

# The Social Aftermaths of Landscape Architecture

## Urban Parks and Green Gentrification

**Naama Meishar**

*Technion - Israel Institute of Technology, The Landscape Architecture Program  
Haifa, Israel*

<https://doi.org/10.7480/spool.2018.2.3303>

### **Abstract**

To date, the scholarship of landscape architecture has ignored the evolving research on green gentrification, which studies the mechanisms behind the social aftermaths of urban environmental improvements. The paper uses a case study analysis to prove that landscape architecture practice shares with other planning professions and policy makers the responsibility for the displacement of residents following environmental improvements. The paper analyses the inclusion of social structures, social justice, and the social impacts of projects in the professional discourse, scholarship, and practitioners' design discourse. The interpretations of the case study and the scholarship maintain that there is a desire to include social structures and social justice in the discipline's traditional mandate for preservation and representation of the relationship between culture and nature. However, partially admitted deficiencies in tradition, knowledge, and methodology have thwarted this goal in both the practice and scholarship of landscape architecture. The research on the social and economic benefits of a project's performance is uncritical of the lack of assessment of the detrimental social outcomes of projects. By demonstrating and criticising the state of the art concerning the treatment of social structures in landscape architecture, the paper attempts to expand the discussion about the discipline's scope, performance, pedagogy, and research.

### **Keywords**

landscape architecture, green gentrification, social impacts, socio-environmental urban justice, design discourse, Jaffa, Tel Aviv-Jaffa

“All socio-political projects are ecological projects and vice versa,” argued David Harvey (1996, pp.174-175), yet, these categories are rarely considered to be mutually dependent. Urban policies tend to separate “things natural from things social [...] while ignoring the inevitable mediations between “nature” and “society”” (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2000, p.574). Scholars in the disciplines of geography, urban studies, and urban political ecology have analysed the conflictual continuities between the social and environmental facets of urban renewal schemes. They recognised a recurring phenomenon of supposedly apolitical, beneficial urban environmental improvement, which is accomplished at the cost of displacing long-established local residents. They conceptualised these processes with the terms “ecological gentrification” or “green gentrification” (i.e. Checker, 2011; Curran & Hamilton, 2012; Dooling, 2009; Gibbs & Krueger, 2007; Hagerman, 2006; Kear, 2007; Quastel, 2009; Wolch, Byrne & Newell, 2014). Although the scholarship and practice of landscape architecture are highly involved and rooted in environmental urban improvement, to date, studies in this field have ignored this body of knowledge.

Utilising a mainly interpretive research strategy (Deming & Swaffield, 2011), this paper reviews the scholarship and professional discourse about landscape architecture with regard to the social impact of urban projects. It then analyses the design discourse in one case study. The main research questions address professional education and design research with regard to social dynamics and scholarly evaluations of the social impacts of projects. Specifically, I investigate three questions:

- 1 Do practitioners and scholars consider the possible or existing detrimental impact of their designs their professional concern?
- 2 Does the scholarship on projects' performance in landscape architecture refer to deep urban social structures and assess the detrimental social effects of these projects?
- 3 Are landscape architects educated to identify, study, and assess urban social dynamics?

A review of the literature on green gentrification will frame a subsequent review of a) the current landscape architecture's professional discourse on the “social” and b) scholarship about the performance of completed projects, especially regarding their social and economic benefits. Thereafter, and in light of a historical review of housing and environmental urban policies, the paper will analyse design discourse using the case study of Jaffa Slope Park in Tel Aviv-Jaffa to examine the outcomes of the literature analysis.

---

## **The Discourse on Ecological Gentrification**

Gentrification is the capitalist “accumulation by dispossession [...] of low-income populations” (Harvey, 2008, p.34), a process in which long-time local households and businesses cannot afford to pay their increased rent (Marcuse 1985; Smith, 1998). Critiques of gentrification view housing not as a commodity but as a “basic need satisfaction, upon which people depend absolutely” (Slater, 2012, p.172)<sup>1</sup>. In this vein, urban projects are assessed according to their contribution to a more just, equitable, and affordable urban environment (Fainstein, 2010; Hartman, Keating & LeGates, 1982). According to Peter Marcuse, “The question is not whether [...] gentrification [can be] controlled, [and] displacement eliminated [...] but rather whether there is a desire to do them” (Marcuse 1986, p.175, original emphasis). Municipalities generally do not try to prevent gentrification (Levine-Einstein & Glick, 2016). Rather, they help entrepreneurs profit from the rental gap (Smith, 1998) by changing the zoning of land use, adding building rights through new urban master plans, and financing public spaces and urban infrastructures. The last two decades of urban research have observed

---

1. For an overview of pro-gentrification scholarship, see Slater (2012)

that capital accumulation increasingly relies on the development of open public spaces, which trails urban environmental plans and policies (Checker, 2011; Curran & Hamilton, 2012; Gibbs & Krueger, 2007; Kear, 2007). From their first appearance in Britain and the United States, urban parks were not detached from urban capitalist accumulation processes. Speculative development was one of the means for creating the first urban public parks in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century (Taylor, 1995). Speculation on property values was one facet of the campaign for establishing Central Park in New York City. During the park's creation, the city evicted the residents of Seneca Village, who were the owners of the land that the city confiscated (Rosenzweig & Blackmar, 1992).

Melissa Checker (2011, p.212) concedes that speculation and displacement following urban green enterprises may be an old phenomenon, but that the environmental lifestyle and apolitical environmental policies are specific to this (neoliberal) moment in history (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2000). Since the turn of the twentieth century, cities have competed to attract residents by touting their sustainability, environmental improvements, and lavish green public spaces (Enright, 2013; Margalit & Alfasi, 2016). Through urban renewal, cities have attempted to rewrite the narrative of their identities by transforming post-industrial landscapes into naturalised ones. In doing so, they have sometimes displaced impoverished working-class residents in the near environs (Anguelovski, Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018; Hagerman, 2006; Sandberg, 2014). Neighbourhood clean-ups combined with ecological improvement may come at the cost of social and racial equity and the local residents' "right to their neighborhood" (Anguelovski, 2013). The terms "ecological gentrification", "environmental gentrification", and "green gentrification" conceptualise these social effects of environmentally oriented urban projects, which cause or contribute to the displacement of vulnerable renters and street dwellers (Checker 2011; Dooling, 2009; Quastel, 2009).

---

## **The "Social" in Landscape Architecture Discourse and Scholarship**

Landscape architects and landscape architecture's theory, discourse, and pedagogy are deeply involved in the creation of new and renewed urban infrastructures. The discipline's theory maintains that landscape architecture should take precedence over other planning and design disciplines in creating urban infrastructure and renewal schemes (Allen 2001; Corner 1999; 2006; Waldheim, 2006). The New Landscape Architecture Declaration of 2016 is an example of the contention about the primacy of the discipline's practitioners. It maintains that, "Landscape architects are uniquely positioned to [...] address complex social and ecological problems" (LAF, 2016). It also seeks to promote ecology and society equally: "We vow to create places that serve the higher purpose of social and ecological justice for all peoples and all species" (LAF, 2016).

Nevertheless, the research in landscape architecture reflects its practitioners' limited understanding of and interest in social dynamics and social change (Thompson, 2000). The discipline's leading manual of research methodology contends that traditionally, the "distinctive point of view or mandate" of the discipline is "the protection and enhancement of the conceptual, material, and phenomenal relationships between human *culture* and nonhuman *nature*" (Deming & Swaffield, 2011, p.18, emphasis added). The 2016 New Landscape Architecture Declaration ratifies the twofold structure of *nature* and *culture*: "As designers [we are] versed in both *environmental* and *cultural* systems" (LAF 2016, emphasis added). These definitions, by both a major theoretical source and a widespread professional document, demonstrate that landscape architecture's mandate focuses on the associations of the *natural* with the *cultural* rather than the *natural* with the *social*. This preliminary analysis may indicate that the disciplinary integration of "things natural" and "things social" is limited, and that the profession's pretence of promoting social and environmental justice might be considered immoderate.

The limited understanding of urban social structures and dynamics and the meaning of urban social justice is evident in the scholarship on the Landscape Performance Series (LPS), a praised LAF initiative, which evaluates the post-occupancy performance of landscape architecture's projects. The LAF funds performance research, which is conducted by collaborating scholars, practitioners and students. The research quantifies three types of benefits: social, environmental, and economic. A study that assessed the social benefits of the LPS maintained that the LPS "draw attention to social justice and social sustainability" (Yang, Li & Binder ., 2015, p.6). Two of the major challenges of achieving urban social justice are affordable housing and the sustainability of communities. Susan Fainstein (2010) maintains that urban equity requires "bettering the situation of those who without state intervention would suffer from relative deprivation" (p. 24), especially those "who have historically suffered from discrimination in achieving access to opportunity in housing, education, and employment" (p. 102). However, none of the LPS metrics of social benefits considers housing affordability. On the other hand, an "increase in property value" and an "increase in rents" are metrics in the economic benefits of the LPS (Wang, Yang, Li, & Binder, ,2016, p. 424). Neither the LPS, nor the scholarship that assesses the LPS research, questions whose social or economic benefits are being evaluated. They ignore the possibility that the supposed economic benefit of an increase in property values might in fact be a disadvantage for low-income populations who can no longer afford their homes when environmental improvements take place in their neighbourhoods. The LPS categories and the scholarship that studies them reflect the acceptance of a deep urban social structure of inequality and of the common world view that gentrification is not to be prevented, but promoted (Levine-Einstein & Glick, 2016).

The discipline's ambition to promote urban environmental and social justice through vast urban planning programs (LAF, 2016) ensnares an already admitted lack of education on the "social" and consequently, an uncritical research vis-à-vis the social impacts of completed projects. These conclusions will be re-examined in the analysis of the design discourse in the case study of building a new coastal urban park.

## **A Case Study: Jaffa Slope Park**

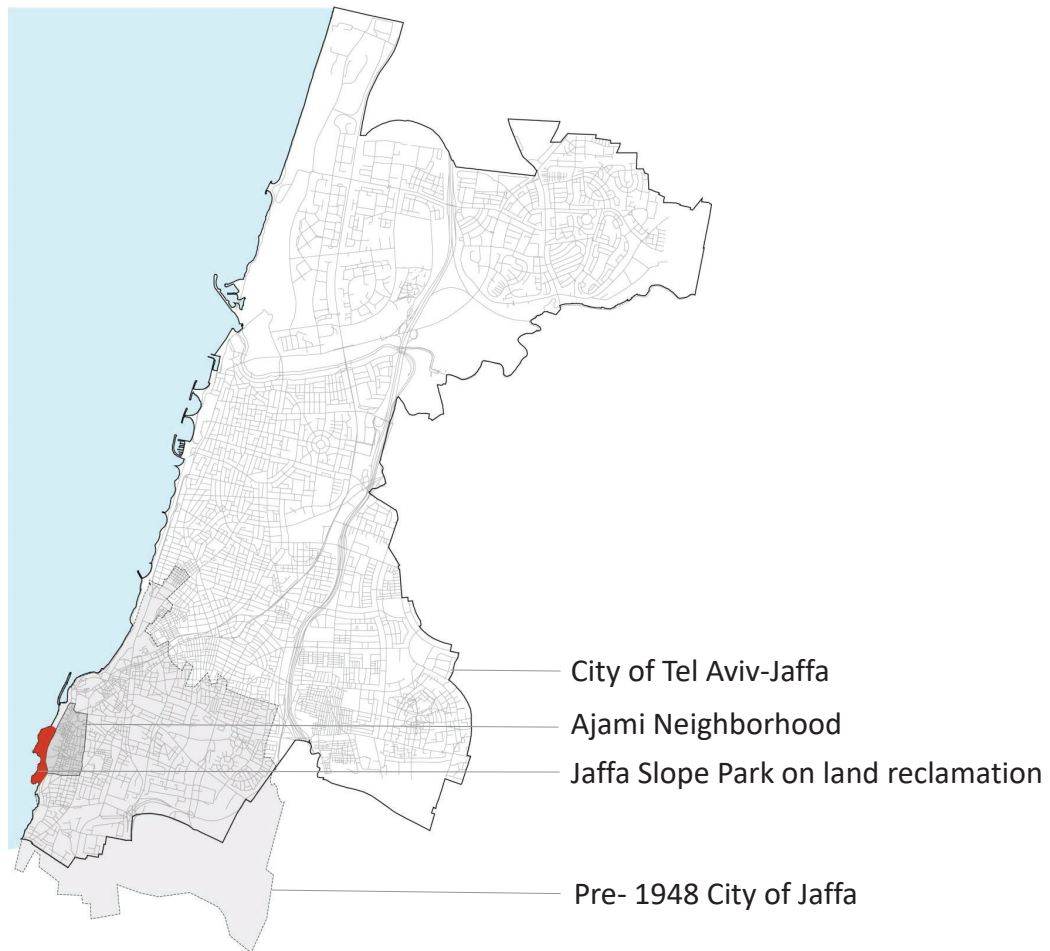
Inaugurated in 2010, Jaffa Slope Park sprawls beneath the neighbourhood of Ajami, originally a Palestinian neighbourhood that grew south of Jaffa's walls at the end of the nineteenth century (Fig. 1). Today, it is a Jewish-Arab neighbourhood in the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. The new park beneath it is a celebrated environmental achievement that was created by the municipality, in which, for the first time in Israel, a quarter of a square kilometre of construction waste was recycled on-site (Braudo & Maoz, 2010).

I will use the minutes of public participation meetings on the topic of planning the Jaffa Slope Park and interviews I conducted with the park's leading landscape architect, Alisa Braudo, to analyse the design discourse<sup>2</sup>. However, first I provide a brief historical review of the housing and environmental policies in West Jaffa between 1948 and 2010. In April 1948, the Palestinian city of Yafa was besieged and bombarded (Morris, 1990). Of the 73,000 residents who lived in this city prior to the 1948 war, only 4,000 remained (Golan, 2001). Those who left during the protracted battles were not permitted to return (Morris, 1990). Depopulated homes were confiscated by the state and immediately occupied by thousands of Jewish immigrants, Holocaust survivors, and Arabs who were displaced from their homes (Golan, 2001). Arabs and Jews shared the city intimately, though not without tension (Abu Shehadeh, 2010). They were all state-protected tenants in the Palestinian homes that the state had appropriated (Golan, 2001).

---

2

Alisa Braudo is a principal in Braudo-Maoz Landscape Architecture Ltd. I conducted several interviews with her in her office in Ramat Gan and on the park's site in 2008, at a time when the park was under construction.



**FIGURE 1** Site map. Main locales: Jaffa Slope Park by the Mediterranean (in red); Ajami neighbourhood in west Jaffa; municipal boundaries of the Palestinian city of Jaffa until its fall in 1948; and the current municipal boundaries of Tel Aviv-Jaffa (Map design by author; execution by Yeela Gundar).

## **Planning and Housing Policies**

The first Israeli urban master plans for West Jaffa, designed in the 1950s and 1960s, called for an almost total demolition of the existing Palestinian built environs, to be replaced with modern housing projects. During the 1970s and 1980s, Jewish residents gradually moved out of Jaffa’s western neighbourhoods and bought new, state-subsidised homes in housing projects of budding neighbouring (Monterescu, 2015). Arab protected tenants, who were not included in the subsidy programmes (Meishar, in progress), remained in Ajami. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, local Arab families suffered a severe housing shortage and were underserved by the municipality in all facets of life (Mazawi & Khuri-Makhul, 1991). During the 1970s, the municipality demolished about 2,000 housing units in Jaffa in accordance with the urban master plan (Monterescu, 2015; Shaqr, 1996).

In the late 1980s, the municipality had a change of heart and created a new urban master plan for West Jaffa that favoured preserving existing structures. Consequently, the demolitions stopped. This change occurred in response to the trend in which the Palestinian home (known in local parlance as an “Arab house”)

became desirable in Jewish-Israeli housing culture (Athamny 2009; Nitzan-Shiftan, 2003). As in many urban regeneration schemes, the new urban master plan added building rights to the existing buildings and empty lots. Simultaneously, in 1992, the state decided to privatise most of the confiscated Palestinian urban properties that it owned and managed. The protected tenants were offered the opportunity to purchase the properties they lived in at a discounted rate. Nevertheless, this discount was not sufficient for low-income Jaffa residents, most of whom were Palestinians (Wallerstein & Silverman, 2009). The planners of the urban master plan, among them a landscape architect, did not include a mechanism to protect Palestinian renters from the predictable outcomes of such planning and housing policies, namely, spatial displacement (Monterescu, 2015; Wallerstein & Silverman, 2009). Residents submitted approximately a thousand rejections to the urban master plan. Most of them thought that the plan did not suit their needs, especially the Arab residents' housing distress. In 1991, the Tel Aviv District Planning Committee overruled almost all of the rejections (Tel Aviv District Planning Committee, 1991).

As the housing crisis continued, protests called "The Housing Intifada" erupted in 1996. Since then, the state has supplied only 22 subsidised housing units in Jaffa (Wallerstein & Silverman, 2009). In 2007, in order to promote the marketing of its properties and to ease the residents' displacement, the state sent 497 eviction orders to a third of its tenants in Jaffa who over the years had made unlicensed changes in their homes (Wallerstein & Silverman, 2009).

The state's protected tenants were the victims of detrimental housing policies that the state inflicted directly, and the municipality steered indirectly through its urban planning. The municipality destroyed potential housing units but later gave them extra building rights. In both cases, the housing units were not available for the majority of the neighbourhood's residents. Initially, the state collected low rents from its protected tenants. However, most of these people lived in very small homes. Ultimately, the state withdrew its responsibility for its tenants by privatising their homes and suddenly enforcing the laws forbidding them from enlarging or changing their homes. Since the 1990s, massive physical changes, along with creeping gentrification, have been the outcomes of these housing and planning policies. They accelerated when the city presented its plans to build Jaffa Slope Park.



**1949**

**1976**

**2012**

**FIGURE 2** Changes of west Jaffa's shoreline and urban texture. Aerial Photographs of west Jaffa: 1949 – an original Palestinian urban texture a year after Israel captured Jaffa; 1976 – during home demolitions, construction waste dumping and land reclamation (the original shoreline in white); 2012 – after the construction of Jaffa Slope Park. (Sources: 1949, P/53-7796-8 and 1976, MM/503-2730-2734 Survey of Israel, Agency for Geodesy, Cadastre, Mapping and Geographic Information; 2012, ©Google, ©2012 GeoEye).





**FIGURE 3** A view from Jaffa's beach to the construction waste-mound shortly before the recycling process started in 2004 (Photograph by artist Dafna Shalom ©, Reef-Jaffa (2004-2009) #3. Digital print 60x60 cm).

## Environmental Policies

The municipal environmental policies regarding West Jaffa resembled the housing policies in their indifference to the well-being of the local population. Since 1948, a one-kilometre strip of rocky shore beneath the Ajami neighbourhood has been an active socio-natural area in a neglected neighbourhood that has few open public spaces. The natural flat rocks are a unique landscape in the Eastern Mediterranean, which contains abundant littoral fauna and flora. In Ajami, it supplied a livelihood, food, and wide-ranging natural marine amenities and experiences to local residents of varied ages (Meishar, in progress). Having ignored its importance since 1969, the municipality has decided on a land reclamation policy along this shore and dumped the entire city's construction waste on the lively beach. Among the waste that buried the rocky beach were the ruins of Jaffa's Palestinian homes. Within two decades, the waste mound reached a height of fifteen meters and stretched to over 200,000m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 2; Fig. 3). In the early 1970s, the municipality designated the land reclamation area for public parks only (Meishar, in progress). However, since the mid-1970s, lucrative land uses such as hotels, a marina, and other recreational seaside amenities were added to the municipality vision and were included in the new conservationist master plan (Mazor, 1981). Together with the building rights and home sales policy, the plan added marine infrastructure to ease the privatisation of the land reclamation area. The new urban master plan did not reach validation until 1995 due to disagreements between the municipality and the District Planning Committee about this vision (Idelitz, 1989).





FIGURE 4 A view from Jaffa's beach to the construction waste-mound during its recycling process (Photograph by artist Dafna Shalom ©, Reef-Jaffa (2004-2009) #14. Digital print 60x60 cm).



FIGURE 5 Jaffa Slope Park (Image by author, 2012).

Environmental hazards were inflicted on the remaining low-income Arab residents. Toxic fluids dripped from the mound into the water, hundreds of garbage trucks drove through the neighbourhood's narrow streets, and bad smells and dust were carried into the neighbourhood's homes with the daily western breezes. The destruction of Ajami's urban littoral socio-nature and the ongoing environmental hazards were manifestations of environmental racial discrimination (Bullard, 1994). In 1988, a local Arab organisation in collaboration with a Jewish Jaffan gentrifiers' organisation won a legal battle against the disposal of waste. Consequently, the municipality stopped the dumping on the waste mound. The state had the last say on the coastal planning. New Amendments to State Maritime Master Plan No.13/4 ended the possibility of privatising the land or building on it, by designating all of the land reclamation area for public park only. Nevertheless, this supposedly apolitical policy to promote the environment reflects a separation of "things natural from things social" (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2000, p.574). The plan's regulations exposed the tight relatedness of the environmental to the social. They conditioned the planning for high-end buildings on the park's margins (with a view to the sea) on the recycling of the waste mound (Instructions of State Master Plan No. 13/4 A2 2008: 4-5). They did not condition the creation of the park on building public or affordable housing units on the site or on its margins. It was a one-way street that promoted environmental rehabilitation at the expense of social equity.





**FIGURE 6** Landscape of green gentrification. Ajami neighbourhood homes at the eastern thresholds of Jaffa Slope Park: Old Palestinian home in the front; renovated or new buildings at the back, which use all the building rights that the valid urban master plan added (Image by author, 2018).

In 2003, Tel Aviv-Jaffa's mayor ordered that the waste mound's materials be recycled (Fig. 4). The firm Braudo-Maoz Landscape Architecture drew up plans for the Jaffa Slope Park (Fig. 5). By 2005, the municipality published a bid for the recycling works (Braudo, 2008b). As expected, the progress of this solely environmental policy has accelerated the pre-existing gentrification (Fig. 6). Officials were aware of the link between environmental improvement and property prices. The CEO of the Ezra Uvitzaron Municipal Corporation, which led the recycling process on-site, noted that, "Following the actions that were taken in the [park's] site, the property values rose in tens of percentages" (Kushrak, 2008).

Two local real estate agents were cited in the print media saying that since the municipality's announcement of the recycling works in 2004, property prices in Ajami had climbed 40 to 100 percent (Ilnayi, 2010; Nahum-Halevi, 2010). In agreement with municipalities' common position that there is no need to prevent gentrification (Levine-Einstein & Glick, 2016; Marcuse 1985; Slater, 2012), the head of the Jaffa Local Administration explicitly supported the expected displacement of residents: "The increase in property values may help the protected tenants. When the value increases, they can receive higher rates for their rights and buy an apartment in a cheaper area" (Rosen, 2006).

In the 1990s and the 2000s, the city and the state sometimes acted in collaboration and at times independently or in disagreement. The outcome of the fluctuating policies was an urban pincer movement that weaved together new urban master plans, neo-liberal privatisation policies, the sudden enforcement of the law, and environmental improvements. However, these movements attest that "[a]ll socio-political projects are ecological projects and vice versa" (Harvey, 1996, p.174-175). One cannot separate the park's landscape architecture from the combined socio-environmental process of green gentrification.

## Design Discourse Analysis

To analyse the design discourse around the building of the Jaffa Slope Park, I utilised minutes from the public deliberations on the park's design and interviews with the park's landscape architect. Although the public discussions covered many topics, I considered only those that concern urban social justice and the social effects of the park's construction.

At our final meeting, during the park's construction, Alisa Braudo, the park's leading landscape architect, shared some disturbing concerns about the social impact of the park's construction on housing affordability: "What is happening now, the eviction of fifty residents from their homes [...]." I made a quick correction: "The 500 eviction orders" and she continued: "*And I don't know why. Something is going on, simultaneously, and I don't understand what it is. How would it implicate the park? [...]* Parks of this kind will raise the apartments' values and it will cause distress. It's a real dilemma in each situation where the park increases property values and the local population is excluded [...]. But then *the need for the park was much more dominant. [...]* It is a good deed altogether" (Braudo, 2008b).

It appears that the architect had an understanding of the interconnectedness between the park's construction, property values, and housing affordability. However, from her statement about her missing knowledge, it seems that there is no design-research tradition, nor expectations and standards for studying the social aspects of housing policies, housing affordability, and residents' displaceability. In comparison, a thorough environmental study of the suitability of coastal vegetation was conducted in a special testing lot right on the site. It is also not clear how to measure and value the "dominant" needs of a locale, whether environmental or societal. A shared disciplinary responsibility for social questions and recognised research methods for collecting data on social aspects would have encouraged practitioners to educate themselves along with their design research.

Four years before the above conversation, in 2004, residents of Jaffa demanded a stop to the design for the Jaffa Slope Park and insisted that the plans include their needs and visions (Braudo, 2008a). A petition signed by 500 residents led to the establishment of a planning participation procedure, and public meetings took place in Jaffa between November 2004 and February 2005, with nine ethnically and geographically divided groups (Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality & Braudo-Maoz, 2006). The individual face-to-face meetings with each group were steered by municipal officials with the participation of landscape architects. The residents' statements were documented (Braudo, 2008a).

During the meeting with the Palestinian leadership group, the participants stressed that, "We want to be included and to follow the progress of the planning; we want to see alternatives; *to consider the site in the context of more comprehensive future planning (what is going to be built and where)*" (Tel Aviv-Jaffa & Braudo-Maoz, 2016, p. 17, emphasis added). The Palestinians' demand to consider the site's planning in a wider planning context, probably of other land uses, politicises a supposedly apolitical environmental improvement design. Had they been presented with drafts for the state's maritime master plan, they might have learnt about the one-way conditioning of permitting high-end residential buildings on the site's rehabilitation and not vice versa. The residents met with the officials and the landscape architects again four months later, when the final design plan was presented in a plenary session. The municipality conducted the procedure itself in accordance with democratic values such as communication and recognition in these meetings (Healy in Fainstein, 2010; Young, 1990). However, planning theory places little value on the ability of public deliberations to promote urban social justice. As Susan Fainstein (2010) argues, public deliberations in urban renewal plans are limited because "their ability to halt gentrification, however, is restricted by their lack of control over private-market activities" (p. 39). Nancy Fraser (1997) rejects the "[l]iberal political theory [which] assumes that it is possible to organize a democratic form of political life on

the basis of socioeconomic and sociosexual structures that generate systemic inequalities” (In Fainstein, 2010, p.21). Indeed, the long lasting systemic inequalities in West Jaffa were outcomes of socioeconomic policies and regulations that were ignored during the deliberations, obviating the possibility of a democratic, political discourse on social change.

In a meeting that was held with the Yafa Yefat Yamim Group, consisting of long-time Jewish gentrifiers, one participant requested “housing units for the poor.” Another participant argued in favour of “socioeconomic planning” (Tel Aviv-Jaffa & Braudo-Maoz, 2006: 15-16). Braudo recalled (in a conversation) that, “We [landscape architects and municipal officials] said that *we can't do that*; we said that *this is not within the scope of our work and our possibilities*” (Braudo, 2008b, emphasis added). Indeed, their commission was for a park on an area that was designated by the state’s maritime master plan for a park only. However, the state’s master plan was still in its planning stages. Informing its planners about the communications regarding affordable housing around the park would have circumvented the supposedly omnipotent private market and created a political discourse with policy makers.

The refusal of the officials and landscape architects to discuss housing policy together with environmental policy and park design exemplifies “separating things natural from things social” (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2000, p. 574). Landscape architecture leadership to ensure both environmental and social justice requires a tradition of including social structures and dynamics in the discipline’s “scopes” and “possibilities.”

## **Conclusion**

This paper demonstrates that landscape architecture is an active agent, among others, in current processes of urban green gentrification. The analysis of the professional discourse indicates a desire to intertwine environmental and social justice; however, the discipline’s traditional borders of stewardship and pedagogy do not include social structure change and social justice. I also show that the leading LAF research initiative of the LPS, which assesses the performance of projects, does not consider social injustices and measures property values apolitically in accordance with the logic of the free market. Furthermore, scholarly research that studies the research of the LPS is not critical of this tendency. To achieve a level of critical scholarship and practice that includes the “social” and thus transcends the historic boundaries of stewardship of landscape architecture, we need a thorough study of the discipline’s ethics, pedagogies, and design-research methods for evaluating designs. Such a study may lead to the creation of pedagogies and research methods that integrate “things natural” with “things social.”

## **Acknowledgements**

I am grateful to landscape architect Alisa Braudo for generously sharing her constructive insights on the park. My thanks go to Talia Margalit for her insights on an early version of the paper. I thank the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics and The Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism at Tel Aviv University, where I elaborated this paper as a postdoctoral fellow and visiting scholar. Finally, I thank the anonymous SPOOL readers and the X-LArch 2018 conference organizers/special issue editors for their interest and encouragement.



## References

- Abu Shehadeh, S. (2010). *Misrade ha-mimshal ha-DvaDi: SoDi'alizaDiyah la-medinah u-le-mangenone hakhfafah* [The Military Rule Office: Socialization to State and Subordination Apparatuses], *Sedek* 5, pp. 10-19.
- Allen, S. (2001). *Mat Urbanism: The Thick 2-D*. In Hashim Sarkis (Ed.) *Case: Le Corbusier's Venice Hospital*, pp. 118-126. Cambridge/New York: Harvard/Prestel.
- Anguelovski, I. (2013). *Beyond a Livable and Green Neighborhood: Asserting Control, Sovereignty, and Transgression in the Casc Antic of Barcelona*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37(3) pp. 1012-34.
- Anguelovski, I., Connolly, J. T., Masip, L. & Pearsall, H. (2018). *Assessing Green Gentrification in Historically Disenfranchised Neighborhoods: a Longitudinal and Spatial Analysis of Barcelona*, *Urban Geography* 39(3) pp. 458-491.
- Athamny, A. (2009). *Ledovev et ha-kirot: Zehutan shel ha-nashim ha-falestiniyot yoshvot ha-batim ha-falestinim ba-merDav ha-yafu'i* [Muttering the Walls: The Identity of the Palestinian Women Inhabiting the Palestinian Houses in the Jaffa Space] Masters Thesis, Ben Gurion University.
- Birkom (2009). *MeDukat ha-diyur be-kerev ha-'ukhlusiyah ha-falestinit be-Yafo: Sof Didan ha-dayarut ha-mugenet be-nikhse reshut ha-pituDakD* [Housing Distress within the Palestinian Community in Jaffa: The end of Protected Tenancy in Jaffa], Jerusalem: Birkom.
- Braudo, A. (2008a) (personal communication, March 3, 2008), Ramat-Gan: Braudo-Maoz Office.
- Braudo, A. (2008b) (personal communication, March 30, 2008), Ramat-Gan: Braudo-Maoz Office.
- Braudo, A. & R. Maoz (2010). *Reconnecting the Tel Aviv and Jaffa Shoreline*, *Topos: The International Review of Landscape Architecture and Urban Design*, 72, pp. 74-79.
- Brown, W. (2003). *Neo-liberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy*, *Theory & Event* 7(1), Project MUSE, doi:10.1353/tae.2003.0020.
- Bullard, R. D. (Ed.) (1994). *Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.
- Castree, N. (2000). *Marxism and the Production of Nature*, *Capital and Class* 76, pp. 5-32.
- Castree, N. & Braun, B. (1998). *The Construction of Nature and the Nature of Construction: Analytical and Political Tools for Building Survivable Futures*, in: B. Braun & N. Castree (Eds.) *Remaking Reality: Nature at the Millennium*, pp. 2-41. London: Routledge.
- Checker, M. (2011). *Wiped Out by the 'Greenwave': Environmental Gentrification and the Paradoxical Politics of Urban Sustainability*, *City and Society* 23(2), pp. 210-229.
- Corner, J. (1999). *The Agency of Mapping*, in: D. Cosgrove (Ed.) *Mappings*, pp. 213-252. London: Reaktion Books.
- Corner, J. (2006) *Terra Fluxus*, in: Charles Waldheim (ed.) *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*, pp. 21-33. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Curran, W. & Hamilton T. (2012). *Just Green Enough: Contesting Environmental Gentrification in Greenpoint, Brooklyn*, *Local Environment* 17(9), pp. 1027-1042.
- Deming, E. M. & Swaffield, S. (2011). *Landscape Architectural Research: Inquiry, Strategy, Design*. Hoboken, NJ.: Wiley.
- Dooling, S. (2011). *Ecological Gentrification: A Research Agenda Exploring Justice in the City*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33(3), pp. 621-639.
- Ellin, N. (2013). *Urbanism – New, Landscape, or Otherwise: The Case for Complementarity*. In A. Duany & E. Talen (Eds.) *Landscape Urbanism and its Discontents: Dissimulating the Sustainable City*, pp. 281-292. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.
- Fainstein, S. (2010). *The Just City*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Gibbs, D. & Krueger, R. (2007). *Containing the Contradictions of Rapid Development? New Economic Spaces and Sustainable Urban Development*, in: R. Kruger & D. Gibbs (Eds.) *The Sustainable Development Paradox: Urban Political Economy in the United States and Europe*, pp. 95-122. London, UK: Guilford Press.
- Gobster, P. H., Nassauer, J. I., Terry, C., Daniel, T. C., & Fry, G. (2007). *The Shared Landscape: What does Aesthetics have to do with Ecology?* *Landscape Ecology* 22, pp. 959-972.

- Golan, A. (2001). *Shinuy merḏavi–Toḏaḏat miklhamah: Ha-shetakḏim ha-ḏaraviyim le-she'avar be-medinat Yisraḏel, 1948–1950* [Wartime Spatial Changes: Former Arab Territories within the State of Israel, 1948–1950], Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press.
- Hagerman, C. (2007). Shaping Neighborhoods and Nature: Urban Political Ecologies of Urban Waterfront Transformations in Portland, Oregon, *Cities* 24(4), pp. 285–297.
- Hartman, C., Keating, W. & LeGates, R. (1982). *Displacement, How to Fight it*. Berkeley, Calif: National Housing Law Project.
- Harvey, D. (2008). The Right to the City, *New Left Review* 53, pp. 23–40.
- Harvey, D. (1996) *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Idelitz, O. (1989) *Shikum ve-hitkhdshut ḏAjamai ve-Lev Yaffo – kavim le-tikhnun* [Regeneration of Ajami and Jaffa's Center – Guidelines for Planning], Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality and Israel Housing Ministry [report].
- Ilanyi, I. (2010, February 26). Ze'irim hasrei mano'akh [Restless Youths]. *Yedi'ot Tel Aviv*, pp. 26–28.
- Kear, M. (2007). Spaces of Transition Spaces of Tomorrow: Making a Sustainable Future in Southeast False Creek, Vancouver, *Cities* 24(4), pp. 324–334.
- Kushrak, N. (2008, December 9). Toshvei ḏAjami be-Yafo yekablu et ha-yam be-khazara [Ajami's residents will get the sea back], *Haaretz*, <https://news.walla.co.il/item/1394398>, checked November 20, 2018.
- LAF (2016). *The New Landscape Declaration*. Philadelphia: Landscape Architecture Foundation.
- Levine-Einstein, K. & Glick, D. M. (2016). Mayors, Partisanship, and Redistribution: Evidence Directly from U.S. Mayors, *Urban Affairs Review*, doi: 10.1177/1078087416674829, pp. 1–33.
- Marcuse, P. (2012). Who's Right(s) to What City? In N. Brenner, P. Marcuse, & M. Mayer (Eds.) *Cities for People Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*, pp. 24–41. London and New York: Routledge.
- Marcuse, P. (1986). Abandonment, Gentrification and Displacement: the Linkages in New York City, In N. Smith and P. Williams (Eds.) *Gentrification of the City*, pp. 153–177. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Marcuse, P. (1985). Gentrification, Abandonment and Displacement: Connections, Causes and Policy Responses in New York City, *Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law* 28, pp. 195–240.
- Margalit, T. & Alfasi, N. (2016). The Undercurrents of Entrepreneurial Development: Impressions from a Globalizing City, *Environment and Planning A*, 48(10), pp. 1967–1987.
- Mazawi, A. E. & Khuri-Makhoul, M. (1990). *Mediniyut merkḏavit be-Yafo: 1948–1990* [Spatial Policy in Jaffa: 1948–1990], in: H. Luski (Ed.) *City and Utopia*, Tel-Aviv: Israel Publishing Co.
- Mazor, A. (1981). memorandum to The City's Engineer 25.1.1981. Tel Aviv-Jaffa City Engineer Department Archive, brown file of urban master plan 2236-1.
- Meishar, N. (in progress). *Sea-Swept, Land Filled: An Urban Political Ecology of Beach Transformation: Jaffa 1948–1988*, in progress.
- Monterescu, D. (2015). *Jaffa Shared and Shattered: Contrived Coexistence in Israel/Palestine*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Morris, B. (1994). *1948 and after: Israel and the Palestinians*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nahum-Halevi, R. (2010, February). Likhoyt be-sert [To live in the Movies], *The Marker Magazine*, pp. 124–123.
- Nitzan-Shiftan, A. (2003). Seizing locality in Jerusalem. In N. AlSayyad (Ed.) *The End of Tradition*, pp. 223–242. New York and London: Routledge.
- Quastel, N. (2009). Political Ecologies of Gentrification, *Urban Geography* 30(7), pp. 694–725.
- Rackham, S. (1996). Beyond Landscape MacArchitecture: New Languages, New Landscapes, *Landscape Review* 2(3), pp. 33–44.
- Rosen, E. (2006, November 9) be-Yafo tohim: ha-im le-akhar pinuy ha-zevel yavo'u ha-ḏashirim? [Some Wonder in Jaffa: Will the Rich Arrive after the Waste will Leave?], *Haaretz*, Retrieved from <https://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.1152800>, accessed 12 November, 2018.
- Rosenzweig, R. & Blackmar, E. (1992). *The Park and People: a History of Central Park*, New York: Cornell University Press.

- Sandberg, L. A. (2014). Environmental Gentrification in a Post-industrial Landscape: the Case of the Limhamn Quarry, Malmö, Sweden, *Local Environment: The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability* 19(10) PP. 1068-1085.
- Shaqr, N. N. (1996). Ha-kehila ha-ḌAravit be-Yafo Ḍal parashat drakhim kiyumit [The Arab Community in Jaffa on an Existential Crossroads]. Jaffa: privately printed.
- Slater, T. (2012) Missing Marcuse: On Gentrification and Displacement, In N. Brenner, P. Marcuse & M. Mayer (Eds.), *Cities for People not for Profit*, pp. 171-196, New York: Routledge.
- Smith, N. (1998). Nature at the Millennium: Production and Re-enchantment, in: B. Braun & N. Castree (Eds.) *Remaking Reality: Nature at the Millennium*, pp. 269-282. London: Routledge.
- Swyngedouw, E. & Kaika, M. (2000). The Environment of the City...or the Urbanization of Nature, In G. Bridge & S. Watson (Eds.), *A Companion to the City*, pp. 567-580. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tel Aviv-Jaffa Local Planning Committee (1991). Minutes of Committee Meeting (13 February, 1991) [Brown File 'Urban master plan 2236-8'] Tel Aviv-Jaffa City Engineer Archive.
- Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality & Braudo-Maoz Landscape Architecture (2006). Midron Yafo – sikum p̄gishot shituf zibur ve-hazagat tikhnun raḌayoni [Jaffa Slope – Summary of Public Participation Meetings and Planning Presentation].
- Taylor, H. A. (1995). Urban Public Park: 1840-1900: Design and Meaning, *Garden History* 21(2), pp. 201-221.
- Thompson, I. H. (2012). Ten Tenets and Six Questions for Landscape Urbanism, *Landscape Research*, 37(1), pp. 7-26.
- Thompson, I. H. (2000). Aesthetic, Social and Ecological Values in Landscape Architecture: a Discourse Analysis, *Ethics, Place and Environment* 3(3), pp. 269-287.
- Waldheim, C. (2006). Landscape as Urbanism, In C. Waldheim (Ed.) *The Landscape Urbanism Reader*, pp. 35-54. New-York: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wang, Z., Yang, B., Li, S. & Binder, C. (2016). Economic Benefits: Metrics and Methods for Landscape Performance Assessment, *Sustainability* 8(5) pp. 1-12, doi:10.3390/su8050424.
- Wolch, J. R., Byrne J. & Newell, J. P. (2014). Urban Green Space, Public Health, and Environmental Justice: The Challenge of Making Cities 'Just Green Enough,' *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 125 pp. 234-244.
- Yang, B., Li, S. & Binder, C. (2015). A Research Frontier in Landscape Architecture: Landscape Performance and Assessment of Social Benefits, *Landscape Research* 41(3) pp. 314-329.