H. (2021, January 27). Face lift to Kfar Shalem and Jaffa C: 400 units for Pinui-Binui. Ynet. <https://www.ynet.co.il/economy/article/B1U4mJgxu>

in these once affordable neighborhoods.



Figure 54: Render of the proposed Pinui-Binui project in Jaffa D. [Source](#): Yekuthieli A. (2020, February 1) First Pinui-Binui plan was approved in Jaffa D; 800 units along Jerusalem Boulevard. Nadlan Center.



Figure 55: Proposed and existing structures in Pinui-Binui project in Jaffa C. Render by EVOLVE MEDIA; Image by Ezra and Bitzaron. [Source](#): Tsion H. (2021, January 27). Face lift to Kfar Shalem and Jaffa C: 400 units for Pinui-Binui. Ynet.

National Outline Plan (NOP) #38 (TAMA #38)

The main purpose of NOP #38, which was launched in 2005, is to seismically reinforce buildings that received building permits prior to 1980 against earthquakes²⁷³. The plan incentivizes developers and building owners to apply such structural reinforcements by providing additional building rights that increase the existing floor area ratio of the building for the purpose of adding residential units or expanding existing ones, as well as by providing expedited approval process for construction²⁷⁴. Since the Israeli Standard for Earthquake-Resistant Construction was officially adopted in 1980, any structure that was built prior to that year does not meet the seismic standards that the law requires. NOP #38 was initiated to encourage building owners and developers to bring old structures to become up to date with the requirements of the law²⁷⁵. Developers and building owners can choose to either renovate the current structures or, under NOP #38/2 which was enacted in 2010, to demolish and build a new structure on the property that will include additional floors (up to two stories) and/or larger units²⁷⁶. Therefore, the plan helps in increasing the housing supply in the state, which as previously mentioned, is one of the main state strategies for reducing the market rate housing prices and making houses more affordable in Israel. As part of NOP #38/2, developers are required to provide the building with an accessible elevator, most often larger units that are equipped with modern infrastructure, a secured room within each unit, underground parking, and of course seismic reinforcement²⁷⁷. To develop a project under NOP #38/1 (which includes the renovation of the existing building and the addition of up to two stories) developers are required to get a consent from 67% of the building owners, while for NOP #38/2 (which

²⁷³ NOP #38 – Building reinforcement against earthquake. 2020, August 11. Planning Administration.

https://www.gov.il/he/Departments/General/tama_38

²⁷⁴ NOP #38. National Planning institution. December 2016.

https://www.gov.il/BlobFolder/generalpage/tama_38/he/National_planning_institutions_tama38_2016.pdf

²⁷⁵ TAMA 38 via Demolition & Construction. Urban Renewal Corporation.

http://www.en.pinuibinui.org.il/html5/?_id=15451&did=15336&G=15438&SM=15451

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ TAMA 38 via Demolition & Construction. Urban Renewal Corporation.

http://www.en.pinuibinui.org.il/html5/?_id=15451&did=15336&G=15438&SM=15451

includes the demolition and reconstruction of a new building) developers require to receive consent from 80% of the building owners in order to start the application process²⁷⁸. Developers are also required to guarantee that the process will not impose costs on the homeowners (i.e., the developer is responsible to find suitable accommodations for the residents while the building is being renovated or rebuilt as it is required under Pinui-Binui).

One of the main issues of NOP #38 is that the structural reinforcements that are required are expensive and usually require building owners and developers to invest a large amount of money, but sometimes the incentives they receive are not attractive enough and are not worth the investment. Another issue is that in order to start the application process for the program, 80% of the building owners must agree to participate, and such high consensus may be hard to achieve where there are large number of homeowners in a building. Even though the homeowners are offered larger and renovated units, some still oppose the renovation or the reconstruction of the building for various reasons; for example, an older person who owns a unit in a building that is candidate for NOP #38, may oppose the renovation as it will require them to relocate for a few months or even years. Nevertheless, although the requirement to reach consensus among homeowners before starting the renovation or reconstruction process is important to make sure that all the needs and desires of the building owners are met, it also prevents the construction of additional building units in the city which are in high demand.

There are currently approximately 25 projects, either completed or in planning phases, that utilize the incentives under NOP #38 in Jaffa. The projects are mainly located in the south and north neighborhoods of Jaffa in areas that are targeted by the city for urban renewal, such as

²⁷⁸ Nisan Y. (2019 January 19). Pinui Binui – The guide for 2021. Nadlan Center. <https://www.nadlancenter.co.il/article/565>

Jaffa A, Jaffa C and Jaffa D, as well as in neighborhoods who have already experienced new urban development such as Jaffa North²⁷⁹.

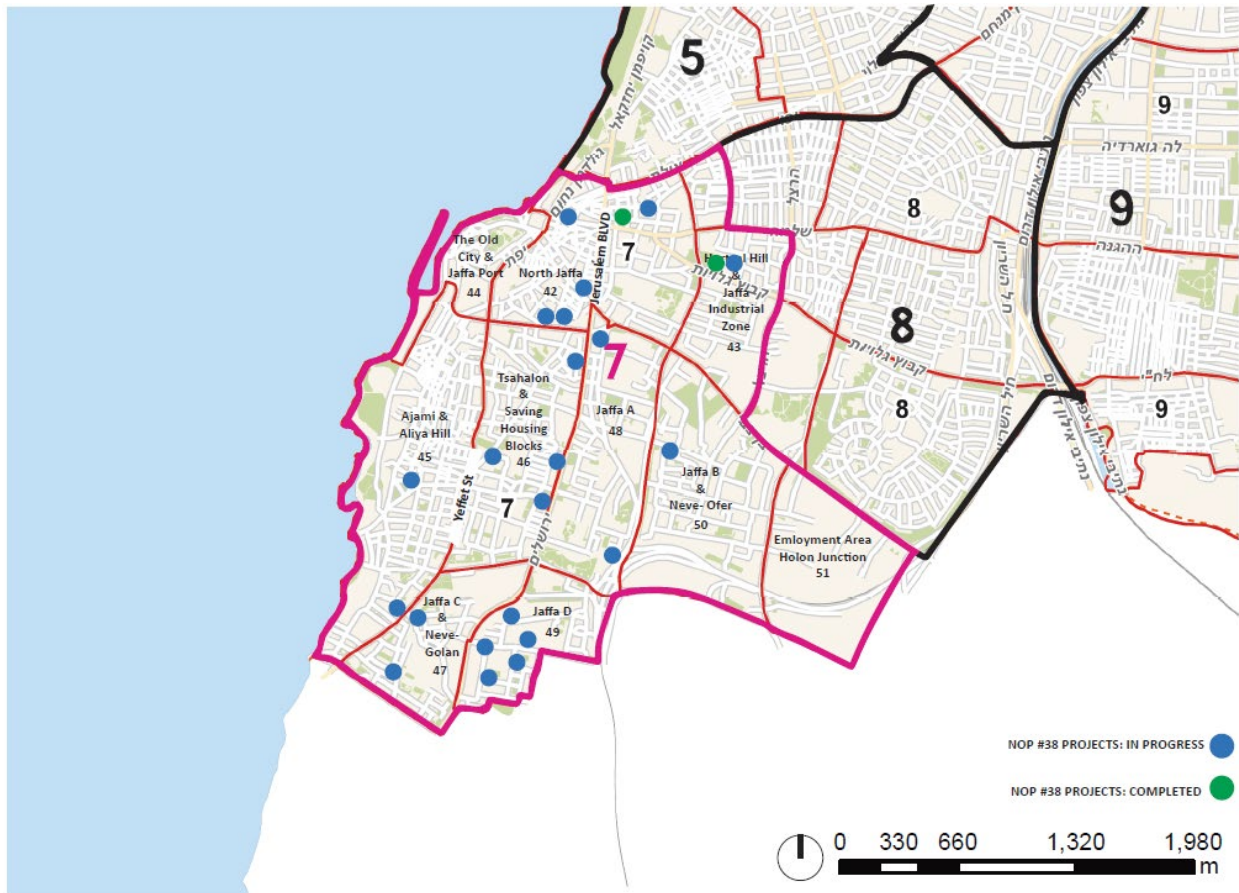


Figure 56: Map that illustrates the current projects, in progress and completed under Outline Plan #38 in Jaffa as of August 2021. Map by the author. [Data source](#): A map of NOP #38 projects. NOP 38 and Urban Renewal.

The city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa adopted NOP #38 to the various areas of the city, either fully or partially based on the existing urban renewal plans that apply to each area. In Jaffa, the areas of Jaffa A, C and D, which are the southern neighborhoods and are part of South Jaffa Urban Renewal Plan, fully adopt the incentives that NOP #38 offers (see area number 12 in the NOP #38 areas map). This means that both renovation and redevelopment (demolition and

²⁷⁹ A map of NOP #38 projects. NOP 38 and Urban Renewal. <https://www.t-m-a38.co.il/Default.aspx?tabid=101>

rebuilding) of properties within these areas are allowed under the plan provisions. On the other hand, in the area where the Urban Renewal policy of Mevohot Jaffa applies, area number 6 on the map, renovation of buildings is allowed under the program; however, demolition and rebuilding is prohibited in residential buildings, and only one additional story is allowed to be built for structures that are currently not dedicated for residential uses. Such restriction is aligned with the renewal plan that applies to the area, as such plan aims to increase the number of residential units while creating a mixed-use urban fabric. Along the west neighborhoods of Jaffa, renovation and demolition and reconstruction are only allowed for properties where housing blocks are located (areas 13 and 14 on the map). These restrictions also align with the city's desire to keep the historical urban fabric of the area that includes structures that were built prior to 1948. In the Old City, the city does not allow for any incentives of NOP #38 to take place as it wants to keep the historic characteristics of the area (area 15 on the map). Thus, NOP #38 as adopted by the city for Jaffa, does allow for the increase of the number of units in the district, specifically in the southern neighborhoods that are targeted by the city with urban renewal plans that attempt to increase the residential units in the district.

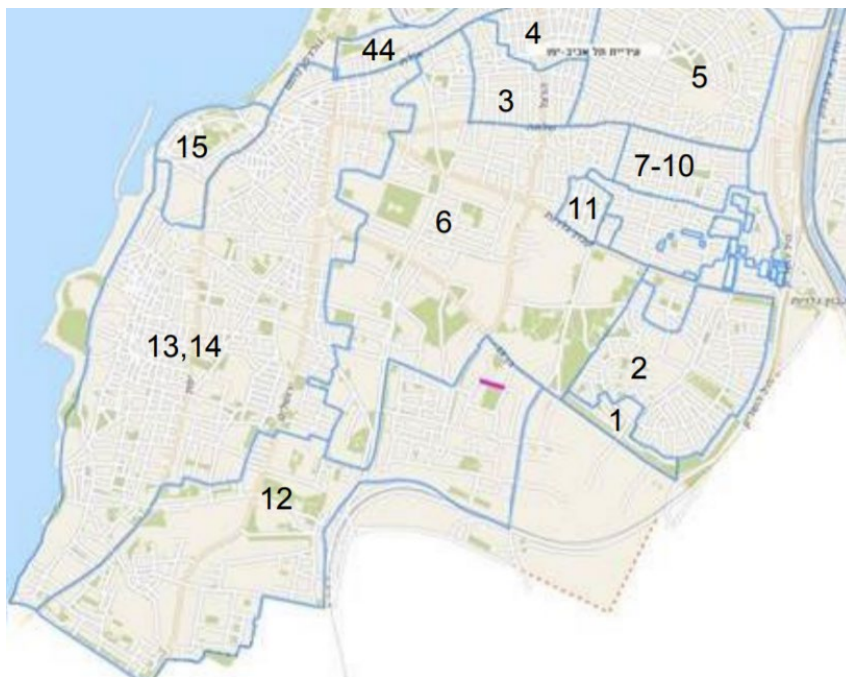


Figure 57: NOP #38 Areas Map – Jaffa. Jaffa and the rest of the city are divided into areas where Outline Plan #38 applies either fully or partially. In some areas the plan does not apply as other local urban renewal plans overrule it. Source: Policy for requesting building permits for NOP #38 revision 3a. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, 2020 April 22.

Twelve percent of the projects under NOP #38 that were approved are in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. While the renewal plans in Jaffa C and D, allow for the construction of new units under the outline plan, they encourage developers and property owners to utilize ‘Pinui-Binui’ over NOP #38, as this program requires developers to build according to the guidelines of the renewals plans in the area and usually allows for the construction of more units than those permitted under NOP #38²⁸⁰. Building according to the renewal plan guarantees that the buildings will be designed according to the latest building code standards and will be incorporated within the urban fabric that the renewal plan aims to achieve. On the contrary, projects under NOP #38, although add units to an area, are limited to the addition of two stories and do not necessarily align with the renewal plans that apply to certain area. Such projects add on average no more than 7 units to an apartment building, while Pinui-Binui projects may add a much larger number based on the new zoning that the renewal plans provide²⁸¹. Although projects that are built under NOP #38 receive an administrative expedited process for permits, they still take 37 months on average from the moment the developer applies for the program until the residents occupy the renovated or new building²⁸². This is higher than the average time that it took in Israel to build a new apartment in 2020 which was 30.9 months²⁸³.

To conclude, while NOP #38 improves existing units and adds units into the highly desirable market of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, the program does not necessarily provide affordable units to low-

280

<https://tama38.madlan.co.il/location/%D7%AA%D7%9C%20%D7%90%D7%91%D7%99%D7%91%20%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95>

281 Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Madlan.

<https://tama38.madlan.co.il/location/%D7%AA%D7%9C%20%D7%90%D7%91%D7%99%D7%91%20%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95>

282 Ibid.

283 Mirovsky A. (2020, October 6). New statistics: construction time for unit reached new record and stands almost at 31 months.

Globes. <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1001344415>

income residents. Moreover, since the program is encouraged by the city to be used in the south districts such as Jaffa, it welcomes new residents that can afford purchasing the new apartments in the renovated or newly constructed buildings. This intensifies the gentrification process in these districts which already suffers from lack of affordable housing solutions. Thus, the program generates losers and winners: the homeowners of the renovated buildings benefit from upgraded units, new affluent residents benefit from new units in reasonable prices for the middle and upper class in gentrified districts, while residents of the districts that are not part of the project or rent a unit in low-prices in the area are left without adequate affordable housing solutions.

City Initiatives

Affordable Housing Projects in Tel Aviv-Jaffa for renters

In the past few years, following its City Vision document, the City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, has been working on developing affordable housing projects around the city. Since 2014, nine projects have been initiated throughout the city, and the first one was built in the north part of Jaffa in 2014²⁸⁴. According to data from 2016, 10% of the city's budget is dedicated to promoting affordable housing projects, and until then 85 affordable housing units were built mostly in the southern districts of the city²⁸⁵. The projects target city residents in general, although some projects target specific age groups or families rather than singles. The Jaffa project, called Michelangelo Project, is located on Michelangelo Street at the northern border of Tsahalon neighborhood and Jaffa North. The project is within walking distance from the Flea Market, which is one of the hot spots in Jaffa for restaurants, nightlife and shopping. It is also in close proximity to Jerusalem Boulevard where the new light rail will pass in the near future. The area

²⁸⁴ Projects open for lottery 2020-2021. Ezra and Bitzaron. <https://www.e-b.co.il/%d7%93%d7%99%d7%95%d7%a8-%d7%91%d7%a8-%d7%94%d7%a9%d7%92%d7%94/>

²⁸⁵ Bousso N. (2016, August 9)The city of Tel Aviv build an affordable housing project for the Arab community of Jaffa. The Marker. <https://www.themarker.com/realestate/1.3033292>

itself has seen a lot of new development in the form of housing complexes and is considered highly gentrified. The project was a public-private venture, initiated by the city and its development company, Ezra and Bitzaron, and developed and built by a private company. Out of the 42 units, 5 units with 3 rooms (2 bedrooms and a living room) were offered in 2014 as affordable housing units to the residents of Tel Aviv-Jaffa²⁸⁶. The rent agreement was offered for a maximum of 5 years, and the second round of applications was initiated in 2019. Although this is one of the first projects that the city initiated, it is the only one currently located in Jaffa, leaving Jaffa with only five affordable housing units within the whole district. Even though the city initiated several large-scale renewal projects in Jaffa such as Maccabi Jaffa and other Pinui-Binui projects, none of these projects include affordable housing units for rent as part of a city program.

The affordable housing projects throughout the city also target a very specific population in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. For example, the latest project that was open for eligible candidates in March 2021, offered 48 units of 2.5 rooms (1.5 bedrooms and one living room) in a new luxury tower in the heart of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Each unit was offered for a monthly rate of 5,887 ILS, which is lower than the market rate that is approximately 7000 ILS²⁸⁷. Nevertheless, the reduced price is still considered high, as the median household monthly income in Israel in 2020 was 7,632 ILS, and the median monthly income per person was 3,410 ILS²⁸⁸. Although the residents of Tel Aviv-Jaffa are from a higher socio-economic status, as mentioned previously, the southern districts of the city, which include Jaffa, are of much lower socio-economic status than the northern

²⁸⁶ Michelangelo Project. Ezra and Bitzaron. <https://www.eb.co.il/%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%99%D7%A7%D7%98%D7%99%D7%9D/%d7%a4%d7%a8%d7%95%d7%99%d7%a7%d7%98-%d7%9e%d7%99%d7%9b%d7%9c%d7%90%d7%a0%d7%92%d7%9c%d7%95/>

²⁸⁷ Tsion H. (2021, February 8). Rental units for eligible candidates in The Young Towers: 5,800 ILS in a month for 2.5 rooms. Ynet. <https://www.ynet.co.il/economy/article/HkrpNKRI00>

²⁸⁸ Andenblad M., Heler O. Caradi L., and Kasir N. (2019). Quality of life, poverty and income inequality 2018-2019 and predictions for 2020. Bituah Leumi https://www.btl.gov.il/Publications/oni_report/Documents/oni2019.pdf

districts, and thus, such high rent is not attractive not accessible and is not considered affordable to most of the southern district residents.

In 2016 the city signed a public-private venture to develop 28 affordable housing units in Jaffa, specifically for the Arab population of Jaffa²⁸⁹. The project which includes 5-stories and a total of 32 units, will be located on Michelangelo Street as well, a few buildings apart from the first affordable housing project of the city. However, unlike the first project which only offered 10% of affordable housing units for rent, in this project 90% of the units are offered as affordable units for sale. The units that are offered are small units of 65 square meters, with two-bedrooms, and are offered in reduced prices of 1,475,102 ILS to 2,270,400 ILS²⁹⁰. It is important to note that when the program was first announced in 2016, the prices that were released to the public stood between 730,000-1,000,000 ILS, which are much lower than the final prices that are offered by the city²⁹¹. The program favors young families with a steady job from the Arab community of Jaffa. To be eligible for the program, Arab residents of Jaffa must show that they do not own a house or do not own more than 1/3 of a house, and they must have a certificate from the Ministry of Construction and Housing of Israel that they are eligible for the Price for the New Homeowner program that the state offers. In addition, one of the adult members of the household must be an Israeli citizen, who is Arab, either Muslim or Christian, and has been living in Jaffa for at least three years or has lived in Jaffa for at least four years in the prior ten years²⁹². To apply for the program the household must have a child younger than 18 years old, which makes the program attractive only to young families within the community. Another

²⁸⁹ Bouso N. (2016, August 9)The city of Tel Aviv build an affordable housing project for the Arab community of Jaffa. The Marker. <https://www.themarker.com/realestate/1.3033292>

²⁹⁰ Information and registration document for the lottery of affordable housing for sale in Michelangelo 15. April 2021. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

²⁹¹ Bouso N. (2016, August 9)The city of Tel Aviv build an affordable housing project for the Arab community of Jaffa. The Marker. <https://www.themarker.com/realestate/1.3033292>

²⁹² Ibid.

requirement of the program is a proof of eligible income. The city defines such income as the top tier of the 7th percentile in Israel which stands at 24,234 ILS a month per household. As long as the household has an income that is equal or lower than that in the last 36 months, the household is eligible to apply to the program. In addition, the household cannot have more than 600,000 ILS of savings and vehicle value combined. Lastly one of the household members is required to have proof of work for the past 24 months. Such a requirement excludes people who receive monthly financial aid from the state, and therefore excludes members of the Arab community who are not able to work due to disabilities. In fact, the program specifically indicates that people who receive financial income aid from the state, or have received such aid in the last three years, are not eligible for the program. While the project targets directly the Arab community of Jaffa, it continues the narrative that the city government promotes: The city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa is a space for young families with a secured income, to grow and build their households. The requirements for the program favor specific residents within the community and do not provide affordable housing solutions to elder members and people who cannot work due to disabilities. Although young families within the Arab community are in need of affordable housing solutions, it is important to note that they are not the only group which is in need, and therefore, limiting the units to only this group excludes additional members of the community which need affordable housing solutions. As previously mentioned, this affordable housing project faced legal challenges for being discriminatory to the Jewish residents of Jaffa, as the project supposedly discriminated against residents based on race.

To conclude, the city is starting to work towards affordable housing programs and even attempts to design such programs specifically targeting the vulnerable community of Jaffa. Nevertheless, the current housing projects are very minimal and are not accessible to other vulnerable communities in Jaffa, within the Arab community and outside of it, such as the Ethiopian community. It is important to mention that the city has just begun to work on its models for

affordable housing, and therefore, it should be assumed that in the next coming years more units will be built.



Figure 58: Images of the first Michelangelo Project in Jaffa. Five units are offered as affordable housing units for rent. [Source](#): About the Project Michelangelo Jaffa. Piedmont Enterprises



Figure 59: Render of Michelangelo 15 project. Affordable housing project for sale in Jaffa. [Source](#): Michelangelo 15 Sale. Ezra and Bitzaron

The Mishlama as a social agency rather than a redevelopment agency

The Mishlama of Jaffa was established in 1999 by the mayor, Ron Huldai, as an organizational agency of the city for Jaffa, and is located in the heart of Jaffa. The purpose of the agency is to rehabilitate and develop Jaffa's urban fabric and community 'to create affirmative action that will upgrade the services, the population and the quality of living in Jaffa' (Monterescu, 2007). To achieve this goal, The Mishlama promotes social, communal, educational as well as urban development projects in Jaffa. During the earlier years of the organization, it focused primarily on infrastructure projects throughout the districts and was also involved in the development of the tourist plan for Jaffa with the city and the Ministry of Tourism. However, in recent years the organization became much more focused on addressing issues of the community itself, providing access to public services and educating residents about their rights as residents of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, and their rights as homeowners or renters²⁹³. The Mishlama is also responsible for providing community services and organizing cultural and community events for the community of Jaffa. For example, the agency organizes events during Christian and Muslim holidays for the Arab residents of Jaffa.

In order to approach the diverse community of Jaffa, The Mishlama makes sure that their events or surveys or any other information it distributes to the community, are provided both in Hebrew and Arabic. To reach the Ethiopian community, the Mishlama uses WhatsApp text messages in Swahili, and shares it with leaders within the community which assist in distributing it to the rest of the community²⁹⁴. During COVID-19 The Mishlama developed a robust advocacy system that included educational campaigns to grow awareness about the virus among the various communities. To reach the Arab community, it approached leaders within the community and community organizations, distributed flyers in Arabic and wrote posts on

²⁹³ The information is based on an interview with a member of The Mishlama of Jaffa.

²⁹⁴ The information is based on an interview with a member of The Mishlama of Jaffa.

the Arab community's Facebook pages (Shohat-Radom and Paz-Pines, 2021). Similarly, to grow awareness among the Ethiopian community of Jaffa, The Mishlama reached out to the rabbi of the community, as well as to the organization Aviv HaTora (an organization that provides social assistance to the community) which helped in delivering information to the community (Shohat-Radom et al, 2021). The role of The Mishlama as a community agent is specifically important as other city agencies and outreach tools are less relevant to the community of Jaffa; tools such as Digitel which is one of the main online platforms the city has created to convey information and provide access to city data that is not being used as much by the community of Jaffa (Shohat-Radom et al, 2021). The name of The Mishlama uses the root of the word 'complete' in Hebrew (SHALEM), and as the first CEO of The Mishlama explained, one of the reasons this name was selected is because The Mishlama was created to complete Jaffa (Monterescu, 2007). Indeed, as its name indicates, The Mishlama, provides additional services to Jaffa that are tailored specifically to the community of Jaffa, and aims to 'complete' the service that the city provides to Jaffa by dedicating an on-ground agency that communicates directly with the residents.

The agency also played an important role in working with the city to find a solution for the burden put on local businesses because of the construction work on the new light rail in Jerusalem Boulevard. The light rail project that is led by the state passes through Jerusalem Boulevard and the construction work is expected to be completed by 2023. Since the work started, the boulevard has been closed to vehicular circulation which directly hurts the local businesses on this main commercial boulevard in Jaffa. Along with the limits on vehicular access to the boulevard, some of the sidewalks along the boulevard were also blocked, putting additional pressure on local businesses. Overall, during the construction time, which is still taking place, the boulevard became inaccessible and undesirable even for residents. It is also important to note that along Jerusalem boulevard the light rail system is above ground whereas in other parts of the city it is mostly underground. This fact highlights the attitude of the state to

the area of Jaffa; since the residents are low-income residents and minority groups, their objection to such disturbances along their main boulevard is less powerful than the objection that the city would have encountered if it had built an elevated section in richer parts of the city such as along Rothschild boulevard. The state did not compensate the local businesses who had to shut down as sales dropped due to the lack of accessibility and some businesses even converted their commercial spaces to illegal residential units to guarantee some income. While this action is illegal the city chose not to persecute it and to ignore the tenants' actions. In addition, in order to find solutions to the devastating situation of the local businesses, The Mishlama took several actions. First, an effort was made to decorate the chain link fence that encloses the construction area to make the area more appealing to visitors; unfortunately, such effort failed as the state objected to the decoration. To help draw customers back to the businesses on Jerusalem boulevard, The Mishlama led a project that provided 30% cash back to residents who buy from the local businesses through the virtual wallet up Colu; the project was a great success, however, it lasted only two months in 2019 due to its limited budget. To overcome the limited budget, The Mishlama worked with the city to declare Jerusalem Boulevard as a tax-free boulevard, which reduced the prices by 17%, and provided incentives to customers to shop there. This initiative was updated after a while based on business type and the discount ranged from 10%-17%. Overall, the efforts that were led by The Mishlama attempted to assist the local business and protect them from declaring bankruptcy. Nevertheless, if the city does not find a way to protect the local businesses in the long run, after the construction is over and when large chains begin entering the area, the local small business will probably disappear from the boulevard – similar to what happened to local vendors in the Flea Market.

To conclude, The Mishlama, which was once an agency that focused on the urban development of the district, is now primarily focused on the local community, and specifically on providing assistance to the vulnerable communities of Jaffa. The agency's efforts in reaching out to the

various communities and in initiating programs to help local businesses and local residents, points to the city's understanding that the community of Jaffa is unique and diverse and must be preserved. While the agency cannot prevent the gentrification process to occur, it does work together with the vulnerable communities to understand their needs and desires and to protect them as much as possible from displacement.

The House for Urban Renewal – City initiative

In 2005-2007, developers who recognized the increase in land value, the potential of real estate in Jaffa, and the large investment of the city in redeveloping Jaffa, started to approach residents and offer them unrealistic proposals for their properties which did not necessary meet with the new city outline plan for Jaffa or with the current development guidelines²⁹⁵; for example, developers approached homeowners and told them that if they agree to give them the rights to develop their property, they will give them a certain number of units for their one small apartment. Such statements were not aligned with the latest zoning and urban renewal plans for the area, and residents who signed the developers' proposals ended up losing their rights to their homes without receiving the promised compensation. Some developers took advantage of the language barrier of vulnerable communities, such as the Arab community and the Ethiopian Jewish community in Jaffa and presented them with contracts that favored the developers, and in some cases did not comply with city zoning ordinances²⁹⁶. Recognizing this situation, The Mishlama developed programs and tools for the residents of Jaffa to help them understand the urban changes and the specifics of the new outline plan that the city adopted for Jaffa. As part of the city efforts, The Mishlama developed explanatory programs for the residents of Jaffa about the city processes and renewal projects that the city is implementing in Jaffa, and which specifically relate to rezoning and housing redevelopment. The Mishlama hosted community

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

meetings where city officials presented the redevelopment plans and explained their impact on building rights and development within the various neighborhoods in Jaffa. In addition, the agency provided legal aid for the residents of Jaffa to understand and review contracts that were offered to them by developers, as well as provided them legal assistance in understanding their legal rights as homeowners, protected renters, public housing residents and market rate renters. This concept of providing tools and guidance to local residents was born in Jaffa from the need to help the residents navigate through the urban changes that Jaffa has been going through and to help the community members understand their rights as city residents.

At first, the programs and guidance that the city provided were not utilized by the residents of Jaffa, mostly due to lack of proper communication and publicity of the programs²⁹⁷. However, one specific program did stand out, which was a leadership course for residents' representatives. This program developed leaders within the community who grew to be prominent community representatives of the various neighborhoods in Jaffa and such representatives became the voice of the diverse communities in Jaffa, vocalizing their needs and concerns to The Mishlama and the city²⁹⁸. The aid that the Mishlama provided was first formed as various programs materialized into a physical space in the heart of Tel Aviv-Jaffa in 2015 and was followed by the construction of two additional physical centers. One of them opened in 2018 in Jaffa and is dedicated to serving its diverse community. This city center called "The House for Urban Renewal" in its official name, not only provides the residents of Jaffa with various legal and informative assistance, but also, acts as a social and political space for community organizations to gather, discuss and build coalitions. The space also provides information about social rights

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid

and other rights²⁹⁹. Although the concept was first initiated by the Mishlama of Jaffa, The House for Urban Renewal is operated and managed by Ezra and Bizron, the city housing company that is also responsible for the development and execution of city projects. In recent years the company became not only a development company for the city, but also the agency that is responsible for urban renewal projects in the city that specifically relate to housing, as well as the agency that is responsible for communicating and explaining such urban processes to the city residents³⁰⁰.

²⁹⁹ Description of the House for Urban Renewal. City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Pages/MainItemPage.aspx?WebID=3af57d92-807c-43c5-8d5f-6fd455eb2776&ListID=969f7de3-0ac9-4a30-88f0-2e1a7281f3d0&ItemId=10448>

³⁰⁰ Ezra and Bitzaron. Tel Aviv-Jaffa. <https://www.tel-aviv.gov.il/Residents/Assets/Pages/EzraVbitzaron.aspx>

Part V: Conclusion

In 1985 the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa began to pay attention to Jaffa after a long period of disinvestment that was driven by an ethnocentric attitude towards urban planning that included the discrimination of the Arab population of Jaffa. The attention translated, however, to a city-led gentrification characterized by neoliberal attitudes toward urban redevelopment projects with the goal of diversifying and reviving the low-income district, even if that meant compromising the housing and spaces for the vulnerable communities through displacement. This followed patterns of other city-led gentrification practices around the world as it was accompanied by policies that aimed to reduce social housing and increase private development (Uitermark and Loopmans, 2013). While in 2000 the city shifted its strategy to respond to the needs of its vulnerable population and committed to protect it from gentrification rather than generate gentrification, it intensified its investment in Jaffa and the execution of redevelopment projects without sufficient anti-displacement measures. It is only in the past 10 years, or since 2011, that the city has begun to develop urban renewal and redevelopment projects that attempt to minimize the displacement of vulnerable populations, and to provide space to lower income residents within them. Therefore, while the city invested in the redevelopment of Jaffa since 1985, it was only in 2011 that it started to invest in its low-income residents by incorporating measures to protect them from displacement. Thus, I argue that the disinvestment in Jaffa's vulnerable community has only recently been reduced, primarily due to the impact of the 2011 Israeli Social Justice Protest on housing policies and urban development in Israel and specifically in Tel Aviv-Jaffa.

Latest city efforts to provide affordable housing solutions specifically to the Arab community of Jaffa, as well as recent statements by the mayor of Tel Aviv-Jaffa about the lack of rationale in the need to increase Jewish percentages in Jaffa, point towards efforts to go away from the

ethnocratic approach to planning in the city, and specifically in Jaffa. But while such statements and efforts drift away from ethnocratic planning practices, the primary goal of the city to attract young middle-class population to the area does the exact opposite, as such population is primarily Jewish. Thus, as Yiftachel argues, ethnocracy continues to shape policy making in Israel and is still found in the core of city agendas and policies for urban development in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Thus, Tel Aviv-Jaffa continues to be part of the 'ethnocratic cities' of Israel, as the policies they enact primarily serve the goal of Judaization, through the expansion of the Jewish presence in a once dominant Arab city (Yiftachel et al., 2002).

The latest programs and plans that the city initiated in the past twenty years, and specifically in the past ten years as a reaction to the 2011 Israeli Social Justice Protests, exemplify that the city is taking a new approach with regards to providing housing solutions to the community and in engaging the community in participatory and transparent planning processes. The city initiated specific programs to protect the vulnerable populations of Jaffa from displacement mainly in the form of affordable housing development and through city programs that educated residents about their rights. The city and the state also incorporated to areas that are subject to urban renewal plans affordable housing units that are both for sale and rent and attempted to dedicate a portion of them specifically to the residents of Jaffa, therefore providing housing solutions to the local population to prevent their displacement. The city also developed one specific project as part of its affordable housing development program to the Arab community of Jaffa which attempts to address the community's housing crisis. However, this program is too small and targets a very specific population within the community, and therefore is not enough to prove that the city has been moving away from an ethnocratic approach to planning.

By increasing its efforts to conduct participatory planning in its renewal plans and redevelopment projects, the city worked to design the projects to the needs of the local residents, and attempted to increase the trust of vulnerable communities, specifically the Arab population,

in the municipality. As much as participatory planning can act as a tool to engage with the community, to better understand its needs, and to increase its trust in the authorities and design urban spaces and policies that address the community desire and needs – such process is meaningless if it is not translated into sufficient policies that include measures such as rent control, protection of existing areas from development, or provisions to include affordable housing both for renters and buyers. In the case of redevelopment in Jaffa, some projects such as Jaffa Slope Park that included a participatory planning process failed to incorporate such provisions, and therefore did not protect the local vulnerable population from the growing gentrification. However, some urban renewal projects, such as South Jaffa and Maccabi Jaffa, did adopt a similar strategy to the ‘cautious urban renewal’ strategy that was adopted in Berlin during the 1980s which utilized rent control and relied on strong tenant participation (Bader, Bialluch, 2009). In the case of Jaffa though, rent control was not used but rather affordable housing units for renters and homeowners were added to the urban renewal projects and state programs, which provide local homeowners with better housing conditions.

While city efforts to protect the local vulnerable community of Jaffa were incorporated into redevelopment and renewal projects in the past ten years, the city’s approach to planning is still driven by neoliberal and ethnocentric attitudes to planning which undermine its ability to provide sufficient protection to the vulnerable community of Jaffa from the gentrification process and from the displacement that accommodates it. The goal of the city to develop Jaffa and attract new residents overcome its goal to protect the local low-income and minorities communities of Jaffa. Urban renewal projects favor local homeowners as well as young middle-class incomers, while compromising renters, protected renters and low-income residents. While the state and city incorporate affordable housing programs such as Price for the New Homeowner and An Apartment for rent where some of the units are specifically dedicated to the community of Jaffa, the units are offered in reduced prices that are accessible primarily to middle class population,

and therefore encourage the entrance of such population to the area. The urban renewal increases the housing stock, but at the same time, the incoming population along with the new development alter the character of the neighborhood and the housing stock it provided, and units that were once affordable to low-income residents increase in value and are sold or rented for higher rates. The urban renewal plans spread the gentrification to the southern neighborhoods of Jaffa, and thus, low-income residents in these areas are subject to displacement.

The urban redevelopment and urban renewal plans in Jaffa increase the interest of developers in the area. Properties in Jaffa are thought more and more as assets and as investments rather than homes within a community. This shift in approach towards properties which resulted from the increased interest of developers in Jaffa and the increase of land values, drives homeowners to sell their properties or to give up to pressures from eager developers to develop their properties through Pinui-Binui or NOP #38 state programs. While homeowners gain profit out of such arrangements, in some cases they also lead to their displacement and to the change of the character of the neighborhood and the community. As the city encourages such renewal processes it also encourages the transformation of the community and of the residents of these neighborhoods. Therefore, the case of Jaffa demonstrates yet again the characteristics of regeneration or urban renewal/redevelopment projects which result in winners and losers, where the winners are middle class residents, newcomers and visitors, and the losers are low-income local residents whose desires for better housing, employment and services are not met (Robinson, 1989).

Thus, the city's contested goals limit its ability to provide adequate housing solutions to Jaffa's vulnerable population, and while efforts are being taken, they may not minimize the displacement of the vulnerable community of Jaffa. The city continues to stress that public housing is the solution to the most vulnerable population of Jaffa, however, this is something

that the state must provide, and that the city cannot do much about. Nevertheless, there are mechanisms such as rent control and an increase in the development of affordable housing which the city can take to minimize the impact of gentrification on the vulnerable community of Jaffa. However, if the city prioritizes the entrance of higher income residents to the area in order to gain revenues and transform the neighborhoods, this will limit its efforts to protect the vulnerable population of Jaffa.

Nevertheless, the analysis and review in this thesis concludes that the city is currently working on increasing its efforts to protect local residents. While its affordable housing offerings do not provide solutions to residents that are in need of public housing, its efforts provide some tools as well as affordable housing solutions to minority groups in Jaffa. The city has just begun to explore the construction of affordable housing, however, based on conversations with city officials it does seem as if the city government is committed to preserve the unique and diverse community of Jaffa, and therefore it could be assumed that the city would continue to increase and improve efforts to incorporate anti-displacement strategies within urban development in Jaffa.

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