

Conservation and Development Processes in Multi-Cultural Historic Towns

Test cases – Stone Town and Jaffa

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Preface

Contemporary town planning in towns with old municipal centers aims to incorporate their historic value in the environmental development. Researchers in different fields tend to relate these planning strategies to the transition from the modernist period to the post-modernist period, which is a result of the transition from a productive society to a consumer society (Jamieson, 1991; Baumann, 2002; Harvey, 1989, 1990). While modernist planning strove to create uniform planning, the post-modernist approach aims to preserve the past as a means of structuring local identities, taking into account local cultural factors and focusing on differences and unique elements as a response to globalization and unifying modernism (Harvey, 1990).

The post-modern approach acts on layers of memory and local narrative, taking a critical look at the modernist myth that claims a disconnection with earlier world views (Kaloush & Lu-Jon, 2003). The conservation actions derived from this approach aim to preserve fabrics that create a sense of historic continuity, in a global era in which time breaks down into fragments of units that lack continuity (Jamieson, 2002). Against this background, the question arises as to whether post-modernist conservation of the historic town strengthens people's sense of belonging to the place, or creates an alienated space?

These questions will be examined against the background of the practical application of the post-modernist concept of conservation of the built heritage, including an examination of possibilities for financing conservation activities through the private sector, which usually tends to enlist to this task by developing local tourism; strengthening national identity by means of preserving the fabrics of the past as chapters in the historic continuum of the national story, while dealing with different identity groups in society; reinforcing local identities in the old neighborhoods, and their sense of place (these groups are usually made up of migrant populations); reducing the spatial and social inequality that came into being during the modernist period; and improving the visual and aesthetic appearance of the town. In light of the ambitious objectives of post-modernist conservation strategy, there is room to wonder about its ability to realize this set of objectives, with their inherent contradictions.

The main argument of this research is that post-modernist conservation – as implemented today – does not succeed in meeting its social or its physical and aesthetic goals. This hypothesis claims that the conservation strategy in question is paradoxical. Among the questions with regard to this paradox is the question of how it is possible to preserve both national heritage and the cultural heritages of marginal groups that have settled in the declining neighborhoods of the town at one and the same time, when these neighborhoods are often occupied by groups that object to the identity proposed by the national elite. How is it possible to preserve the intimate character of the neighborhood, to develop a sense of place, and to turn the area into a place filled with tourists and businesses aimed at the tourist consumer? How is it possible, on the one hand, to preserve aesthetic and cultural values of the past, while at the same time making the place produce a profit? How is it possible to help the weaker elements and also to make the real estate yield a profit, at one and the same time, all without public subsidy?

In the neo-liberal reality in which conservation practice is carried out, economic interests of immediate profit have a more central position than realizing social goals. The new functions in the conserved area are, in most cases, intended for a target

audience other than the local population. In this way, we have spatial aesthetization without realization of the social promise, which creates an increased sense of alienation among local residents. To the extent that social objectives are achieved, they serve the national goals of the political elite, which affords franchises to economic companies, while the interests of the weak groups living in the declining neighborhoods are sidelined.

This hypothesis is supported by a number of research studies emphasizing the power of financial interests to maneuver the conservation process in a way that best serves them (Ashworth & Larkham, 1994, Ashworth & Nasser, 2003, Urry, 1995). This research aims to examine the above paradox, on the basis of two test cases, Jaffa and Stone Town. The research will include a critical examination of the objectives and achievements of the two conservation plans. We will examine the way in which the planning process and implementation reflect and represent the interests of the different entities involved in this process. We will look at who benefits from the plans, and which identities are afforded legitimacy in the landscape. We will mainly examine which of the three social objectives of financial profit, strengthening national identity, and strengthening the identity of the local residents is achieved in these plans. In our estimation, in many cases there is an inbuilt contradictions between these objectives, which cannot be realized at one and the same time, as shown by the test cases that we have chosen.

The questions relevant to our discussion are:

- Who are the players involved in the current conservation plans in each of the towns?
- What lies behind the different development strategies?
- To which socio-economic and cultural groups are these strategies directed?
- What is the legacy that they choose to preserve, and which values do they choose to emphasize in the preserved urban fabric?

Comparing the findings with the plans proposed for these towns in the modernist era will allow us to examine the differences in implementation of the plans in the modern and post-modern periods.

Literature Review:

Most of conservation plans begun as a means of developing the economies and attracting foreign currency, by tourism (Brown, 1994). Yet, at the beginning, it was not clear whether by compelling its rules, the national government is a necessary factor in the implementer process of conservation plans.

Over time, focusing on the balance between local and external influences of conservation plans, It was found that locality factors, and the role of local regimes and policy communities are more important than national government policy in accounting for aims and policies of such plans (Maitland, 2006).

Unlike local economic & cultural forces, One of the main means of regime to obtain conservation is the legislative means by the ruling authority (Harvey, D. 2001).

Apart from economic consideration, Culture and heritage are often considered as the fundamental aspects underpinning a country's national identity and sovereignty (Ghafar, 2006).

By studying the wide range of British colonial architecture in Malaysia, particularly those which were built between 1800 and 1930. (the year 1800 as a convenient point for permanent buildings to be established) it was argued that Establishing an enabling institutional and policy framework, goes a long way in creating the incentives necessary to prioritize cultural heritage conservation. Having effective laws, legislations, rules and building codes are essential, alongside developing special conservation plans and zoning controls (Ghafar Ahmad, 1997).

While conservation plan was found an effective tool to dominant cultural heritage by authorities, it was suggested that legislative means (such as as Planning and Construction Law) enabling the regime & interested groups, to exploit the space for their benefit, by such plans (Schnell I, Barzilay B, 2008)

Returning to the local past as a source for building identity and creating a sense of historic roots in the place, may create opportunities for regimes to reinforces dominant identities from the past by preserving architectural values that represent the "legitimate identity", which is usually national, and revoking the right to representation of the opposing identities of marginal groups (Schnell I, Barzilay B, 2008).

Focusing on Israeli town - Jafa, it was argued that since the British government to the Israeli one, conservation plans serve a national goals of the political elite, while the interests of the weak groups living in the declining neighborhoods are sidelined (יצחק - אגא אזכר כאן את המאמר שלך על יפו).

While the power of financial interests to maneuver the conservation process in a way that best serves authorities was researched, (Ashworth, 1994) This article examines, by comparing the two cities Jaffa and Stone Town, the way in which the planning process and implementation reflect and represent the interests of the different entities involved in this process.

The research method

This study focuses on understanding the cultural, political and economic contexts of the process of structuration of the conserved space. The municipal development and conservation plans serve as a text, intended for interpretation by the political and economic forces that shape post-modernist conservation. We examine who are the players involved in the conservation process, and what are the objectives of the plans, according to the declarations of the planners and the way in which they are implemented; we also examine the character of the sites that have been chosen for conservation, the different narratives that lie behind the sites for conservation, and the intended function of these sites.

The planning process was examined at the theoretical and practical level. The theoretical discussion compares the post-modernist and the modernist approaches to conservation. The practical discussion focuses on interpreting the municipal conservation plans of the two test cases: Stone Town and Jaffa. In the course of the research, we examined the array of forces establishing and shaping environments within a given time and space, as part of an institutional, cultural and social structure

that exists here and now. For this purpose, we mainly used a qualitative-interpretative research method, including content analysis, and with regard to Jaffa, we also used an empirical research method including systematic analysis, in which 94 sites were examined with regard to their identity, religious and/or ethnic affiliation; proprietary ownership in the past and present; current and planned function; and the narrative used to justify their conservation and/or to present them to the public.

In our research, we relied mainly on primary sources such as official policy documents of national and municipal bodies, alongside activity reports of private associations; in Stone Town this is the conservation plan initiated by the Aga Khan Trust and planning strategy documents from different periods. In Jaffa, we made use of two main plans representing different periods – the first plan, Urban Building Plan 606 for the old city, and the 2001-2006 Jaffa tourist development implementation plan and its appendices, dealing with preserving the built heritage of Jaffa. In addition, we used research literature discussing the two test cases; newspaper items on conservation projects, and articles representing part of the public discussion on the planning processes in Stone Town and Jaffa; and the relevant urban building plans for the different areas of Jaffa. In collecting the data relating to Jaffa, we were also helped by the Engineering Administration Archives of Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality and the Jaffa planning team. During the period of the research, we toured the two research areas: in September 2004 we visited Stone Town, and between 2005 and 2007 we carried out many tours of Jaffa.

The research areas: Stone Town and Jaffa

The research areas relate to the historic parts of the cities of Zanzibar and Tel Aviv-Jaffa. The research boundaries in the city of Zanzibar relate to Stone Town, with the port on the northern border, Nyerere Road forming the southern border, the sea to the west, and the market and Jamhuri Gardens in the east (Map B1). In the margins of the discussion, we made comparisons with conservation processes also being carried out in the Ng'ambo neighborhood located on the eastern border of Stone Town.

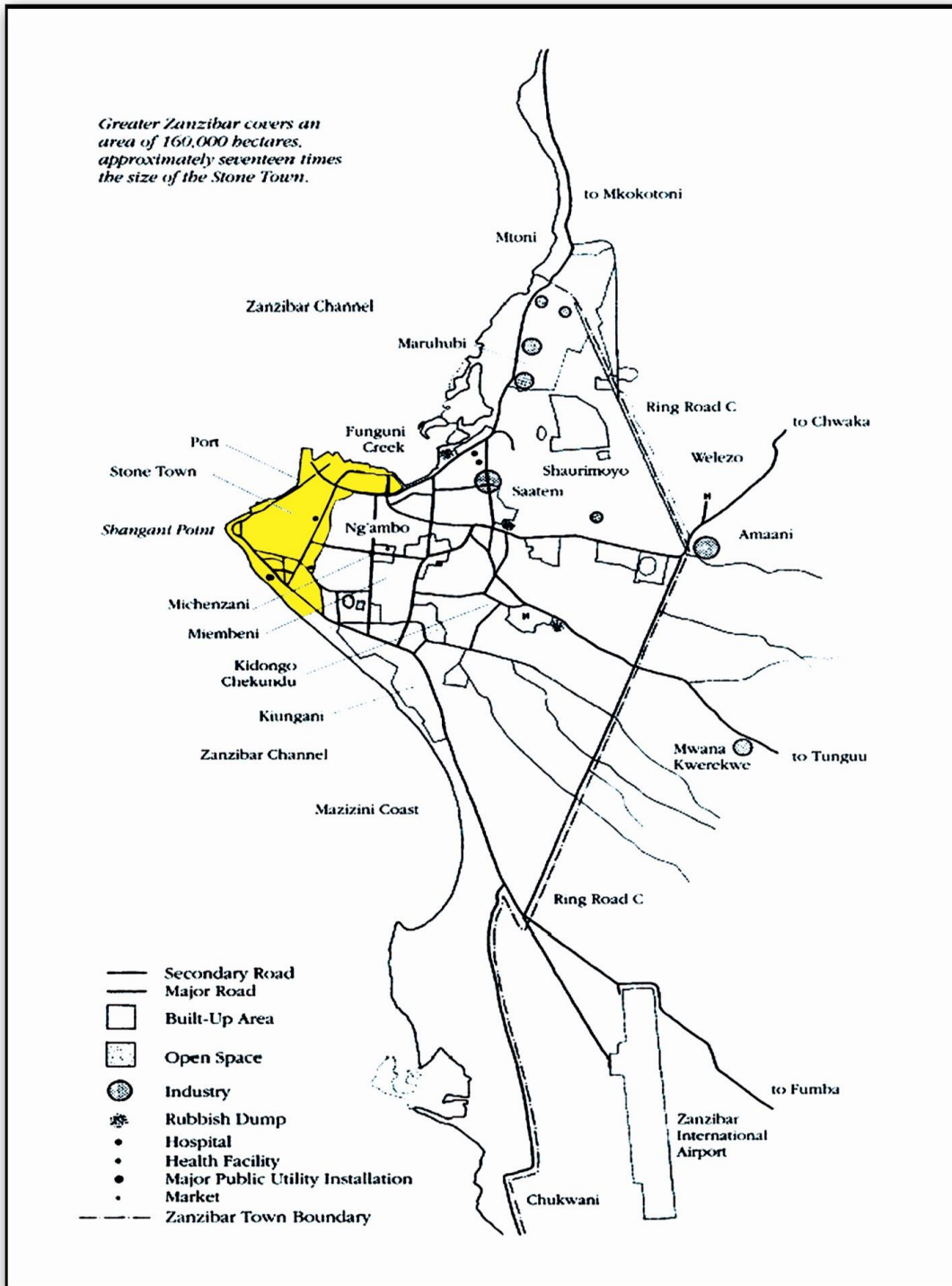
The boundaries of Jaffa (7th district), as part of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa metropolis (Map B2) to which we have related in our research are the borders set by the tourism implementation plan. The area of the plan includes the heart of the tourist area - Jaffa Port, the old town, the area of Raziol St., Jerusalem Blvd., Olei Zion St. and the western part of the old town, Jaffa escarpment, the gates to Jaffa, and the beachfront promenade. The plan also includes the tourist periphery: the two main tourist areas in the periphery are the north of the Ajami neighborhood – the Coptic monastery and the American colony. In the case of Jaffa too, we have related to differences in conservation policy between Jaffa and other areas in the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa.

The test cases, Stone Town and Jaffa, were chosen as having many similarities. In both towns, Stone Town and Jaffa, a cultural heritage was created in the course of history which left its mark on the urban surroundings. Both became a meeting point between western and eastern culture, and modern and ancient culture. Despite the difference in the historic and geographic conditions of the towns, in both cases we can find both Arab and western architecture, alongside an eclectic style that combines the two. In addition, both towns have a varied and mixed population of residents, and a heritage of conquest and dominance by external cultures. Both neighborhoods were pushed to the municipal sidelines, and the cultural heritage was repressed after the

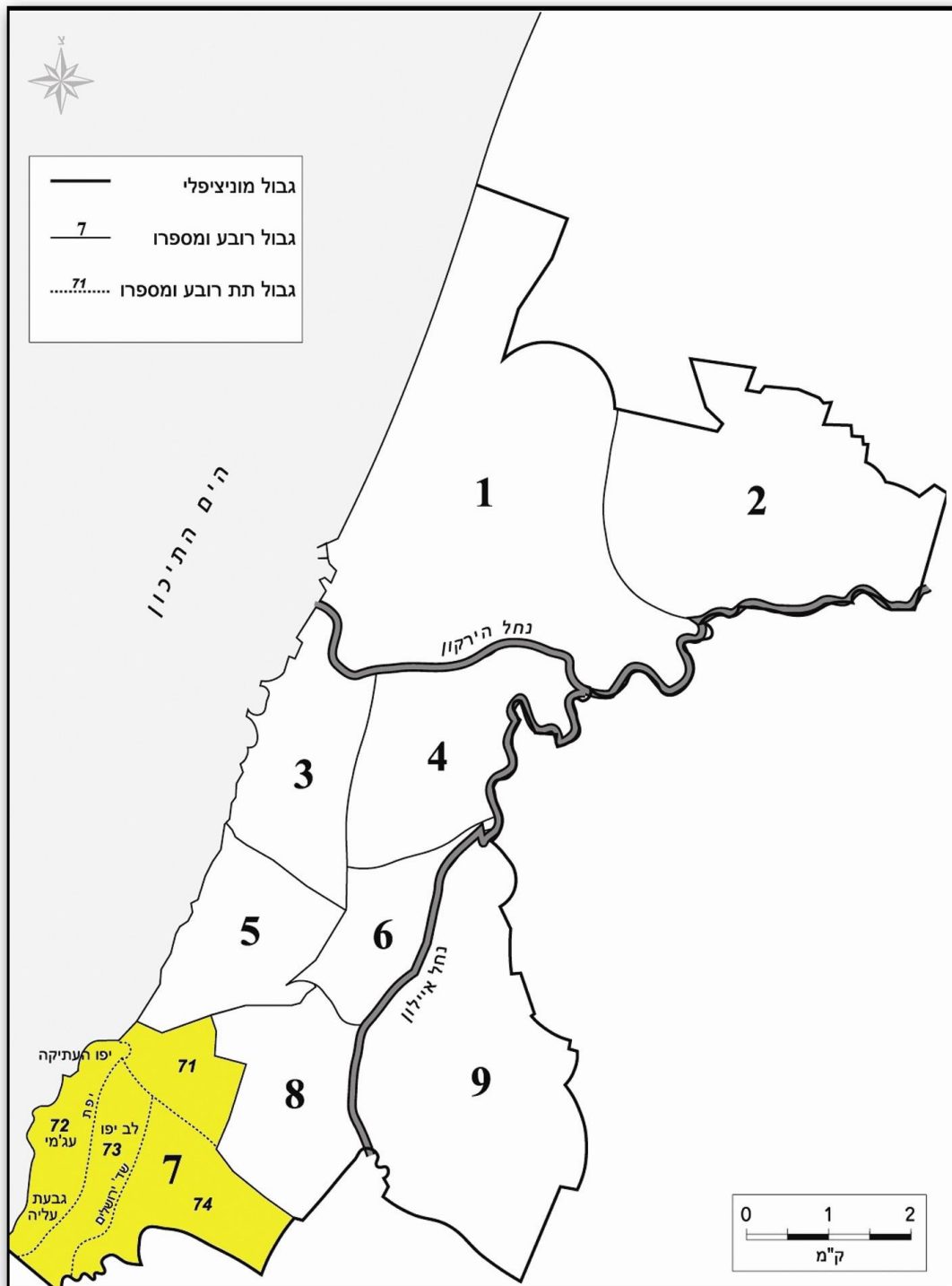
town was conquered by the new elite. The structure of multiple cultures in the two towns emphasizes the complexities that arise from the aspiration to realize the objectives of post-modernist conservation.

The modern urban history of Stone Town and Jaffa is paved with various different attempts at rehabilitation, influenced by global trends, which served the ideology and objectives of the regime. At the beginning of the 20th century, Stone Town and Jaffa were ruled by the British, who invested in renewing their urban infrastructure. These changes included geographic expansion and demolishing part of the built-up surroundings, alongside improving infrastructures and laying the foundations for modern economic development.

In Stone Town and in Jaffa, in parallel with worldwide trends in conservation, there was a change in conservation policy in the second half of the 1980s. This change was manifested in the introduction of private enterprise, recognition of the importance of including the public in the planning process, and the perception of conservation as a tool for social and economic rehabilitation. Global and local events at the beginning of the 21st century created a change in the image being formed of the two towns, and in the urban processes shaping them. At the same time, today the development of tourism in both cases represents a major and important layer in their economic development, and in rehabilitation of their image as towns that are attractive to visit and to live in.



Map B1 – The city of Zanzibar: division into regions



Map B2 – Tel Aviv-Jaffa: division into districts and sub-districts

Stages in planning the conservation of Stone Town and Jaffa

The complexity of modern urban history in Stone Town and Jaffa has brought heterogeneous populations together. Stone Town and Jaffa are port towns with a long history, which has exposed them to interactions with many cultures, that have left their mark on their urban environment. The two towns have been exposed to changing strategies of municipal planning, as formulated in the western world since the beginning of the 20th century. These approaches range from systematic and initiated neglect to the encouragement of private enterprise in an attempt to improve the image and economic basis of the town centers.

Conservation and urban development in Stone Town

The changes undergone by the physical fabric of the city of Zanzibar during the period of British rule at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century included geographic expansion and the destruction of part of the built-up environment. At the same time, the foundations were laid for the city's modern economic development, through improvement of the infrastructures (Hoyle, 2002). In the framework of this program, an effort was made to differentiate between Stone Town and the other areas of the city, as the domain of the colonial elite.

In 1964 a rebellion broke out against the regime of the Arab elite, which marked a critical point in the urban development (Myers, 1997). As a result, rural residents replaced the local urban resident population. The new inhabitants did not identify with the urban tradition, leading to a long period of neglect and substantial change in the traditional buildings. The revolutionary regime wanted to build a new city around the decaying historic nucleus. Considerable sums of money were poured into developing African neighborhoods such as Ng'ambo, in order to carry out ambitious plans to build modern residential housing blocks (Hoyle, 2002).

In 1982, in response to the need to conserve the old city, alongside an awakening to the subject of preserving the built heritage, which began to spread beyond the boundaries of the Western world, international aid organizations began to take a renewed interest in the conservation of Stone Town. In 1985, the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority was established, to plan and coordinate conservation activities in the historic town. Following this, in 1994 the Stone Town conservation plan, financed by the Aga Khan Trust, was approved. This plan laid down a general planning framework and broad conservation and development policy aimed at producing the economic and social revival of the town, among other things by encouraging the tourist industry. Thanks to this plan, there began to be controlled supervision of land use, and of the form of rehabilitation of the city center. In 2000, UNESCO declared Stone Town to be a World Heritage Site.

Spatial planning policy in Jaffa

1948 was a turning point for Jaffa. With the establishment of the state of Israel, instead of being a municipal and national focal point, the Arab residents of Jaffa became a small and poor minority. The destruction of Arab urbanity that year, which had been started by the British during the period of the mandate as an experiment in breaking down centers of national resistance in the complex of alleyways, paved the

way for the establishment of “Arab Jaffa”. A report submitted to the city engineer in 1950 states that the old city should be demolished, in the framework of “repairing” the southern part of Tel Aviv (Yahav, 2004). In this year, Jaffa was connected with Tel Aviv and became one of the city’s districts (7th district), and Tel Aviv’s official name was changed to Tel Aviv-Jaffa.

During this period, the process that the neighborhood’s Arab citizens called the “Judaization of the Jaffa space” and the erasing of the Palestinian narrative began to take place (Mazawi & Makhoul, 1991; De Levine, 2006). The result was that the traditional neighborhoods of Arab Jaffa were disconnected from each other in the general restructuring of the area. This process continued with the conversion of the street names to numbers, followed by names taken from Jewish and Zionist history (Monteresco & Fabian, 2003; Rotbard, 2005). The establishment of Zionist hegemony in Jaffa was manifested, among other things, in the preparation of new outline plans for the town, based on modern-European cultural and social planning concepts, which declared the area to be a rehabilitation area. This meant the evacuation and complete destruction of the historic neighborhoods, and their replacement by new, modern and well planned construction that took no account of the destruction of local society and culture (Goldhaber, 2004). The process of eliminating the poor neighborhoods was carried out at an accelerated pace until 1961. Realization of these plans was conditional on the absolute freezing of traditional construction in the area, and the demolition of most of the buildings in the neighborhood, and evacuation of their inhabitants. In the framework of this policy, 70% of the buildings in the old town were demolished, and massive damage was caused to the Ajami and Jabaliya neighborhoods, as well as elimination of the Manashiya neighborhood on the northern border between Jaffa and Tel Aviv, and the eviction of a large part of the Arab population from these neighborhoods (Monteresco & Fabian, 2003).

As in the example of Stone Town, in Jaffa too, alongside the systematic policy of demolishing the old center there began to be increasing awareness of the importance of preserving the built heritage, which led to plans to conserve the old town. In 1961 the Old Jaffa Development Co. was established, resulting in a conservation process that included the majority of buildings still left standing. In the second half of the 1980s there began to be a change in the municipality’s policy, in parallel with urban renewal, increasing demand for tourist attractions, and the demand for residential accommodation and entertainment facilities in buildings with historic values, mainly those with unique architectural value (Amit-Cohen & Amram, 2002).

The renewal processes in Jaffa were spontaneous in part, but for the most part were new planning initiatives of the municipality, as part of the construction process of the open space in the post-modernist age (Schnell & Greitzer, 1994). As a result of the change of Jaffa’s statu, and the recognition of its potential, the municipality began preliminary attempts at controlled planning of Jaffa, combining development and urban renewal with conservation of built heritage assets. At the same time, it was decided to end the policy of evacuation and demolition, and begin physical, social and economic rehabilitation.

At this time, the “Jaffa Planning Team” was set up, intended to encourage the private market to raise capital and invest it in Jaffa for the benefit of the local population, while encouraging the introduction of a strong, new population to improve the socio-economic makeup of the area (Monteresco & Fabian, 2003). At the end of the 1990s, the Economic Company was established in Jaffa in an organizational framework

intended to lead and promote projects in the area, in cooperation with the relevant government and municipal entities, and in collaboration with Jaffa residents. In this way, Jaffa in the 1980s and 1990s became an object of “development”, both as a tourist site and as a new and fashionable neighborhood for the Jewish middle- and upper-class elite of “global Tel Aviv” (Lavine, 1999).

In 2000, the “implementation plan for the development of tourism in Jaffa” was decided on, as a result of the master plan presenting the preliminary outline for developing tourism in Jaffa. In the framework of this plan, a number of buildings were selected for conservation.

In recent years, conservation in Stone Town and Jaffa has become a major political and economic tool in the current urban planning strategies intended to develop tourism. We therefore wanted to examine the use that is made of conservation in each town.

The implications of the Stone Town conservation program – a decade after the start of implementation of the program

In December 2000, Stone Town became a World Heritage Site, joining a select list of sites around the world with “exceptional global value” (from the UNESCO website, <http://whc.unesco.org>). As of 1994, the supervision of land use was tightened up; measures were taken to protect unique buildings and architectural elements in the streets and open areas; and there was controlled development and rehabilitation of areas in the town center, including improving the transport network. Thanks to these concrete measures, a large number of buildings and monuments were rehabilitated and restored, and 80% of the streets in the historic town center were repaved (Marks, 1996). The aim of the various projects that have been carried out since then, and continue to be implemented, is to contribute to the physical rehabilitation and economic development of the town.

As a result of the growth in population and the need to increase sources of income, development is not only desirable, but essential (Hitchcock, 2002). The fact that Stone Town is a living town, barely supporting many of its inhabitants, cannot be ignored. Poverty and injustice exist alongside an elegant built heritage. The current conservation plan is trying to deal with these two realities. Therefore, the creation of places of employment in commerce and tourism is a central task that is intended to accelerate the town’s development. At the same time, the plan aims to stop the deterioration of buildings and physical infrastructures that serve the population living and working in the town (Siravo & Bianca, 1996). The plan declares realization of the needs of the local communities, most of them from a poor socio-economic background, as a central goal. According to the plan, these objectives will be reached by privatizing the assets and by including private sectors, government entities, and the local community in the planning and conservation process (Marks, 1996). This dialogue of conservation, tourism, and privatization is a kind of circular argument. Tourists and investors bring money, and money brings development. The question is which are the entities that benefit from this development, in the final analysis. Hence, we examined the implications and results of the plan with regard to the town and its residents, and the target audience benefiting in practice from the conservation process in Stone Town, a decade after implementation of the plan.

The problems of determining criteria for conservation

The Zanzibar conservation plan describes the city as a product of joint culture, spreading over different periods and having a unified collective memory (Bissel, 2005). This strategy involves shaping Stone Town as a cultural property shared by all the city's residents. However, the plan creates a new history that did not exist in its current form (Bissel, 2005). In addition, characterization of the different buildings is based on the ethnic principle. This means that conservation activities in Stone Town break the town down into ethnic areas, such as "Arab", "Indian", "Swahili", or "European colonial". The town's colonial past stands in contradiction both to the attempt to form a story that will strengthen the roots of national identity, and to the identity of the local groups inhabiting the town today.

The conservation plan is attracted, and gives priority, to preserving the monumental buildings and recognizing them as historic buildings, while the restorers have ignored Ng'ambo, despite the fact that these two parts of the town were built at almost the same time, and were interconnected. While Stone Town became the colonial center, Ng'ambo became the residential center for the local population. The significance of this is that even in the post-modern period, ostensibly characterized by conservation of the historic everyday space that is considered appropriate for preservation, it is still monumental history that meets the fashionable, western definitions, and in most cases is also the basis for economic development.

This point leads to a discussion on the subject of the selected past – which in the case in question, is colonial (Bissel, 2005). This heritage includes an attempt to create an exotic-oriental image for the reality of trading in slaves, spices and ivory on which the Stone Town economy was based. Zanzibar's past has been shaped as mono-cultural, by developing museums and hotels in prominent colonial buildings that describe the oriental east as an object of western passion. More and more entrepreneurs and investors have begun to act, in order to be part of the tourism branch and turn oriental exoticism into capital, renovating hotels, restaurants, and cafes, in the style of the Arab sultanate of the 19th century, or of the Indian traders.

Attempts to create a collective memory by means of conservation aroused resistance among part of the local population. For example, the state's attempts to protect African cultural heritage prompted objections among those who hold Zanzibari nationalist beliefs with regard to the unique nature of the society living along the coast, and its superiority over the inland culture (ibid, 2005). Monuments that have been restored and conserved for the purposes of tourism, because they purportedly represent "the Zanzibar tradition and culture" in fact have only a weak connection to Zanzibar and its inhabitants. This lack of critical view of the past that is being preserved by the current conservation efforts reflects the paradox that can be found in many conservation approaches, not only in Zanzibar but throughout the world (Hitchcock, 2002). This is a nostalgic approach to the elegant and revered past on the part of those engaged in conservation, and an attempt to rebuild it (Anderson, 1983, 1991).

"Zanzibar", as presented to the tourists in Stone Town, is a pure fantasy that appears more and more disconnected from the social realities of the life of the local residents. The history has been chosen with care, and adapted to the romantic image conjured up by the name of Zanzibar in the global imagination, that shapes the perception of

orientalism according to western culture (Said, 1978, 2004). And indeed, in the course of the 1990s this image took on a material form that was stamped on the urban landscape of Stone Town.

The implications of conservation for the local population and the public space

Conservation has left the veteran populations behind, while new entrepreneurs have benefited from the fruits of the urban renewal. The ostensibly neutral position of the representatives of the elites, alongside the way in which local residents have been pushed aside in the conservation process, has played into the hands of the ruling elites, who have accumulated capital and strengthened their status as a result of the conservation process. The foreign and local investors prefer and are interested in investing in preserving potential tourist sites, rather than rehabilitating buildings intended for the local population. The elite views the town as a source of commercial profit, a tourist display of Zanzibari culture. Today, most of the local and foreign investments in Stone Town are directed to the tourist sector (Marks, 1996). This preference has created a sweeping trend of selling off public housing to the private sector in order to turn it into buildings intended for use by the tourist industry. Today, almost half of the properties in Stone Town, for the most part residential and commercial, are privately owned, by comparison with 34% in 1982 (Bissel, 2005). A number of buildings and stores formerly serving the locals have been converted to serve the tourist market. This has occurred despite the fact that the Stone Town conservation plan hoped to keep this phenomenon in balance (Hitchcock, 2002).

Today, the privatization of buildings, the public space, and the increasing commercialization of land use are pushing many of the traditional activities out of the town, and are threatening to turn it into a sterile tourist area (Bissel, 2000). Although the conservation plan recognized the unofficial activities taking place in the open space of Stone Town – such as the food market and the boat builders – and wanted to regulate these activities, for the most part there is no room for the activities that used to take place in town in tourist streets of Stone Town.

One of the significant implications of the phenomena that we have noted is manifested in a significant increase in rents in recent years, especially in private accommodation. The first to be affected by this are the tenants in public housing. Since the 1990s, when the conservation plan began to be implemented and new projects were launched in Stone Town, the value of properties has gone up far beyond the reach of most of the local residents, many of whom have been forced to leave the historic town center and move out of town. Despite the declared intention of the plan to implement privatization under conditions that would help the lower strata of the population, no concrete steps were taken to provide a solution, such as alternative housing, guaranteed low rent, or other appropriate incentives (Bissel, 2000). Those who stayed in the historic area lack the administrative capabilities and the resources to maintain and rehabilitate their stock of buildings. The tenants have no rights over their apartments and can be evicted at any time. Furthermore, they are not permitted to carry out repairs without the permission of the owner of the property (Hitchcock, 2002). This population is coping with the processes of privatization, but is left with a fixed income and few political connections, preventing it from benefiting from the changes that the town is experiencing. In addition, it must be remembered that this is

a population that lacks any kind of connection with the history of these houses and the values that they represent (migrants who settled in these buildings after the 1964 revolution), and therefore lacks any motivation to preserve the homes in which it lives (Battle, 1995).

In conclusion, conservation has made a substantial change to the character of the town, but at the cost of seriously burdening the economy of the veteran residents (Marks, 1996). In addition, upgrading has been carried out in certain areas of the town – where the property has been privatized. Despite the small urban space of Stone Town, there is a social and spatial separation between the areas that have been affected by the planning and conservation processes, and areas where the real estate has remained in public ownership and has not undergone conservation. In this way, areas around the market, which represents the central commercial area of the town, are undergoing processes of building and renovation. By contrast, the poor and historically overcrowded areas such as Malindi South, which the tourists rarely reach, are left in poverty. This is non-egalitarian development which creates rehabilitated pockets in the urban fabric of Stone Town. The processes of social and spatial differentiation that took place during the 20th century have been re-established.

The implications of the current development and conservation plans on the Jaffa space

Jaffa has known a number of rehabilitation schemes over the years. These schemes bring up questions, not only with regard to the past, but mainly with regard to the present; they fundamentally change the character of the place and create new relationships between veteran and new inhabitants, between Arabs and Jews, and between poor and rich (Marom, 2006).

The plan for implementing the development of Jaffa reflects the development of the posts-modernist approach. The plan, like the neo-liberal urban renewal processes, includes many players and factors other than the government and municipal elements. Private investors, social and environmental organizations, and representatives of the residents are also involved in this plan, with the aim of revitalizing urban areas (economically and socially) by conserving the historic building fabric. This is a wide-scale plan that sees the built heritage as an economic resource that should be developed in order to serve as a main focus of attraction for tourists. The conserved space is viewed as having a marketing status that will include various functions, mainly in the social, tourist, and image spheres. The plan markets Jaffa through its heritage. An analysis of the plan indicates a number of problematic phenomena which are liable to characterize the Jaffa space after its **implementation:**

Urban alienation – despite the aspiration to create urban renewal that will lead to the social and economic rehabilitation of this area, this plan is also liable to create an alienated, non-egalitarian and compartmentalized space. This is due to the manner in which it aims to achieve its objectives. In what has been carried out to date in the Jaffa space as part of the plan, development and rehabilitation efforts and resources are being invested in a particular area of Jaffa – the northern area, which includes the Clock Square and the surrounding area. Although the plan relates to the peripheral areas around Clock Square, these have been cut off in a brutal manner. In this way, entire areas in Jaffa – at a distance of just a few meters from the Clock Square area and the entrance to historic Jaffa – remain outside the plans.

There is no attempt to use some of the conservation complexes for the benefit of the community, that is, to convert these areas for community use. As a result, the process of privatizing the Jaffa space will continue to increase, and in all probability its result will be the continued compartmentalization of the local community. Real estate projects in conservation areas have become prestigious ventures intended for the wealthy. Projects of this kind are already common in the Jaffa space, and create spatial and social alienation.

As noted, conservation plans also result in an increase in property values, and this will be manifested in the entry of a new, affluent population and an increase in the cost of living in the area. In these situations, as shown in Barzilay's research (Barzilay, 2006), developers systematically manage to direct the benefits towards themselves, while the negative external effects are felt by the local residents. What this means is that as long as funding for the renovation is guaranteed by means of raising rents, without public subsidy for rehabilitating the local communities, they end up the losers, pushed to the margins of the process.

As noted, the majority, if not all, of the projects planned today in the Jaffa area are not intended for or aimed at the veteran population of Jaffa. At the same time, no alternative housing option is being offered to local poor residents, Jews or Arabs, in the existing Jaffa neighborhoods. The majority of the weak population does not have property rights in the apartments in which it lives. For the most part, these are veteran Jaffa families which, since 1948, were moved to buildings that were declared as "absentee properties", and were given to the administrator general and then to the Israel Lands Administration and the public housing companies. Although the housing was handed over at low cost, the legal significance of its status creates a restriction when passing the property on as an inheritance. As a result, there is a considerable probability that many residents will shortly find themselves without a home, in an area where housing prices are far beyond their ability. Furthermore, no consideration is given to the emotional bond formed between a person and the place where he lives. The question of ties to place is also acute in the context of the homes of Arabs, who feel a cultural tie to the Arab buildings, with their particular architectural style. According to this picture, Jaffa is liable, in the near future, to become the exclusive domain of wealthy Jews.

The business activity that is created increases municipal tax payments, which in turn, in a self-perpetuating cycle, direct the land to the more affluent population, and so on. The plan does not deal with attempts to balance and moderate these future effects and implications resulting from its implementation, which will presumably leads to an unavoidable change of the Jaffa area and the social fabric that characterizes it. A clear example of this is the upcoming opening of a branch of the Castro clothing chain in the Clock Square, adjacent to Saraya House (an Ottoman building from the end of the 19th century).

The new projects that are part of the Jaffa development plan, some of which are in conserved buildings, do not suit the Jaffa building style or the economic level of the local residents, Jews and Arabs, who will not be able to purchase these expensive houses and continue living in their traditional neighborhoods. As a result, the local population is in danger of being unable to find its place in the economic and social competition, which is liable to increase the class-based and social polarization.

Conservation pushes out the Arab narrative in Jaffa in favor of the Zionist (as, for example, in the change in street names). The political struggle is given territorial

foundations in the structuration of Jaffa's identity as Jewish. Neo-liberal planning processes lead to gentrification as a means for structuring Jewish Jaffa, while making use of the Arab landscape. There is an attempt to market Jaffa through its oriental-Arab landscape qualities, but this is purely for commercial purposes. Similar to the conservation of the old town in the 1960s, some of the new projects which have tried to preserve the Arab architecture are cheap and over-adorned imitations intended for tourists. An example of this is Saraya House, whose conservation as part of the implementation plan has not long been completed, and which has prompted considerable criticism since it has been preserved as an ornate stage setting that is far from recalling the original. Moreover, this is a building with historic significance which, through its exaggerated conservation, has been disconnected from its past.

The conservation plan makes no attempt to tell the story of Arab Jaffa, the town that goes back to the beginning of the 20th century, the most highly developed and flourishing town in pre-state Israel and the center of modern life. From this, we can conclude that there is a deliberate trend of Judaizing Jaffa, even under the cover of the formal statements presenting the aims of the conservation plan (Levin, 2006). As a result, in recent years there is a trend for Arabs to move from Jaffa to the poor neighborhoods of South Tel Aviv (Goldhaber, 2004).

Up to 2006, the municipality and the Ministry of Tourism had spent some NIS 70 million on renovating, rehabilitating and developing the tourist area in Jaffa, and a further investment of NIS 50 million is planned. The jewel in the crown of this work is the renovation of Clock Square and the surrounding area. In addition, the work includes upgrading the Flea Market, preserving buildings and facades, establishing boutique hotels, building luxury apartment complexes, some of them in conservation buildings, developing commercial centers and restoring physical infrastructures. Since implementation of the development work by Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality, through the Jaffa Mishlama (local governance), the work environment of merchants in the area has been significantly improved, and many new businesses have opened.

At the same time, the accent of this plan is on the northern area, which includes the Clock Square and its surrounding area. There is a sense that the municipality is focusing on conserving and renovating the physical infrastructure in order to promote tourism, rather than out of care for the welfare of the residents or to deal with the problems that characterize the Jaffa area, such as rising crime and a collapsing education system. It is true that through the tourism plan, the northern part of Jaffa is being rehabilitated, which leads to an increase in real estate values and an improvement in the appearance of Jaffa. At the same time, this is partial rehabilitation, ignoring what is taking place in the poor areas of Jaffa (south of Yehuda Margoza St.), from problems with the physical infrastructure due to many years of neglect, to the problematic nature of the poor and Arab populations being pushed even further into the margins.

Privatization of the space is also manifested in the construction of new, gated complexes managed by private entities for wealthy populations. These complexes are estranged from their immediate surroundings, and arouse feelings of antagonism among the poor population around them. As part of the project for conserving and rehabilitating old Jaffa, the local (Arab) or relatively veteran residents are the main losers in the current plan, as they were in the plans preceding it in the modernist era.

The result that is emerging is that this policy, even if not in a planned way as in the past, will be seen as aimed at getting the veteran population, including the Arab

population, out of Jaffa and substantially changing its socio-economic character. Although it is possible that the demographic change will not take place within a short period of time, as happened after implementation of the plan to rehabilitate old Jaffa, there is every chance that it will take place in the end, through the market forces involved in the process, which are liable to create a mechanism that will produce these consequences.

The conclusions of the research

The process of conserving the built heritage by the post-modern approach aims to revive traditional urban values and create a connection between the users and the urban space, to strengthen the sense of belonging, and to deal with the urban alienation that has developed in the modernist period. It aims to do this by preserving old urban fabrics and rehabilitating them for new users.

Our research shows that there is some difficulty in expressing these principles in the planning processes and in the spatial and social reality in which they operate. The combination between the political and economic background against which the conservation processes are implemented, and the ambiguous intentions of post-modernism with regard to its objectives, has created processes that, in many cases, lead to spatial inequality, social alienation, and town centers that serve the interests of the capitalists and the tourists. This means that the spatial form of the contemporary city reveals patches of conserved and designs environments, usually appealing more to populations from outside than to the local population.

The main reasons underlying the failure to achieve the ambitious and varied objectives of post-modernist conservation that we found in our research lie, first and foremost, in the neo-liberal reality in which conservation is financed by economic considerations and by the inclusion of the private sector in the plans. Improving real estate assets represents the lever for financing the process and generating profits for the developers. In this situation, the developers are able to maneuver the situation to their benefit and exploit the public resources directed to rehabilitation, at the expense of the weak population of the area being rehabilitated. In this reality, the weak population groups are pushed to new margins in the social space of the city.

In Stone Town and in Jaffa, only limited spaces have been restored, in an area from which the poor population has been evicted, while neighboring areas remain in their original condition. In the case of Jaffa, ownership of residential tenanted buildings has been requisitioned, with the claim that formally, they belong to a government body (the administrator general of absentee properties).

In practice, the conserved urban fabrics supply the needs of the tourism branch, so that buildings have to be divested of their traditional functions for the sake of new, commercial functions. Furthermore, sites are chosen to serve the national identity, or other sites undergo a process of being made exotic, inventing a new and softened past that no longer challenges the national identity as seen by the elite.

In Jaffa, many components of the Arab space that challenged the Zionist identity were erased, while Saraya House, at the center of the conserved area of Jaffa, underwent a process of being made more exotic by exaggerated decoration. A similar process occurred with the buildings of Stone Town, creating a multi-cultural nostalgia of

progress and tolerance between non-African ethnic groups as a substitute for a history of colonialism that exploited slaves and local natural resources.

The commercialization of the conserved space for tourists and the wealthy pushes the original residents out of the conservation areas. In many cases, this is accompanied by pushing minorities and migrants out of the privileged space built in the conservation process. The history of the town is characterized by the deterioration of town centers and old neighborhoods in which there is no accelerated process of conservation and commercialization, bringing with it the entry of weak populations of migrants and other marginal groups, which are left to create opposing identities to the elite. These neglected spaces create hothouses for the development of these opposing identities.

The tendency of post-modernist conservation to return to the local past as a source for building identity and creating a sense of historic roots in the place reinforces dominant identities from the past by preserving architectural values that represent the legitimate identity, which is usually national, and revoking the right to representation of the opposing identities of marginal groups.

It seems that the root of the problem is the fact that, in a situation of urban dynamics leading to the deterioration of neighborhoods and their occupation by weak groups, alongside a conservation approach based on the neo-liberal principles of acting by means of private entrepreneurs and the market mechanism, it is not possible to realize varied, different and contradictory objectives at one and the same time. In too many cases like the cases of Jaffa and Stone Town, the considerations of the economic and political elite are in contradiction to both the interests of weakened groups, and the interests of ethnic groups, migrants and people with opposing identities. The result of the conservation is aestheticization of the post-modern states, which succeeds in distracting attention from the political, social, and economic problems created in the conservation processes, and from the spaces surrounding the conserved complexes in the town. Hence, most of the results of the conservation perpetuate many of the negative implications that post-modernist conservation aspires to do away with, giving it an aesthetic cover.

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