Abstracts

The term "mixed cities" usually refers to cities occupied by groups of different origins — whether ethnic, national, or religious — which are sometimes in a state of conflict. Mixed cities are not unique to Israel, and can be found in other countries including Bosnia, Northern Ireland and South Africa. In Israel, this term is associated with five cities: Acre, Haifa, Jaffa, Ramle and Lydda.[1] According to Central Bureau of Statistics figures for the end of 2004, the Arab population in these cities totaled approximately 80,000 people, or about six percent of the entire Arab population of Israel.

As a minority within a minority, Arab residents of mixed cities are marginalized in two respects: First, they live in a geographical area that is separated from the three main centers of Arab population — the Galilee, the Triangle and the Negev; and second, they live in neighborhoods that are typically segregated from Jewish neighborhoods within the mixed cities. Daily interactions between the two populations are limited.

This unique situation raises a series of questions relating to the status of these Arab residents and to the entire fabric of relations between the Jewish and Arab populations of mixed cities: What are the effective expressions of the segregation between the two populations that seemingly live together in an integrative environment? How can Arab rights be promoted in such areas as planning, education and housing? Is it warranted - or possible - to maintain an integrated educational system instead of the current policy of educational division of Hebrew and Arab educational systems? What are possible points of intervention for local authorities, NGOs and the academic "ivory tower," and how can they ease the socio-economic hardships suffered by the Arab populace? What lessons may be learned from other mixed cities in the world, and how can these lessons be applied to the case of Israel?

The present volume addresses these and other questions. Divided into six sections, its 20 essays deal with different aspects of mixed cities in Israel. The essays are based on lectures presented at an international two-day conference held on November 10 and 11

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1 Aside from these five cities, there are three other Israeli cities whose population includes a significant number of Arab residents: Jerusalem, Upper Nazareth, and Ma'alot-Tarshiha. However they differ from the distinct case of the five aforementioned cities, due to reasons that are not relevant to the current volume. Therefore the discussion of mixed cities in this volume does not include these three cities.

2004 at Tel Aviv University, sponsored by the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation.

The first section of this volume focuses on **theories and methodological approaches.** In his essay, **Prof. Yitzhak Schnell** of Tel Aviv University's Department of Geography introduces new research approaches to the study of Israeli mixed cities. The landscape of mixed cities simultaneously embodies four dichotomies: modern versus traditional landscape, dominant versus dominated landscape, capitalist versus pre-capitalist landscape, and national versus traditional landscape. Schnell lists three alternative approaches of the Zionist establishment towards the Arab "other": one approach is the purging and destruction of the old space to build the new; a second approach is to perpetuate the unequal spatial power relations by isolating the other within its underdeveloped space; the third approach is to exoticize the space which was formerly traditional and deeply-rooted in its past but currently fails in its original functions. Schnell goes on to discuss segregation in mixed cities. He states that physical and social distances have gradually lost their significance in the era of globalization and the internet, and therefore it is difficult to claim that Jews and Arabs live as separate social groups with distinct life styles. He presents findings of a study on the segregation between ethnic groups in the city of Tel Aviv, proving that the city is completely integrated and only 13 percent of its residents live in a segregated residential format. He concludes that individuals experience different degrees of segregation in different areas of their lives.

Dr. Hanna Swaid, former director of the Arab Center for Alternative Planning and today Member of Knesset for the DFPE (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality), explains that Arabs comprise 10 percent to 20 percent of the total population in mixed cities. He states that although a significant minority which lives within the general population and cannot be ignored, the Arab population in these cities is, in practice, separated from the Jewish population and has an inferior and unequal status compared to Jews. Swaid, who believes that the prevalent discrimination against Arabs is reparable, suggests improving living conditions in Arab neighborhoods of mixed cities by allocating space for expansion based on residents' needs, tearing down separating fences, improving municipal services, preserving Arab names of streets and neighborhoods, and upgrading physical infrastructure.

The second section of this volume focuses on **planning, economic and social aspects.** Highlighting issues of discrimination, **Dr. Haim Yacobi** of the Department of Politics and Government at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev reviews the condition of the Arab residents of Lydda, most of whom live in illegally constructed buildings. Only about 1,000 of the city's 20,000 Arab residents in 1948 remained in the city after the establishment of Israel. Since then, the proportion of Arab residents in the city's population has increased from nine to over 20 percent, and currently includes Arab residents who remained after 1948, Palestinians who left their villages as refugees and migrated to the city, Bedouins from the Negev, and a group of collaborators who were re-settled in the city after 1967 by Israeli authorities. Today two areas in Lydda have a majority of Arab residents: "the Rakevet [railway] neighborhood" and "Pardes Snir." Yacobi explains that these two neighborhoods lack basic municipal infrastructure. As a result, 60 percent of the Arab population lives in illegal buildings. He says that despite minimal improvements in the past few years, the city's basic policy towards its Arab citizens has not changed their living standards. Yacobi says that their subjection to spatial and demographic oppression is a result of the policy of "non-planning."

Architect Roy Fabian discusses the potential for greater involvement of Arab citizens of Israel local municipal systems. He states that there is greater potential for such involvement in the municipal sphere than in the national sphere, among other things due to changing trends in city planning, reflected in the transition from strictly paternalistic planning to greater receptiveness to private sector and public involvement. Fabian uses the example of Jaffa to demonstrate changing municipal policy, from a policy of demolition and evacuation, to one of urban renewal and development, created a window of opportunity for the city's Arab residents to play a leading role in Jaffa's development. For example, since the 1980s Jaffa has embraced a new policy to improve the socioeconomic status of the 'Ajami neighborhood, whose residents are mainly Arabs; municipal organizations responsible for neighborhood renewal and restoration have strived to involve residents of the neighborhood in these efforts. However, this opportunity enfolded ambiguous implications for Arab residents, due to the negative connotations of collaboration with the establishment. Nevertheless, concludes Fabian, the Arab public has become empowered to act and promote its specific interests through conventional public channels, in concert with other actions designed to reduce existing disparities in Israeli society.

Mr. Hussein Ighbariya, Chairman of the Social Development Committee of Haifa, presents findings of a 2004 socio-economic survey on the Arabs of Haifa. The survey

presents data related to the life of the Arabs of Haifa: demographic characteristics, employment and unemployment rates of men and women, income, residents' housing and residential status, their state of health, parental satisfaction with the educational system and the level of municipal services, and other data. The survey shows that the Arab population has been neglected by city authorities for years, and that this population is almost absent from future long-term planning considerations. He states that Arabs suffer from discrimination in many spheres: in the cultural sphere, as expressed by the obliteration of all signs of the city's cultural and historical heritage of Arab Palestinian residents, as well as in the economic sphere, and in planning and infrastructure. Nevertheless, Ighbariya states that Haifa's Arab residents are now more conscious of their own national identity, and increasing social interactions within the Arab community are evident.

Mr. Zuhayr Bahlul, a journalist and public figure residing in Acre, discusses the bleak state of Arabs living in mixed cities in general and of the Arab population of Acre in particular. He says that the situation in Israel's mixed cities is "one of the darkest chapters of the history of Israel." He states that the denotation 'mixed city' is not an accurate portrayal of reality: while Jews and Arabs may live alongside each other physically, in practice the two populations are completely isolated from each other. Bahlul describes the grave socio-economic situation of the Arab residents of Acre, reflected in high unemployment rates (approximately 30 percent of the Arab population), increasing crime (11 murders in a single year), and the fact that the Arab population of the Old City has a single elementary school for 1,150 students. Bahlul offers several recommendations for improving this state of affairs, mainly by cultivating local Arab leadership and developing people's trust by addressing their needs and desires.

The third section of the book is devoted to **spatial distribution and housing: the case of Jaffa. Dr. Ravit Goldhaber** of the Department of Geography and Environmental Development at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev presents data from a field study on perceived segregation of Jews and Arabs living in Jaffa. The research was based on two indices of perceptual segregation: one index measured the severity of perceived residential segregation, while the second examined each group's emotions toward locations associated with the other group. Study findings indicated that perceived segregation was very high among Jews and Arabs both. Furthermore, Muslims and Christians competed over spatial control of Arab-dominated spaces, possibly a Christian reaction to the general growth

of Islam in Israeli Arab society, which was also evident in Jaffa. Regarding relations between Jews and Arabs, Goldhaber explains that each group is indeed willing to tolerate the existence of the other, but only as long as the other group does not attempt to change the identity of the first group, to influence its outlooks and values, or change its spatial identity. Goldhaber concludes that while social norms of tolerance and acceptance exist in daily life, Jaffa's Jews and Arabs ultimately live in separate zones, reside in different areas, and participate in separate recreational activities. She believes that cases of strong social ties are the exception to the rule.

Dr. Daniel Monterescu of the Central European University in Budapest focuses on Jaffa as a prism of the relationship between space, society, and community politics in a mixed city. He argues that Jaffa is a mixed city in several respects, as it encompasses Arabs and Jews, veteran residents and new immigrants, Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews, rich and poor. The dichotomous attitude of the municipal authorities towards Jaffa is expressed by localized, limited nature of cooperation between authorities and residents targeting limited pragmatic goals. This cooperation, however, falls short of achieving a substantial agreement on the concept of the city or the local government's desired attitude toward the city's residents. Monterescu states that a major cause is the fact that Jaffa's social forces have no clear centers of power. Jewish and Arab populations are divided ideologically, socially, and ethnically; the Arab population is further divided by sect and political affiliation. As a result, each group has distinct politics and ideologies pertaining to local issues, independent of broader political and social interests. This fragmentation leads to ad-hoc coalitions between Jews and Arabs and between different interest groups. Monterescu concludes from his analysis of the case of Jaffa that its Arab residents, a discriminated minority both on the national and on the local level, lack connections with centers of power in the Arab world, the Palestinian Authority, or Israeli politics. At the same time, they are dependent on Israeli society and economy in such a way that prevents them from maintaining an effective autonomous system within the mixed cities. On their part, Jewish residents, both veteran and new immigrants, are locked into an ambivalent view of mixed cities as a site of territorial struggles and as a living space.

Dr. Neta Ziv of the Faculty of Law at Tel Aviv University describes the legal battles concerning housing issues involving residents of two Jaffa neighborhoods: residents of the 'Ajami neighborhood, defined as 'protected tenants' who occupy 'key money' apartments, most of whom are Arabs; and residents of the Jaffa C neighborhood, second and third generations of Jewish immigrants from North African countries, who live in rented public

housing. Ziv reviews the difficulties facing the residents of these two neighborhoods who wish to gain formal title to their apartments. She explains that about two thirds of the apartments in the 'Ajami neighborhood defined as 'key money' apartments are populated by Arab tenants. These apartments are currently owned by the state, but were originally expropriated or nationalized after 1948, such that thousands of Arab families who returned to Jaffa after the 1948 war are now living as protected tenants in apartments that originally belonged to Arabs. These residents are not the legal owners of their apartments and, as a result, many of the Arab residents of 'Ajami remain economically disenfranchised, precluded from economic mobility which is dependent on property ownership. In the case of residents of the Jaffa's C neighborhood, few have succeeded in purchasing their apartments on preferential terms. She says that the hundreds of cases currently under consideration of various Israeli courts reflect the same legal pattern: An absolute majority of defendants defined as squatters in these legal cases are descendants of families originating from North Africa. Ziv concludes by arguing that the authorities use legal means against weak groups in society in a manner that chains them to the bottom rung of the social ladder and reproduces their inferiority. In the case of Jaffa, this is true both of the Arab residents of 'Ajami and of the Jewish residents of Jaffa C. The solution to the quandary, she concludes, is political rather than legal: the public must be made aware of the situation in order to begin working towards a solution.

The fourth section discusses **integration and separation in education** in mixed cities. **Dr. Elie Rekhess**, director of the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, discusses the issue of integrating the Arab population through education. He identifies five main topics on the agenda of the Arab educational system in mixed cities. The first topic is the separation of private and public schools, which usually conforms to ethnic-religious divides. The second topic is the poor level of academic achievements in Arab schools in mixed cities, as expressed by high dropout rates, a high rate of illiteracy and a low rate of eligibility for matriculation certificates. The third topic is the level of professional educational services provided to the Arab population. He says that the general scheme of auxiliary services in the schools, such as guidance counselors and truancy officers, is insufficient to meet current needs. The fourth topic is politicization of the educational system, which sometimes stems from ethnic or clan struggles, and sometimes emerges as a result of general national agitation among the Arab sector. The fifth topic

remains unanswered: Does the solution to this situation lie in increased integration, or segregation?

Mr. Nabil Sammur, member of the Follow-up Committee on Arab Education, reviews the Arab educational system in Haifa. According to his data, about two thirds of Arab students study at private (sectarian) schools while the remainder attends public schools. He says that the educational system continues to suffer from discrimination on two levels: discrimination on the national level, afflicting the entire Israeli Arab educational system, and discrimination on the local municipal level, due to the failure to attend to the specific needs of the Arab educational system in the city. In addition to the educational segregation between Jews and Arabs, Sammur believes that the Arab educational system is also characterized by a division between private and public schools, reflecting the socio-economic inequality among Arab citizens. Sammur lists the problems of the local Arab public educational system: students are involved in limited social interactions, alienation between teachers and students, high dropout rates and expulsion rates due to low academic achievements, and problems with violence. Nonetheless, one positive aspect he notes is an increase in parental involvement in schools and in the community in both the private and public educational systems.

Dr. Ghanem Ya'aqubi, education and psychology lecturer at Beit Berl College, examines the question of integrating Jews and Arabs in the educational systems of Jaffa and Ramle in light of the achievements of Arab students in these cities. He says that although most parents in both sectors, both Jewish and Arab, prefer to send their children to separate schools, joint education exists in two cases: the handful of schools espousing an ideology of co-existence, and cases in which Arab parents prefer to send their children to study at Jewish public schools due to the poor academic standards of Arab public schools. Ya'aqubi reviews the results of school efficiency and development tests (Meitzav) in the fifth and eighth grades in the Jewish and Arab sectors, comparing achievements in Hebrew or Arabic, math, science, technology, and English. He says that the poor achievements of Arab students on these tests relative to Jewish students and relative to international standards are a symptom of inadequate policies and constitute, in his words, "a declaration of war against the Arab sector." Ya'aqubi states that the proportion of Arab students studying in private schools in Ramle is merely 33 percent, lower than the proportion in Haifa or Jaffa, since the economic level of most Arab residents of Ramle is very low.

The fifth section of this volume addresses **intervention strategies** and cites opinions that were expressed in a symposium on the subject. **Prof. Shimon Shapiro** of the Tel Aviv University School of Social Work reviews Tel Aviv University's involvement in community service in Jaffa through the Price-Brodie Initiative. Shapiro lists the following goals of the Initiative: to improve the quality of life of residents of Jaffa; expand available social services; raise the level of educational and professional achievements of children and youth; empower residents and increase the number of leaders and community activists; increase dialogue and cooperation between Jews and Arabs in Jaffa; and strengthen the connections between the university and the population of Jaffa. He says that in the five years since the establishment of the Initiative in 2000, 70 programs have been operated by various academic units of the university (including the School of Education, School of Social Work, and the Faculty of Law). He estimates that about 90 percent of all Jaffa students have taken part in at least one program sponsored by this Initiative. According to Shapiro's assessment of the achievements of the Price-Brodie Initiative, the university can make a major contribution through community service.

Ms. Busayna Dabit, architect and director of the Mixed Cities Project of "Shatil" (The New Israel Fund Empowerment and Training Center), reviews the state of Arab residents of Ramle and Lydda. In Ramle there are about 14,000 Arab residents, comprising 20% of the city's population; In Lydda, 20,000 Arab residents comprise approximately 27% of the city's population. According to Dabit, the Arabs in both cities, despite being natives of their respective cities, are still struggling for legal recognition. She describes the reality in the Arab neighborhoods of Ramle and Lydda as "an environment that is hostile towards its residents": The municipalities do not involve Arab residents of the city in city planning, do not offer them housing solutions, and do not define public areas for their use. As a result, Arab neighborhoods are neglected, surrounded by walls, and suffer from poor sanitation. In addition, she states that the local municipalities vilify Arab residents as planning and construction law offenders, and in general treat them as a menace. Dabit recommends establishing partnerships between Arab residents and human right organizations, pressuring government institutions, and holding joint Jewish-Arab activities.

Mr. Dror Amir, former director of the Jaffa Development Authority, reviews the role of the Development Authority established by the City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa in its attempt to improve the quality of life of Arab and Jewish residents of Jaffa. Amir explains that the fundamental vision of the Development Authority was to develop Jaffa as a leading multi-cultural tourist center and provide its residents with an improved quality of life. The Development

Authority was charged with organizing municipal and extra-municipal resources and developing cooperation between all the organizations dealing with Jaffa, and between the city and the community. Amir reviews the Development Authority's achievements in several fields of activity. The first sphere is improvement of city infrastructure and development of public parks. The second is partnership in special projects, such as the Price-Brodie Initiative of Tel Aviv University. The third sphere is the promotion of dialogue and cooperation between Jews and Arabs in an attempt to reduce tension over disputed issues. The fourth sphere is the improvement of Jaffa's image and reversal of its negative image as a "city of crime." The fifth sphere involves a housing project aimed at the Arab public, designed to enable young Arab couples to purchase moderately-priced suitable housing; the sixth sphere is the development of tourism with the aim of turning the northern area of Jaffa into a tourist zone.

The sixth and final section of the book deals with **mixed cities in the world. Prof. Frederick W. Boal** of Queen's University in Belfast surveys ethnic segregation in Belfast as a model for other mixed cities. He says that segregation in mixed cities such as Belfast serves as a political and cultural means of defense for communities in preserving their ethnic characteristics. In order to realize the potential for a life of cooperation, it is necessary to examine each community's degree of segregation, he argues. Based on his experience in Ireland, Boal explains how to construct a model of cooperative life in mixed cities: by reducing divisions through policies focusing on social institutions that suit the needs of the various ethnic groups (religious institutions, schools, community centers), developing mixed neighborhoods by dedicating resources to public construction, and above all — adopting an egalitarian approach by government and municipal authorities towards all communities.

Dr. Mari Fitzduff of Brandeis University describes the efforts conducted in Belfast designed to achieve coexistence among local communities. Today 90 percent of the city's residents live in segregation, and many facilities and services in the city are separate for each community. Integration, however, has many advantages: it involves low costs while segregation involves billions of dollars required to duplicate facilities and services. She says that cooperation that is not forcibly enforced creates more alternatives. For example, much progress has been made in developing community ties, and laws have been passed promoting equality as a means for creating mutual trust and mutual relations between

communities, side by side with respect for diversity. In the field of local government, "cooperative councils" comprised of professional associations, business people, politicians, and non-governmental organizations — have been formed and are responsible for allocating resources to both communities. Integration is emerging from educational enterprises as well: Today there are 50 integrated schools, and segregated schools include a curriculum dealing with mutual understanding.

Ms. Julia Demichelis, conflict resolution consultant and urban planner, describes her experience in conflict resolution activities involving various Bosnian communities during ten years from 1993 to 2003. When she first came to Bosnia, the country was home to many ethnic groups; the peace accords had created 45 local authorities which were very difficult to manage due to national-ethnic conflicts. Demichelis worked as a city planner in one of these authorities and helped reconstruct the community and create conciliation between its residents. Schools were built, hospitals were established, and street lights were replaced; the demolished city was reconstructed. She says that all public systems exist separately and concurrently, but a common area, including cultural centers, transportation centers, and small shops has been built along the border between the communities. Civil society has become reintegrated and residents continue their opposition against political segregation. Demichelis emphasizes that success will be achieved thanks to locals who work together to create a joint solution instead of surrendering to the despair that might have resulted from the complicated ethnic problems.

Prof. Andrew B. Wachtel of Northwestern University suggests comparing Israeli mixed cities to other cases, such as Scopia in Macedonia and Sarajevo in Bosnia, in order to draw analogies. In the case of Macedonia, Wachtel explains that there is almost no contact between the two communities, the Albanian minority and the Slavic-Macedonian majority. One of the reasons is the radical difference between the Albanian and Macedonian languages, leading to separate schools. In the nineties, following an Albanian rebellion, the international community enforced reforms on the Macedonians and the Slavs. As a result, Macedonian districts were redefined in order to encourage integration, a process which is still in the making. In the case of Sarajevo, Wachtel reminds us that historical Sarajevo was composed of a variety of groups which lived side by side with almost no contact, and only after World War II did it become a very mixed and cosmopolitan city. He says that it was impossible to discern any segregation in the city, since housing projects built by the Communist Yugoslav government were not divided by religious affiliation. After the city was destroyed in the war that took place during the 1990s, almost the city's

Still, positive aspects of mixed cities have not remained unrecognized. Municipal bodies, non-government organizations, and projects such as the Price-Brodie Initiative are evidence of dynamic efforts at urban renewal and rehabilitation. In Jaffa, the Development Authority is operating at full steam and a significant improvement in the level of physical infrastructure has been achieved. In Haifa and in Acre, resources and efforts are being directed to education. However, these are modest beginnings. Most of the required investment is in human resources.

As illustrated in this volume, international experience indicates that the situation is not irredeemable. Actions can be taken through government, municipal, community, and personal channels. Investing in these directions might ease inter-group tensions and create a foundation of firm relations among the residents of mixed cities. Continued disregard of the current reality creates a dangerous situation which should be a source of grave concern for public leaders.

We hope that this volume will contribute to increasing awareness of the issue of mixed cities, and perhaps even stimulate progress.

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Elie Rekhess