'Decision not to decide': A new challenge for planning

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Abstract

This article examines how the policy maker's 'decision not to decide' affects different levels of internal organization and how it is reflected in the residential patterns of different population groups. The article explores the dynamics of residential patterns in two case studies: the Collective behaviour of the Sylheti community along Whitechapel Road in Eastern London, and the Group Action of the "Kol-Torah" Community in Zangwill Street, Jerusalem, where Inner-markets activities create clear property lines around/within their boundaries and result in similar homogeneous pattern. Identifying the main engines of organised neighbourhood change and the difficulties of planning and dealing with individuals in the housing market, sheds light on similar processes occurring in other city centres with diverse population groups.

Keywords

InAction

Decision not to decide

Group action

Collective behaviour

Planning

Haredi

Sylheti

1

Introduction

Urban planning developed during the twentieth century under conditions of strong national welfare states and relatively weak civil societies (Davies, 2001). The need to protect the public interest and guarantee its rights led to the establishment of hierarchical planning systems throughout the developed world. Planning mechanisms were designed to guarantee equal allocation of resources and appropriate infrastructure for various sectors (Dean, 2011, Piketty, 2014). In the urban realm in recent years, the unprecedented scale of urban transformation and the weakening of the social, economic, and political frameworks that constitute the background for planning, has meant that the impact and the pressure of direct cooperation of interest groups on urban space has considerably increased (Alexander, 2002; Kolossov, 2005). Planners and politicians have to cope with interest groups characterised by diverse institutional structures, access to resources, and inconsistent territorial interests; a particular challenge to the planning system is posed by groups committed to non-liberal values and concepts.

Indirect cooperation reflects similarities in the way people 'read' and interpret urban space, direct cooperation reflects economic interests and social organisation, and both can evoke planning policy issues (Fischer, 1982, Alexander, 2002; Kolossov, 2005). While many of these issues, such as the buying of land by purchasing groups or Gated communities, are addressed by an authoritative pronouncement and clear-cut decisions to create an official groundwork of action, there are many others that planning policy makers avoid or refrain from addressing. Both adopting a stance and choosing to abstain from doing so have far-reaching ramifications for society. The difficulties of liberal planning when faced with implementing what is defined as "the politics of accommodation" (Lijphart, 1968; Davies, 2001), and in resolving spatial conflicts between groups and individuals in diverse democratic societies, will be discussed in this paper. In order to explain the ways individuals incline towards and cooperate with groups to claim space, the research will use the themes of social relations and control mechanisms to examine the effects of organisation in housing. The themes of group behaviour in urban space and the policy of non–decision will elaborate the way different groups adopt different strategies to claim space. Hence, the research will examine the ramifications of 'Non-decision making' (NDM) for autonomous individuals and groups who organise neighbourhood change.

The case studies that have been selected are interesting because they function somewhat as 'limit cases' that demonstrate the ramifications of NDM for neighbourhoods changed by different levels of cooperation. They are therefore very different: The type of state in which planners operate, the relationship between civil society organisation to the state or municipality and the role of religious activists (Imams in Whitechapel and Rabbis in

2

Zangwill Street) are very different in both locales. On one hand there is the ideological power of Imams in relatively secular multi-cultural London. On the other, the city of Jerusalem, Israel's capital and its largest municipality, is subject to fundamental social and political conflicts. Jerusalem is ethno-nationally divided and contested. However, both Whitechapel Road in East London and Zangwill Street of Kiryat-Ha'Yovel, Jerusalem, make interesting case studies for examination of the ability of cohesive communities to operate local housing markets in order to wrest control of space from other groups, thereby creating a 'contiguous' community space. Capturing the value of development relies on housing provision that is mostly built and marketed to attract new types of resident to areas of renewal, and to change an area's homogeneous composition. The need to absorb growing populations creates pressures in particular parts of the city, and on existing local populations. While the hierarchy of London property values remains firmly in place, with inner areas of West London at the peak, it is East London that has seen the most accelerated price rises since 2000. As an effect of serial displacements, middle-income buyers out-compete lower-income groups in both the home owner and rental sectors in London's cheaper housing markets (Hamnett, 2004). Similar to this process and based on the British Mandate system, Israeli planning is characterized by a centralized and hierarchal structure. In West Jerusalem urban planning preserved the liberal trend to unite various population groups for the creation of a common Israeli culture. According to this view, the Haredi community had not been considered as a singular entity that required a special urban space, but instead as part of the wider Israeli melting pot. Consequently, Haredi territory has been restricted by land uses which contradict its nature, and every contact bears the seeds of a territorial struggle with neighbouring populations over living space (Shilhav & Friedman, 1985). High population density and increased prices for flats in Haredi enclaves has stimulated a constant migration of population from the Haredi enclaves. The "Haredification" of Jerusalem [a process whereby non-Haredi populations are replaced by Haredi] can be linked to every aspect of life and decision-making in the city (Hasson, 1996). The influx of Haredi into secular neighbourhoods has caused friction and bitter struggles over the city's character.

Most empirical research overlooks the contribution of policy makers to such processes as NDM and argues that where there are no planning decisions, there are no planning events to investigate---or so it would seem. The analysis of NDM seems to oblige the analyst to provide an explanation for things that do not happen, and researchers have argued that there is simply no reasoned and reliable way to construct such explanations (Crenson, 1971; Sturzaker, 2009; Palmer, 2014). The present study attempts to find a way to do so, contending that in order to examine these processes, one must refer to the social system that drives the local process and the set of values from which it draws its strength. This

paper thus examines how groups holding different values adopt strategies to claim territory, identifying the collective features of the referred groups and their urban expression, while also considering the role of planning in the process.

Theoretical background

'Non-decision making' (NDM) is defined as 'the practice of limiting the scope of actual decision-making to 'state' issues by manipulating the dominant community values, myths, and political institutions and procedures' (Bachrach & Baratz, 1963; Kamuzora, 2006), a result of a lack of public policy or, alternatively, a clear choice of public policy (Dye, 1999; Akindele and Olaopa, 2004). A complete view of power must include, according to Lukes' 'second face of power', a consideration of action as well as inaction, and covert and latent, as well as overt, conflict (Lukes, 1974, 1977; Groarke,1993; Béland, 2016). Following Dye's definition of public policy as including not only what governments choose to do, but also what they choose not to do, it is common to distinguish between (1) the absence of a decision in a situation of clear opposition to a proposed policy even though the alternative does not have a large coalition of supporters; (2) an auditing body's criticism of the authorities for neglecting their responsibilities, and for refraining from providing optional actions through NDM; (3) inaction arising from a desire to protect interests by preventing changes in existing policies. Although these classifications cannot be absolute in today's complex realities, NDM is, in fact, a specific form of decision on the part of policy-makers - "The decision to avoid addressing the issue" - and its outcome is identical with that of the decision not to decide. Frequently, the desire of a population to live together leads to a refraining from the making of a decision. In disputes of principle, the moral and political legitimacy of NDM policy stems from its ability to allow the preservation of a democratic system, rather than from its ability to bring about willingness to make mutual compromises. Likewise, an issue which is not relevant to most of the population, not germane to the character of the state, or whose economic aspect is of negligible weight relative to the other aspects, has decreased chances of being decided upon. These characteristics also affect the level of resources dedicated to accumulating knowledge and consequently reduce the chances for the making of a decision in the long term. Hence, this research will examine the ramifications of NDM for neighbourhoods changed by different levels of cooperation.

The effect of cooperation on urban structure was considered by Du Bois (1899) in *The Philadelphia Negro*, which examines the demographics of black Americans, and later by the Chicago School (Park, 1936). The School examined spatial competition between groups as an ecological process and developed an invasion–succession model to describe *collective behaviour*. According to this view, spontaneous social gathering is a

means by which individuals improve their ability to cope with the challenges of urban life (Hawley, 1950; Back 1996). Alongside the creation of cultural dominance within the defined enclave, the isolated territories serve as a protective niche enabling conservation of lifestyles and cultures (Boal, 2008; Mehlhorn, 1998). Purposive and relatively structured forms of collective behaviour are social movements. The distinctly political character of these groups of individuals gathered together with the common legitimate purpose of expressing subjectively felt discontent in a public way, makes these social movements modern (Haferkamp and Smelser, 1992). These urban residential dynamics are often explained by referring to economic factors (Kasarda, 1972; Speare, 1974) or to a mixture of economic and non-economic factors (Borjas, 1998; Clark and Withers, 1999; Fossett 2006). In the case of the latter, ethnic relationships, family lifestyle or life-cycle features are usually added to the basic set of economic factors (Feitelson, 2011; Johnston et al., 2007); the economic factors blur the impact of the non-economic factors, especially of self-identity, on spatial organization.

As opposed to indirect collaboration, a collective that has gathered in a given place and time creates direct cooperation, something that is defined as *group behaviour* (Anderson & O'Dowd, 1999; Saegert & Winkel, 1990). Clear authority reaches consensus, defines rules and creates an organised segregated pattern. As characterised by purchasing organisation and gated communities, this organised behaviour reinforces traditional communities where religion is a social cement (Bankston & Zhou, 1995). Many of these communities attempt to revive old traditional lifestyles by using modern mechanisms that reinforce compliance due to identification, rather than out of fear or under explicit threat (Castells, 1997). An individual's needs become congruent with the group's interests, and individuals are expected to concede their free will and to subordinate their interests to those of the group, even in cases where they are indifferent or even harmed by them (Riesebrodt, 2002). In terms of leadership, territorial concentration facilitates its control of the members' daily lives, so preserving the community's identity and maintaining its cohesion. When the group members realise they are more likely to achieve their goal when acting in a co-ordinated way rather than individually, they may use the territory as a base for offensive actions against "others" (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994; Boal, 2008) and expand their enclave's borders through *group action* (Granovetter, 1978; Lalonde and Cameron, 1994). The borders thus created, whether they are weak or strong (Paasi, 1996), rigid or flexible, gateways or barriers (Altvater, 1998, Newman, 2003), represent economic, political, cultural or social asymmetries between communities (Giddens, 1984). Planning, in this respect, lies on the seam between charting national policy and the pressures of diversified urban politics; it therefore seeks to weaken the spatial pattern of segregation as well as the boundaries between groups (Healey, 1997).

Methodology

The research is based on "real data" information provided anonymously by the people themselves in Kiryat-Ha'Yovel (2009) and Whitechapel (2011-12) at the level of individual families and flats, sections, and buildings. As the author speaks Bengali and Hebrew, she was able recruit assistance from local interviewers and gather rich and sometimes controversial data by this means.

The Whitechapel neighbourhood's collected data are part of a more in-depth survey. Together with a local interviewer, a young male from the Bangladeshi community (who has requested anonymity), the author conducted a door-to-door survey and interviewed 4656 families living in 3186 flats. Whitechapel's households were asked to identify themselves as well as the flat's former dwellers, going back to at least 1995. Several researchers stress that the identity of previous residents is important for traditional families (Waterman and Kosmin, 1988), a conclusion confirmed by this research. Identification of past and present residents of Whitechapel Road allowed the study to identify the flats' dwellers between 1995 and 2012 and recognise the Bangladeshi Sylheti as the dominant group. The research area of Whitechapel Road contain 642 families living in 63 buildings. In Kiryat-Ha'Yovel, all 653 buildings were surveyed. In each building/section, representatives of the building committee or the long-standing residents were asked about the identity of the residents of the building, and whether they rented or owned their flat. From the data collected in this manner, a map of the population distribution was created, from which a secondary map was derived for each discrete population group. The population distribution of the Kol-Torah community was particularly marked because it was prominently congregated in the large residential buildings on Zangwill Street. In consequence, the dynamics of residence on the street were then examined at the individual flat level. Although co-operation was limited, most of the new residents indicated that they belonged to Kol-Torah community, based in the adjoining neighbourhood of Bayit-Ve'Gan, and gave their date of entry into the new flat. Zangwill Street contains 347 flats in nine residential buildings with 46 separate entrances.

All other questions asked - both in Whitechapel Road and Zangwill Street - are related to the present occupants in order to reconstruct the dynamics of population replacement. 268 veteran residents of Whitechapel Road (who sold their flats between 2004 and 2012) and 246 veteran residents of Zangwill Street (who sold their flats between 2002 and 2010) were identified and interviewed. They provided information about the price and the month/year of the sale. In addition, they were asked about the approximate number of families of "others" (e.g., not Bangladeshi in Whitechapel Road, and not from Kol-Torah in Zangwill Street) still residing in the building at the moment of a sale. 84% of the ex-

owners of Whitechapel Road, and 76% of the ex-owners of Zangwill Street were willing to reply to these questions. Cross-checks with data supplied by real-estate agencies and websites increased the percentage of cases for which the price and the number of secular tenants are both available to 98% (Whitechapel Road) and 88% (Zangwill Street). The market price of a flat at the moment of the sale was estimated on the basis of cross-referenced data provided by local realtors, Zoopla and Rightmove for Whitechapel, and three of the main realtors working in Kiryat-Ha`Yovel. They produced information on population exchanges and explained dynamic processes, making it possible to estimate residential markets in the research areas.

The characteristics of all flats and households were organised as a high-resolution layer for each case study, in which every record is related to its corresponding building. GIS layers for Whitechapel Road were provided by the ordnancesurvey.co.uk/opendatadownload/products.html and updated to 2016. The Zangwill Street data was integrated into the area's GIS layers pertaining to topography, roads, land parcels and buildings, as provided by Jerusalem Municipality and updated to 2004. This spatial-temporal GIS facilitated investigation of the residential micro-dynamics of the case studies, while referring to residents' identities and the turnover of flats, also spotlighting group organisation and leadership rules behind these processes.

In addition, 41 interviews in Whitechapel and 30 in Kiryat-Ha'Yovel were conducted with key figures from various fields. Those involved with the communities were interviewed about spatial relations between the individual and the community, and the economic aspect of the institutions (Jamme Masjid, East London Mosque and Kol-Torah yeshiva) in regard to housing. Functionaries in Tower Hamlets Council and Jerusalem Municipality were interviewed regarding the capabilities and limitations of the planning system in the encounter between population groups. Residents from various "other" population groups were interviewed about activities in public and private spaces. The information was cross-checked with blogs, articles, and internet sites, which offered a range of different types of knowledge and perspectives on the communities. Observing these conflicts in Whitechapel Road and Zangwill Street will enable us to explain the idea of "Terrain of Inaction".

The case studies:

London's East End developed gradually from medieval times, and from around 1890 became associated with poverty, overcrowding, disease and criminality (Palmer, 1989). Despite a massive gentrification process, some parts of the East End continue to contain some of the most deprived areas in Britain (Kintrea et al, 2008; Dustmann and Theodoropoulos, 2010). Today, the large number of 61 religious institutions in the study

area reflects diversity within the population: the area is populated by Muslims, Hindus and Christians of African, British, South-Asian, East-Asian and European origin.

Whitechapel Road (Figure 1) is a part of the historic Roman Road from London to Colchester. Now, there are notable numbers of office buildings and several institutions along the road, such as the Whitechapel Art Gallery, the East London Mosque and the established street market next to Whitechapel tube station selling a range of authentic Asian food and clothes. Towards the end of the 20th century, the street, along with the nearby Brick Lane, became the centre of the British Bangladeshi community. Most of the residents along the road live in and above shops in houses divided as flats, both in private ownership and renting.

Figure 1: (a) Map of Central London with Whitechapel Road marked. (b) The research area of Whitechapel Road

Kiryat-Ha'Yovel is a Jewish neighbourhood in south-west Jerusalem (Figure 2a), populated by secular Jewish along with National-Religious and Haredi populations, including members of the Sephardic sects, the Chabad-Hassidic community, and Lithuanian sub-sects classified by national origin: Israeli, American, French and Sephardi-Lithuanian. In recent years, Israeli-Lithuanian Haredi of Kol-Torah have been purchasing flats on *Zangwill Street*, the north-eastern boundary of Kiryat-Ha'Yovel (Figure 2b). Zangwill Street is composed of nine large housing complexes. Originally, most of the flats in the street were about the same size – 48-55 sq. m. (2.5 rooms), though some of them have been enlarged. Kol-Torah Yeshiva was founded in 1939 by German immigrants who arrived in Israel following the 'Kristallnacht' pogrom, and although its scholarly trend was not initially militantly ultra-orthodox, it changed over the years. Today Kol-Torah is considered one of the most important yeshivas of the Torah world, and the secular and the national-religious residents of Kiryat-Ha'Yovel are concerned about its impact on public spaces, and its possible ramifications.
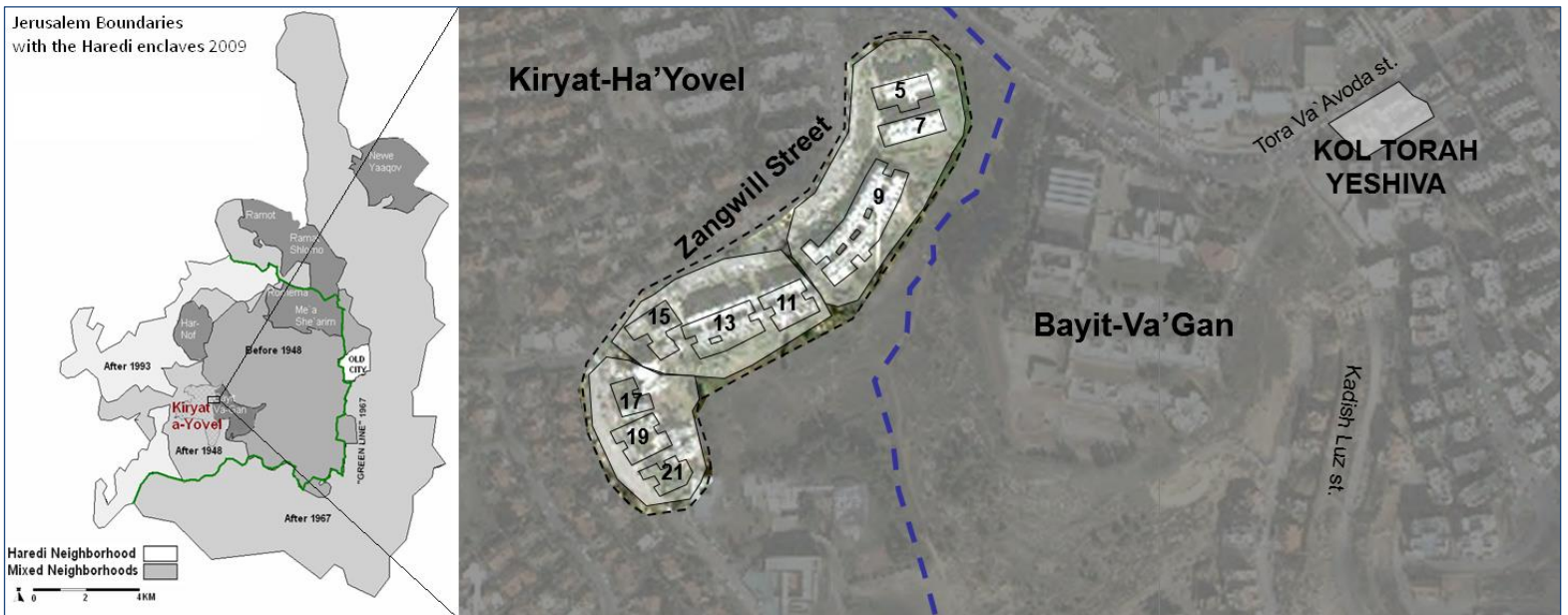

Figure 2: (a) Map of Jerusalem with the Haredi enclaves, Zangwill Street marked. (b) Zangwill Street on the border with the adjoining Haredi neighbourhood of Bayit-Ve'Gan

Both Whitechapel Road and Zangwill Street were established and populated over a long period as a result of many individual decisions. Whitechapel Road and Zangwill Street provide empirical evidence that different population groups, practicing different lifestyles, values and levels of organisation, can create and sustain the same residential patterns

within opposite market-price situations. The differences between spontaneous enclaves, represented by Whitechapel Road, and organized enclaves, represented by Zangwill Street, give rise to two fundamental questions. First, what kind of day-to-day residential mechanism sustains the initial structure of these enclaves? Secondly, in respect of the housing market, what is the rule of the market price in maintaining the enclaves? The next section of this article deals with these questions and reveals the social apparatus that drives the observed orders.

Terrain of Inaction

The relationship between civil-society organisations and the municipality
Bangladeshi-Muslim community – Sylhetis

While untrained eyes might see the Bangladeshi-Muslims as a homogeneous Sunni population, a closer look reveals a complex communal structure, run by precise rules and conventions. Clans play a central role in the Bangladeshi community, politics and identity formation, providing both a system of rights and social support (Eade and Garbin, 2001). Desai (2011) explains that a Bangladeshi community from Sylhet, a district in north-east Bangladesh, can form a largely homogeneous community. Despite identification with the clan being intense and overt, and a tendency to marry inside the community, Sylheti are highly integrated within general society.

In addition to their spiritual role, Imams (religious leaders) have a central position in the organization of communal daily life. In terms of leadership, social dependencies are a means for preserving the community's structure (Forman, 1989). Interviewees indicate that encouragements from the local Imam in respect of socialization and deep solidarity with the community's values and needs have motivated collective behaviour. Mamun Rahman explained: "our Imam emphasizes the individualism of the community members creates a society that is ever richer in capacities for communication for preserving the community's coherence" (June 15, 2014). Belonging and residing in the group's territory is a source of "social capital", mutual assistance and support for individuals. The individuals' intense awareness of identity motivates them to cooperate in order to maintain their community identity and congregate in a voluntary territorial separation of clans into an enclave of sorts in a free market (Glynn, 2006).

Bangladeshi rates of unemployment are typically high and many live on means-tested benefits. In 2011, nearly half (48%) of British Bangladeshis between the ages of 16 to 64 were reported to be employed, and there is overcrowding in housing (Garbin, 2005). JRF (2015) indicates that British Bangladeshis have the highest overall relative poverty rate of any ethnic group in the UK with 65% of Bangladeshis living in low-income households.

Although the older generation is employed mainly in the distribution, hotel and restaurant industries (ONS, 2008), the newer generation is making significant progress at schools compared with other ethnic minority groups and many aspire to professional careers (Rezaul, 2007).

The London Borough of Tower Hamlets houses 18% of the UK's Bangladeshi population (32% of the borough population), most of them Bangladeshi-Muslims, who are the area's older and best-established ethnic minority. The majority of the councillors in Tower Hamlets are of Bangladeshi descent and part of the Labour Party. As of 2009, 32 of the total 51 councillors were Bangladeshi (63%), 18 were White (35%) and 1 Somali (2%). The first Bangladeshi mayor in Tower Hamlets was Ghulam Murtuza, and the first directly elected mayor was the Bangladesh-born British former solicitor and politician, Lutfur Rahman. In addition, large numbers of people from the Bangladeshi community have been increasingly involved with local government, through consultation, participation and engagement.

The Haredi community of Kol-Torah

The Haredi population is distinguished by internal, nuanced distinctions among its sub-groups, expressed in different values and normative behaviour. Common to all is the great importance given to holy studies, which is expressed in an individual's social status: a "scholar" who refrains from general education but invests and succeeds in his holy studies gains a high social status (Gonen, 2006). The community's leaders regulate a system of control and supervision, prevailing mainly in the Israeli-Lithuanian Haredi community, making the individual dependent on the community (Friedman, 1991). The Israeli government provides stipends to the study institutions directly, but these funds are fully regulated and distributed by the Rabbis exclusively: small living stipends are given to each Torah student family (Gonen, 2006). This phenomenon reinforces an individual's solidarity with the community's values, limiting their economic development (Friedman, 1991). An increase in the strength of the Haredi communities has become highly important when socio-economic issues, such as marrying young and having high fertility rates – some 6% annually – (Berman and Klinov, 1997), exacerbate the growing pressure of the Haredi population on urban space. Despite the state's allocation of land for constructing Haredi neighbourhoods, official solutions were inadequate to meet demand, and Haredi pressure on the enclaves increased. Nowadays, when housing enhancers and young families have difficulties realising their preferences to live within their own communities, the importance of group behaviour has increased. This is particularly relevant to the Israeli-Lithuanian Haredi community of Kol-Torah, which is interested in creating territorial continuity in Kiryat-Ha'Yovel neighbourhood in Jerusalem.

In recent years the number of Haredi related to the Kol-Torah community in key positions on Jerusalem's City Council has increased. Thus, Rabbi Lapolianski served as Mayor of

Jerusalem (2003-2008), and his deputies were Rabbi Maklev, who held the Construction and Planning Portfolio since 1993, and Rabbi Pollak, who was chairman of the Construction and Planning Committee (2003-2008). The current Deputy Mayor is Rabbi Pindrus. Characterized by a well-coordinated institutional structure, organized funding and members' strong commitment, Kol-Torah turns to group action and mobilises dedicated manpower and significant resources to create processes of cultural and social introversion and territorial spread, accompanied by the exclusion of the existing local population.

Despite differences in relationships between civil-society organisations (including religious ones) and the state or municipality in both locales and the role of religious activists - Imams in multi-cultural London and Rabbis in the ethno-nationally divided city of Jerusalem - there is a deep resemblance in the social and cultural roots behind urban segregation in both cities. In both communities, individuals are usually born, raised, married and live within their community. They are largely young populations, characterized by high birth rates. An individual's life is centred on the institutions of higher religious studies that also provide social services, including children's education and basic welfare. Despite the economic status of most of the individual members tending to be very low, the economic power of each community as a whole is considerable: many communities maintain financial resources and services composed of donations and taxpayer money through state support for religious institutions (Hasson, 1996; DCLG, 2010).

Another resemblance arises from the outcomes of demographic, social, and economic pressures that have limited the involvement of leadership in the communities' daily lives. In recent years, the 'leftovers' of both communities are driven to establish residences far from the original group enclave, and the geographic separation that is created between the generations threatens community continuity. In the case of the Bangladeshi community, significant numbers of British Bangladeshis move out from Whitechapel to Birmingham, Oldham, Luton, Burnley and Bradford. The population living in the original enclave is aging, and elsewhere, the lifestyle in the new communities tends to adapt itself to the new conditions of life. An individual's identification with community and the desire to raise children in a homogeneous cultural and religious environment evokes conscious moral recruitment. For the Kol-Torah community, the ability of the leadership to enforce group discipline for continued residence within the community has been weakened, and thus motivated Rabbis Elyashiv and Auerbach to organise top-down group action to expand the original living space of the group. The expressive incentive for the group's members is that they would help out in the process of trying to attain the group's goals. Clear-cut monitory mechanisms ensure compliant behaviour, allowing the leadership to impose discipline and organise matters in accordance with its preferences.

The effects of organisation in housing

Collective behaviour of the Sylheti community

Although a Bangladeshi Sylheti community has lived in the Whitechapel neighbourhood for decades, only the recent experience of gentrification and 21st-century migration - first from Ireland, Greece and Austria, and since May 2004 also from Eastern Europe - followed by significant socio-economic change and physical renewal, motivated a collective behaviour process along Whitechapel Road. Examining the occupation process of Whitechapel Road by Bangladeshi Sylheti people between 1995 and 2012 (Figure 3a-b) can indicate the abilities and limitations of a non-organised community in the creation of a defined enclave within a free market.

1995

2012

Figure 3a-b: Spatial intervention of Sylheti community to Whitechapel Road 1995 and 2012

15

Despite the area already being occupied by group members, a clear behavioural code enabled a non-organised bottom-up process that created high confidence among residents regarding the group identities of newcomers and veteran residents. The intensive daily contacts between members of the same group resulted in enhanced information flows between individuals. The intra-group information flow freezes established residential patterns: a high percentage of families reside in flats vacated by householders of their own group (Tables 1 and 2). The probability of replacing a family belonging to a different group is calculated as DReplacing_NOT_D/NOT_DLeft, where DReplacing_NOT_D denotes the families of a group D that replaced families of other groups, and NOT_DLeft denotes the overall number of families of other sects that left their flats. The probability of leaving a flat is calculated as DLeft/DOccupied, where DOccupied is the number of flats occupied by families belonging to a group D in the beginning of the year. Tables 1 and 2 present these probabilities by groups for ownership and renting. The replacement of a tenant of the same group is a strong candidate mechanism for gaining cultural dominance in time.

The transfer of flats to Bangladeshi newcomers, both owned and rented, is significantly higher than with other groups. It seems that other groups (mainly Eastern European) also apply this mechanism, which can be viewed as a powerful generative order, organizing residential patterns through the long term. This practice creates a residential continuum in respective buildings. Bangladeshi families can thus be assured that the level of community members in their building will not decrease following some instance of non-standard residential behaviour by one of them.

Period (Ownership)	Bangladesh	East-European	India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka	East Asian Pacific
1995-2012	0.99	0.27	0.38	0.18

Tables 1: Averaged probability to replace the family of the other sect in a flat, Whitechapel Road

Period (Renting)	Bangladesh	East-European	India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka	East Asian Pacific
1995-2012	0.66	0.48	0.31	0.19

Tables 2: Averaged probability to replace the family of the other sect in a flat, Whitechapel Road

Data obtained from local estate agents (Claremont, Lourdes (since 2005), Chase Evans, Falcon (since 2010)) and former residents enabled reconstruction of the gradient of prices and an examination of the market dynamic as of 1995 (Figure 4):

.1 Intensify: two flats purchased randomly by Sylhetis above market price (1st significantly above the market price, 2nd slightly over)

.2 Sustain: after the purchase of flats 3, as the number of Sylheti inhabitants increased, prices fell far below market level and stabilised around 75% of the market price. An internal-market had emerged, and Whitechapel Road became identified with the Sylheti population. Prices inside the community territory decline, creating a property line along the road.
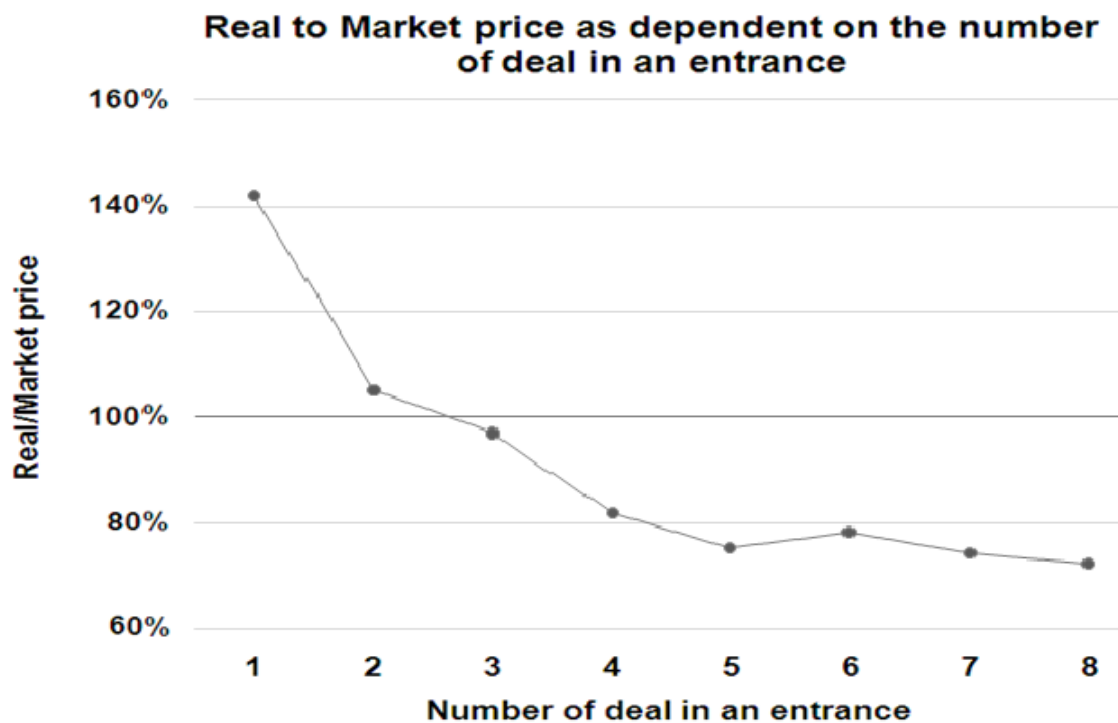

Figure 4: Average selling price to market price ratio as dependent on the sequential number of flats among those sold by the veteran Sylheti community.

Twenty-one interviewees explained the need to preserve the identification of the road with the Sylheti community as a reaction to the gentrification process: Saba (53), preoccupied with a possible loss of individual cultural identity and the uprootedness of a society that is more and more similar to a market in which nothing prevents the stronger from dominating the weaker: "I am worried about an oncoming blending of local culture, as other multinational chains follow Starbucks into the area and attempt to gentrify it with their bland corporate décor and homogenous facades. We must defend our area and culture from

taking over". Puja (34) adds: "I see Shoreditch, about a mile from here, that every venue have the same hipster formula applied. There's no place for identity anymore". Abida (26) claims: "It feels that the East-End becomes a playground for the rich and Japanese. We are worried that property prices soar pushing us, the original residents, out. We'd better sell inside.". As of 2002, indirect collaborations had succeeded in strengthening the Sylheti presence on Whitechapel Road. Collective behaviour thus attracted Sylheti newcomers. The area designated as Sylheti territory was marked by its own market prices, increasing the community members' sense of place, and improving their ability to cope with local challenges.

Group action of the "Kol-Torah" community

In order to understand how group action works, this research examined the rapid occupation of Zangwill Street by the Kol-Torah community between 2002 and 2009. The rapid process indicated the abilities of an organised community when it competes with non-organized individuals. Figure 5a,b illustrate the two stages in the group's penetration:

1.   Lone pioneers identify flats for sale and enter them gradually (2002–2004).

2.   Massive penetration turns a 'non-hostile' into a 'friendly' area (2005–2007). The rapid movement patterns were well planned. The designated area was marked by the leaders of the community. In 2002, three Kol-Torah families purchased flats in different housing projects. By 2004 a few Kol-Torah families were living in Zangwill Street.

2002

Zangwill St.

"Kol Torah" Israeli-Lithuanians
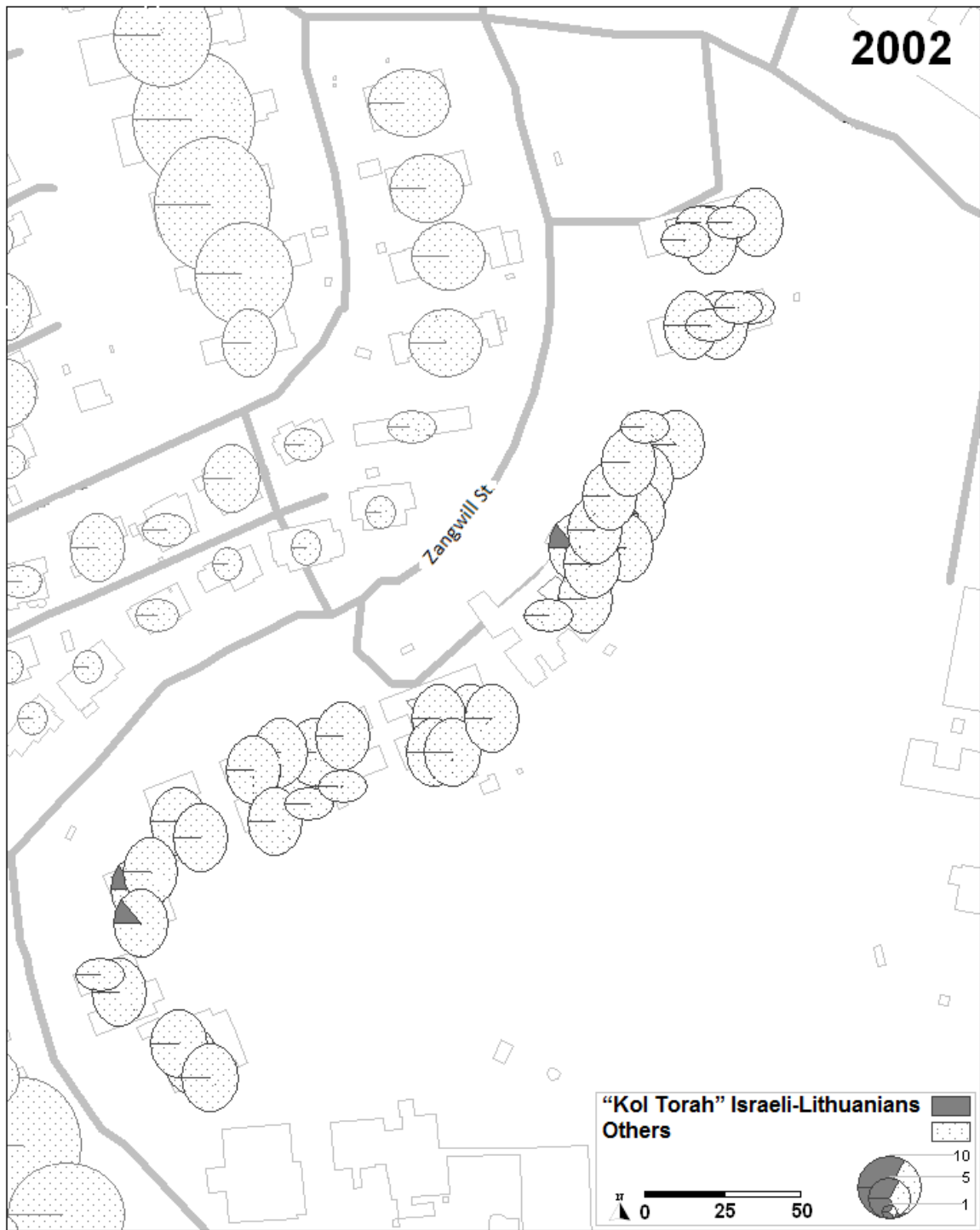Others

10
5
1

0   25   50

Figure 5a,b: Spatial intervention of Kol-Torah to Zangwill Street 2002 and 2008

Data obtained from local estate agents (Bunin, E. May 14, 2009; Stern, S. May 14, 2009; Sternberg, C. May 17, 2009) and former residents enabled reconstruction of the gradient of prices and an examination of the market dynamic as of 2002:

1. Penetration: two flats purchased by Kol-Torah above market price.
2. Before "tie-break": flats 3 and 4 purchased below market price.

3.   Emergence of an internal-market: Zangwill Street becomes identified with Kol-Torah community. Flats switch hands rapidly, from secular population to Kol-Torah. Prices inside the community territory rise again, creating a property line around/within its boundaries. According to realtors, the community organisation provided financial support to the Kol-Torah "spearhead". The first secular residents to sell their flats received approximately 20% more than the market price.

Until 2005, some 35% of the purchased flats were randomly distributed between the buildings. As the number of Kol-Torah inhabitants increased, prices declined and even fell below market level, but when the street became more popularly accepted, prices rose again (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Average selling price to market price ratio as dependent on the sequential number of flats among those sold by the veteran to Kol-Torah, for each section.

As of 2006, Haredi direct collaborations had succeeded in strengthening the Haredi presence on Zangwill Street. Group actions motivated by ideological practices expanded

21

the group's territory while segregating the group from other Haredi and the veteran population of the neighbourhood.

Thus, in both areas the communities were able to create and maintain a homogenous segregated pattern. The realtor Andy Masey described how processes within the Sylheti community affected prices: "Sylhetis want to live together, and Whitechapel Road is the living room of the community. Everything is happening there and it is highly important to keep the road as Sylheti. People live there mainly in ownership and transfer flat[s] within the family. Other people described the area as 'dodgy' and avoid it. Actually, if the prices are much lower than the area, people avoid even viewing a flat there". While this process in Whitechapel Road happened in more than a decade, inner pressure inside the Sylheti community expedited this process. Today, the Sylheti community has succeeded in dominating Whitechapel Road, and almost all the 642 families living there belong to the Sylheti community.

Similarly, almost all the 347 families living in Zangwill Street belong to the Kol-Torah community. Single flats that still belong to secular residents are either publicly owned or business locations (i.e., a dental clinic) . The realtor Shlomo Stern described the inner-communities market within the Kol-Torah community: "When an area is designated as Haredi, demand increases. People fear that flats will be 'snapped up', and that they will lose the opportunity to live among friends, so that they must wait for another area to be "kosher", perhaps farther away. This causes housing prices to rise. The market which drives the price rise here is not secular or mixed, but within the Kol-Torah community itself. So ultimately the buyer is the one who receives more from the community's funds ."

Analysing the 'substantive micro-politics' of planning (Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002: 53) behind the unfolding of societal events shows that while the borders created from the Sylheti's collective behaviour (Figure 3a-b) are weak and flexible with other communities living nearby, the borders resulting from Kol-Torah's group action is clear and defined (Figure 5a,b).

Potential for NDM

Whitechapel Road: natural dynamic for Inaction

Sylheti individuals, holding a more or less generally accepted set of shared beliefs, including common discontents over both the gentrification process and the recent arrival of Dhaka Bangladeshis into the area, gathered around their common purpose of preserving identification of the road with the community. An important insight from Bachrach and Baratz's work is that in order to explore the role of power (1963) it is important to understand that the deliberation of issues within the formal decision making

chamber is only part of the process. This has considerable methodological implications with respect to the creation of relatively structured forms of collective behaviour.

As a sociocultural movement, the Sylheti community developed strategic views to deal with conflict, and made use of legitimate and accepted forms of collective action, such as public demonstrations, recruitment and bloc voting in attempts to increase their numbers along Whitechapel Road. As part of this effort, Lutfur Rahman was elected as a Labour Councillor for the Spitalfields and Banglatown ward from 2002 to 2014. He was re-elected at the 2014 mayoral election, but reported by his agents as being personally guilty of diverting over £3.6 million of grants to charities run by Bangladeshis and Somalis in a way that constituted electoral bribery, spiritual intimidation of voters, postal vote fraud, fraudulent registration of voters, illegal payment of canvassers (BBC, 23 April 2015) and of establishing a "culture of cronyism" at the council. John Biggs, elected on 2015 as the Executive Mayor of Tower Hamlets, said that "too many people have been squeezed out of the borough by the unaffordability of housing".

Although Tower Hamlets politics may operate its own special eco-system (*The Guardian*, 10 June 2015), the driving force of the succession process in Whitechapel Road is competition for housing between newcomers and the local Sylheti population. This process, moderated by the exchanging of flats inside the community, involves a chain reaction, with each preceding immigrant wave moving outwards and being succeeded by more recent, poorer immigrants. Since the final pattern of segregation along the road is seen as a natural equilibrium, the desire to live together leads to refraining from making a decision. Martin Ling, the Interim Housing Strategy & Partnerships Manager of the London Borough of Tower Hamlets explained: "Sylheti segregation along Whitechapel Road is natural. It is not relevant to most of the population and its economic aspect is close to zero compared to the other major planning aspects, such as affordable housing and further improving the quality of the environment".(Ling, M. 24 June 2014). Thus, the moral and political legitimacy of NDM regarding Sylheti segregation along Whitechapel Road stems from an ability to allow the preservation of a democratic planning system rather from an ability to bring about willingness to make mutual compromises.

Zangwill Street: a deliberate decision for NDM

Beyond the analysis of conflicts and the study of hidden forces that constrain the agenda, Lukes (1974: 24) argues that Bachrach and Baratz's conceptualisation of non-issues within a conflict focus misses the potential power of actors, in particular the state, to shape people's perceptions and interests through the operation of an ideological hegemony (1974: 18-20). In the context of Haredi opposition to a proposed policy, as the number of the Kol-Torah's representatives and their influence on the legislature increases, their

ability to state NDM and claim resources increases accordingly. Since public resources are limited, the uncompromising need of the Haredi sub-sects for segregation institutes and encourages activism in contravention of planning permission regulations. Rabbi Elyashiv's instruction "Don't give in even if you break the law" encouraged the group's members to achieve their sectorial goals through construction in violation of a permit/without a permit and anomalous use/change of designation (Katz, 2009). Although the municipality`s Department of Licensing and Supervision was aware of the illegal activity taking place, it was powerless to enforce planning laws in the Zangwill Street area (T. Katz, May 29, 2008) .

Organized non-Haredi efforts began in August 2008, when the haredification process in Zangwill Street was at its height, and the non-Haredi population saw other parts of the neighbourhood as under threat. The direct cooperation of the Haredi with their community created pressure on the residents, who were exposed to limitations such as restrictions on traffic on the Sabbath and holidays. Some non-Haredi residents decided to establish a voluntary group named 'Action Committee to Preserve the Character of Kiryat-Ha'Yovel' (Nahum-Halevi, 2009). The committee criticised the authorities for neglecting their responsibilities by stating NDM, and refused to accept the renunciation of the authorities from what they saw as their role. The secular presence in public space was intended to influence residents to refrain from selling their flats to Haredi and to present a united front to influence the municipal decision-makers to defend "their rights" and stop sectarian allocations of public resources. In collaboration with the community council, the legal adviser to the municipality, and municipal planning institutions, the committee demanded that planners intervene in the development of the neighbourhood and promoted legal action to prevent the unlawful allocation of public resources to the Haredi.

In practice, a broad coalition of various Haredi sectors of the city's population has limited the mayor's ability to influence local processes; the office avoided issuing policy interventions in the conflict. Bin-Noon, head of the Municipality's public building division, explained: "We have no full understanding and no ethical value to cope with conflicts between diverse population groups. We are powerless to enforce planning laws in the neighbourhood and avoid intervening in this process". Despite the municipality's support in the initiation of an outline plan that provided a comprehensive planning framework for the neighbourhood and the inclusion of issues of sectarian allocations and illegal activity on the public agenda, the veteran population was unable to protect their living space from being taken over. The haredification process continues to occupy space, claim resources, and affect lifestyle.

To conclude, deep social and cultural roots lay behind Tower Hamlets's and Jerusalem's authority's decisions for refraining from decision making. East End politics have often been

complex and fiercely fought outside the political mainstream amid poverty, marginalisation and change, and overlapped with religious issues. Similarly, Israeli society is characterized by substantive rifts and controversies that touch upon the character of the nation, the economic policy, and the "Jewish" identity of the state. The connection between cultural roots and planning is pertinent to policy scholars who wish to study policy issues and debates across countries and policy areas, in terms of both explanatory research and prescriptive policy analysis inspired by culture and policy (Akerlof and Kranton 2010; Béland 2016). In both cases, the desire to cooperate in circumstances riven with a proliferation of rifts is what leads to refraining from making a decision in disputes of principle. While Sylheti segregation along Whitechapel Road was conceived as a natural population dynamic and thus did not require planning intervention, Kol-Torah influenced planning decisions, deploying them for sectoral goals. Unlike the Kol-Torah community, Sylhetis do not intend by these actions to make these practices binding on the general population. The impotence of Jerusalem's system to regulate resources and enforce planning laws weakens the individual's ability to withstand the pressure of the organised group, and the fear of being a minority and the daily restrictions motivated individuals to leave.

Summary and conclusions

This paper has examined how the policy maker's 'decision not to decide' affects different levels of internal organization and is reflected in the residential patterns of different population groups in Zangwill Street, Jerusalem, and in Whitechapel Road in East London. Jerusalem is ethno-nationally divided and contested. Particular groups can 'break the law' with some impunity while claiming to 'uphold the law' - this is a feature of contested states. It weakens the autonomy of the state (including planners) vis a vis pro-state grassroots activism, whether that stems from settlers, paramilitaries or ethno-religious groups. Although the situation in London is very different, current planning processes and institutions appear to be unable to balance the competing interests of familial and tribal groups living in western and democratic societies.

This research aims to address the conspicuous dearth of micro-resolution studies that identify the complex residential dynamics of groups, contending that in order to examine residential processes one must refer to the fundamental social structures and values from which affected communities draw their strength. This research is therefore aiming to shed light on the ways in which spatial and cultural logics intersect in the urban realm, to open up the possibility of an integrated understanding of the development of the city. Moreover, it represents a real breakthrough in state-of-the-art analysis of residential dynamics in dense inner-city neighbourhoods with wide-ranging implications for informing planning

policy. The motivation of policy makers to adopt the policy of NDM regarding residential behaviour should be combined with theories that underestimate the role of different levels of cooperation in governing segregation processes. Under NDM conditions, housing prices serve the process of creating and maintaining enclaves. A combination of limited range of application, which also affects the economic aspect, as well as the desire to avoid controversy about issues that pertain to state and religion, are what motivate policy makers to refrain from making a decision. By applying temporary and local arrangements in Whitechapel, this option allows policy makers to refrain from making unequivocal decisions regarding potentially inflammatory issues, to avoid institutional discord, and to be at liberty to deal with other issues which are ranked higher on the list of priorities of the city and of the media. In light of the relatively low number of people that would be affected and other pressing issues requiring the attention of politicians, the lack of a decision has not been shown to create any loss. Despite some resemblances, the organised entry into Zangwill Street differs from the classic invasion–succession model, according to which relatively free individuals move spontaneously into areas of higher-status populations, using private capital, and also from racial blockbusting in US cities, which involved planned invasions even if the newcomers were not the planners. In Zangwill Street, the group action was supported by community capital and organised implementation. Direct collaboration of individuals with their leadership has inserted the language of Kol-Torah into Zangwill Street, re-shaped the boundary between acceptable and unacceptable uses. In-depth door-to-door surveys have indicated the way how, under NDM conditions, housing prices serve the process of creating and maintaining enclaves. The housing prices along the Sylheti enclave of Whitechapel Road are significantly lower than those of similar flats on the road, and are drawn by flexible boundaries. The gradient of prices on Whitechapel Road shows a steep drop in prices, and after that a moderate drop in the wake of the formation of an internal market. Unlike the Whitechapel case, the housing prices in the Haredi enclaves are significantly higher than similar housing in the area, which has drawn the boundaries between identities and provided a particular usefulness to the larger mission of the haredification of Kiryat-Ha'Yovel. The gradient of prices on Zangwill Street shows a moderate drop and after that a rise, in the wake of the formation of an internal market. When the veteran population left, there was a sharp decline in prices. Individual cooperation with the group's action is evident in the dramatic increase in housing prices after the "tie-break". Thus, the creation of an inner community housing market, different from its surroundings, improves individuals' ability to cope with the urban challenges within a defined community space.

Along with the advantages of opting for a NDM policy regarding residential dynamics, there are also significant disadvantages. In the narrow sense, preferring this type of policy

concerning residential behaviour and applying an attitude of "natural dynamic" to cases that are not specifically designated as collective behaviour, but also to group action, limits the individual's ability to safeguard their spatial rights and maintain their social practices. In the broader sense, the absence of support from a specific agency responsible for collecting and analysing data about residential behaviour to represent the veteran individual residents, their inherent lack of collaboration and cohesion, weakens their ability - as well as the ability of the authority/council - to identify and cope with group behaviour. This paper accepts that such a state of affairs may be temporary. As stated, the impact and pressure of cooperation - both the range of application and the economic aspects - emerging between relatively free individuals on neighbourhood structures is rising, evoking planning policy issues that current planning systems cannot address. Thus, the ability of the policy makers to ignore them and avoid making a decision is limited. Because its dimensions are projected to keep growing worldwide, the issue will become more intense and may override the ability of decision makers to employ the benefits of refraining from making a decision.

This study contributes two new ideas to the knowledge base of planning policy. The first is the detailed construction of an explanation for the contribution of policy makers to such processes of NDM, and the second is 'terrain of Inaction'; an idea describing day-to-day residential mechanisms that sustain the initial structure of enclaves in respect of the housing market rule in maintaining the enclaves. As Lukes' framework suggests, providing a framework which accounts for all three levels of power (observable conflict, non-decision making and the shaping of actors' preferences) while integration is still in its early stages, enables us to understand these constraints of power and opens up the potential to debate alternative processes and models of integration. In the absence of a shared civil society, this process can also be seen as a bottom-up reaction to the changing role of public policies in developing cities. The increasing involvement of groups trying to undermining the institutionalised logic of economics, identities, governance and cultural norms could be relevant to many other situations.

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