TEL AVIV-JAFFA, ONE CITY, TWO WORLDS:

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE HISTORY, CULTURE, LANGUAGE,

IDENTITY, RACE, ECONOMY, AND HERITAGE OF A GLOBAL CENTRE.

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Abstract

This dissertation concentrates on one urban site, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, in Israel. The hyphen between the two names, Tel Aviv and Jaffa, refers to their separated pasts, presents, and maybe futures. In the past they were two cities. Tel Aviv, the younger city, was established in 1909, while Jaffa is thousands of years old. The focus of this dissertation is the last century. During this significant historical period, as modernity gave way to the contemporary period, the Tel Aviv suburb was built next to the old city of Jaffa, a small Jewish site that had grown over time to become the country's leading city. Each of these two cities was independent until 1950, when international and local circumstances led to their unification into one city, carrying both names: Tel Aviv-Jaffa, with a hyphen added between the two names. Drawing on archival documents, primary and secondary sources, participant observation in both parts of the city, and interviews, this dissertation charts the changing relations between these two sites.

An exploration of both cities jointly has been surprisingly rare. This dissertation analyses their relationship before unification, the events and developments that led to, and guided, their unification, and the contemporary situation. It concludes with the question whether it is better considered as one or two, as just moving from one side to the other often can seem as if one crosses from one world into another.

DEDICATION

This Dissertation is dedicated to my grandchildren.

Michal, Adi, Yael, and Yair.

All of them were born

during the years I was working on this dissertation.

Shoshana Elharar

Acknowledgments

I came from the other side of the ocean to pursue a doctoral degree in Canada. After a long break, I thought it was time to fulfill an ambition which was not possible to pursue during my earlier university studies, when as a young widow I had to work and support my kids. I was lucky to find myself in the special environment of York University, to study at and be immersed in the great atmosphere of its Humanities department. I can only express gratitude for this education, which enriched my life (and my mind) beyond measure. I truly appreciate the countless hours of teaching, learning, debating, guidance, and encouragement offered by so many people around me. This journey could never have been possible without the many individuals who supported me directly or indirectly. Many of them shaped my scholarly thoughts and behaviour, attitudes, and spirit. Many wonderful people directed me towards the completion of this research and were integral to all its stages. Without the generosity, help and guidance of the following people this dissertation could never be possible.

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1   Introduction: Background and Framework

"יש בעיה: מלבד תל אביב אין ממש ערים בישראל"

"There is a problem: actually, apart from Tel Aviv, there are no real cities in Israel"[1]

" תל אביב מתנהלת כמו מדינה בפני עצמה...היא לא חלק ממדינת ישראל-היא משהו נפרד לגמרי..." בהמשך הכתבה העיתונאי ליבסקר ארי מביא מעין סיכום ביניים ואומר: "ישראלים אוהבים לשנוא את תל אביב אך לא יכולים בלעדיה...ובסופו של דבר היא לעולם נשארת הקטר שמושך את המפעל הזה קדימה. הכלבים נובחים והעיר דוהרת". הובא על ידי ארי ליבסקר במוסף העיתון 'כלכליסט' ביום 30.1.2016.[2]

"Tel Aviv runs like a state within itself… It is not part of the State of Israel. It is something completely separated." Miki Zohar, January 2016

"Israelis love to hate Tel Aviv but cannot do without it… at the bottom line, it always remains the locomotive that pulls the whole enterprise forward," Ari Libsker, ibid.

This dissertation focusses on the cultural, economic, and urban history of the uniquely hyphenated city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa in Israel. Tel Aviv-Jaffa is an amalgamation of two distinct cities. In the past, each was a city of its own: the city of Jaffa was established long ago, and much later the city of Tel Aviv. In 1950, the two cities were unified to become one that carried both names: Tel Aviv-Jaffa, with each part seeming to retain its own distinct character. This dissertation examines each part's distinctive culture, architecture, language, identity, ethnicity, economy, and heritage. It traces their respective histories, continues with the reasons that led to their unification, after which it exposes how extreme the differences between the two joint parts of the city became after their unification. The research also identifies some of the elements that have prevented a genuine integration between the two.

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[1] Starkman, Rotem. (20.4.2018). An interview with Gye Shani by the newspaper *TheMarker*, Tel Aviv, Israel. (Hebrew). Unless otherwise indicated, all English translations in this dissertation are mine.

[2] The Hebrew article, dated 30.1.2016 and written by journalist Libsker Ari, at the '*Calcalist'* newspaper, can be found at https://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3679517,00.html

The city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa is not an isolated spot on the global map, and its establishment did not occur in a vacuum. In addition to offering the international and local background and taking into account the clear existing differences between the two parts of the city, the following major questions will be examined:

1) What were the forces, reasons, and dreams that put the young city of Tel Aviv on the map in 1909 as a small neighborhood on the sands north of the city of Jaffa, and led to its becoming a global city?

2) What caused the ancient city of Jaffa, which had existed for thousands of years, to fall in status to the extent of becoming an annexed, degraded, and ignored suburb to its young daughter city, Tel Aviv, considering that during the first decades after Tel Aviv's establishment, Jaffa was still a great, successful, and central city in the region?

3) What tipped the scales and caused both Tel Aviv and Jaffa to move from one extreme to the other, at the same time, and resulted in their current state of acute differences?

4) What obstacles are still there that prevent a genuine unification of both parts into one united city?

This research aims to conduct a comprehensive investigation to answer these questions. While this opening should display before the reader what to expect when perusing the following pages of this dissertation. It comes to underline what are my intensions, that would build on and add new insights to the thousands of archives documents I will examine. And to the relevant literature I have in mind to read about the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. My end goal plans to discuss the contemporary state of the urban site, the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. I will point out into what I identified as the main differences between the two sides of this city: Tel Aviv's side and Jaffa's side – the two sides of the hyphen. I will detail/elaborate what were the circumstances that led to

the actual present state of both, and I will end with identifying what are the obstacles, to my opinion, which are still preventing a genuine unification between these two sides of what supposed to be one city.

This first chapter provides an introductory theoretical framework and a brief overview of the main strands of relevant scholarship. This foundation will help clarify the structure and the subject matter of my research: how the small suburb of Tel Aviv became established next to the city of Jaffa, and what led to the unification (some would say annexation) of this suburb with the 'mother' city of Jaffa to create the united city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. As such, this chapter identifies and provides an overview of: intertwined frameworks of modernity and globalization; culture, identity, and urbanity; economics and politics; colonialism, nationalism, and orientalism.

1.1   Modernity and Globalization

Modernity is an important context for situating these two cities before their unification in 1950, and Marshall Berman serves as a good opening.[3] In his well-known book about the experience of modernity, Berman claims that modernity has deep roots, which are constantly nourished and renewed. Iain Chambers, among others, adopts Berman's perception and emphasizes that to be modern is to find oneself in an environment that promises adventure, power, joy, growth, and transformation, of both the human and the place.[4] At the same time, however, modernity threatens to destroy everything we have and know, and everything we are. Moreover, modern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of geography, ethnicity, nationality, class, religion, and ideology, leading to a maelstrom of eternal disintegration, struggles, contradiction, ambiguity, and sorrow. Part of the implications of modernity is the creation and

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[3] Berman, Marshall. (1988). *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. New York: Penguin Books.
[4] Chambers, Iain. (1994). *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*. London; New York: Routledge.

production of a new form of subjectivity. This issue will be discussed in particular when dealing specifically with the 'New Jews', who left their past behind, saying farewell to their countries, familiar surroundings, and families in order to move to Palestine, arriving through Jaffa's port, as everyone had to in those days, reinventing themselves and establishing the separate suburb of Tel Aviv next to Jaffa.

Modernity works to undermine old loyalties to both place and community. Places may thus no longer provide a clear, unique support for identity. They may also no longer be tied to the political borderlines of nations. Yet, places resonate in the imaginations of communities with shared traditions, memories, and perspectives. It is the stories we tell ourselves about the past that help us to construct identities in the present. Identities are shaped by embodied and embedded narratives and located places. In terms of cultural geography, it is not space that grounds identification, but place (a space becomes a place by being invested with meaning). Identity thus becomes a question of memory, often memories of home.

We may say that globalization is a process, a product, *and* an identity,[5] or, to speak with Arjun Appadurai,

> "Globalization has shrunk the distance between elites, shifted key relations between producers and consumers, broken many links between labor and family life, obscured the lines between temporary locals and imaginary national attachments."[6]

The terms reveal that, in effect, globalization and modernization are about human interaction, temporally and spatially. The modern, ever globalizing world is one in transition, in a movement that structures people's lives and selves, under conditions in which identities become negotiable:

> "The idea of culture as involving the naturalized organization of certain differences in the interests of group identity, through and in the historical process... to culture as the

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[5] Appadurai, Arjun, ed. (2002, originally 2001). *Globalization:* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
[6] Appadurai, Arjun. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. London, University of Minnesota Press. Pp. 8-9.

> process of naturalizing a subject of differences that have been mobilized to articulate group identity."[7]

One can argue that modernity as a concept was coined to capture the changes in progress in contrast with the 'traditional.'[8] Appadurai's modernity, for example, carries connotations of a new experience, of a world constructed anew, through the active and conscious intervention of actors, and a new sense of self that such active intervention and responsibility entails. The uprooting of relatively stable populations involves both a physical and a mental break with their previous lives, as will be detailed about Tel Aviv's population. This might be interpreted positively or negatively, but modernity has traditionally been seen as a positive liberating term. Yet, it entails alienation from one's traditional community and its forms of established identity, control, and given authority. As such, the alienated individual is open to new influences, possibilities, new freedoms of action and expression, and to a relationship with a new place and collective. The social changes associated with modernity make possible the formation of new social networks and political identities. The new individuals, freed from their traditional pasts, are free to reorient and reconstruct their world: to 'make history.'

Such a description is clearly relevant to the waves of young, European Jewish immigrants who moved to Palestine during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century. New Jewish immigrants arrived in Palestine from many different European countries with the ideology and the dream to create in their new destination one destiny, one culture, and one identity for them all.

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[7] Appadurai, Arjun. (1996). Ibid. Pp. 14-15.

[8] Eyerman, Ron. (1999). "Moving Culture". In: *Spaces of Culture. City, Nation, World.* Edited by Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash. p. 116. London: Thousand Oaks. New Delhi, SAGE Inc.

1.2   Culture, Identity, and Urbanity

The New Jews who moved to Palestine did not, upon their arrival, share one culture or identity, and creating one was of the first and most urgent challenges they meant to overcome. As such, in Palestine they set about inventing a new, different, and original culture, one to be shared by all Jews who arrived there. A short, simple definition of culture (among many others that exist) is the notion of a 'whole way of life.'[9] It is the way individuals or groups do things:

> "Culture is ordinary: that is the first fact. Every human society has its own shape, its own purposes, its own meanings."[10]

Culture is passed on by learning, customs, religion, beliefs, values, art, language, writing, cooking, manners, material goods, and ways of thinking and conceiving of the self and the world. Culture is what makes a group unique and distinct from others.

Culture and identity changed in the context of the modern condition. A sense of place and identity are realized as one moves through myriad languages, worlds, and histories.[11] Cultural diversity has had a great influence and impact on today's world, whether it is viewed from the 'realistic' eye of the painter, the 'scientific' approach of the cultural anthropologist, or the critical distance of the historian. It is a journey into the disturbance and dislocation of culture and identity that faces the contemporary world to consider how migration, marginality and homelessness have disrupted the West's faith in linear progress and rational thinking, undermining human knowledge, history, and cultural identity. The search for identity leaves more space for uncertainties and vagueness. Invented traditions form the basis for establishing not only cultural boundaries, but also the mechanisms of dominance and resistance, or inclusion

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[9] Williams, Raymond. "Culture is Ordinary 1958". In *Resource of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism.* Edited by Robin Gable. London, New York: Verso. (1989, first 1958).

[10] William, Raymond. (1989). Ibid. p. 1

[11] Chambers, Ian. (1994). *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*. London; New York: Routledge.

and exclusion. Identity understood as a representation is marked out by difference, by processes of development/change:

> "Migrancy… involves a movement in which neither the point of departure nor those of arrival are immutable or certain. It calls for a dwelling in language, in histories, in identities that are constantly subject to mutation. Always in transit…"[12]

If identity is about difference, a politics of identity necessarily raises questions of authenticity, roots, tradition, and heritage, particularly in the context of the design ramifications of two peoples living next to each other in the same city. Cultural meaning and identity combine notions of place with notions of collective memory and tradition. Place and tradition are invented discourses for justifying boundaries that affect people and their identity, not as an already accomplished fact but as a production that is never complete, always in process. The 'I' is constantly being formed and reformed. The 'self' is not stable anymore.

The urban sphere also develops new forms of culture and demands new ways of thinking about the self, identity, and community. It reframes identity in urban life dynamics. Max Weber was one of the first scholars to state that the city is a living system, infiltrating the structure, in the same way as biological evolution.[13] The city creates a new urban spirit, a living organism, characterized as an animal form, in the sense that a city can flourish as much as it can die. It might be small or big, unimportant, or important, beautiful, or ugly:

> "The city is a living thing, as a system of life, the city penetrates the structure of biological evolution… creating a new urban insect, animal form."[14]

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[12] Chambers, Ian. (1994). Ibid. P. 5.

[13] Weber, Max. (1958). *The City*. Translated by Don Martindale & Gertrude Neuwirth. London: The Free Press, a Corporation. A Division of Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc.

[14] Weber, Max. (1958). Ibid. p. 10.

Other scholars have adopted this idea and gone further, for example, in considering the relations with cities as same as relations with people (love/hate, etc.).[15] David Harvey also revised the city's image into an active and dynamic space, a living organism influencing people.[16]

Najib Hourani, for example, explores the city of Beirut, an ancient city looking to the future.[17] He shows how the construction of the new Souk in Beirut is part of a project of respectful embodiment of urban memory, the preservation of a historical past to generate an urban form of memory. It is a recollection of the mood and atmosphere of the old Souk in the present. These kinds of projects raise tensions and ambiguity as they become symbols of the commodification of space and culture. The new Souk represents the reconciliation of a market-profit-driven perspective of globalization with tradition and memory. This research about the Souk in Beirut bears many similarities with the transformation that Old Jaffa underwent as it experienced neoliberal gentrification, building forward to the future with a flavour of history and tradition, as will be discussed in the chapter about contemporary Jaffa.

Another angle on culture and identity will be developed in the chapter about language, which addresses the reality of there being two different spoken languages in the united city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Arabic in Jaffa, Hebrew in Tel Aviv. The discussion there revolves around the multiple layers and influences of diverse spoken languages on neighbours, individuals, and communities, and the implications and ramifications of different languages on the formation of separated

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[15] Burgin, Victor. (1996). *Some Cities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

[16] Harvey, David. (1989). *The Urban Experience*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

[17] Hourani, Najib. "From National Utopia to Elite Enclave: Economic Realities and Resistance in the Reconstruction of Beirut". In *Global Downtowns*: Edited by Peterson, Marina, and McDonogh, Gary W. Pp. 136-159: PENN, University of Pennsylvania Press. (2012). Also: she co-edited, with Dr. Edward L. Murphy (History, MSU) a volume exploring housing issues entitled "The Housing Question: Tensions, Continuities and Contingencies in the Modern City" (Ashgate 2013); and with Ahmed Kanna (Anthropology, University of the Pacific) a special issue of the Journal of Urban Affairs entitled "Arab Cities in the Neoliberal Moment" (Vol. 6, no. 2, 2014).

cultures and identities, which influence, and evolve on the ground of, world and local politics as well as economics.

1.3 Economics, Politics, Media

Contemporary Tel Aviv is a global city, while Jaffa used to have some features that can be considered precursors of a global city. Their economic and political developments can be theorized with David Harvey, who is in a constant dialogue with Karl Marx.[18] Marx provides Harvey with the foundations to conceptualize how human geography shapes, and is in turn shaped by, capitalist development. Laying the basis for a historical geography of capitalism, both globally and locally, Harvey's work explores how capital can be understood as a spatial process, rather than just a self-contained apparatus, and how it becomes urbanized. Capitalist urbanism can be understood from the perspective of a theory of accumulation. In the capitalist production process, there is an inherent tendency toward over-accumulation. Too much capital is produced in aggregate, relative to the opportunities to use that capital. The capitalist's accumulation of capital is possible through the shrinking of space by faster means of transportation and communication. Transportation obviously plays a big role here. Cities concentrate resources in a relatively central small space. Capitalists are attracted to cities because of the availability of labour. Workers are attracted to cities because they can find more opportunities. The drive toward urbanisation relates to all aspects of production and accumulation, such as land, property, and their roles in the market. The accumulation of the bourgeoisie's profit and wealth is relevant and exposed through life in Tel Aviv, a profit-driven city (as will be detailed in the section about Tel Aviv Global City).

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[18] Harvey, David. (1973). *Social Justice and the City*. [Baltimore]: Johns Hopkins University Press.

A section relating to politics and the economy would not be complete without the work of Saskia Sassen, which deals with the movements of labour, capital, communication, technology, flows of money, information, and people, as influences on urban life.[19] Sassen identifies how, starting in the 1980s, great economic and geographical changes materialized, and how cities' roles were strengthened by the demand for advanced infrastructure, finance, and specialized services. The 'global city' emerged. The territorial dispersal of economic activities, at the national and global scale, had a great impact on social structures: the emergence of a new social formation, the growth of inequality and growing gaps between the rich (few) and the poor (majority).

This discussion would also not be complete without the urbanist Edward Soja and his work on the dramatic restructuring of megacities that emerged worldwide over the last decades of the 20th century.[20] Following Lefebvre, Soja conceptualized space as a dialectic between the conceived, the perceived, and the lived, i.e., the objective, the subjective, and the epistemological (the knowledge of space as a lived space). He understood the dynamic relationship between society and space in the specific context of urban agglomerations, the spatiality of human life, the scope and critical insight of our spatial imaginations. In essence 'space matters':

> "… Geographies are not just the outcome of social and political processes; they are also a dynamic force affecting these processes in significant way… is more than just a claim that 'space matters' as geographies like me have been arguing for decades."[21]

People not only shape city spaces over time, but they are also shaped by those spatial arrangements. Economic restructuring generates a crisis for the spatial relationships in the city, especially the global city (which is represented here by Tel Aviv), in which economic forces are

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[19] Sassen, Saskia. (2000). *Cities in a World Economy*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Pine Forge Press.

[20] Soja, Edward W. (2000). *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

[21] Soja, Edward W. (2010). *Seeking Spatial Justice*. University of Minnesota Press. p. 2.

so substantial. The economic changes under the post-Fordist economy have generated new formations in the built environment, with intensified social stratification, and intensified social and spatial polarization, and a spatiality of social relations, focusing on matters of class, race, gender, and identity, and on the impact of the late capitalist economy on restructuring new forms of economic organization, cultural identity, and citizenship. All have emerged at regional and transnational levels in a crisis time of global restructuring.

When focusing on gaps in class, race, and wealth, I draw on scholars such as Soja, Sassen, and Harvey, who explored the intersections of capital and culture. For consideration of the meeting of art and the real-estate market, I draw on the contribution of Sharon Zukin. In *Loft Living*, Zukin details the way artists' demands for housing meet those of city officials and homeowners, who want to 'upgrade' their neighbourhoods by private market means, and the way artists are used and later abandoned by real-estate developers and investors banking on rising property values.[22] This is the connection between 'chic' urban lifestyles, media exposure, and real estate developers, and the way economics, politics, class/race struggles, and changes in middle-class values have created new cultural norms. *Loft Living* has become the classic analysis of how artists emerged as a force of gentrification: artists bestowed neighbourhoods with value but in the process became superfluous and no longer needed. They held no legal claim on the loft districts, received no preferential treatment in the upgrading that transformed the places they lived and worked into high-price land, and were thrown out of. Zukin focused on artists, yet gentrification is gentrification whoever suffers its consequences. The issue of gentrification and the scenario of evacuating existing inhabitants in order to upgrade property value continues to

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[22] Zukin, Sharon. (1982). *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

take place in Tel Aviv-Jaffa and will be discussed extensively in chapter five in the context of Tel Aviv and chapter six in the context of Jaffa.

There is a close connection between capital and gaps, which is illustrated by the rise of gentrification.[23] The process is revealed as part of a larger shift in political economy and culture. The cycles of the economic system and the need for capital gains are the main drivers of gentrification. The city centres have been explicitly marketed as a terrain to be explored and conquered even in a process of violence, appropriation, and displacement. In cycles of investment, reinvestment, and displacement there is a clear connection between gentrification and the broad processes shaping and reshaping cities. This economic approach explains the landlords' incentives in a declining residential area and the vengefulness of the state against the least powerful. This mechanism shapes urbanization as a process of capital, through means that impose and expand social inequality and exclusion. Gentrification is thus revealed as part of a larger shift in the political economy and culture.

The 'Smart City,' a term which is also explored in the context of Tel Aviv, raises another contemporary aspect, namely, the change in urban culture known as the 'Big Brother' syndrome.[24] Significant changes are occurring in the social spaces and rhythms of life due to the social function of (digital) media. The spaces and rhythms in cities are radically different from those described in the classic theories of urbanism. Life has been paralleled by the media, which have become increasingly mobile, instantaneous, and pervasive. The media are no longer separate from life and the city, producing a distinctive mode of social experience. Media, in this

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[23] Smith, Neil. (1996). *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. London and New York: Routledge.

[24] McQuire, Scott. (2008). *The Media: City Media, Architecture and Urban Space*. London, UK: Sage.

context, are no longer primarily a set of representations but constitute the very substance and fabric of urban public and private space, the mode of a media-driven culture.

Indeed, media are an internal part of our life, yet they also contain aspects of economics and politics relating to the instantaneous flow and exchange of information, capital, and cultural communication.[25] Both consumption and production are major factors in the cityscape's political economy and the socio-economic dynamic of the new age, and of information. The increasing role of information technology in the contemporary world has fundamental effects: technology also serves to widen the gaps between rich and poor, creating communities that are isolated from informational, economic, and educational opportunities, an issue which will be discussed extensively in the Smart City section.

I will conclude this section by going back to Marshall Berman. He claimed that old modes of honour and dignity do not die; they are merged into the market as price tags that gain new life as commodities. Thus, any imaginable form and shape of human contact becomes morally permissible. The moment it becomes economically possible, it becomes valuable (i.e., anything goes if it pays); nothing is stable anymore. Marshall Berman wrote his fascinating insights about modernity and its economic ramification in 1988, and still it sounds as if he were writing about the contemporary city of Tel Aviv.

1.4   Colonialism and Nationalism

This tale of the two cities is clearly situated in the wider context of the colonial era, which I briefly outline in this section. During its colonial phase, the region was first controlled by the Ottomans, who were then replaced by the British Empire, a phenomenon Anthony King calls

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[25] Castells, Manuel. (1996). *The Rise of the Network Society*. West Sussex. UK: Blackwell Publishers Inc.

"the expansion of the West," with implications for the economic and political influences arising from the power divisions between imperial centres.[26] King's main assertion is that the urban foundation of the present world system was established during the colonial era, particularly the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries. As such, any analysis of contemporary urbanism demands an understanding of its colonial past because in addition to economic influences, the social, political, and cultural forces of colonialism have been major factors in shaping cities and patterns of urbanization. There are clear cultural and spatial links between metropolitan cores and colonial peripheries. As such the historical foundations of the urban world system were subject to change, with one form of civilization replacing another.

Simone AbdouMaliq facilitates the understanding of coloniality in an urban context in her description of life in one specific city: Jakarta.[27] Her work serves as an example of colonial theory in a region scholars call the 'global south' and shows the hybrid nature of all aspects of life, following the colonials' circumstances and influences in the city.[28] Another notable study of such a hybrid colonial city is Ackbar Abbas's of Hong Kong as a space of disappearance.[29]

Indeed, the world moves rapidly on account of both urbanization and globalization, particularly in colonial contexts.[30] Both studies can be related to Jaffa's colonial history and its more recent developmental changes. Even though Tel Aviv-Jaffa is far from what the world calls the global south, this research reveals some similarities between the Middle East and countries

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[26] King, D. Anthony. (1990). *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System*. London, New York: Routledge.

[27] AbdouMaliq, Simone. (2014). *Jakarta, Drawing the City Near*. University of Minnesota Press.

[28] The global south is a term that is used as an alternative to the term 'Third World Countries' and does not refer to geographical south.

[29] Abbas, M. A. (1997). *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*. Public Worlds V2, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

[30] Leautier, Frannie. (Ed). (2006). *Cities in a Globalization World. Governance, Performance & Sustainability*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

that have been identified by that term. Both regions experienced rapid development and adapted

European cultures and values during times of colonialism.

1.4.1   Regional Colonization: The Geographical Context of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

The following discussion and maps illustrate some relevant geographical features of the area.

Figure 1 is a contemporary map of the Middle East that indicates the relative size of the countries

in the region: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the

smaller Arab countries. Most of this region was colonized by the Ottomans and later by the

British Empire It is important to note the small size of the country of Israel on the map. It is so

small that the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa does not appear. The only Israeli cities mentioned are Haifa

and Jerusalem. With the use of some imagination, Tel Aviv-Jaffa would be just above the second

letter 'e' of the word Jerusalem.

Figure 1: Contemporary Middle East map. (http://www.asia-atlas.com/middle-east-map.htm)

1.4.2 The Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire existed for 624 years (1299 to 1924).[31] During its peak, it encompassed

most of southeast Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East (Figure 2), where the region known

as Palestine is situated. The Islamic Ottoman Empire was one of the main international powers

during Early Modern times, playing a vital role in European and global history. After a few

'great' centuries, it experienced a steep decline. When it was defeated in World War I, the

Ottoman Empire collapsed, together with the German and the Habsburg empires.[32] Following the

breakup of the Ottoman Empire, its territories were either accorded independence or divided up

among the victorious powers. The British Empire received a mandate over Palestine.

Figure 2: Ottoman Empire Map (https://www.bing.com/images/search?q=Ottoman+Empire+Map&FORM=IDINTS)

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[31] Turnbull, R. Stephen. (2003). *The Ottoman Empire 1326-1699*. Oxford: Osprey.
[32] Howard, A. Douglas. (2017). *A History of the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge University Press.

1.4.3 Before the "Holy War": Relations Between Jews and Arabs in Palestine

Jews and Arabs are considered ethnic cousins. The two languages in Palestine, those spoken by Judaic and Palestinian Arabs, were 'translated' and conceived of as cousins rather than strangers.[33] As such, the histories of Arabs and Jews in the area are intertwined in a family history. Jews saw Arabs as Muslim or Christian. Muslim Arabs are traditionally classified as Semites, exactly like the Jews. Intellectuals among the Muslim Arabs even held the idea that Jews could become a role model for them, being cousins from the same 'race.' At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, Jewish and Arab intellectuals imagined themselves living together as neighbours as well as being adversaries. Arab writers narrated stories about the Muslim traditions of the century-long coexistence with the Jews (as long as the Jews knew their place in society as dhimmis).[34] The claim is that Jews and Arabs shared histories before they shared a territory. They exchanged ideas and fantasies before they exchanged bullets. The Chelouche story related in the following pages demonstrates the relationship of coexistence that existed between the two peoples in Jaffa. At some point this good relationship started to crack, something many attribute to the Balfour Declaration.[35]

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[33] Gribetz, Marc, Jonathan. (2014). *Defining Neighbors: Religion, Race, and the Early Zionist-Arab Encounter*. Princeton University Press.

[34] Dhimmis is a term of the early Muslim world for people of another religions, which were held as second in status to Muslims. They were allowed to worship their own faith under the protection of the Muslim authorities.

[35] In 1924 it was presented to the British Museum by the Rothschild family. In 1973 it was transferred to the British Library under a manuscript number 41178. From time to time it was lent to Israel.

1.4.4   The Balfour Declaration
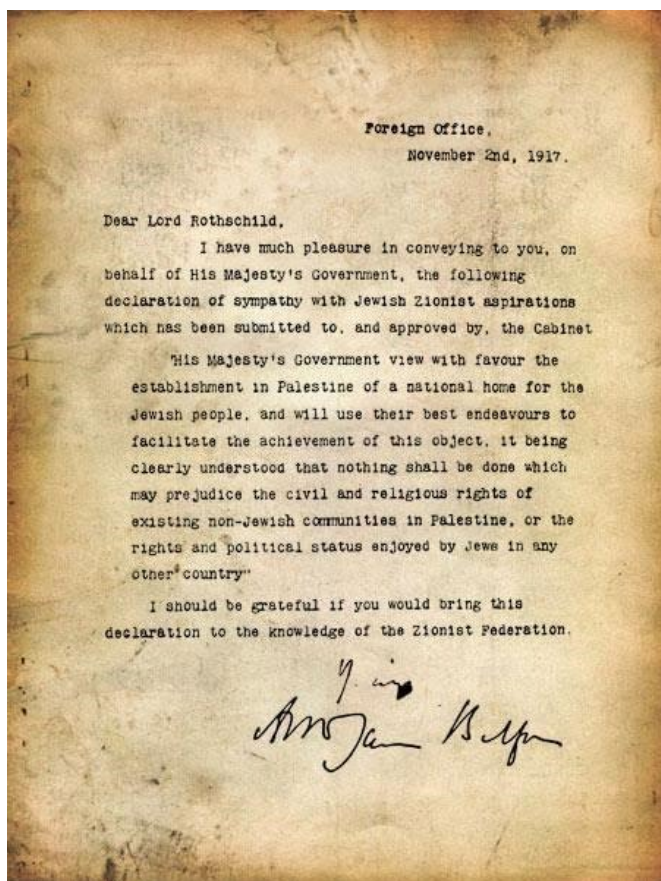
Figure 3: The Balfour Declaration facsimile. Today held at the British Library.

The Balfour Declaration is a one-page letter that was signed on November 2, 1917, by Lord

Arthur James Balfour, the foreign minister of her Majesty, in the name of Great Britain. It

consists of a single written letter/page of 67 words in English, which was approved by the Allied

powers. As kind of a preliminary statement, it determined liability towards Palestine in the

interest of the Jewish people.[36] After being signed, it was delivered to the hands of Lord

Rothschild, a leader in the British Jewish community, to be transferred to the Zionist Federation.

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[36] Gribetz, J. Louis. (1930). *The case for the Jews: an interpretation of their rights under the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine*. New York: Bloch Pub. Co.

This declaration was a huge success for the Zionist movement, an achievement that was possible due to the success of the Allied powers in WW1.

1.4.5   The End of World War One

In Figure 4, one sees how the region was divided among the winning empires after the Ottoman Empire's collapse:

Figure 4: The Middle East map. 1930. https://www.bing.com/images/search?q=Middle+East+Map+1919&FORM=RESTAB

On August 12, 1922, the Council of the League of Nations passed a resolution (C.529. M.314. 1922.VI.) to hand over a Mandate on Palestine to the British Empire.[37] The Mandate provided for British rule in the southern part of Ottoman Syria for a limited time: "… *until such time as they are able to stand alone.*"[38] The United States agreed to the decision, even though it was not

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[37] Copy of the resolution taken from the Internet archive:
https://web.archive.org/web/20131125014738/http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/2FCA2C68106F11AB05256 BCF007BF3CB

[38] Article 22, the Covenant of the League of Nations and Mandate for Palestine. *Encyclopedia Judaica* vol. 11. P. 862. Jerusalem: Publishing House1972.

a member of the League of Nations. One point in the resolution mentioned the promise given by

Lord Balfour regarding the status of the Jewish people in Palestine:

> "Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country… Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country."[39]

Figure 5: The British Mandate Map. 1917. (https://looking4theblessedhope.files.wordpress.com/2014/05/british-mandate-map1.jpg)

In the post-WWI period, the change of circumstances in the Middle East, including Palestine,

transformed the terms of discourse, interpretations, categorization, and contextualization, leading

to mutual understanding or, more precisely, misunderstanding, as will be discussed in the

following pages, which had a tremendous impact on the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa.

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[39] The Avalon Project, Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy. Yale Law School. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/palmanda.asp

During this period, colonialism began to wane as a new era of nationalism in Europe heated up. Nationalism contributed to the Jewish passion for a homeland. The movement filled Jews with enthusiasm at a time when the dispersed Jewish diaspora had no country and no city of their own. They used this momentum to act through the spirit of Theodor Herzl, the visionary of the state of Israel and father of political Zionism, to install their own homeland (Jewish nationalism and Herzl will both be discussed below). These significant early signs of change and transformation very slowly infiltrated the area of Palestine, which was populated mainly by Arabs.

1.5   Orientalism

Palestinian theorist and writer Edward Said explored meticulously from a cultural perspective how this particular area came to be characterized by the Western imperial powers as the 'Orient.'[40] From this perspective, it becomes clear that the arrival of the European Jews in Palestine brought into contact two cultures imagined as being fundamentally different. What was the 'first contact' between them like? What were the effects of such an artificial, enforced convergence? Said's concept of orientalism helps explain the conflicts that ensued with the development of the small suburb of Tel Aviv next to Jaffa. Said's primary interest lies in the Western perception of the East and the implications for the subjugation and humiliation of the Middle Eastern Islamic world. The fundamental cultural differences the West (the Europeans) saw between itself and the East (the Middle Easterners) enabled it to use and transform an ontological and epistemological understanding into a powerful political instrument of domination. Orientalism is not just the cultural work of the European imagination. Rather, it is an

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[40] Said, W. Edward. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York. Vintage Books.

instrument of power, hegemony, and authority that the West used to be patronizing towards the East. Orientalism names a persistent Eurocentric prejudice and bias against the Arab-Islamic people and their culture.[41]

While Said mainly concentrated on the Middle East rather than other colonised locations, he focused primarily on the colonialism of England and France, and not on other colonial empires. His work nonetheless provides an important underpinning to this dissertation as it deals with precisely the Middle East Muslim people in the area of his analysis. The theoretical tools he developed reflect on the image of the existing oriental inhabitants in Palestine in the eyes of the newly European occidental Jews and are therefore relevant to my work here. In these cultural representations, the 'Orient' usually figures as primitive, irrational, violent, dictatorial, and fanatical, in other words, as inferior to the West, in keeping with the idea that "enlightenment" can only occur when "traditional," "religious," and "reactionary" values are replaced by "modern", "contemporary" and "progressive" ideas that are Western.

Through this ideology, cultural and political imperialism had an enormous influence on all aspects of the encounters between imperialist Europe and the Orient. The European sense of superiority when viewing the Orient as unchanging and incapable of progress gave Europeans a perceived legitimate right to exercise power over the Orient. The following definition of Orientalism nicely sums up the situation:

> "The Western 'corporate institution' responsible for dealing with the orient: describing it, containing it, controlling it, teaching and learning it, making statements about it,

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[41] Said concentrates on the Middle East, in which orientalism is tied strongly to the imperialist societies that produced it.

> authoring views of it and ruling over it by these and other means,"[42], and "… the white West who is unfamiliar with the culture of the Middle East darker skin."[43]

Because Europeans understood themselves as "experts," those without expertise, such as Muslim Arabs, were understood as irrational, evil, frightening, threatening, barbaric, exotic, fanatical, and not modern, capable of understanding only the language of force, a threat to the West, and an enemy to Christianity (and Jews), in essence: "… 'a useful foreign demon' through racist cliché."[44]

As a self-identified refugee from Palestine, Said had personal experience of Jewish-Arab interaction to draw on. In the interview cited in footnote 43, he claimed that the Muslim Arabs (Palestinians) became the victim of victims (the Jewish refugees from the Holocaust), preventing coexistence because coexistence demands acceptance and respect of the other without hostility. The Zionists, on the other hand, he continued, asserted: "And the pattern so far has been, the Zionist pattern, which is to say that, you know, 'It's promised to us.' 'We are the chosen people. Everybody else is sort of second-rate.' 'Throw them out or treat them as second-class citizens."[45]

How the new European Jews portrayed all of the existing inhabitants of Palestine – both the oriental Jews who already lived in Jaffa and looked and behaved the same as their Arabic neighbours and those neighbours – mirrors the first contact of the European Jews with the local Arabs when they first arrived in Jaffa towards the end of the nineteen century and the beginning of the twentieth century. The European Jews felt themselves superior to both: the local Arabs and local Jews. They intended to stay away from both.

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[42] Sarder, Ziauddin. (1999). *Orientalism*. Buckingham: Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press. p. 68.

[43] Sut, Jhally. Executive producer and director: Sanjay, Talreja. Producer and editor. (1998)*. An interview with*: *Edward Said on Orientalism*. *The Orient Represented in Mass Media*. Media Education Foundation: San Francisco. USA. Kanopy Streaming.

[44] Sut, Jhally. (1998). Ibid. Said's Words in the same interview.

[45] Sut, Jhally. (1998). Ibid. Said's opinion is expressed in the same interview.

1.6 Hebrew Scholarship, Contributions, Methodology

This dissertation uses a cultural-historical approach informed by theoretical approaches to the city. It relies on archival material from various archives in Israel, especially the huge archive of the Tel Aviv municipality, as well as face-to-face, in-person interviews and one-on-one conversations (conducted in Hebrew). I feel that the Hebrew sources need some clarification. Literature in Hebrew provided the necessary specific and general knowledge for my dissertation. Most of the material was taken from archives in Tel Aviv and other archives in Israel, mostly written in Hebrew. Unfortunately, the archive in Jaffa burnt down during the 1948 Arab Israeli war, and nothing is left of it.

This paper includes many quotes and images from Hebrew sources. They are 'planted' into this research in the original Hebrew language. My translation into English follows each quote or image. I am not a professional translator, so they are not word for word but a translation that concentrates on the content, essence, and meaning of the relevant source. Let us keep in mind that any translation is eventually an interpretation.

To a large degree the facts are taken from the documents I found and analyzed in as objective a manner as possible. But I need to acknowledge at the outset the challenges with such a stance. Let us consider, for example, the way the city is presented in the country's school textbooks. A significant study conducted by Yoram Bar-Gal from the Geography Department of Haifa University revealed the positive light in which Israeli geography textbooks present the city of Tel Aviv. In contrast to the way sites are usually presented, that is, with 'dry' geographic facts and occurrences, Bar-Gal found that Tel Aviv is presented:

> "… as the modern European Oasis of the East in the Asian desert, as differentiated from its oriental location, as a complete testament to the vitality of Zionism, as a Global

> World's city, the heart center of the state's economy, of culture, society, and education."[46]

Tel Aviv is described as filled with schools (hence a city of learning and wisdom), clean, vivid, colourful, healthy, open, dynamic, charming, full of sunlight, with beautiful houses, young people, and a youthful spirit. In two words, the geography textbooks portray the city as a "wondrous city," which performs as a great city for newcomers to the region as well as for the 'Sabras' born on the land.[47] Above all, Tel Aviv is described as a city that contains only Jewish inhabitants. In other words, Bar-Gal established that the geography textbooks about Tel Aviv are full of a great deal of information that has nothing to do with geography.

Bar-Gal connects a favourite description of the city as the jewel of the Zionist dream to the one about the mythical Emerald City: *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, which was related to the city of New York.[48] As such, Tel Aviv signifies wealth, dreams, and aspirations, with skyscrapers that block the horizon and the sun, which is to say that the famous stereotypes of New York were adopted by Tel Aviv, leading to the conclusion that Tel Aviv is a twin city to New York, with the understanding that the 'best' of America was brought to this corner of the world. One sees this in the image below, which speaks for itself:

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[46] Bar-Gal, Yoram. (2009). "The image of Tel Aviv in School Textbooks". In: *Israel Studies*.14:21-37.

[47] 'Sabra' is the nickname of the native–born children in Israel. Sabra is the Hebrew word for 'prickly pear'. A 'sabra' is contrasted to the diaspora Jew with his/her 'ghetto' mentality, to signify a New Hebrew kind of Jew: healthy, young, strong, and suntanned. It is a myth which many sectors in Israel promoted, including the government. The metaphor is based on the notion of being prickly on the outside but sweet on the inside.

[48] Baum, L. Frank. (2016, first 1900). *Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. London, United Kingdom: HarperCollins.
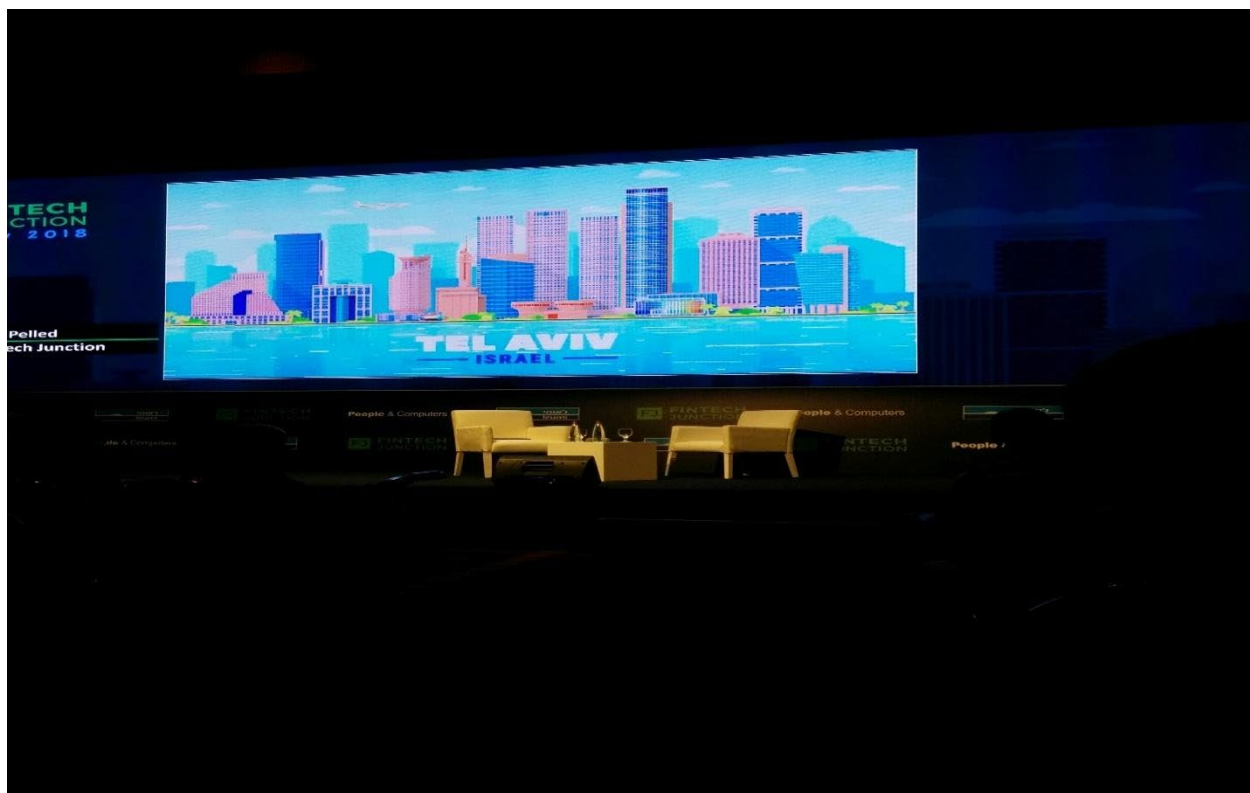
Figure 6: A huge picture of Tel Aviv with its skyscrapers and the sea, as designed for one of the conferences the author attended in the city. Summer of 2018

In the many academic studies about Tel Aviv written before 2009 (the year Bar Gal published his research), short shrift is given to Jaffa. Any mention of Jaffa is mainly to emphasize and offer a representation of its negative aspects: dirt, narrow-muddy alleys, and ugly grey houses, all in stark contrast to Tel Aviv's dwelling conditions, culture, people, language, and every other aspect of life. As such, the modern advanced Jewish city of Tel Aviv is presented as the other side of the primitive, ugly, Arab Jaffa.

Maoz Azaryahu offers an explanation for the positive misrepresentation of Tel Aviv found in Bar-Gal's research. For the Zionists, he explains, Tel Aviv was, and remains, the centre of the

country, an original creation holding great social and economic power. Local geography scholars did not feel it right or proper to characterize Tel Aviv negatively or to criticize it.[49]

For me, it was shocking to read Bar-Gal's findings and learn that since the 1960s, Jaffa had been almost erased from elementary school textbooks. During those years, I had attended elementary school in Tel Aviv (during my youth, growing up there, we learned many songs praising only the city of Tel Aviv). Somehow it solved my "wonder-gap": when approaching this research, I found myself knowing surprisingly little about Jaffa, especially given that Jaffa was located practically next door. I grew up within 10-15 minutes walking distance from Jaffa and paid many visits to friends who lived 100-200 meters from Jaffa. Yet when working on this research about Tel Aviv, I found myself studying Jaffa as an unknown place, a faraway city on another planet, completely foreign to me. I had only visited Jaffa a few times, among them when I was invited to celebrate Bastille Day on July 14th at the French ambassador's house, or to dine in exclusive oriental restaurants on special occasions.

As such, my personal history informs and is an integral part of my scholarship, influencing my decision not to engage the current struggle and conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, a topic better addressed from the perspective of political history. Delving into the complexities of this struggle, important as it may be, would shift the central point of this dissertation.[50] To

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[49] Azaryahu, Maoz. (2000). "McIsrael? On the Americanization of Israel" In: *Israel Studies*, Indiana University Press. Vol. 5. Issue 1. Pp. 41-64. (I had found only recently, when critical approaches had become acceptable in the geographical curriculum, that more critiques are heard about my city, the 'Jewel of the Zionist Crown').

[50] As a small digression, one should mention a certain daily reality in Tel Aviv, which I will not address further in this study: the city of Tel Aviv lives with the threat of terror. Tali Hatuka (2010) wrote a study about terror in Tel Aviv, detailing only three out of the hundreds of terror cases which have occurred in Tel Aviv. The city of Tel Aviv became a site of power and conflict in the struggle between Israelis and Palestinians. This state of affairs has caused conflict over resources, territory, and capital, which has a great impact on the city. The city's political and social history has laid the foundations for an infrastructure of violence, while the discharge of this violence affects the reproduction of the outcome space. This issue of terror is an important one. It is a daily/routine part of the inhabitants' lives in Tel Aviv. It deserves another, separate study.

narrow the focus to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would obscure the complicated histories of, and the cultural negotiations that happen in, this hyphenated city. Rather, this dissertation aims to uncover the multiple vectors of intersection in this unique global city.

As someone who used to take for granted that I can casually claim that "I grew up in the city of Tel Aviv" or "I studied at Tel Aviv University," etc., I started to wonder about Jaffa and why it was so often omitted. After all, since 1950, the official name of this united city has been Tel Aviv-Jaffa. When I began delving into the scholarship, I found a great deal about Tel Aviv – as a global city, a smart city, the White City, a modern city, and a secular one, but very little on either Jaffa or on both parts jointly. The few existing PhD dissertations mainly discuss Tel Aviv, and most chose to work on the early years, the period before the establishment of, or the early stages of the Hebrew city of Tel Aviv.[51]

Of course, there are challenges involved in working on such a prosperous city as Tel Aviv uniting with an impoverished one like Jaffa, and trying to understand why, what it means, and what the ramifications of such a development are. The two following pictures illustrate how different Jaffa and Tel Aviv are:

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[51] הרט, רחל. 2009. יחסו של היישוב היהודיאל היישוב הערבי ביפו ןבתל אביב 1881-1930. עבודת דוקטורת באוניברסיטת חיפה, ישראל 1. Hart, Rachel. 2009. The Relations of the Jewish Community to the Arab Community in Jaffa and Tel Aviv 1881-1930. A Dissertation written in Haifa University, Israel.

2. עבודת דוקטורט, הוגש לסנט 90-חתוקה, טלי. 2004. קונפליקטים מרחביים: ארכיטקטורה וחיי היומיום בתל אביב-יפו שך שנות ה הטכניון, חיפה, ישראל.
Hatuka, Tali. 2004. Spatial Conflicts: The Daily life and Architect in Tel Aviv-Jaffa in the 90s. A Dissertation written in the Technion, Haifa, Israel.

3. חזי אריאלה, אשכנזי. תשע"ב. האוכלוסיה הערבית ביפו 1948-1979. עבודת דוקטורט, הוגש לסנט של אוניברסיטה בר-אילן. ישראל.
Hezi Ariela, Ashkenazi. 2012. *The Arab of Jaffa 1948-1979*. A PhD Thesis submitted to the Senate of Bar Ilan University.

4. עבודת דוקטורט באוניברסטת חיפה. הלמן, ענת. 2007. אור ויום הקיפוה: תרבות תל אביבית בתקופת המנדט.
Helman, Anat. 2007. *Urban Culture in 1920s and 1930s Tel Aviv*. A dissertation written in Haifa University.
This dissertation was published in 2010, in English, as a book by the name: *Young Tel Aviv: A Tale of Two Cities*.

Figure 7: Jaffa beach, as the extended beach of Tel Aviv: http://www.hamichlol.org.il/תל_אביב-יפו

Figure 8: A glance over Modern Tel Aviv. 'The Old North' residence quarter in comparison to above Jaffa:
https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/כיכר_המדינה

Mine is an original attempt to show how the scales of the two parts of this once united city

shifted from one extreme to the other. Tel Aviv started as just an idea, which was later

implemented successfully into a small neighborhood and ended up, in less than a century, as a

global city. On the other side we have a very old city, which was great in the past but in less than

half a century experienced annexation, segregation, shrinkage, limitations, and inferiority. The scales (in their multiple meanings) shifted extremely. Examining them helps me contribute to the understanding of this distinctive, uniquely joint city.

Personally, I am very much a citizen of Tel Aviv. I still 'live' and 'breathe' the city. I follow, as a daily routine, all sorts of relevant media, news, newspapers, and all sorts of magazines. Because Tel Aviv is a smart city (a term discussed extensively in 7), it offers those holding a special citizen card – *digitell* – daily emails (to receive daily promotions, reports relevant for the city, development information, and much more).

For material concerning Jaffa, I had to rely on general history books and newspapers in archives and libraries, especially Beit Ariella, one of the largest libraries in Israel, which is situated in the centre of Tel Aviv and has an entire floor dedicated to old and new hard copy and digital newspapers. Some significant interviews helped me to clarify and detail the situation in contemporary Jaffa. (The three most important ones are discussed in Appendix 1.)

I have taken many pictures of the places discussed in the dissertation. In cases where I could not take my own pictures, I found sources on the internet. All the maps of the region are from the internet, as are copies of international historical documents, such as certificates and resolutions. As part of my research, I went on eight guided tours through both parts of the city and was surprised to be provided with much new information about places I thought I knew so well, places where I had grown up, played, and walked often.

While in the back of my mind I am aware of living in postmodern times, the exotic is nevertheless 'a la mode' and the 'oriental' seems to be back in fashion. I have structured the dissertation accordingly. This first chapter provides an overview of what the dissertation sets out to do and how it goes about it. Chapter two concentrates on the old city of Jaffa before we turn in

Chapter three to the establishment of Tel Aviv. Chapter four identifies and analyzes the key

factors in making Tel Aviv the city it is: Zionism, the Garden City discourse, the Bauhaus, and

Hebrew. Chapter five then examines the united city, which became a 'global' 'smart' city, and

finally Chapter six 'walks' us back to contemporary Jaffa. This holds a possible promise for

Jaffa.

2   The City of Jaffa from Antiquity to Modernity

Figure 9: A look at the city of Jaffa with its port at the horizon. 'Travel Tel Aviv" https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/travel/MAGAZINE-haaretzs-guide-to-tel-aviv-1.5427983

The city of Jaffa raises many questions, most importantly: how did this great city of the past become an annexed, ignored suburb of its neighbouring young daughter, the city of Tel Aviv? This chapter (and the next) charts the significant circumstances that led to this transition and turned Jaffa's reality upside down. Jaffa's story encompasses millennia of history. Beginning with Jaffa's ancient history, the chapter fast-forwards across many centuries to the first decades of the twentieth century, which represent the peak of Jaffa's prosperity, economically, culturally, and demographically. Jaffa's great success was short but nevertheless impressive. While the city went on to experience an abrupt reversal in a very few decades, going from flourishing into its unfortunate current state, that success is recalled here as it too often goes forgotten or is erased.

2.1   Jaffa's Geographical Context and Topography
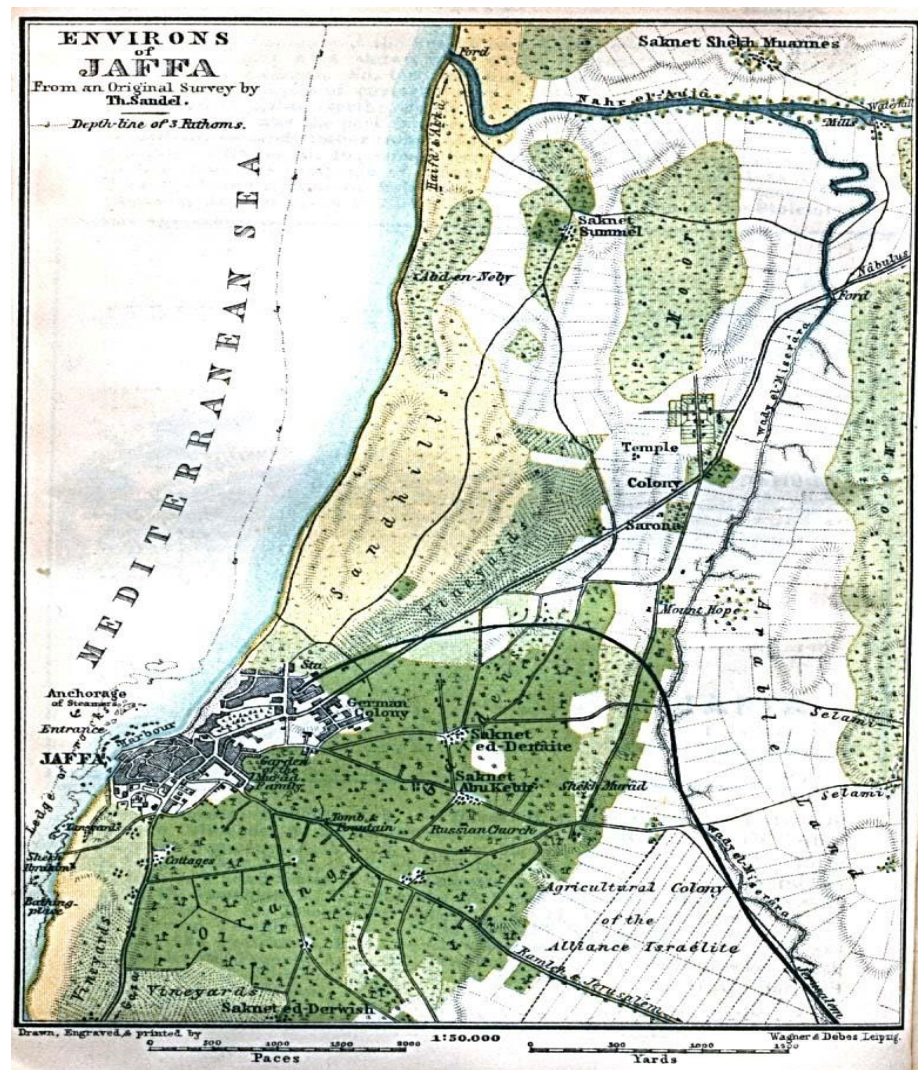
Figure 10: A look at the city of Jaffa 1898, before Tel Aviv was established north on the empty sands area.
https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/jaffa_1912.jpg

This important 1898 map clearly shows that about one decade before Tel Aviv was established,

the area north of Jaffa was full only with sand, no houses, no agriculture. Only sand.

Jaffa is located on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Its special location constitutes

an ideal natural port. As such, it became one of the most important gateways to the region. The

city's intrinsic advantage, the natural and physical features of the area, is one of the reasons for

its continued existence for many millennia. Originally a small city surrounded by a wall, built in

a traditional Eastern Mediterranean style, it went on to serve as an economic centre and a cultural

hub, becoming in the first decades of the twentieth century the second largest city in Palestine

after Jerusalem. A direct relationship can be established between Jaffa's periods of prosperity

and decline in importance with the role of its port:

> "Testimony to periodic expansion could be expected in light of Jaffa's long history as a thriving harbor, trade center and agricultural haven... that history is well attested in original texts and substantiated by the results of archeological exploration."[52]

This map (Figure 11) of ancient Israel provides a bird's eye-view of Jaffa's location.[53] Jaffa is

the only slight promontory reaching out to the sea along the long flat land between Egypt in the

south and the Carmel range of mountains in the north. Joppa, one of the ancient names of Jaffa,

is where the green 'meets' the brown:
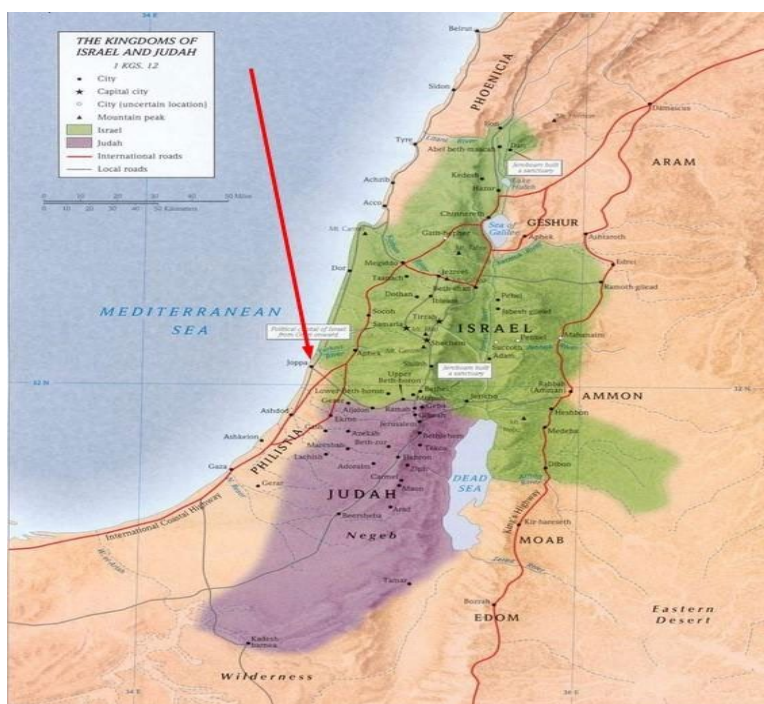
Figure 11: Flat seashore map from Egypt to the Carmel Mountain, with Joppa

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[52] Burke, Aaron, A. Burke, Katherine Stranch. And Peilstöcker, Martin. (Eds.) (2017, first 2011). *The History and Archeology of Jaffa I: Early Jaffa: From the Bronze Age to the Persian Period*. Los Angeles: University of California. The Costen Institute of Archeology at UCLA. p. 63.

[53] Elkayam, Mordekai. (1990). *Jaffa – Neve Tzedek*. Tel Aviv, Israel: Ministry of Defence. (Hebrew).

So that one can appreciate just how small this area is, here are some physical data: the contemporary area of both cities, Jaffa and Tel Aviv, is 50,000 dunam (50 km^2, Toronto is 630 km^2), it has 12 km of seashore (Toronto 43 km) and is 3-6.5 km wide (Toronto 21 km). To its south are the cities of Bat Yam and Holon, to the east are Mikve Israel, Or-Yehuda, Givatayim, Ramat Gan and Bnei-Brak, to the north Ramat Hasharon and Herzeliya, and to the west is the Mediterranean Sea. As it is surrounded on all sides, either by other cities or by the sea, it cannot expand in any direction.

The old city of Jaffa was built as a citadel on a protruding hill, a rock which slightly overhangs the coastline and grants the city a view overlooking the sea as well as a clear vantage point to see everything approaching from the sea. The city's natural port is located at the foot of the hill, a harbour anchorage recognized as one of the oldest ports in the region. Its beauty can be seen from afar. Arriving from the sea, Druyanov described it as "a beautiful bride… gold in the sky and blue/azure is the sea… blooming trees and orange perfume. The columns of buildings… as though they were mounted on top of each other, raised and raised beautiful houses and their flat roofs, as if introducing the traveller's expectations of rest, relief, tranquility, calm, and peace." In the original Hebrew:

האדם הרואה את יפו מרחוק: "...כלה יפה...זהב בשמים ותכלת ים, גאון גבהה וירק דשאים, לבלוב אילנות ובושם תפוחי זהב ומבין טורי הבניינים...כאילו רכובים אלו על אלו, ירומו ויגבהו בתים יפים ונשאים וגגותיהם השטוחים יבשרו מנוחה ומרגוע"[54]

Natali Lipin, an artist who painted the city of Jaffa and wrote about its beauty, repeats a well-known folktale that the Jewish tradition associates Jaffa with Japheth, the son of Noah. When the great flood ended, Japheth left the Ark and headed to the sea to found the city, which he named

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[54] Druyanov. A. (1934). *The Book of Tel Aviv*. Vol. 1. Tel Aviv, Israel: Tel Aviv Book Committee with Tel Aviv City. p. 63. (Hebrew)

after himself (also according to the narrative legend, the Jewish Midrash Haggadah).[55] Lipin describes Jaffa as a unique city, sensual and puzzling, a city surrounded by mystery and magic. Its past evokes memories of invaders and conquerors, pilgrims, curious researchers, foreigners and free spirits of every land and tongue. No wonder, concludes Lipin, that Jaffa is named "the Bride of the Sea," wrapping herself in splendor for her groom, who responds with the song of his waves. Jaffa's nickname "the Bride of the Sea" is still maintained by those who remember its glorious times. (Its Hebrew name 'Yaffo' is very close to the Hebrew word for 'beautiful'- Yaffa (f) ‏(יפה, יפו)‏.[56]

Certainly, the attractive pictures go very well with songs about Jaffa. There are many songs describing Jaffa as beautiful, nostalgic, romantic, burdened with a long history, built in a special architectural style, and unique, with no possible comparison to any other city in the world. There are many examples of performances on YouTube; one from the 1920s, for example, even praises Jaffa in Hebrew.[57] Jaffa's beauty was also a source of its wealth. Dispatches found in the area describe Jaffa's beautiful gardens, orchards, delicious fruits, and the beautiful local girls, concluding with a description of the place as cultured and friendly:

> ‏" אתה בא ליפו: הנך מוצא את הגן בעצם פריחתו, ובעיתו. הנך בא לתוכו לאכול את פריו, אתה מוצא את‏
> ‏העלמה נוטרת-הגן והנה יפת תואר...ארץ תרבותית וידידותית"[58]‏

> "You come/enter into Jaffa: you find the garden fully flowering on its proper time. When coming in you eat of its fruits, and here you find the beautiful girl guarding the garden... a cultural, friendly country".

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[55] Lipin, Natali. (2000). *Jaffa-Bride of the Sea*. Israel, Gama-Skan Prepress. Pp. 5-9. (Hebrew).

[56] "... they are derived from the same root: y.p.w./y.p.y. ⮕ y.p.h. Yafo is indeed "the beautiful city." Thank you, Prof. Carl Ehrlich, for this information.

[57] A YouTube filme praising Jaffa: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6j4Xtlrhvzg

[58] Tolkowski, Shmuel. (1926, First 1923). *The Gateway of Palestine: A History of Jaffa*. Tel Aviv : Dvir Publication. p. 16.

In *Al Juzzur-Al Yafiyyah* (*The Roots of Jaffa*, 1993), a book of memoirs written by the second-generation Jaffaite author, Hana Malak, one also finds such descriptions. Malak knew Jaffa only through photographs and stories he had heard from his ancestors, who fled Jaffa in 1948, and nonetheless writes that:

> "Our beloved Jaffa is the bride of the sea in her sweet fragrance and perfume of blooming oranges and lemons, planted by our fathers' hands and renewed through the years on the sand... of its white sea."[59]

This quote offered by Mark Levine was taken from an Arab writer, Hana Malak. It is an interesting quote that mentions the sand. Malak was longing to imagine the city of Jaffa, which he never saw, and which according to what he heard from his ancestors, was also connected tightly to the sand. Yet Levine claims in another part of his book, that the whole story of the sand is a myth, relating it to the imagination of the new settlers:

> "...it is clear that this notion of a city born out of the sands was a fundamental trope in Tel Avivian self-imagination".[60]

Sharon Rotbard adds to Levine's claim saying that the sand is only a story decoration:

> "In the end, the sand, the dunes and the wilderness are only literary lottery decoration within the wider story".[61]

While in another place Rotbard offers a more extreme opinion to the sand issue, he argues that the sand story of Tel Aviv is a total deception due to the fact that the settlers had to remove the sand away, in order to build on a steady land foundation, when using new material they brought to the land, such as concrete. I.e., yes, an empty land but not full of sand. Yes, an empty land but without the sand:

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[59] Levine, Mark. (2005). *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine 1880-1948*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. p. 145.

[60] Levine. Ibid. p. 155

[61] Rotbard Sharon. Author. Gat Orit (Trans. From Hebrew). (2015). *White City Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv Jaffa.* MIT Press. P. 52

"One of the greatest deceits of Tel Aviv's urban legend has been that the White City was built on the dunes. In reality the city was not really built *on* the dunes at all, but *instead* of them…in order to build modern Tel Avivian buildings with concrete foundation, one needed to remove the sand and the sandstone layer…Tel Aviv 'shaved' the natural topography of the region in order to carve its own place, not *on* the dunes but *in lieu* of the dunes."[62] (the italic words were written, originally, by the author)

The Sand issue will be discussed further in the next chapter, under 'Tel Aviv establishment'.

As from here, I will go back and continue the discussion about the city of Jaffa. First, the following pictures of contemporary Jaffa, its port, and the construction of the city, just to illustrate its unique beauty:

Figure 12: Contemporary Jaffa
(https://www.google.com/search?q=%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95+%D7%AA%D7%9E%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%95%D7%AA&rlz=1C1CHBF_enCA707CA707&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjBhPKB88ffAhXNqIMKHbxmCowQsAR6BAgAEAE&biw=1920&bih=938)

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[62] Rotbard. Ibid. p. 43

Figure 13: Another angle (see link above)

Its port served as the gate to the Holy Land, the closest one for those who wanted to continue towards Jerusalem, Nablus, Gaza, and others, and it was the same for those who came from the south, as it was easier to cross the sea than the dry desert. This fact contributed to the prosperity and identity of the local inhabitants for generations. The ongoing traffic turned the city into a colourful, diverse, social, economic, and cultural centre of the region.

Owing to its geopolitical situation, Jaffa was also a transit point between Egypt in the south and Damascus in the north, whether by land or by sea. This fact involved the city in many struggles among different powers that wanted to control this important strategic transit point while also establishing a tradition of centrality for Jaffa in the region. Yet, at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, Jaffa ceased to serve as only a transit place. That it became attractive in other ways to many people, also to the Jews, is testimony to the city's cosmopolitan character. A closer look at Jaffa's history thus reveals a long trajectory of

Jaffa as a meeting point and space of encounter that continues up until the city's extraordinary and unique status at the beginning of the twentieth century.

2.2   Early Jaffa

Over many centuries, Jaffa was 'Terra Irredenta': Terra=land, Irredenta=a region that is under the political jurisdiction of one nation but is related to another by cultural, historical, and ethnic ties.[63] Jaffa was a place that was ruled by different kings and rulers who wanted to control the natural port, the main gateway to the important places inland and a strategic crossroad location between the continents. As such, the city became a conflict area, a scene of struggle, and a magnet for invaders and nomads. According to Shmuel Tolkowski, the city was at the top of the list of places to be conquered and controlled.[64]

Jaffa is mentioned in scattered documents through multiple periods of empires and rulers: the Canaanite, Philistine, Israelite, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Crusader, Late Islamic, Ottoman, and the British. Each of these periods left their mark on the city. Each wanted to take control of the city as a principal strategic military base while also enjoying the view from the seashore, a central place for leisure and a major centre for commerce. Jaffa changed cultures and hands among various nations and empires and survived many cycles of hardship. It was repeatedly defeated, destroyed, ruined, looted, and besieged, but it also experienced cycles of peace, reconstruction, and prosperity.

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[63] Dictionary.com

[64] Tolkowski is one of the most important sources for reconstructing Jaffa's history, which according to his writings started around 4000-2500 BCE. Tolkowski uses primary sources such as letters and correspondence sent to and from this city over many centuries. Most of the books about Jaffa written afterwards rely on Tolkowski's findings. Tolkowski, Shmuel. (1926).

2.2.1   Archeology in Jaffa

"שמה של יפו נשתמר עד ימינו ומקומה אינו מוטל בספק "

"The name of Jaffa has been preserved to this day and its location is uncontested." [65]

Jacob Kaplan, one of the first archeologists in the area, claims that Jaffa is a unique place. Like other ancient cities, Jaffa has raised the curiosity of scholars and researchers, but a thorough archeological investigation was difficult in Jaffa before 1948 due to its dense construction, one building and level on top of the next. During the war of 1948, many buildings were destroyed, and archeological research became viable. Since then, many archeologists, Israelis and others, started digging and have brought new insights into Jaffa's history. The following picture of contemporary Jaffa illustrates the difficulties that archeologists face in excavating and exploring the site while also showing the beauty of the city for those who approach it from the sea.

Figure 14: Contemporary Jaffa and its natural port. View from the sea,
https://www.google.com/search?q=pictures+of+Jaffa&rlz=1C1CHBF_enCA707CA707&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=HJq6JlRI
0Qci8M%253A%252CTPZ46NCi_f4YQM%252C_&usg=AI4_-kRVtK0RIP8FgNCg9y2bDtlIa

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[65] Kaplan, Jacob. (1959). The Archeology and History of Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Since the very old days up to the Arabic period. Tel Aviv: Masada Publication LTD. Pp. 20-51. (Hebrew).

Ruth Kark describes Jaffa as one of the oldest port cities on the planet.[66] She indicates that Jacob

Kaplan identified a small settlement in that location as being 7500 years old. At the beginning of

the twenty-first century, further archeological excavations confirmed that Jaffa had long been

part of a coastal network, sharing political and economic relations with others.[67] Based on his

archeological excavations and findings, Kaplan concluded that Jaffa existed already during the

Paleolithic period (more than 10,000 years back):

> " השרידים שנתגלו בקרבת תל אביב מעידים כי שטח העיר נכלל בתחום מחייתו של האדם
> הקדמון... נמצאו 'אבן-יד' מעשה ידי אדם הקדמון, וקטע של שן פיל. שני חפצים שייכים לפרק הקדום
> של תקופת האבן ...ראשיתה של התיישבות קבע בתחומי העיר, חלה עם סיומה של תקופת האבן
> התיכונה וראשית תקופת האבן החדשה...נמצאו חפירות...מתקופה זו צמחה ונתפתחה תרבותו של
> התקופות ההסטוריות...ראשית הציוויליזציה האנושית"[68]

> "The remains discovered near Tel Aviv attest that the area was included in the ancient
> main place of living… handmade stone was found that had been made by the ancients
> and a piece of an elephant tooth, two objects which belong to the early part of the Stone
> Age… the beginning of a permanent settlement in the place… the beginning of human
> civilization."

Findings include small statue idols, worship remnants, arrows, and spears from the Neolithic

period (7500-4200 BCE). Human and animal skeletons, broken vessels, and human-made pits

were found from the Chalcolithic period (4200-3100 BCE), while stamps and stoneware pottery

were found that date back to the Bronze Age (3100-1250 BCE), i.e., the Canaanite period. The

Middle Bronze Age (2100-1730 BCE) is the age of the Jewish forefathers: Abraham, Isaak, and

Jacob. This is the time the Land of Canaan was established, supposedly this is the main Zionist

claim to the land.

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[66] Kark, Ruth. (1984). *Jaffa-A City in Evolution 1799-1917*. Jerusalem, Yad Izhak Ben Zvi publication. p. 1. (Hebrew)

[67] Burke, Aaron, A. Burke, Katherine Stranch. And Peilstöcker, Martin. (Eds.) (2017, first 2011). *The History and Archeology of Jaffa I: Early Jaffa: From the Bronze Age to the Persian Period*. Los Angeles: University of California. The Costen Institute of Archeology at UCLA.

[68] Kaplan, Jacob. (1959). *The Archeology and History of Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Since the very old days up to the Arabic period*. Tel Aviv: Masada Publication LTD. p. 20.

New cities were built on older settlements. Kaplan claims that during the Bronze Age,

Semitic tribes invaded the place, introducing a new culture and building other cities, such as

Jerusalem, Gezer, Megiddo:

> "In the gate area of the eastern rampart at Jaffa, massive wall sections of a mud-brick
> fortress were exposed, and, at the center of the tell opposite St. Peter's Church, burial
> remains, and two pottery kilns were unearthed. In one of the kilns, of which the opening
> and flues had been preserved, a pottery jar was found, of a type unique for this
> country."[69]

Excavations revealed international connections between Persia and Mesopotamia during the late

Chalcolithic period, which turned Jaffa into an important location, serving as a passage and

crossroad between established royal kingdoms of distant areas. Some of the findings can be

found in excavation areas in Jaffa, which promise to shed more light on Jaffa's early history and

its central role in the region (Figure 15):

Figure 15: Excavations in Jaffa: http://www.yaffo.co.il/article_y.asp?id=411

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[69] Kaplan, Jacob, "The Archaeology and History of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, In: *Biblical Archaeologist* 35/3 (1972) 76. And*: The Archeology and History of Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Since the very old days up to the Arabic period.* Tel Aviv: Masada Publication LTD

The following (Figure 16) is a gate discovered during an excavation in Jaffa. It was erected to honour Egyptian Ramesses' triumphant return to Egypt, after his battle against the Hittites at Kadesh on the Orontes in 1274 BCE.

Figure 16: Jaffa Town gate, 13th century BCE. Built as a dedication to Pharaoh -Rameses II[70]

While the bulk of research on the region has usually focussed on Jerusalem, several sources reveal Jaffa's long history as an equally important regional centre. It was characterized by the socio-demographic diversity of different ethnic groups, races, religions and faiths, nationalities, and a range of languages. All lived among others, or replaced each other, which was typical of the region. During the Roman period, for example, Julius Caesar returned the city to the Jews (47 BCE), claiming they were its ancient masters. He even exempted Jaffa's Jews from paying taxes to Rome:

בשנת 47 לפנה"ס יוליוס קיסר מצווה: "...וכן היה ברצוננו, כי העיר יפו אשר היתה ליהודים בראשונה, כאשר כרתו ברית ידידות עם הרומאים, תהיה להם כאשר היתה בתחילה..."

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[70] Jaffa's Town Gate: https://howlingpixel.com/i-he/%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95_%D7%94%D7%A2%D7%AA%D7%99%D7%A7%D7%94)

> "And this is our desire that the city of Jaffa which belonged to the Jews first place, when they made peace with the Romans, they will have it as was initially…"[71]

2.2.2   Ancient Canonical Sources

Other ancient sources than archeology in which the city is mentioned include the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and Greek mythology. The following examples are the more prominent and better-known ones. According to the Hebrew Bible, King Solomon needed wood (cedar) to build the Temple in Jerusalem. For this purpose, he sent his people to Hiram, the king of Tyre (Lebanon), who sent back the following answer:

> "… and we will cut wood out of Lebanon, as much as thou shalt need; and we will bring it to thee in floats by sea to Joppa; and thou shalt carry it up to Jerusalem" (2 Chronicle, 2:15). [72]

A second example, also taken from the Hebrew Bible, is the story of the prophet Jonah, who refused to bring bad news to the city of Nineveh. He ran away and ended up inside a whale:

> "… But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord; and he went down to Joppa, and found a ship going to Tarshish; so he paid the fare thereof, and went down into it, to go with them unto Tarshish, from the presence of the Lord…The Lord provided a huge fish to swallow Jonah…and Jonah remained in the fish's belly three days and three nights" (Jonah 1:3, 2:1).

> Somehow the tradition translated the "huge fish" into a whale (Figure 17):

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[71] Tolkowski, Shmuel. (1926, first 1923). *The Gateway of Palestine: A History of Jaffa*. Tel Aviv : Dvir Publication. p. 48.

[72] The original Hebrew Bible, states Yaffo, (יפו) but it may appear as Joppe, Yafo, Yafa, Japho or Joppa. The contemporary Hebrew name of the city is still Yaffo, the same as it appears in the Hebrew Bible.

Figure 17: The Whale sculpture in Old Jaffa. 1983. By Ilana Gur. https://www.pikiwiki.org.il/image/view/12408[73]

There is a story that some Jews in Jaffa were among the first to adopt Christianity:

"אחדים מתושביה היהודים של יפו, היו בין הראשונים שקבלו עליהם את הנצרות"

"Some of Jaffa's Jews were among the first to adopt Christianity." [74]

The New Testament gives details about Peter's dream that include mention of the city. After performing miracles in the Jaffa, Peter continued his journey to Rome, where he was crucified for his preaching (his tomb is still there): "I was in the city of Joppa praying…" (Acts 11:5, J.B. Phillips New Testament).

Due to its importance as a crossroads, many myths and tales are connected to the city. A well-known example is taken from Greek mythology. Poseidon, the god of the sea, chained beautiful Andromeda to one of the rocks of Jaffa to be sacrificed and eaten by a sea monster, but

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[73] A YouTube video showing the Whale sculpture in Jaffa, as well as some of the Arabic construction around Old Jaffa.   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LaAHjA-jsOQ

[74] Tolkowski, Shmuel. (1926). *The Gateway of Palestine: A History of Jaffa*. Tel Aviv : Dvir Publication. p. 5.

instead she was rescued by Perseus.[75] During the summer, the city of Jaffa runs an audio-visual show, supposedly on the same rock, which is still called the Rock of Andromeda. The cool summer evening's spectacle runs against the background of soft sand, the sound of the waves, the bright sky, the light of the moon, the added artificial lights, music, and the storyteller. All come to enforce the feeling of the drama of poor, chained Andromeda. One should glean from this section the significant weight of Jaffa's thousands of years of existence.

2.3   Jaffa Becomes Modern

The end of the eighteenth century found Jaffa on the precipice of its modern history. Some early significant dates are:

1516   The Ottoman Empire conquers the region. No traces of Jews can be found in the area.[76]

1521   A Turkish map does not show Jaffa at all.[77] Its location is labeled as the port of Ramleh.

1615   Christians 'discover' Jaffa, first the Franciscan monks controlling pilgrims.[78]

1750   Muslims take over, and schools are opened to the Arab Muslims living in the city.[79]

Economic connections with Europe as well as political and social changes, not to mention more pilgrims to Jerusalem, elevated Jaffa's importance. More people moved to live in the city. A visitor named Eslekwis wrote in 1751 about the positive development of Jaffa, from which one can assume that he had visited the area before, or heard about it from other visitors, to be able to compare:

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[75] Grant, Michael. Hazel, John. (1993. First 1973). *Who's Who in Classical Mythology*. Oxford Uni. Press. p. 31.

[76] Tolkowski. Shmuel. (1926). *The Gateway of Palestine: A History of Jaffa*. Tel Aviv : Dvir Publication. p. 128.

[77] Vilnai, Zeev. (1965). *Tel Aviv-Yaffo the biggest city in Israel*. Jerusalem, Achiever Publication. (Hebrew).

[78] Ram, Hanna. (1996). The Jewish Community in Jaffa: From Sephardic Community to Zionist Center. Jerusalem: Carmel Publication. (Hebrew).

[79] Cohen, Amnon. (1973). *Palestine in the 18th Century: Patterns of Government and Administration*. Jerusalem: Magness Press. Hebrew University. p.155.

<div dir="rtl">

זה עתה החלה יפו לשפר את המראה העלוב שציין אותה לפני שנים אחדות בלבד, הודות לבניית "
"רציף הנמל וכמה מחסנים הבנויים מאבן

</div>

"Jaffa has just started to improve the poor look that marked it only a few years ago,
thanks to the construction of the wharf port and several warehouses built of stone." [80]

Jaffa's size was now between that of a village and a small city. It was a city but also an agricultural settlement with a shallow harbour. The port was small and dangerous, full of rocks, and the sea water was not deep enough for bigger ships to dock. The port was still unprotected and open to bandits, a situation that continued until the middle of the nineteenth century. The Arab population, which had become a majority in the region, preferred to live next to the port. New mosques were built and soon outnumbered the monasteries. In 1753, the first synagogue was built in Jaffa (supposedly for the transit Jewish pilgrims). The French Consul in Sidon reported in 1753 that Ramleh, which had been a large Arab city, was left with only one thousand inhabitants, while Jaffa had become larger, with five to six thousand residents:

<div dir="rtl">

בעוד שבעבר היתה רמלה אחת הערים בעלות המסחר הער ביותר בארץ ישראל ויפו היתה מקום "
שומם ומוזנח, הרי עתה התהפך הגלגל. ברמלה נמצאים עתה רק אלף תושבים לעומת חמשת-ששת
"אלפים נפש ביפו

</div>

"While in the past Ramla was one of the active cities in the Land of Israel, and Jaffa was desolate and neglected, now the wheel has turned, Ramla has now only a thousand inhabitants compared to five to six thousand people in Jaffa." [81]

In 1799 Napoleon invaded the area, conquered Jaffa, destroyed the walls, and looted the city. His soldiers committed a massacre, butchering men, women, and children. In addition, a plague infected the city. Jaffa's Arab population fled for their lives, leaving only the Christians behind. The city was destroyed and deserted, and the roads once again opened to robbers and thieves.

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[80] Ram, Hanna. (1996). The Jewish Community in Jaffa: From Sephardic Community to Zionist Center. Jerusalem: Carmel Publication. (Hebrew). p. 118.

[81] Ram, Hanna. (1996). Ibid. Pp. 16-17.

On the eve of Napoleon's invasion, Jaffa was populated with Greek and Turkish merchants, about 30,000 people, and only 10 Jewish families, who served as translators due to their knowledge of languages such as French, Italian, Greek, and Arabic. A letter sent by Napoleon to the Jews in Europe encouraged Jews to immigrate to Palestine.[82] The Jews accepted this message as a clear sign of redemption, coming from the hero of the revolution that promoted the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity for all, including the Jews. Napoleon's short-lived invasion of 1799 of the region generally marks the beginning of Jaffa's modern history.

2.4   The Significant Transition of Jaffa during the Nineteenth Century

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were marked by colonial expansion and 'opened' the world to Western artists to travel overseas to faraway places. Europeans were fascinated by the Orient and turned the magic that was revealed to their eyes, ears, and tastes into artistic expressions. Painters used their talents to share some of their impressions of Eastern experiences with their audiences back home, offering up an unknown exotic culture and acting as a potential bridge of acquaintances between the Middle East and the West. These Orientalists brought the Arab world to the West but also contributed to some mutual understanding. In the mid-nineteenth century, when photography had just been invented but was still limited in dissemination, these paintings aroused the imaginations and fantasies of those who saw them and led to more and more talented artists travelling to the 'mysterious' East to explore this old world that was new to them.

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[82] Elkayam, Mordekai. (1990). *Jaffa – Neve Tzedek*. Tel Aviv, Israel: Ministry of Defence. (Hebrew). Pp. 17-18

Figure 18: Bauernfeind, Gustav, The Market in Jaffa, 1887, oil painting. [83]

This 1887 painting by Gustav Bauernfeind can serve as an entry to the Levantine, "oriental" atmosphere of Jaffa at the end of the nineteenth century. It is exemplified by bold colours, expressing the vitality of the oriental market in the city. Bauernfeind depicts the attractions of the east: the clothes, the turbans, the merchants, some sitting, some standing on the open, unpaved sand, the negotiations between buyers and sellers, animals wandering among the people with no target, the general chaos, and the architecture. The portrayal tells us how exotic Jaffa's market appeared to the painter.[84]

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[83] Turel, Sara. & Amir, Yoel. (2008). Exhibition Curators. *The Orientalists / POSTCARDS OF THE HOLY LAND, 1880-1935*. Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum. (Hebrew)

[84] My thanks to Prof. Thomas Cohen from the Departments of History and Humanities at York University for this contribution.

During this period, Jaffa's population consisted of a Christian minority, a Muslim majority, and hardly any Jews. Mainly Arabic-speaking Jews from North Africa and the Middle East started to settle in Jaffa beginning in 1829. We find Jaffa during the nineteenth century in a non-stop process of urban development of economic and demographic growth. Jaffa's inhabitants became rich due to the services they offered to pilgrims through its port, which was also used for all kinds of import/export activities in the region. The port operated like most of the other ports in the Ottoman Empire. During this century, Sidon (in Lebanon) was the most important port on the eastern side of the Mediterranean. It dictated Jaffa's port activities, which was smaller and shallower. Big ships could not enter Jaffa's port and had to wait offshore, and small boats served as the connections from the ships to the shore, either for goods or pilgrims.

Various ethnic and religious communities moved to the city, and its economic operations grew in multiple directions. In 1849 Sir Moses Montefiore, a British Jew of some means, visited Jaffa and conducted a census that found 268 Jews living in the city, most of them from Morocco and Algiers.[85] They lived in homes rented from Arabs. Most of them were poor and had to work hard for their living. Yet, because of being self-supporting, they were not subject to the Rabbis' authority, especially the orthodox Rabbis in Jerusalem. They were open to new ideas, changes in education, and, in general, their relations with the Arabs were good.

1839-1876 were the years of the Tanzimat, the Ottoman reform movement (Tanzimat is the Turkish word for 'reorganization' or 'correction'). New regulations introduced important changes to previous Ottoman laws. A new constitution was established that opened a new era of equal rights for all citizens. It came to ensure the life, honour, assets, and belongings of all subjects, no matter their religion or ethnicity. Now all people were subject to the same taxes and

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[85] Regev, Yoav. (1984). *Yaffo, Hundred Years and Years. 1820-1921*. Tel Aviv : Hachevra Lehaganat Hateva. p. 35. (Hebrew).

received the same salaries for the same job, especially government employees. A new procedure was established to recruit soldiers, with compensation matching time of service and. Government and military institutions became open to all. There was less bloodshed, violence, and cruelty on the part of those in power, especially for no reason, and fewer capricious, arbitrary decisions.

New banks were established, and advanced regulations were introduced in the financial world. Paper money was printed for the first time in the region, supplementing the existing coins. The religious judges' and authorities' rights were limited. A new law for fair trade was implemented, and efforts were made to put an end to the trade in slaves. All legislation and regulation came from one centralized place. The laws covered multiple areas, from military service to the administration of each niche. The reforms were welcomed by all but especially by the Christians and Jews, who had previously suffered discrimination from time to time.

In 1860, Jaffa's wall started to disappear. A new pier and lighthouse were built. Narrow streets were widened. Entrepreneurs came to the area, buying land around the city, mainly for agriculture. More consuls moved to the city – from Britain, France, Germany, Austria, the US, and Spain, among others. The correspondence exchanged by these consuls with their countries of origin provides valuable information about the city's economy, trade, shipping industry, agriculture, taxes, local government activities, education, health, and army movements.

By 1865, Jaffa's population had grown to 10,000-20,000, and it continued to grow over the next decades.[86] More people moved in from the surrounding areas and from other Arab communities. Christians came from Europe, and Jews especially from North Africa, in addition to some Turkish Jews who already lived in the city.[87]

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[86] Ram, Hanna. (1996). *The Jewish Community in Jaffa: From Sephardic Community to Zionist Center*. Jerusalem: Carmel Publication. (Hebrew). p. 30.

[87] Hanna Ram claims that the Jewish community in Jaffa started in 1840, while Ruth Kark indicates the year as 1829.

A great help to Jaffa's development was the Ottoman Empire's improvement of local transportation. The Empire understood the growing importance of the place and invested in paving a road from Jaffa to Jerusalem in 1869, and later, in 1892, built a railroadalong the same route, the first railroad in Palestine.[88] These improvements, all initiated by the Ottoman Empire, were encouraged and welcomed by European countries. The area was opening now to Western influence and modernization. More elements energized the growth of Jaffa and paved the way for the city's economic boom.

The reform process implemented by the Ottoman Empire is the reason that French historian Nora Lafi pushes back against the notion that reform was pushed only by Europeans. It is convenient for the Western ear to assume that the Ottoman Empire came to be modern only through contact with and under the influence of Europe. However, Lafi draws attention to the fact that it was the Ottomans who initiated the modernization process, something revealed by her study of Ottoman municipal reform.[89] Modernity was a two-way journey, a passage from old-regime structures to something more democratic. The Europeans introduced their democratic culture and influences on the Middle East. Yet those who learned the 'oriental' ways were also influenced by them (any influence is usually mutual at some level), a significant contestation of the idea that a city in the Ottoman Empire was considered essentially foreign to any form of modernity and only fit to receive external (European) impulses. The examples of the Tanzimat, and later the Young Turk revolution, and the reforms they initiated and introduced in the Empire, are clear proof that scholars need to look outside the narrow prism of a European perspective.

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[88] Tolkowski, Shmuel. (1926, First 1923). *The Gateway of Palestine: A History of Jaffa*. Tel Aviv : Dvir Publication.

[89] Lafi, Nora. Mediterranean Connections: The Circulation of the Municipal Knowledge and Practices during the Reforms 1830-1910. In Saunier, Pierre-Yves, and Ewen Shane. (Eds.). *Another Global City: Historical Exploration into the Transnational Municipal Moment, 1850-2000.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. (2008). Pp. 35-50.

Jaffa was modernized as part of the general municipal progress led by the Ottoman Empire. The system, spearheaded by the Ottoman centre, was negotiated and interacted in a dynamic relationship with every city and its local nobles/elites, to fit the reforms into existing social frameworks, usually with no intention of dictating the implementation of an already written codex. Jaffa welcomed these reforms, which helped its growing prosperity, while in religious Jerusalem, for example, it proved more difficult to adapt to a modern spirit.

These new business operations advanced Jaffa's economic development further. Steamboats replaced sailboats, and regular lines of communication were introduced so that Jaffa now communicated with Europe through the telegraph. The new railroad shortened the time to reach Jerusalem from Jaffa to four hours instead of at least 14 hours using horse-drawn carts (by comparison, today it is only 35 minutes by train). Jaffa became a control centre for trade, for collecting taxes, and for the army. The city knew how to profit from these changes, opening a new hospital, improving its infrastructure, roads, communication, telegraph, transportation, and appointing a new army officer and a health supervisor. New high schools were opened (both religious and secular, financed by the government), and equal education was offered. In 1908, when the Young Turks took power after a revolution, more reforms were set in motion in the Empire, affecting all citizens: Muslims, Christians, and Jews.

Accepting Lafi's argument, we can suggest that the process of progress in the Ottoman Empire started before direct European influence. Urban governance used to be in the hands of the landowners and the nobility. Sometimes Ottoman modernity failed to address the diverse nature of cities in the Empire due to the many different religious, national, and linguistic communities; sometimes the old regime was persistent, and it was impossible to negotiate reform, as in religious Jerusalem. However, the Empire understood that old-regime privileges,

exemptions, and old rules were unsustainable in a modern administrative environment. To reach

a durable balance, the controlling centre allowed greater flexibility in the treatment of the

governance of diversity. In most cities in the Ottoman Empire, a modernized municipality

existed before European colonial reforms, and even before the national movement's reforms. The

false portrayal should be corrected: Jaffa's model and pattern, its environmental progress,

changes, and transitions may serve as proof of the need to change the traditional image of the

Ottoman Empire. Lafi's critique can be added to Edward Said's, namely, of the Europeans who

patronized the Middle East Orient, portrayed them as primitive, looked down on them and

described them as an undeveloped "Other."[90]

Not everybody saw Jaffa as an undeveloped "Other." For example, when the German

Emperor Wilhelm II visited Jaffa in 1898, on his way to Jerusalem, he was impressed with what

he saw in the city and offered help to the region.[91] As we know from other sources, extensive

infrastructure measures were undertaken by the Ottoman authorities in preparation for the

Emperor's visit, a new Haifa-Jaffa road constructed, and other roads improved.[92]

The following illustrations are postcards that were printed as souvenirs of Emperor

Wilhelm II's visit to the Holy Land. Many pictures were taken, especially of his visit to

Jerusalem. These specific postcards were published in honour of his entering the region as

everyone else did, through the port of Jaffa. In the first picture, the Emperor is shown at the

bottom left of the postcard, against the backdrop of the city of Jaffa, the Mediterranean Sea, and

Jaffa's port. In the picture on the right, the Emperor appears against the background of a green

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[90] As detailed in chapter one, under the *Orientalism* section.

[91] Regev, Yoav. (1984). *Yaffo, Hundred years and Years. 1820-1921*. Tel Aviv : Hachevra Lehaganat Hateva. (Hebrew). p.27.

[92] Bussow, Johan. (2011). *Hamidian Palestine: Politics and Society in the District of Jerusalem 1872-1908*. Leiden. Boston. Brill. p. 533.

and blooming Jaffa. It is interesting to compare these images of 1898 Jaffa to the contemporary

ones presented at the beginning of this chapter. They reveal almost no difference, as if Jaffa's

physical description and way of construction had stood still over about the past 130 years.
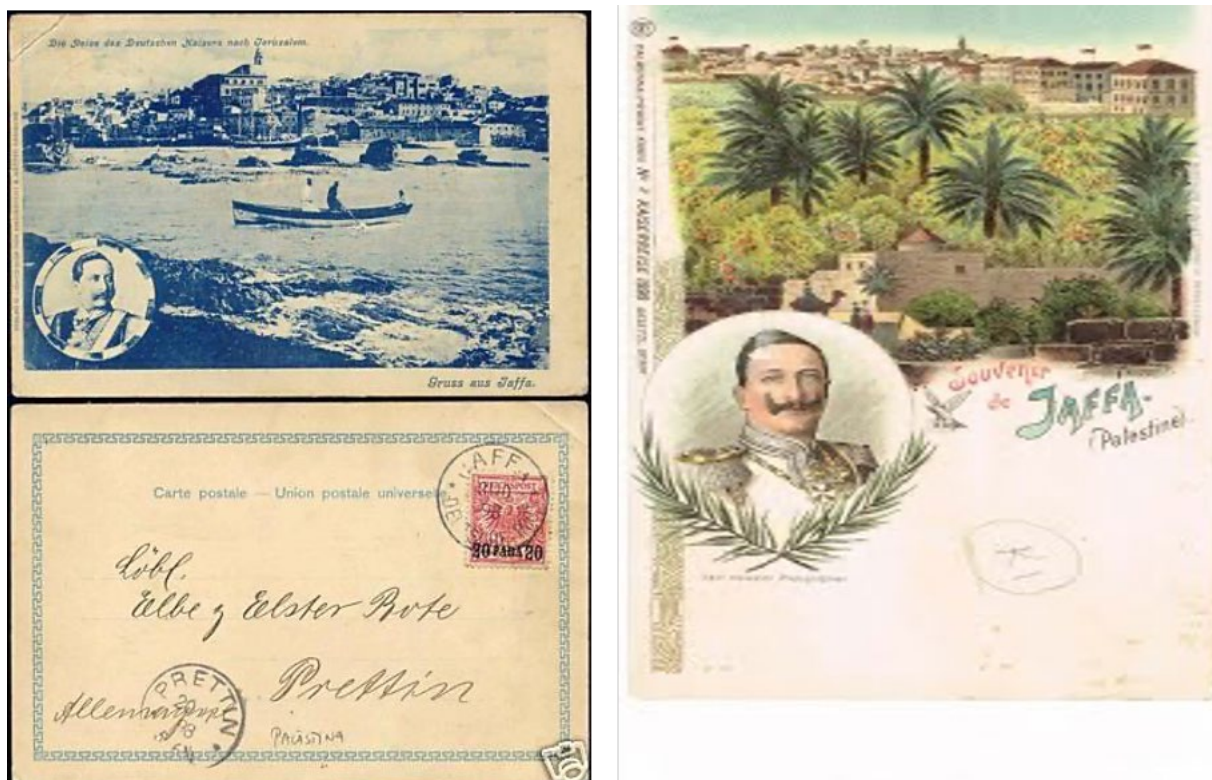
Figure 19: Wilhelm II, German Emperor, 1898, postcards published in honour of his visit to Jaffa. [93]

During the last quarter of the 19ᵗʰ century, Jaffa experienced huge changes in many areas: urban,

economic, and demographic. It was transformed from a small city into an important new port

city in the Ottoman Empire. New schools, libraries, markets, shops, and a custom house were

added to the port on a new dock. Jaffa experienced a great construction boom, and new housing

resulted, for the many new incoming inhabitants. It was necessary to move outside the falling

walls of the old city, and new suburbs were added around the city:

> " יפו היתה לעיר ואם בישראל העולה על יתר אחיותיה...בעשרים שנה אחרונות [1878-1898] נגדלה
> ונשתכללה ונתקדמה העיר יפו הרבה מאד...נתרבו הבניינים עד כי נתוספו גם שווקים חדשים, גם

> פרוורים שלמים נתווספו סביב לה, עד כי העיר הישנה בחוצותיה הקצרות והצרות, בבנייניה הרעועים וכל
> "אי סדריה – הנה כאין וכאפס מול העיר החדשה

> "Jaffa became an important city in Israel surpasses other cities… In the last twenty years (1878-98) the city has grown and advanced a great deal…many new buildings, new markets and new suburbs surrounded it, up to no comparison of the old to the new city." [94]

Jaffa was surrounded by a green belt of gardens, orchards, palm trees, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, figs, and bananas, spreading their aroma with the cool winds coming from the Judean Hills and supplying the city's inhabitants with resources to invest back into the city. Under the British Mandate, Jaffa grew to become the central city in Palestine. The city's municipal boundaries expanded, especially along the beachfront. The influx of foreign currency led to the growing import of luxury merchandise and clothing. A prosperous people, burgeoning middle class, and foreigners already residing in the city could afford a better lifestyle.

There are many historical examples one can cite that substantiate the effects of the changes Jaffa underwent in the nineteenth century. A Jewish newspaper published an article in 1875 by Rabbi Yehuda Alkalai, an important Jewish figure in Jerusalem, advising those who wished to be active in the 'Yishuv' (Jewish Establishment in Palestine) to start in Jaffa, not in Jerusalem, where the Rabbis controlled decision-making. Supposedly he was more a Zionist than a Rabbi. He wrote:

> "... כל מי שירצה לפעול למען יישוב ארץ ישראל, מוטב שיתחיל את פעולתו ביפו ולא בירושלים בה
> "...שולטים הרבנים

> "Anyone who wishes to promote the settlement in Israel, would better start in Jaffa, not in Jerusalem which is controlled by the Rabbis." [95]

[94] Tolkowski, Shmuel. (1926, First 1923). *The Gateway of Palestine: A History of Jaffa*. Tel Aviv : Dvir Publication. Pp. 150-152.
[95] *Havatselet* 6/43 (1875). The page number did not appear in the digital photocopy.

Similarly, Eliezer Ben Yehuda, a major figure in the Hebrew language revival, which will be discussed in Chapter Four, who immigrated to Jaffa in 1881, contrasted the Rabbis of Jerusalem with the free and tolerant life of those in Jaffa. He described Jaffa as open to changes, welcoming new ways of life. Jaffa's openness of mind cultivated a cradle for the Jewish immigrants, becoming a kind of 'melting pot' for diverse Jews who decided to reside in the city. Some of them became rich (the Chelouche family, for example), and some represented their countries of origin as consuls.

Another example of the modern improvements made in Jaffa comes from the writings of above-mentioned Sir Moses Montefiore, a wealthy English Jew who visited Jaffa several times with his wife, Lady Montefiore. His Hebrew diary includes details of his traveling impressions. In one of his recollections, he describes how he had found Jaffa much bigger than expected, with many new buildings added since his previous visit, some months earlier:

> " יפו נראית לנו גדולה הרבה יותר ובתים נבנו במספר רב מאז היינו פה לאחרונה, רק לפני עשרים ושניים חודש" [96]

> "Jaffa now looks much bigger, and it has many new houses since we visited this place last time, only 22 months ago."

Another example, a letter dated 1896 written by an anonymous Jew, indicates that all inhabitants of Jaffa were entitled to the same rights, with no religious differences [97] :

> " הדר מלכנו הסולטן ירום הודו הוציא חוקים חדשים בדבר שיווי זכויות של בני ארצו מבלי הבדל דת"

> "Our great Sultan just issued new laws on the equal rights of all his people."

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[96] Loewe, Louis. (1890). *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*. Chicago, IL: Belford-Clarke Co.

[97] Kark, Ruth. (1984). *Jaffa-A City in Evolution 1799-1917*. Jerusalem, Yad Izhak Ben Zvi publication. p. 31. (Hebrew)

Perhaps the best example of how, in this successful period, people of all races, ethnicities and religions, such as Arabs, Christians (of all denominations, Jews, and other groups, lived together reasonably harmoniously, is given by Yosef Eliyahu Chelouche, a rich Jew and second-generation Jaffaite who published an autobiography in 1931 titled *The Story of My Life 1870-1930,* describing the long, and positive relationship between the Arabs and Jews in the city until the coming of the British:[98]

> " התאמצתי כפי יכולתי לרשום את זכרונותי...ועל היחסים הטובים ששררו בינינו ובין שבינינו הערביים
> במשך תקופה של עשרות שנים עד בואם של גואלי ארצנו האנגלים"[99]
>
> "I did my best to write my memories… and about the good relationship between us and our Arab neighbors during many decades, until the appearance of the British here."

The book became an important document, shedding light on this phase of the city's history. Again and again Chelouche offers examples of the good relationship between the Arabs and Jews, advocating for mutual harmony and working together for the sake of all Jaffa's citizens:

> " הפגישה לשם שיחה בינינו נקבעה בבית אחי יעקב...אחד השליחים היה משורר ערבי...הוא כתב
> שירים בערבית וגם היה חבר פעיל מאד באגודתנו...נהלנו אתם שיחה פוליטית בכל השאלות היותר
> קרובות לנו שנגעו בעיקר ביחסי שכנים שצריכים להיות טובים ובשלום"[100]
>
> "We met in my brother's house… one of the guests was an Arab poet…he wrote Arabic poems and was an active member in our association…we had a political discourse concerning all kind of questions which relate to good peaceful relationship among neighbours."

According to Chelouche, hostile relations between the two peoples started when the British took over. Yet he was confident that this interference would not disturb the peace between the two peoples:

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[98] Chelouche, Yosef Eliyahu. (2009. First 1931). *The Story of My Life.* Babel Publication. (Hebrew).

[99] Chelouche, Yosef Eliyahu. (2009. First 1931). Ibid. from the introduction, p. 15.

[100] Chelouche, Yosef Eliyahu. (2009. First 1931). Ibid. p. 151.

במצב רוח אדישי בעם האנגלי ובממשלה האנגלית למפעלנו הלאומי מסבת סכסוכי שכנים "
ומחרחרי ריב בין שכנים, אני מלא תקווה ואמונה שהשלום בין שכנינו המוסלמים יוקם, ובניין ביתנו
הלאומי ייבנה, כי אין כוח שיעצור בעד חיי שכנים בשלום אם זה רק סם החיים ושאלת החיים בעד
שניהם"[101]

"The indifferent mood of the British towards our national enterprise was causing neighbourly conflicts. Nevertheless, I hope that peace will prevail with our Muslim neighbours, and that our national homeland will be built, because there is no power to interrupt peaceful relationship between neighbours, as it is the essence of life for both."

He suggested that the Arabs and Jews should establish a new kind of community, an example of good relationships, brotherhood, and cooperation. He describes, for example, a situation when he and his family (together with all other Jews) were expelled from Jaffa due to an Ottoman decree.[102] The Ottomans had suspected that the Jews would help Britain against them during WWI. After the Chelouches' expulsion, an Arab family hosted them until Britain took over and the Chelouche family could return to their home in Jaffa.[103] Chelouche offers other such examples that prove a good relationship existed between his Jewish family, as well as other Jewish families, and their long-time Arabs neighbours.

By the twentieth century, Jaffa presented itself as a well-known Arabic entity, with a rich social and institutional history and heritage due to a growing circulation of people, goods, and knowledge. Jaffa's port became more important, competing with the most significant other Mediterranean ports in Beirut, Alexandria, and Istanbul. Arabs controlled trade and commerce in the city. They owned the ships for trade, the export/import activities, and they were also the owners of the large orchards. This era in Jaffa is remembered as a productive, successful, and prosperous one. During this period, Jaffa was for Palestine what the contemporary city of Tel

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[101] Chelouche, Yosef Eliyahu. (2009. First 1931). Ibid. Pp. 361-362.

[102] The Jews were expelled from the area on April 6, 1917, by a decree signed by the Ottoman Military Ruler Achmad Jamel Pasha. Jaffa and the Tel Aviv area were emptied of Jews. On November-December 1917, when Britain won the war, the Jews were allowed to return to their homes in the area.

[103] Chelouche, Yosef Eliyahu. (2009. First 1931). *The Story of My Life.* Babel Publication. (Hebrew). Pp 183, & 224-228.

Aviv is for Israel: the centre of life, commerce, transportation, culture, and all other aspects of

life. In a certain sense, Jaffa can be seen as a precursor of Tel Aviv's status as a global city.

Jaffa's wealth continued to attract migration from the neighbouring Arab areas, as well as

Jews from Europe. As a result, the city grew in space and in population while at the same time

maintaining its beauty. The following contemporary images illustrate some of Jaffa's colourful

streets, alleys, and corners. While revealing the massive renovations that were done to ameliorate

and upgrade the area, with some imagination, one can still see traces of Jaffa's early twentieth-

century's wealth, which made possible such magnificent alleys, and buildings in challenging

terrain for construction:

Figure 20: Contemporary Jaffa. 2018. At typical alley. Taken by the author.

Figure 21: A corner in Old Jaffa. 2018, Taken by the author.

Figure 22: Another alley in Jaffa. 2018, Taken by the author.

Figure 23: Another alley in old Jaffa, 2018, taken by the author.

Before I turn in the next chapter to the city's radical transition from relatively peaceful prosperity

to total collapse, a swing that occurred in a few decades during the first third of the twentieth

century, let me detail two examples of its economic prosperity and success: first, Jaffa's famous

orange industry, and second, a very special house built during the 1930s, namely, the villa that

now serves as the French Ambassador's residence in Israel.

2.4.1   The Jaffa Orange

Jaffa witnessed a great expansion in land cultivation in response to the need to supply oranges to

meet international demand. The increase in supply was possible because of the dynamic

processes and developments initiated through international, regional, and local changes during

the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth century.[104] An improvement in the

transportation system had already been initiated by the invention of the steamship at the end of

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[104] Scholch, Alexander. (2006. First 1993). *Palestine in Transformation, 1856-1882: Studies in Social, Economic and Political Development*. Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies. p. 285.

eighteenth century and its more widespread use during the nineteenth century, as well as the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. All these factors stimulated the development of many coastal cities in the Eastern Mediterranean basin and were vital for Jaffa's economic development and expansion during the early twentieth century.

The economic prosperity of the city of Jaffa was led, among other sectors, mainly by the expansion of the grove plantations, pushing ahead its already considerable main economic niche: the world-famous Jaffa orange. The Jaffa orange was the number one industry to put Jaffa on the international map in the modern era. It was the main factor in the city's economic and social development and an additional contributor to its cultural history, as well as the city's political and philosophical influence in the entire region.

The Jaffa orange was a new variety of citrus, an innovation developed by local Arab farmers in the middle of the nineteenth century. The new sort of orange was hugely successful around the world and became well known internationally due to its unique characteristics: it is sweet, juicy, with a special aroma, covered with a tough skin that is easy to peel, and almost completely lacking in seeds. The orange has a long shelf life and is thus perfect for export. In addition, it has a nice oval shape and colour. This uniquely tasty orange mutation was given a special name: the Shamouti orange.[105]

The international reputation of Jaffa's orange industry soon became the city's main trademark. The brand was pervasive from the second half of the nineteenth century through the Israeli period after the 1948 war. Zvi Kenan, former chairman of the Citrus Marketing Board in

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[105] Ladaniya, Milind. (2010). *Citrus Fruit: Biology, Technology and Evaluation*. Academic Press. Pp. 47-49.

Israel, proudly remembers: "In 1976 we learned it was second only to Coca Cola in the international public awareness."[106] (Coca Cola was the first).

The Jaffa orange's success grew thanks to newly perfected techniques of plantation and cultivation, and due to scientific methods brought to the region by the Jewish newcomers. The Jaffa orange became a marker of productivity and of Jewish-Arab cooperation under the British Mandate, and the citrus industry became the number one export product of the city, both in scope and in foreign currency income, providing a great source of wealth to the orchards' owners.[107] One of them commissioned the construction of an architecturally stunning villa.

2.4.2   The French Ambassador's Residence

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[106] Sivan, Eyal. (2009). Director. *Jaffa. The Orange's Clockwork.* A documentary film produced by Alma Films.
[107] Scholch, Alexander. 2006. Ibid. p. 34.

Figure 24: The French Ambassador's house in Jaffa. A glimpse of the House exterior, east side. [108]

Figure 25: The French Ambassador's house in Jaffa. The North-East angle of the house. (see link above).

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[108]The French ambassador house in Jaffa: http://www.urian.co.il/%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A6%D7%95%D7%91-%D7%A4%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%9D/%D7%A7%D7%99%D7%95%D7%9D-%D7%90%D7%A8%D7%9B%D7%99%D7%98%D7%A7%D7%98%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%99-%D7%91%D7%99%D7%AA-%D7%A9%D7%92%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%A8-%D7%A6%D7%A8%D7%A4%D7%AA-%D7%99%D7%A4%D7%95/

Figure 26: The French Ambassador's house in Jaffa. The north entrance to the house (see link above).

As we saw in the previous section, the orange industry had brought great wealth to Jaffa and its

inhabitants, especially to those who owned and controlled this industry. One of the remnants of

this wealth is a fascinating house, which nowadays serves as the French Ambassador's residence

in Israel. This story offers an example that incorporates the many layers of Jaffa's reality during

its times of prosperity and provides evidence to support the following contentions, which are

essential in clarifying the nature of Jaffa at its peak:

1. Strong cooperation, trust, and friendship between Arabs and Jews, even in tense times.

2. Jaffa establishes the wealth its residents were able to accumulate and the adoption of the

    modern international style of architecture points to the openness of Arabs to modern views

    and new ideas.

3. The origin of the local Arabs' wealth was the Jaffa orange industry.

This luxurious house is a remnant of the friendship, cooperation, and collaboration between Arabs and Jews during the 1930s. It is one of the surviving witnesses to the wealth of Jaffa and arguably one of the most impressive and elegant buildings in the area. This remarkable dwelling, striking both in size and style, was planned and built during the 1930s by one of the leading Bauhaus architects of the period, Yitzhak Rappaport, a Zionist Jew who also spoke Arabic.

Rappaport had emigrated from Europe and thus was lacking knowledge of the original architectural tradition and culture of the Middle East. Hence, he did not have any relevant local experience with the regional materials and construction methods of the Arab builders and their ways of dealing with the local climate. Logically, local building techniques should have been a point of departure for such an operation, and indeed, Rappaport faced a dilemma in integrating his imported European architectural international style into Jaffa's oriental patterns. Finally, he decided for Western construction models, changing the organic rules that had developed traditionally and over many generations according to local custom and Muslim law.

The building that became known as the French Ambassador's residence was originally built for Rappaport's close friend, Ahmed Abdel El Rahim. Abdel Rahim was part of the notable El Rahim family and was one of the richest Arab Muslims in Jaffa. As such, he was also a leader in his community. He owned the largest orange orchards and controlled the orange industry and its export. He asked his friend, the architect Rappaport, to design and build a special house worthy of his wealth. Rappaport was by then a famous architect and had already built a few other prominent buildings in Jaffa, such as the famous St. Louis French Hospital in Jaffa.[109]

The house was built in the then-new Bauhaus style on the best spot of land in Jaffa, on top of a hill facing the Mediterranean. It is an immense, and immensely striking, structure, designed

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[109] The hospital building can be seen in: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7GL24Q_aVno

down to the smallest piece of furniture. Rappaport designed the villa's exterior according to Bauhaus principles, with minimalist, cubic volumes, asymmetrical, straight lines, and simple plain white walls with no decoration. Its flat roof was a novelty at the time, and in the front Rappaport added a huge terrace facing the sea. The villa was surrounded by a large garden and equipped with three parking spots, at a time when there were few private cars.

The famous architect was much more restrained in designing the villa's interior. The inner construction had to serve a traditional Muslim family that followed Muslim rules. The instructions were explicit: separation between the hosting sections and the private ones, and between the men's sections and the women's and children's. The villa also had a detached servant wing with a special entrance.

In 1948, after the Arab defenders of Jaffa had been defeated by Jewish forces, Abdel Rahim, like most of Jaffa's Arabs, fled to Beirut, leaving behind all his assets and belongings, which he entrusted to his friend Rappaport. Luckily, Rappaport refused to accept the Israelis' demand to confiscate the house and presented them with legitimate ownership documents. In 1949, Rappaport sold the house to the French government and transferred the funds to Abdel Rahim when they met in a neutral place.

Since the purchase of the house by the French government, it has served as the official residence of the French Ambassador to Israel. The ambassador's family lives in one part of the house, while the other parts serve as a kind of museum for visitors to enjoy the beautiful building, its view, and its story. The French ambassadors who have since served their country in Israel have not changed the building significantly except for small adaptations to the modern needs of life, such as a new kitchen, air conditioning, electricity, etc., and some international artwork.

The villa is a pertinent example of Jews and Arabs' peaceable co-existence as well as a story of a wonderful friendship. In choosing Rappaport's services, Abdel Rahim took a risk and broke twice with tradition: first, with his cultural milieu, by erecting a modern structure in Levantine surroundings, and then by using a Jewish architect. Yet, Rappaport discretely knew how to respond to the challenge and reach an acceptable compromise with traditional norms, customs, motives, and the regulations of Muslim law, religion, and cultural restrictions.[110] Rappaport knew how to combine tradition with modernism in creating a modern aesthetic for a traditional use. In other words, the villa is a successful translation of oriental custom into a modern architectural language.

In 2003, UNESCO named the city of Tel Aviv a World Heritage Site of Bauhaus architecture, something that will be discussed extensively in its own section (p.). As I discuss in more detail there, UNESCO did not include Jaffa in its designation, even though this beautiful, unique villa is there and not in the Tel Aviv part of the city, and they also ignored the fact that Tel Aviv and Jaffa have been united since 1950.

2.4.3   Jaffa at its Early 20th-Century Peak: A Golden Age

The above example of the striking villa built for a rich Arab by a Jew can be used to exemplify Jaffa's status during the first decades of the twentieth century. Jaffa experienced great prosperity and was well-known throughout the Arab world. Jaffa became more modern and more secular than other cities in the region, especially compared to Jerusalem, which was very religious in those days (and still is). Demographically, Jaffa was second to Jerusalem, but it was ahead as a centre of commerce. Jaffa had become the entertainment centre and contained night clubs, night

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[110] Yavin, Shmuel. (2007). *Bauhaus in Jaffa, Modern Architecture in an Ancient City*. Tel Aviv: Bauhaus Center. (Hebrew).

life, coffee shops, cinemas, theatres, and more. All these activities enriched the city and turned Jaffa into a cultural hub.

Jaffa became a source of inspiration for Arabic writers and poets, singers, and Arab celebrities of the time. The greatest intellectuals and scholars in the Arab world were welcomed as guests of the city and in return left an impact. The greatest artists of the Arab world came to enjoy the place and to perform. A thriving publishing industry developed in Jaffa. Well-known newspapers such as *The Palestine*, one of the most popular Arab newspapers of the period, and *Al-Ach'bar* were published in the city and were sold all over the Arab world. The first Arabic-Hebrew dictionary was published in Jaffa. A busy radio station broadcast in Arabic in the city and was famous enough that the greatest singers, actors, authors, and poets of the Arabic world were attracted to the city to give lectures, to record their music, to play concerts, and to perform in the many theatres and clubs in the city. Among them were the famous Egyptians Farid El Atrash and Umm Kulthum, who are still considered among the greatest singers of all time in the Arab world. Jaffa was known as a destination for cabarets, exotic markets, relaxing hotels, and *hammams* (Turkish saunas). Its location on the Mediterranean seashore became a central aspect of the urban experience of a city that knew how to promote both oriental and occidental cultures in a constantly evolving exchange and hybridity.[111]

In general, in this period Jews mingled with local Arabs, spoke their language, and even dressed like them. Chelouche, for example, used to wear a *galabia*, a typical article of Arab clothing. I can borrow Rachel Hart's term for the Arabs' and Jews' mutual good social and commercial relations during this period. She calls it the "golden age" of Jewish-Arab coexistence

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[111] Chonni Hameagel, presents 'The End'. (2016). Taken from a book: *the end* חוני הנעגל מציג (Chonni Hameagel presents 'The End'.

in Palestine.[112] However, this situation applied to the Jews who had immigrated to Jaffa from Arab countries before the European Jews arrived. It was a sustained relationship between the two groups, despite religious, political, cultural, and socioeconomic differences. Both groups respected each other's needs and interacted daily, mingling their business ventures and social spaces. The combination of Jews and Arabs, old and new, created a complete mosaic of colourful everyday life. As we see in the next chapter, the arrival of the new European Jews in the city changed this status quo.

In his memoir, Chelouche recalls the first time he saw new European Jews arriving in Jaffa. Despite their language, which was (broken) Hebrew, he thought they were Christian missionaries because of their European clothes and appearance:

> בהתחלת הקיץ של שנת 1882 בקרו בבית אבי החלוצים הראשונים מרוסיה ומרומניה שבאו בתור "
> שליחים ויחידים לתור כברת ארץ במטרה ליסד מושבה עברית בא"י. בבית אבא התיעצו על כל צעדיהם
> הראשונים בישוב ארץ-ישראל... הביט קהל עדתנו עליהם בחשד, כי חשבום לאלה מהמיסיונרים
> האנגלים...ולפלא היה בעיני זקנינו לראות אנשים לבושים בגדי אירופא הדורים וכובעים, על ראשיהם,
> אחדים מהם חבשו משקפים וכלם מדברים עברית שמובנה היטב לעדתנו. האם אלה באמת יהודים או
> מיסיונרים אנגלים?."[113]

> "At the beginning of summer 1882, the first pioneers came from Russia and Romania to look for an appropriate piece of land to purchase, in order to establish a Hebrew colony in the land of Israel… in my father's house they asked for advice as for the needed steps in order to settle the land… our community members looked at them suspiciously because they thought they were English missionaries… our members were surprised to look at people dressed in elegant European fashion, some of them even wear glasses, yet all of them spoke Hebrew, which we understood well. Are they really Jews or English missionaries?"

This description of the new Jewish pioneers who came mainly from Eastern Europe to purchase land next to Jaffa (among other areas) in order to establish a Hebrew colony is one of the first steps that changed Jaffa's prosperous reality.

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[112] Hart, Rachel. (2009). *The Relation of the Jewish Community to the Arab Community in Jaffa and Tel Aviv, 1881-1930*. Haifa, Israel: University of Haifa Press. (Hebrew)

[113] Chelouche, Yosef Eliyahu. (2009, First 1931). *The Story of My Life.* Babel Publication. (Hebrew). Pp 51-52.

A general decline in the importance of the agricultural economy in the region also occurred due to local problems, such as the limited availability of water (a general problem for the region), demands for higher wages, rising expenses that impacted profits, the urban need for more housing, a reliance on migrants as cheap labour to cultivate the land, and tensions between the Jews and the Arabs in the area. These local problems were compounded by imported international challenges. Various trade agreements worked against Jaffa's export economy, as did competition with other citrus producers, such as Spain, Morocco, and the United States (Florida oranges) for the same market niche. Most orchards were sold or confiscated after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. The orange trees were uprooted and replaced by building construction.

Today, what remains of the glory of what was once the prominent Jaffa orange industry is an artistic bronze sculpture of a huge orange, situated in Jaffa's central tourist district.

Figure 27: The Orange sculpture in Jaffa. [114]

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[114] The Orange Sculpture in Jaffa:
https://www.bing.com/images/search?q=a+picture+of+the+orange+sculpture+in+jaffa&id=C201A3498BC4A7A5F6DCAC7EA6264E307761BD49&FORM=IQFRBA

Figure 28: The same Orange sculpture in Jaffa, at a different season (same source)

Another interesting remnant contemporary phenomenon is the following picture:

Figure 29: Orange trees planted on the renovated sidewalks, in Jaffa's streets. 2018. Taken by the author.

The above picture was taken before one of my interviews. I insisted on meeting my Jaffa interviewees close to their homes. While waiting, I noticed that small oranges trees had been planted all along the sidewalks on both sides of the renovated street: a remnant of Jaffa's great past, its trademark symbol.

The story of the Jaffa orange is the story of two peoples, Jews and Arabs, co-existing in and eventually fighting over the same piece of land, leading to fierce struggle. As we will see in the next chapter, the problems between these two peoples started when the local Arabs realized what the Jewish aspirations were: they understood that the Jewish vision was to generate a Jewish state and homeland and to change the status quo in the region.

3   The European "New Jews" in Jaffa and the Making of Tel Aviv

In the previous chapter we saw Jaffa building to its peak time as a global city (in the contemporary sense of the term). As we will see in this chapter, Jaffa's path led to total collapse, ending with the 1948 war between the Jews and the Arabs, when Jaffa was turned into a "dead city" in Jane Jacobs' terms.[115] Jaffa became a small and neglected suburb of Tel Aviv, which enjoyed the opposite trajectory.

It is important to consider why very few Jews had lived in Jaffa in its more distant past, a situation that changed only in the last century: Jaffa is not considered a sacred city for the Jews. The four sacred cities for Jews are Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias. Those were the four cities where Jews historically desired to live. Jews who settled in the so-called "sacred cities" were supported by donations from diaspora Jews. Jews who lived in Jaffa in the nineteenth century succeeded socially and economically despite not getting any funding support from international Jewish sources. These Jews spoke Arabic, adopted to the local culture, language, clothes, food, habits, etc., and kept good relations with their Arab neighbours.

When the first European Jews arrived, they could not distinguish between the local Jews and Arabs and were astonished to find Jews who looked, dressed, and generally lived like Arabs in their lifestyle, distinguished only by religion. They were even more surprised to find a friendly relationship between the local Jews and Arabs. Some of them described the Arabs as "negroes black as asphalt" ((כושים שחורים כמו האספלט).[116]

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[115] Jane Jacob's book was an attack on the city planning and planners of her time, a direct accusation of short-sighted or intellectual arrogance of the city planners and architects, as a short way to 'kill' a city. Jacobs, Jane. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York, NY: Random House Inc. Republished 1992.

[116] The word 'Kushi' ('Negro' in English) has become a non-politically correct word in modern languages.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, more and more Jews immigrated through and to Jaffa. The newcomers, secular European Jews, were keen to integrate into the city. For them, Jaffa was more important than Jerusalem, where Jewish life was controlled by the rabbis. As we saw in the previous chapter, Jaffa's community was diversified and secular, a diverse mix of old and new. The lack of donations from diaspora Jews did not bother the secular European immigrants. They came with their own means, and their goals were not traditional religious ones. With the strong political support of the local Jews already living in the city, Jaffa became the new regional Jewish centre. It did not take long before Jaffa became the centre of the 'Yishuv,' the Jewish Establishment in Palestine.

"...לא במקרה...עשתה הציונות המעשית בארץ את צעדיה הראשונים ביפו"

"Not by chance… the practical Zionism in Israel made their first steps in Jaffa."[117]

Jaffa's physical state might have been acceptable, even attractive, for the local Arabs, for the Arab-Jewish inhabitants, and for those who had no other choice, but the European Jews experienced Jaffa very differently, or preferred to imagine it very differently. For them, Jaffa suffered from high population density, heavy air pollution, dirt, narrow streets, and dark muddy alleys. Jaffa had to deal with poor hygiene, no running water, and a somewhat chaotic urban order. The noisy way of living and the absence of elementary health conditions, fresh air, sunlight, and green gardens were not appealing to the Jewish European tastes. They considered Jaffa's atmosphere choking, neglected and poor, and lacking in social and aesthetic norms. They complained about children playing in the dust and garbage, and they were annoyed by camels walking in the city streets.

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[117] Ram Hana. (1996), introduction.

There is much archival evidence in support of this negative view of Jaffa. Two letters found and cited by Yoav Regev demonstrate how divergent views of nineteenth-century Jaffa could be. In the first, sent by Victor Gern, who visited Jaffa in 1860, Jaffa is described as a "paradise on earth."[118] In the second, written by Shimon Berman and dated 1870, Jaffa is described as beautiful from afar, when approached from the sea, but terrible inside, with narrow, filthy streets and half-naked people in dirty clothes, mostly Muslim and making a living from commerce and agriculture, moving in slow motion. Druyanov similarly described Jaffa's stark contrasts, how beautiful it was from afar, but upon entering the city, disastrous conditions were revealed:

> "... אך כיון שהוא נכנס לתוך העיר...מיד יראה את אשר עוללו לה בני אדם...מבואות עקומים וצרים, ... סמטאות חשוכות ואפלות...סמטה בתוך סמטה. כבישים-או שאינם כלל או שהם שבורים ורצוצים. וילדים מתבוססים בחול, באשפה ובשופכין...החצרות מחנק בחום היום...גנים לטיול אין...עניות ורשלנות, תוכנית אדריכלית אין. אין סניטציה והגיינה. עוני, אבק, ומחנק, זבובים בשמש ורפש ואגמי מים בימי גשם. זו השגרה"[119]

> "...but since he entered the city... he would immediately see what the people had done to it... narrow passageways and dark alleys... roads, either do not exist, or they are broken to pieces. Children are spread with sand, garbage, or sewage... the courtyards suffocate in the heat of the day... there are no gardens for walking... poverty and negligence. There is no city architectural plan. There is no sanitation and hygiene. Poverty, dust, and suffocation, flies in the sun, and standing water on rainy days. This is the routine of the city."

An article in the *Jewish Chronicle* dated December 26, 1879, also describes the bad sanitary situation in the city, while another, published in the Jewish newspaper *Hapoel Hatza'ir* dated December 11, 1913, details an initiative of the city's ruler, who consulted the city's inhabitants to find ways to put some order in the city and to clean it. Among the people who participated in these meetings were some Jewish members:

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[118] Regev, Yoav. (1984). *Yaffo, Hundred Years and Years. 1820-1921*. Tel Aviv : Hachevra Lehaganat Hateva. (Hebrew). In the introduction, and in p. 19.

[119] Druyanov, A. (1934). *The Book of Tel Aviv*. Vol. 1. Tel Aviv, Israel: Tel Aviv Book Committee with Tel Aviv City. p. 64.

" לפני שבועיים קרא הקאימקאם היפואי החדש למועצה את אחדים מאזרחי יפו...שביניהם נמצאו גם
הרבה יהודים והתייעץ אתם איך להכניס סדרים וניקיון ברחובות יפו המעופשים..."[120]

"Two weeks ago, Jaffa's new leader called a few of his residents …among whom were many Jews and consulted with them as to how to clean and put some order in Jaffa's dirty streets."

We must ask whether Jaffa was really in this state: did the Jews choose extreme descriptions for a reason?

In addition to perceiving ugliness in Jaffa, the imported European lifestyle emphasized secularism, modernization, and entrepreneurship in the service of their dream to build a homeland. It was not long until the influx of new European immigrants began to change the culture of the place. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, most of the inhabitants of Jaffa, including Jews, were traditional and religious. Most of the Jews self-identified as Arab Jews, Jews who came from nearby Arab countries. They were considered "sons of the place," different yet belonging to the same space. The newly arrived European Jews were different. European women's dresses, for example, were too provocative for the local traditional eye. Chelouche, an 'Arab-Jew,' was not afraid to criticize the incoming waves of European Jews, who intended to transform into 'New Jews,' a term discussed next. He complained that the New Jews were disturbing the calm and the mutually respectful co-existence with the Arabs. He did not appreciate their wish to create everything from scratch while ignoring the existence of all that was already there, as if it was nothing.

Who were these 'New Jews'? The term was introduced by the Zionist movement to capture the ethos of the new kind of a Jewish human who wanted to populate the new homeland. The

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[120] *'Hashomer Hatsayir'* 7/ 8-9, (December 11, 1913).

aim was to differentiate it from the diaspora Jewish secular bourgeois and the shtetel Jews.[121]

The New Jew aimed to be different, physically, and mentally. Essentially it is a myth of a

Hebrew superhuman. The new Jewish body, appearance, dress, habits, and unique characteristics

helped to create this myth and embedded it in early Israeli culture and identity. The image of the

white, masculine, brawny body, which can be seen in the following poster (Figure 30), became

the symbol of the new young Jewish society, and a means for the establishment of the nation.

*Figure 30: The New Jew, as portrayed in publications of JNF, during the beginning of the twentieth century. Published -
'Exported' to the Jews in USA. [122]*

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[121] A shtetel describes an enclave of groups of poor Jewish people who live together in poverty. The term is
derived from the Yiddish for a small town or village, where the majority of Jews lived in Eastern Europe.

[122] Konner, Melvin. *The Jewish Body*. A You Tube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mb8il2RdA_Y. See also:
https://www.reddit.com/r/PropagandaPosters/comments/7d88aj/a_nation_reborn_on_its_ancestral_soil_jewis
h/

As one can see, the New Jew was portrayed as male, tall, wide, muscular, full of energy, white, and with a healthy, strong body. His sleeves are rolled up, ready to hoe the harsh land with his bare hands. The tractor and well-organized, cultivated, green, agricultural land in the background point to the future he is working towards.

Reuven Firestone has described the groups of Jewish immigrants to Palestine, their struggles, and their needs to change their weaknesses in order to fulfill their dreams, and how their need for esteem led to a muscular body and a defence ethos:

> "A range of groups and organizations could be identified as communist, socialist, social democrat, liberal, even fascist, and each generates its own world view. But however individual was the worldview of each party or movement, they also had much in common within the Zionist world of the new Yishuv… the Jews were typically identified through the stereotype of intellectual ability but physical inferiority… by becoming strong of body and will Jews would rise in the esteem of their neighbors".[123]

Michael Glosman also describes the New Jew as a Zionist attempt to provide a contrast to the image of the diasporic Jew.[124] They craved something that was impossible when living in Europe. They disdained their previous image, the one they had when living among the gentiles, the image of a defective, weak, old Jewish body, as described in antisemitic European literature. Melvin Konner calls this phenomenon: the revival of the Jewish body.[125] These Jews are no longer only the "People of the Book" (עם הספר); no longer was only Jewish spirit, intellect, ethics, knowledge, and education important. The "muscle Jew," as Konner calls him, came to declare to the world that "never again" will he die without fighting back.

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[123] Firestone, Reuven. (2012). *Holy War in Judaism: The Fall and Rise of a Controversial Idea*: The New Jew. Oxford University Press. Chapter 11. p. 185

[124] Glosman, Michael. (2007). *The Zionist Body.* Published by the Kibbutz Meouchad. (Hebrew)

[125] Konner, Melvin. (2009). *The Jewish Body*. New York: Schocken publications.

These new immigrants changed the city, and Jaffa was ready to welcome these social, physical, cultural, and economic changes as a city of diversity, building on an earlier history of its position as a crossroads among different cultures. But the cultural gap, the misunderstandings and enmity between the European Jews and the local Arabs, became too wide to overcome while new waves of immigrants caused a housing shortage.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were 4,000,000 people in Palestine. Sixty years earlier, there had only been 1,250,000, and in the year 1800 only 300,000. By 1908, the year of the Young Turkish Revolution, Jaffa had grown to 40,000 inhabitants, 8,000 of whom were Jews.[126]

High rents and worsening sanitary conditions motivated the leading Jews in Jaffa to look for a solution. When Herzl visited Jaffa on October 27, 1898 (at the same time as the visit of the German Emperor), he wrote about his vision of a Jewish state, a modern solution to the 'Jewish Question.'[127] Herzl understood the economic ramifications of excessive land demand. With that idea in mind, he specifically instructed Jews to purchase land but to be careful not to encourage rising prices.[128] This advice fell on deaf ears. With the money the Jews brought with them, they invested and purchased land, which naturally caused an increase in land prices.

The New Jews wanted to change the existing status quo. Their wish was to build a new modern and independent suburb close to Jaffa but not too close,[129] one that would supplement the two Jewish neighborhoods that had already been set up next to Jaffa: Neve Tzedek in 1887

[126] Regev, Yoav. (1984). *Yaffo, Hundred years and Years. 1820-1921*. Tel Aviv : Hachevra Lehaganat Hateva. (Hebrew). p. 49.

[127] In Hebrew we call him : Binyamin Zeev Herzl, בנימין זאב הרצל

[128] Herzl, Theodor (Author). Edited by Baltus, Wilma. (2013). *The Jewish State: Proposal of a Modern Solution for the Jewish Question*. Scotts Valley, California. USA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform).

[129] De-Haas, Jacob. (1962). *History of the Land of Israel: From the Roman Conquest to the British Conquest*. Jerusalem: 'Ladori' Press. (Hebrew).

and Neve Shalom in 1890.[130] They looked for a suitable location in which to create a new social entity, distinct from what they had faced when arriving in this new place and distinct from the one they had known in the diaspora. After many meetings and discussions, they decided to set up a modern Jewish residential space next to Jaffa.

An article in a Hebrew newspaper in 1922 emphasizes the reasons for the total separation from Jaffa. It spells out the motivation for the establishment of a Hebrew suburb in terms of a logic of differentiating themselves from Arab society. Their wish was to distance themselves from the "physical and spiritual filth" of Jaffa.[131]

> " הדגיש 'הפועל הצעיר' כי הסיבה להקמת העיר העברית היה הרצון להתבדל מהחברה 1922-ב
> (הפועל הצעיר) ."הערבית. לברוח מהרפש והזוהמה הרוחנית והפיסית של יפו הערבית 29.3.22

> "In 1922 Hapoel Hatzaiir [a Hebrew newspaper] emphasized that the reason to establish a Hebrew city was the will to differentiate away from the Arab society. Escaping from the spiritual and physical filth of the Arabs' Jaffa."

Several scholars have offered other reasons for the perceived need for the establishment of the new suburb of Tel Aviv. Yosef Ericha, for example, notes that Jaffa was too small to absorb all the new Jewish immigrants.[132] Its capacity could accommodate hundreds but certainly not thousands. In addition, its density led to the feeling that they had to disperse through the crowded narrow dark alleys. Some European Jews asked themselves why they should live in an environment so different from what they were accustomed to:

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[130] Tolkowski, Shmuel. (1926, First 1923). *The Gateway of Palestine: A History of Jaffa*. Tel Aviv : Dvir Publication.

[131] The Hebrew newspaper: '*Hashavua', "Hapoel Hatzair*", 29.3.1922 (There is no mention where in Israel it was published, supposedly in Tel Aviv, as the newspaper of the leading party). (Hebrew).

[132] Ericha, Yossef. (1957). Jaffa. A Historian-literature booklet, chapters in the city history since its beginning to contemporary times. Published by the city of Tel Aviv. (Hebrew).

ושם מפוזרים בסימטאות אפלות, מתלבטים האשכנזים בקרב עם נוכרי-לועז ובתנאי חיים מוזרים ..."
"אשר לא ידעו הם ואבותיהם מעולם[133]

"…they are scattered in dark alleys; the Ashkenazim struggles among the gentiles about the strange living conditions which they and their ancestors never knew."

3.1   The New Suburb of Tel Aviv

Described as a man of vision and action, Akiva Arye Weiss (1868-1947) is known for initiating the idea of a separate suburb for the Jews, away from Jaffa.[134] In 1904 he visited Palestine for the first time. Two years later, he immigrated to the country and settled in Jaffa. He offered a new Zionist ideology: it is not enough, he claimed, to deal only with agriculture.[135] It is no less important to build new Hebrew towns, places in which modern commercial development could supply employment to the Jews. There was a need for a city that would serve as a magnet to draw more Jewish immigrants, a site where cultured people could find what they needed and rest after a hard day's work (in Jaffa). Weiss described this imagined place as a relaxing suburb, with fresh air, flowers and trees around the houses, something I relate in the next chapter to the development of the garden city.

Along with Akiva Weiss, Meir Dizengoff (1861-1936) served as the chairman of the new suburb committee. A Zionist activist and a businessman, Dizengoff later became the first mayor of Tel Aviv, a position he held until his death. Together, Weiss and Dizengoff led a group of young people determined to put into practice the idea of a modern Hebrew neighbourhood. It was not to be a temporary place, nor one for only sleeping, but rather a place for a thriving social

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[133] Ericha, Yossef. (1957). Ibid. p. 127.

[134] A YouTube film about Akiva Weiss in general, the founder of Tel Aviv. His vision and his work. (Hebrew) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1_dTwQhiCC8

[135] Zionism, in general, glorified manual labor, their main ideology was directed towards agriculture and rural/farming settlements.

scene, yet only for friends, which is to say members from the same milieu of modern collective life with the same background, culture, language, and origin.

Many discussions took place about where to purchase the ideal piece of land and what would be the proper manner of living there after it was built. There was agreement that the relevant site, after being erected, would maintain a high standard of living, according to refined (European) behaviour and manners, and a youthful atmosphere. All protocols were observed in Hebrew, although at first members used different languages during their meetings: Yiddish, Russian, German, and Polish, as well as Hebrew. Later, only Hebrew was used at all meetings by all members.[136] The following are some of the meetings' resolutions:

> 1) פגישה ראשונה מיום כא' סיון תרס"ו: כוונת מייסדי האגודה היא ליסד מרכז עירוני עברי במקום טוב לבריאות ומסודר יפה, תחת הרפש והחלאה שבחצאות הצרים של יפו. יקום מקום מרווח ונקי ע"י בניית 60 בתים בבת אחת כך היהודים המפוזרים ביפו יאספו למקום אחד...

> "June 14th, 1906: The group's intentions are to establish a Hebrew urban centre in a good, well organized and healthy location, as an alternative to the dirt and density of Jaffa. A place which would be nice, clean and roomy, and all its first 60 houses would be erected at the same time, so that the dispersed Jews of Jaffa would be gathered in one place…"

> 2) מוצש כח' אב תרס"ו (15.8.1909): נאספו לישיבה 10 אנשים...(שמותיהם), והחליטו ליסד חברה לבנין בתים ביפו בשביל 30 חברים.

> "July 15th, 1909: Ten people came to the meeting (their names…) and decided to establish a company in Jaffa to build houses for 30 members."

> 3) כד' אלול תרס"ו: על הועד הוטל להשיג הלואה לבנין הבתים ...

> "October 9th, 1909: The committee was assigned the mission to get a loan to finance the buildings' construction."

The original project was limited to 60 members. The assumption was that this would make it easier to get the needed loan or mortgage for the project. Each member of the group was asked to

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[136] Druyanov. A. (1934). *The Book of Tel Aviv*. Vol. 1. Tel Aviv, Israel: Tel Aviv Book Committee with Tel Aviv city.

deposit a certain sum and to sign a mutual guarantee as a sign of good faith. Dizengoff insisted, and made it clear, that when obtaining the land, the mission was for each of the members to build their own house. Speculation was not allowed.

A fierce controversy ensued among the people of the Yishuv (the Jewish settlement in Palestine) about whether it was proper to help this group to get a loan to build an *urban* site. Zionism, in general, glorified manual labor, directing funds and energy towards agriculture and rural farming settlements. In the Zionist ideology, a city settlement was considered inferior to the cultivating of land on rural farms. Zionists viewed city life as a continuation of their former European lives, and they had come to Palestine to detach themselves from the European mentality. They also wanted to distance themselves physically and mentally from the diaspora, from the image of the diaspora Jew, as well as from the local Arabs and local Jews. They did not want to be too isolated for security reasons and to prevent long commutes to Jaffa, as they still worked there. Yet they also did not want to be too close or attached to Jaffa in order to eliminate any possible influence from the Arab/Oriental way of life. Their aim was to start a new life as an independent entity detached from Jaffa socially and culturally, yet still dependent economically.

Another significant hesitation about assisting this group financially was the dilemma of facilitating the dream of a young group of people who were considered financially secure, having immigrated from the European Jewish middle class. But the group was stubborn about fulfilling their dream of purchasing an empty piece of land to the north of Jaffa. They did not hesitate to use all means possible to execute their plan, overcoming many obstacles. The first step was to purchase the land, which was not an easy task. They had to convince the Zionist Yishuv to lend them the needed funds. They had to recruit investigators to determine who owned the land. As some of the landowners had already been dead for generations, finding and identifying the

owners and obtaining the proper documents was a huge task, especially as many of the heirs lived far away. When the legal owners were finally found, not all of them were willing to sell. The group then had to use all their connections and methods of persuasion to arrive at a signed sale agreement. Even after reaching an agreement of sale, they had to face the strict Ottoman bureaucracy, as the sale of land to non-Ottoman citizens was prohibited. The energetic young people cleared each barrier that deterred them from their goal. Two Jewish people whom they trusted held Ottoman citizenship, so the land was purchased under their names: Rabbi David Yelin, who was an important figure in the Jewish community, and Dr. Aharon Mazie. They succeeded in purchasing about 30 acres north of Jaffa in their preferred location.

In 1908 the Young Turks took over, and a new regime of young, generally more educated people replaced the old Ottoman one. The new regime held a positive attitude towards the educated Jewish class, and the Jews knew how to use it to their advantage. Among other things, the new rulers facilitated land purchases. Yet the demand for land raised its price and served both sides. The Arabs gained maximum profit from the sale of the land while the Jews fulfilled their ideological needs buying it. Only much later did the Arabs understand the Zionist intentions and realize that land is different from other commodities. A strict decree was announced to the effect that any sale of land to Jews would be considered a matter of offence against the Arab ideology and religion. A Fatwa (a new Islamic law) was established that strictly prohibited selling land to Jews.

But the land had already been purchased, and the idea was taking shape. On April 11, 1909, a group of 60 families from Jaffa gathered on the sandy land that had been purchased. They held a raffle to divide the land among them. It is well illustrated and described in the same picture

presented either by Levine[137], or by Rotbard[138]: This very well-known picture was taken on

1909, it shows the 60 families and members of Ahuzat Bayit (The previous name of Tel Aviv)

standing on sand land. They gathered on the purchased sand land and were prepared for the

lottery draw (of the purchased land from Kamal al Jabali), in order to divide it, of the purchased

land among them into 60 lots. It is the same following picture (Figure 31) showing clearly that

the 60 family members are standing on sand, surrounded all over with sand land. The lottery

picture was taken on April 9, 1909, which signifies the date of the establishment of Tel Aviv.

Being so famous and known to any child in Tel Aviv, Rotbard even describes this picture as:

> "…this picture has given a canonical status for immortalizing Tel Aviv's founding moment". [139].
> Or: "…black and white photographic documentation of an event which supported both Tel
> Avivian and wider Zionist narratives – namely, that the Jewish people had returned to the barren,
> backward wasteland after thousands of years of persecution in exile and, with hard Hebrew labour,
> had 'made the desert bloom.' "[140]

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[137] Levine, Mark. (2005). *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine 1880-1948*. University of California Press. Figure 7, p. 127

[138] Rotbard Sharon. Author. Gat Orit (Trans. From Hebrew). (2015). *White City Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv Jaffa*. MIT Press. P. 45.

[139] Rotbard. Ibid. p. 45.

[140] Rotbard. Ibid. p. 49.

Figure 31: The 60 families standing of the purchased land, north to Jaffa, waiting for the lottery to divide the purchased sandy land amongst them.

Sharon Rotbard continues with his critique discussion when concerns with this picture. He assumes that there was a specific Zionist purpose behind publishing this picture, to become an icon monument of the Zionists founding fathers of Ahuzat Bayit (the previous name of Tel Aviv) for the future generations. As if the picture came to emphasize that the place was never inhabited, and the founding fathers came to redeem this emptiness:

> The photograph of the Ahuzat Bayit lottery, the White City on the dunes-illustrated the famous Zionist formula of 'a land without people for people without a land'".[141]

Yet, the goal of Tel Aviv founders in the purchase of an empty land was to establish something new, a new kind of an urban site, which didn't exist before, and different to Jaffa. It was summarized succinctly in the *Tel Aviv Bulletin* (published in English):

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[141] Rotbard. Ibid. p. 50.

"… the realization for the need for cleanliness, for cultural development and for economy… the main incentive in the desire to do things for themselves… a Jewish center was required in order to safeguard an independent Jewish life."[142]

Shortly after the raffle took place, the first trees were planted, the first street paved, and a name for the new neighbourhood chosen: Ahuzat Bayit (Home Estate). At the beginning of 1910, 60 buildings were already standing on both sides of wide Herzl Street, with streetlights on both sides. Ironically, most of the physical labour was done by Arabs, recruited to work under the instruction of Jewish supervisors and engineers. The Zionists had come to Palestine with the ideal of hard physical work and the goal to build their new Jewish homeland with their bare hands, but somehow this ideal was ignored in this case.

Tel Aviv quickly grew from a small suburb to a small town. Additional paved streets and railways led in many different directions. The impression was that the sky was the limit. More Jewish immigrants arrived through Jaffa and faced the shortage of housing there. The Arab landlords used the shortage of supply to continuously raise rent, while the greater population density, higher rent, and worsening of sanitary conditions led the Jews who could afford it to move north to the appealing new suburb of Tel Aviv.

The new Jewish neighbourhood was soon viewed as competition and a threat to Jaffa's culture spatially, demographically, and economically. Jewish national aspirations, among other reasons, inspired Arab-Palestinian nationalism. Increasingly, the situation turned into ethnic hostility and antagonism.[143]

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[142] G. Hanoch. (1934). taken from the bulletin: *The Jewish Town Tel Aviv.* Jerusalem, Israel: Keren Hayesod. (Hebrew).

[143] Rashid Khalidi does not agree with the commonly held idea that Palestinian nationalism arose as an answer to Zionism. He claims that the first inception of Palestinian nationalism was already present when Palestinians urged a separation from the Ottoman Empire, like many other movements towards nationalism in the Middle East during the same period.

The intrusion of Jews into Arab space limited the freedom of both communities. As we have seen, the influx of Jewish immigrants changed Jaffa's reality in ways that the previous immigrants, who had come from Arab surroundings, had not. Even before the city of Tel Aviv was established, the European Jews in Jaffa had built a new school, the Herzliya Hebrew Gymnasium, in which teaching was held only in the "new" language of Hebrew, and boys and girls were together in the same classes (a new phenomenon in the region). The school was first established in Jaffa and later moved to a new location in Tel Aviv at the end of Tel Aviv's first street, Herzl Street. That both the gymnasium and the street were named after Herzl reflects his importance, and the importance of his two novels – the utopian novel *Altneuland* (*Old New Land*, 1896),[144] and *Der Judenstaat* (*The Jewish State*, 1902) [145] – to the Zionist movement.

Jews may have been able to establish some cultural institutions and new neighbourhoods, but they were confronted with violent resistance that prevented them from establishing the Jewish homeland they desired on the local Arabs' land. Yet, the Jews did not mean to give up. They demanded full spatial separation from the Arabs. Jewish Zionists arrived with money, education, hegemonic conceptions, interests, agendas, and ideologies incapable of adapting harmoniously with the existing reality. The emergence of a national consciousness among the Jews introduced further tension along with the rise of Palestinian nationalism. Arab propaganda against Jews and Zionism spread in the Arab world at a time of an accelerating critique of European imperialism.

The tensions also motivated an increasing number of Jews to flee Jaffa in fear and move north to Tel Aviv or other existing Jewish neighbourhoods. Jaffa ceased to be the main centre for

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[144] Herzl, Theodor. (No date). *Altneuland*. Translated by Nahum Sokolov. The whole book is on the internet (Hebrew) https://benyehuda.org/read/7260

[145] Herzl, Theodor. (1978). *The Jewish State*. Tel Aviv. Yediot Aharonot Publications. (Hebrew).

Jews, a segregation decided by one side only.[146] This disconnection helped to establish both sides as 'others,' with both sides spreading negative stories about each other, full of stereotypes and stigmas. A huge dilemma now arose for the Jews, who were caught between the desire for an urban area with no memory that could put their stamp on but who were also looking for identity and a sense of belonging. In the new neighbourhood, they launched their own new establishments, new markets, banks, hotels, education institutions, and health services.

Jaffa did not escape the fallout of WWI. It was conquered by the European Allies on November 16, 1917. The consuls already in Jaffa, including those of Austria, the US, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Greece, Persia, France, and Russia, played a role in reshaping the region. The first mayor of Tel Aviv, Meir Dizengoff, indicated in his memoir the help given by these consuls. Due to their assistance, he explains, an official Jewish settlement was created next to Jaffa, allowing Tel Aviv to operate as a country within a country. There was no government yet to instruct the city what to do, to interfere or limit the city's tasks, so Tel Aviv was independent, answering only to its own decisions:

> "מתוך ספר הזכרונות של מאיר דיזנגוף: "...בעזרת הקונסולים נוצר יישוב יהודי כעין מדינה בתוך מדינה
>
> "…with the help of the consuls a Jewish settlement was created, kind of state withing a state." [147]

In 1917, Jaffa was still an important economic centre in the eastern Mediterranean basin, and its economic growth was much greater than Jerusalem's. Local political reforms and international changes had gone hand in hand, and Jaffa's inhabitants continued to experience an improved standard of living in many fields: health, education, charity, restaurants, coffee shops, hotels,

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[146] Hatuka, Tali. (2010). *Violent Acts and Urban Space in Contemporary Tel Aviv*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

[147] Dizengoff, Mayer. (1930). *To my Friends of Youth, Stories and Memories*. Tel Aviv: Ii Shtibel. Pp. 6-7. (Hebrew).

hostels, real estate, banks, insurance, services, industrial houses, markets, and many new shops. Freedom of religion was expressed with the construction of new mosques, churches, and synagogues. The city directed investments to better infrastructure, internal and external communication, street pavement, water supply, and sanitation. However, by 1921, through the ups and downs of the conflict between Jews and Arabs, Jaffa had emptied of Jews, as most moved north to the new suburb of Tel Aviv.

The balance between the two peoples changed. A new bitter era of fierce Arab-Jewish competition, antagonism, and hostility began. This tension was encouraged by the British leaders in the region. The British had a better understanding and relationship with the European Jews on account of the similarities in their ways of life and thought. For the Arabs to move from a Muslim ruler (the Ottoman Empire), with whom they had some common ground, to an Occidental ruler (the British) was a difficult change. The Jews managed to take advantage of the new reality and employed the new circumstances to reach their goals.

Tensions escalated with the Jewish campaign to "take over labour" (*kibbush ha'avoda*,,, (כיבוש העבודה , meaning that all work should be done by Jews and only for Jews. For example, a report in a Jewish journal in 1934 originally published in English states:

> "... the idea of Jewish labour, which the builders of the town accepted as a national duty and for the realization of which first workers fought... helped in the course of time to lay the foundations of the economic independence..."[148]

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[148] Hanoch, G. (1934). Taken from an article which appeared in *'The Jewish Journal Tel Aviv'*. Jerusalem, Israel: Keren Hayesod.

By the time of this article, while Jaffa was still a great city, Tel Aviv had surpassed it in size.[149] An article from the 1934 *Tel Aviv Bulletin* advertises to the world the achievements of the young city, only 25 years old, in the English language to be understood by all. It reflects pride in the city, its people, its leaders, its great accomplishments, and its extraordinarily rapid progress and singles out two important facts that explain to the readers why this city is worthy of attention: it is Jewish, and it has a European social and economic structure and culture.
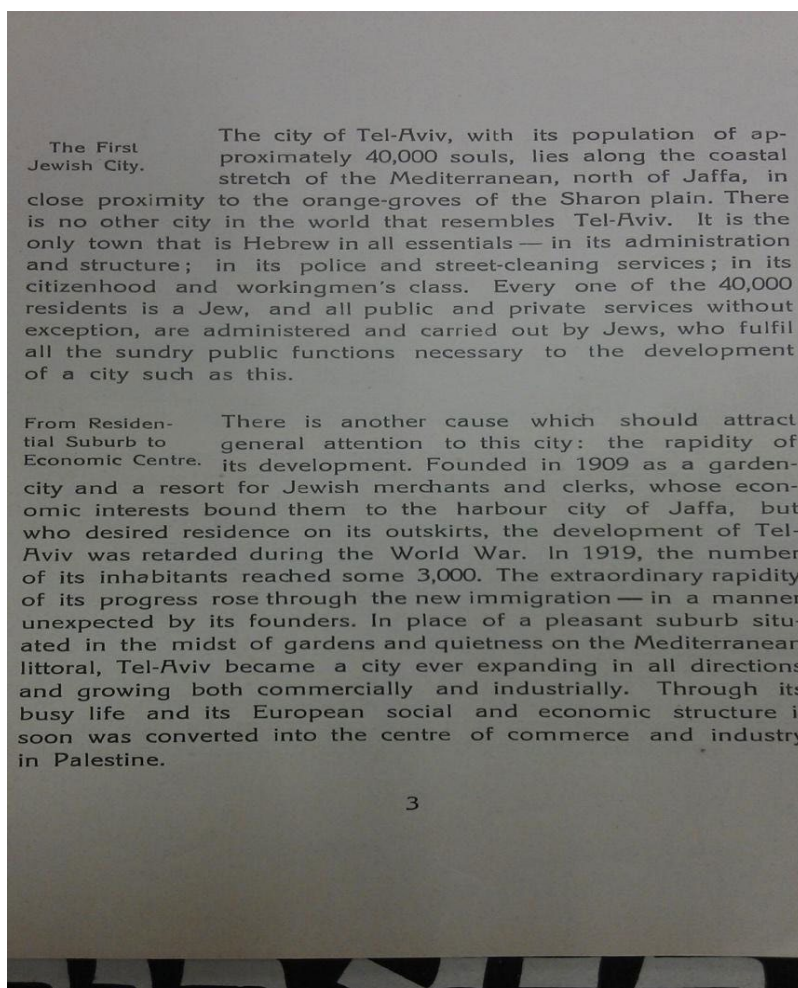
Figure 31: Tel Aviv Bulletin. 1934. An article in page 3. Photocopied by the author.

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[149] Tel Aviv was established in 1909. In 1914 it had 3600 inhabitants. In 1925, it grew into 34,000 citizens. And towards 1936 the number of people who lived in the city was already 120,000. There are three reasons for this population growth: Jews left Jaffa and moved to Tel Aviv, Jewish immigration, and the unification/annexation of Jaffa's two existing Jewish suburbs to Tel Aviv. Jaffa, even as a Global City, never reached these demographic numbers.

The article reflects pride in the city, its people, its leaders, its great accomplishments, and its extraordinarily rapid progress. It singles out two important facts that explain to the readers why this city is worthy of attention: it is Jewish, and it has a European social and economic structure and culture.

In the past, Jaffa had succeeded in maintaining a balance of stability between the various groups of people living together in the same city, Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Now, during the 1930s, Jaffa turned into an unstable and insecure place. The energy of the people was channeled into building high walls and barriers instead of investing in bridges and compromises. Jaffa had served as one of the most important centres of the land and was now afraid of losing its status. The result was an ever-greater escalation of tension. A new reality emerged, a new social order formed based on a clear spatial separation. The Jewish community was blamed for creating a state within a state in the city. Hostility against Jews rose over the growing number of new Jewish immigrants and increased violence against Jews remaining in Jaffa, which became an additional trigger for the Jewish community to accelerate the separation. Any Jew who could afford it now moved away from Jaffa. It was considered the right time to fulfill Herzl's vision, expressed in his *Altneuland* book:

> "We shall not dwell in the mud huts: we shall build in a bolder and more stately style than was ever adopted before, for we now possess means which men never yet possessed."[150]

Following WW2, the reality in the city, and in the whole region, became unbearable up to a point that the United Nations decided on what it assumed would be a stable solution.

3.2   Jaffa: A Dying City

In 1947, U.N. General Assembly Resolution Number 171 partitioned Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. This decision led to an absurd situation: Arab Jaffa, the cultural and economic

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[150] Herzl, Theodore. (Author). (2013). Edited by Baltus, Wilma. (2013). *The Jewish State: Proposal of a Modern Solution for the Jewish Question*. Scotts Valley, California. USA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform).

capital of Arab Palestine populated by an Arab Palestinian majority, was supposed to stay part of Palestine state, yet was surrounded by enemies in a Jewish state, encircled by Jewish neighbourhoods and towns with no connection to other Arab centres.

All Arab states refused to accept the UN resolution. A fight between the two sides began. Jaffa was attacked by Jewish forces, and some of the most beautiful parts of the city were destroyed. The city surrendered on May 13, 1948 and fell under Jewish military rule. The defeat caused most of Jaffa's Arab population to flee neighbouring Arab countries. All the middle class, the city's leaders, politicians, its social and economic elite, and educated populace fled the city. Only the poor and illiterate remained, i.e., only those who could not afford to relocate. Out of the previous 70,000 residents, only 3,665 people were left in the city.[151] Jaffa collapsed.[152]

Since then, Israeli planning and development policy has for the most part ignored Jaffa. All energy was turned toward the Hebrew city, and Jaffa became an inferior suburb. Jaffa's development was stopped by force. Poor Jewish immigrants were directed to settle in the ruins of the empty Palestinian properties in Jaffa, in the houses that had not been completely destroyed. The city turned into a slum and came under the Israeli Development Authority, a national branch of the new government that oversaw all issues of 'absentee' land usage and development.

Jaffa, "the bride of the sea," or "the bride of Palestine," had been a place where social, economic, political, and cultural elites dwelled, but in 1948, it was left with a small, devastated population. Yet Jaffa and Tel Aviv were not to stay separated for long. On April 24, 1950, Jaffa was officially united with Tel Aviv. The Arab population became a minority both in the country and in the city. The port of Jaffa died a slow death and ceased to operate in 1965.

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[151] Goren, Tamir. (2016). Rise and fall, the urban development of Jaffa and its place in Jewish-Arab strife in Palestine 1917-1947. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi. (Hebrew)

[152] Stendel, Ori. (1996). *The Arabs in Israel*. Brighton, United Kingdom: Sussex Academic Press. Pp. 54.

The following (Figure 32) is a copy of the Tel Aviv council meeting, dated October 6, 1949. Tel Aviv Mayor Israel Rokach opens with a report about the decision taken by the Israeli government to annex the city of Jaffa to the city of Tel Aviv. He said that both cities should be merged into one city named "Yaffo-Tel Aviv." Rokach continues with a critique of the government for taking this decision without consulting Tel Aviv. The committee opens a discussion about the name of the newly united city. Rokach proposes calling it just "Tel Aviv." This city, he continues, would be divided into several quarters, one of which would be named "Yaffo." Someone else suggests it be called "Yaffo-Tel Aviv." Mr. Shoshani argued that the name "Yaffo-Tel Aviv" cannot be sustained as Tel Aviv had been the one to conquer Jaffa and not the other way around. Putting the name of Jaffa before Tel Aviv, he claims, would look as if Jaffa had conquered Tel Aviv. At least, he suggests, the united city should be called "Tel Aviv-Yaffo,"[153] a name that was finally agreed on and signed by the council members. In the following Hebrew document (Figure 32), one sees the Minutes of the meeting, which is signed by all committee members:

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[153] Taken from the council discussion about the new given name to the united city of Jaffa with Tel Aviv. The whole name discussion is in the above minute signed by all council members (figure 32).

Figure 32: Tel Aviv council meeting minute. The signed resolution to unify with Jaffa, 6.10.1949. Photocopied by the author. And discussing the new name for the unified citiy.

Jaffa's unification with (or annexation by) Tel Aviv was more important than it seems.[154] It was

a significant step for the young Jewish country, and especially for the young city of Tel Aviv. It

was a substantial decision, challenged, debated, and supported by the best available Jewish

minds of the time. The resolution was decided by the government[155] and discussed again by Tel

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[154] Some scholars insist it was an annexation rather than a unification, for example Alona Nitzan-Shaftan, Monterescu, Rothbard, and most other recent scholarship. While unification has a positive connotation, the new scholars refer to it as a negative one. They prefer annexation, according to the historic facts of how these two cities became one.

[155] The above Figure 32 in previous page.

Aviv's City Council[156]. All its members were Jewish, ultimately resulting in the decision to unite both cities.

Metaphorically, with this swift decision, Tel Aviv turned from a young city in a young state into an ancient one. Jaffa having thousands of years of history, a city which was mentioned in many canonical sources, such as the Bible, brought with it a biblical past, granting the young city a visible history, a sense of authenticity, and a close connection to the land itself. The unification bestowed a soul upon Tel Aviv. It also presented a united image of a hyphenated city, where Jews and Arabs were supposed to live together in harmony.

To justify the new order, a natural claim to return home was raised (As I mentioned already in p. 48: The Middle Bronze Age (2100-1730 BCE) is the age of the Jewish forefathers: Abraham, Isaak, and Jacob. This is the time the Land of Canaan was established, supposedly this is the main Zionist claim to the land). The imaginary of a secure past for the future.

The new country did everything it could to prevent any possibility of disturbing the new meaning established by the hyphen between the names of the two cities. The unification of old Jaffa, the ancient city, with the first Hebrew modern, young town became an example of the national goal of unity as well as a perfect national vision of urbanity. As Alona Nitzan-Shiftan puts it:

> "The key question was how to merge modern life with the imagined biblical blueprint, how to establish Israel's ancient heritage as a matter of fact, a given reality that had simply been lying dormant, waiting for statehood, and moreover, how to translate this desire for a reassuring past into a sense of belonging and identity."[157]

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[156] As detailed in Figure 32, previous page.

[157] Azaryahu, Maoz. And Troen, Ilan. (Eds.). (2012). *Tel Aviv, the First Century*. *Visions, Designs, Actualities.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. p. 376.

Unification brought a biblical aura to the young city of Tel Aviv. From this point onwards, Tel

Aviv boomed and prospered, which is the subject of the next two chapters, while Jaffa faded and

waned in a space viewed through an ethno-national spatial lens[158].

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[158] As will be discussed in the following chapters about Tel Aviv, and Jaffa.

4 Tel Aviv Isolates Itself

Figure 33: Tel Aviv's eastern skyline. 2019. Taken by the author from the author's neighbour's balcony.

Figure 34: Tel Aviv western view. Old North residential neighbourhood, situated along the seashore[159] הצפון הישן ,

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[159] The Old North of Tel Aviv: https://www.themarker.com/realestate/.premium-1.6935861?utm_source=smartfocus&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=daily&utm_content=https://www.themarker.com/realestate/.premium-1.6935861

This chapter discusses Tel Aviv's centrality to the Zionist Israeli project and how it provided a model for the larger project. Tel Aviv was looking for strategies to isolate itself from its surroundings. I identify four aspects that contributed to this result: Zionism, the Garden City, the Bauhaus, and the Hebrew language.

4.1   Zionism[160]

> " לכבוד עיתון הארץ: אני מנוי על עיתונכם מזה שנים רבות. בכתבה שפירסמתם בגיליון הקודם הופיע
> המשפט 'הדיסוננס הקוגנטיבי בין הפוזיטיביזם הקולקטיבי לנגטיביות הדטרמיניסטית היא מהרעות
> החולות של הציונות' ורציתי לשאול-מה זה, לעזאזל, ציונות? "

> "To Haaretz Newspaper: I have been a subscriber of your newspaper for many years. In an article you published in the previous issue, I had read the following sentence: '*The cognitive dissonance between the collective positivism and the deterministic negativity is one of the sickness of Zionism*.' For God's sake I want to know – what is Zionism?"

In the summers of 2017 and 2018, when visiting Tel Aviv for my research, I noticed some huge pictures covering the airport walls welcoming arrivals (Figure 35). It was an exhibition of artwork in the airport entitled *120 Years of Zionism, Zionism is an Infinite Ideal*. This same sentence also opens an elegant 48-page pamphlet (Figure 36), which was distributed to arrivals. It contains stories about "120 years of Zionism", the "establishment of the country", the "State in the making", "Immigration", and "The absorption of people returning to their land". The first page opens with the words:

> "Zionism is the basis for the establishment of the State of Israel… and in fact Israel's entire existence all stem from Zionism… The Zionist revolution is a remarkable phenomenon in the history of humankind."[161]

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[160] Many archives are full of relevant materials about the idea, the movement, and the people who contributed to build it towards its final goal, the establishment of the Jewish National state. In 1919 the central Zionist archives were founded in Berlin. In 1933, the Berlin archive was transferred to Jerusalem. There are also important Zionist archives, in Tel Aviv and New York. See also: Troy, Gil. (2018. First 2003) *The Zionist Ideas: Visions for the Jewish Homeland – Then, Now, Tomorrow* (JPS Anthologies of Jewish Thought). The Jewish Publications Society. p. 601.

[161] The Ben Gurion Airport Pamphlet, which was distributed among the visitors entering/exiting the land of Israel.

Figure 35: Zionism exhibition in Ben Gurion Airport. 2018. Each of the huge pictures tells part of the Zionist story, the figures behind the movement, and their accomplishments. Taken by the author.
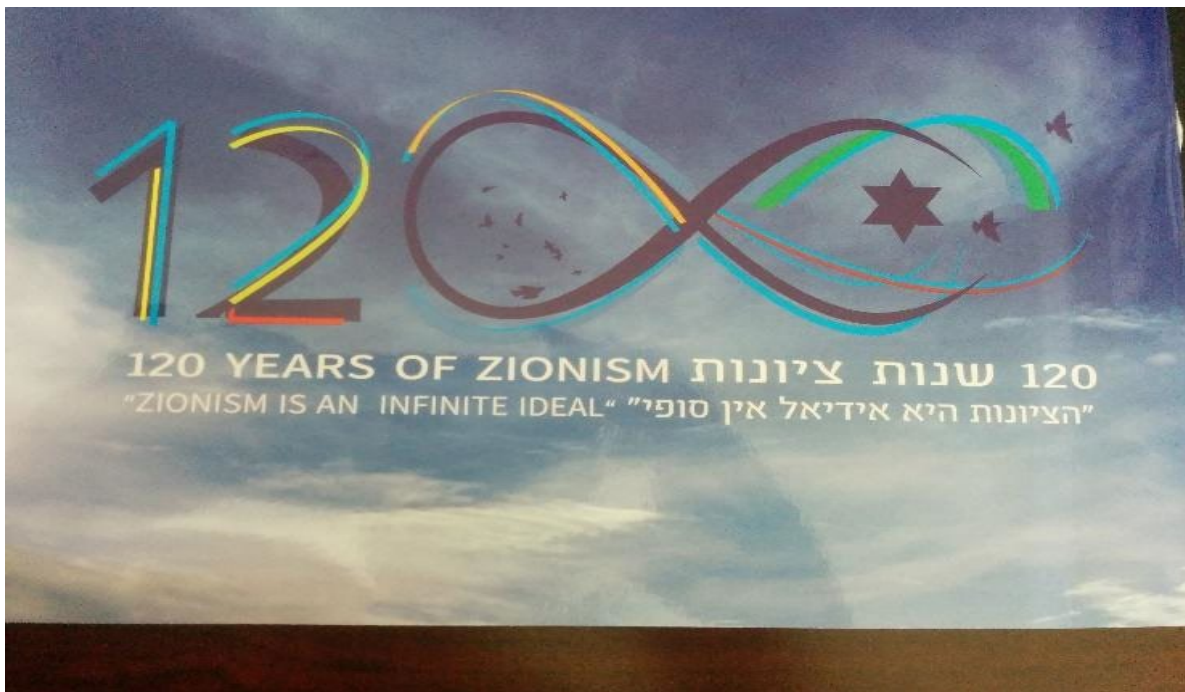

Figure 36: The Pamphlet's cover page. It articulates the idea of the infinite Ideal of Zionism (the zero of the number 120 is drafted as an infinity sign to indicate how great is it as an idea, that Zionism is endless/limitless in any chosen measure). Taken by the author.

Daniel Monterescu and Hayim Hazan offer relevant opinions about Zionism. They identify Zionism as synonymous with Judaism, as the same essential part of life and tradition.[162] However, they add that Zionism represented a "northern" (i.e., European) culture, which was well established yet very much alienated in Israel[163]. I am a kind of proof of that alienation. As mentioned in the introduction, I grew up in Tel Aviv, and I still have an apartment there, on Basel Street. In front of my balcony, at the entrance to a public parking lot, there is a huge sign that reads "*In Basel I established the Jewish State*"[164] (a famous sentence said by Theodore Herzl which will appear again in p.111, when discussing some fact about Herzl). Nearby, a few lines about Herzl are printed on the wall in smaller letters. Before writing this dissertation, I had never paid attention to this sign. Somehow these words are taken for granted by people who grew up in Israel, up to the point that no one pays attention to them anymore.

Both Zionism and Herzl's vision are mentioned in the airport pamphlet: "…120 years of activity… through all the components of the Zionist revolution generated by Theodor Herzl,"[165] reminding us that early Zionists immigrated to Palestine, arriving through Jaffa's port (as anyone else in those days who arrived to the area). On their way to establish a homeland, they started with the 'smaller' task of establishing a Jewish, Zionist, and Hebrew town.

4.1.1   *What Brought the Jews to Palestine?*

At the end of the nineteenth century, there were about two and a half million Jews, 90% of whom lived in Europe.[166] They were dispersed among many nations and states, among the various

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[162] Monterescu, Daniel. And Hazan Hayim. (2011). *A Town at Sundown: Aging Nationalism in Jaffa*. Hakibbutz Hameuhad Publication. (Hebrew)

[163] Monterescu, Daniel. And Hazan Hayim. Ibid.

[164] A very well-known sentence said by Herzl in Basel, during the Basel Jewish Congress of 1897.

[165] The Ben Gurion Airport Pamphlet which was distributed among the visitors entering/exiting the land of Israel.

[166] Laqueur, Walter. (2003. First 1972). *A History of Zionism: From the French Revolution to the Establishment of the State of Israel*. New York, USA. Schocken. p. 4.

gentiles. They spoke different languages, had diverse cultures, and were exposed to varied social and political environments. The idea of Zionism served as a shared formula: an ideological synthesis that held that all Jews share a common ethnicity, religion, past, values, and the consciousness of a common origin, as well as the same language (Yiddish). These shared elements were a starting point for their mutual self-awareness. It served as a basis that led to a vision of a common territory.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most of the Jews in Eastern Europe lived in the countryside, mainly because they were not allowed to live in the big cities. Most lived in poverty. Some European Jews moved to the cities and changed their way of life, appearance, dress code, and language, etc. despite the religious authorities' complaints. This small group generally did well for themselves and joined the academic and/or monied class in the cities in which they resided. The Jewish bourgeoisie had the freedom to develop their talents and to contribute to and assimilate into society. For many, Jewishness became just a common memory.[167] Assimilation grew, and many Jews converted to Christianity. Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), for example, was a German philosopher and a leading Jewish enlightenment figure. He separated the Mosaic religion from Jewish nationalism and encouraged Jews to forget their promised homeland.[168]

Yet, Europe was constituted by two opposite phenomena: on the one hand, Enlightenment, and the French Revolution; on the other, increasingly rabid antisemitism. Many became disappointed by the general atmosphere and treatment of minorities, including under communism and social democracies, even though Jews were among the prominent figures championing these

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[167] Laqueur, Walter. (2003). Ibid. p. 8.

[168] Feiner, Shemuel. (2005). *Moshe Mendelssohn*. Jerusalem, Merkaz Zalman Shazar. (Hebrew).

ideas. An awareness of the need for a solution to the "Jewish Question" started to arise. In 1896, Herzl declared that the "Jewish Question" would be resolved only with the establishment of a Jewish state.[169] He insisted that Jewishness was a national question, not a social or religious one. As such, he declared that the problem should be treated as an international political problem. At the first Zionist Congress (1897), in his book *The Jewish State:* "he conceived a plan to establish a state for the Jewish people…the sense of Jewish sovereignty and transformed Zionism into a recognized political entity throughout the world, starting the Jewish nation on its march toward statehood"[170] and he wrote in his diary: "*At Basel I founded the Jewish State,*" (" בבזל יסדתי את מדינת היהודים")[171] and in his same book *The Jewish State*, he issued another immortal theorem which is well-known to every child in Israel: "*If you will it, it is not a fairy-tale*" (" אם תרצו אין זו אגדה"). Jewish leaders were looking for a refuge from persecution, a place of shelter when storm clouds threatened on the horizon.

At a time of rising nationalist and social movements in Europe, Jews also consolidated their idea of nationalism. A group of young Jews saw themselves separated from the rest, ethnically, culturally, and socially. They held themselves to be a unique group with a common past, a real tradition, and a clear, strong belief in the same mutual hope and future. Zionism came as an answer, as a dream of redemption. Zionism preached the idea that living in diaspora is physically unsafe and morally disgraced. As such, it claimed, when facing a disappointing reality, Jews must gather from exile in one central place. Instead of abandoning Judaism, they embraced the notion of a revival, a novel path, a culture, a spirituality, and above all – a homeland. Spontaneous enthusiasm together with doubt filled these Jews with a vision of a better future.

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[169] LeBor, Adam. (2010). *City of Oranges: Arabs and Jews in Jaffa*. Jerusalem, Carmel publication. p. 37. (Hebrew).

[170] The same Pamphlet. P. 5

[171] The Pamphlet. Ibid. P. 5

They craved a new utopian community, one with self-rule, full independence, total equality, proletarian, radical, a kind of social revolution, to become a self-active and independent body, no more obeying external dictates.[172] They worked their way towards independence.

After much discussion about the target location, they made the huge step of moving from Europe to the Levant, to Palestine. The Zionists were not scared of resettling in a place with a small Jewish community, surrounded by Arabs, poor health conditions, swamps, a different culture, another language, and difficult living conditions. These young Jews sought greater goals than a comfortable, stable home, family, and university. Many thousands of young Jewish boys and girls organized into youth clubs, preaching Zionist principles.[173]

Gideon Shimoni lays out the two premises of Zionist ideology: it belongs to the nationalistic genre of the time, and it is of a 'utopian' type.[174] It aims to change reality so that it corresponds to a vision that never existed before. Gil Roy suggests that Jews wanted to gather in a state of their own and that no other alternative to antisemitism was realistic.[175] The Zionists were reactionaries. They opposed the previous Jewish image, way of life, and religion; their vision for a new state was secular. Their great mission was to build a productive, hardworking society that contrasted to life in the shtetels, while they considered a parasitic way of life as it was commonly associated with studying the Torah and living on donations.

However, Zionism was not like the other national movements in nineteenth-century Europe. In the introduction to *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis*, Arthur Hertzberg explains:

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[172] Benari, Nahum. (1950). *The Socialistic Zionism: Ideological History*. Jerusalem, Merkaz Printing. (Hebrew).

[173] Cohen, Yohanan. (1975). *Hanoar Hatzioni: The Growth of a Movement*. Tel Aviv, Levanda Publication. p. 18. (Hebrew)

[174] Shimoni, Gideon. (1995). *The Zionist Ideology*. Hanover, Brandeis University Press.

[175] Troy, Gil. (2018. First 2003). *The Zionist Ideas: Visions for the Jewish Homeland-Then, Now, Tomorrow*. (JPS Anthologies of Jewish Thought). The Jewish Publications Society. p. xiv in the preface.

> "To mention only one important difference, all the other nineteenth-century nationalisms based their struggle for political sovereignty on an already existing national land or language... It is, therefore, a maverick in the history of modern nationalism ..., their program for total revolution, of a complete break with the entire earlier career of the Jew in favor of purely secular national life ("Let us be like all the gentiles...")" [176]

Many songs were written to drive ahead the movement's spirit and enthusiasm. Let me cite one example, sung in a march rhythm (one we used to sing as kids, even much later, in the years after the establishment of the Israeli state):

שְׂאוּ צִיּוֹנָה נֵס וָדֶגֶל (מלים נץ רוזנבלום)	Raise the Flag to Zion
שאו ציונה נס ודגל	Zionists raise the flag
דגל מחנה יהודה	Judah's flag
מי ברכב מי ברגל	On foot or in a vehicle
נעש נא לאגדה!	We'll become a community!
יחד נלכה נא, נשובה	Together we'll go back
ארצה אבותינו	To our forefathers' land
אל ארצנו האהובה	To our beloved homeland
ערש ילדותינו...	Where we were born
אז עם נהיה כמו היינו...	Then we'll become a nation as we were
אז אך שחוק ימלא פינו [177]	Then laughter will fill our mouths
ולשוננו רינה!	And our tongue song/ happiness.

Laqueur ends his book by claiming that Palestine was a solution:

> "Throughout history nations-states have not come into existence as a result of peaceful development and legal contracts... it was a historical tragedy of Zionism that it appeared on the international scene when there were no longer empty spaces on the world map..." [178]

4.1.2   In Palestine

The Zionists came to Palestine with a clear idea to transform themselves into New Jews equipped with a fresh image, appearance, goals, and language. Yet they came from many

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[176] Hertzberg, Arthur. (1997 First 1959). *The Zionist idea: A historical Analysis and Reade*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Jewish Publication Society (JPS).). In the introduction. p. 1.

[177] Taken from Psalm 126:2

[178] Laqueur, Walter. (2003. First 1972). *A History of Zionism: From the French Revolution to the Establishment of the State of Israel*. New York, USA. Schocken. Pp. 595-6.

different places with different languages and cultures. How could such a great diversity become one consolidated community, one culture, one identity? Much had to be done, changed, and adapted by everyone in order to crystalize a common culture. A great accomplishment was achieved when their concentrated enthusiasm succeeded in stabilizing all the various Jewish groups into a kind of 'melting pot,' into one Jewish "body,"[179] namely, a new Hebrew-Israeli social, ideological, and popular culture.

It is considered a miracle that the Jews in Palestine, whether natives, long-time immigrants, or newcomers, all willingly cooperated to transform great past diversity into a homogeneous community in a relatively short time.[180] One important contributor was the Israeli army, which took upon itself a huge role in the task of creating a melting pot. At the age of eighteen all boys and girls, whether elite or ordinary, rich or poor, have to complete two-three years of mandatory army service. They all move together through the same months of service, knowing and helping each other. In the process, they are expected to become one group, one community, one nation, with the same story, language, goal, and culture: "Culture, thus, is not something we have: it is something we do. And it is something we talk about doing."[181]

The mainstream of Zionism was looking for a 'usable past' to act as a guide for the days to come, a wish for the ultimate release from exile and the desire for self-determination. They worked hard towards creating a new communal identity and culture, implementing utopian ideas, especially for the new Hebrew suburb of Tel Aviv. This was done in the first instance through

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[179] Sitton, Shoshana. And Shavit, Yaacov. Translated by Naor, Chaya. (2004). *Staging and Stages in Modern Jewish Palestine: The Creation of Festive Lore in a New Culture, 1882-1948.* Detroit. Michigan. Wayne State University Press.

[180] Helman, Anat. (2014). *Becoming Israeli: National Ideals and Everyday Life in the 1950s.* (The Schusterman Series in Israel Studies). New England. Brandies University Press.

[181] Hammack, L. Phillip. (2011). *Narrative and Politics of Identity: The Cultural Psychology of Israeli and   Palestinian Youth*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 22.

extensive and colourful activities that encompassed almost all Jewish social classes in the country: talented artists, entrepreneurs who promoted all kinds of creativity, and the public, who was encouraged to react enthusiastically to what they saw, heard, read, and tasted. The activities and performances targeted all inhabitants: students, youth movements, sport associations, teachers, kindergarten teachers, writers, poets, composers, singers, painters, choreographers, directors, and designers. They joined the venture willingly and spontaneously, welcoming, consciously or unconsciously, the initiation and creation of a mutual new culture.

In a very short period, a relatively small group of entrepreneurs and performers succeeded in shaping a clear pattern of ceremonies and celebrations, and in creating new myths and cultural symbols to cherish. The goal was to establish the basis for the creation of a new Hebrew popular, secular, and national culture. It was not easy to create an apparently new alternative culture to the traditional one, and they did not want to adapt any kind of traditional culture that would put them back in the shtetel or the ghetto.

Yet the same tradition they chose to rebel against, the one they wished to replace with an original alternative, paradoxically served as the basis and the point of departure for the new popular culture they craved so much to create. The main reason for this paradox was their reliance on the Hebrew calendar and its holidays and Jewish festivals. This 'problematic' traditional foundation somehow found its way into the new secular cultural texture, which was done simultaneously with the revival of Hebrew as a living language. Both the revival of the Hebrew culture and the 'dead' Hebrew language were described as miracles.

But what else could the new culture and identity that emerged for the new Jewish community coming to the Holy Land rely on? After all, the Jews had a common history, a common mythology, a treasure trove of valued common memories and common literature that

enabled the launching of a common story, language, and culture, for all Jews in Palestine. This new, constructed identity was lacking only one thing: a territory of its own. In order to mark that territory, they developed two distinctives styles of architecture, which are discussed in the next two sections.

4.2   The Garden City

Jews have lived in Jaffa since the nineteenth century, and in 1887 and 1890 two new Jewish neighbourhoods were founded next to Jaffa: Neve Tzedek (1887) and Neve Shalom (1890). This information surprised me and raised some questions. Why had the new Jewish immigrants, the newcomers from Europe, bothered to erect a new place – Tel Aviv was established 1909 – when there were already two serviceable existing Jewish suburbs on Jaffa's outskirts? What was the motivation to invest so much effort, energy, time, and work in the stubborn goal to build a new suburb from scratch? What rationale had led them to select and buy empty land north of Jaffa, full only of sand?

Part of the answer, it turns out, is captured by the concept of the Garden City. The Jewish immigrants arrived at a time when the new concept of the garden city was in circulation and spreading in Europe. The idea of a 'Garden City' came at precisely the right time.

The Garden City doctrine is a model for a new enhanced and progressive kind of urban settlement first described in R. Ebenezer Howard's *To-Morrow,* published in London in 1898 and then reissued in 1902 with the slightly different name *Garden Cities of To-Morrow.*[182] The book introduces a clear, detailed guideline for the establishment of a new kind of city: the new city should be founded deliberately and for a definite end. The development of a small town

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[182] Purdom, C. B. (1913). *The Garden City: A Study in the Development of a Modern Town*. London, United Kingdom: Temple Press.

should not be left to chance or speculation. Nor should it be founded in some accidental manner or for mixed residential/commercial purposes. It must be built as a new foundation, a peaceful path to real reform. It should be based on the best models and the most modern methods of engineering and comfort with the goal of living in sanitary and healthy homes and surroundings.

The idea was to defeat the evils that had developed in large cities after the Industrial Revolution and to revive small towns under modern conditions, changing them from overcrowded polluted centres to healthier modes of living. Planning aimed to achieve the best combination of both town and country life. A town's streets and its buildings should serve basic functions modestly, creating a habitable town with a clear and common purpose.

The Garden City was a utopia: a charming place amid a small territory, owned, planned, built and directed by the community itself. In order to embody practical proposals with the final aim to uplift its society, much more was required than just green space and breathing fresh air:

> "The Garden City was thus a means to an end…but it was at the same time a demonstration in microcosm of a much higher end-nothing less than that of building a new civilization…"[183]

It was seen as an opportunity to construct a new civilizational fabric, along with the renaissance of its architecture, and came to serve as a vehicle for an end target, a fundamental social transformation. In order to reach high quality and tranquility, features were added to the description of the ideal Garden City. It should be small, well planned, and low in density, a well-designed small town developed for the public interest. It should be socially balanced, with inhabitants that would be devoted to the new 'green' lifestyle and who shared the same social

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[183] Beevers, Robert. (1988). *The Garden City Utopia: A Critical Biography of Ebenezer Howard*. London, United Kingdom: Macmillan Press. p. 31.

values. It is an urban social reform for the common good of its citizens, a little urban site where citizens enjoy the best environmental life qualities.

Herein we see the new Jewish immigrants' intentions in adopting and creating Tel Aviv as a utopian Garden City separated from the two other Jewish suburbs that were there already. After reading the Garden City principles, I understood why the two existing Jewish suburbs had not satisfied the New Jews' ambitions to live according to the fundamental doctrine of a new creation, a new civilization, and a radical social transformation. For that, they needed a novel idea, a Garden City of their own. I began to wonder whether the word 'spring' in 'Tel Aviv' ('Aviv' is the Hebrew word for 'spring') does not derive from the following:

> "…out of which would spring a new hope, a new life and a new civilization."[184]

That is what the new European Jews wanted. They craved a new form of civilization, the idea of replacing one kind of civilization with another, the same motivation that Anthony King discusses in the context of urban coloniality,[185] announced loudly and clearly. The founders of Tel Aviv did not hide their intentions, yet they did not make any reference to the Garden City utopian idea as a concept for the establishment of Tel Aviv. I allow myself to assume one of the following: either the principles of the Garden City were so clear to all members of the Tel Aviv founding group that they did not consider it pertinent to express them verbally or in written documents, or they knew how advanced the idea of a Garden City already was when Tel Aviv was officially established, and the founders preferred not to provide detailed information. Maybe their aim was to prevent the possibility of antagonism, even before their project started. Otherwise, I cannot

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[184] Ward, Stephen V. (1992). (Ed.) *The Garden City, Past, Present and Future*. New York: E. & FN SPON. p. 28.
[185] King, D. Anthony. (1990). *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System*. London; New York: Routledge.

understand why the above principles of the Garden City do not seem to be discussed anywhere in the context of Tel Aviv. Yet Mark Levine does not agree to this argument, he claims:

> "…the central theme of the founders' debates was their desire to avoid building just another Jewish neighborhood of Jaffa…their goal was to 'establish a Hebrew urban center in a healthy environment, planned according to the rules of aesthetics and modern hygiene in the place of the unsanitary housing conditions in Jaffa'…attention will be paid to all the modern facilities of Europe."[186]. and: "In this they were following Howard's preoccupation with creating an environment to encompass proper social processes…"[187]

In retrospective it is not difficult to point into the connection between the need to elevate their standard of living, as claimed by the founders of Tel Aviv, and to identify the origin paradigm and principles of Ebenezer's Garden City. Yet looking into the thousands of archive documents which I examined, regarding the years when Tel Aviv was established, no such connection was made. For example, the following section about Akiva Weis and his desire to establish a new suburb for good health and hygiene. One can read through the lines that Akiva Weis' desire was to build according to Ebenezer doctrine. He offers the details of the new '*good health and hygiene…*' suburb, but never mentioned any origin of the idea (the question is, did he know Ebenezer's doctrine of the Garden City). Or, did his instructions as how to build the new city were following, or taken from some written/known existing paradigm, which was in circulation in Europe, in that time? This is the reason for my assumption that either they all knew where it came from and what it meant. Or, they didn't want to announce loudly about their intentions to build a new kind of civilization, which was quiet an advanced paradigm, intended to be extremely different to other existing local sites.

It is in any case quite clear from the writing of Akiva Weiss, the 'spirit' behind the revolutionary idea to establish a separate, innovative Jewish-Hebrew suburb next to Jaffa, that

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[186] Levine, Mark. (2005). *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the struggle for Palestine 1880-1948*. Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. P. 157

[187] Levine, Mark. Ibid. p. 161.

his goal was to establish a new urban centre for good health and hygiene, a place with fresh air and running water. He also gave strict instructions as to how the suburb should look: each house would be built on no more than one third of a lot, the rest would serve as a nicely maintained garden. Houses were to have a wide balcony in the front, an entrance gate, and measure a maximum of two floors in height. Each house should be well separated from the others. The roads should be equipped with advanced lighting for the night hours. Moreover, no economic activities were permitted; businesses and stores were to stay in Jaffa, an extra layer to the Garden City principles, which did not claim total separation of economic activity and residential housing, only the need to assign separated locations for each activity in the same city frame. The vision for Tel Aviv insisted on a separation of uses, something that later Tel Aviv authorities could not keep up with. Commercial activity was eventually designated to some zones in the developing city. This plan was the opposite of Jaffa's economic reality, where activities were mixed with commerce and industry adjacent to, or inside, residential buildings.

4.3   A New Language of Architecture: The Bauhaus

I will mention again that I grew up in Tel Aviv, surrounded by Bauhaus buildings. I lived about two hundred meters from Shenkin Street (a two-minute walk) and about three hundred meters from Rothschild Boulevard (a five-minute walk), and I worked for more than 15 years in a bank located on the corner of Rothschild Boulevard with Allenby Street. I took it for granted: I was not aware of the fact that I had spent much of my life playing, studying, and working in a city quarter that is a genuine museum of the Bauhaus and part of one of the largest Bauhaus collections of architecture in the world.

The following pictures in Tel Aviv (some of which I took myself) facilitate an acquaintance with Bauhaus architecture:

Figure 37: A Bauhaus building on the corner of Rothschild Blvd. and Balfour St. 2018. Taken by the author. In this picture one can see that another floor was added on top of the building, yet it is built further inside, not disturbing the sight of the façade of the original Bauhaus construction.

Figure 38: A Bauhaus building on Rothschild Blvd. 2018. Taken by the author.

Figure 39: Bauhaus building at Dizengoff Centre. https://travel.walla.co.il/item/3313014.

Figure 40: Bauhaus building, Rothschild Blvd, corner of Sheinkin St. 2018. Taken by the author.

Figure 41: Bauhaus building in Dizengoff Street. 2018. Taken by the author.

Figure 42: This beautiful Bauhaus building is in Nachalat Binyamin. A corner from Shenkin and Allenby streets. This one was totally renovated. (No high building was constructed behind). In the back of this building we find the famous 'Carmel' market. 2017. Taken by the author.

Figure 43: Old & New: A Bauhaus house, one block from Allenby Street: the new tower is built behind a fully renovated Bauhaus house. 2017. Taken by the author.

Figure 44: Old & New. A Bauhaus house on the corner of Allenby / Rothschild. Same concept of a new tower built behind a fully renovated Bauhaus building. 2017. Taken by the author.

As is well known, the Bauhaus is the name of a school of design that was active in Germany for only 14 years (1919-1933).[188] It was one of the most important and recognized institutions of design in the twentieth century, different from previous technical schools in that it strove to build a future for the future – a social housing program as well as an aesthetics. Its utopian aspiration was to create a revolutionary society, a better world, a properly modern environment.

The school taught town planners, architects, and designers an innovative, constructivist way of thinking and planning, a new visual and design language: clear, plain, simple lines, full of light, colourful, and geometric structures that reflected rational principles. There was a strict demand for efficiency, high quality, maximum functionality, simplicity, elegance, and an absence of merely decorative elements. The Bauhaus philosophy of "using machines for the benefit of man" (as we say in Hebrew) strove towards a moderate, self-controlled, abstract, stern, clean, and modest aesthetics characterized by its functionality and asymmetry. Bauhaus architects challenged tradition and ignored previously established solutions, using new man-made materials such as glass, concrete and steel, and new modern methods and techniques. In three words, their design was bright, bold, and simple.

The school flourished during the turbulent interwar period until it was shut down by the Nazis. Some of the teachers and students fled to Palestine, arriving in Jaffa, as everyone did in those days, and bringing with them their Bauhaus construction philosophy and their vision, a grand dream that had been shut down and that they had not had enough time to accomplish. They were looking for fertile soil where they would be able to carry out their progressive and innovative ideas. Where in the world could they find a better match than the new city of Tel Aviv?

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[188] Whitford, Frank. (1984). *Bauhaus*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Tel Aviv was 'virgin soil,' a very young place craving modernity and advanced ideas. It was looking for new methods, the latest and original theories, and principles. Some of these novel ideas had been found in the paradigm of the 'Garden City' discussed in the previous section. It was quite astonishing to realize how much similarity there is between the philosophy of the Garden City and the one initiated by the Bauhaus School and how much they resemble each other, even though almost a full generation of planners and architects separated the two. However, both, like the leadership in Tel Aviv, came from Europe and shared a common culture, background, and mentality. In addition, many held the same political views. Most of the leaders of Tel Aviv were from Eastern Europe and favoured collectivist solutions.

Even though neither group was religious, the atmosphere was as if they were experiencing a time of redemption that would make possible a great mission. The New Jews' philosophy held that they had come back to their homeland with the hope of building their new nation, starting with the 'fresh' first Hebrew city. The expelled Bauhaus architects arrived at the right place at the right time to implement their simple, clean, anti-bourgeois dream town.

The outcome became Tel Aviv's trademark. Yet somehow Rotbard Sharon connects the Bauhaus architectural style which was welcomed by the Tel Avivians, to the sand land and dunes on which Tel Aviv was constructed. Both, he claims, are coming to serve the same purpose, adding to Tel Aviv myth, a claim which cannot be denied:

> "…dutifully listed and reaffirmed all the standard components which make up the White City myth…the Bauhaus legend, the purity, the utopianism, the innocent landscape of dunes which were the city's foundations".[189]

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[189] Rotbard Sharon. Gat Orit (Trans. From Hebrew). (2015). *White City Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv Jaffa*. MIT Press. P. 41

The Bauhaus architects planned and built Tel Aviv as a realization of abstract cubism. In general, they constructed houses according to their paradigm: free standing, unadorned cubic structures set back at least four meters from the street with clean, straight lines, flat roofs, and long 'thermometer' windows to allow full exposure to daylight and air. Each was furnished with a balcony facing the street. Each was surrounded by green space and had a garden towards the street. The exterior walls were painted in white or a light colour. Some were put on pillars; others were given rounded corners and curves. Everything was simple and easy to maintain. The cubic houses were like cylinders and separated by function: terraces, windows, and staircases. Each was in the middle of a courtyard, detached from its neighbours, so that windows could be added along the sides that would provide light during the day, creating the impression of no density and maximizing the fresh air and light exposure in and in between the buildings.

Figure 45: A Bauhaus building on Rothschild Boulevard. 2018. Taken by the author.

As one sees, the outside walls of the buildings are painted in a light colour. There are few floors, many windows, and many balconies for light and fresh air. A cylinder runs through the floors, serving as the building's staircase (indicated by the red arrow in Figure 45). One can see clearly that an upper floor has been added. It was built back 'inside' and not aligned with the length of the building façade so that it could not be seen and would not disturb the original Bauhaus design (also in Figure 37). The sale of such extra units is a means of financing the necessary renovations.

The figure below (Figure 46) shows the sketch of a Bauhaus house, and the window cylinder is clearer. This glass staircase allows light during the day and light from the street during the night, strengthening the connection between the house and the street, as explained in the text.
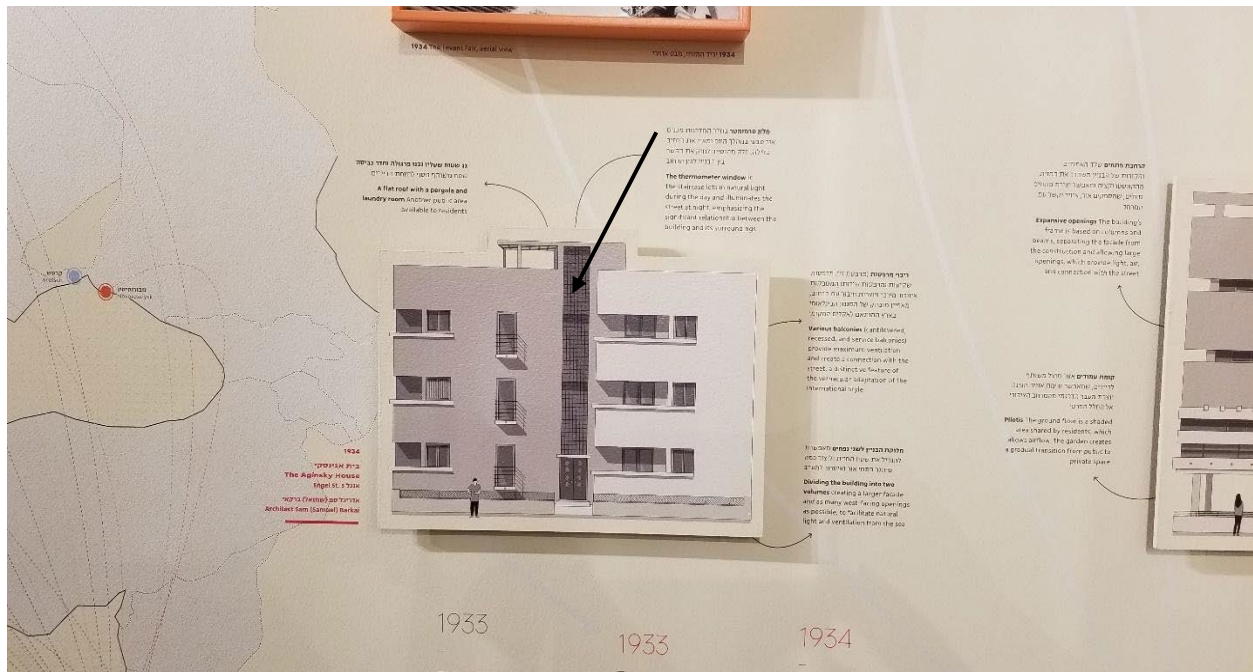
Figure 46: The running cylinder: A sketch of a Bauhaus house, photocopied from the walls of the Liebling House. 2019. taken by the author.

For comparison, the following images show a traditional contemporary Arab house. In addition, a video on YouTube provides an eleven-minute glimpse into the concept of the interior of a traditional Arabic house:[190] An 1890 courtyard house offers a peek inside the residence of a wealthy merchant. Built around a central courtyard, it evidences physical separation between men/women, boys/girls through their activities.

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[190] An 1890 courtyard Arabic house: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TVXE1s7QH6A

Figure 47: An Arabic-style house in North Israel. Taken by a friend visiting Arab residences in Israel

In contrast, modernist Arab buildings can be recognized by their dense, compact, continuous construction. To allow for the setting up of buildings at the edge of each plot, an adjacent wall would be erected between neighbouring constructions. Those buildings provide a continuous urban texture, with one building attached to the next, preventing side facades from having any exposure to fresh air and light. This type of construction intensified the density of Jaffa's urban space, as did the highly decorative ornaments made in geometric shapes from plaster, cement, and metal, which adorn the façades as a way of breaking up their massiveness or sometimes to differentiate between public and private sections of the building, or between windows and doors. Furthermore, Jaffa allowed for mixed use, with commerce and industry adjacent to, or inside, residential buildings, with the commerce and employment generally situated in the lower floors and the residents dwelling in the upper ones.

Jaffa's density meant that the Bauhaus style could only be adapted in few places, resulting in a specific form of the international style, which was integrated into the existing, 'old' urban fabric. This melange created a rich diversity of architecture variants, which are still present in a few places in Jaffa, with one of the most special examples being the French Ambassador's house discussed in the previous chapter.

4.3.1   *UNESCO Grants Tel Aviv's White City World Cultural Heritage Status*

Most of the Bauhaus buildings in Tel Aviv-Jaffa were built between the years 1931 and 1937, some later, until 1950. The area in Tel Aviv where most of the Bauhaus buildings are located is between Allenby Street in the south, Ibn Gevirol in the east, the Yarkon River in the north, and the Mediterranean Sea in the west, with Rothschild Blvd., Bialik and Dizengoff Streets containing some of the most prominent and best-known exemplars. The area came to be called the White City (Ha'ir Halevana, העיר הלבנה).

Why 'white'? This aspect of European Bauhaus design was particularly well suited to the hot climate of the Middle East. Because buildings were constructed before air-conditioning became available, it was practical that the white (or light) colour of the external walls reflected the heat of the sun instead of absorbing the heat into the rooms, keeping the interiors cooler, which was especially important during unbearable dry heat waves (the chamsin - חמסין).

In 2003, with resolution number 27 COM 8C.23, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee declared Tel Aviv's White City a World Cultural Heritage Site for being an outstanding example of new town planning and architecture.[191] As one can read in their declaration:

> Criterion II: "The white city of Tel Aviv is a synthesis of outstanding significance of the various trends of the Modern Movement in architecture and town planning, in the early 20th century. Such influences were adapted to the cultural and climate conditions of the place, as well as being integrated with local traditions."
>
> Criterion IV: "…adapted to the requirement of a particular cultural and geographic context."

UNESCO thus mapped the exact borders of the geographical place within the city of Tel Aviv, referring explicitly to the "white city of Tel Aviv." As is customary, the award was celebrated with a grand ceremony. A UNESCO delegation arrived to celebrate the event. They came with a prestigious plaque (Figure 48), which was planted in the ground of Rothschild Boulevard.[192]

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[191] The declaration: http://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/718

[192] The Plaque can be seen at the beginning of this short films: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9BWkhLTGmU.

Figure 48: The award plaque in Rothschild Boulevard. 2017. Taken by the author.

On September 12, 2019, Tel Aviv once again held grand celebrations in the White City, this time

to mark the Bauhaus's 100th anniversary. With the opening of an exceptional "The White City as

Everyday Heritage" exhibition, the Liebling House gallery became the White City Center

(Figure 49) and was dedicated at its inauguration to:

> "…promoting discourse on the values of modern architecture, the White City world
> heritage site status, urban spaces and the preservation of historical landmarks. As a
> cultural hub for the residents of Tel Aviv-Jaffa…" [193]

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[193] Taken from the Liebling House, White City Center brochure.

Figure 49: The Liebling House, the night of its inauguration. 2019. Taken by the author.

An open-air Bauhaus party with a German DJ and a lot of beer was held in Bialik Square, one of the main heritage sites in the city, where the first city hall was built. A replica of an original Bauhaus theatre stage was erected in the square, and the public was offered the opportunity to put on original Bauhaus costumes, to stand in the middle of the stage (a copy of an original Bauhaus stage) and have their picture taken, offering what they claimed was an authentic Bauhaus experience.

Figure 50: Picture of the author in a Bauhaus costume, on a Bauhaus stage. 2019. Taken by the German Bauhaus young directors.

Figure 51: Picture of a couple with a different Bauhaus costume. 2019. Taken by the author, at the same evening, on the same Bauhaus stage.

4.3.2   Critiquing the 'White' in the White City

It would be wonderful to end the story of the unique White City of Tel Aviv here. Yet a careful

examination reveals that UNESCO's award is loaded with cultural and political connotations,

proof yet again of how much history and stories can change the social and geographical state of a

town or a country. My critique of UNESCO is twofold: first, there is no such city as "Tel Aviv" – it was merged with Jaffa in 1950 and since then, the name of the city is Tel Aviv-Jaffa; second, as detailed in the second chapter on Jaffa, there are also Bauhaus buildings in Jaffa, and some of them, such as the French Ambassador's residence, are among the most beautiful and fascinating ones. UNESCO seems to have been unaware of them, or at least neglected these facts when they granted their award only to the Tel Aviv part of the city.

Let us keep in mind that, like histories, cities are built by the victorious, for the victorious, and according to the story told by the victorious. To change a city, or a history, competence and powerful efforts are needed. Yet these two qualifications are not accessible to all, and certainly not to the same degree. The ones who rule the physical space are also the ones who control the cultural space, and the opposite is also true: those who master the culture have a great deal of influence over the physical space. They can shape it to fit their needs, values, and the stories they want to tell. As such, each physical act that is taken, or avoided, in fact (re-)writes the city's history, or erases it. These are acts of historiography. For example, the decision to destroy an old building determines what is doomed to be forgotten. This is one of the reasons for the close connection between history, geography, and architecture, as Micha Bandini has detailed.[194] In response to the tricky question of whether history is important to geography and if so, who should teach it, the historian or the architect, she answers: both. The historian furnishes the architect with insights to develop the sense of place, memory, and myth, supplying the architect with the tools to access these places and memory via myth. These are key components of architectural design and reveal the importance of engaging with the past.

[194] Bandini, Micha. "Some Architectural Approaches to Urban Form". In: *Urban Landscape: International Perspectives. Edited by* Whitehend, J.W.R. and Larkham, P.J. (2000). Routledge. Pp. 133-169.

I would add a third party to the previous two in terms of power and competence, something discussed also by Frannie Leautier: namely, the role of the policy maker.[195] Nothing occurs in a vacuum. Decision-making takes place through complex political and social settings. Groups and individuals interact with each other in the context of unequal power relations and changing rules in a process of interaction and governance in the policy arena. Together, urban geography and policy 'write' the history of a city, keep what to conserve and erase what they prefer to cross out, that which is supposed to be forgotten. As a result, a city may be changed only through a different way of looking at it, via the various ways it is told. A city is the realization of the stories it tells about itself, as with the Tel Aviv myth discussed later in this chapter:

"עיר היא התממשות הסיפורים שהיא מספרת על עצמה"

"A city is the realization of the stories it tells about itself." [196]

As such, history, geography, and policy are all controlling factors in urban decision-making. These are the forces, to my mind, that helped, pushed, and convinced UNESCO to claim Tel Aviv, and only Tel Aviv, as a World Culture Heritage Site. The city of Tel Aviv is proof, and an excellent example, that a book can construct a building, or a city. Tel Aviv was established according to Herzl's *Altneuland*.[197] As such, we may resolve that before Tel Aviv was a city, it was a book.

The White City promoted Bauhaus architecture not only on the public cultural agenda of the city and its people. It was promoted as a world cultural agenda, shaping the city's form and

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[195] Leautier, Frannie. (Ed). (2006). *Cities in a Globalization World. Governance, Performance & Sustainability*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

[196] Rotbard, Sharon. (2005). *White City, Black City*: *Architecture and War in Tel Aviv and Jaffa*. Tel Aviv: Bavel Publication. p. 15.

[197] Herzl, Binyamin Zeev. (1902)*. Tel Aviv*. Translated by Nahum, Sokolov. Warsaw, Hazfira publications.

culture with economic and political ramifications. The story of the White City became part of the city's agenda, a trademark of its new life as liberal and ecological. In other words, it was a kind of re-creation of the city and an integral part of the city lexicon. Now, Bauhaus architecture stands for Tel Aviv and can stand *in* for it, replacing it as if both had become identical and synonymous. That is what enables the White City to be unique and different from Tel Aviv's other suburbs, which are not white. That is what imbues it with its image of luxury – and sky-high real estate prices.

Just for comparison, the following is a picture of the contemporary Neve Tzedek, one of the two Jewish suburbs which were next to Jaffa before the establishment of Tel Aviv. Neve Tzedek was established in 1887 and has not changed much since then:

Figure 52: Neve Tzedek, an old suburb of Tel Aviv, with Tel Aviv towers towards the sea:
https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%A0%D7%95%D7%95%D7%94_%D7%A6%D7%93%D7%A7#/media/%D7%A7%D7%95%D7%91%D7%A5:Sheva's_city.jpg.

As we will examine in more detail in the following chapter, Tel Aviv climbed in status to become a global city in the 1990s. The Bauhaus story played an important role in that process. It was a giant cultural and economic crane that elevated the city's image, without changing any of its physical landscape. The White City came to be understood as the geographical heart of Tel Aviv. The city's Bauhaus centre reflected its bright European whiteness in the shining light of the Mediterranean Sea and sun, a clean white European city even when this Levantine provincial city was and is not always so clean. It also embodied traditional Israeli architecture that had been made possible by European Jews who spoke fluent Hebrew and lived in the young Tel Aviv, before the country's establishment. It represents a transformation from a foreign architectural culture into a local Hebrew one, a building design that was locally 'born,' adjusted, and transformed by local schools and agenda:

> "ארכיטקטורה אינה מתקיימת במרחב אוטונומי מטוהר, תמיד יש הקשרים לא רק חזותיים וצורניים,
> אלא גם תרבותיים ופוליטיים. 'עיר לבנה' דוגמה טובה לכל ההקשרים האלה: מראה כיצד נבנתה
> הסטוריוגרפיה ארכיטקטונית על גב גל תרבותי-פוליטי"[198]

> "No architecture exists in an autonomous and purified space. It always has a cultural and political connotation. Not only visual and formal shapes. The White City is a perfect example to manifest all these connections. It demonstrates the steps by which the historiographic architecture was formed, on the cultural and political wave."

Many well-known songs helped to bestow on the White City its unique identity, setting up nostalgia as part of this European modern construction, such as the song which was written by the late Israeli national poet Neomi Shemer in 1958, sung by the leading singers in the land, each with his/her own version, with a slow, soft, and nostalgic melody:

מקצף גל ועננה   Out of the wave's foam, and the cloud
בניתי עיר לי לבנה   I had built myself a white city

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[198] Rotbard, Sharon. 2005. *White City, Black City: Architecture and war in Tel Aviv and Jaffa*. Tel Aviv: Bavel Publication. p. 64.

כמותם קוצפה, כמותם שוטפה, כמותם יפה	Like them: it foams, it flows, and it is beautiful
הנה עירי גדולה כאור	Here is my city big as light
ואת גרגר אבק אפור	And you are only a small gray dust
הנה עירי גדולה כליל	Here is my city big as the night
והיא ארמון ענק אפל	And it is a huge dark palace
וילדתי בו מולכת	And my girl reigns over it
עד מחר	Until tomorrow[199]

The White City served as a kind of foundation for the formation and strengthening of Tel Aviv's culture and identity: the first ever Hebrew city, in a Jewish country, born on sand, an ideal and idyllic reality and myth. Using our imagination, we can reflect on the White City that was born from the silky, soft white sand of the seashore just like the ancient Greek goddess Aphrodite, calling forth associations with beauty, love, pleasure, passion, and procreation. Aphrodite was born from the waves of the sea just as Tel Aviv is a city that was born as a 'Tabula Rasa,' on an empty stretch of land next to the waves, where nothing had been before, except sand. As also expressed, and described by Sharon Rotbard:

> "The white sand represented Tel Aviv's origin and place, but also its raw material…the importance of the dunes in Tel Aviv's narrative does not only stem from its aesthetic or visual dimension. Above all else, the sand dunes are crucially associated with the ideal of Tabula Rasa – dear to both Zionism and modernist architecture".[200]

So, the question is: was Tel Aviv established on empty sand land, or not? Was it 'tabula rasa' or not? A lot was written about the sand land on which Tel Aviv was established. Yet, there is some controversial relating to this issue. Having some dispute at this subject of Tel Aviv built on empty sand land, I will discuss it a little bit further trying to convince further the fact that Tel Aviv was erected on the empty sand land which was purchased for this purpose. Starting with

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[199] The song about the White City, few versions. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AVcJxgfWBzo

[200] Rotbard Sharon. Author. Gat Orit (Trans. From Hebrew). (2015). *White City Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv Jaffa*. MIT Press. P. 44

both figures of the area (the map land in chapter 2, p. 39 and the lottery draw in chapter 3, p. 94) are coming to show that the land, was sand land all over north to the city of Jaffa.

For example, Mark Levine brings a story about Tel Aviv trying to convince the British to allow them to build their own port, claiming that Jaffa's port does not serve them properly and they need a port of their own. He quotes the relevant 'convincing' letter sent from Dizengoff to the British authorities in the year of 1922 (about a decade after Tel Aviv's establishment). He referred to the sand land that was bought, empty with nothing on it when bought, which turned in the hands of the Jews into a prosperous township:

> "…asking rhetorically: 'Have we in a single instance driven anybody out of the possession or the enjoyment of his property?'… 'The land which we have bought, and which are now covered with this prosperous township, were nothing but sandy tracts, newly purchased, sterile, uncultivated, giving no income whatever to their owners or to the state. We bought them only from people who were, out of their own free will, content to part with that at a good price". [201]

To some up the discussion about the sand I will bring a conversation I held with Maoz Azaryahu, whom I mentioned already few times in this paper. Maoz Azaryahu is an expert scholar of Tel Aviv, who wrote a lot about this city. He grew up in Tel Aviv and lives in this city all his life. He is a professor of cultural geography, teaching at the university of Haifa (Israel). I had the pleasure to have some conversations with him about my dissertation (in person and through correspondence-all, in our mutual mother tongue, the Hebrew). His will to help and to advice is beyond words. One of my questions was if Tel Aviv was really built on sand, or it is just a myth. He confirmed and indicated: "*Tel Aviv was founded on sands and grew on sands*". My further question related to the reason of some scholars to disapprove of this claim. His short definite answer was: "*It is nonsense of course, Tel Aviv - the neighborhood - was founded on dunes*". (Nonsense is a 'light' translation of the word he used in Hebrew (שטות כמובן.

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[201] Levine Mark. (2005). *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the struggle for Palestine 1880-1948*. Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. P. 100.

Somehow, the official White City's geographical borders match other borders exactly: economic, social, and political ones. These are thin mental borders that separate the north from the south, creating a historical, ethnic, and geographical divide that separate a Hebrew city from the Arabism of Jaffa, and from other classes of Jews. Tel Aviv, the Israeli city cut off and disengaged even from the diaspora Jews, is a modern city yet separated from modern Europe. In short, the White City of Tel Aviv defines the city's identity by making clear what is contrary to its character, what is outside, what does not belong to its whiteness. The memories of Arab-Jew Chelouche Eliyahu help to clarify this separation:

> " מי שבקי קצת בתולדות ישובנו מראשיתו יודע זאת ששאלת ההתקרבות אל שכנינו וחיי השלום אתם,
> זאת היתה חובתנו הראשונה של ילידי המקום ואותה מלאנו כהשקפתנו. ואם הצלחנו בעבודתנו,
> הצלחתנו היתה בהרבה בזאת שאנו הערכנו והתחשבנו גם עם שכנינו שבשכונתם היינו צריכים לבנות את
> בנייניו. אבל, ונגיד פה את האמת המרה והאיומה, שמנהליהו והרבה מבוני הישוב שבאו מן הגולה
> לנהלנו, לא עמדו כלל וכלל על הערך הגדול של יחסי שכנים...שמיום הופעתו של הרצל עם הרעיון של
> "הציונות הפוליטית...דבר אחד שכחו... תשומת לב לאותם תושבים אשר יושבים כבר בארץ זו [202]

> Paraphrase: Eliyahu Chelouche complains that the new European Jews, above all, Theodor Herzl, arrived in the land, to control the land and the people of the land. They imported the new idea of political Zionism. And they forgot what it means to live in good relationship with neighbours, the people who had lived in the land for a long time already.

Since 1950, Jaffa has not been a separate urban entity. Sharon Rotbard and Noam Leshem hold contrasting views about Jaffa. In his book on the spatial history, landscape, and memory of power in connection to the Arabs' evacuation out of one of their Palestine farms, a place geographically very close to Tel Aviv, Kefar Shalem (כפר שלם), Leshem draws attention to the present 'normal,' settled places, sites where (poor) Jews were sent to inhabit previous Arabic locations. Leshem claims that in these places, the Arabs' past is still in the air, spreading an

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[202] Chelouche, Yosef Eliyahu. (2009 First 1931). *The Story of My Life.* Babel Publication. (Hebrew). p. 363.

uncomfortable spirit for its present-day Jewish inhabitants, a notion that the "absence was gradually made present" and the idea of "the life in one's enemy's house."[203] Throughout the book, he deals with the question of what the status of a place is in a post-conflict area. His argument is that it is wrong to assert that a place is wiped out and does not exist anymore. He rejects the idea of place erasure. A place cannot turn into something else, he continues, just because its inhabitants were replaced by others, due to the new intruding/incoming culture, or because previous features of space were changed. No one can erase a place or a place's past. In his book, Leshem tries to trace the present effects on the individuals who inhabit former Arab space. He claims:

> "…the past continues to resonate loudly in the concrete reality…whether acknowledged explicitly or coded into socioeconomic inequalities, cultural marginalization and alienation… [because the place] …is imprinted with the signs of its past-the Arab Past."[204]

Leshem reminds us that our relationship with the physical, social, and political environment in which we live is complex. Consciously or unconsciously, this relationship carries the traces of the past, whether physical or cultural.

Sharon Rotbard, on the other hand, claims that the story of Jaffa and its state before the year of 1948 ended for good as if the city (or what was left of it) had been erased from history. Jaffa ceased to be, just like other great cities in the far past, such as Carthage. Rotbard reaches an extreme conclusion: if the victorious story is called the 'White City,' then we should call the defeated side the 'Black City,' which would represent Jaffa and Tel Aviv's other poor suburbs of the south.

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[203] Leshem, Noam. (2017). *Life after Ruin. The Struggle over Israel's Depopulated Arab Spaces*. Cambridge University Press. p. 28

[204] Leshem, Noam. (2017). Ibid. p. 38.

אם סיפורם של המנצחים נקרא 'עיר לבנה' סיפורם של המפסידים ייקרא מעכשיו 'עיר שחורה', " [205] ". ...המורכבת מיפו והמרחב שלה

"If the winners' story is called the White City, then the losers' story would be called the Black City."

Since 1948, this Black City has served as a place to concentrate all the things that were not wanted within the White City's borders, such as sewage pipes, high voltage transformers, places for towed cars, polluting workshops, noisy bus central stations, the police headquarters, detention centres, and drug distribution stations. In addition, Jaffa has become the place where all those excluded from society reside, such as new immigrants with no means, foreign workers (legal and not legal), poor people, and the homeless, in other words, all of those who are not wanted in rich Tel Aviv, in the White City. The Black City is the unwanted 'Other,' a reflection of a complex and ambiguous relationship, a dialectical negation, a reverse reflection of the dirty, criminal, destroyed, and black, as if Tel Aviv still looks at Jaffa and the southern suburbs the way Herzl first saw Jaffa when he visited the city, i.e., as the extreme opposite of Zionist values.

Let us remember that when UNESCO praised the White City, it explicitly mentioned the idea of it as 'White' and pointed to the uniqueness of (its) whiteness. The colour white has a long list of connotations. Always in fashion, natural and neutral, it does not demand an explanation, the same as an empty white sheet, standard, normal, universal, clean, hygienic, new, fresh, naive, primal, virgin, monastic, hedonist, classic, contemporary, and minimalist. This is the ideology of 'white.' One colour stands for all others, deletes them, and erases them. This is the international, universal Euro-North American world; this is the architecture of white people, by them and for them, the sign of Western, transatlantic triumph.[206]

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[205] Rotbard, Sharon. (2005). *White City, Black City*: *Architecture and War in Tel Aviv and Jaffa*. Tel Aviv: Bavel Publication. p. 117.

[206] See Dyer, Richard. 1997. *White.* London, New York: Routledge.

The work of Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) is relevant here. Fanon, a black psychiatrist and political philosopher, engages colonialism, domination, race, civil rights, and the relationship between White masters and the oppressed classes. One of his most important works is *Peau noire, masques blancs* (*Black Skin, White Masks*).[207] Fanon describes the complexity with which a set of 'White' dominant values penetrated and overcame the soul of inferior non-whites in a slow, continuous, persistent process and the efforts of locals to imitate White language and culture in a gradual process that continues to the extreme point when the subordinate feels deserving of their inferior status. Poor people despise themselves and look down on their own kind. The disadvantaged develop self-racism as part of their self-identity and aspire to move through a 'whitening' process, to behave like white people, to speak the same as their cultured superiors, with a perfect accent. In short, they strive to achieve whiteness, the sublime colour of the ruling class.

To sum up this section: I underscore that those who control a territory and assume the authority over it are the ones who have the power to decide its future, development and progresses. They can also prevent others from any continuity or development. In our case, the authority is (white) Tel Aviv over (dark) Jaffa. This discussion of different cultural and architectural languages takes me to the one more reason for the separation between Jews and Arabs, Tel Aviv and Jaffa. It did not stop with the language of architecture but went further to the introduction of a new language of communication, and for that purpose Tel Aviv revived a 'dead' language.

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[207] Fanon, Frantz. (2008. First 1952). *Black skin, white masks* (translated from the French by Richard Philcox). New York: Grove Press; [Berkeley, Calif.]: Distributed by Publishers Group West.

4.4   Hebrew

> "Language is such a fundamental component of everyday experience that it is rarely questioned."[208]

The previous two sections showed how Tel Aviv isolated itself from its surroundings through its architectural language, keeping its boundaries sterile and hygienic, which is to say drawing on the realization of its culture as a way of maintaining a separation from and disengagement with the 'Others' around it. Through its Garden City paradigm and Bauhaus construction style, Tel Aviv not only defined itself but also delineated all the rest who were not included within its realm. At the same time, one can identify another element that distinguishes and contributes to the separation and distance between the two communities, between the two parts of the city. One hears mainly Hebrew in Tel Aviv and mainly Arabic in Jaffa, which has limited communication possibilities between these two adjacent communities. What influence has the lack of a shared language had on the relationship between the two groups, historically and currently?

Frantz Fanon had strong views about the adoption of a superior's culture and language. He saw it as an adaptation to the white dominant set of values, an accommodation that slowly penetrated and overcame the soul of the inferior class. Fanon was referring to Algerian society imitating the dominant ruling French. His writings critiqued his 'brother' Algerians who craved to be French and ignored their own culture, language and traditions. (He himself was born in the Caribbean, in French Martinique, and later lived in Algeria).

Toni Morrison, the 1993 Nobel Prize laureate in literature, relates cases when language is used to enslave others, even in the same community and culture. She repeats how important

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[208] Miller, L. Joshua. (2011). *Accented America: The Cultural Politics of Multilingual Modernism*. Oxford University Press. p. 28.

language is, not only as spoken, but when and how it is used. In her speech in Stockholm at the Nobel Prize ceremony, she noted:

> "The systematic looting of language can be recognized by the tendency of its users to forego its nuanced, complex, midwifery properties, replacing them with menace and subjugation. Oppressive language does more than represent violence: it is violence. It does more than represent the limits of knowledge: it limits knowledge."[209]

Thousands of years before these words about the negative potential of language's use, the Hebrew Bible already stated that "Death and life are in the power of the tongue" (Proverbs 18:21). In Hebrew וחיים ביד הלשון מוות, the Hebrew word לשון (Lashon) is the same for both: tongue and language. In the same spirit, I saw a welcome sign in an Israeli hospital that read:

> "The tongue has no bones, but it is strong enough to break a heart."[210]

Indeed, the negative use of words may cost lives. Yet the question is what the price is of no communication at all, the lack of knowledge of another tongue, when neither side is capable of uttering even harsh words at the other, and even when they are, the other side cannot understand what is said, which is to say, when there is no verbal exchange among two communities.

One does not need to look far to find another place with two separated languages and a nation that does not (and will not) understand another nation. In the Bible, God promises to save Judah from the great empire of Assyria and its king, Sennacherib, the great conqueror of the old world, 701 BCE. On the triumphant day, Assyria will be defeated by God, and Judah will not hear, understand, or relate to the Sennacherib or to the Assyrian language:[211]

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[209] Toni Morrison' speech, when honoured with a Nobel Prize in Literature for 1993. Page 15-16. Published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York. (1994). Pp. 15-16.

[210] A sign in the entrance of the hospital 'Bikur Cholim' in downtown Jerusalem

[211] The relevant 'story' is also told in You Tube film: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_VZkGVvQLjY

"You will no longer see the insolent, a people whose speech is unintelligible, who stammer in a language that is not understood"[212]

"ישעיהו, פרק לג', פסוק יט': "את עם נועז לא תראה, עם עמקי שפה משמוע, נלעג לשון אין בינה
.'אֶת עַם נוֹעָז לֹא תִרְאֶה, עַם עִמְקֵי שָׂפָה מִשְּׁמוֹעַ, נִלְעַג לָשׁוֹן אֵין בִּינָה'

4.4.1 The Hebrew Revival

Diaspora Jews are multilingual. Jews have always had to communicate with their surroundings for social and economic survival, using whatever was the local language. Yet many Jewish communities develop an intercultural language, adding Hebrew words to their daily language of Yiddish, Judeo-Arabic, or Ladino, resulting in a hybrid combination of the two languages. This was because, as Joshua Miller explains, Hebrew was conceived as a Holy language and therefore not suitable for daily matters.[213]

Hebrew ceased to be a spoken language in the second/third century. After that, it served as a written language in the Bible and in the books of daily prayers for Jewish communities all over the world. Basic knowledge of the Hebrew prayer books facilitated communication among Jews coming from different parts of the world. This common language enabled a level of verbal communication, for example, between the local oriental Jews who already lived in Jaffa and the new European Jewish immigrants (coming through Jaffa's port like anyone else). Their dialogue was facilitated through Hebrew, even though it was a "poor, broken" one.

The New Jews craved, among many things, a new language common to and shared by all the Jews arriving in Palestine from Europe. Even though they were secular, they chose Hebrew as their mutual new standard language of daily communication. That was a challenge because the

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[212] Isaiah 33:19.

[213] Miller, L. Joshua. (2011). *Accented America: The Cultural Politics of Multilingual Modernism*. Oxford University Press. P. 2, of the fifth chapter of the book.

written Hebrew of the Bible had to be transformed into a daily spoken form. The revived ancient

language became the country's main language:

> "Having before them a vast body of ancient and medieval literature, confronted by the forces of auto emancipation and self-determination… these organized 'Hebrew-ists' commenced by concentrating on the need for making the spoken language flow."[214]

The spirit behind this miracle was Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (1858-1922), who arrived in Palestine

from Poland in 1881. He insisted that all Jews in Palestine must speak Hebrew and only Hebrew,

claiming that while Jews might not be able to control their return to the promised land, it was

within their ability to return to their old original tongue:

> "…a return to the language of the Fathers was within our power – nobody can prevent us from achieving this if we only so desired."[215]

It was not the first such resurrection of the language. According to Chaim Rabin, professor of the

Hebrew language at Jerusalem University, the 'revolution' of Hebrew as a spoken language

started in Europe during the Enlightenment.[216] Under the motto of "One People, One Language,"

Hebrew went through a dramatic transformation, becoming the common channel of

communication for all Jews.[217] It was a complex process with political, psychological, and

pedagogical ramifications. This deliberate, directed language planning became one of the most

successful experiences of language planning in the world, according to Shelomo Karmi. The

Zionists' wishful thinking of one language for one Jewish people became a fait accompli:

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[214] Saulson. B. Scott. (1979). Institutionalized Language Planning: Documents and Analysis of Revival of Hebrew. Paris. New York: Mouton Publishers.

[215] Saulson. B. Scott. (1979). Ibid. p. 17. Under the section named: 'Upshots and Metamorphoses'

[216] Rabin, Chaim. (1973). *A Short History of the Hebrew Language.* The Jewish agency printed by Alpha press Jerusalem.

[217] Karmi, Shlomo. (1997). One People One Language: The Revival of the Hebrew Language, in an Interdisciplinary perspective. Ministry of Defence, Israel. (Hebrew).

"מפסגות ההצלחה של תכנון לשוני, בעולם כולו"[218]

"One of the success' peaks of the world linguistic planning."

It is not an easy task to introduce, motivate, and transform a hitherto ritualistic language and make it adequate not only for quotidian purposes but also for literature. There was a need to add missing words, to determine the best sources in helping to create terms missing from daily communication, to compose school textbooks, to formulate official grammar books, and to compile dictionaries. Linguistic experts aided with new vocabulary that could express the essence, nature, and quality of the new realities and culture. Authors experimented with a new writing style in their stories. Hebrew newspapers of all levels and for all classes were published. Great efforts were directed at fulfilling their national and social/cultural goals to mould and shape a common internal world and spirit. Finally, they succeeded in introducing standard normative writing and speaking forms. They adjusted Modern Hebrew so that it could fulfill a communication role for the New Jews in their new homeland. All adapted this revived old-new language for everyday life, education, etc. The decision to adapt Holy Hebrew to be the national language was neither taken nor accepted easily:

> "When the process first began… not only did almost all of them doubt its success, but they also denied its essentiality…"[219]

To move from a European tongue to a Semitic one is hard. The Jewish people in Eastern Europe already had a common spoken tongue: Yiddish. When the question of a new common national tongue was raised, many urged voting for Yiddish. However, when one moves to new place, it is expected that one learns the local language to be able to communicate with the new environment.

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[218] Karmi, Shlomo. (1997). Ibid. p. 12.

[219] Saulson. B. Scott. (1979). *Institutionalized Language Planning: Documents and Analysis of Revival of Hebrew*. Paris. New York: Mouton Publishers. p. 9 in the introduction.

The local tongue was Arabic, a language the New Jews rejected. They distanced themselves mentally from the Levant and craved something new, different, fresh, and challenging. So, nothing from the local orient, but also nothing from the diaspora. Many took part in the success of the Hebrew revolution, most influentially, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda. He was the main driving force, the stubborn spirit behind the revival movement of old forgotten Hebrew. He insisted that it is the only one to become the national tongue:

> "אליעזר בן יהודה הוא: "אבי התכנון הלשוני בישראל ואידיאולוג של החייאת הדיבור העברי בארץ ישראל
>
> "the father of the language planning, and the ideologist behind the revival of the spoken Hebrew in the land of Israel.[220]

Language is the verbal expression of culture. It provides the categories we use to express ourselves. Our thoughts are influenced by the language we use according to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which states that the way we think and view the world is determined by the language we use.[221] It holds that the structure of a language determines, and greatly influences, the modes of thoughts and behaviour characteristics of the culture in which it is spoken. Thus, the language we use affects the way we think and how we see the world and our surroundings. If language determines our perception of reality, people who speak different languages will see the world differently, which is certainly true for the Arab and Jewish perception of reality, especially when in the same city. The language issue is a crucial element in the relationship, or non-relationship, between the Jews in Tel Aviv and the Arabs in Jaffa. The more diverse their perception of reality is, the greater the miscommunication between the two.

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[220] Karmi, Shlomo. (1997). *One People One Language: The Revival of the Hebrew Language, in an Interdisciplinary Perspective.* Ministry of Defence, Israel. (Hebrew). p. 42.

[221] A relevant language TED Talk. (2011). Given by Arnold, Heidi. Assistant Prof. of Communication. Sinclair College. Ohio University. https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=Sapir-Whorf+Hypothesis+TED+Talk&&view=detail&mid=9D7DAC4D279AAA882F179D7DAC4D279AAA882F17&&FORM=VRDGAR

The following two anecdotes are about the need to adapt language for specific purposes:[222] Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) supposedly spoke six languages fluently and used each one for different purposes and on different occasions: Italian to ambassadors, French to women, German to soldiers, English to his horse, and Spanish to God. He claimed that a man is as many times a man, as many languages he knows. Similarly, a YouTube film clip notes how with language use, one can change the *world* by changing a *word*.[223] The short film shows a blind panhandler with a piece of cardboard on which is written: "*I'm blind, please help.*" Not many responds. A young lady changes the wording to: "*It's a beautiful day and I can't see it,*" and people start to see the poor man and give him money. What both these stories illustrate is the power of words, and the way they are used.

Language always carries meanings and references beyond itself. To be in contact with a language also means to be in contact with its culture. It is impossible to completely understand any culture without having some access to its language, and vice versa. So, when one learns a new language, one should not only concentrate on learning the alphabet, the meaning of the words, or the grammar rules. No less important is to learn relevant behaviours and customs because language always contains relevant cultural references.

The human communication process is complex, claims Fatiha Guessabi, because messages are also conveyed through paralanguage.[224] Meta-communication techniques that may modify meaning are related to a specific culture. As such, using paralanguage with people from other cultures can lead to misunderstanding when the relevant cultural frame is ignored. The problem

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[222] A story I heard a few times (https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Charles_V,_Holy_Roman_Emperor).

[223] A YouTube: change of a word can changes the world: https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=you+tube%2c+change+your+word%2c+change+your+world&view=detail&mid=02990F100A3E72FBF6E202990F100A3E72FBF6E2&FORM=VIRE

[224] Guessabi, Fatiha. https://www.languagemagazine.com/blurring-the-line-between-language-and-culture

lies in what happens when cross-cultural interactions take place, i.e., when the message producer and receiver are from different cultures that use different codes. Although she is addressing the situation in colonial Algeria, Guessabi could also be describing the circumstances of the first meeting between the new European Jews arriving in Jaffa and finding themselves among the local Arab indigenous and the local Oriental Jews. When the European Jews arrived in Jaffa, they were not there to assimilate, as they had tried to do in Europe. There was no interest in the Levant in learning the local language or acquainting themselves with the local culture. If the new Jewish community wished to have good communication with their new neighbours (and vice versa), sound knowledge of the other community context was called for, of their language and their intellectual traditions.

As Sherry Simon has shown in the context of three spoken communities in Montreal (English, French, and Yiddish), the multiple layers of the spoken languages and the implications for the formation of separate cultures and identities need to be attended to.[225] Simon describes how although the physical distance of the communities from each other is negligible, the mental distance is unbridgeable. Although they share the same space, the feeling of place is different for each of these communities. Each has its own histories, heritage, memory, language, and stories; each feels a belonging to another imaginative geography; each has its own language to 'read' the same city space. They occupy the same place but do not share it, just as in Tel Aviv-Jaffa, where Jews and Arabs live in the same city yet conceive of it differently. Living in different languages has a great impact, weight, and effect on each side's culture and contributes to the existing separation between Jews and Arabs. Even when people are brought up in similar circumstances

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[225] Simon, Sherry. (2010). *The Flow of Language. The Grace of Culture:*
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JgSr3b-9g4U

but speak different languages, their world view may be different.[226] In contemporary Tel Aviv-Jaffa, the Jews did not embrace the local existing language and could therefore not effectively participate in a mutually informing society. The result is two communities like those in Montreal, who live adjacent to each other and view the world differently. As Simon explains, the Jews in this multilingual Montreal community immersed themselves in the Yiddish language and culture, which others could not take part in any of, not through literature, poetry, art, culinary, taste, views, or sharing some mutual aspect of social life. Simon claims that these 'others' had the feeling of being tourists in their home when living among Jewish neighbours, who had so much in common. Each one read the place differently, and while the Jews felt like a community, the 'others' felt like foreigners to the place, preferring to live/associate with their own community.

Patterns in language shape other domains of thought and offer a window onto a culture's dispositions and priorities. Languages are human creations, tools we invent to suit our needs. If you change how people talk, it changes how they think. When one learns a new language, one also learns new ways of looking at the world. The languages we speak not only reflect and express our thoughts, but also shape them. The structures that exist in our languages profoundly shape how we construct reality and help make us as smart and sophisticated as we are. When we uncover how languages and their speakers differ from one another, we discover that human natures, too, can differ dramatically, depending on the languages spoken.

4.4.2   Accents

In addition to language, accent can be another factor of separation. An accent is "a way of pronouncing a language," an emphasis given to a syllable, word, or musical note, a particular

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[226] Emmit, Marie. And Pollok, John. (1997). *Language and Learning: An Introduction for Teaching.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

emphasis: "pronunciation, intonation, enunciation, articulation, inflection."[227] How far does an accent determine the way one is perceived by one's listeners? Is an accent inevitably attached with a social stigma?[228] Even when a person speaks perfectly in a second language, even when their grammar is flawless, it is practically impossible to achieve a perfect local accent.[229] A case study by Manisha and Ramkumar was dedicated to forensic purposes, helping the police to identify people according to their accent.[230] They established conclusively that accent is an important characteristic and that a dialect/accent can establish a speaker's identity and profile. As Joshua Miller quotes Walter Benjamin:

> "For language is in every case not only communication of the communicable but also, at the same time, a symbol of the incommunicable."[231]

In Toronto, many of us have a heavy accent and, usually, no one rejects us. Racially diverse people speaking with no discernible accent are not surprising. The situation in Tel Aviv-Jaffa is different. In Tel Aviv, an Arab who speaks Hebrew with no accent is still a very rare and unusual phenomenon, and pronunciation plays a significant role in local culture. Israel is full of immigrants, Jewish and non-Jewish, old and new, from all over the world. The new arrivals, after their struggle to learn Hebrew (in addition to the other rigorous obstacles and challenges) usually speak with an accent, and stand-up comedians have a field day imitating them.

In the White City of Tel Aviv, accents are not tolerated (except a recognizably Anglo-American accent), and a foreign accent is something to be overcome for anyone who wishes to

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[227] Oxford Dictionary.
[228] Moyer, Alene. (2013). *Foreign accent*. Cambridge University Press.
[229] Major, C. Roy. (2001). *Foreign accent*. Routledge.
[230] Kulshreshtha, Manisha. And Mathur, Ramkumar. (2012). *Dialect accent features for establishing speaker identity: a case study*. New York: Springer.
[231] Miller, L. Joshua. (2011). *Accented America: The Cultural Politics of Multilingual Modernism*. Oxford University Press. p. 2.

integrate into Tel Aviv society. While working on accents for this chapter, I happened to watch a short sketch on YouTube that illustrates the issue well.[232] A beautiful young woman is chatting with a friend on the phone in Hebrew. Her heavy Spanish accent is clear. A young guy standing nearby listens in. He is clearly taken with her appearance and her accent. He asks her if she was speaking Spanish. She insists she was speaking Hebrew. He asks her where she is from.[233] She answers, "*from Tel Aviv.*" He giggles and says: "with that accent you are not from Tel Aviv!" Not "maybe," not "are you sure," but a definite conclusion: she cannot be from Tel Aviv if she has a foreign accent.

An example from real life is one of my interviewees, who emigrated at age 14 from Russia to Tel Aviv with his parents. He completed the rest of his education, studied law at Tel Aviv University, and had a successful career as a lawyer in Tel Aviv, all with a heavy Russian accent. One of my interview questions related to his accent. As long as I have known him, I was surprised to hear his answer: he complained that his accent disturbs him all the time, that he feels people look at him differently and the moment he opens his mouth to talk judge him according to his accent. After living in the country for more than fifty years, he still feels that he will never belong because he speaks with an accent.

I tried to interview Ayman Sikseck,[234] a young Arabic writer who was born, grew up, and lives in Jaffa. We read his book in our Hebrew Book Club in Toronto. During our discussions, we were all surprised to find out he is Arab, as his Hebrew writing is wonderful. I was even more surprised that he did not have any accent when he answered my call. In an interview on Israeli TV, he explained the reason for his perfect spoken and written Hebrew: his mother had insisted

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[232] 'Talking accent' (in Hebrew): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gu8Uy2JLQl8

[233] In Israel everyone wants to know where you or your ancestors came from to the country. Everyone wants to classify you before they wish to know you. Even when your Hebrew and accent are perfect with no foreign trace.

[234] Sikseck, Ayman. (2016). *Blood Ties*. Tel Aviv: Achuzat Bayit Publications. (Hebrew).

that, no matter the expense, he would complete all his schooling with Hebrew-speaking children. Frantz Fanon would have understood.

Daniel Monterescu and Hayim Hazan help me conclude this section. They identify Zionism as synonymous with Judaism, as the same essential part of life and tradition.[235] However, they add that Zionism represents a "northern" (i.e., European) culture, which is very well established, yet still alien. This atmosphere of alienation is an essential part of the Tel Aviv character and spirit. Anyone who speaks 'broken' or accented Hebrew, especially, but not only, with an Arabic accent, does not belong and would be considered an outsider to the Tel Aviv milieu. This is an additional obstacle towards peaceful, equality and integration between the two communities, and the two parts of the one city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa.

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[235] Monterescu, Daniel. And Hazan Hayim. (2011). *A Town at Sundown: Aging Nationalism in Jaffa*. Hakibbutz Hameuhad Publication. (Hebrew)

5   Tel Aviv: Global City, Smart City

Figure 53: Tel Aviv welcoming Posters: Huge Posters at the entrance to Tel Aviv declare the City that Never Stops. Taken by the author.

The huge poster above on the left welcomes people who enter the city by car, arriving on any of

the main highways in, while the poster on the right was published during the 1990s and now

hangs on the walls of the Liebling House with other pictures of 'old' Tel Aviv. Both images

feature beautiful laughing young women against the backdrop of the towers of Tel Aviv and the

sea. They show people what to anticipate when they enter the city, and the mood they are

expected to be in to enjoy the general special atmosphere of the place. They also show that Tel

Aviv has fulfilled its promise and is a testimony to the Zionist ideal of vitality, the centre of the

state of Israel, the very heart of its culture and society, especially its economy.

Akiva Weiss (see p.) forecast a new suburb that would become the New York of the region.[236] Many decades later, in 1989, Tel Aviv adopted a new slogan *Ir lelo hafsaka* - (עיר ללֹא הפסקה) *"A city that never stops,"* modelled on the New York slogan *"The city that never sleeps."* This slogan became the city's identity, going hand in hand with the challenges of keeping up the energetic lifestyle it implied. The city now had to answer to the non-stop demands of inhabitants and visitors. It became a magnet for all sorts of people.

Since the 1990s, Tel Aviv has been what a *global city* is. In the phase of the spread of rapid information technology, at a time of increasing mobility of people and liquidity of capital, when to a large extent the world became one economic unit, Tel Aviv joined this trend and became part of the global network. As in other global cities, privatization and deregulation processes impacted the city and its daily life. Multinational companies moved in, which led to economic strength and capital concentration. The city became integrated into the global flow of commerce, trade, and services. The management of major corporations is situated in the city, and they maintain connections with international entities around the world and control their branch offices or affiliates, which are spread internationally. Connectedness strengthens cross-border economic transactions and has reinforced a transnational urban system. Global cities serve as centres of finance, business, and services, with main control apparatuses, which help the owners and managements to concentrate, coordinate, and control their international economic activities.[237] As such, large companies in Tel Aviv control their worldwide affairs in various markets, in sectors such as banking, insurance, advertising, consulting, law, accounting, planning, the stock exchange, and especially the rising of IT sector.

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[236] Yekutieli, Kohen, Edna. (2009). *A City From Its Very Beginning, the Story of Tel Aviv, the Story of its Founder, Akiva Arye Weiss*. Tel Aviv, Israel: Ora Hadasha Publishing. (Hebrew).

[237] Sassen Sasskia, for example, identifies a global city by the number of controlling headquarters in one city.

Figure 54: Tel Aviv, looking to the east. Same Old North residential neighbourhood.
https://www.themarker.com/realestate/.premium-
1.6935861?utm_source=smartfocus&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=daily&utm_content=https://www.themarker.com/r
ealestate/.prem

The urban panorama of towers climbing towards the sky has altered and continues to change the

city's character, which is now symbolized by the skyline. Any empty piece of land is the target

of real estate speculation. Huge office towers are erected, especially in the middle (south) of the

Tel Aviv part of the city, which has become the main business centre of the country, with long

arms extended all over the world.

Tel Aviv has become a centre of communication, information, and entertainment. It enables

a wide range of creativity and the intellectual and aesthetic output of architects, galleries,

painters, musicians, writers, philosophers, theologians, scientists, and scholars in many fields of

expertise. The attractive campus of Tel Aviv University is well known through continuous

competition with the prestigious Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Tel Aviv, and not Jerusalem,

is generally recognized as the centre of the country for literature, arts, publishing houses, media,

and newspapers. Tel Aviv is a creative capital with theatres, music, dance halls, and fashion. An

entire range of social practices and institutions are manifest there, offering quality cultural and artistic activities of both local and international character. Tel Aviv offers everyone the promise of finding their own niche. An example is the Beit Ariella library, which was erected in Jaffa in 1886, adopted by the city of Tel Aviv in 1922, and finally transferred to the centre of Tel Aviv in 1978. This library became one of the largest in the country and, as a result, many small public libraries in Jaffa and in other locations in Tel Aviv and elsewhere emptied and closed.

Tel Aviv is a place of dazzling shop windows. Pubs and restaurants are now day/night destinations for people coming from all over and staying awake around the clock. Nighttime entertainment indicates a confidence to consume around the clock, and the end of peaceful, quiet residential spaces. However, despite the soundings of critics against its unfavorable urban state and problems, questionnaires by local Tel Aviv newspapers again and again find that most of its inhabitants wish to continue to live in the city, proof of a special sense of belonging and pride.

On each visit to Tel Aviv, one discovers a different sight. The multiple huge cranes and nonstop construction are clear. The number of cranes in a city signifies the level of construction. For example, a recent article about Toronto's expansion was titled "Toronto still has far more cranes up than any city in North America."[238] Like Toronto, someone who has not visited Tel Aviv for a few years will find much difficult to recognize. We can assume that the picture below will be completely different in a few years, and the small buildings will be replaced by eminent towers. The real estate sharks are already sniffing around.

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[238] Smith, Ansley. April 9, 2020: https://torontostoreys.com/toronto-most-cranes-north-america

Figure 55: Tel Aviv: Part of the Tel Aviv new skyline, 2018. taken by the author.

As we know from Edward Soja's work, it is people that dictate the city's form and shape the city space and, at the same time, in return, are shaped by the new spatial arrangements.[239] In this case, it is the people with means and major businesses that dictate the city's image, influence, and motivate its character through economic interests. Like some other municipalities, which did not take an active part in urban economic processes or try to reach a positive balance between the interests of the private entrepreneurs and the interests of the public, in the development process Tel Aviv ignored its inhabitants' welfare and the city's historical image.[240]

As old industries moved from the centre to the suburbs, the road system was renewed to meet the accelerating movement in and around town. Naturally, the areas that were closer to these roads had a big advantage and were in greater demand. The city invested largely in infrastructure and relevant development, especially on the north side. The north became, and still

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[239] Soja, Edward W. (2000). *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

[240] Shavit, Yaakov. (2002). *The History of Tel Aviv 1974-1993.* Tel Aviv University, Ramot Press, Tel Aviv. (Hebrew).

is, the expensive part of the city, offering a luxurious, high quality standard of living. This creates a huge rift between the north and the city's impoverished south. As with many other global cities, over time tensions have grown due to the economic and cultural distance between rich and poor, between the suburbs of north Tel Aviv and those in the south – which include Jaffa. The city has become an urban space of deconstruction, a series of contested sites in which borders, neighbourhoods and other places define social inclusion or exclusion, ethnic conflict (both between Jews and Arabs and between Jews and Jews), and reconciliation, or its absence.

Figure 56: Tel Aviv magnificent seashore, with Jaffa at the horizon. [241]

Tel Aviv is a capitalist city wherein everyday life revolves around consumption and profit. Like other global cities, life there can be cruel and alienating. Loneliness and anonymity are a reality for many, even when among crowds or walking through densely packed streets. The city is a centre for the homeless, heavily polluted, with too many cars and not enough public transport and parking – there is no Metro in Tel Aviv, which relies on buses for all public transport. Many

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[241] Tel Aviv's magnificent seashore with beautiful Jaffa in the horizon:
https://www.bing.com/images/search?q=tel+aviv+seashore+picture&id=B123CA942CF96B70761C30FE7B244FC
A9A072F91&FORM=IQFRBA.

residents struggle to survive, especially young people, young families, the aging population, and the many foreign workers (whether official or illegalized) who are concentrated in this city.

Since the 1990s, a large community of non-Jewish foreign workers and refugees has grown in the city, some with their families, many of them illegalized. They moved to the south of the city, where they live in miserable housing conditions without social support or income due to a lack of employment permits. All this has helped turn some parts of the city into sick, crowded, and filthy spaces that match earlier descriptions of Jaffa by the Jews, after 1948 and earlier.

The tendencies of income and power concentration in cities that Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer analyze are all relevant to Tel Aviv. They claim that global cities generate poverty and exclusion, contribute to environmental degradation, accelerate migration and urbanization processes, social and spatial segregation, and the privatization of common goods and public spaces.[242] As a result, some areas in the city are marked by poverty, risky conditions, and vulnerable interrelationships. Here I borrow what Edward Soja concluded about the 'promising' city of Los Angeles: "Tel Aviv, is it an urban utopia of the Jewish dream, or the opposite, a dystopian nightmare?" Like so many large cities, Tel Aviv became a prototype of a postmodern metropolis, a dominant structure of life and culture, using means to control disorder, to map disorientation or fixation, memory or oblivion, inclusion or exclusion, and more contradictions.[243]

A particularly good example is the first school erected in Tel Aviv. Before the city was established, Herzliya Gymnasium, a Hebrew secular school, was built with nostalgic biblical temple-like insignia, as if looking for roots and self-identity. This school, which was the symbol

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[242] Brenner, Neil. Marcuse, Peter. & Mayer, Margit. (Eds.). (2012). *Cities For People, Not For Profit*. New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.

[243] Soja, Edwards W. & Scott, Allen J. (Eds.). (1996). *The City. Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

of Zionist education in the Biblical language, was demolished in 1958 to build a 36-story tower.

When the Shalom Tower was built in 1965, it was the tallest building in the Middle East. In

Israel it remained the tallest building during the 1960s and 1970s. It was the first building in the

country to have elevators and escalators. There were people who opposed the school's

demolition, but Ben-Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel, claimed that a 50-year-old

building was not heritage-worthy and approved its demolition. Many criticized the destruction of

one of the symbols of the first Hebrew city, which many considered a diamond in the crown of

Tel Aviv.[244] The demolition symbolizes, and makes a direct connection between, the trends of

building towards the sky and destroying historical parts of the city. For some it was traumatic.

During the seventies, comfort was offered: on the first floor of the new tower, a gallery of

pictures of old Tel Aviv is on display with written explanations regarding Tel Aviv since its

establishment. For example:

Figure 57: Tel Aviv first steps of establishment story. One of the walls' exhibition at the Shalom Tower, first floor.
https://sites.google.com/site/keremisraeltlv/area/shalom-tower and in an English link:

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[244] Vidrich, Shula, Yossi Goldberg, and Irit Amit-Cohen. (2009). *Tel Aviv. Exposed. Walking Tours at its Forgotten Historic Corners.* Netanya, Israel: Achiasaf Publishing House Ltd. (Hebrew).

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Herzliya_Hebrew_Gymnasium_mosaic

Figure 58: Nachum Gutman, 1966. The Herzliya Gymnasium. A mosaic on one of the walls of Migdal Shalom Tower. From the same above link.

Figure 59: David Sharir.1967. A mosaic wall describing the same Herzliya gymnasium. On the Shalom Tower walls, first floor.

Nonetheless, there is hardly any dispute or disagreement that Tel Aviv is the heart of the country, and that it is on a par and competitive with other international global cities. In the summer of 2018, I met an old friend for lunch, Shlomo Avitan, the chairman of the Histadrut House of Representatives, the Israeli labour organization (יו"ר בינ"ה-בית נבחרי ההסתדרות). I asked him why he had moved from Haifa to Tel Aviv. He answered simply that the country is run from Tel Aviv, in a tone that implied my question was too obvious to even answer.

The following two examples illustrate the vitality of the city. Shenkin Street is named after Menahem Shenkin, who originally suggested naming the city Tel Aviv. The street is located in the White City and represents the new urban lifestyle, for better or worse. It is the 'Soho' or the 'Village' of Tel Aviv, a term meant to evoke the new class atmosphere of young, bourgeois, secular, bohemian, avantgarde leftists and liberals, who reside in the upper floors of the street's buildings. Shenkin Street radiates the pluralistic character of the young generation. When someone transmits the feeling of being young, secular, and liberal, they can be identified as a "Shenkin" soul and vice versa: If someone is named as a "Shenkin man/woman," people would attribute these characteristics to him/her. The street is crowded with all kinds of shops, old boutiques, some of the most prominent and popular coffee shops (for example the old, very well known 'Caffe Tamar' in the following song), and galleries. All exposed through free-thinking designs and designers. The street is the subject of many poems, articles, and songs. Shenkin Street makes it clear to all that Tel Aviv is where the action is.

The following lines are taken from a song written by Yair Lapid during the eighties, when he lived in Shenkin Street, a long time before he ran for office – he is now (2020) the chair of the opposition leader at the Knesset (the Israeli parliament). The song describes the street as a bohemian centre where great artists/creators, and young/lost people spend their time and dream:

היא כל כך מסובכת	She is so complicated
כותבת ספרים במיטה	She writes books in bed
לובשת תמיד שחור	Always wearing black
עוד לפני שהיא הולכת	Before she goes
אין לה לאן לחזור כבר	She already has no place to return
גרה בשינקין	She lives in Shenkin
שותה בקפה תמר	Drinks her coffee at Tamar
רוצה לעשות גם סרט קצר	She wants to make a short film too
גברים, היא אומרת	Men, she says
זה בא והולך	One comes, one goes
אך בלילות הקרים, היא יודעת	But on cold nights, she knows
שזה הולך ומסתבך	That it's getting complicated[245]

The second example is also located in the White City and is one of the most famous boulevards in the country: Rothschild Boulevard, named after a wealthy Jewish family of British bankers. It has figured in even more books, poetry, and research than Shenkin Street. The following are just a few of the important buildings along the Rothschild Boulevard (names which have already been mentioned):

- Rothschild 118, built in 1934 by the architect Yizhak Rapoport, for Israel Rokach, Tel Aviv Mayor. It was renovated in 2012 by his son Oded Rapoport. (Figure 60)
- Rothschild 11, the house of Yosef Eliyahu Chelouche, built in 1911. In 1923 the second floor was added to the house and in 1924 the third floor was added to the luxury house. (Figure 6161)
- Rothschild 16, the house of Dizengoff, the first Mayor of Tel Aviv, built in 1910. In this house the Israel declaration of independence was signed. Today it serves as a museum for the history of Tel Aviv and the State. (Figure 62)

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[245] The song performance can be found on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HMtLHQlsmL4

Figure 60: Beit Rapoport, Rothschild 118
(https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%A9%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%AA_%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%98%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%9C%D7%93)

Figure 61: Beit Chelouche, Rothschild 11
https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%91%D7%99%D7%AA_%D7%99%D7%95%D7%A1%D7%A3_%D7%90%D7%9C%D7%99%D7%94%D7%95_%D7%A9%D7%9C%D7%95%D7%A9

Figure 62: The declaration of the Israeli independence by Ben Gurion, the first Prime Minister. The ceremony took place in Rothschild 16, in Dizengoff house. The picture on the wall is Herzl. Taken from the same link.

Almost every house that was built along both sides of the Boulevard, or what was left of them, is a piece of the puzzle of the city's history, and the country's. Rothschild Boulevard crosses Herzl Street, as well as Shenkin, Balfour, Allenby, and other main streets. It was originally designed as a central public space with kiosks, green grass, gardens, and huge trees that were supposedly planted when the street was first paved. Some of the boulevard houses are occupied by the leading businesses in the country, especially the main central banks, insurance companies, and big law firms. It signifies the main economic activities of the country during the day. At its other end are the cultural centres of the country: the national theatre *Habima* and the Hall of Culture *Heichal Hatarbut*. At night, the boulevard transforms into multiple entertainment activities, with trendy pubs, restaurants, and galleries. Along the boulevard there are benches for old people to rest on during the day, or for lovers at nighttime to see, be seen and socialize. On both sides of

the boulevard, we find the largest concentration of Bauhaus buildings in the city, each with its own fascinating story.[246]

Being central and unique, the property along this boulevard is extremely expensive. The few small old houses left along the boulevard 'occupy' very precious land. The trend of replacing the small houses with towers was stopped by the city in the 1990s. Now, when a real-estate agent takes the initiative to build a glass skyscraper, it comes with strict conditions and the prohibition of destroying any old, deteriorated buildings. On the contrary, the demand is to renovate these old pieces of history. What finances the renovation of the old buildings to their original condition, according to old pictures and architectural plans taken from the archives, is the multi-floor buildings that are allowed to be constructed behind the old ones (Figure 43, Figure 44).

5.1   Gentrification

For many, the global city offers the potential to improve their lives and social status. Yet this comes at a heavy price. Among the many problems, threats, and negative features of global cities, one of the worst and most persistent is the gentrification of the material environment, and the consequences it has for the historical and social substance of the city.[247] Global neoliberalism's push towards decentralization and privatization radically altered the economy, which was followed by changes that had a huge impact on human life, including the re-organization of labour, structures of consumption, and the distribution of earnings, with a profound influence on urban space.[248] Space matters. People do not only shape space over time, but they are also, in turn, shaped by spatial rearrangements. Soja already made the claim in

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[246] More pictures of Bauhaus buildings in this Boulevard: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YLoEft3M8Lw
[247] Sassen, Saskia. (2000). *Cities in a World Economy*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Pine Forge Press.
[248] Soja, Edwards W. & Scott, Allen J. (Eds.). (1996). *The City*. Berkeley University of California Press.

Thirdspace that space is not just another geographical point on the map (material, mathematical, conceived of length and width, mappable).[249]

Space is never neutral or pre-existing. Following Lefebvre, Soja claims that social, economic, and political aspects have a great influence on space, and material space impacts mental space. This is echoing Lefebvre's famous argument about place as perceived, conceived and lived (see above), an important follow-up to Weber's lesson that space (a city, for example) is alive, active, constantly changing, in essence not passive. Space and people are connected to each other and influence each other. Both must be examined together. In postmodern times, we cannot ignore the mutual influences of space on the individual and vice versa:

> "… all social relations become real and concrete, a part of our lived social existence, only when they are spatially 'inscribed' – that is, concretely represented – in the social production of social space … there is no un-spatialized social reality."[250]

In the 1980s and 1990s, Tel Aviv opened itself to the world and to the world's markets. The city took on all the features of a global city. Its economy was restructured and moved through a period of transition by integrating into global processes, privatizing public services, deregulating (which weakened state sovereignty), and increasing the number of transnational corporations and investments in and out of Tel Aviv. The city has become a transnational marketplace in which the free movement of person power, resources, and knowledge is specifically encouraged both into and out of the city. The city experienced an increase in international demand for human proficiency, advanced infrastructure, finance, and specialized services. As happens in a global reality of free-floating labour and financial services, labour in the city was reorganized to meet

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[249] Soja, Edward. (1996). Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Anjeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places. Cambridge, Mass. Blackwell.

[250] Soja, Edward. (1996). *Thirdspace: Journey to Los Angeles and Other Real-and Imagined Places.* Cambridge, Blackwell Publishers. p. 46.

the new demands. The structure of consumption was altered, influencing components of everyday life. The redistribution of earnings led to class polarization between the rich who became richer and the poor who were pushed even further into poverty.

According to Saskia Sassen, the ramification of the extreme earning divide in the global city leads to a new social structure: the middle class, mostly, disappears also into poverty. In other words, the global city changes the social order.[251] The influx of multinational companies and expert employees 'colonizes' the cities they move to in order to work and live. The process widens and deepens the gaps between different communities and introduces new social formations. Since the 1990s, patterns of growing inequality have been reinforced, forcing the underprivileged into a situation of unpredictable survival.

Global cities tend to have large, dense concentrations of poor people, with the most extreme poverty tending to exist in the closest proximity to concentrations of extraordinary wealth.[252] Compared with other global cities, Tel Aviv is relatively small in demographic terms. In such a relatively small city, the juxtaposition of poor and rich inhabitants intensifies feelings of deprivation. The ideological 'triumph' of neoliberalism has resulted in the re-allocation of spatial, political, economic, and financial resources, coming to favour sustainable economic growth at the expense of wider social benefits and taking from those who need them most.

In global times, manufacturing, an industry which needed a substantial manual labour (remember Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times*, 1936), has relocated to more cost-effective locations where labour is the cheapest. In their wake, new 'industries' representing 'post-industrial production' took their place, such as services, management, and finance. These new

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[251] Sassen, Saskia. (2001). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
[252] Fainstein, Susan S. "Inequality in Global City-regions". In: *The Global Cities Reader*. Edited by Brenner, Neil and Keil, Roger. (2006). London; New York: Routledge. Pp. 111-117.

industries require experts of all kinds to improve and facilitate the connections and relations between providers and consumers. These new workers are usually highly educated, with a deep understanding of business complexities and specialized knowledge in their fields of expertise. A small group of people, they have come to form a kind of closed international 'club' (which can sometimes be stronger as a form of allegiance than the national state). This small 'club' tends to keep themselves away from the 'others,' who in this case are those who are left behind and lack knowledge of game-changing technologies. This state of affairs intensifies the process of disparity and the imbalance in the employment and earning sectors.

As we know from Doreen Massey's work, geography matters.[253] Geography is bound strongly to social life. As such, societal changes require understanding the geography of social change: the relationship between society and its spatial organization. Space and society cannot be understood independently from each other because spatial changes involve and affect social organization, and vice versa. Saskia Sassen agrees with and strengthens Doreen Massey's analysis.[254] Both suggest that place and location now matter even more than they used to when consumption and production were clearly bound to some specific physical place. David Harvey offers an explanation for the processes of spatial and societal changes and the steps that eventually led to gentrification.[255] He argues that cities have moved from being centres of production to centres of consumption, with the result that even 'land' became part of general consumption. Land and property have come to play an enormous role in the production and accumulation of capital. Space (land) is one of the most important elements in achieving

[253] Massey, Doreen, Allen, John and Pile, Steve. (Eds.) (1999). *City Worlds*. Routledge in association with the Open University.

[254] Sassen, Saskia. (2001). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

[255] Harvey, David. (1985). *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*. Baltimore, Md.: John Hopkins University Press.

production in an efficient way. To be at the centre of a particular spatial assemblage is a significant advantage. Investors look for central land to make money. As such, land ceases to be merely space. It becomes commoditized, bought, and sold as any other commodity. The great demand for central places causes land value to climb, and of course landlords wish to maximise profit and so prefer to rent their land to those able to pay the highest rents. A higher income may be achieved by investing in renovations, which allows higher rents to be charged (i.e., Zukin's *Loft Living*), meaning that lower classes are not able to pay the new high rent anymore and are pushed out. If no improvements are made, property drops in value, and the lower class replaces the rich elite.

David Harvey sees Marxist theory as the best tool to interpret cities as existing within a capitalist framework.[256] He links gentrification to rising rents, which happens especially in times of prosperity, when real estate moves through 'boom' markets. The greater the demand for land is, the higher the price, not to mention the greater the temptation to push out the poor people to free up the land. This is the class nature of urbanization, namely, that urban space comes to serve elites.[257] While this phenomenon plays out differently in various places, the relevant cities share some characteristics.[258] A gap between present rent under a present use and a potentially higher rent with growth potential for investment allows gentrification to occur. Such scenarios encourage private and public investments, a market-driven process with the goal of protecting and advancing the interests of private capital. Neil Smith's 1996 book about gentrification still

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[256] Harvey, David. (2012). *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. London. New York. Verso.

[257] Marcuse, Peter. (2012). "Whose right(s) to what city?" In *Cities For People Not For Profit*. Edited by Brenner, Neil, Marcuse, Peter & Mayer, Margit. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group. Pp. 24-41.

[258] Smith, Neil. (1996). *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. London and New York: Routledge.

reads as remarkably current as if describing precisely what has been happening in Tel Aviv. As we will see in the next chapter, the critique of gentrification is even more adequate to what has happened in Jaffa.

5.2   The Gentrification of Giva'at Amal: A Case Study

The following scenario from Tel Aviv contains all the above characteristics of gentrification and gives names and faces to those who were gentrified: a personal confrontation with gentrification. Of the many stories of gentrification I have lived through in Tel Aviv, the gentrification of Giva'at Amal, a small site which was originally, before 1948, a Bedouin farm, is the most worthy of being discussed here. The event ended at the beginning of 2018. I was exposed to it, in detail, over the past few years due to my close acquaintance with one of the gentrified families: my Tel Aviv hairdresser for about the last twenty years. In this story, the original landlord was the municipality of Tel Aviv, which indicates that in our capitalist world, public and private institutions share the same means and interests.

According to Tel Aviv's official site, the city contains 71 neighbourhoods and sub-neighbourhoods.[259] However, the Giva'at Amal suburb is missing, and a small footnote at the bottom of the list confirms that "*Data of poor-population neighbourhoods is not presented in this publication.*" This footnote seems to refer not only to Giva'at Amal but to all the other tiny suburbs that have shared (or will share) its fate.

Tel Aviv is constituted and surrounded by luxury suburbs: Ramat Aviv – the beautiful campus of Tel Aviv University; Neve-Avivim – where the late Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres used to live (both were Prime Ministers of Israel, both 1994 Noble Peace Prize laureates); the

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[259] List of Tel Aviv neighbourhoods: https://www.Tel Aviv.gov.il/Transparency/DocLib4/רשימת%20שכונות%20מבואות%20והגדרות.pdf

'Old North' of Tel Aviv, where rich people live in luxury towers, moving back to the town centre from their huge country villas; and the nice suburb of Bavli, where one of the richest people in Israel lives. From her luxury penthouse balconies and windows, Sheri Arison has a view of the neglected, poor Giva'at Amal outskirt.

What we already know happened in Jaffa – that "*Jewish immigrants were settled in the ruins of the empty Palestinian properties in Jaffa*" – also took place on the small Bedouin farm of Jasmin El-Arabi, known as Jamousin or later as Giva'at Amal. After the 1948 Israeli-Arab war, the Bedouins had to evacuate their farms and flee for their lives. New Jewish immigrants, poor and illiterate, were directed to reside in their houses to prevent any possibility of return by those who fled. The place's Hebrew name – Giva'at Amal – (גבעת עמל) – means hill of hard labour in English. Since then, Tel Aviv has grown geographically and demographically. Nice new neighbourhoods were added, including one on the empty sands next to Giva'at Amal – the Bavli suburb. The land value of poor Giva'at Amal rose exponentially, and the forecast demand was tremendously high for the huge luxury towers that were planned to be built there. The obstacle was the few existing poor inhabitants still living in the place.

It is important to mention that since 1948, the Tel Aviv municipality had not invested in or in any way developed Giva'at Amal. There had been no renovations, no new infrastructure. Streets had not been paved, water pipes had neither been professionally installed nor repaired, no new electricity had been installed in the houses or along the sand pathways in the neighbourhood. Any repairs had to be undertaken by the existing inhabitants. Even though the place was adjacent to the rich quarter of Bavli, the streets of the two suburbs were disconnected. One could not drive through the nicely paved roads of Bavli into Giva'at Amal, and neither was it possible to cross into Bavli from the narrow soil pathways of Giva'at Amal.

Neil Smith explains that economic incentives force landlords (in our case, the municipality) to under-maintain properties in declining residential areas, causing the further deterioration of the neighbourhood's housing stock until the properties are undercapitalized relative to the land value. At this point, capital floods back, and the land is bought and resold. The problem then is how to evict the existing dwellers, who insist on fighting the process because they have no place else to go.

I followed this struggle for years due to a weekly visit to my hairdresser. In December 2017, I left for Tel Aviv to continue my research. On Sunday, December 24, 2017, an investigative programme was broadcast on TV about a violent eviction from Giva'at Amal, as if I had commissioned a special program for my research. The essence of the show was to illustrate the struggle over the poor sub-suburb. In his popular monthly 9pm show "*The Real Face*" (פנים אמיתיות) Amnon Levy presented harsh facts and original documents to prove his case. One can assume that, when dealing with some of the richest, best connected, and most powerful people, he wanted to prevent any possibility of potential lawsuits against him, or against his TV channel Arutz 10, one of the most established channels on Israeli TV.

On the last day of the final eviction, Amnon Levy and his TV team arrived at the place to report on and film the eviction. They were not allowed to enter. The place had been fenced off, and hundreds of policemen were guarding it and executing the eviction order. The violent removal of the few poor inhabitants ensued under the strict instructions of representatives of the new owner (one notes that private representatives were apparently able to direct the actions of the state police force!). Levy could not enter, but some of the people being evicted approached him across the fence and reported what was going on inside. While talking to him, they showed him (and the TV audience) the marks of violence on their bodies. From time to time, the camera

moved to the ambulances entering and exiting, taking away some of the badly injured protesters and inhabitants who had physically opposed the evacuation.

During the show, and between the lines, Levy related Giva'at Amal's history with material documentation and interviews he had recorded with inhabitants and authorities. People who had had no other choice had been brought to live there because it was far from the centre of Tel Aviv at a time when no one else would move there willingly, and the young city/country urgently needed people to keep the place inhabited. Levy underscored that those who had been directed to inhabit the deserted houses had done the city and the country's authorities a great favour. Three generations later, when the land turned out to be closer to the centre of a grown Tel Aviv, and worth much more, those people's services were no longer needed, and they could be evicted because, as was cynically claimed, they had no papers to prove ownership. Tractors and other heavy machines waited on standby for the immediate destruction of the houses as soon as the eviction procedures had been completed.

Levy presented documents taken from the years when Yehoshua Rabinowitz was Tel Aviv's mayor (1969-1974). Rabinowitz had expressed the opinion that he would prefer to get rid of the people living in Giva'at Amal because, he explained, they were not the quality of human material (חומר אנושי) suitable for the city of Tel Aviv. All successive mayors let the place deteriorate further, and in 1974 the same Yehoshua Rabinowitz was appointed Israel's Finance Minister. Levy blames the media for doing nothing to help the weak. "*Where is justice*?" he asked.

This TV program generated much discussion and debate, but it was too late. The inhabitants were removed, some of them to become homeless, and the place was turned into empty soil, ready to be rebuilt from scratch. Yitzhak Teshuva, one of the billionaire buyers of this piece of

land, succeeded where no one else had before. He planned to build a few luxury towers for the 'right human material' and used all means necessary to do so.

Neil Smith would see in the above scenario an act of criminalizing the poor. The authorities sided with the rich and accused the poor people of Giva'at-Amal of invading other people's property, choosing to forget why they happened to be there in the first place, that they had been directed to the place as necessary settlers. With little means, the inhabitants appealed to the Supreme Court, who decided not to intervene. Amnon Levy heavily critiqued the court decision.

This example illustrates a pattern of investment, urban policy, eviction, police harassment, and other policies that serve and enforce a vision of the city in which there is no place for 'low quality' humans. I agree with Neil Smith's conclusion that the private market, which in this case is the same as public policy, plots against minorities, the weak, and the poor. In the emerging global city, gentrification has become part of the general policy and is reshaping the city.

I cannot find a better ending to this section than a verse taken from the Bible (Koheleth: Ecclesiastes 4:1)

> " ושבתי אני ואראה את כל העשוקים אשר נעשים תחת השמש והנה דמעת העשוקים ואין להם מנחם,
> ומיד עושקיהם כח..."
>
> "But I returned and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun; and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter". (Ecclesiastes 4:1)

This case exemplifies drastically how Tel Aviv does not have the will to spend resources on those who disturb its race forward, at an astonishing pace, as a start-up nation.[260] It has become one of the leading cities in the fields of entrepreneurship and innovation. The *World Street*

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[260] Senor, Dan. And Singer, Saul. (2009). *Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle*. United States, Hachette Book Group (HBG). And: A You Tube film explaining about: Israel becomes high-tech Start Up Nation https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o9tTqwSkhaw

Journal published an article asking: "*Where Does Tech Keep Booming*?" and the answer was: "In Israel, a clustering of talent, research universities, and venture capital."[261] If the third part of the last century introduced a new kind of city – the Global City, this century introduced another sort of city, the Smart City.

5.3   Tel Aviv: A Smart City

Tel Aviv won the 2014 World Smart Cities Award at the Smart City Expo and World Congress in Barcelona, Spain, and has not slowed down since. On the contrary, it has continued to develop, invent, and implement all kinds of innovative technologies. The city sees itself as a progressive, inventive hub, one that pushes boundaries. These innovations have come to improve decision making, cities' contact with their residents, and the quality of urban life.

Our world is changing. Cities used to be places to live in. In our contemporary world of nonstop movement of people, goods, and services, mobile connections outnumber fixed ones, and we live in accelerating processes of globalization, urbanization, communication, and advanced technology. Now, in an era of traffic intensified like never before, people wish to adapt novelty, originality, and freshness, pushing towards new forms of collective life and aiming to guarantee a better, quicker, and easier life that is planned not only for profit, but for a better existence. This new urban reality faces great challenges and transformations, of both municipalities and residents. "Given that the majority of people across the world will live in urban environment within the next few decades,"[262] the city is motivated to become 'smart' in the digital world.

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[261] Glassman, K. James. *Wall Street Journal*. Nov. 23, 2009.
[262] Stimmel, L. Carol. (2015). *Building Smart Cities: Analytics, ICT, and Design Thinking*. London, New York: Auerbach Publications. CRC Press. Chapter one.

The number of transactions, complexities, and size of cities has resulted in enormous problems.[263] Urbanization may have meant great opportunity, but it has also increasingly come to mean great challenges in many dimensions: social, environmental, cultural, political, economic, and in terms of security. All these issues are concentrated mainly in cities, which makes them, in effect, urban problems:

> "… we are at a critical juncture where we need to think about ways to create urban environment that are 'productive, socially connected, and economically successful."[264]

Technology provides the means of shaping our new daily lives. The 'smart' city is an ideal, a utopian belief in a process of urban transformation.[265] Urban space plays a crucial role in the background of the rise of new forms of collective intelligence. The smart city is imagined as facilitating efficiency and encouraging new modes for individuals to work together. People, technology, and space complement each other, working towards the same goals. Technology cannot replace or annihilate space. Space is still important, as stated succinctly by Antoine Picone:

> "This may appear paradoxical, since the development of information technology has long been associated with a sort of annihilation of space. In the mid-19th century, when Samuel Morse developed his telegraph system, his contemporaries celebrated what they saw as the definitive victory of intelligence over distance. The same refrain was later taken up in relation to the telephone, radio, television, and more recently-the Internet. But digital technologies, now in their maturity, have restored the importance of space. They often involve geolocation: that is, the ability to know the position of a multitude of stationary or moving objects, in real time."[266]

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[263] Townsend, M. Anthony. (2013). *Smart Cities: Big Data, Civic Hackers, and the Quest for a New Utopia*. New York: W W Norton & Company. Inc.

[264] Stimmel, L. Carol. (2015). *Building Smart Cities: Analytics, ICT, and Design Thinking*. London, New York: Auerbach Publications. CRC Press. p. xv.

[265] Picon, Antoine. (2015). *Smart Cities: A Spatialized Intelligence*. John Wiley and Sons, West Sussex.

[266] Picon, Antoine, Ibid. p. 13.

ICT (Information, Communication, Technology) and CPS (Cyber Physical System) are powerful tools that are used in cities, collecting unprecedented amounts of information, and intruding in all spheres of our life. Cities become increasingly computable and automated at every level in this era of big data and easy access to information. The consequences are a movement towards a world based on information, with an urgent demand for rapid responses in real time to emergencies, market changes, or other significant events. The term 'smart city' defines this new urban environment and reflects the influence and performance of new technologies, communication, and information in cities.[267] Information technology, infrastructure, architecture, and humans are all addressing social, economic, and environmental issues. The technologically based, 'smart' connection between the physical to the digital world is exemplified by the city's operation through apps that control traffic patterns, sewage flows, street lighting, or online connection in real time with citizens, guided by sophisticated software.

The concept is a relatively new one, starting in the early years of the twenty-first century. Many definitions of the smart city exist,[268] and several monikers are in use, such as digital city, intelligent city, knowledge city, and others, trendy words that imagine a process through which cities embrace the idea of complex influences, disciplines, and agencies, all synchronized to improve quality and sustainability of urban life through efficiency. The capability of the technologies used plays an important role in advancing, informing, and helping the execution of urban initiatives. Technologies are tasked with optimizing and regulating all critical resources and increasing a city's economic leverage.

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[267] A TED Talk (one of many) on the *"Smart City'*: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gYUSMF2Acn8.

[268] Dameri, Renata Paola. And Rosenthal-Sabroux, Camile. (Eds.). (2014). *Smart City: How to create public and economic value with high technology in urban space.* New York, Dordrecht, London: Cham springer.

Cities attract urban planners, engineers, designers, tech leaders and experts, entrepreneurs, international investments, and politicians. Those groups drive new ideas with vision, time, and skills, but policy makers and funding are also needed. Smart actions are initiated in order to create public value and a new state of affairs that supposedly benefits everybody in the urban space. No less important is the mechanism engaged and used, namely, the 'human behind the machine': "It suggests that learning takes place in the heads of people who care about and take action to affect the cities where they live."[269] A new awareness has arisen that there is a need to address the way technology affects and changes our urban conditions. How technology is imagined, used, implemented, and developed is deeply embedded in societal contexts, and the 'smart city' notion has become synonymous with a vision of future urban development as well as education.[270]

The following are generally suggested as the most basic characteristics of a smart city:[271]

- The use of new communication technologies

- The involvement of both software and hardware components

- Improvement of different city processes (controls, regulations, etc.)

- A new geographical perspective (i.e., Google Map).

- Real time solutions to social, economic, and environmental issues

- Improvements and promotion of citizens' lives and conditions

- The possibility to integrate ICT into infrastructure.

- Monitoring and directing of communication to various entities, including physical ones.

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[269] Campbell, Tim. (2012). *Beyond Smart Cities: How Cities Network, Learn and Innovate*. Abington, Oxon: New York, N.Y.: Erthscan. p. 18.

[270] Song, Houbing. Srinivasan, Ravi, Sookoor. And Jeschke, Sabina. (2017). *Smart Cities: Foundations, Principles, and Applications*. USA, Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.

[271] Song, Houbing. Srinivasan, Ravi, Sookoor. And Jeschke, Sabina. (2017). Ibid

- Improvements of urban (social, economic, political, planning) needs and services.

- Technology-based responses to social, economic, and environmental challenges

- Access to a large number of citizens in real time (and vice versa).

The idea of a smart city is to touch all aspects and needs of a city's citizens, to support their social sustainability, happiness, well-being, and to provide a higher life quality to all. Quality of life should include a way to foster a safe form of collective life within a strategic vision:

> "Smartness for urban environment is supposed to imply a commitment to innovation in technology, management, and policy, but the first element of this triad has been researched within the 'Smart' framework more extensively than other two. This is the case as well with the specific dimension of urban smartness that is security. Systems for crime visualization, analysis and street surveillance…"[272]

Another aspect of the smart city is the need to build a proper environment, where citizens are fully encouraged and engaged in the process.[273] This can be done through mutual empowerment via competition, collaboration, and the will to accept new ideas. These schemes would reach actions, reaction, and creations.

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[272] Dameri, Renata Paola. And Rosenthal-Sabroux, Camile. (Eds). (2014). *Smart City: How to Create Public and Economic Value with High Technology in Urban Space.* New York, Dordrecht, London: Cham Springer. p. 194.

[273] Peris-Oritz, Marta. Benntt, R. Dag. Perez-Bustamante, Diana. (Eds.). 2017. *Sustainable Smart Cities: Creating Spaces for Technological, Social, and Business Development.* Cham. Springer International Publishing. Switzerland.

5.3.1   How Tel Aviv Has Become a Smart City

Figure 63: The front-page picture of a Tel Aviv brochure. It was published on the occasion when Tel Aviv was chosen as the leading World Smart City. (The front-page picture of the booklet was taken by the author).

For the occasion of the award-winning event in 2014, Tel Aviv published a detailed booklet

explaining how the city had met the requirements of a smart city, and what the reasons were that

it had been chosen the winner of this respected international award.[274] The front page presents

the picture of a young woman using her iPad, reading on the internet while seated in an inflatable

boat, off shore, floating on the blue waves of the Mediterranean Sea, with Tel Aviv clearly

visible in the background. The upper right of the page mentions the 2014 Smart City Award. In

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[274] The winning booklet:
https://www.TelAviv.gov.il/en/WorkAndStudy/Documents/SMART%20CITY%20TEL%20AVIV.pdf
And https://www.scribd.com/document/403843859/Tel-Aviv-Smart-City-pdf-booklet-pdf

the middle of the page, large letters announce "Tel Aviv, Smart City," and the bottom of the page carries the city logo: TEL AVIV NONSTOP CITY.

On the second page, after the table of contents, the Mayor of Tel Aviv, Ron Huldai, offers a few words relevant to the context, about 'his' city:

> "Tel Aviv-Yafo is known as Israel's 'Nonstop City.' The vibrant atmosphere never stops: the nightlife and culinary scene never stop: culture never stops: 24 hours a day. Tel Aviv is an active metropolis, bursting with energy and activity. In such a city challenges never stop either. In recent years, the municipality has created many smart practices to deal with such challenges: from sanitation to education, data management to culture management. Tel Aviv-Yafo's goal is to constantly be a smarter city – or more simply, a better city..."

Among the reasons offered for achieving the prestigious award is that Tel Aviv has one of the highest concentrations of start-up accelerators, second only to centres in the US. The city has developed into a leading technology and innovation hub and is a destination for entrepreneurs from all over the world, welcoming them to expand local knowledge and skills.

The potential of this city is not a secret. Among the high-tech companies that have opened offices in this city are Google, Microsoft, Facebook, Apple, Yahoo, Check Point, Siemens, PayPal, IBM, Coca-Cola, AOL, LG, Deutsche Telecom, Barclays, Citibank, 3M, eBay, Amadeus, Samsung, and Motorola (which has been in Israel since 1964). Tel Aviv hosts more start-ups than any other city per capita. 'Tel Aviv Global' is an organization initiated by the city to elevate the city's global position. This organization leads international business operations and is specialized in innovation. Eytan Schwartz, CEO of this organization, expressed his opinion that "[b]eing a very small city makes things on a citywide level easier, more manageable."[275]

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[275] Taken from Tel Aviv municipality official site: https://www.Tel Aviv.gov.il/en/aboutheCity/Pages/TelAvivGlobal.aspx

Tel Aviv collects data in order to optimize processes, operations, and decision making, with a clear promise of protecting privacy. The city uses this advanced technology to support, among others, medical decisions, marketing, and providing information about benefits and services, such as road repairs, weather alerts, discounts, and other offers based on individual preferences. At the same time, the city uses relevant data to learn more about the needs and preferences of its citizens, such as the number of family members, where they live, their commuting and their entertainment habits in their free time. Many public places in Tel Aviv are equipped with free Wi-Fi, which allows those who do not have internet in their buildings, or who are not at home, to access the internet. Using the city app *digitell*, people can find any information they wish in real time, such as gas station locations, restaurants, hotels, transportation, entertainment, and any other place or service they need in the city.

Citizens' engagement is key for the success of the Smart City programs. The city must launch a transparent and accessible strategy, but active involvement on the part of the city's inhabitants is also important. Giving citizens the power to influence the process of decision making and to fulfill their new needs is a way to create a climate of collaboration among all participants. The city makes use of crowd wisdom to enhance solutions for urban problems with the help of the technology. Better use of information and communication, a better the way to achieve collaboration for the benefit of all sides towards social and economic prosperity, with the given resources, all is done according to the 'city vision.'

The booklet that was published for the occasion of the award-winning event as a Smart City explains that the city's strategy is built around four key points. The first insists on promoting the city through putting the residents and their needs in the centre, with all residents theoretically equal. Residents are claimed to be the greatest asset of the city:

> "Appealing city to live in. A city for a lifetime. Quality and egalitarian education. Equal opportunities and bridging social gaps. Strengthening the sense of community. Fostering pluralism."

In the fourth point we see the economic character of the city as a centre of finance, culture and education:

> "Metropolitan and national financial centre. A cultural capital that caters to everyone. A hub of higher learning."

The target is to give Tel Aviv (a physical place with fixed boundaries) the feeling of a space, a real one with its own unique story, history, and values, one which is embedded with meaning. One encounters this motto again and again regarding Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv as a mythical place, a smart city-space, a Smart City through means of increasing efficiency, justice, sustainability, and resilient, more than ever before, more than any other city because all means are used to solve or ease chronic urban problems.

Tel Aviv is a relatively small city. As already mentioned, it has less than half a million citizens, yet it accommodates a few million coming to work during the day, or to enjoy the large variety of culinary and other enjoyments in the evenings or nights. [276] Yet only Tel Aviv residents pay city taxes. Therefore, the city initiated a 'Resident Card' for the use of its citizens only, a kind of a 'city club' membership. This card offers many benefits to card holders. When a citizen applies to a city card, they are automatically entered into the system. From that moment on, current information, knowledge, surveys, notifications, and relevant advertisements about multiple issues are sent daily to those residents' computers or phones: information about social welfare programs, discounts, cultural events, city events, shows, happenings, free access to

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[276] Richard Vines. *'Israel is the World's New Dining Hotspot'… 'It's Thursday Night and Tel Aviv is Hopping'*. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2018-04-18/israel-s-best-restaurants-by-ottolenghi-and-eyal-shani

closed beaches, and parking availability. In short, those who support the city with their tax payments are entitled to enjoy special, unique privileges.

The topic of a 'smart city' has become significant in many contexts. Located in the Smart City of Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv University offers a unique course to international graduate students.[277] The program introduces students to ICT (Information, Communication, and Technology) in the context of rapid global and urban development, a program of study which can help students to solve chronic urban problems, environmental and social ones, and possibly provide better planning for the future. The program also offers study units on ethics, sustainability and resilience, which are no less important than how the 'machines' are working, how they can be used, and the purpose of their intelligent use. This leading program is organized by the "City Centre" of Tel Aviv University, a new centre that was established to concentrate all research dealing with urbanism under one umbrella (like CITY Centre at York University). The centre's goal is to become a world-leading centre in all aspects of urbanism and smartification of cities in the world.

5.3.2   Critiques of a Smart City

"Your digital platform might just be another man's privacy nightmare"[278]

The conceptual mode of the Smart City sounds like a new urban ideal and embodies a wave of techno-optimism that emphasizes the positive effects of ICT and other innovative technologies. Yet inside the urban smartification process, new problems and discontents arise. Against the background of innovations, people are starting to ask whether the benefits outweigh the costs.

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[277] Tel Aviv University link: https://international.tau.ac.il/Smart_Cities

[278] Stimmel, Carol. (2015). *Building Smart Cities: Analytics, ICT, and Design Thinking*. London, New York: Auerbach Publications. CRC Press. Chapter one. p. xvii.

Are we really improving our life and other issues of our cities through technology? Stimmel's paradox is that technology can take away from our quality of life as much as it can add to it.

How much should we trust technology?[279] Here I draw attention to some of the dangerous smart city's aspects. The main one is the assumption that city authorities (the different entities that run the city, including politicians) accept the idea that technology can resolve everything, rather than political decisionmakers. When facing an unforeseen problem, it is the human's responsibility behind the decisions, not technology. A second danger is thinking that only one unique model of a smart city can be implemented anywhere, without regard for local specific relevant histories, challenges, and traditions. Technology should be adapted to the context of each place. Indeed, smart city categories are similar, but solutions must be tailor-made and vary in accordance with each city's needs. Another danger may arise when information is collected by different city bodies and devices. It may result in various (sometimes contradictory) solutions. If all sets of technology do not work together leading to only one set of data/result, it may lead to catastrophe.

As for the continuous use of our smartphones that smart city technology so heavily relies on, the technology invades our privacy and monitors our every move through its sensors. We should have the possibility to 'exit' the flow of nonstop information and take control over our ability to disconnect. In principle, we ought to know how to 'filter,' to take a break, to find a balance between opening up to urban technological innovation while at the same time maintaining the ability to protect ourselves from it. In any case it is too early to draw conclusions: digital technology is relatively new, too new to judge its full impact.

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[279] Picon, Antoine. (2015). *Smart Cities: A Spatialized Intelligence*. John Wiley and Sons, West Sussex.

In 1999 (before the smart city concept became ubiquitous), Doreen Massey wrote about widespread communication in global cities.[280] Along with the globalization processes, information, and network societies, the world had already experienced the diffusion and invasion of technology into people's life, and city space had become a flow of networks, information, and communication, between people and space. Digitized and informational commodities continue to invade the city.

Here is the place for a small reminder. Not everything shines in Tel Aviv. There is a huge gap between the creative class of the smart city (or the smart quarter in the city) and the non-creative, non-educated classes in the city. Especially when examining communities in the south of the city, one sees poverty and the need for basic services, jobs, and affordable housing. This issue was already raised by Donald Schon in 1999, before the smart city concept existed.[281] Schon, a professor in the school of Architecture and Planning at MIT, warned of the danger of the technology gap in cases where progress is not offered equally to all social classes. Schon investigated whether the technological transformations would have positive or negative impacts on the urban poor in order to discern the potential of technology to transform social and economic relations that might lead to segregation between rich and poor, and how, for example, low-income communities would be affected by new waves of social, economic, and cultural change, especially when society is driven by a belief that technological change is associated with social progress. He concluded that the solution to such inequality – that all citizens must be introduced and should have access to the right computer, for the right person, in the right place, with the right software, by the right tutor, at the right time – is easier to suggest than to

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[280] Massey, Dorreen. "On Space and the City". In: *City Worlds.* Edited by Massey, Doreen, Allen, John and Pile, Steve. (1999). Routledge in association with the Open University. Pp. 157-175.

[281] Schon, Donald A. Sanyal, Bishwapriya & Mitchell, William J. (Eds.), (1999). *High Technology and Low-Income Communities.* MIT Press.

implement. This advice has not been heeded in Tel Aviv, and certainly not in Jaffa (and maybe in no smart city).

Another acute problem is the nightmarish Orwellian dilemma of hurting democratic and civic engagement in the name of the efficiency of urban planning and control. On the one hand, people give away massive amounts of information about themselves so that companies and government can supply them with their needs; on the other hand, giving away so much personal, behavioural information may end in an Orwellian world. This has been given a special name and called the '*Smart City Dilemma*' (SCD), reflecting more and more the big brother syndrome.[282]

The question concentrates on whether the collected data is used for a legitimate purpose or manipulated for nefarious interests. A quick perusal of the media in April 2018 can show how wrong things can go, when Mark Zuckerberg, the founder and CEO of Facebook, had to testify before the United States Congress about data privacy. He had to answer tough questions about the 'Cambridge Analytica' scandal, the case when the privacy of 87 million Facebook users was violated, breached, leaked, misused, and shared without their knowledge. Cambridge Analytica used its access to millions of Facebook users to, among other things, install fake news, foreign interference in the U.S. election, and who knows what else. It is hard not to conclude that where technology and innovation are concerned, there is an absolute need for a human-centred approach, as the lives of human beings are at stake. As we see in the next chapter, such an approach is especially important in the case of Jaffa.

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[282] Orwell, George. (1989, first 1949). *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. London: Penguin Books.

6 Tel Aviv-Jaffa: One City?

Figure 64: Jaffa's port, and Tel Aviv in the horizon: https://www.oldjaffa.co.il/about-oldjaffa/.

My Tel Aviv. I will open this chapter with some words of emotion, expressed by Taha Hussein (1889-1973), one of the most influential Egyptian intellectuals of the twentieth century. I will adopt the way he recalled his memories of his home city, Cairo.[283] In his opinion, anyone who grew up and lived in his own hometown does not need a description of the city they were so well acquainted with, except that sometimes when one is in a nostalgic mood, in times when one longs for memories of one's hometown. Yet even though old timers may not need descriptions of their hometown, the next generations do.

Taha Hussein's memories of his hometown Cairo reflect mine of Tel Aviv. My endeavour, effort, and struggle in this dissertation has been to convey my (hyphenated) city's realities and

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[283] Shavit, Yaakov. And Biger, Gideon. (2002). *The History of Tel Aviv: A metropolitan city 1974-1993.* Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv University. Taken from the introduction. (Hebrew).

memories. This venture aimed to put into writing a reliable portrayal that is adequate to my own life experiences and to the magnificent city where I grew up and spent most of my life. Despite the criticism, regardless of all the love-hate relationships and even in the face of its malaise, Tel Aviv is a remarkable city, especially when discussed in conjunction with its other part, with Jaffa.

Let us go back for a moment to a few descriptions of Tel Aviv, the first from the year 1934:

> "Tel Aviv is the first station for Jewish immigrants, the gathering point of multitudes, where they join their faith, their energy and their power of work … the city of labor and building, trade, and manufacture, education and culture, the sound center for the national effort and the free private initiative of the Jewish people in their great task of immigration and settlement".[284]

What was true in the city's early years is even more relevant in the twenty-first century. An example of the early years is the description of a resilient Tel Aviv depicted by the well-known Israeli poet Natan Alterman (1910-1970), who immigrated to Palestine from Russia in 1925 and lived in Tel Aviv the rest of his life. On March 17, 1944, he wrote the following poem dedicated to one of the central gardens of Tel Aviv, Gan Meir, a garden in which I spent much of my childhood playing, running, climbing trees, and having fun with friends after school.[285] The poem came to praise the city of Tel Aviv, and in the summer of 2019, the following four lines taken from the poem were hung on a huge cloth over the Tel Aviv municipality building, running the length of the building's 13 floors (Figure 65):

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[284] G. Hanoch. 1934. *The Jewish Town Tel Aviv*. in the booklet published by Keren Hayesod (the Jewish National Fund), Jerusalem. In the introduction. (in English).

[285] Found in the National Library of Israel (הספריה הלאומית).

גן מאיר בתל אביב / נתן אלטרמן[286]	Meir Garden in Tel Aviv / Natan Alterman[286]
והעיר הגדולה, הצעירה	And the big city, the young,
שבתוך נהר יעברנה	Within which a river passes
תתנשא כמו גן סוערה	Rises like a stormy garden
ואין כוח אשר יעקרנה	And no power is able to uproot it

[286] The complete poem can be found at:
https://shironet.mako.co.il/artist?type=lyrics&lang=1&prfid=419&wrkid=10103

Figure 65: A poem by Natan Alterman on a huge fabric carrying the above four poem's sentences, hung over the 13 floors of the municipality building in Tel Aviv, 2019. Taken by the author.

6.1   The Spirit of Tel Aviv

So, what do we have here: a real city, a mythical one, or both? What is the 'spirit' of Tel Aviv? Is it the 'spirit' of the *flaneur* described by Walter Benjamin to capture the spirit of a city's daily life?[287] Or is it the 'spirit' of cities as discussed by Bell and De-Shalit?[288] They claim that each city expresses its own distinctive ethos and values through its political, cultural, and economic life. The idea is that this ethos can overcome homogenization, globalization, and nationalistic tendencies. The city's 'spirit' is significant because cities define us. They reflect realities of everyday life in a way that nations cannot. They are expressions of a collective ethos, a special character and 'spirit' that is exclusive to one and only one city and helps to identify the character that makes the city distinctive, to explore why and how a city constructs and maintains a civic 'spirit' or 'ethos.' It is what Bell and De-Shalit call civicism. For example, Jerusalem is the city of religion, Oxford the city of learning, Berlin the city of tolerance, Vienna the city of music, Paris the city of romance, and New York the city of ambition. If we go back in time, we find this is by no means a modern trend: Athens was synonymous with democracy, and Sparta represented military discipline.

What is the 'spirit' of Tel Aviv? Tel Aviv is not just another global city – it is a special one. It is a key chapter in Zionist history and a leading place in Israeli culture. It is the realization of a dream and the implementation of an idea: the first Hebrew city, the first Jewish city of a new era, a new Zionist urban entity that promised the coming of national redemption, hope, and Jewish self-rule and authority. It never stops. It is the most dynamic and sophisticated city in the

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[287] Benjamin, Walter. (1973). *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*. New York, NY: Verso Books.

[288] Bell, Daniel A. and Avner De-Shalit. (2011). *The Spirit of Cities: Why the Identity of a City Matters in a Global Age*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

country, and a White City (as a brand that expresses an obligation to the architectural tradition of the Bauhaus). As "Europe in the East," it stands for enlightenment and tolerance. It is "The City of Wonders," and the jewel in the crown of the Jewish Hebrew culture revival.

The above is enough to show what a great mythos is embedded in this city, maintaining its aura and imbuing it with nostalgia. Tel Aviv may be a real city, but it is also a mythical one.[289] In English a myth is commonly understood to be "a widely held, but false belief," "an imaginary person or thing," or "a traditional story that describes the early history,"[290] in Hebrew the words 'real' and 'myth' are very close to each other: (אמיתית, מיתית), even though one is of Semitic origin and the other Greek.[291]

Tel Aviv was born out of an idea, which defines its essence, yet attunes it as a mythic city, as if the physical city itself is a skeleton and its cultural aura the flesh on its bones. Tel Aviv's myth does not include ancient history from the distant past because it is not blessed with such a past. After all, its oldest tree is less than one hundred years old. It is a city of only four to five generations, which is the limit of our immediate memory, a memory that relies on being a crossroads, a space of encounter. Yet the Tel Aviv myth is (re-)constructed every day, perceived, conceived, and spread through every living moment of each day. It stretches out through every occurrence within, and tale about, the city, to contribute and add to its popularity. Multiple versions are heard, learned, and observed by residents and visitors, and kept in the back of their minds, in real time. Whether aware of it or not, whether done on purpose or not, any book or any additional literature dedicated to the city adds to its myth, building a living museum of an abstract collective myth, a mental mythographic guide to the city. This myth is perfect material

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[289] Azaryahu, Maoz. (2005). *Tel Aviv: Mythography of a City*. Ben Gurion University (Hebrew).
[290] *Oxford Paperback Dictionary and Thesaurus*. 3rd edition. 2009. (First 2001). Oxford. New York.
[291] Thank you, Prof. Ehrlich, for this insight.

for marketing the city's image, especially when it is connected and intertwined with the story and history of the Israeli myth.

One must keep in mind that Tel Aviv's urban experiences are still dependent upon memory and imagination. One must overcome the impossibility of reconciling the dichotomy between the imagined city and everyday life, mental space and real space, the physical and social spheres. Through the act of walking, space, as drawn on a map, is transformed into a place replete with meaning, rearranging the analytically drawn professional maps into rich symbolic maps of meaning, changing the fundamental interpretation of the place. (A basic example is the difference between a house and a home. A house is made of so-and-so much material, square footage and has a price tag, while a home is made of memories, dreams, meals, cleaning, etc. but mostly, the people who live in the house and their stories). Kevin Lynch claimed that the image of the city includes identity, structure, and meaning, as well as emotional, psychological, and historical values that come from the observer's own experience.[292] Each image comes from a specific here and now, from multiple memories and meanings. These series of images overlap and interrelate with one another, reflecting the insights of the different ways each person can see the city. It can be interpreted in a poetic way, a symbolic one.

The Tel Aviv myth is at the same time a civic one and a Jewish one.[293] It is the first Hebrew city, a completely new creation, a key point for the Hebrew language, a bridge between the west and east, an ideal modern exemplar, the image of national independence, a landmark in the revival of the Jewish nation in the land of Israel, and a unique, special chapter in its story. This is

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[292] Lynch, Kevin. (1960). *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. A city can be seen as being comprised of colours, shapes, motion, and light that can be viewed, read and interpreted.

[293] Helman, Anat. (2010). *Young Tel Aviv. A tale of two cities.* Translated by Haim Weitzman. Hanover and London: Brandies University Press, University Press of New England.

one of the reasons why so many songs were written about Tel Aviv, glorifying it. Tel Aviv

became the heart of the Israeli dream, a quiet daily fulfilment of the Zionist dream. No wonder

that the best poets and performers of the land dedicate songs praising it. The following are only

three out of the many, written by leading poets of Israel through different periods of its existence.

The first one will describe the booming construction in Tel Aviv, sung in a quick rhythm:

מי יבנה בית / לוין קיפניס	Who will build a house / Kevin Kipnis
מי יבנה יבנה בית בתל אביב	Who will build a house in Tel Aviv
מי יבנה יבנה בית בתל אביב	Who will build a house in Tel Aviv
אנחנו החלוצים נבנה את תל אביב	We the pioneers will build Tel Aviv
הבו לנו לבנים ונבנה את תל אביב	Let us have bricks and we will build Tel Aviv

The second one describes the nostalgic longing for small Tel Aviv, something which is lost for

ever, left only to memories:

זה לא יחזור / חיים חפר	It will not return / Haim Hefer
זה לא יחזור כל זה כבר איננו	It will not return, all this has gone
רק זכרונות רק זכרונות	Only memories, only memories
כאן מהלכים על בהונות	Here we are walking very quietly
הזמן נרדם אנא אך תעירנו	Time has fallen asleep, please don't wake it up
עבר זמנה של תל אביב הקטנטנה	Time of tiny Tel Aviv has passed for good

Another written by Natan Alterman (from p.195) starts with a comparison with Jerusalem. The

claim is that Tel Aviv has/is nothing, yet… nevertheless there is something in it that no one else

has:

בכל זאת יש בה משהו / נתן אלתרמן	Yet, there is something in it/Natan Alterman
אומרים אנשי ירושלים, תל אביב זה סתם גלגל...	Jerusalem people say Tel Aviv is nothing…
אין פרופסורים בה כזית	She has no professors, not even few
ונביאים אין בה בכלל	And prophets, nothing at all
הסטוריה אין בה אף כזרת	She has no history, not even some
אין רצינות בה איו משקל	She has no seriousness, no weight
נכון מאד אדון וגברת	It is true Sir and Lady
לא, אין בה כלום...לא כלום...אבל	Nothing, she has nothing…nothing…but
בכל זאת יש בה משהו	Nevertheless there is something in her
והוא כלו שלה שהוא	And it belongs to her only
ויש בה איזה חן שהוא	And she holds some charm

שלאחרת אין שהוא	That no one else have
כל צר ומעצור שהוא	Any enemy or restrain
אותה לא יעצור שהוא	Will not be able to stop her. [294]

Over the years, Tel Aviv has experienced extreme changes that have led to the evolution of its myth. Now, its globalization represents what is 'best' about the city, a global city among others. It is now famous for its economic expansion and its technological innovations, for its nonstop dynamic life, its heavy traffic, spirit of vitality, civic heartbeat, rhythm, and hedonism. These have all become an integral part of its myth and contribute to the fascination people feel for Tel Aviv, encouraging them to visit and enjoy what the city has to offer.[295] If one reads Tel Aviv's history, one feels as if one has just read a thriller. If one visits, one will not be able to escape its history, which is manifested everywhere, starting with the (imagined) sand dunes and swamps, which have since vanished, continuing with the Ottomans and the British Mandate, and ending with its Bauhaus architecture, its glorious weather nearly all year round, and its flat terrain.

One notes the deep gap between Tel Aviv's two slogans: the one initiated by Akiva Weiss, namely, "The First Hebrew City," and the contemporary one: "A City that Never Stops." Between the two, during a period of about seventy years, the city experienced a never-ending process of great transformation, a change in its character, image, and myth. Tel Aviv inherited its myth due to the immense achievement and genuine success of the Hebrew-Zionist-Jewish venture. The feeling is that "we" (the Zionist-Jewish people) have a town, it belongs to us, it is ours, by us, from us, and for us, a crystal-clear fact, a self-realizing power that cannot be denied.

One can appreciate how central the Global City discourse has become to Tel Aviv and its myth by contrasting Tel Aviv with Jerusalem, also discussed by Bell and De-Shalit. In trying to

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[294] The complete poem/song: https://www.zemereshet.co.il/song.asp?id=790

[295] Stein, Claudia. (2015). *Tel Aviv Walk*. CreateSpace Independent Publisher (n.p.).

identify characteristics which make the city distinctive, the *why* and *how* it constructs and maintains a civic 'spirit' or ethos, they note that Jerusalem's institutions are restrictive, yet also tolerant, led by one of the best academic institutions in the region, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.[296] In Jerusalem, Bell and De-Shalit claim that many inhabitants choose not to work, preferring instead to study or pray. This determines what kind of people would be attracted to the city – to the Jerusalem ethos.

There is an exciting tension between these two Israeli cities, these two different façades of the country. One represents the secular city in times of modern urbanization.[297] It is connected to the rise of urban civilization, the place of the secular in society, and the decline of hierarchy and religious institutions. Our contemporary world has been shaped by a cynical indifference to the reality of God, the modern 'God is dead' sentiment. Under secularism, people no longer look to religious rules and rituals for their morality and meaning. One can observe that Tel Aviv lacks the 'heavy' atmosphere of Jerusalem. It does not have a profound myth like Jerusalem's, which is at least 3000 years old. The Holy city story has many ancient layers that are not always connected to each other. In contrast, Tel Aviv is young, connected to other cities globally and tightly bound to its surrounding cities from all sides, which block its growth. Jerusalem's globality is of a very different character. It is a kind of global Holy city, like Rome and Mecca. Jerusalem has a different, clearly recognizable character, its own unique 'spirit' that is exclusive to it. There, we find a tension between faith (as a lifestyle) and religion. It is a meditative, sacred city that lives with less when compared to progressive, materialistic Tel Aviv. Life in Jerusalem has somehow given it a certain association with poverty. It is the poorest of Israel's major cities,

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[296] Bell, Daniel A. and Avner De-Shalit. (2011). *The Spirit of Cities: Why the Identity of a City Matters in a Global Age*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

[297] Cox, Harvey. (2013). *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

with more than half of its inhabitants living below the poverty line. Jerusalem's poverty is a problem as well as an asset. The differences between these two cities – the economic success of Tel Aviv and religion being central for Jerusalem – have led to a finely tuned appreciation of diverging identities: the foundation of Jewish traditional and religious life vs. Israeli secularity, stubbornness, and inflexibility vs. civic relaxation. Yet, Sharon Rotbard notes that Tel Aviv is more important for the Zionist:

> "If Zionism's central objective has always been the normalization of the Jewish people, it is Tel Aviv, and not Jerusalem, that should be crowned as the real Zion".[298]

Towards the end of the twentieth century, various journals, bulletins, local magazines, and pamphlets, whether yearly, monthly, weekly, or daily press releases, were published in and for Tel Aviv, such as *Ha-Ir, Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv Time, Time Tel Aviv'* and others:

(העיר' של רשת שוקן, 'תל אביב' של עיתון 'ידיעות אחרונות', 'זמן תל אביב' של עיתון 'מעריב' ועוד')

This assorted literature reflected the city's consciousness, lifestyle, and the struggles over the city's character. It also reflected the transmutations that occurred to the city and to its residents. It cultivated local loyalty and emphasized the city myth. Yet, the published content in return influenced and 're-created' life in the city, a reciprocal influence, a way to generate and preserve the ethos of the city: full of life, intensive, hedonistic, pursuing pleasure, changing, permissive, snobbish, a rational city, a city of the here and now, living at a crazy tempo. At times, it is transformed into a dense, ugly, and alienated urban hellhole, a city run by real estate agents and entrepreneurs who have destroyed some of its most beautiful history. Yet, at the same time, it is a city for home and family.

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[298] Rotbard Sharon. Gat Orit (Trans. From Hebrew). (2015). *White City Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv Jaffa*. MIT Press. P. 50.

In short: Tel Aviv is an expensive, complicated city, socially and culturally heterogeneous. Compared to other cities in the country it is relatively large, modern, secular, and one that changes its face at the fastest pace. In one of the latest studies on Tel Aviv, Gye Shani wrote:

"יש בעיה: מלבד תל אביב אין ממש ערים בישראל"[299].

"There is a problem: actually, apart from Tel Aviv, there are no real cities in Israel."

During a discussion about Tel Aviv in one of the Israeli Parliament's sessions at the beginning of January 2016, Miki Zohar, a member of parliament, complained that "Tel Aviv runs like a state within itself … It is not part of the State of Israel. It is something completely separated."

" תל אביב מתנהלת כמו מדינה בפני עצמה...היא לא חלק ממדינת ישראל-היא משהו נפרד לגמרי..." בהמשך הכתבה העיתונאי ליבסקר ארי מביא מעין סיכום ביניים ואומר: "ישראלים אוהבים לשנוא את תל אביב אך לא יכולים בלעדיה...ובסופו של דבר היא לעולם נשארת הקטר שממשיך את המפעל הזה קדימה. הכלבים נובחים והעיר דוהרת". הובא על ידי ארי ליבסקר במוסף העיתון 'כלכליסט' ביום 30.1.2016.[300]

Ari Libsker, the political journalist who offered the above information, added his own opinion about the general public's emotions towards this city:

"Israelis love to hate Tel Aviv but cannot do without it … at the bottom line, it always remains the locomotive that pulls the whole enterprise forward".

Libsker ends his article with a harsh term: "The dogs do bark, but the city speeds forwards." Tel Aviv is a foreign entity, one that considers itself a foreigner and not belonging to the country.

Urban texture is constantly changing. Tel Aviv's image was and remains cold and anonymous for those who do not 'belong.' Tel Aviv holds on to its normal routine, turning its back to the nation's problems. This urban bubble is focused only on what matters there. It uses its economic, profit-driven, entrepreneurship-oriented centrality in keeping full autonomy,

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[299] Starkman, Rotem. (20.4.2018). An interview with Gye Shani, in the Newspaper *TheMarker*, Tel Aviv, Israel. (Hebrew).

[300] The whole article dated 30.1.2016, written by the journalist Libsker Ari, at the *Calcalist* newspaper: https://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3679517,00.html

independence, a Western image, and character, becoming a socially isolated island of snobbery. On the other hand, Tel Aviv's problems turn out to be the whole country's. This is the place that sets the values, symbols, and cultural assets for the nation; it is the place where these assets have been developed and crystalized.

6.2 Contemporary Jaffa

" בעורמה הצליחה ירושלים לכפות עלי את קדרותה. ואני, החיה בה בגלות, מחפשת בחומותיה סדקים ודרכי מילוט וכפליטה בוגדת שבה אל יפו, העיר של ילדותי ונעורי, הפוקדת אותי בזיכרונות ומסתננת אלי בחלומות. ביפו העיר האהובה שלי, לפנים היו הבתים ארמונות, השווקים המו אדם ובהמה, בוסתנים של תפוזים ורימונים ניקדו אותה בגווני ירוק, וכוכבי פרחים באדום ובלבן, שזהרו בינותם, המירו את המלוח של הים בבשומת מתוקה.

היום דומה העיר לאשה יפה שבלתה. לפנים הוציאה גברים מדעתם, ועתה היא נועצת את מבטה בראי ומתבוננת בבעתה בשמלותיה המרופטות, בפניה הסדוקות ובידיה שהעלו חברבורות עובש.

ואת העיר הזו שלי אני מצלמת בכלימתה ובעוניה. כאחוזת דיבוק אני מנציחה על סרט הצילום עזובה של מקום עירום מאיפור וממחלצות , פרדסים שקמלו, בתים שקרסו אל תוך הים, מרפסות שהתפוררו, ואנשים אומללים הנאחזים בחורבות כי אין להם לאן ללכת. ואת זיכרונותי השברירים, כפי שהם משתקפים בתמונות שאצרתי בראשי, שאספתי באלבומי ושהצגתי בתערוכת התצלומים שלי "זיכרונות מיפו", החלטתי להעלות על הכתב.

"Cunningly, Jerusalem managed to impose its gloomy mood on me. And I, living there in exile, kept looking at its walls, to find some cracks and escape routes. As a treacherous refugee I return to Jaffa. The city of my childhood and youth. A city which visits me in my memories, and infiltrates to my dreams. In Jaffa, my beloved city, houses used to be palaces, the markets were full of men and beasts. Orchards of oranges and pomegranates coloured the city with shades of green. And flowers-stars in red and white, were glowing among them, exchanging the salt of the sea with a sweet fragrance.

Today the city looks like a beautiful worn-out woman. In the past she caused men to lose their minds, and now she stares at the mirror and looks horrified at her tattered dresses, at her cracked face and hands, full of mold.

This city of mine, I photograph its shame and poverty. Obsessed, I perpetuate with my camera the abandoned place, which is now stripped of makeup and fancy dresses, the orchards that came apart, houses that collapsed into the sea, the crumbled balconies, and the miserable people who cling to the ruins, because they have nowhere else to go.

My fragile memories as they are reflected in the pictures, kept in my mind, collected in my album, and my photo exhibition. My memories of Jaffa I have decided to put forward in writing."[301]

I opened this section with a short paragraph taken from a Hebrew novel by a well-known Israeli author Shifra Horn.[302] I chose these sentences because they encapsulate the concise story of the extreme transition Jaffa experienced in the short period of about one generation. Shifra Horn was born and spent her childhood in Jaffa. Later, she moved to Jerusalem with her parents. She misses Jaffa and longs to see the place her eyes knew first. She yearns to sense the smells, the colours, the noise, the seashore, and all that Jaffa had offered during her happy childhood. Horn returns. She goes down (from Jerusalem one always goes down) to visit her birthplace. She opens her book with details about the difference between Jerusalem and Jaffa. But what concerns me in this description is the difference between her distant memories of Jaffa and the condition she had found the city in on her nostalgic return visit.

Given what I have discovered during my research for this study, unfortunately I could not agree more with Horn's harsh description. Over the course of the previous chapters I have dealt with the extreme transition Jaffa has experienced. Had I read the above lines before completing this research, I would have assumed that Horn had gone too far. After all, authors have been known to exaggerate for the sake of enticing readers to read their books. Now I can allow myself the claim that she was simply describing Jaffa's gloomy reality, how it turned from a prosperous, successful, central, famous city in the region and the Arab world into a rather disastrous place.

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[301] Horn, Shifra. (2002). *Tamara Walks On Water*. Tel Aviv: Am Oved Publications Ltd. (Hebrew).
[302] Horn, Shifra. (2002). Ibid. Pp. 7-8.

I wondered why I would not have believed Horn's description of Jaffa if I had not pursued this research. Why does the present portrayal of Jaffa, as Horn describes it, sound unreliable, exaggerated, and inauthentic? In reading her description, without the background of this study, the hyperbole of her picture raises suspicions because in many places, contemporary Jaffa looks clean and modern, even enchanting. There is a lot of impressive new construction. Many bohemian artists have moved there, raising property prices. Archeological sites showcase their fascinating findings. A visitor's experience is generally much more positive than a resident's – when you join a guided tour, you see exotic oriental beauty, art galleries, small attractive museums, appealing flea markets, coffee shops, crowded restaurants, high-end boutiques, even a renovated port and accompanying seashore. To illustrate this impression, the following are some examples of the beautiful, colourful, exotic streets in contemporary Jaffa, places where tourists are guided to enjoy:

Figure 66: A typical street in Old Jaffa: *https://mail.walla.co.il/#/mbox/-1000?msg=308176701*

Figure 67: A typical street in old Jaffa, (even though it comes to advertise Tel Aviv). El-Al (Israel Airlines) advertise this picture to draw visitors to Israel, stating: "All year-round Tel Aviv, the cultural heart of Israel, is pulsing with culture, fashion, nightlife, restaurants and cafes. The gorgeous beaches offer the perfect balance to the bustling urban nature of city life. This city is famous for its Bauhaus architecture, laid back cafes, thriving markets, boutiques, fine dining, world class nightclubs, street art and beautiful sunsets. A walk down the promenade will bring you to the ancient and multi-cultural city of Jaffa, which perfectly complements the modernity of Tel Aviv". Taken from El-Al link: https://www.elal.com/magazine/en/portfolio-items/travel/Tel Aviv/

Figure 68: Another alley in Jaffa. The picture was taken by a relative, visiting Jaffa (from Haifa). She didn't have enough words to express how much she loves Tel Aviv-Jaffa. She called the picture: 'In Jaffa, feeling abroad'.

Another reason why I wish I could have doubted Horn's representation of contemporary Jaffa is

because at the start of this study I promised myself I would conduct research that would engage

the city fairly, which I presumed meant that both this dissertation and Jaffa would have a good

ending, as I had seen with my own eyes the way Jaffa had been transformed into an imaginary, romantic, emotional, fantastic, charming, and colourful city. Unfortunately, I discovered that I cannot keep this promise. I know by now that what I saw is only one layer of Jaffa's reality: the top layer that is presented to the outside visitor. Further research, and some revealing interviews, penetrated into deeper layers and regrettably revealed the multiplicity of Jaffa's sad reality.

We can think of Jaffa as the place that gave birth to the city of Tel Aviv. In the beginning Tel Aviv did not allow any economic activity within its borders but relied on Jaffa for its commercial dealings. In those years, Jaffa served as the region's centre for communication, transportation, employment, commerce, and entertainment. Tel Aviv was constructed as a small Garden City, a place for a coastal day away, to enjoy at the end of a hard day's work spent in Jaffa, to rest surrounded with fresh air and a high standard of European life. Only later did it become the most important city in the country.

Before Tel Aviv, Jaffa was open to the world, a successful, cosmopolitan city in all respects: cultural, political, economic, and national. It was in the process of absorbing progress, modernism, and great prosperity. The war of 1948 uprooted everything. Rochelle Davis found that between 1947 and 1949, over 400 Palestinian villages were depopulated.[303] Villages were left with houses mostly destroyed, and their community centres were put to other uses by the Israeli regime. Davis claims that when leaving their villages, Palestinians left with nothing, with the intention of returning to their homes in a few days, after the storm had subsided, because they had no other place of their own, knew no other destination. But they were not allowed to return; they had found themselves geographically dispossessed. Rochelle Davis continues: the

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[303] Davis, Rochelle A. (2010). *Palestinian Villages History: Geographic of the Displaced*. Stanford University Press. I assume that important research can be conducted on each of the above 400 evacuated places after the 1948 war, during the years of 1947-1949. Noam Leshem chose to discuss Kefar Salama; I happened to choose another place, Jaffa, but many others would deserve similar investigations.

Palestinians never forgot, they took with them into the diaspora their villages' names, place memories, family histories, cultural traditions, and small possessions they could carry with them, such as their house keys. Dispossession in the Canadian context has been called "geographical genocide" by Rob Shields.[304] One can understand Palestinian supporters finding the concept appropriate for them.

For the next fifteen years, Jaffa declined into a gloomy shadow away from the world's eye and, as Yael Allwell notes, the Arabs "were immediately placed under military rule. The military regime over Israeli Arabs lasted from 1948 to 1966."[305] After 1966, Jaffa may have re-opened, but it suffered great poverty and distress. It was left open because it did not have the power to guard its unsecured borders or to prevent gentrification and the urban malaise it brought with it. Time in Jaffa stood still. Looking into newspapers of this period provides practically no news about Jaffa.[306] I found a small announcement dated April 21, 1950, which appeared in the country's most popular Hebrew newspaper *Yediot Aharonot*. A few sentences informed readers about the order of the annexing of Jaffa to Tel Aviv. The headline reads, "Next week the cancellation of Jaffa municipality will be officially announced."

Only a decade later did Jaffa resurface in the press. For example, the following article dated May 13, 1960, announced initial thoughts for the operations in Jaffa and other poor neighbourhoods:

" פעולות ראשונות למען יפו והשכונות: מדיניות ההנהלה החדשה של העיריה לצמצום הפער החמור
 והריצ'יני הקיים בין שני חלקי העיר: תל אביב מצד אחד ויפו והשכונות מצד שני – החלה לתת אותותיה

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[304] Lecture at York University by Profesor of Human Geography and Sociology at the University of Alberta, Rob Shields, October 11, 2017.

[305] Allwell, Yael. (2017). *Homeland: Zionism as Housing Regime, 1860-2011*. London & New York, Routledge. P. 196.

[306] Digital newspapers archive, in the library of Beit Ariella, Tel Aviv.

הראשונים. אותות אלה הנם רק הצעדים הראשוניים במערכת הפעולות הגדולה והמקיפה אשר שומה
לבצען כדי לחסל את הפער בין שני חלקי העיר, השוכנים זה לצד זה..."[307]

"First actions for Jaffa and other neighborhoods. The municipality's new policy intends to
narrow the grave and serious gap between the two parts of the city, Tel Aviv on the one
hand, and Jaffa and other neighborhoods on the other. This policy just began to make its
first impact… the first steps in order to eliminate the gap between the two parts of the
one city, two parts which lie next to each other, side by side …"

I examined many newspapers from those 15 "dead" years in Jaffa and found very little. The one

thing concerning Jaffa that appeared during those years were sports announcements relating to

Jaffa's soccer team. The following example, dated September 18, 1959, is one of the many short

reports about soccer games results, or about upcoming games. The next image is an

announcement about Jaffa's team playing against the Tel Aviv team. It is interesting to note that

in 1959, nine years after annexation, the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa still had two separate soccer

teams with the exact same name: Macabi Tel Aviv and Macabi Yaffo. Later, the team in Jaffa

added Kabilio to its name to differentiate it from the other Macabi in the same city.
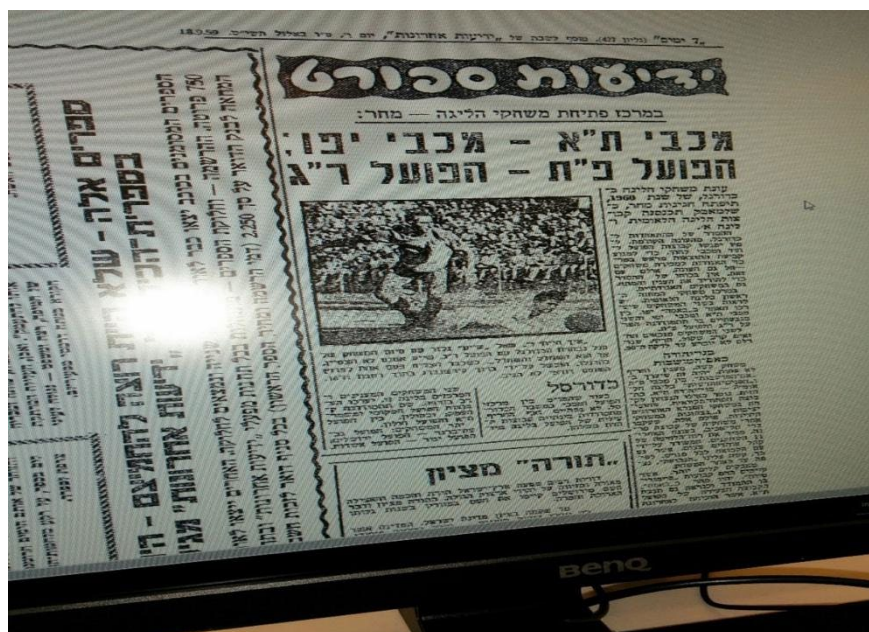

Figure 69: The sport sub-section of the newspaper, dated 18.9.59. Information about the coming sport games. Taken by the

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During those 'forgotten' years Jaffa was a miserable place in comparison with what it had been. Yet, the municipality of Tel Aviv understood that it could not afford to ignore Jaffa's grave situation. For example, the figure below shows an article about the urgent need to act in support of poor Jaffa and other suburbs.
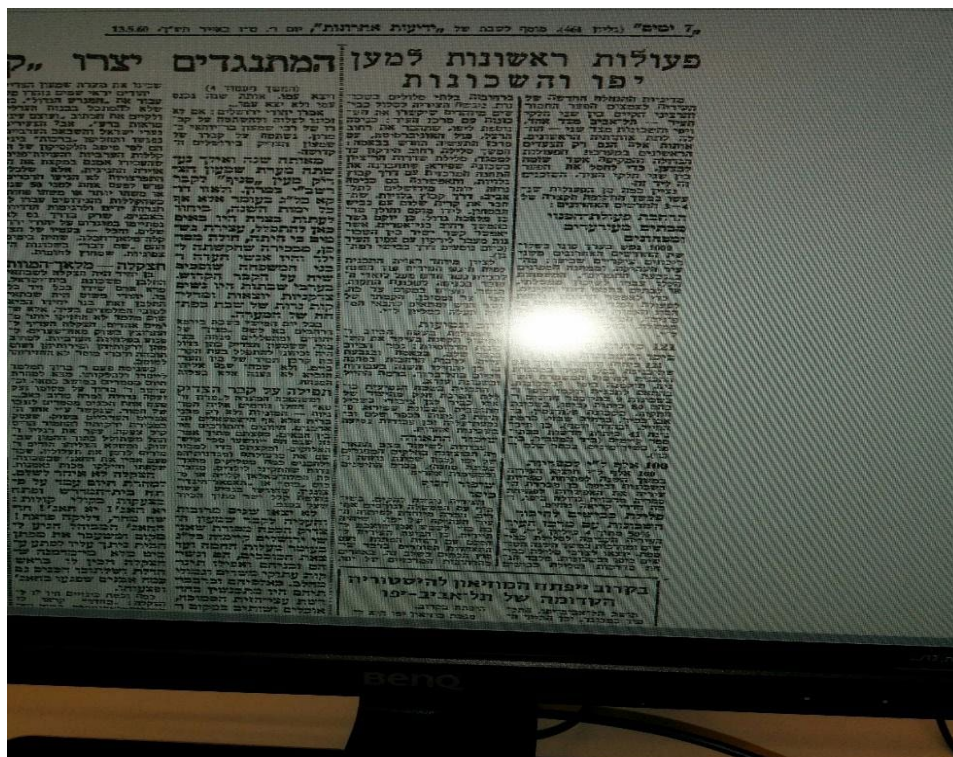

Figure 70: A newspaper article, 13.5.60, announcing the start of new operations in Jaffa. Yediot Aharonot, in Sheva Yamin section, page 15. Picture taken by the author.

The Tel Aviv municipality was aware of the severe destruction Jaffa had experienced and the grave distress it was in. Despite the hardship state in the southern parts of the city, it was clear that it still contained great potential. The municipal imagination could easily foresee the inherent possibilities in the south part of the city and as a great asset for the united city. In the late 1960s, Tel Aviv authorities started to think that something should be done. After all, Jaffa's natural beauty was not concealed, especially not in one part of the city: in *Old Jaffa* (יפו העתיקה).

National, municipal, and private groups identified the intrinsic possibilities of this romantic imaginary place and its stunning natural view. The decision was to turn this beautiful, yet deteriorated place, into an artist colony. A small district was designated, in which only 'special' people would be allowed to live, those who were talented and could create. A designated committee had the authority to determine who would be allowed to purchase a unit in this special, expensive, and renovated district. What proved helpful were connections in the Israeli community, which are well described by Etzioni Halevy:

> "Israel is distinguished from other Western-style democracies by an especially close 'elite connection.' This finds expression in a circular or reciprocal flow of resources between them … including … appointments and promotions, irregular types of influence, as well as political support and legislation, between political, business, administration and military."[308]

The connections among Israeli elites facilitated the purchase of land and buildings and helped in getting the necessary licences and financing for building/renovating galleries and studio spaces for all kinds of art creation, souvenir shops, and more special attractions, all of which drew visitors (and taxes) to the city. The planning, resourcing, and construction of the district took about a decade and a half, from the end of the sixties to the eighties, and the zone area became, when finished towards the end of last century, as intended, the focus visiting centre for domestic and foreign tourists.

The following are photocopies of documents in the Tel Aviv municipality archive. The first ones (Figure 71, Figure 72, Figure 73, Figure 74) are the protocols of meetings at which members decided to establish a new company to manage the 'Old Jaffa' district. The title of the minute reads "The Memorandum, Regulations, and Establishment of a Registered Company for

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[308] Halevy, Etzioni. "The Elite Connections in Israel". In *Identity, Culture and Globalization.* Edited by Ben Raphael, Eliezer. And Sternberg, Yitzhak. (2002). Article # 25. Boston, Brill Leiden. Pp. 401-426.

'Old Jaffa' Development." The protocol granted the nominated committee a wide range of control, powers, and mandates. They had the authority to approve, refuse, and take decisions regarding any matter related to the place: what could be built, what had to be destroyed, what could be renovated and how. They controlled who could live there, or conversely, what kind of people could not remain in the district and had to be evacuated.

The next document (Figure 75) contains instructions for the last evacuated family from 'Old Jaffa.' The memo was sent on July 24, 1964, to a certain Mr. Fortis from a superior (impossible to read the name of the sender) saying:

> ".להיערותיך. ואנחנו חשבנו שהמחנה חוסל, כי כך מסרת"

> "In regard to your provided comments. And we thought that all the camp was liquidated. Because that's what you informed."

On August 3, 1964, Fortis provided an answer on the same piece of memo:

> ".זוהי המשפחה האחרונה. כל העניין לטיפולו של משרד השיכון"

> "This is the last family. The case was forwarded to the Housing Ministry, to take care of it."

Thus, the mission was completed by August 1964. Now there were no more obstacles; now they could fulfill their vision. Now the company could start to plan, renovate, destroy, build, and bring in the 'suitable' people they wanted to live in this unique district.

סכום הישיבה שהתקיימה במשרדו של
מר א. שכטר מ"מ ראש העיריה בידם
‎.18.12.59

נחכחו: מר טדי קולק, מנהל משרד ראש הממשלה, מר ינאי סמנכ"ל
ראש הממשלה, מר מילמן ומר נבון מאגף השכון של משרד
העבודה, מר אורן גזבר העיריה, מר שפק מנהל משרד
אזורי יפו.

רשות העיר העתיקה

1. מ"מ ראש העיריה יביא להנהלת העיריה הצעה להקים
חברה משרתפת לפתוח העיר העתיקה בהשתתפות חברת התיירות
הממשלתית ועיריית ת"א-יפו. לשותפות תצטרף רשות הפתוח
ע"י שותפות מעשית או ע"י הסכם חכירה של השטח בתנאים
מיוחדים. לצורך זה תתקיים פגישה עם ב"כ רשות הפתוח ה"ה
זגגי ולוין.

2. תוזמן תכנית מפורטת של השטח לקביעת המבנים הנתנים
להריסה כבר מ"ד.

3. בבנינים המתאימים למגורים, ידאג אגף השכון לשכון
דירות.

4. עד להקמת החברה, מסכימים לדאוג לשמירה על המבנים
שפונו עד כה או שיפונו בקרוב. לשם כך יפתח חשבון מיו
בבנק בסכום של 6000 ל"י (הקצבה הדרושה ל-4 חדשים בער
סכום זה ישולם ע"י השותפים באופן שוה. במידה ורשות
הפתוח לא תשתתף בחברה, ישא כל צד ב-50% מההוצאה.

5. לצורך החשת הפעולה תפעל ועדה המורכבת ממר ינאי, מ
ראש הממשלה, מר שפק, משרד האזורי יפו ורב"כ הגזברות.

החלטות

מ"מ ראש העיריה הבטיח את חשובתו לאחר בירור הבעיה.

Figure 71: The minutes of the discussion regarding the decision to establish the company for 'Old Jaffa'. Copy was taken by the author. Tel Aviv municipality archive.
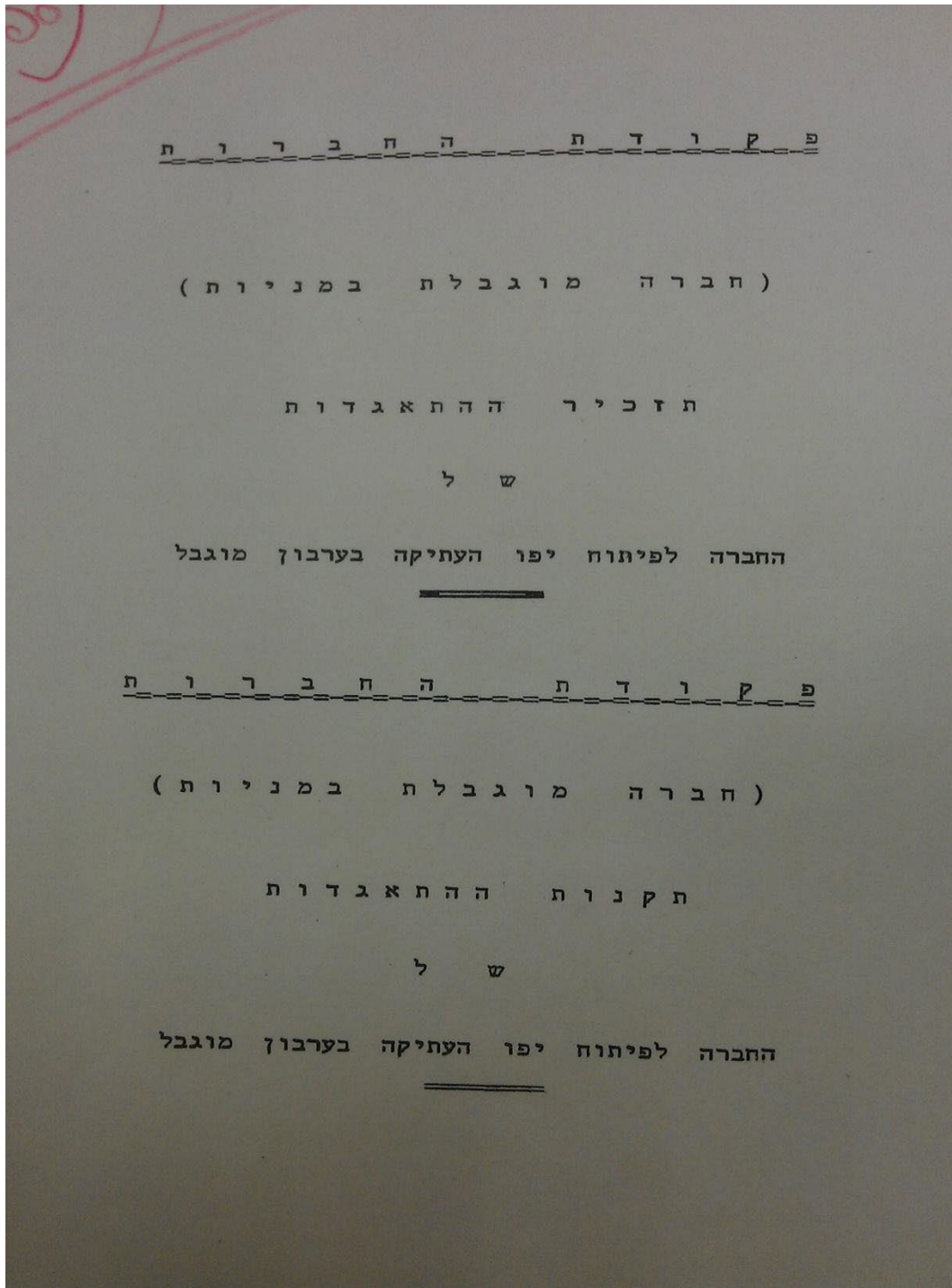
פ ו ד ת ת ה ח ב ר ו ת

(ח ב ר ה   מ ו ג ב ל ת   ב מ נ י ו ת)

ת ז כ י ר   ה ה ת א ג ד ו ת

ש ל

החברה לפיתוח יפו העתיקה בערבון מוגבל

פ ו ד ת ת ה ח ב ר ו ת

(ח ב ר ה   מ ו ג ב ל ת   ב מ נ י ו ת)

ת ק נ ו ת   ה ה ת א ג ד ו ת

ש ל

החברה לפיתוח יפו העתיקה בערבון מוגבל

Figure 72: Cover page of the Memorandum' establishment, of the registered company of: 'Old Jaffa Development'
Taken by the author from same archive.

(ג) לארגן, ליסד, לטפח, להחזיק, לפתח ולנהל עסקים מכל המינים והסוגים, תעשיות ומלאכות, אומנויות, לבוא לעזרתם על ידי מתן הלוואות לזמנים ארוכים או קצרים, על ידי מכירה או השכרה של נכסי דנ״ידי או 'דלא נ״ידי או בתנאים נוחים, על ידי ארגון תוצרת או יבוא של חמרים גלמיים, על ידי חפוש שוקים בארץ ובחוץ לארץ למכירת תוצרתם, על ידי סדור תערוכות ויריידים, על ידי פעולות רקלמה ופרסום בעתונות, על ידי הוצאות מיוחדות מטעם החברה ובדרכים אחרות, הכל כפי שייראו בעיני החברה.

(ד) להשביח, לנהל ולעבד, לשכלל, להחכיר, בשכר קבוע או באריסה או בעד השתתפות ברווחים או בדרך אחרת, וכן גם למשכן ולשעבד, למכור, ולהפיק תועלת או להעביר באופן אחר שהוא נכסי דלא נ״ידי, רשיונות, זכיונות וזכויות אחרות למי שהחברה תמצא לנחון או לעסוק באופן אחר ברכושה, כולו או מקצתו, ובזכויותיה, כולן או מקצתן, של החברה באותה התמורה ובאותם התנאים שהחברה תמצא למתאימים.

(ה) ל״יסד, לקיים, לנהל, להחזיק, לחמוך, 'לעזור ולעסוק במפעלי אמנות, תרבות וחינוך, ספורט (לרבות א״צטדיונים ומגרשי ספורט למיניהם), ב״דור ושעשועים וכן להציג, להסריט, להקל״ט, לשדר ולהפיץ כל חומר אמנוחי וכל חומר אחר שיראה בעיניה לשם ביצוע וקידום מטרותיה.

(ו) לעסוק בתור בעלים, סוכנים, סוחרים וקבלנים של נסיעות, תיורים וטיולים, שייט, להקל על נסיעות, תיורים וטיולים ושייט, להמציא ולטפח שירותים מכל המינים והסוגים לנוסעים, תיירים וטיילים, בצורת אמצעי תחבורה והובלה, מורי דרך, כרטיסים, משרדי מודיעין וכיוצא בזה.

(ז) ל״יסד, להחזיק, לנהל, לתמוך, לעזור ולעסוק בתור בעלים, סוכנים, קבלנים של אוטובוסים, מוניות, מכוניות משא, אניות, ספינות, סירות, אוירונים ואמצעי הסעה, שייט והובלה אחרים.

(ח) לארגן, לקבל על עצמה, לפתח, לשכלל, להשביח, לעזור או לטפל באיזה אופן שהוא אחר בסדור פליז׳'ים, בריכות-שחיה, מקומות מרגוע ונופש, מקומות שעשועים ומגרשי ספורט על שפת הים או לסדר, להחזיק או למסור .למי שהוא אחר סדור מזח או נמל קטן לצרכי פיתוח הספורט והדייג או לצרכי עסקי החברה.

Figure 73: Copy of one page of the memorandum decisions and the wide range of mandate of the established company; 'Old Jaffa' (The pages were not numbered). Taken by the author from same archive.
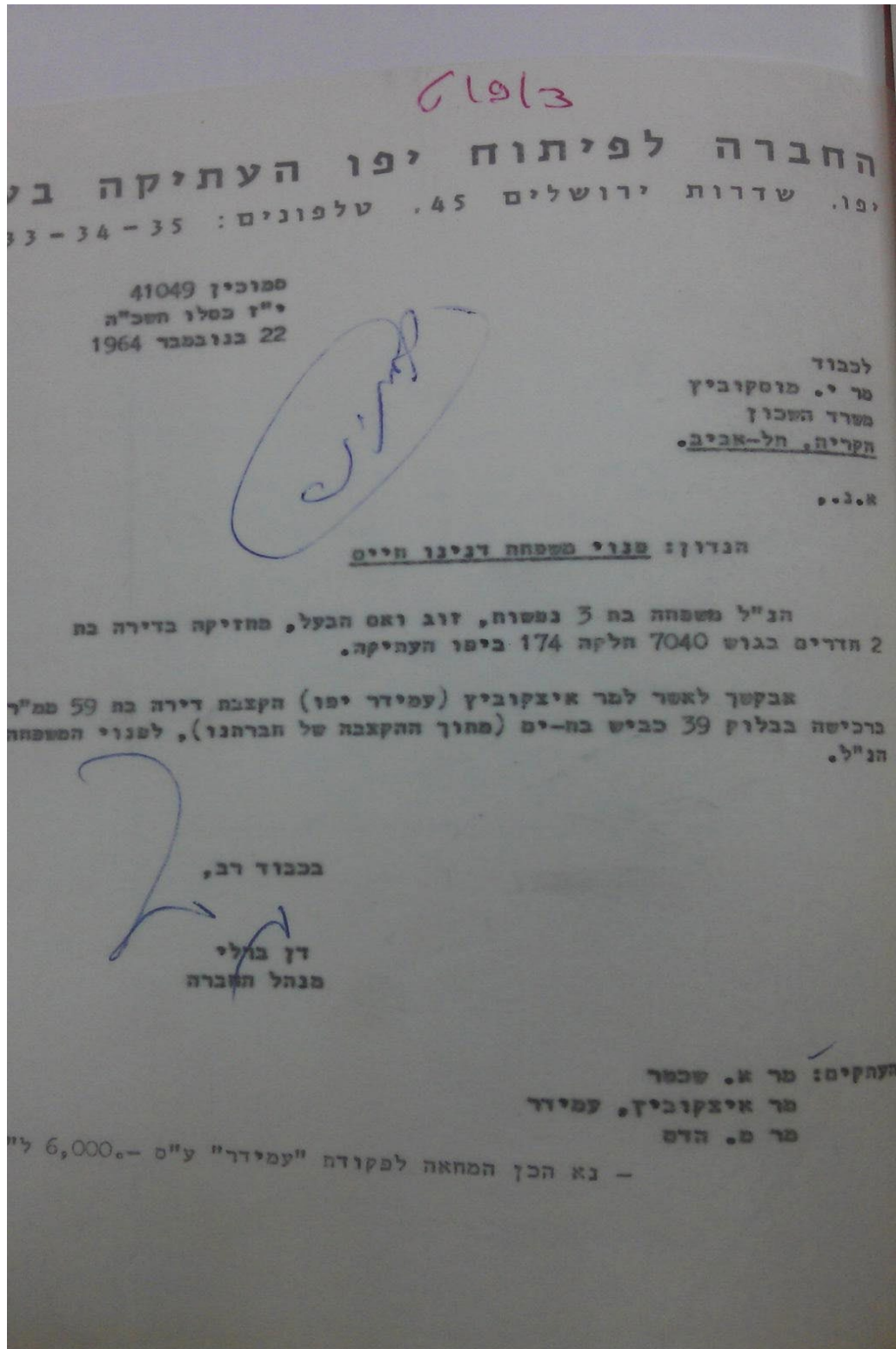
החברה לפיתוח יפו העתיקה ב

יפו, שדרות ירושלים 45, טלפונים: 35 - 34 - 33

סמוכין 41049
י"ז כסלו תשכ"ה
22 בנובמבר 1964

לכבוד
מר י. מוסקוביץ
משרד השכון
הקריה, תל-אביב.

א.נ.

הנדון: פנוי משפחת דנינו חיים

הנ"ל משפחה בת 5 נפשות, זוג ואם הבעל, מחזיקה בדירה בת 2 חדרים בגוש 7040 חלקה 174 ביפו העתיקה.

אבקשך לאשר למר איצקוביץ (עמידר יפו) הקצבת דירה בת 59 ממ"ר ברכישה בבלוק 39 כביש בת-ים (מתוך ההקצבה של חברתנו), לפנוי המשפחה הנ"ל.

בכבוד רב,

דן בללי
מנהל החברה

העתקים: מר א. שכטר
מר איצקוביץ, עמידר
מר מ. הדס

— נא הכן המחאה לפקודת "עמידר" ע"ס 6,000.- ל"

Figure 74: A copy of an original signed memo regarding an evacuation of a family from 'Old Jaffa'.
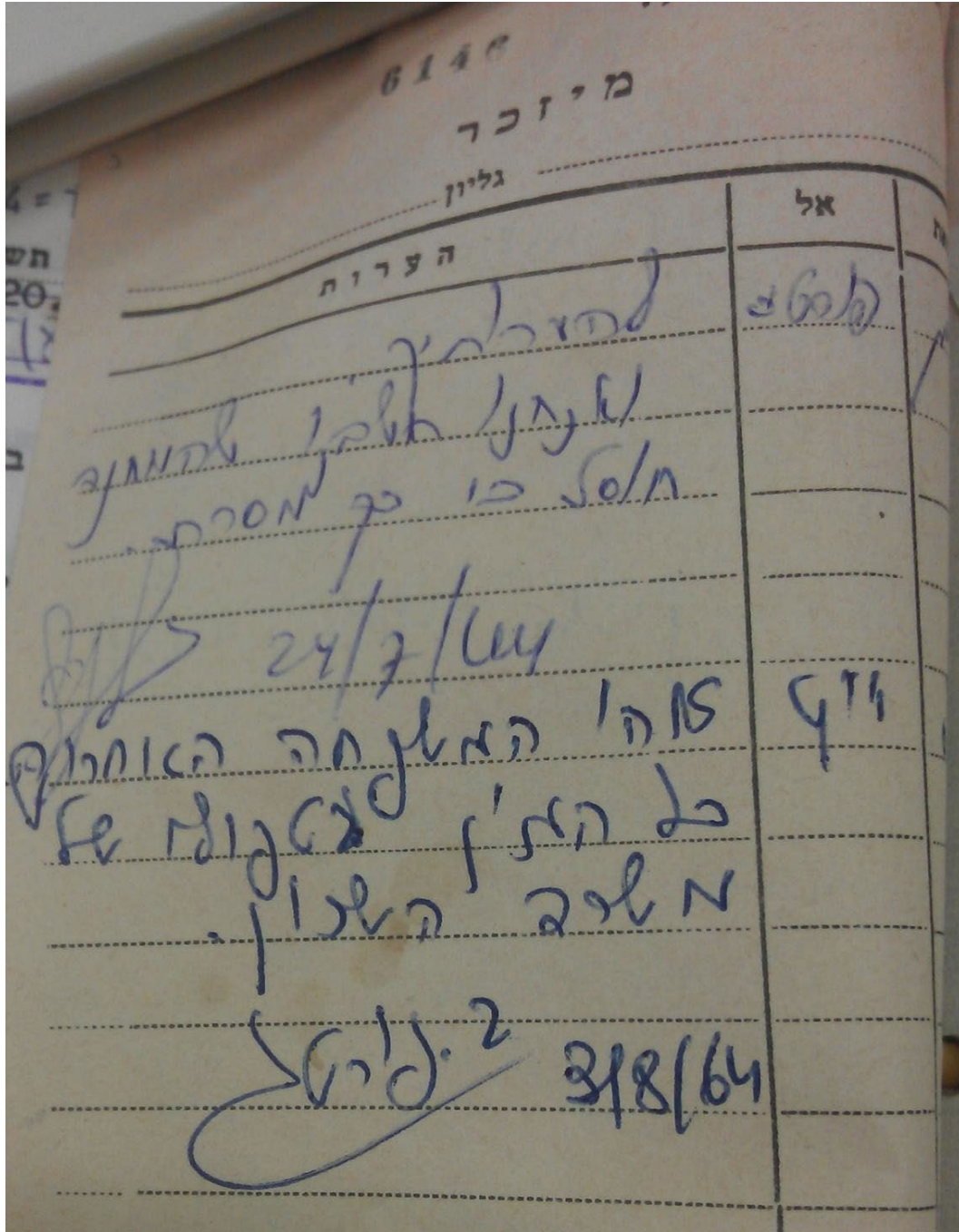*Taken by the author from the same archive.*

Figure 75: A copy of an internal memo regarding the evacuation of the last family from the project of 'Old Jaffa'. Taken by the author at the same archive.

To summarize the priorities that guided the development of Old Jaffa, the following are some

relevant clauses taken from the Old Jaffa Company Development Memorandum:

- The inhabitants of Old Jaffa District will include Jews only, Israeli artists and creators. People of quality with medium to high socioeconomic characteristics.

- The district will serve as an entertainment centre for culture and tourism.

- The unique construction of the site will be maintained, with an emphasis on the landscape that the people of Tel Aviv can see from afar.

6.3   The Gentrification of Jaffa

"...ארץ המקף. מה נשאר מהדו קיום מהרווח שבין תל אביב ויפו, אפה זה נכשל"

"The land of the hyphen: what remains of the coexistence, of the space between Tel Aviv and Jaffa? Where has it failed?" [309]

So, what do we have here? Apparently, the special urban gem of Jaffa, which appears in every tourist guidebook, a must-visit site. Yet, in fact, it is the repurposing of an old space with new content. We know that the European Jews came to Palestine with the idea of strengthening the modern Western character of the place, and the result was the uprooting of Old Jaffa's Arab features, leaving no trace of the previous, supposedly 'primitive and wild' society that had inhabited the city for millennia. Now, even the poor Jews who had been directed to settle in the empty houses there after the Arabs left in 1948 were considered a disturbance to the high society and its new image.

Starting at the end of the 1980s, bourgeois and bohemian Jews began to discover Jaffa's exotic beauty and started to purchase property in various places in Jaffa, especially in small luxury, gated-community-type projects. New, modern, luxury buildings started to be erected at

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[309] *Time-Out Tel Aviv Yafo*. Bulletin number 836. Issued of the week November 8-14, 2018.

the edge of Tel Aviv because the land there was cheaper than in more central areas in Tel Aviv, and there was a great demand to live as close as possible to Tel Aviv, the centre of all things.

This trend, which is ongoing, began in the areas adjacent to Tel Aviv, with the nicest spots of this part of Jaffa being gentrified first. The wealthy among those who moved in distinguish themselves from the rest of Jaffa's citizens (whether Jews or Arabs) both in class and in style. They send their children to private schools in Tel Aviv, away from Jaffa, as they have the resources to get their way in dealing with the city.

In addition to these wealthy people, idealistic, often left-leaning young people have also moved to the gentrifying parts of Jaffa. Their motivation is different. They come with the clear ideological and political objective to improve social reality (for example, my interviewee Elie, Appendix 1). These young people come, for the most part, in order to live among Arabs and try to contribute to the improvement of Arab-Jewish relations. Of course, financial considerations, among other reasons, still drive those who cannot afford to live in Tel Aviv. They move into the still non-gentrified areas in Jaffa.

To illustrate how expensive Tel Aviv is, it was reported in March 2018 on Walla (Israeli News) that a survey conducted by the international EIU (Economist Intelligence Unit) of 133 cities around the world found Tel Aviv ranked among the ten most expensive cities in the world in terms of cost of living, after Singapore, Paris, Zurich, Hong Kong, Oslo, Geneva, Seoul, and Copenhagen.[310] Prototypical gentrification ensued. Newly built condos in Jaffa sold for amounts that residents could not afford, a trend that continues to reach deeper into Jaffa. More of the poor (both Jews and Arabs) are displaced to even poorer places. The land is purchased, and new, often oriental-style buildings are constructed, with all the modern facilities, attracting those that can

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[310] Worldwide Cost of Living report: https://www.calcalist.co.il/world/articles/0,7340,L-3734177,00.html, date 15.3.2018.

afford them. Not only is this prototypical gentrification, with poor people evacuated for the sake of profit. There is an ethnic component as well, with wealthy Jews replacing poor Arabs and poor Jews. Tel-Aviv-Jaffa is being Judaized, as a direct extension of the way the first Hebrew city was. In 2011, Monterescu and Hazan found there was still a diverse community in Jaffa, coming from different backgrounds and classes: about 15,000 Palestinians, mostly Muslim, a minority of Christians, and about 30,000 Jews.[311] The majority of the population was poor, Jews as well as Arabs.

As in the case of the development of the White City, there are also various takes on Jaffa's gentrification. Sharon Rotbard suggests in *White City, Black City* that a decision was made to turn Old Jaffa into a brand of entertainment, tourism, and art. It is true that around the Old Jaffa site great investments have been directed towards a key niche in the area, the archeology I discussed in the second chapter, with the clear intention of turning the antiquity of Jaffa into just another source of visitors and income. Yet this commitment to commodification was intertwined with another choice: to allow only Jewish Israeli bohemian artists to live there. These decisions were meant to erase Jaffa as a real city, as an Arabic city. Jaffa became everything except Arab, excluding what it used to be for generations. The Arab characteristics of the site and Arab history were erased, leaving no traces of its past. The place, concludes Rotbard, experienced a transition. It became something else and now belongs to someone else, as he so well analyses the situation:

" נישולם של הדימויים וריקונם מכל תוכן חברתי, תרבותי והסטורי. בסופו של דבר גם המורשת שלה
נכבשה...מעין פקודת מחיקה, מחיקת כל הסיפורים, הזיכרונות והחומרים מהם עשויים...מניעת כתיבה
עתידית. מחיקת מימד חיים רשמיים, צבוריים, תקבותיים ופרטיים שהתקיימו קודם...הסיפור של יפו

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[311] Monterescu, Daniel, and Hazan Haim. (2011). *A Town at Sundown: Aging Nationalism in Jaffa*. Hakibbutz Hameuhad Publication. (Hebrew). p. 19.

נגמר ולא נותר מי שיקרא או יכתוב אותו. יפו של ימינו נולדה ב-1948 כמו מחשב שפורמט מחדש, כמו
שעון שאופס. עיר אילמת, חרשת, אמנזית, שאינה מכירה את עצמה, שאיש אינו מכיר אותה באמת[312].

"The disposition of its [Jaffa's] images, and the emptiness of all its social, cultural and
historical content, means that at the bottom line, her legacy was also taken… sort of a
deletion command, deleting all its stories, memories, and the materials of which these
stories were made … preventing future writings. Erasing an official dimension, private,
public, civic, cultural, and any sign of life which existed earlier … the story of Jaffa is over,
and there is no one to write or to read it. Contemporary Jaffa was born in 1948, the same
as a computer which was redesigned, or a clock which was reset. A silent, deaf, illiterate,
amnesic, unrecognizable city that does not know itself, that no one really knows
anymore.

I saw the new construction with my own eyes. It carries some orientalist features, oriental

characters, yet except for tourists speaking European or North American languages, I heard only

Hebrew, and I can confirm that mainly Israeli Jews live in the new luxury buildings. Some of the

following pictures I took in Jaffa are proof of the massive new construction and the huge palm

trees that have been brought to and planted in Jaffa.

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[312] Rotbard, Sharon. White City, Black City: Architecture and war in Tel Aviv and Jaffa. Tel Aviv: Bavel Publication.
p. 192.

Figure 76: New oriental style construction in Old Jaffa. 2018. Picture taken by the author.

Figure 77: Inner courtyard of a new oriental style construction in Jaffa. 2018. Picture taken by the author.

Figure 78: Jerusalem Boulevard, the main street which crosses Jaffa, 2018. taken by the author.

Monterescu and Hazan add to Rotbard's interpretation of Jaffa's destiny:

> אך יפו שהיתה הלכה לבלי שוב...כלת הים המיתית, הרומנטית, האוטופית. יפו זו אינה נגישה לקהל "
> "הצעיר הניזון מסיפורים ומדיווחים מתווכים בלבד[313]

> "Jaffa, which was there, is gone forever… the mythical, romantic, utopian bride of the sea. This Jaffa is no longer accessible to the young public, which is fed with stories and reports only through intermediaries."

Monterescu and Hazan mourn Jaffa's great past. Old Palestinians have become *Zeitzeugen* – memory agents, historical witnesses. They are the only ones left to tell the story, as original sources. The old people are the ultimate victims, but they are also the only remnants, the only ones who can express the memories, struggles and yearnings attached to the place. They tell their own personal narratives, private stories based on personal experiences, which are different from, but also available as a source for, scholarship.

Nadav Neumann offers his own take on the situation in the article, to which he gave the title: "Excuse me, how does one reach an Arab name?" [314] His subtitle indicates: "The connection between Tel Aviv and Jaffa helps Tel Aviv boast of liberalism and openness, while in practice, Arab culture is in a process of being erased …". In Hebrew:

> סליחה, איך מגיעים לשם ערבי כלשהו? החיבור בין תל אביב ליפו עוזר לתל אביב להתהדר בליברליות "
> ...ובפתיחות, אבל בפועל התרבות הערבית בעיר רק הולכת ונמחקת

Neumann's position on the image of Tel Aviv-Jaffa as a mixed city is that it is a distortion involving discrimination and erasure. This image, he claims, is true only on paper, not on the ground. He wrote in an article dated November 2018:

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[313] Monterescu, Daniel. And Hazan Haim. (2011). *A Town at Sundown: Aging Nationalism in Jaffa*. Hakibbutz Hameuhad Publication. (Hebrew). p. 10.

[314] Neumann, Nadav. 2018. *Time-Out Tel Aviv Yafo*. Bulletin number 836. Issued of the week November 8-14, p. 25.

<div dir="rtl">

ביפו, אפלית התושבים הערבים נמשכת כל העת עם עוד של עוד ועוד מתחמים יקרים שדוחקים "
"...החוצה את תושביה המקוריים של העיר

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"In Jaffa, discrimination of Arabs inhabitants continues, with construction of more and more expensive compounds, which push away the original residents of the city …" [315]

Gentrification may well proceed strictly according to the law; everything may be 'kosher,' with any fault being attributed to the market's 'invisible hand' as the one guiding the trend of beautifying the new bourgeoisie landscape. It is often accompanied by the cynical argument that "everyone" benefits. Yet Neumann encourages us to see with the example of a specific case who "everyone" really is.

6.3.1 Andromeda Hill

One of the extreme examples of gentrification is a 'milk and honey' fenced neighbourhood in the heart of Jaffa, built on one of the most beautiful spots in the area, on the top of the hill, in an exotic, touristicated quarter with a view of Jaffa's port and the blue sea. This project is called 'Andromeda Hill' (גבעת אנדרומדה). The name of this small construction project was taken from the Greek Andromeda myth (p.). It is one of the most expensive districts in Tel Aviv-Jaffa – a gated community of several buildings with all the facilities the rich elite expect. The luxury project, which started in the early 1990s and was completed during the first decade of the 2000s, was planned by one of the leading architects of the time, Alik Cohen, the son to a Canadian couple who immigrated to Israel in 1932. One of the most important architects in Israel, Yaakov Ya'ar, took an active part in the restoration of Old Jaffa.

In order to purchase one of the multimillion-dollar condos in the complex, one has to successfully pass an interview with a special admission committee. Some of the people living

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[315] *Time-Out* Tel Aviv Yafo. 2018. Bulletin number 836. Issued of the week November 8-14. p. 25.

there include the Italian consul, Dana Azrieli (the daughter of the Canadian billionaire, David Azrieli), the author Shulamite Lapid (wife of Yair Lapid), Irit Tanfenhl (a music producer), Zvika Yemini (a businessman), Halit Yeshurun (a gallery owner), and other people with means and connections. Daniel Monterescu and Roye Fabien have nicknamed the complex 'The Golden Cage.'[316]

Figure 79: The Luxury Andromeda Hill: https://www.booking.com/hotel/il/andromeda-hill-holiday-suites.he.html.

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[316] Monterescu, Daniel. And Fabien, Roye. "The Golden Cage: Gentrification and Globalization in Andromeda Hill project in Jaffa". In *Theory and Critique* (2003). Hakibuts Hameuchad. p. 163. (Hebrew).

Figure 80: Inside Andromeda Hill: https://www.booking.com/hotel/il/andromeda-hill-holiday-suites.he.html

Figure 81: Andromeda Hill, from the bottom of the hill, facing the Andromeda project, with my back to the sea. 2018. Taken by the author.

7   Conclusion

When I first encountered scholarship on 'the city,' I found it appealing, and the ongoing discussions around the topic of global cities attracted me even more. These scholarly approaches allowed me to combine my knowledge of cities with my background and career in the finance industry. Global cities have some similar distinguishing characteristics. Nevertheless, each has its own unique 'spirit,' which differentiates it from others. New York is different from London, Tokyo, or Tel Aviv, yet all are global cities. The city that 'spoke' to me the most in this context is my hometown, the global city of Tel Aviv, where I have spent most of my life.

When I travel to Israel, I buy a ticket to Tel Aviv. The 2019 Eurovision song contest took place in Tel Aviv. In Barcelona, Tel Aviv was awarded with 'First Smart City prize' in 2014. And in 2003, UNESCO declared Tel Aviv's White City as a 'World Cultural Heritage Site'. I started to wonder: where is Jaffa in this discourse? How did it disappear? What is the reason that only Tel Aviv is referred to whenever this geographical urban site is mentioned? After all, the name of the city has been Tel Aviv-Jaffa since 1950. Any official letter or bill issued by the city is sent from Tel Aviv-Jaffa and is titled as such. So, how did Jaffa vanish from awareness, of both the nearby local population and the world?

Going further, when discussing the contemporary reality of this uniquely united/hyphenated city, it is impossible to ignore the significant differences, separations, and disconnections between its two parts. The young, modern, rich, advanced global city of Tel Aviv bears no similarity to the old, declining parts of Jaffa. My research sought to trace the significant dividing lines between the two parts of the city and to understand them in their historical, social, ethnic, and cultural contexts.

In the first steps of this research, I discovered that for the first third of the previous century, when Jaffa was still a distinct city, it was a great city in its own right with international connections that foreshadow Tel Aviv's present global status. It was very well known in the Middle East and throughout the Arab world. Great in the near past, backwardness in the present? Wellknown in the past, forgotten in the present? These observations helped guiding the direction of my research. I took up the challenge of exploring both sides of what is supposed to be one city. Step by step, I looked into the lived urban realities of each side before and then after unification. I examined the circumstances that had led to unification and investigated the substance of their existence since. I discovered that little research had been conducted that looked at the two places together or investigated the details regarding annexation whether in the international context and the local circumstances of these developments. This dissertation has looked into the motivations of the European Jews who wished to establish Tel Aviv and their desire to live among themselves outside Jaffa, and it has probed the architectural implications of the Jewish need to initiate the building of a new Jewish suburb next to a flourishing city. It offers an answer to the question of how Tel Aviv came to be blessed with so many Bauhaus buildings and why the inhabitants chose to build the city according to the novel model of the Garden City.

When starting out with my research, I noticed some extensive construction in a suburb in Jaffa: newly paved streets and sidewalks, impressive new Oriental-style buildings, and many newly planted palm trees. I walked through a clean flea market, dense with small coffee shops and delicious food, crowded with local and foreign tourists from all over. Even the previously old and neglected port had been turned into an exotic, clean site with many romantic boutiques and restaurants. The booming contemporary construction gave me great hope that the story I set out to tell would end well, hoping that Tel Aviv's great success had contributed to bringing

Jaffa's existence back to its times of glory and beauty. Yet digging deeper revealed a much more ambivalent picture.

So, what is detailed in the pages of this research? A miracle? A catastrophe? A miracle for the Jews and their young, modern, European city of Tel Aviv? A catastrophe for the Levant Arabs and the ancient city of Jaffa? A miracle and a catastrophe, both at the same time, in the old-new city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa?

It should be kept in the mind that anyone who tells a story comes with their own background, perspectives, position, attitude, frame of mind, point of view, and unique approach. I wrote about my hometown, where I have spent most of my life: growing up, making friends for life, studying, raising a family, and working. Yet I did my best to stay loyal to the thousands of original documents I based this research on. It was not an easy task. Neither was writing about the other side of the city, which I scarcely knew. I learned a great deal and often found myself surprised, disappointed, and sometimes shocked during the interviews I conducted.

I will end with an article about Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Joachim Schlör refers to an article written by Daniel Ben Simon, whom I interviewed, and who contributed significantly to my research. The article, titled "*Tel Aviv is Israel*," includes the following passage:

> "The change was summed up by the journalist Dany Bensimon in this picture of the two cities of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem: '*They are only 50 kilometers apart, and yet they are two different worlds.*'" [317]

If it is hard to understand how there can be such a great difference between two cities that are only 50 kilometers apart, I would ask: how one can conceive of the enormous gap between two parts of one city that is **zero** kilometers apart? I hope this dissertation has contributed a little to illuminating this situation. Certainly, much more work must be dedicated to Jaffa as there is still

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[317] Schlör, Joachim. (1999). *Tel Aviv: From Dream to City*. London: Reaktion Books. p. 256.

so much more that can be found about it, and so much more to explore about this poor part of the city, the one ironically on the right side of the hyphen, which may lead to my next challenge.

To sum up my main contribution, I just went back to my opening questions which I initially raised to guide my working path, as to how and what I intended to look for, during the years I dedicated to this research. I took the challenge to investigate the two sides of the city. I had found that little research had been conducted looking at the two sides together, in one paper. The archive documents helped me to figure out how the small suburb north to Jaffa was established and what were the reasons for this establishment (The European Jews' need for a total separation from the local Arabs and local Jews. Edward Said helped me to understand the need for this separation. In addition, the Garden City doctrine/paradigm supported my assumption that the European Jews craved to establish a new kind of civilization for their own milieu). This small suburb (Tel Aviv) grew very soon to become a successful urban site, overshadowing its mother city (Jaffa). A phenomenon I called: *An extreme scale changing of both sides of the city, at the same time*: while Tel Aviv side grew and prospered, successful Jaffa experiences an opposite direction at the same time, towards degradation and inferiority, to become an ignored site, forgotten from the awareness of the locals and the world.

The other goal, which was also found of little research, was to move from circumstances of the past to elaborate the contemporary times. When discussing the present state of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, I used the following: I took many guided tours in both sides of the city, Tel Aviv and Jaffa. I conducted multiple interviews and conversations with local people and relevant scholars. And I followed daily recent contemporary relevant literature, publications, and news, regarding Tel Aviv-Jaffa. All helped me to figure out what are the contemporary state of both sides of this urban site and the extreme difference between them, a state in which only Tel Aviv is a Global

City. Only Tel Aviv is a Smart City. Only Tel Aviv was awarded A World Cultural Heritage Site, etc.'. The decision was not only to discuss the contemporary Tel Aviv-Jaffa and to identify the clear differences between the two, the challenge was to go beyond and to also identify the main reasons and existing barriers which are causing these genuine differences between the two sides of this one city, instead of reaching a genuine equal unification. Because, when one identifies a problem, put it into words, and have the will to find out what causes it, one may work towards putting it right, and find a lane of correction, towards a mutual different future path.

8 Afterword: Three Interviews

8.1 First Interview with David

My first interviewee was David (speaking Hebrew with the heavy Russian accent), with whom I held an interview in December 2017. He lived for most of his childhood very close to Jaffa and worked as a lawyer in the centre of Tel Aviv near Allenby and Rothschild, one mile from Jaffa. To my question about what he could tell me about Jaffa, he expressed the opinion that there is absolutely no connection between Jaffa and Tel Aviv. If there is one, he continued, it is artificial. He said he does not like Jaffa due to its Arab characteristics and due to its "inferior culture" (his words). In contrast, he continued, Tel Aviv is the centre of and for everything. Yet, it is too expensive to live there (he lives in Ra'anana, where I meet him, from time to time, when I am in Tel Aviv). He avoids visiting Tel Aviv due to the heavy traffic and lack of paid parking. For him, to enter Tel Aviv was the same feeling or impression as travelling abroad to another country (something I heard again and again from people who do not reside in Tel Aviv). Tel Aviv is not a part of the country.

8.2 Second Interview with Elie

The other extreme was what I heard from young Jewish Elie (with an American accent). He intentionally came to live in Jaffa due to its mix of Arab and Jewish communities living together. His personal vision was "to change the world" into a better place. He took it upon himself, together with his girlfriend, to do their small idealistic share to improve the malaise of the city – a brave decision. Armed with a leftist ideology, they came to live among the Arabs, to help and to act as a connecting bridge.

Elie is a teacher. He took upon himself the objective of improving the level of education among Arab youth. He felt the need to help the Arab population, especially in Jaffa, as they were under "nonstop attacks" (his words when he explained his motives). He wanted to be part of a process that would bring change to the city's poor image. He mingles with Arab youth and observes the daily life around him, regretting much in the face of the continuous split between the two communities. To my question of how language contributes to this split, he told me about poor Jews who live adjacent to poor Arabs, sometimes neighbours in the same building, on the same floor, who cannot speak Arabic, while their poor Arab neighbours next door cannot speak Hebrew. The lack of communication adds to the disconnection that already exists. In his opinion, this is a sad situation of despair when neither side tries to overcome this obstacle (among others), confirming my assumption related to communities separated by language.

Yet, he continued, the effort of the Israeli authorities to erase the Arabic names of streets, neighbourhoods, etc., and replace them with Hebrew ones so far has failed.[318] Everyone, Arabs as well as Jews, continues to use the original Arabic names of the places. He found this phenomenon quite interesting and surprising because changing place names into Hebrew ones had also failed in Jerusalem (before he moved to Jaffa, he lived in Jerusalem). Everyone there too, he said, continues to use the old Arabic names that have been used for generations. (This seems to be in accordance with Noam Leshem's arguments).

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[318] In their 2018 book, Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu engage the topic of replacing previous street names with new ones. They examined the phenomena in various places in the world, where names of places have been changed. Place names play a powerful role in social life due to their connotations. They indicate who and what should be remembered, and who forgotten. Usually, changing street names is a strategy with political dimensions taken during and after phases of great political transition. They did not mention this phenomenon in Jaffa where all street names being Arabic names were replaced at the unification of both sides of the city.

8.3   Third Interview with Daniel

The longest interview I conducted was with Daniel Ben-Simon (with a heavy French accent), over a full half-day. The picture I took of Andromeda Hill, standing facing the Andromeda project with my back to the sea, was taken during a tour we took during the interview.

Daniel Ben-Simon is a well-known figure in Israel, a talented journalist, whose Hebrew is perfect, a publicist and the author of several books. He was elected in 2009 to the Knesset (the Israeli Parliament) on behalf of the leftist Labour Party, the main opposition party in the Knesset at that time. His last book *Les Marocains* is an autobiography. As he put it, for the first time in his life he allowed himself to go back to the time when he was first sent to Israel in 1967, leaving behind a cozy life, a warm family, an excellent French school, a nice neighbourhood, a beautiful city (Casablanca) and country.[319] In the 1960s, Morocco had one of the largest Jewish communities in the world. One of the Zionist goals specifically dictated bringing, which is to say emigrating, 50,000 children from Morocco to Israel. Daniel Ben Simon (age 15-16) and his sister (age 10-11) were among them. Their parents willingly agreed to send them far away due to the great promises about the paradise destination for Jews.

In *Les Marocains*, Daniel goes back to the despair and frustration he experienced arriving in the promised land and facing Israel's harsh reality, and notes these moments were worse for his little sister, with whom he could not meet – the siblings were sent to different places with no means of communicating either with each other or with any relatives, near or far. He goes into detail regarding his struggles with the place, physically and mentally, with the harsh Israeli-Sabra manners (as opposed to the French civility and culture he had grown up with), with the language, the food, and especially the loneliness. Nowadays, he is a well-known figure and

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[319] Ben Simon, Daniel. (2016). *Les Marocains*. Jerusalem, Carmel Publications. (Hebrew).

describes himself as belonging to the mainstream DNA of the Israeli community, mingling with the sociopolitical elites in Israel and in France.

Daniel is also an old friend of mine. We meet from time to time when I am in Israel. In the summer of 2018, during a visit to Tel Aviv, I met him accidently in my neighbourhood. We had a short conversation:

Daniel: "Hi, Shosh, what are you doing now, where have you disappeared to?"

The author: "I am in Toronto, finally writing up my dissertation about Tel Aviv-Jaffa."

Daniel: "Wow, I lived in Jaffa for ten years."

The author: "Where in Jaffa?" Given his stature, I expected he would answer that it was in one of the luxury new condos, but he totally surprised me.

Daniel: "inside Jaffa, among the Arabs."

I knew I must meet him for a longer interview. Here, in front of me, stood a source who could supply current impressions about life in Jaffa. He agreed, not only to an interview but an interview undertaken while touring the city, to places I could never reach by myself.

On Tuesday, July 3, 2018, we headed to Jaffa from Tel Aviv. We drove along very narrow paved paths and the twisting ups and downs of alleys separating the crowded old houses. During the long interview, Daniel did most of the talking. I was concentrating on writing, trying not to disturb him, not to lose a word, finding my hand shaking a few times.

The author: "Daniel, why Jaffa? What brought you to move to Jaffa and live in this city for ten full years amongst the Arabs?"

Dany: "Don't forget that before Jaffa, I lived in Jerusalem, and before Jerusalem, I lived in Haifa. In both previous cases, I chose places with mixed Jewish-Arab populations. But before I came to this country (Israel), I lived in Casablanca among Arabs. I longed for a mutually

harmonious life among Muslim neighbours, with whom I had very good relationships full of peace and a calm atmosphere. For me, to live among Muslims is the most natural kind of life. I moved to Jaffa because I longed to perpetuate a heterogeneous, multicultural way of life, with diversity. Jaffa offered both worlds, and it reminded me of my good life in Casablanca."

The author: "Yes, I did my homework, I read your fascinating book *Les Marocains,* in which you put so much I never had the chance to become acquainted with."

Dany: "You know, I hesitated about the name of the book. First, I thought to name it: 'As if here' (כאילו כאן). Until now, after so many years in Israel, I still hesitate: am I here? Am I there? Am I neither here nor there? It's a disturbing feeling that you don't know for sure where you belong."

We drove to the house he had rented for ten years in Zedaf Street -צדף, a beautiful 18th-century oriental building built on a cliff with a huge terrace facing the sea, big windows, and very high ceilings. It was locked as another tenant lives there now. He continued to talk; I continued to write. He told me the following anecdote:

Dany: "Once I came back to the house and found I had no key. My neighbour asked me what I was doing waiting outside my own door. I told him I had forgotten my key and was waiting for my wife to bring it. He told me to wait a moment, went inside his house and brought the key to my door. Astonished, I asked why he had my house key. He answered that he had had it since 1948. When the original owners had to flee, they left their house key with him. They meant to come back in two or three days," he concluded with a sigh.

The author: "What a fascinating story. Yet, ten years is a long time. Why did you leave for Ra'anana, a city in which mainly rich Jews live? Isn't it the other extreme?"

Dany: "Ten years are enough to study, formulate, form an opinion about a place, and have some relevant conclusions. During those ten years I learned that there are two separated worlds in Jaffa that will never meet. Two extreme edges, high and low, rich and poor. A middle does not exist. One is rich and Jewish, the other is Arab and a thief [his words]. The local Arabs are so poor and live under subnormal conditions in severe distress. It turned the place into a disaster zone and made life unbearable."

After a short pause he continued:

Dany: "Whatever was mixed is now under Jewish control, and the Arabs are left with nothing. No jobs, no income. They are looking at the other side of the street, at the rich Jews who are invading their land. The Arabs have nothing. In order to survive, all that is left for them to do is to steal. Unfortunately, in Jaffa there are two worlds which do not interact with each other, anger exists and penetrates under the surface. Two extremes exist in total separation and disconnection. As such, Jaffa is in a process of a socio-urban change. The nouveau-rich Israelis and tourists have been causing a dramatic change in the city."

He told me that he sent his kids to a mixed school in Jaffa, hoping that they would have Arab friends (remembering his happy youth in Casablanca at an *Alliance* school). To his disappointment, he had found there was no involvement between the Jewish children and the Arabs (something Elie, the previous interviewee who volunteered to teach in an Arab Jewish school in Jaffa, also mentioned).

Dany: "Many neighbouring Arabs told me: 'we love you, Dany, but we don't love those who took our houses.' And I answered: 'But you are young, you were not born when it happened.' To this, they stated: 'But we remember, we don't forget, it is transferred from one generation to the other.' The Arabic fabric of life was destroyed."

The author: "Why did you leave? After all, according to your stories, you had a great relationship with your neighbours."

Dany: "At least twice a week burglars 'visited' my house. It was too much of a sacrifice. I threw up my hands, we gave up, and we left. It was not easy. I was sad to do so. I perceived it as a personal failure. My feelings turned into frustration and despair, knowing that I, Daniel Ben Simon, could change nothing."

The author: "How did your friends and neighbours reacted?"

Dany: "My neighbours, even though they understood my motives and decision, told me: 'If you, Daniel Ben Simon, are leaving, if you gave up, then there is only one conclusion: the case is lost, there is no chance for improvement, no hope for any mutual future life between the two peoples,' which brought me even more sorrow."

After walking through the alleys, we chose a nice place to sit and have a rest in the shade facing the beautiful blue sea (it was a hot July day). I thought the interview had finished, but he continued:

Dany: "I was sitting here, in the same spot where we are sitting now, with Shmuel Toledano, and had a long conversation with him."

The author: "Who is Shmuel Toledano?"

Dany: "Toledano was the one who was nominated by the government to manage the evacuation, to expel the Arabs from Jaffa into exile."

I stopped him. My hand was shaking.

The author: "Sorry, Dany, you used a wrong word. They were not expelled; they chose to run away for their lives. That is what I have read everywhere, in all the literature."

Dany: "I am very precise. I am telling you only what Toledano told me. Not a judgment, not an opinion. Toledano was nominated to chair a mission to expel the Arabs from Jaffa. Anyhow, be patient and let me tell you what he told me in one of our conversations. Toledano revealed his opinion about the 'job' he was put in charge of, the one he was assigned for. He recounted and expressed his late insights, saying that it had been a mistake to expel most of the Arabs from Jaffa and to leave only the poor and illiterate ones. Toledano put into words his contemporary view and expressed his opinion that if he had to do this mission again, in retrospect he would either expel all Arabs, or none. Because sending away all the elites, all the rich and educated people and leaving only the disabled and the poorest ones turned Jaffa into the disastrous state in which it is now. That was a mistake, Toledano concluded, which reflects on the sad reality of contemporary Jaffa."

I was left speechless.

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