Jaffa Port, Israel

From a thriving port town to a socio-ethnic enclave

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Abstract

The material extant of the fortifications of Jaffa, the physical markers of memory, narrates the contrasting status and evolution of one of the oldest port towns in Israel: from grandiose to decline, from thriving multicultural neighbourhoods to immigrant communities over time, from town centre to marginalised significance and shifting centralities in the wake of political and economic events. Its town centre, propagating social interaction, existed through complex and evolving agricultural, industrial, and residential land uses. This port town bears a testimony to the dynamic and enormous shifts in land use, communities, and collective social memory. The alternate port of Tel Aviv came into existence during the revolt in 1936-39 by Arabs of Mandatory Palestine. The drastic decline of the Arab population in Jaffa and its environs and the rise in the Jewish population in the new modern city of Tel Aviv was an antagonistic process of negation and exclusion. The asymmetric planning of Tel Aviv that emerged in the early 1900s identified it as uncivilised geography, turning into a dilapidated district. Communal and national identities were built on the premise of antithesis giving rise to significant demographic transformations. This socio-spatial metamorphosis of Tel Aviv-Jaffa became a representational space leading to physical and cognitive boundaries evident in the planning policies. Since the mid-1980s, the spatial overturns have led to the radical restructuring of the urban space through gentrification with political and socio-economic implications such as population displacement and the production of urban alterities. This oxymoron of creative destruction suggests the tensions at the heart of urban life that embodies the erasure and re-inscription of culture and economics. This article will explore the historical evolution of the old port town, cultural geography, and the current state of exclusion and gentrification in Jaffa, and underlines the need for discourse on socio-spatial analysis and assessment for decision-making processes for urban heritage design.

Keywords

DOI

Introduction

Tracing history, evolution, and expansions of cities and towns, which are labelled as historic on account of their associative value and existence through the centuries, helps to illustrate the reciprocal relationship between man and nature, geography, and its spatial and cultural influences. These historic towns and cities are complex manifestations of the diverse facets, attributes, and external influences on geography, economics and trade, social and cultural aspects, environment, and religion. With special focus on the historical port town of Jaffa, Israel, and its diachronic existence, these derivatives become more evident and demonstrate a clear picture of how towns come into existence, thrive, and face decline and neglect due to shifting power relations, and cultural and social constructs. The rise and fall of port towns can be ascribed to economics, political will, and technological advancement. Due to the dynamic economy in these port towns, shifts in demographic composition lead to significant alterations in the socio-spatial configurations and generation of urban alterities (Smith, 1996) (Lefebvre, 1996), resulting from exclusivist attitudes and governance models. This emphasises the need for identification of determinants that catalyse, influence, impose, and impact the socio-spatial and economic order of port cities. These determinants or attributes of social significance and spatial characteristics portray different identities of place and also become physical markers of memory (Belanger, 2002).

This article will begin by exploring the historical evolution of the port town of Jaffa and analysing the diachronicity of the cultural landscapes and values of significance and association. As the research as a whole has adapted a deductive and inductive approach, the literature study of its history and social aspects is crucial for deducting the research questions. This socio-spatial and diachronic understanding of the site of interest and analysis of the current trends and methods of heritage management and urban design process bring forth the good practices as well as the gaps in the frameworks. The article aims to highlight the disparity of the socio-spatial context within the management process and proposes innovative methods and discourse in the neo-liberalist system for integration.

Historical evolution of the Port Town of Jaffa

Trade Routes in the Mediterranean Basin and the Emergence of Port Cities

The Ancient trade route of *Via Maris* was a great channel of cultural influence and interaction among civilizations in the Mediterranean basin and the Fertile Crescent. This sea route between Egypt and Damascus witnessed the emergence of many port towns and cities, products of favourable coastal geography. The few natural bays and anchorages located on the southern coast of present-day Israel were developed as the ports of Jaffa, Ashdod, and Acre. The breakwater technology was non-existent before the eighth century B.C.E. (Dothan, 1973), many other cities were located relatively far from the beach. This bestowed prominence on these port towns. The port town holds biblical importance[1] (Bacci & Rohde, 2013) and bears testimony to cultural evolution within a desert landscape, and is a palimpsest of

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[1] References from the Bible: Story of Jonah, who fled from the presence of God and boarded a ship at Jaffa. When a storm endangered the vessel, Jonah told his companions to cast him overboard to calm the sea. He was swallowed by a whale, which after three days cast him ashore. Other stories: Tabitha's Restoration to Life, and Peter's Conversion of Gentiles.

architecture, port activities, and multicultural facets of society. Increased commercial traffic in the Levant region[2] (Figure 1), the excavation of the Suez Canal, and increased speeds in steamship technology propelled the port to the forefront as a leading port in the Mediterranean, alongside Beirut and Alexandria (Kark, 1990a). These ports were also used as transit ports for pilgrimage and entry to Jerusalem and other holy sites. Jaffa gained eminence due to its proximity to Jerusalem.
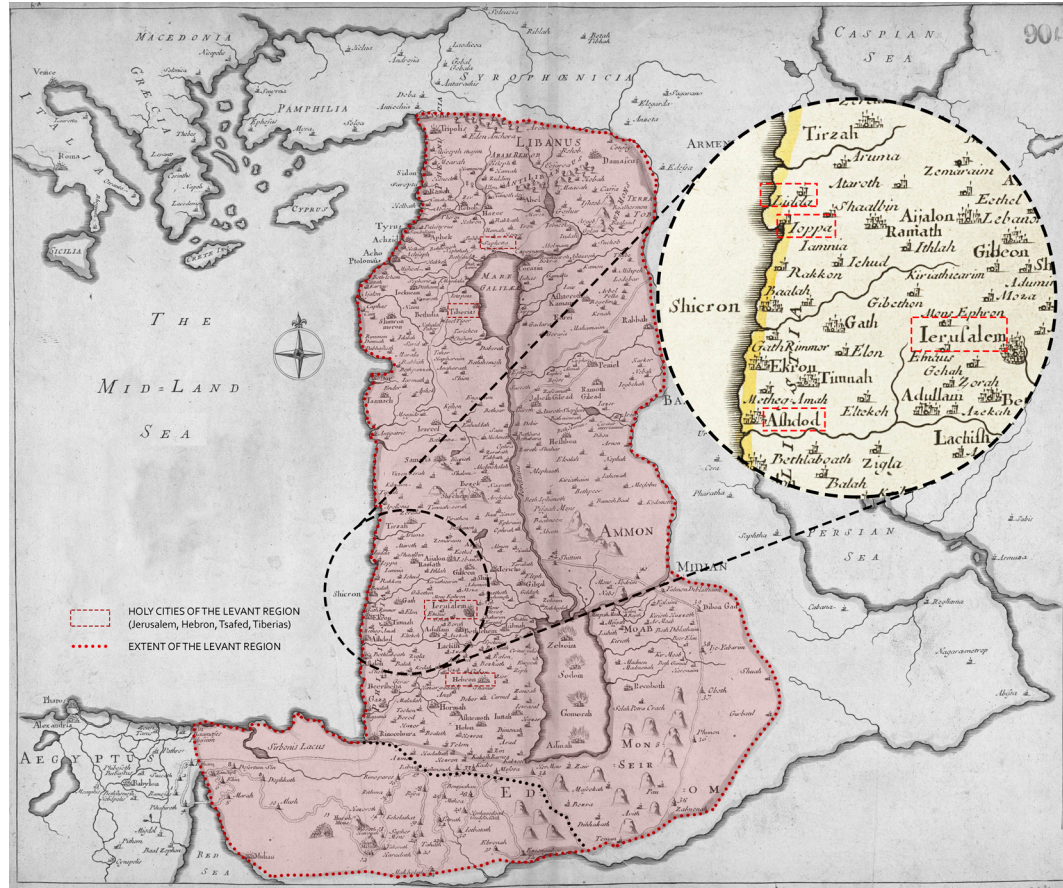

FIGURE 1 Map of the Levant region, derived from the original map by Philip Lea, dated 1692.

Note. The map shows the existence of the port town of Jaffa (Jopha in the map) along with other important inland towns contributing to the trade on the Mediterranean coast, namely Gaza, Ashdod, Akko, and the four holy cities of Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Tsafed. Source: A map of Canaan in 1692, Author/ Publisher: Lea, Philip. Copyright Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Centre 2020 http://maps. bpl.org. (Edited by Author).

2   Levant was the name of a large and prosperous ancient country (at times independent, at others a tributary of Egypt) located in the Levant region of present-day Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Israel. It was also known as Phoenicia.

FIGURE 2 Lithograph of Jaffa, 1843.

Note. An 1843 lithograph showing ancient Joppa (Jaffa) in the backdrop and a group of pilgrims of various religions traversing through the port town. Author: Haghe, Louis, 1806-1885, lithographer; Roberts, David, 1796-1864, artist, Library of Congress Catalogue. https://lccn.loc.gov/2002717506.

During the Second Temple era, Jaffa enjoyed special status as the only Hasmonean harbour, but in the succeeding Roman era, Caesarea took over as the major coastal focus. During the Roman and the Byzantine periods (6 BCE to 500 CE), it became an important commercial centre; it was occupied in June 1099 during the First Crusade to realise their main objective of recovering the Holy Land from Islamic rule. It witnessed a decline during the Battle of Jaffa 1119 between the Crusaders and the Egyptians, which partially destroyed the wall, however, the power remained with the Crusaders. The Mamluks from Egypt conquered the port in 13th century CE, rebuilding the port and reviving its markets. Hostels built by Franciscan monks along with Armenian and Greek Orthodox monasteries on the mound of port town as evidence of the multicultural nature of the port and connection to the holy city of Jerusalem and allied pilgrim activities. In the 16th century CE, the Ottoman period dynamically took over the port town and profoundly reshaped Jaffa's social and cultural geography (LeVine, 2005). The late Ottoman period (the late 1800s) saw the formation of new Muslim neighbourhoods like Ajami,Nuzha, Hursih, Irshid, Jebaliyyeh, Manshiyah, American and German colonies, and a model farm (Sarona) *(Figure 4)* and where the Egyptian soldiers settled alongside Christians in the north of the town. This period also witnessed the Tanzimat (1840–61)[3] i.e. reformation, which focused on modernisation, centralisation, increasing revenue, and forestalling fragmentation and conquest.

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[3]   Tanzimat reformation laws aimed at revival and regeneration of religion and state, land and community and granting of political equality with a desire to win European diplomatic support. This had clear impacts on the growing population of Jews in Jaffa.

Cultural Geography and Emerging Economies in the Port Town

Port towns as cultural landscapes are manifestations of the communities that inhabit them and generate impressions of the specific needs, become icons, and reflect customs, events, and ideology (Amit-Cohen, 2009). Jaffa and its hinterland contributed to the agricultural landscape, and the productive aspect had been important to the community since its inception. This was in contrast to the old Jewish communities in the four holy cities of Jerusalem, Hebron, Tsafed, and Tiberias, *(Figure 1)* which had survived on religious activities. The agricultural hinterland, one of the largest in the country, was at the forefront of the commercial activity of citrus production and export, and gained prominence as a major economic centre and port (Goren, 2015). The study of the Survey of Israel atlas reveals a large forest in Jaffa along the coastal plain (Kark & Levin, 2012). The geology of this coastal plain, the presence of dunes, fields, and hydrology demonstrated the ecological landscape and its implications on the culture and economy of the region. Sand dunes were present along the coast from Caesarea in the North to Jaffa in the south, extending up to five kilometers inland. The traditional system of *mawassi*[4] agricultural practice prevailed (Kark & Levin, 2012), by which the upper level of coastal underground water was used for growing grapes, palm trees, and other crops whilst protecting the farm and crops from encroaching dunes.

FIGURE 3 View of the orange groves in Jaffa; Copyright Library of Congress Date, 1890.

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[4]   Mawassi in Arabic means suction, referring to water that has been sucked out to the surface
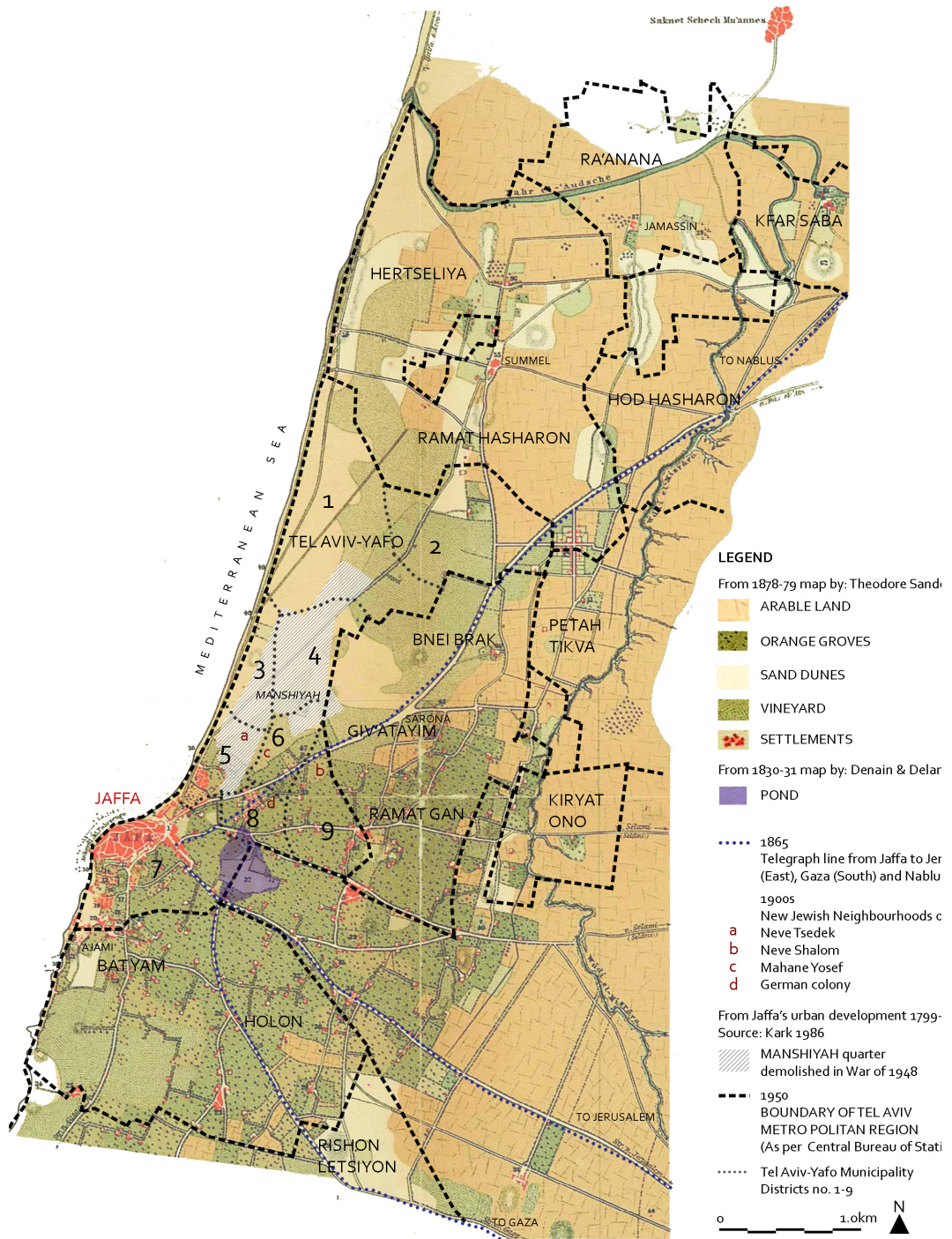
FIGURE 4 Map of the region, 1870s and 1950s.

Note. The map shows layers of information from two periods: 1870s and 1950s. The 1870s layer demonstrates the physical landscape and its uses, with Jaffa as the main port town; the surrounding German colonies and smaller villages are connected via a network of roads, telegraph lines; there are depictions of numerous orchards, groves, and farms. From Baedeker guidebook map of Jaffa. Copyright by Theodore Sandel, 1878–1879 (In Shaham, 2011); From Map, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, fonds geographique, Res. Ge. FF. 6421. Copyright by Denain & Delamare, 1830-31. The 1950s layer shows the Tel Aviv-Yafo Municipal boundaries and districts as well as the extent of the Tel Aviv Metropolitan region, built over the existing landscape. These coinciding sets of information show the evolution of an agrarian landscape into a metropolitan area, and show Jaffa as the prominent port becoming marginalised on the fringes, as Quarter 7 of the modern city of Tel Aviv grows. From LeVine (2005); Map from Jaffa's urban development 1799-1918 (Kark, 1990a). Map edited by Author

These attributes of economics, agricultural activities, and trade concomitantly led to the infrastructural development of the port along with the migration of pilgrims and Arabs from other connected parts of the world and an increase in the population of the town and subsequently in Jerusalem. Since then, the identity of the port as a functional element in the economy and its vitality became the source of national pride and identity for the Arab population. This led to Jaffa being constructed more quickly than other coastal towns in the middle of 19th century; with the introduction of new technology and industrial development, services related to health, education, transportation, and communication services improved. Along with a telegraph line installed between Jaffa and Jerusalem in 1865 as well as a road, the railway line laid down in 1871 (Kellerman, 1993) was one of the main technological advancements in the region.

The socio-spatial interaction and modalities of Jaffa's town centre were interwoven in the narrative of landscape and evolving agricultural, industrial, and residential land uses (LeVine, 2005). The iconography of power structures as well as religious structures were a matter of pride amongst the Arab communities. The grandiosity of the port town, due to its economic vitality, was demonstrated by grand palatial houses in Oriental architecture, which had elaborate enclosures, orange groves, well structures, water channels, and pump systems built by wealthy residents. The well-houses were a significant feature of the port town's built environment owing to the marshlands.

The spatial development of Jaffa and the surrounding villages was a concomitant and integral part of its socio-spatial economy. The villages of Jamassin East and West and Summel in the environs together encircled a zone of pastoral and agriculture land, roads, and rivers, and were inhabited by immigrants from Egypt, Jordan, and Bedouins from South Palestine who were involved in agricultural produce and commerce in the port town (LeVine, 2005) *(Figure 4)*.

Jaffa's Reformation and Reorganisation

After the siege of 1799 by Napoleon, the power instability forced the Ottoman government to strengthen its presence in the region; the further period saw the construction of a military watchtower to enable control over the sea and its borders. This type of iconography and political partitioning of space (Gottmann, 1952), of religious and military nature, has a notion of social shared heritage and association embedded in the memory of the allied communities. Following the end of Egyptian hegemony in 1840 on the port town of Acre in the north, which lead to its stagnation, economic attention was shifted to other port towns in the south of the region along the Mediterranean eastern coast. This period also witnessed the rise of Ottoman control over the region and the foundation of fortification walls, gates, and water fountains to facilitate the travellers and pilgrims from Jaffa to Jerusalem.

In the 1830s, Jewish immigrants from North Africa arrived in Jaffa to form the basis of a steadily growing Jewish community in the town. The year 1882 marked the beginning of the First Aliya (Zionist immigration). This time period and the early 1900s saw a rise in Jewish immigrants from other cities and abroad and witnessed the tendency of pilgrims and travellers to settle in the port of arrival in their immigration destination country. The Jewish community in Jaffa was renewed and became the most prominent Jewish community in Palestine outside the four holy cities of Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias (Kellerman, 1993). *(Figure 1)* New Jewish neighbouring colonies were formed, including Neve Tsedek, Neve Shalom, Mahane Yosef, Mahane Yehuda (later renamed Kerem Hatienanim), and Ohel Moshe.

Decline of Jaffa Port and Development of the Alternative Port of Tel Aviv

The rise and decline of coastal towns and ports in Palestine throughout all historical periods correspond closely with political and strategic changes, as well as economic and technological developments (Kark, 1990b). In the early 1900s, due to the introduction of new steamship technologies, many ports on the eastern Mediterranean coast faced decline, such as Tipoli, Tyre, Acre, Gaza, Rosetta, and Damietta. The ports of Jaffa, Haifa, and Beirut, with their advantageous geographical locations and harbours, as well as providing the benefit of bulk points[5] (Kark, 1990b), received more attention and grew further. The formation of 'Ahuzat Bayit' society in 1906 to establish a modern and developed neighbourhood, with better living conditions than the crowded Arabic port town, generated a sense of segregation by land acquisition of the unaccounted dunes to the north of the port. The association's members and initial builders were predominantly Russian immigrants living in the town (Mager, 2017). The British Mandate period from 1920 marked the beginning of the decline and gradual deterioration of the economic vitality of Jaffa, which was flourishing as an economic centre (Goren, 2015). During the mid-1930s, the development of the Jewish Yishuv (settlement) alongside the growth of Tel Aviv had implications on the economic growth of Jaffa to a great extent. The shifting demographics and increase in Jewish immigrants led to the vision of forming a Jewish neighbourhood and nurturing the sentiment of the Hebrew speaking population, a modern suburb with a garden city concept built in the European style. Cartography carried out by the British was undertaken with the intent of transferring and formalising ownership of the land to Zionist organisations such as the Jewish National Fund or Palestine Jewish Colonization Association.

As a result of the Arab revolt and the riots at Jaffa port in 1936, the Arab merchants and workers halted all the port operations, resulting in huge economic implications. This event was seized as an opportunity by the Tel Aviv Chamber of Commerce to establish an alternative port in Tel Aviv and to forgo the Jaffa port. However, The Jaffa Municipality had expressed support towards the bargemen on the port and did not support the decision of a new alternative port. From that point onwards, the old port saw a steep fall in import and export after a jetty was built in Tel Aviv. During World War I, all chief operations were moved to Haifa and the movement of cargo in Jaffa plummeted. With the opening of the Tel Aviv passenger terminal, the movement of Jewish passengers through Jaffa port had come to a halt. The events of World War II and

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5   A break-in-bulk point is a place where goods are transferred from one mode of transport to another, for example, at the docks where goods are transferred from ship to truck.

the halting of all global trade in the Mediterranean led to the further deterioration of the condition of Jaffa port and its prolonged closure; this ultimately resulted in joblessness amongst the Arab bargemen until the end of the war 1945. After the war, the Jaffa Chamber of Commerce and the Arab Higher Committee played a pivotal role in supporting the revival and reopening of the port, however the simultaneous revival of Tel Aviv port was a perceived threat to citrus exports. As a result, the revival of the old port as a national symbol of Arab pride and economy failed and the port sank and decayed (Goren, 2015).

3000 - 1200 BCE	Jaffa thrives as Canaanite port and fortified port during Bronze age
6 BCE - 500 CE	Jaffa thrives as important port in Roman and Byzantine periods
1119	The Battle of Jaffa between the Crusaders and the Egyptians, destroying the wall partially
13th Century CE	Mamluks from Egypt conquered the port in, rebuilding the port and reviving its markets
16th Century CE	The Ottoman period dynamically took over the port town and profoundly reshaped Jaffa's social and cultural geography
1799	Siege by Napoleon
1830s	Jewish immigration
1839	Ashkenazi Jews settle in Yafa
1840–61	Tanzimat reformation by Ottomans
1879	City walls demolished to accommodate growth of city
1892	Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway commenced
1909	Tel Aviv founded
1920 - 1948	British Mandate period
1921	Tel Aviv was given township status within the Jaffa Municipality
1934	Tel Aviv became independent from Jaffa
1936	Arab revolt and the riots at Jaffa
1945	Decline of economic activity in Jaffa and construction of alternate port in Tel Aviv
1947–1949	Palestine war Tel Aviv began the municipal annexation of parts of Jaffa
1950	Municipality fully unified with Jaffa and renamed "Tel Aviv-Yafo"

FIGURE 6

Note. Historical chronology of the formation, rise and fall of the port town. Copyright by The Jaffa Cultural Heritage Project, Israel Antiquities Authority, 2014. Figure created by author.

The Emergence of Alterity: Separatist and Exclusivist Attitudes in Jaffa as the Enclave

The histories of cities are compelling narratives that tell the story of the victor and exhibit the history and culture through the victor's records (Rotbard, 2015) and the identity of a place is shaped by historical events, influential figures, and religious and national ideologies. With the beginning of the decline of the port operations and economy in 1936, the Jaffa Municipality defended the city's borders, economy, and culture from Tel Aviv under Arab Nationalist Policies (LeVine, 2005). Ultimately, however, after the war of 1948, and the formation of the modern city of Tel Aviv, the Jewish state rose to prominence and Jaffa became a city reminiscent of the past; it was a deliberate target of neglect and decay, and unequal distribution of resources. Its neighbourhood became the ethnic enclave while Tel Aviv emerged as a modern metropolitan city. This phenomenon can be observed to have had a profound impact on the borders of the city, the social and spatial configurations, as well as attitudes of the new modern Jewish city towards immigrants with varied origins and economic conditions present in the derelict district.

Jaffa, with its evocative past, can be termed a heterogeneous historic port town, drawing references from the association of its multiple communities to various origins and their movements and travails in the region. These include Bedouins, Yemenite, and North African Jews, Houranis from Syria, Egyptians, Trans Jordanians, Circassians, Germans, Greek orthodox, and Lebanese (LeVine, 2005). The historical records show an exponential rise in the Jewish population from 1922 to 1944 as against the gradual growth of the Arab population in Tel Aviv and Jaffa (Table 01). As a result of the war of 1948, most of the Arabs either fled or were forced out of the country (Portugali, 1991). The population census of 2002 demonstrates the complexity of the phenomenon of socio-spatial segregation within the city, with Muslim and other religious minorities concentrated in the neighbourhood of the old port town (Figure 7). This composition makes Jaffa homogenous in the regional schemes; however, on studying the social, cultural, and economic aspects, it maintains its heterogeneity.
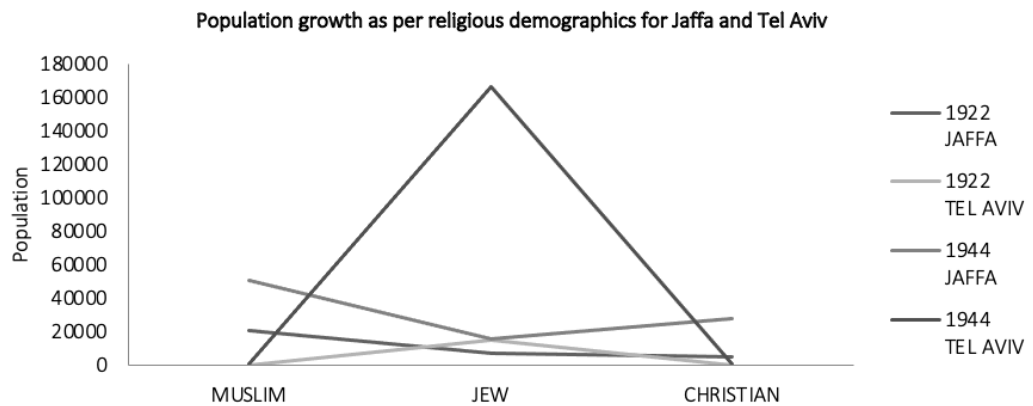

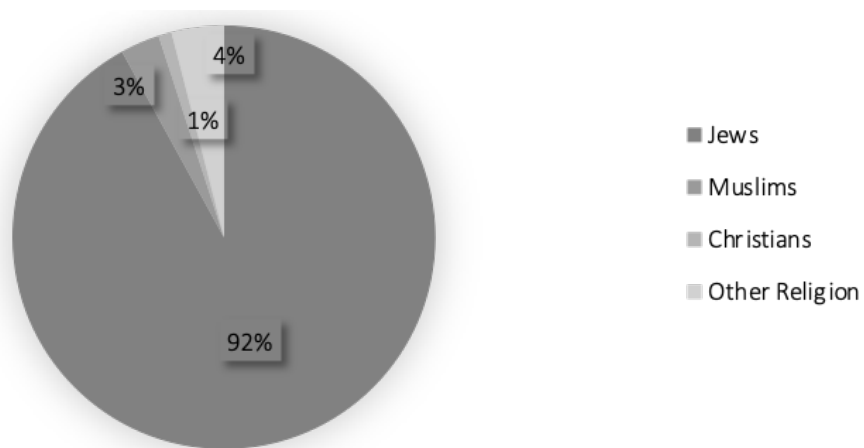TABLE 1 Population growth in Jaffa and Tel Aviv. From Levine (2005).

FIGURE 7 Population Chart, 2008.

Note. Population census of Tel Aviv- Yafo from Central Bureau of Statistics, Israel, 2008. Figure created by author.

Nationalism in Israel has an implication on the socio-spatial configurations at a regional as well as at a metropolitan level, within the Jewish, Arab, and other minority groups, and is operationalised and conceptualised by political, economic, social, and cultural forces and processes (Vaughan, 2019). The period after the 1948 war until the 1970s witnessed discriminatory policies against the Arabic population. With the introduction of Absentee Property Law[6], the period saw the appropriation of all communal and individual property by the state (Monterescu, 2015) which led to the displacement of original inhabitants of Jaffa. Palestinians were banned from renovating their homes and the Jewish diaspora was involved in land purchases from large landowners. The historic Manshiya neighbourhood, built and inhabited by the Egyptian agricultural merchants, was razed to ground in 1948 during Israel's war of independence and consequently developed as a sea promenade and arterial roads of the metropolis (Figure 4). Tel Aviv council allocated funds for planting trees on the surrounding *Mahlul*[7] land, owned by the Bedouin, and were given compensation to leave peacefully (LeVine, 2005). The dynamics of the social composition of a neighbourhood is evident from the movement of Jewish and Arab communities gravitating towards neighbourhoods that were a conglomeration of certain communities. The exclusionary governance policy resulted in deteriorating living conditions in Jaffa making it an economically deprived quarter within the municipality borders with a higher rate of social issues of unemployment, crime, and drug abuse. Jaffa became a conurbation of Arab communities; after the six-day war of 1967, many displaced Palestinians gravitated towards the dilapidated old neighbourhoods. In the late 1990s, the inhabitants started to engage in economic revival activities such as restaurants, car repair shops, and contracting firms. Although this phenomenon saw the restoration of the communities, the increase in the Arab population led to the town becoming overcrowded, which further impacted on its physical and social infrastructure. This ultimately led it to be regarded as the underdeveloped ghetto of District no. 07 of Tel Aviv-Yafo municipality, an economically deprived quarter (Figure 4).

After the annexation of Jaffa with Tel Aviv and the formation of Tel Aviv- Yafo municipality, the events of the creation of spatial fringe conditions and erasure of memory and sense of belonging continued to exist. This was the continued result of the intensified division based on ethnicity, and political and social control over the spatial order, to perpetuate the notion of governance by singular ethnos; this marginalises vulnerable ethnic groups, relegating them to the city's economic, political, social, and spatial margins (David, 1995). The Tel Aviv Municipality changed almost all the Arabic street names in Jaffa into numbers before renaming them in Hebrew. Southern areas of the city have been systematically encouraged to collapse and continue to be deliberate targets of decay with unequal distribution of resources (Rotbard, 2015). This creative destruction (LeVine, 2005) seeped in through the planning policies and actions, having implications on the global economic and cultural flow in the city.

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[6]   Absentee Property Law 1950: Introduced as emergency ordinances issued by the Jewish leadership for land acquisition for properties owned by Palestinian refugees in the state.

[7]   Mahlul Land: As per the Ottoman Land Code of 1858, mahlul land was to be reverted to the state if left uncultivated for 3 years or left vacant and up for re-grant.

Global Identity, Consumerism, and Gentrification

 The discourse of right to a city (Lefebvre, 1974) in the Jaffa old port town has been altered by influences of the phenomenon of modernising the spaces and globalisation, while supporting the idea of the identity of a state. Jaffa and its neighbourhoods were considered to be an antithesis to the modern Tel Aviv, an underdeveloped region, creating the other through creative destruction (Timothy, 1988). 'The White City of Tel-Aviv – the Modern Movement' with its innovative garden city urban planning ideas, Bauhaus modern architecture, and influence of the European school of architecture adapted to the climate needs of the city, was granted the status of World Heritage Site in 2003 by UNESCO. However, environs like Florentine, Neve Shanan, and Cheinoy demonstrate magnificent oriental and colonial architecture, which was not woven into the narrative of Tel Aviv and obscured the historical significance of the historic Oriental port town. Jaffa, located on the periphery of this celebrated modern town with outstanding universal value, was transformed into a suburb inflicted by cultural tourism and consumerism. This movement of appreciation of historic architecture can be attributed to postmodernism, as a reaction to modern Tel Aviv's uniform architecture devoid of ornamentation. The heritage conservation practice initiated during this period witnessed the appropriation of historic buildings for purposes of promoting tourism for an elite section of the society, change in building uses that made Jaffa spatially heterogenous, and divergent modes of growth, behaviour, and development.

The Discourse of Management of Change and Decision-Making Process

The Practice of Heritage preservation and Associated Actors

In 1952, the port of Jaffa was made an independent unit managed by the Ministry of Transport and followed by the establishment of the Old Jaffa Development Company in the 1960s. Since then the port was designated as an 'architectural reserve' in the Municipal Building plan 606 (IAA, 2013). To ensure the stability of old structures, any new construction activities were not permitted by the Municipality and new plan 606A was drawn to redevelop the area as a centre for tourism, art, and entertainment, thereby attracting a new populace. In 2007, the port became the responsibility of Tel Aviv-Yafo municipality after being officially transferred. The Israel Antiquity Authority protects and manages listed historic buildings and a 2006 policy document declares the mound of Jaffa as a protected antiquities site where many controlled archaeological excavations are carried out.

Coinciding with universal conservation practices, efforts by the joint city of Tel Aviv-Yafo began in the late 1960s and continued until the mid-1980s. The first Israeli urban master plans for West Jaffa, designed in the 1950s and 1960s, called for almost total demolition of the existing Palestinian built environs, to be replaced with modern housing projects (Meishar, 2018). The neighbourhood of Neve Tsedek was slated for demolition and redevelopment along modernist lines, however the middle-class occupants of the area campaigned for its conservation. As the port faced decay, abandonment of houses, and demolition by the Municipality, redevelopment plan no. 2236 was launched as the Jaffa Slope Project in the 1960s. This aimed at the neighbourhoods of Ajami and Jabaliya and involved evacuating the existing inhabitants (Arabs and Jews) from the space and demolishing some of the existing structures to build luxurious housing on the empty land for people of medium and high socio-economic means, the reclamation of the sea as a

recreational area, and the building of hotels along the expanded seashore (Goldhaber, 2010). Such flagship projects, Andromeda hill[8] for instance, introduce gated communities within the historic district, leading to gentrification and further segregation of the local milieu (Monterescu, 2009).
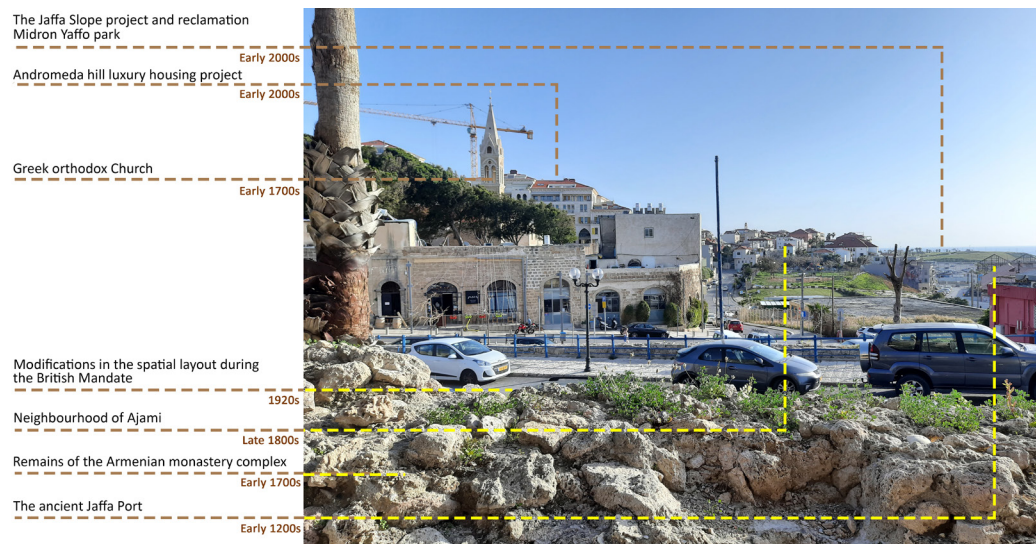

The Jaffa Slope project and reclamation
Midron Yaffo park
Early 2000s

Andromeda hill luxury housing project
Early 2000s

Greek orthodox Church
Early 1700s

Modifications in the spatial layout during
the British Mandate
1920s

Neighbourhood of Ajami
Late 1800s

Remains of the Armenian monastery complex
Early 1700s

The ancient Jaffa Port
Early 1200s

FIGURE 8 Annotated Photograph of Jaffa.

Note. View of Jaffa from the historic site of the Armenian monastery, demonstrating the different layers of history that form the spatial identity as well as the attributes of spatial memory.

As Jaffa developed into a cultural and tourist centre, the spatial fragmentation became evident through its mixed uses—artists' colonies, mixed lower-end and high-end residential areas, the Palestinian neighbourhood of Ajami, the promenade, and the old port—which significantly altered the cultural, social, and economic landscape of the port town. This socio-spatial metamorphosis of Tel Aviv- Jaffa became a representational space (Lefebvre, 1974) with physical and cognitive boundaries evident in the planning policies. The Jaffa Slope Plan No. 2236 was finally included in the Local Area Plan in 1995. Land policies, adopted by municipal planners at various stages, broadly maintained the ethos of altering the social and physical fabric of these neighbourhoods (Goldhaber, 2010). The process of historic preservation is challenging as the values of association and history are pitted against the value or the market trends as well as development. The 2020 demolition of the old custom house is a classic example of this case. The modernist styled customs building was built by the Turkish authorities in 1886 for the pilgrims arriving at the port. It was later converted to an immigration terminal during the British Mandate period (Zeveloff, 2016). It was marked for preservation as a historic building in 2003 in National Outline Plan 2/13, and later in a detailed plan for Jaffa Port that went into effect in March 2007 (Mirovsky, 2019). However, the Tel Aviv municipality chose to reverse the status in order to demolish the building to expand the seaside promenade. Another example of extensive renovation work undertaken on 37 buildings of the former Templer settlement of Sarona was considered to have been the greatest conservation project ever conducted in Tel Aviv. During this course of the project, five buildings were completely relocated and reopened as a recreational destination, making evident the sharp contrast between the historical and the modern high rise buildings (Mager, 2017). Such shifting dynamics of market forces, trends in architecture, and notions of development for preserving the physical and the social fabric of a historic city, present many challenges and demand innovative methods of assessing the impacts of projects and development plans.

8   Andromeda Hill is a luxurious high-end residential complex which promotes itself as a 'city within a city' and is a striking combination of old-world beauty, architectural charm, and modern-day comfort. It was launched in the early 2000s.

Left   *Rigth*

FIGURE 9

Note. Left: Archival photograph of the Jaffa port from 1989. Copyright by Library of Congress, 1989. From pickryl.com; Right: The current spatial configuration of Jaffa which demonstrates modification of land use by the Municipality, and the conversion of land to 'The Slope Park' or The HaMidron garden after this area was abandoned and demolished. The promenade was also developed to promote cultural tourism in Jaffa and, as seen in the picture, was developed after the demolition of the old port buildings.

Socio-Spatial Configurations in Urban Planning and Heritage Management of Jaffa

Since the emergence of Tel Aviv and consequent historic events, the demographics and singular ethnic hegemony were drastically altered, which bore direct implications on the plurality of the socio-spatial configuration of the historic port town. The spatial organisation of cities in the age of globalisation is characterised by an agglomeration of heterogeneous social groups that are polarised economically, socially, and politically (Goldhaber, 2007), giving rise to urban arteritis (Lefebvre, 1996; Smith, 1996). These social spaces are diachronic, and the discourse of evolving territories is contingent on the understanding of geographical space, landscape, and property as cultural phenomena, and thereby have a history of change (Lefebvre, 1974). These challenges of management of mixed cities and spatial modalities of the cultural landscape, as shaped by people, imply customary-use rights and broaden the discourse of right to landscape (Egoz et al., 2011) and mnemonics. The current practice of historic preservation and cultural tourism subverted the Arab identity, creating a representative imagined space that is sanitised and devoid of Arab presence (LeVine, 2001).

Such a spatial turn and phenomenon encouraged by apathy towards plurality and cultural significance exacerbates the sense of placelessness (Relph, 1976) and erasure of memory. Though the preservation policy encourages heritage building owners to renovate and maintain their houses, there is no analysis of the record of financial mechanisms such as incentivised statutory plans (Mualam, 2014) in the historic preservation framework of Israel. The lack of concerted preservation efforts is visible and documented in Israel's State Comptroller survey of local and national policy (Mualam, 2014). To maintain the status of a UNESCO World Heritage city status, Tel Aviv exercises preservation and site management policies. However, Jaffa is treated as antithetical to the Zionist project of constructing a new state and the oriental architecture was not deemed fit for preservation. The market forces and lack of preservation framework exacerbate the intensity of modernising the historic core and promote high-end luxurious housing or commercial properties, relegating the preservation approach to tokenistic efforts (Figure 10). In this historic port town, the acute insufficiency of institutional urban preservation is replaced by an interest in urban heritage as a catalyst for socioeconomic change and private investment in heritage properties, which leads to appropriation, gentrification, and marginalisation, and is an oxymoron of creative destruction (Page, 1999).
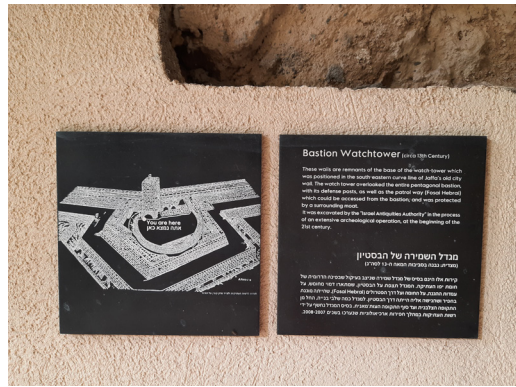
Left *Right*

FIGURE 10

Note. The material extant of the historic port walls of Jaffa are preserved and displayed for demonstration at The Jaffa, a Luxury Collection Hotel, demonstrating and acknowledging the historical layer and the fortification walls incorporated in the design, however, this is limited only to providing information to the visitors of the high-end luxury hotel and subsequently a limited section of the society. This absence of preservation policy and the tokenistic approach restricts the continuance of mnemonics and cultural memory.

Addressing the Shifting Narratives of Historic Cities as a Tool for the Preservation of the Social and Built Environment

To discuss the new trajectories in the management of historic urban conurbations, the New Urban Agenda emphasises the process of urbanisation as a powerful tool for sustainable development.

Article 97. We will promote planned urban extensions and infill, prioritizing renewal, regeneration, and retrofitting of urban areas, as appropriate, including the upgrading of slums and informal settlements, providing high-quality buildings and public spaces, promoting integrated and participatory approaches involving all relevant stakeholders and inhabitants and avoiding spatial and socioeconomic segregation and gentrification, while preserving cultural heritage and preventing and containing urban sprawl (UN Habitat, 2017).

The UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (UNESCO, 2010) also emphasises a landscape approach to ensure integration of cultural heritage policies and planning concerns for sustainable and inclusive methods for urban heritage management with attention given to socio-spatial configurations. This socio-spatial modality of a mixed city is discursive and needs to be documented through the collective imaginations of its residents and decision-makers, as well as the attributes of socio-economic and cultural aspects and their consequences on the spatial phenomenon.

Moving toward sustainable development requires economic and social systems that encourage environmental stewardship of resources for the long term, acknowledging the interdependency of social justice, economic well-being, and environmental stewardship (Haughton, 1999). However, these caveats of gentrification, commodification, and heritagisation are integral to the effective functioning of a market economy having direct impacts on the equilibrium of rights to the city and social justice. This equilibrium underpins the mainstream theory of the economics of the Pareto effect[9] and can also be applied to the spatial and social equilibrium.

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[9]   Pareto effect: This is named after Vilfredo Pareto, an Italian economist, who used the concept in his studies of economic efficiency and income distribution. It refers to situations in which any change to make any person better off would be impossible without making someone else worse off.

Conclusion

Historic port cities present a complex cultural landscape with layers of history, evolution, social and economic factors of influence, and the resulting dynamics. To achieve sustainable development, it is essential to address how our current political, economic, and social systems cause impact and transcend the set parameters and frameworks of practice. Planning and heritage management is central to development, however the cognisance of this socio-spatial character of historic urban areas plays a crucial role in the planning of residential environments. Novel methods for assessment are key to the recognition of these forces and challenges and to enforcing a well-informed inquiry. Taking cognisance of the social, cultural, and economic narratives of the cities to address present-day concerns is a prudent step towards integrating socio-spatial disparities and addressing the lacunae in contemporary management strategies and philosophies. In the current epoch of the 'Anthropocene,' capitalism, neo-liberalism, and dominance of human activity on the landscape and ecology, it becomes imperative to annotate the changing environments. The spatial shifts and changes in cities over a period of time can be articulated and drawn from the influence of economic forces and neo-liberal activities and attributes such as the shift in demographics, land values, change in land use, and marginalisation or social exclusion of vulnerable groups leading to spatial injustice. Spatial justice should be instantiated and evaluated in two major aspects: Just distribution of resources and just representation in decision-making processes. The distribution of resources may include basic facilities for a living such as water, sanitation, health, and education facilities. Representation in decision-making processes becomes credible by the inclusion of all communities, fair representation, and participatory method of planning by the urban local bodies. The combination of these two as aspects as results and process can lead to a spatially just city and ecosystem and address the concerns and narrative of historic preservation in contemporary culture. Novel methods of documentation and inquiry such as cultural mapping which is an emerging model of research that can serve a point of inquiry for theory and discourse on spatial representation. Developing a Historic Urban Landscape database, which is beyond the confines of boundaries of protected buildings, UNESCO World Heritage lists, and buffer zones will enable historic and spatial representation. Integrating the intangible values of social and cultural heritage would be an effective tool to identify the urban invisibles within spatial configurations, the continuity of historical landscapes in the existing built environment, and present knowledge and ontology of urban heritage, urban evolution, and sustainable conservation and development.

Acknowledgements

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