



Orchards to Cement:
An Ethnography of Jaffa's Urban
Borderlands

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis combines anthropological perspectives on materiality, the state, and urban planning to demonstrate how Israeli nationalism is constructed through diversity and the built environment. It illustrates how the urban borderlands of Jaffa – a mixed Jewish-Palestinian city in contemporary Israel – were transformed from were transformed from a landscape of citrus orchards populated by Palestinian bourgeois families and peasant farmers into the most densely populated neighbourhoods of Tel Aviv- Jaffa (the city was annexed by Tel Aviv in 1950). The ethnography was conducted from August 2017-March 2019 in two diverse low-income neighbourhoods of *shikunim* (social housing) constructed in the 1960s around remnants of *bayārāt*, pre-1948 citrus farming complexes. *Shikunim* were central to the Israeli state building project, and *bayārāt* central to early 20th century Palestinian modernity, which grew through the success of the orange industry in Jaffa. Today, these neighbourhoods are marked by their ethnic diversity, which includes remaining Palestinian residents of the *bayārāt*, veteran *Mizraḥi* (Middle Eastern Jewish) and Balkan residents, new immigrants from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia, Palestinians pushed into these neighbourhoods due to gentrification in historic Jaffa, and a growing number of middle-class *Ashkenazim* (European-origin Jews) as the scope of real estate development in the city expands. Through an account of how urban planning and architecture transformed the landscapes over time, the thesis depicts the relationship between territorial imagination, architectural intervention, municipal governance, built space, and the everyday navigation of residents. Arguing that these relationships have led to the multiple production of material and social borders over time, the thesis critiques the notion of urban conviviality in anthropology, sociology and urban studies, and proposes a notion of bordering to explain how persons navigate proximate difference in closed patterns. The historic transformation of these borderlands also reveals the complex relationship between mnemonic material forms and contemporary social formations, as well as between quotidian state formation and its delimitations in urban space.

GLOSSARY

Hebrew

<i>‘aliyah</i>	immigration
<i>amudim</i>	pilots
<i>ashkenazi/m</i>	Jews of Eastern European origin
<i>bloq /im</i>	block/s – a block of social housing
<i>dati le’umi</i>	national-religious
<i>drom</i>	south
<i>‘edah</i>	ethnic group (specific to Jews)
<i>gan/im</i>	garden/s – designated public spaces in the neighbourhoods
<i>giz‘anut</i>	racism
<i>gvul/ot</i>	border/s
<i>hityashvut</i>	settlement
<i>kehila</i>	community
<i>le’umi</i>	national
<i>luaḥ mo‘adot</i>	notice board
<i>ma‘abara</i>	transit camp
<i>ma‘abarot</i>	transit camps
<i>makolet</i>	convenience store
<i>maḥom</i>	place
<i>medinat</i>	state
<i>meguvan tarbuti</i>	cultural diversity
<i>meḥomot</i>	places
<i>meḥomyiut</i>	placeness
<i>mirḥav/im</i>	space/s
<i>mizraḥi/m</i>	Eastern, a Jew/Jews of Middle Eastern origin
<i>mishṭara</i>	police
<i>mo‘etsa</i>	council
<i>mo‘etsot</i>	councils
<i>moḳed klitah</i>	absorption centre

<i>‘olim</i>	immigrant – specifically designates a Jewish immigrant to the State of Israel
<i>pardes/im</i>	orchard/s
<i>periferyah</i>	periphery
<i>rav-tarbutiut</i>	multiculturalism
<i>shikun</i>	singular building of social housing
<i>shikunim</i>	social housing
<i>shikunah/ot</i>	neighbourhood/s
<i>tochnit mitar</i>	zoning plan
<i>tsafon</i>	north
<i>va‘ad shikunah</i>	neighbourhood council
<i>vatikim</i>	veteran residents
<i>yehidot shikunot</i>	neighbourhood units

Arabic

<i>bayāra</i>	orchard, well-house– also a housing typology in Jaffa vernacular
<i>bayārāt</i>	plural of <i>bayāra</i>
<i>majāl</i>	space
<i>makān</i>	place
<i>al-Nakba</i>	“the Catastrophe” - Palestinian word for experience of mass exile in 1948
<i>shikunāt</i>	Arabization of <i>shikunim</i>
<i>ṣumūd</i>	steadfastness – word for Palestinian national defiance

Note on Transliteration and Figures

Transliterations from Hebrew follow the Library of Congress guidelines, and from Arabic the International Journal of Middle East Studies guidelines.

All images have been produced by me unless cited or stated otherwise.

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INTRODUCTION

**

At the Crossroads of Nationalism and Urbanism In Search of Place at Jaffa's Borderlands

In the summer of 2018, the painting “Yafo Dalet” by Ukraine-born Israeli artist Zoya Cherkassky-Nnadi was exhibited in her first solo exhibition at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem (Fig. 1, p.2). This painting refers to one of two neighbourhoods in the Jewish-majority southern borderlands of a mixed Jewish-Palestinian city. Acclaimed for her blend of metaphor, stereotype and graphic social realism, Zoya depicts parallel worlds of Palestinian women in black *niqab* and Russian punks inhabiting the same area. Behind them are standardised rows of *shikunim* (state-sponsored social housing). “What is specific about these buildings,” Zoya told me, “is that they look very much the same. You know, it’s just *some* project area.” Indeed, at first glance, it is hard to differentiate between *shikunim* in Jaffa and other parts of Israel. Zoya’s representation is hyperbolic, yet it is not supposed to depict a fixed, constant, experience. Rather, it illustrates a historicised encounter in which Yafo Dalet’s urban space and pliable built environment facilitated spatially proximate social distance.

Israeli Jews largely imagine Jaffa today through its historic quarters – chic, bohemian neighbourhoods of Tel Aviv (it was annexed to the city in 1950) with Ottoman-period and neo-Oriental buildings, a flea market, boutique shops featuring the latest luxury Israeli brands, and restaurants offering the tastes of the Middle East and other “ethnic” foods. These quarters were once the beating heart of an Arab metropolis, and the descendants of the 3% of Jaffa’s Palestinians who remained after the 1948 Arab-Israeli War contest their visual order through Palestinian-owned businesses, everyday cultural practices, and political protest.



FIGURE 1. With a backdrop of *shikunim*, “Yafo Dalet” depicts the lack of interaction between Former Soviet Union immigrants and Palestinian populations in southern Jaffa (Cherkassky-Nnadi 2018). Ethiopian Jews were the next group to arrive to the area.

This thesis asks what new understanding of this contested city may be derived through ethnographic study of the mundane residential rhythms of its urban borderlands outside the historic quarters. Cities never stop changing, but urban borderlands represent a way of departing afresh. Evoking national frontiers, the concept of borderlands denotes an urban space located at the intersections of historically ethnicised borders. In between Bat Yam – a Jewish city established in 1926 – and the historic centre of the Arab metropolis of Jaffa (as it was configured until 1948), these borderlands are distinguished by their agricultural history at the edges of urban life. Today, they are Tel Aviv-Jaffa’s most densely populated neighbourhoods. Ethnically diverse and low-income landscapes of *shikunim*, they mark the peripheral borders of the city. But these geographical landscapes provoke a conceptual perspective; a way of

attuning in fieldwork, a way of drawing comparative connection and disconnection, and a way of understanding contemporary urban diversity through the ostensibly binary configuration of ethno-national borders and their afterlives. The spatial and social presence of borders encourages a reading of city life in which the periphery – often understood by anthropologists and other urban scholars as counter-hegemonic, fluid domains – becomes a stage of state power and closure. Jaffa's urban borderlands, I argue, invite us to read peripherality as a social landscape in which ethnonational conceptions of place dominate but are never complete. The work towards stabilising borders, however, means encountering other borders.

During fieldwork in 2018, I lived on Saharon Street in neighbouring Neve Golan/Yafo Gimmel (see Fig. 2). To get to Yafo Dalet, I had to cross Jaffa's main throughway — a wide boulevard whose 100-year history has seen its name shift from Jamal Pasha to Saint George to Jerusalem Boulevard. A few minutes' walk away, I regularly visited the *makolet* (convenience store) on Mahrozet Street. The street begins with a ten-story block on one side, and on the other, the beginning of rows of *shikunim* constructed in the 1960s. About 100 metres in, there is a roundabout, which marks the most significant interruption in an otherwise ordinary landscape of *shikunim* (singular *shikun*). On the south side of Mahrozet, the *shikunim* continue; two taller tower blocks built in the 1980s mark the end of the street. The rest of the north side of Mahrozet, however, is the Palestinian Arab *bayāra* (orchard) of the extended family Abu Seif. Remnants of pre-1948 citrus farming complexes which sprawled around the edges of the historic city, it is now an informal urban landscape featuring older and newer constructions, ranging from sandstone brick houses to shacks with steel roofs. When inside Bayārat Abu Seif at its edges, wooden, leafy shacks housing goats and chickens are jarred by the squareness of the *shikunim* that take up most of the sky above. They aren't tall buildings, but their presence is flattening. The *bayāra* stretches across significant parts of the neighbourhood, and the material juxtaposition between these built forms is striking.

Arriving at Mahrozet in an attempt to buy ingredients, including *kataifi* – an angel-hair pastry used to make a repertoire of Middle Eastern desserts – the Jewish shopkeeper was terse but clear: “go to Jaffa” to find *kataifi*, he implored – “where the Arabs are.” On my return from Yefet, the main commercial street for Jaffa’s Palestinian population, *kataifi* in hand, I entered Saharon Street once again. Walking past the community officer’s station in the adjacent *shikun* (single block of *shikunim*), its sign only written in Hebrew and Amharic (indicating who it intends to serve), I stopped by the *makolet*. There was a sign advertising the Yemeni pastry *jachnun* outside. The young man on the till explained that they order it from a *teimani* (Yemeni) woman known as Mama Sara. I asked if the shop was *teimani* (Yemeni). I was told that the family name of the shop owners is Karaja, and that “they don’t live in Yafo Gimmel, but in *Yafo* (Jaffa) and *tsafon* (the north of Israel).”

By referring to Jaffa as a place distinct from Yafo Gimmel, the young man – like many other Palestinians I spoke to in Jaffa’s borderlands – envisaged the area as geographically separate from the Jaffa of Palestinian imaginaries: the cosmopolitan Mediterranean port city birthing the Palestinian national movement, symbolised by the terms “Bride of the Sea” (*‘arus al - bahar*), “Bride of Palestine” (*‘arus falastin*), and the “Mother of Strangers” (*umm al-gharib*). Even for the Jewish residents – who make up 75% off the total population of the area – this landscape of *shikunim* is not coterminous with the Jewish-Zionist imaginaries typically associated with the city: ancient, biblical, oriental, Mediterranean, and the birthplace of the *yishuv* (Jewish community in Palestine) with a port symbolising return (*shivat tsion*). Rather, it is just *some place* – not the historic city *where the Arabs are*. Thus, persists the questions of how Palestinians reclaim or relinquish their sense of Jaffa in the city’s contemporary borderlands, and how Israeli-Jews relate to an imaginary of Jaffa through their residence in this

area.¹ Engaging with these pressing questions, I set about the task of unearthing Jaffa's legacies here. The complexity of these questions also emerges from the new forms of diversity determining the character of the area's social and sensory space, as depicted powerfully in Yafo Dalet's focal street, Mahrozet – which translates as medley or potpourri (see Fig. 2).



FIGURE. 2 – Map of Yafo Gimmel (Neve Golan /Jaffa C South) and Yafo Dalet from *Google Maps*. The annotations in orange indicate the rough boundaries of the *bayārat*. As well as Bayārat Abu Seif in Yafo Dalet (Right), there is the larger Bayārat Daka in Yafo Gimmel (left). Both cut into the texture and contiguity of their respective neighbourhoods.

On the south side of Mahrozet Street, there is a commercial square. Its concrete panelling is a homage to Israeli architecture's brief flirtation with Brutalism. Beneath it is a shop with a makeshift sign in red Russian script selling products ranging from Russian soy sauce to the more taboo selection of pork cuts. Next door to it is an Ethiopian shop with Amharic script

¹ Throughout this thesis, I refer to Jaffa's Palestinian Arab residents as both "Palestinians" and "Arabs." This is in part due to the interchangeability of these two terms within general urban discourse in Jaffa. Where possible, I opt more for "Palestinian," because the term has increasingly become the preferred descriptor of Israel's Palestinian Arab citizens (Berger 2019). It is important to note that whilst the Hebrew term "*aravi*" has been translated as "Arab" in this thesis, it does not necessarily indicate "Arab-Israeli" over "Palestinian." Rather, *aravim* (Arabs) is normally used in the context of distinguishing them from *yehudim* (Jews).

painted in green on the exterior. On entering the store, one is encountered by shelves of non-Israeli goods, including African hair products, long pepper, and green coffee beans, ready to roast in *bunna* ceremonies. The shop is a congregation point for the Ethiopian population residing in the area. Across the road is a store that used to sell Tunisian *brik* — thin *feuille de bric* pastry filled with an egg and deep fried. Today, in its dimly lit interiors, you find Ethiopian clothes and beers. Meanwhile, a Palestinian man walks past the square with a cart full of bric-a-brac shouting in Yiddish “*alte zachen* (old things).”



FIGURE. 3 - the view of Mahrozet Street from its intersection with Jerusalem Boulevard.

Surreal encounters with seemingly incongruous diverse sociocultural and urban forms would come to shape my sense of the field. At the same time, residents often projected ambiguities about the place in which they live. The southernmost neighbourhoods of Jaffa are a transitional place for some Jewish residents, as they aspire for the perceived unity of urban form and identity in neighbouring Jewish Bat Yam. This is signified by their alternative name given to

the area of *Gvul Bat Yam* (the border of Bat Yam), which is equally indicated by official and unofficial naming of landmarks at the urban borders, from *Rehov HaGvul* (Border Street), *Ma'afiyat Gvul* (Border Bakery), and *Hof Gvul Bat Yam Yafo* (Bat Yam and Jaffa Border Beach). Moreover, the majority of Jewish residents do their everyday shopping and socialising in Bat Yam. What this longing indicates, however, is the limits of modernist Israeli urban creation in this border area. Orange groves used to permeate this landscape, but horses galloping and roosters crowing at dawn evoke memories of the agricultural edges of an early 20th century metropolis in Palestine. Over time I realised that although some Palestinians felt ambivalent about calling these areas “Jaffa,” its history was still significant to collective urban memory.

Over the last century, the southern border area of Jaffa has changed dramatically. First, this borderland was transformed from sand dunes and citrus orchards – as they were since Ottoman times up until 1948 – into a *ma'abara* (a transit camp for largely *Mizrahi* Jewish immigrants) and remaining citrus orchards. Then, in the early 1960s, it became an area of functionalist-modernist social housing (*shikunim*) existing parallel to informal housing and small plots of agricultural land (*bayārāt*). Finally, from the 1980s, it began its transmutation into densely populated peripheral neighbourhoods of the modern metropolis of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. In the present, the urban landscape is defined by an even more built-up juxtaposition of these two dwelling forms (1980-2020); the formally planned neighbourhood and what Palestinian architect Senan Abdelqader observes as the “radical phenomenon of informality.”

Today, a mixture of inhabitants of the modern State of Israel reside in the area. Mostly citizens, the overwhelmingly majority of residents in the area are nonetheless either marginal to the state's political praxis and self-definition, marginal to its centres of economic power, or marginal to its dominant social and linguistic regimes. Despite these multiple forms of marginality, populations often exist in parallel social worlds, whilst inevitably meeting in forms

of encounter. Hence, in the densest neighbourhoods in the contemporary city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, proximate but radically distinct worlds of meaning navigate borders to produce forms of place out of space, or to imagine space out of place.

The forms of place that emerge through engagement with the neighbourhoods are not guided only by the *maḳom katan* (small place) of everyday life, as anthropologist and poet Zali Gurevitch puts it (Gurevitch and Aran 1991, Gurevitch 2007). Small place constructions that derive from everyday notions of dwelling in a house, neighbourhood, city, or landscape are, according to Gurevitch, constantly in conflict with what he calls *maḳom gadol* (big place). This refers to visions of place central to the Israeli statemaking process that are grounded in territorial mythology and collective identity. Such struggles are also trapped in a further paradox of Israeli identity production cited by Gurevitch. The “dilemma of place” extends from the fact that it is only from Egypt (exile), that “Israel can be reborn—not in *the place*, not as natives, but as strangers, as sojourners who strike *the place*. At the background of their renewed nativity resides a memory of strangeness” (Gurevitch 1997: 212, my emphases).

Accordingly, this thesis investigates these dilemmas through an ethnography of the majority Jewish borderlands of a mixed Jewish-Palestinian city. It observes the relationship between fragile conceptions of place and interstitial urban spaces. This relationship is central to placemaking and encounter across different contexts, but its character rests on the interface of visions of planning and architectural constructions of *maḳom* and the spatially effacing outcomes of *Al-Nakba* (Arabic: catastrophe, used to signify the destruction and loss experienced by Palestinians during the 1948 Israeli-Arab war). This collision is dramatically displayed in Jaffa’s urban borderlands, where there is a paradoxical interplay of standardized *maḳom*, multiple articulations of *meḳomot* (places), and the spatial remnants of pre-1948 Palestine. These spatial remnants provoke what Palestinians refer to as *ṣumūd* (steadfastness)

– practices that display intentions to remain on the land of historic Palestine, and to ensure its symbolic meaning is sustained.

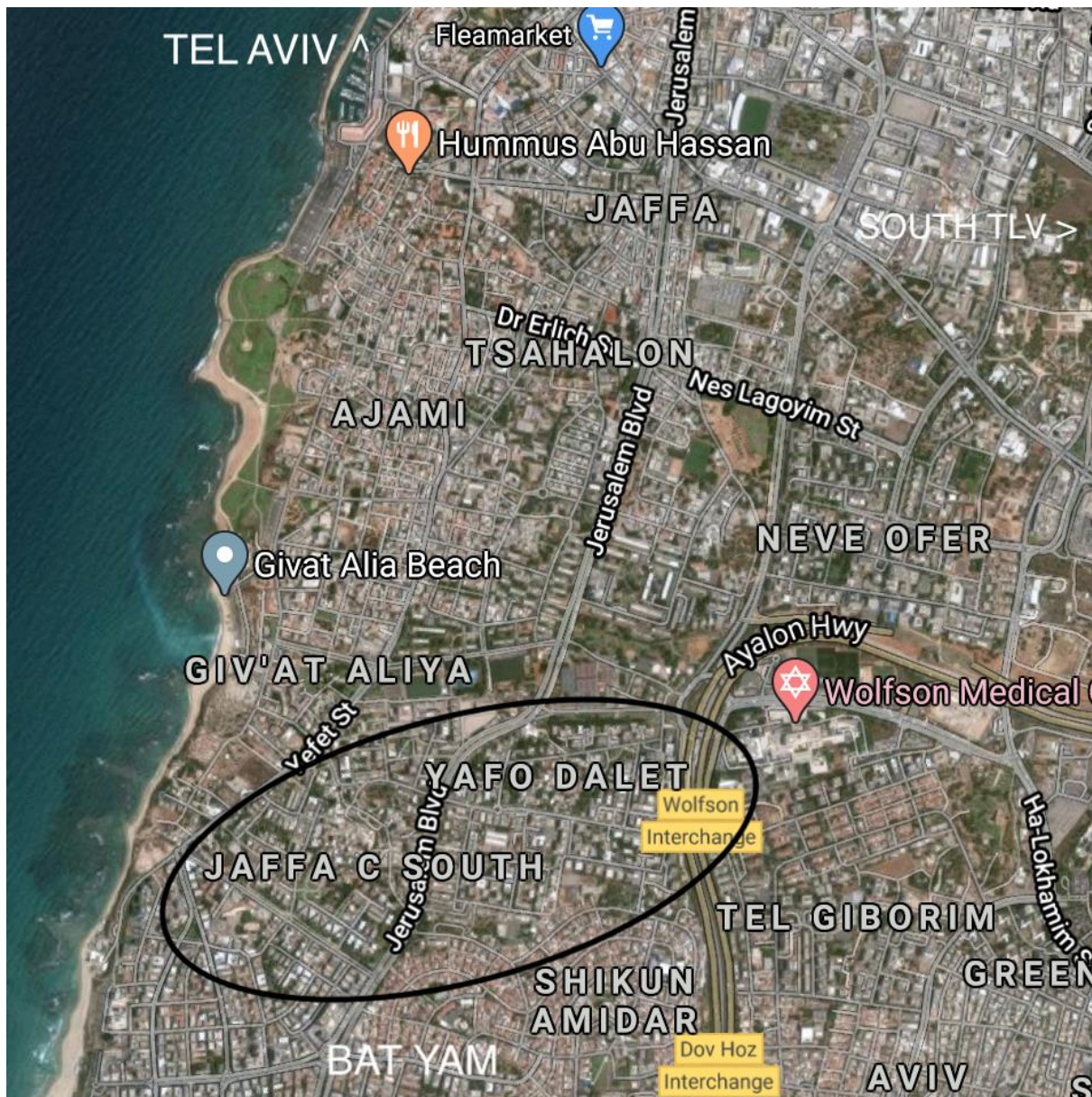


FIGURE. 4 – Map of Jaffa from *Google Maps*. Bordering historically Arab Jaffa and the Jewish city of Bat Yam, my field site is defined in the south of the map in the black oval. The geography of proximate and distant borders is defined through the added locations/directions annotated in white of Bat Yam (far south), south Tel Aviv (northeast), and Tel Aviv (far north).

This thesis observes the dynamics between the placemaking of the modern Israeli state and its subjects, and the physical and discursive erasure, destruction, or repression of pre-1948 Palestinian architectural and social forms in Jaffa's urban margins. Israeli placemaking has

been geared mostly towards both the future and the distant, imaginary past. However, the thesis claims, lurking in the near past and the immediate present are remnants of their being embedded in strangeness. Although Israeli-Jews may seek to absolve this condition, Palestinians, through their presence – and the memory of their presence – prevent stable urban production. Edward Said wrote about Ibrahim Abu-Lughod in an elegy for the *London Review of Books*, “For him, Palestine was an interrogation that is never answered completely – or even articulated adequately” (Said 2001). This incompleteness continues to haunt the spaces of Palestine’s historic cities. The following ethnography highlights how the construction of *maḵom* often occurs in relation to past Palestinian landscapes, or through their stubborn persistence as *majāl* (space).

This thesis seeks to capture how formations of place in southern Jaffa are entangled in conflictual webs of landscape, property and culture. In this sense, I propose that the construction of place is never neutral; rather, its construction is rooted in power. *Maḵom gadol* inflects formations of the state, community, group and individual. It is the same space as *maḵom katan*. Hence, throughout this thesis, I largely refer to the broader term *maḵom* to reflect this. In querying this preliminary proposal, the thesis employs a distinctive set of spatiotemporal and methodological lenses, and the interaction of different agencies of architects, planners, buildings, flora, municipal employees, residents, and ruins in the making of the city. The ethnography exists both in the recent past and in a multiplicity of histories and their cultural weight. The ethnography grapples with the construction and erasure of histories and their material marks in Jaffa into the present day, seeing pasts as mediated logics of placemaking in the city.

As should be clear, the field site is marked by shared notions of its status as transitory, undefined; as a borderland. This ethnographic study identifies historic borders between the urban centre and semi-agricultural fringes, as well as between Jewish urban space and Arab

urban/agricultural space. There are contemporary borders defined by a juxtaposition in built forms, by cultural difference and material practice, and by surrounding neighbourhoods and their associated populations. Borders have formed, overlapped, intertwined, re-formed, and constantly shifted geographically and imaginatively over time in the dense space of Jaffa's southern borderlands. Such border formations – which produce the collective perception of borderland by inhabitants – have mostly been driven by attempts to construct place out of space, or to maintain space amongst new regimes of place (I elaborate on this concept in greater detail later in the chapter). I thus seek to provide an account of these trajectories through the concept of *bordering*. Bordering, a term unpacked in detail later in the chapter, is a methodological and theoretical tool for comprehending diverse forms of placemaking in a dense urban space governed by ethno-nationalist state projects over time.

The thesis introduces this concept by interrogating the multiplicity of ways in which spatial, material, and social borders are made and unmade over time, asking: if cities are layers of borders, what happens when nation states try and shape them? How does the material production of borders in the built environment inform social interactions? How does diversity – when defined by migrations from multiple places but under a clear ethno-national agenda – limit or reproduce national identities and state control? how might urban encounter be understood through the borders that frame it? How does urban life and urban materiality destabilise national categories and bordering logics? Accordingly, the central research question extending from this asks: how is an ethno-nationalist state project constructed, reproduced and countered through the peripheral diversity and built environment of Jaffa's urban borderlands? To understand the borderlands, however, we must first consider the significance of Jaffa's historic *centre*, and the city's modern development vis-à-vis the emergence of Tel Aviv, and the establishment of the state of Israel.

Jaffa, Tel Aviv

Home to the Greek and biblical myths of Andromeda, Jonah and St. Peter, the port of Jaffa is one of the most ancient ports in the world and is imbued with echoes of its historic legacy and vibrant cosmopolitanism (Behar and Ben-Dor Benite 2013, Campos 2010, Gribetz 2014, Klein 2014). During 19th century, Ottoman coastal cities in the Levant became the dominant urban centres of the eastern Mediterranean basin. Alexandria, Port Said, Beirut, Tripoli, Acre, Haifa, and Jaffa developed at the expense of Cairo, Fez, Aleppo, and Damascus (Tamārī 2008: 22). In the early 1800s, the Governor of Jaffa was Muhammad Abu-Nabbut, originally a Christian Balkan who had converted to Islam. His grand restorative visions for the city and leadership resulted in a significant renovation of the city, as well as the development of new constructions such as the Mahmoudiya Mosque, the largest mosque in Jaffa today. Abu-Nabbut's initiative instigated a process in which, by the end of the century, Jaffa had become an important Ottoman city with a largely Arab Muslim population, as well as Arab Christian, and Sephardic Jewish minorities.

Along with Haifa and Beirut, Jaffa came to represent the late Ottoman world of work, education, financial success and modernity (Ibid., 24). The citrus, cotton, and olive oil industries were key to the emergence of Jaffa as Palestine's cosmopolitan city par excellence (Ibid.: 26). The project of modernity was also instigated through the draining of swamps, the construction of the "most modern" houses in the region, hiring Egypt's premier town planner, and widespread sporting of the Fez hat, the primary symbol of Ottoman modernity (Levine 2007: 177). Alongside infrastructural development, Jaffa saw the development of a modern Arabic literary, intellectual, and political culture in the city. It is these features that attracted many Jews to Jaffa, where they established new urban areas like Neve Tzedek, Shapira, and Tel Aviv on its outskirts.

Many early 20th century Zionists settled in Jaffa, but the urban separation of Jewish Tel Aviv and Arab Jaffa crystallised in the watershed year of 1921, as the Zionist-Arab conflict heightened in intensity. This separation did not, however, prevent coterminous zones between the two cities from becoming a place of encounter and co-habitation. The separation of cities did not correspond directly to the separation of Arabs and Jews (Rotbard 2015: 89, Hatuka and Kallus 2006). Throughout the 1930s-40s, ties remained in Jaffa between Palestinian Arab workers and the Histadrut, the Hebrew labour union (Levine 2007: 299, c.f. Lockman 1996).

Nonetheless, this separation was a significant moment in the political, social, and mythological development of both Jaffa and Tel Aviv. In her book *A Place in History: Modernism, Tel Aviv, and the Creation of Jewish Urban Space*, Barbara Mann describes Jaffa as “Tel Aviv’s most problematic, and most productive boundary” (2006: 193). Architectural critic Sharon Rotbard frames the division in his landmark study, *White City, Black City*

Since its establishment as a separate city, Tel Aviv has constructed itself culturally, ethnically and historically according to Jaffa — as its split, as its dialectical negation. For Jaffa, this symbiotic relationship has proved fatal: as Tel Aviv built, wrote and rewrote itself, it also demolished and erased the Arab capital, recasting the city as an inverted reflection of its supposed self: a nocturnal, criminal, dirty space — a *black city* (Rotbard 2005: 70, my emphases).

This is indicated most elaborately by Tel Aviv’s development of a Bauhaus style to replace its earlier eclectic styles that borrowed from Levantine motifs. Recognised by UNESCO as a world heritage site in 2003, the mythical architectural image of Tel Aviv as the *White City* was always framed in opposition to oriental Jaffa.² This oppositional framing is exhibited in the modernist sensibilities attached to planning and governance, and the cultural myths applied to

² Whilst this distinction is often articulated in oppositional terms, the architectural developments in both cities were not so far apart (Levine 2007).

the city over time — from the first Hebrew city, to the white city, to the Mediterranean nonstop city (Azaryahu 2007). The significance of this juxtaposition has not dissipated, and the persistent but shifting spatial dialectic of *white city/black city* guides this thesis. The initial cultural and ideological separation of these cities increasingly became marked by violence and conflict, with the Zionist-Arab of 1948 War marking the most significant event in the history of this dialectic.

Tel Aviv-Jaffa

The 1947 UN Partition Plan had included Jaffa in the proposed Arab State, but the city became a war zone eventually overrun by Israel's forces. Overnight, Jaffa turned from an overwhelmingly Arab town with Jewish suburbs to a ghost town marked as enemy territory. 97% of its original Arab inhabitants were expelled or fled, including almost the entire Arab bourgeoisie. Only 4000 denizens remained. After much deliberation over its future, Jaffa was annexed by Tel Aviv in 1950, losing its independent municipal status. The significance of this decision is described pithily by Maor Azaryahu, who writes

the reunification of the two cities in 1950, following the demise of Arab Jaffa in the 1948 war, was an event full of historical irony. However, the dash in the official name of the agglomerate city—Tel Aviv-Yafo—simultaneously connects the two and acknowledges their separation and practically autonomous subsistence (2007: 4).

With martial law imposed on the remaining Arab community after 1948, the old city and 'Ajami became ghettoized dilapidated landscapes. As the nascent state of Israel scrambled to deal with its demographic deficiency, and Jews flocked into Israel from Eastern Europe and the Middle East, by the 1960s, Jaffa had turned from an Arab metropolis into a city marked by the arrival of Jewish immigrants. The construction of the Yafo Alif, Bet, Dalet and Gimmel neighbourhoods on the city's historic citrus orchards were part of the Tel Aviv municipality's

masterplan for post-war Jaffa. Such intervention emerged within the paradigm of the new Jew in its urban form. It is not that Jews had not been urban before, but rather, that now they would be urbanites in a nationalist, modern space (Mann 2006). A long-term goal was to “modernize” Jaffa was initiated, with the intended purpose of razing its “slums” and creating modernist landscapes of *shikunim*. This came after a brief period of settling ‘olim (new immigrants) in expropriated Palestinian homes (Monterescu 2015: 138). As a result, many immigrants spent their early years in co-habitation with Palestinians, sometimes sharing houses in the ghettoized neighbourhoods of ‘Ajami and Jabaliyye. Others spent years in a *ma‘abara* (transit camp) on the agricultural land at the city’s edges.

The *shikunim* were supposed to flatten out the multiplicity and difference arriving in the city, but nationwide housing practices tended to favour European inhabitants over non-European immigrants, placing them in better housing stock closer to the country’s economic centre. Nonetheless, Jaffa’s *shikunim* became home to a mixture of European and Middle Eastern Jews, mainly from Bulgaria, Romania, Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Turkey, and Iraq. Modernism, nationalism, and daily cooperation fused to create solid working-class communities that form the base of the *vatkim* (veteran Jewish community) today. This is despite the fact that the once vibrant prosperous Bulgarian community (Jaffa was nicknamed Little Bulgaria) has since dwindled, and many second and third generation residents did not remain in Jaffa, seeing it as a transit destination. During this period, Arabs remained in ‘Ajami, but the *shikunim* of Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel were constructed around remaining *bayārāt*. Their Palestinian inhabitants remained a minority in these new proletarian neighbourhoods. It was during the 1960s-80s that the *shikunim* were constructed. In parallel, this was a period of destruction, with

Manshiya, the Arab town in between Jaffa and Tel Aviv, erased, two thirds of the old city demolished, and 'Ajami and Jabaliyee significantly damaged (Rotbard 2015).³

Gentrification in the North, Relocation to the South

Significant investment in the north of Jaffa since the 1980s has made the city more contiguous with Tel Aviv's southern neighbourhoods (once suburbs of Jaffa). It has also brought a new population of largely *Ashkenazi* artists and professionals, with a "higher class status, and hipster lifestyle" (Monterescu and Hazan 2018: 9). However, with approximately 20,000 Arabs in a greater metropolitan area of 1.2 million Jews, and almost all of them in Jaffa, it continues to be considered culturally separate by Palestinians who reside there. It is also viewed as such by many new Jewish residents, who fetishize Jaffa as an "authentic" object of the orient, a romanticized representation of the Israeli Mediterranean identity (Azarayhu 2007, Nocke 2009),⁴ or as possessing a different kind of political culture that is radical and left-leaning (Monterescu 2015).

Today, it is common to witness urban decay in Jaffa's centre juxtaposed against new real estate projects, including the recent construction of the exclusive Setai Tel Aviv Hotel in the heart of Old Jaffa. Meanwhile, the remaining Palestinian population have becoming increasingly attached to the city (Levine 2005: 221). In northern and western Jaffa is a picture of Arab-majority neighbourhoods subjected to gentrification, ongoing battles over visibility and housing rights, the creation of spaces for Israel's largely *Ashkenazi* liberal elite, as well as bi-national political action and cultural forms described as "creative marginality" (Monterescu 2015, Monterescu and Schickler 2015).

³ Parallel processes occurred in other mixed cities. See Yacobi (2009) on Lod/al-Lyddā, and Weiss (2011) on Haifa.

⁴ Nocke describes a distinctive path of Israeli cultivation of collective identity through *Yam Tikhoniut* (the Mediterranean sea) (Nocke 2009:25).

Such processes emerge in a broader context of real estate development and the reordering of populations in Jaffa. Tel Aviv-Jaffa's axis has shifted to the coastline and new builds in Jaffa mimic the Bauhaus style. As Tel Aviv has always been constituted by its relationship to various borders — not just Arab Jaffa and Manshiya, but also *Mizrahi* neighbourhoods (considered diasporic and oriental) that threatened the conception of Jewish urban space and the unity of Tel Aviv— it still seeks to extend its spatial unity. Jaffa's recent urban development has led to accelerating house prices and veteran populations having to leave (e.g. Bulgarian Jews) or to move to its southern areas (Palestinians). The plan for the regeneration of southern Jaffa is to create another commercial axis through the residential streets of Mahrozet (Yafo Dalet) and Saharon (Yafo Gimmel). The expectation is that a new middle-class population will eventually arrive as new real estate projects are constructed. Until now, however, the neighbourhoods constitute a peripheral area, and portray an alternative social reality.

Migration and Peripherality

Rotbard has referred to South Tel Aviv and Jaffa, with a dose of polemical irony, as “the real global city” that lurks behind the façade of “global Tel Aviv” (Rotbard 2015: 60). United in both neglect and genuinely multicultural demography (Ibid.: 140), Jaffa and South Tel Aviv are full of inhabitants that see “multiculturalism as the key, defining component of the civilian, urban, and neighbourhood ethos” (Ibid.: 177). As northern Jaffa has become more homogenous, this applies in particular to Jaffa's southern areas. Diversification has emerged within a global late-capitalist socioeconomic context that has produced new effects on Israeli society. Tel Aviv's multicultural demography has emerged since the 1980s, a period in which Israel's migration patterns started to coalesce with migratory landscapes in Western European countries: large numbers of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (Leshem and Shuval 1997: 11). This has generated new forms of social and class polarization and marginalisation (Ram 2008, Willen 2019). Moreover, it has become increasingly difficult to ascertain whether Jewish

migration to Israel has been motivated by Zionist ideology. Most Jewish migrants to Israel since the 1980s, argues Della Pergola (1997), have been determined by economic, political and cultural trends, which operate both in a global context and within each country of origin.⁵ The heightening of class polarization and new forms of economically-based migration both complicates and reinforces ethnonationalist binaries that dictate representation of Jaffa.

Jaffa's migration patterns increasingly contrast with the situation in Israel more widely. Across the country, migration patterns have become more irregular, with considerable amounts of Jewish relocation from peripheral regions to the centre of the country.⁶ Moreover, greater numbers of Palestinian families from Lod, Ramle, the Galilee region, and the Triangle region are moving to the economic centres of Haifa and Tel Aviv (Sadeh 2015), and Jewish cities like Nazaret Illit (Rabinowitz 1997). The neat segregation between ethnic groups in blocks, neighbourhoods and districts is becoming less frequent Israeli cities. This dynamic is particularly noticeable in Jaffa's densely populated borderlands.

There are approximately 13,000 residents in Yafo Gimmel/Neve Golan and Yafo Dalet. Municipal documents characterise both neighbourhoods by their cultural diversity (*meguvan tarbuti*). The most recent statistics provided by the Tel Aviv Municipality show that in 2008, 80% of Yafo Dalet's population was Jewish. By origin of father, they were: 42% Europe (i.e.

⁵ Global migrations have taken three forms since the 1990s, with the population of Israel increasing from 4,841,500 in 1990 to 8,668,600 in 2017 (CBS 2017). First, there has been migration based on the Law of Return, which allows any individual with at least one Jewish grandparent to become an Israeli citizen. As a result, the largest contingent of migrants to Israel since the 1980s has been from the Former Soviet Union, with 936,809 arriving from its European part between 1990-2013, and around 15,000 since then (CBS 2013). 25% of these migrants are not practicing Jews. The second largest has been Ethiopian Jews (including Christian converts), with 92,131 arriving between 1990-2013, and around a few hundred since then (CBS 2013). Second, there has been a significant wave of labour migration mostly originating from the "Global South," including Philippines, Thailand, Ghana, Nigeria, India, Turkey, China, Sri Lanka, and Nepal. There was approximately 250-400,000 in total in 1998 (Della Pergola 1998). The 2015 entrants with work permits were approximately 80,000, including 9,300 from the Former Soviet Union (CBS 2015). It is also worth noting that in the year 1996, there was a total of 4000 marriages of foreign workers to Israeli women, with mixed children become increasingly common (Della Pergola 1998). Finally, as of 2019, there are 38,461 asylum seekers, according to UNHCR. These asylum seekers are primarily from the Darfuri region of Sudan and Eritrea.

⁶ The average amount of leavers per year from both the Southern and Northern periphery districts has increased by approximately 10,000 per annum during the period of 1984-9 to 2000-5. Approximately 50,000 people a year entered the Tel Aviv District, which has a higher rate of entrees per 1000 residents than any other districts in Israel (CBS 2015).

Balkan, Russian, or *Ashkenazi*), 20.4% Africa (Ethiopian), 19.7% Israel (mostly of *Mizrahi* origin), 17.4% Asia (Bukharan/North African/Turkish), 0.5% American/Oceanic. Its status as an immigrant neighbourhood is further demarcated by the fact that 47.6% of the immigrant population arrived between 1990-2001, and 13.7% after 2002 (TAYM 2014). In Yafo Gimmel, 68.7% of the population were Jewish. By origin of father, they were: 31.1% Europe (i.e. Balkan, Russian, or *Ashkenazi*), 26.2% Africa (Ethiopian), 23.4% Israel (mostly of *Mizrahi* origin), 18.8% Asia (Bukharan/North African/Turkish), 0.4% American/Oceanic. Not as high as Yafo Dalet, Yafo Gimmel's status as an immigrant neighbourhood is nonetheless demonstrated by the fact that 38.6% arrived in 1990-2001 and 16.7% from 2002 (TAYM 2014). It is worth noting that Yafo Gimmel has a higher Arab population (almost 30%) and has been home to higher rates of intra-Jaffa Arab relocation since the 1990s. This is due to the availability of cheap housing, itself caused by the persistent socioeconomic deprivation prevalent across the two neighbourhoods. Most migrant workers and asylum seekers tend to live in the neighbourhoods of Neve Sha'anani and Shapira in southern Tel Aviv, but a small but noticeable number have moved to Yafo Dalet and Gimmel either in the chase for cheap housing or to escape their communities. I was personally in contact with a Nigerian migrant worker who lived in a *shikun* in Yafo Dalet, and I met Filipino women at community events. Moreover, it was not unusual to see people of Southeast Asian and West African descent walking around the neighbourhood. I also came to know one family of Vietnamese refugees who live in Yafo Dalet. They were part of a rescue operation by an Israeli freighter ship on June 10, 1977, in which 360 "Vietnamese boat people" were given citizenship in a rare symbolic act by Menachem Begin in solidarity with non-Jewish refugees. Most of these families initially lived in Bat Yam and Yafo Dalet, and I interviewed two of their daughters, one whom is a famous poet.

I did not seek to understand experiences of labour and education in the neighbourhoods. It is nonetheless important to note the shared socio-economic predicaments faced by the majority of inhabitants.⁷ Overall, we have a picture of extremely diverse but socioeconomically challenged neighbourhoods which are understood to be part of Israel and Tel Aviv-Jaffa's *periphery* (periphery). The diversity includes a history of localized Bulgarian-Jewish identity (Haskell 1994), the veteran-Jewish communal mix (*Mizrahi*/Balkan), a large community of Ethiopian Jewish immigrants, Russian in-and-out-migration, intra-Jaffa Palestinian migration from 'Ajami and Jabaliyye, countrywide Palestinian Migration to Jaffa, a family of Vietnamese refugees who became Israeli citizens, small numbers of economic migrants from West Africa and Southeast Asia, Eritrean and Sudanese asylum seekers, and a small but growing number of middle-class *Ashkenazi* newcomers.

On the one hand, the neighbourhoods of southern Jaffa have been produced in a paradigm where a political elite drew distinctions according to class as well as ethnonational difference (Marom 2014). On the other hand, one cannot ignore the "spatial coexistences" of housing blocks and the historically Arab built environment (Leshem 2017: 140). This paradox is best embodied by the construction of *shikunim*, which is characterised by an attempt to create an "unspoiled clean slate," whilst restricting the "presence of the indigenous sign" through "physical-material, discursive, and legal measures" (Ibid., 140). In other words, "housing blocks do not in reality float in empty surfaces" (Ibid.), but rather mark an encounter between the built environment of former Arab villages' with the oppositional spatial order of Israeli

⁷ 46.5% and 48.8% of work was paid at less than minimum wage in Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel respectively. The civilian labour force is 65.2% of the adult population of the neighbourhood, including 1790 men (72.4%) and 1740 women (59.2%) in Yafo Dalet, and is 47.4% of the adult population of the neighbourhood in Yafo Gimmel, including 1170 men (49.9%) and 1170 (49.9%). As of 2008, 44.9% of men worked in industry and construction, but most women (69.6%) worked in white collar or sales/service work, and 24% worked in unskilled labour jobs. The story is similar in Yafo Gimmel, with 44.9% of men working in industry and construction, but most women (70.9%) worked in white collar or sales/service work, and 25% worked in unskilled labour jobs. In Yafo Dalet, only 11.2% of the neighbourhood have an academic degree or above (11.1% women, 11.2% men), but 33.9% (32% men, 35.4% women) have other certificates or diplomas. In Yafo Gimmel, only 4.7% of the neighbourhood have an academic degree (3.7% men, 5.6% men), but 49.5% have other diplomas (51.2% men, 48.% women) (TAYM 2014).

improvement. Jaffa's southern borderlands represent juxtaposition and an oppositional spatial order, but with the added twist of the continued presence of the residents of *bayārāt*. This produces social as well as spatial coexistences. The material complexity of this undergirds the set-up of my field site.

Shikunim and Bayārāt

Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel/Neve Golan are marked by the almost exclusive housing typology of *shikunim*, typical of *periphery* areas.⁸ Adhering to a standardized design that is found across Israel, these constructions have been central to the national imagination of the Israeli state (Kallus and Law Yone 2002). Social relations in the *periphery* are mediated by the symbolic and physical development of these units. Rotbard articulates the ambiguity of *shikunim* within the built environment of Jaffa:

Perhaps of all the architectural strategies employed by the State of Israel in Jaffa, the intrusive brutalism of the 1950s and 1960s housing projects was the most decent course of action. Identical in form to those projects constructed in Kiryat Shmona, Beer Sheva and Dimona, at least this was architecture without pretence (Rotbard 2015: 175).

What makes these areas distinct from the dense landscapes of bordering Bat Yam or Ashdod in the south of Israel, however, is their construction around Palestinian *bayārāt*. The coupling of building and dwelling has been essential to the Judaization of these formally Arab agricultural lands. The project of creating Jewish neighbourhoods has fallen short, but they remain the only areas of Jaffa with significant Jewish majorities. The marginalized Jewish

⁸ In Yafo Dalet, 57.7% of construction in the neighbourhood was conducted from 1960-9, 28% from 1970-9, and only 8.9% thereafter. 87.3% of built land is residential and 10.6% used for services for residents. The story is similar in Yafo Gimmel with 30.1% constructed in 1960-9, 43.5% in 1970-9, and 14.1% thereafter. The neighbourhood is 89.7% residential and 6.2% used for services for residents.

immigrant class, therefore, is valued by the state to the extent that they can further the Judaization of Jaffa.

Each of the *bayārāt* houses between 500-700 people residents, mostly from the extended families of Abu Seif and Daka, in Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel respectively. The *bayārāt* stretch over a large part of each neighbourhood and interrupt an otherwise even urban texture (there is another enclave area in Yafo Dalet called Turq but this is much smaller). Today, they are referred to by different actors as *mithamim* (compounds), *muvl'aot* (enclaves), and *ex-territories*. Historically, the areas were part of a broader open landscape of agricultural plots, growing the fruit of Palestine's greatest industry, the production and circulation of the world-famous Shamouti orange. The well-houses that irrigated the orchards, known as (*bayārāt*) in Arabic, eventually became attached to luxury mansions. Over time, the wells lent their names to the mansions and *bayārāt* came to signify a broader configuration of dwelling arrangements. Today these areas are often referred to by the Hebrew word *pardesim* (orchards).⁹ The extended families were part of the 3% of Palestinians who remained in Jaffa after the 1948 War. They continued to function as open agricultural plots for decades, as informal housing grew around them. Today, considerably less land is available for agriculture, and in the 1980s some members of each *bayārāt* turned to crime and drug supply in the 1980s. They are under regular surveillance by the police, and their precarious legal status further threatened by municipal plans. As the legal threat of expulsion has become more real, the physical juxtaposition with the *shikunim* has taken on social dimensions too.

As exemplified by Figs. 5 and 6 (below), the delineation between the *shikunim* and *bayārāt* marks perhaps the most profound border in the area today. This thesis explores how these two urban phenomena mutually produce processes of state governmentality, placemaking and

⁹ In this ethnography, they are marked as *bayārāt* unless they are being translated from their Hebrew use as *pardesim*.

identity formation in the neighbourhoods. They are in a sense a microcosm of what Portugali calls the asymmetrical co-production of Israeli and Palestinian identities (Portugali 1993). The thesis does, however, separate its central treatment of these mutually constituting environments due to the issues they raise. Section I treats them together more explicitly by demonstrating how governance and planning over time led to the spatial production of *shikunim* at the expense of and through the spatial repression of *bayārāt*. It is this interplay, I argue, that grounds the material in Section II and Section III. The former focuses on the *bayārāt* as sites of continuous mnemonic materiality and crucial indicators of ethno-national contradiction in Israel's diverse urban space. The latter focuses on the production of social life in the *shikunim*, and how identities, materialities, and regulatory regimes emerge through such contradictions, as well as how they may momentarily escape them. Observing the city from this dynamic carves out a new perspective on an existing literature on Israeli cities with mixed Jewish-Palestinian populations.

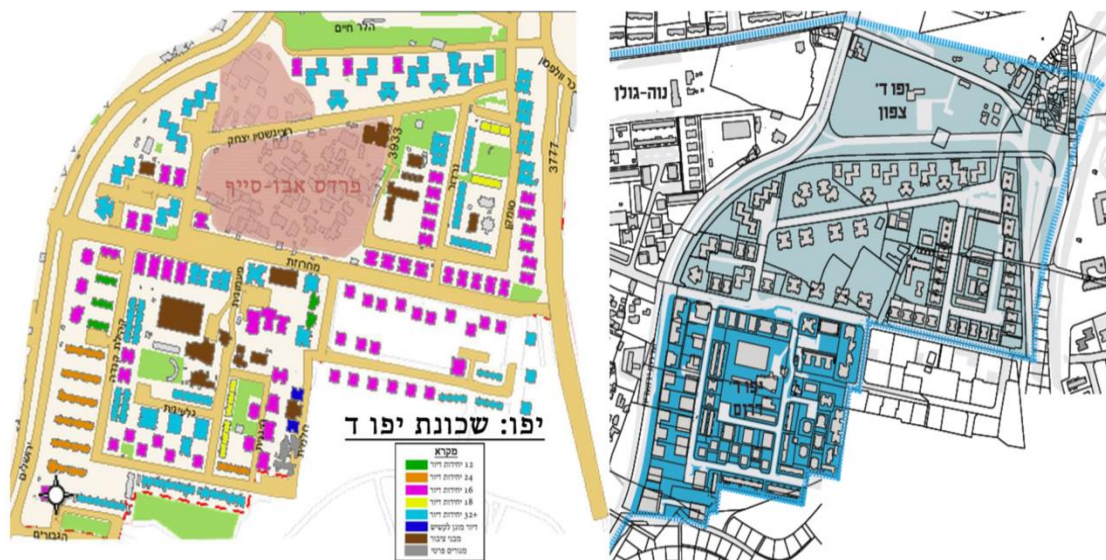


FIGURE 5 – a map of Yafo Dalet from the 2017 City Planning Division document outlining urban renewal plans for the area (ATH 2017: 25). Bayārāt Abu Seif is shaded in red on the upper half of the left map (marked as *Pardes Abu Seif*).



FIGURE 6 – a map of Yafo Gimmel from the 2017 City Planning Division document outlining urban renewal plans for the area (ATH 2017: 23). Bayarāt Daka is shaded in red on the right of the left map (marked as *Pardes Daka*).

Mixed Cities and National Borders

Jaffa is one of five “mixed cities” (in Arabic *mudun mukhtaliṭa*, and Hebrew *‘arim me‘oravot*) that were almost exclusively Arab prior to 1948, shortly after becoming cities with mixed Jewish-Palestinian populations in the new State of Israel. The main spaces in which Jews and Palestinians cohabit in contemporary Israel are Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, Lod, and Ramla. Cohabitation is also found in two newly established Israeli-Jewish towns which subsequently became mixed, Nazaret Illit and Ma ‘alot Tarshiha, the joint experimental community of Neve Shalom/Wadi Salam, and finally, the hotbed of violent confrontation and largely segregated Jerusalem. 8.6 % of the Israeli state’s Arab population resided in these five cities as of 1991 (Falah 1996: 829). In each of these cities, the end of the 1948 War was followed by military rule and the prevention of Palestinians reclaiming their houses under the Absentee Property Regulations of 1948. Citizenship was given to those who remained, though many were unable to continue dwelling in their historic homes. From the perspective of the Palestinian population, these cities may in fact be understood as “targeted towns” (*mudun mustahdafa*) over “shared towns” (*mudun mushtaraka*). Each city has a different historical trajectory in terms of urban

form, dynamics of destruction and renewal, and levels of dwelling segregation and mixture. They have nonetheless been conceptualised together within Israeli social science.

This thesis argues that, regardless of their demographics, the study of cities in Israel requires a thorough examination of their relationship to the production of Israeli national space. In his seminal text on nationalism, Benedict Anderson defines the nation as “an imagined political community — and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (2006: 5). What Anderson calls the “cultural artefacts” of “nationality, nation-ness and nationalism” (Anderson 2006: 4) have particular purchase in the context of urban Israel/Palestine, where municipal governance and architectural construction reflect nationalist spatial production. Seeking to understand how the Israeli political community is produced through city-space, this study does not directly address the source of invention of Zionism/Israeli nationalism as “invented tradition” (Hobsbawm 1990), nor the ontology of the Jewish nation as explored in Smith’s Ethno-symbolist approach (Smith 2009), but is rather concerned with continued cultural practices of nation-ness in the built environment and societies of Israeli cities. Thus, it holds with Ernest Gellner that nation building is sociologically produced (Gellner 2008). As Zygmunt Bauman argues, the modern state relied on nationalism for authority, whilst nationalism needed the coercive powers of the state to promote its homogenising agenda (Bauman 1992).

The question of how the construction of Israeli nationalism moves ideationally in time can be connected to its movement in space, particularly through the materialisation of the state. This has been reflected in particular through the lens of architecture and planning (Efrat 2018, Nitzan-Shiftan 2017, Rotbard 2015, Segal and Weizman 2003). City-building in Israel has been conspicuously political such that every act of construction, intervention, or invention (of new typologies) cannot be divorced from the nation-building process. Every masterplan, certainly within the nascent decades of the Israeli state, can be read with reference to Arie Sharon’s

National Plan (Sharon 1951).¹⁰ Accordingly, this thesis places the “mixed city” within the spatialities of the Israeli state. In other words, planning itself was relational despite its geographical dispersal. This thesis observes the state developmental programme of building *shikunim* as a cultural artefact of the nation building process. I therefore consider nationalism through its construction in urban spaces, buildings and their diverse inhabitants. Bordering encounters framed within material infrastructures are lenses into the broader production of the modern nation state.

Within these broad national plans and their infrastructures, mixed cities offer a peculiar strategic place. Following the idea that planning and building are central to the way territorial conflicts play out (Segal and Weizman 2003: 19), geographers and urbanists have argued that Judaization is an explicit urban policy in the context of mixed cities (Yacobi 2009, Yacobi and Yiftachel 2003). Their arguments follow the model provided by Israeli sociologist Baruch Kimmerling in the pivotal text *Zionism and Territory*. Presence, ownership, and sovereignty are demarcated as three forms of control over territorial regions (Kimmerling 1983: 19-25). Presence refers simply to the existence of claimants to land on a given territory. In the case of Zionism, the presence of Zionist settlers from the late 19th century, and their establishment of village settlements were crucial *faits accomplis* in generating a proto-state. Ownership implies private acquisition, but in the Zionist case public ownership was used to transfer land from Arab to Jewish ownership. Finally, sovereignty refers to the state’s exclusive and supreme control of territory. These three forms “exist both independently and in interrelated patterns”

¹⁰ Rotbard places the genealogy of Israeli cities in the pre-state period, beginning with the wall and watchtower in early Zionist settlement. He writes, “*Homa Umigdal* is the origin, the prototype, the model and the mold of Israeli architecture, as well as, to a large extent, the Israeli city...it germinated the future characteristics of Israeli architecture and town planning: hasty translation of a political agenda into the act of construction, occupation of territory through settlement and infrastructure, high priority given to the buildings’ security functions and military capabilities (both defensive and offensive), and informed use of modernity—organisation, administration, prefabrication, logistics and communication” (Rotbard 2003: 46). This is discussed in Chapter 4, p. 152.

(Ibid.: 21). Presence, ownership and sovereignty are all central to territorial orientations within the Israeli state. Where all three are achieved “the frontier actually ends” (Ibid.: 25).

A body of literature has grown out of Kimmerling’s insights that points to such tactics as indicative of “ethnocracy,” the structural gearing of the base resources of the state towards control by one ethnonationalist group (Ghanem, Rouhana and Yiftachel 1998, Yiftachel 2006, Yiftachel and Ghanem 2004, c.f Tzfadia and Yacobi 2011: 1-2, and Smootha 1997 on “ethnic democracy”). In the Israeli case, ethnocracy is made visible through state processes associated with demography, land and settlement which dramatically undermine democratic forces. Ethnocracy in mixed cities is made clear, Oren Yiftachel and Haim Yacobi argue (2003), by the fact that from the foundation of the state of Israel up to April 1949, 110,000 of the 190,000 *‘olim* had been settled in abandoned Arab houses, with most settling in the former Arab neighbourhoods of Jaffa and the mixed cities (Morris 2004: 395).¹¹

Palestinian scholars have pointed to the ways in which Arab space has been repressed in these cities since 1948. This includes the Hebraization of the Arabic language (Shammas 2007) and public space (Zreik 2007), arguments made in an edited volume on mixed cities (Monterescu and Rabinowitz 2007). Ghazi Falah accordingly refers to mixed cities as “dual spaces of conflict” (Falah 2007). Critical debates on mixed cities have been guided by the reading of the city as “urban ethnocracy,” and Jaffa has been subject to such interpretations (Levine 2005, Rajagopalan 2002). The territorializing nature of urban trends in contemporary Jaffa, Adam Levine argues, demonstrates the “city as nation” (Levine 2005: 247). This echoes Yacobi and Yiftachel’s (2003) claims that in contemporary Israel, the market reproduces ethnonationalist hegemony.

¹¹ Yacobi and Yiftachel (2003) have the figure at 126,000 (66%) of a total of 190,000 Jewish immigrants settled in empty Palestinian houses in mixed cities, quoting an earlier Hebrew version of Morris’s text. I have used the figure in the latest English language version of Morris’s *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem* (Morris 2004: 395).

But the application of methodological nationalism has, in urban anthropologist Daniel Monterescu's words, "reified urban configurations as dualistic structures, overlooking social practice, and conceptualising spaces as "disjointed and homogenous ethnic territorialities."¹² Cross-communal coalitions and mixed socialities may be ignored, as cities become essentialised "as metonymic cultural representations of the nation, thus dismissing the internal complexity and potential change of urban imaginaries" (Monterescu 2015: 37). Following Mustafa Emirbayer's notion of "relational sociology" (Emirbayer 1997), Monterescu proposes a relational analysis of Jaffa, challenging the notion of urban ethnocracy. In the ethnography *Jaffa Shared and Shattered: Contrived Coexistence in Israel/Palestine* (Monterescu 2015), Monterescu draws on cultural forms such as joint Jewish-Arab activism over housing rights and joint Jewish-Arab ownership of the mixed attendance nightclub Anna Loulou to define Jaffa as (1) spatially heteronomous, complicating the notion of fixed spatial boundaries; (2) marked by pragmatic transaction between Arabs and Jews, which produces the city's status as (3) culturally indeterminate (2015: 38, c.f. Monterescu 2007b).¹³

Other anthropological and sociological research in Jaffa has added to this interpretation. Amalia Sa'ar (2006), for example, has argued that class and ethnic boundaries are transcended within Jaffa's grassroots activism, sharply distinguishing Jaffa from Jerusalem (also see Leibovitz 2007).¹⁴ From the perspective of Haifa, anthropologist Regev Nathanson coins the term "coexistence from below," arguing that mixed cities are guided by a "reflexive subjectivity," forcing inhabitants to question pre-given structures (Nathanson 2010). From the

¹² The term "methodological nationalism" was defined by Wimmer and Schiller as "the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" (2002).

¹³ More recently, he supplemented this argument in *Twilight Nationalism: the Politics of Existence at Life's End* (Monterescu and Hazan 2018), an account co-authored with veteran Israeli anthropologist Haim Hazan, which tells the stories of elderly Jewish and Palestinian men and women in Jaffa, each representing radically distinctive subject positions, shaped between "the identity politics of territorial nationalism at large to the personal politics of individual existence" (2018: 224)

¹⁴ The study of *Jerusalem Living Together Separately* by veteran Israeli anthropologist Alex Weingrod and geographer Michael Romann argues that the most important differentiation of urban space to local Jerusalemites is between Jewish and Arab space. Spatial patterns, moreover, reflect not only social distance but also continuing conflict (Romann and Weingrod 1991).

“mixing” neighbourhood of Hadar, Haifa’s only neighbourhood without highly segregated ethno-religious and socioeconomic characteristics, he observes how the local *mixing* environment coexists with a general hegemonic discourse of separation. As a result, the incommensurability of local experiences ends up prompting social practices of reflexivity (Nathanson 2017). Nathanson uses the term *mixing* to highlight the neighbourhood’s sociality as ongoing and active, as opposed to pre-given and fixed, as *mixed* implies.¹⁵

These studies markedly illustrate the ways in which urban life provides spaces of encounter from which to narrate alternative stories of interaction, friendship, and even love across national boundaries. The category of “nation,” however, appears in these studies as if its tendency to form a hegemonic status is self-evident, but such formations might also be seen as processual. The dynamics of urban diversity are often used to demonstrate the nation’s limitations, a tonic against its most violent impulses, but the view from the diverse borderlands of Jaffa challenges this position. Although such an approach also exposes the nation’s cracks, and new borderlines re-emerge in response to its operations, it does so in a way that doesn’t lose sight of the material effects of nationalist interventions in the city, nor the affective powers of “imagined community” (Anderson 2006).

From the perspective of some distinctive areas of Haifa and Jaffa, the concepts of “spatial heteronomy/stranger sociality/cultural indeterminacy” (Monterescu 2015) and “coexistence from below/reflexive sociality” (Nathanson 2010) may hold. But ultimately, they are spatially located in specific neighbourhoods and accordingly spatially privileged in their narrative. In Jaffa’s borderlands, I argue, the centrality of the state emerges in social life. Distinctive forms of nationalist erasure, construction, and control are entangled with social worlds. This thesis

¹⁵ Anthropologist Rebecca Torstrick presents a similar story from the perspective of an ethnography of Acre conducted decades earlier (Torstrick 2000). Conversely, however, Torstrick queries how nationalist categories are accepted and rejected, thus implying that social bordering and spatial segregation can always be reconstituted in a mixed city. This line has been stressed recently in ethnographic research amongst a fringe theatre group in Acre. This study demonstrated how attempts to subvert socioeconomic structures ended up producing new versions of boundaries and segregations (Ayalon et al 2018).

therefore develops Yacobi and Yiftachel's suggestion that mixed cities have historically been targeted as colonial "frontiers" in planning discourses,¹⁶ whilst building on the relational notion of social life emphasised by Monterescu and Nathanson. It does this by making social relations *relation to* materialities of nationalist spatial production. I develop the notion of frontiers by observing their social effects as seams in neighbourhood life.

Jaffa's borderlands are not fully reducible to territorial control, however, as this would shut out ambiguities in identity and fail to account for the various forms of parallel relations that exist within and between diverse Jewish and Arab populations in each mixed city. Yet, ethnographies of mixed cities can also reveal visible logics of Judaization and segregation, such as in anthropologist Dan Rabinowitz's illustration of the practical exclusion of Palestinians in the mixed town of Natzerat-Illit. He illustrates this through the low collective profile of Palestinians living in residentially mixed apartment buildings, and the ways in which formally open institutions like the *matnas* (community centre) exclude Palestinians from activities (Rabinowitz 1997). Indeed, my own research revealed similar practices, as explored in Chapter 6. However, rather than classifying forms of social behaviour, I sought to understand how social patterns emerge in tandem with material infrastructures in the production of place. Such an analysis accepts that urban production is guided by both relational and territorial geographies (McCann and Ward 2010). Thus, although areas of mixed cities are "contact zones" – social spaces in which cultural interaction occurs in asymmetrical relations of power (Pratt 1991: 34) – ethnographic analysis that integrates their spatial histories need not fetishise hybrid social formations. Rather, ethnography can capture how hierarchies of difference are constructed, legitimated and negotiated as lived practices, rather than guaranteed and stable structures (Roy 2001).

¹⁶ Levine (2005: 224) defines the Palestinian neighbourhoods of Jaffa as frontiers. He notes how spatial policies are used to exert power and territorial control over the Palestinian minority in Jaffa.

My ethnography therefore rejects the separation of governmental and social scales and argues that nation and city are in constant spatial conflict. What architectural critic Zvi Efrat calls “Zionism’s pronounced resentment of the big city exposes this friction” (Efrat 2018: 17). The Israeli state has attempted to utilise *urbs* for its national-spatial goals, but in the “mixed city,” architectural interventions in public space have always encountered contradiction. Through observation of the formation of borderlands, I do not prioritise the spatial production of nation nor city, and rather hold them in the tension they illustrate through imbrication and repulsion at different scales and temporalities. This model understands multi-scalar placemaking and border production through insights from the anthropology of new materialisms, Lefebvrian spatial analysis, and ethnographies of the state and urban planning.

Materiality, Mediation, and Spatial Scales

My interpretation of borderlands is partially guided by recent interventions in the anthropology of architecture that invite us to focus on architectural and architectonic forms, and to understand the material registers of built form as a text from which we might interpret city life (Buchli 2013: 6). It is also guided by anthropological studies that locate the workings of power and social networks in infrastructures such as machines, bureaucracies, and urban governance (Collier 2011, Hull 2012, Jensen and Morita 2017, Larkin 2013, Rabinow 1989, also see Barry 2001, Barry 2013, Bennett 2010, Berlant 2016, Gandy 2003, Gandy 2013, Graham 2010, Löw 2016, and Mitchell 2002 for approaches in other disciplines, and see Di Nunzio 2018 for overview). Such approaches are rooted in a longer anthropological concern with overcoming a bias towards society and the human subject, addressed by attention to the agency of things (Appadurai 1986, Gell 1998, Miller 2005). Such shifts away from anthropocentrism and towards “new materialisms” (Coole and Frost 2010) have been influenced in part by Bruno Latour’s theory of ANT (Actor Network Theory). Particularly influential is his notion of *actant*,

employed to denote the human and non-human actors connected through networks that produce social life (Latour 1993, 2005).

Following these developments, this thesis uses the concept of materiality to interpret the dynamics between the built environment and social life. The agency of persons who feature in my ethnography can be read as expressions of, rather than sources of bureaucratic institutions. In this way, I seek to avoid reading materiality through what Danny Miller calls the “the reification of ourselves” (Miller 2005: 3). Crucially, however, I make two qualifications on the notion of materiality. First, I seek to explain how materiality can be understood as intersectional with the social at different spatial scales, and through power relations. As Arjun Appadurai, writes, there is a risk in ANT of “reduc[ing] sociality to plumbing” (Appadurai 2015: 233). I follow him in thinking of materiality and mediation as co-producers of social life. He writes, “the eye (and its sensory-neural infrastructure) is the materiality through which seeing—as a practice of mediation—takes its effect” (Ibid.: 224). In other words, abstract and broad categories are made visible through their mediation in material frameworks, and I add, in spatial conglomerations. An example of this in his work is the demonstration of the homology between house: home: place which illustrates how the integrity of communities is embedded and embodied in the housing form (Appadurai 2013: 116). In simple terms, this model allows us to see how social concepts are related to their physical infrastructures. I do not employ the terms *dividual* or *mediant*, the preferred choices of Appadurai that indicate neither *actant* nor *actor*, but I do understand social life as always mediated, and mediation as “vital materiality” (Ibid.: 233). I think of material forms like the *shikunim* as mediating constructions that makes visible nationalist goals, state formation, and urban identities. Likewise, invisible social boundaries and constructions of identity are always mediated through the visible materiality of built form and bodies. I therefore use the word

persons over subjects, and interpersonal over intersubjective.¹⁷ *Maḳom gadol* (“big place”) is spatially mediated through the agglomeration of persons and the built environment into bordering formations.

The second major point then is that I approach city-space as a mediating landscape through which forms of power are made visible. I do so to avoid the flattening of power risked in Latourian approaches to society. I think of Henri Lefebvre’s triad of “conceived-perceived-lived” space as a way of illustrating interactions between mediation and materiality in city-space (Lefebvre 1991). But other urban theorists have drawn attention to the ways in which political, physical, and technological infrastructures work on and with human agencies in cities (Amin 2012, Amin and Thrift 2002, 2017, Harvey 1989, Massey 1993, Tonkiss 2013). Michel Foucault’s location of the body as the site of the production of discursive knowledge and power (Foucault 1991), and Gile Deleuze and Felix Guattari’s notion of *assemblage* – used to describe the nonhierarchal constantly shifting, temporarily interlocking ordering of human and nonhuman bodies (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) – present theoretical models that help to explain processes of infrastructural intervention on social encounters.

I contend, however, that Lefebvre’s model is crucial to the task of understanding social production at different geographical scales and through different combinations of urban infrastructure and mediated urban ideology. Neil Brenner points to the reification of scale in everyday scalar terms such as local, urban, regional, national, and global, which obscures “the profound mutual imbrication of all scales” (Brenner 2000: 368). For Brenner, Lefebvre’s multiscalar approach allows for a conceptualisation of urban contradiction that is understood through a framework of intertwined geographical scales rather than as an intrusion of global flows into local spaces (Ibid.: 379-70). In the context of Jaffa’s urban borderlands, a Lefebvrian

¹⁷ But where there are power relations between persons and abstractions like nation and state and persons, I use subject precisely to indicate how subjective bias has guided and coordinated the management and production of these forms.

multiscalar approach allows us to see contradictions that are not read as intrusions by nationalist ideologies or the state – nor their representation in the city as unduly metonymic (Monterescu 2015) – but rather, as an inevitable intertwining of scales. The approach draws attention to the city as a relational process in which human agencies are intertwined with complex networks of social production. Bourdieu’s notion of habitus – which is employed to explain how human dispositions are expressions of structure – provides one model of reading such relationalities (Bourdieu 1989, 2005), but the employment of Lefebvre goes further in presenting a typology of distinctive combinations of infrastructure, power and agency in city-space. Moreover, as Laura Berlant argues, “infrastructure is not identical to system or structure...because infrastructure is defined by the movement or patterning of social form” (Berlant 2016: 393). Habitus is sometimes employed in the thesis, but I understand habituation as an entangled process that emerges through the multi-temporal and multi-scalar material production of regimes of place, a concept I develop further in the next section and Chapter 2.

State Borders and the City

To observe the state through the spatial frameworks of the city, I draw on an older anthropological literature that sought to describe and analyse state power and its limits through ethnography study (Abrams 1988, Aretxaga 2003, Asad 2004, Comaroff and Comaroff 2005, Das 2004, Ferguson and Gupta 2002, Geertz 1980, 2004, Gupta 1995, Hansen 2001, Hansen and Stepputat 2001, 2005, Navaro Yashin 2002, 2005, 2012, Obeid 2010, Taussig 1992). Philip Abram’s landmark call to reject the study of the state as a material object (Abrams 1988) led to a literature that afforded the state a spectral, illegible, and even magical quality (Aretxaga 2003, Das 2004, Taussig 1992). As I seek to understand state power through material frameworks, I agree with Talal Asad that the state cannot be considered a fetish on the basis of its imaginative, abstract quality. Abstractions, he argues, inform everyday practices and discourse, so reference to the state through abstraction is essential for the exercise of legal

powers (Asad 2004: 282). Seeking to observe the “languages of stateness” that emerge in the “everyday” nationalization of territory (Hansen and Stepputat 2001: 12), I understand the mediation of state abstraction through its material manifestation in a network of human and non-human agents (Navaro-Yashin 2012). In this vein, state sovereignty is understood as a “field of practice,” rather than a “momentary declaration of a state of emergency” (Navaro-Yashin 2012: 43). This will be explored in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, as the production of state power and national belonging is understood through networks of neighbourhood agents.

My concern with the social praxis of the state extends to the way it has generated borders through its production in borderlands over time. Geographer Sarah Radcliffe has argued that states are not created only in abstract space, as state formations are “inherently spatial, based on specific geographical tools and knowledges, *and* on imaginative geographies and images” (Radcliffe 2001, 123-4). With reference to Ecuador, she illustrates how states are formed historically through such processes. One of the aims here is to demonstrate how “nationalist cartographies” established the placeness (*mekomiyut*) of the state over the long durée in southern Jaffa. Such cartographies are demarcated by the governmental production of imagined territorial borders (observed in Chapter 2), and a tampering with built form to produce material borders on the ground (observed in Chapter 3). This research thus observes the primacy of the materialization of the state and spatial elements of governance at the neighbourhood scale. Accordingly, it draws on anthropological studies of urban planning to develop further the understanding of state city intersections.

This includes Paul Rabinow’s understanding of the emergence of colonial regimes of planning through technocratic ideas and regulation of the built environment (Rabinow 1989), Matthew Hull’s account of the “graphic ideologies” and “graphic artefacts” that produce a materiality of signs that reproduces state power in the city (Hull 2012), and critiques of the utopian intentions of modernist urban planners, and the limitations on attempts to control populations through the

production of urban forms (Ghannam 2002, Holston 1989, Menoret 2015, Scott 1998). This thesis builds on such themes through its exploration of the interplay between planning and residential perspectives. My analysis of Jaffa's urban borderlands is grounded in the formation of *regimes of place* through historical planning and architectural forms, particularly the planning of new neighbourhoods, histories of governance and welfare policies, and social policy and recreational activities in the present. It is distinguished from Rabinow's Foucauldian approach, however, by its emergence in everyday worlds of dwelling as well as technocracies of planning. It follows Hull in imbuing plans and documents with ethnographic agency and understanding the city from the perspective of a distinctive material order. The work of the state is observed through mediated social practices that illustrate relationships between plans, policies, and people in urban life.

Yet urban forms are open, unpredictable, and capricious. Following Doreen Massey, I reject Heideggerian attempts to carve singular, absolute, essential and coherent senses of place. Whilst I observe how the place logic of the state and nation are geared towards this, places are in fact extraverted (Massey 1993), and guided by the "challenge of space" (Massey 2005). A materialist approach to the city allows one to see the *mattering* of emergent counter-historical forms that exist as traces, a theme primarily explored in Chapter 4 with reference to Walter Benjamin's understanding of urban fragments (Benjamin 2005, 2009, 2015). Ethnocracy may be made visible in parts of the thesis, but the abstract term is not present in the ethnography. The focus is on the production of multi-scalar borders that produce forms of *maḳom*, and their interplay with *majāl* (Arab space) and the carving out of immigrant spaces. The observation of territorial border structures that produce national identities out of city-space and are limited by the fragmentary nature of that very space, led to a conceptualisation of human social behaviour understood as guided by the notion of bordering.

Bordering

Throughout this thesis, I identify bordering as a process which describes the dominant form of interaction between persons, as well as between persons, buildings, and space. Bordering has recently been defined in a recent book in migration studies as the multi-scalar formation of “political projects of governance and belonging” (Yuval-Davies et al 2019: 5). The social formation of borders by states has long been of interests to human geographers (Popescu 2012) and anthropologists (Donnon and Wilson 1999, Obeid 2010). My use of bordering denotes a social construction of borders that has a *relational* character (Agier 2016) but is distinguished from previous notions by its focus on practices and symbols in neighbourhood life. Bordering is understood in relation to state practices, but it is located in the everyday.

In addition to what Monterescu calls “the persistence of a deeply rooted structure of ambivalence” in Jaffa (2015: 2), I found that Jaffa’s borderlands amplify a distinct form of relating-to-others. Although it is true that there is a “political, social, and semiotic difficulty of mobilising coherent subject positions in Jaffa” (Ibid., 3), from the perspective of its southern areas, I did not find that “the coupling between space and identity collapses” (Ibid., 6). The uneasiness of performing *maḵom* in the ambiguous space of Jaffa’s historical semi-architectural edges produces moments of ethical engagement with perceived others, and the everyday reality of the multiplicity of this diverse area also produces new forms of ambivalence over the identity of southern Jaffa. But I conceptualise bordering as the default modality in these dense peripheral neighbourhoods defined by the conspicuous nature of ethno-national and ethnic distinctions. Bordering indicates a way of relating-to-others through marked difference in material and social space.

Bordering can be marked through patterns of social behaviour, material practices, symbolic and aesthetic patterns and orders, as well as collectively and discursively produced limits on particular identities in the public sphere. The latter instance indicates that bordering isn’t flat.

It is weighted, in particular, by the performance of *maḵom* as part of the everyday behaviour of Jewish residents in southern Jaffa. Ordinary *spatial practices* (Lefebvre 1991) are geared towards collectively produced effective limits on Arabness, and to a lesser extent, immigrant identities. These may be thought of as bordering practices to the extent that their effect is to use physical space to create a sense of Jewish territorial identity vis-à-vis bordering neighbourhoods, as Chapter 6 outlines. Yet, I argue that the standardized features of Jaffa's borderlands are ripe for the attempted production of new forms of urban place which, due to the density of space, are marked through bordering practices.

Whilst the notion of bordering has not been introduced to the mixed cities literature, urban border-making in Israel/Palestine has been explored before. In their study of ethnic division and relations in Jerusalem, Romann and Weingrod describe the act of crossing urban boundaries as a “highly conscious act” (Romann and Weingrod 1991: 49). Jerusalem's demographic geography is highly divided such that the notion of “boundary” contains a certain logic. Indeed, an emerging urban studies literature on intra-urban borders in Jerusalem attends to such navigation across physically demarcated seamlines (Baumann 2015, Aharon-Gutman 2019, Gazit 2010, Yacobi 2019). An earlier collection of essays posed the need to enquire into the areas of daily life where territorial, cultural and social borders of identity beyond spatial hegemony are crossed in Israel/Palestine (Sufian and Levine 2007). The collection includes an essay by Monterescu on the carving out of boundaries through the performance of Arab masculinities in Jaffa (Monterescu 2007a). There has also been a recent study that observes the marked and permeable borders of Bat Yam and Jaffa at HaGvul Street (Belkind 2018). Yet these studies refer largely to borders as designating the boundaries between two sides of demographically separated arenas.

The urban borderlands of Jaffa, I argue, offer a new perspective. Because difference is densely imbricated, there is a quotidian and almost unconscious patterning to forms of

avoidance and limiting contact. Bordering may therefore be articulated *in* the process of interaction. Borders signifies an openness that is not afforded to us by boundaries or territorialization. Whereas a boundary defines a limit of something abstract or a dividing line, a border refers to the edge of something or the part near it. As Richard Sennett argues, borders, unlike boundaries, have “porous edges” (Sennett 2018: 220). This distinction has an etymological basis. Border is derived from the mid 14th century Old French word *bordeure*, which refers to the seam or edge of a shield. Boundary, conversely, is derived from *bound*, from the 13th century Old French *bonde*, meaning a limit or boundary stone. Hence my employment of the term goes beyond the early sociological conception by George Simmel. Simmel argued that “the boundary is not a spatial fact with sociological consequences, but a sociological fact that forms itself spatially” (Simmel 1997b: 143). The border, I am arguing, may indeed be recognised as a spatial fact that forms itself sociologically, as well as vice versa. This interchangeability produces a concept connected to materialities, but also one that is less concerned with the transgression *across* a line than with the navigation *through* such lines. Indeed, translated from the German word *begrenzung*, which also refers to limit, restriction, or demarcation, Simmel’s “boundary” nonetheless has roots in the word *grenze*, a word that translates as border, frontier, edge, and borderline, as well as boundary and limit.

The Hebrew word for border, *gvul*, also has this dual meaning. My employment of the term is more analytical than emic, but I would argue that the notion of *gvulot* (borders) has a more open character than bounded notions. Further clarifications of this extend from Gurevitch’s distinction between the *thick border* and the *thin border* (Gurevitch 2018: 16). The former “separates the similar from the different,” “defin[ing] both sides as complete entities,” “limiting and separating worlds.” The latter, conversely, “means being on the border rather than on one or the other side of it.” Such a distinction is “not binary, but spectral.” Identity, he argues, extends from the thickening and thinning of borders. Indeed, he also points out how the Hebrew

word for identity, *zehut*, literally means “this is it” (*ze hu*). Essence (*mahut*), conversely, alludes to a question, “what is it?” (*ma hu*), indicating the conceptual availability of undoing thick borders and essentialist definitions at the borderlines.

This thesis employs bordering to signify shifting behaviours and identities, mediated through materialities. When persons may be said to be display *bordering practices*, such agencies emerge within a social system regulated by spatial infrastructure. Borders are felt, performed, challenged, and reproduced in relation to the materiality of urban space. If we understand bordering as a *habitus*, we may describe it as habituation that occurs within closed patterns, despite overlapping spatiality. Bourdieu wrote “habitus...implies a ‘sense of one’s place,’ but also a “sense of the place of others” (Bourdieu 1989: 19). My argument is that such formations of place and others occur in a dense threading of urban space. Consequently, although bordering is largely used to indicate modes of avoidance or articulation of spatial and discursive separation that is related to border constructions by the state, it can also be the framework for creating new urban identities and materialities. This will be explored through the case of Jaffa’s Ethiopian population in Chapter 7. Ethicist of urban life Iris Marion Young has argued, “In the normative ideal of city life, borders are open and undecidable” (1990: 255). My claim is that bordering is largely a mode of *closing space* through the construction of place, but conceptually speaking, the edges of borders allow for reformulations.

Rather than the social patterning of “boundary maintenance” (Barth 1969, Cohen 1985), I conceptualise intra-urban borders as mediated and materialised in the interplay between regimes of planning and architectural imaginaries, municipal organisation, dwelling patterns and forms of placemaking. Bordering may therefore be said to operate as a *modality* connected to the urban structuration of *maḳom* at the peripheral borderland. Indeed, Section III explores formations of national and ethnic belonging and exclusion, and the bordering practices that make them visible, but such patterns are related to processes of territory-making, discursive

peripheralization, and the construction of the built environment explored in Section I. But that is not to say that placemaking is conceptually equal to bordering. Rather, that the quotidian making of place is regularly articulated in graffiti, sub-community making, everyday avoidance, and limits on the nature of interactions. Importantly, however, we should see the agential nature of such graffiti and signs – which do not exist only as objects of human representation – but become central to the mediation and regulation of bodies and identities in space. Likewise, social limits on interactions are regulated through the bureaucratic and infrastructural borders which mediate regimes of nation-building and state production. Thus, whilst place is not reducible to bordering practices, it is made visible through their exploration. Collectively, such practices illustrate how the nationalist production of *maḵom* is entangled with the everyday life of the neighbourhoods, and the work of the state often performed as much as it is challenged from below. Because my argument is that diversity is shaped by state goals, the thesis also considers how bordering intervenes on literatures focussing on everyday multi-cultural encounter.

The Borders of Multiculture: Encounter and Conviviality

Studying diversity in a landscape of borders and bordering, this thesis explores the social and material effects of ethno-national governmental regimes on urban multiculturalism. In other words, to grapple multi-culture, I consider it as an expression of multiple scales of place, rather than interactions *between* subjects and groups. Nonetheless, a notion of mediated encounter is proposed. There is a substantial body of literature that explores urban encounters across difference. This includes a corpus of philosophical debates on the ethics of multi-culturalism and cosmopolitanism (Appiah 2006, 2018, Benhabib 2004, Kymlicka 1995, Macintyre 1988, Parekh 2006, Young 1990, 2000), urban studies literatures on the directly urban challenges of diversity (Amin 2002, Sandercock 1997, Sennett 1989, 2018, Watson 2006), and an American

anthropological and sociological literature on multi-culturalism (Brubacker 2012, 2015, Foner 2007, Horton and Calderon 1995, Terrence 1993).

Most pertinent for this study is the British and European anthropological and sociological tradition that conceptualises social structures and patterns in ethnically diverse urban configurations and their racial tensions (Alleyne 2002, Back 1996, 2002, Baumann 1996, Blommaert and Verschueren 1998, Goldberg and Solomos 2002, Hewitt 1986, Keith 2005). After Steven Vertovec developed the notion of “super-diversity” to broaden our understanding of the multi-dimensionality of diverse urban identities beyond the factor of ethnicity (Vertovec 2007b, Meissner and Vertovec 2015), a significant sociological and anthropological literature has emerged around the term *conviviality*, which seeks to describe patterns of interaction across difference in diverse urban spaces (Back and Sinha 2016, Bryant 2016, Duru 2016, Hall 2012, Gilroy 2005, 2005, Karner and Parker 2011, Mattioli 2012, Neal et al 2013, 2017, Nowicka and Vertovec, Wise 2011, Wise and Noble 2016, Wessendorf 2014). Because I am claiming that diversity is the material of nation building, my engagement with this literature is critical.

My intervention thus occurs in two stages. First, by pointing to the place of state power in diverse urban settings. This argument is made primarily in Chapter 5 where I unpack Achille Mbembe’s employment of *conviviality* to describe postcolonial power (Mbembe 1992). Combining Mbembe’s insights into convivial life as a site for the reproduction of power with Paul Gilroy’s claims that conviviality does not signify the absence of racism (Gilroy 2004, 2005), I offer a commentary on the conviviality literature. The idea of postcolonial power having a banal quality, and this being inflected in convivial behaviour, guides the spirit of this thesis. Although the production of Israeli urban space in Jaffa can involve cultural mediation and mutual understanding in the contact zone (Ortiz 1995, Pratt 1991), the contradictions of conviviality indicates the limited possibility of heterogeneous and unequal encounters, and the

cultural weight of the state in urban configurations within Israel/Palestine in general, and perhaps beyond.

Restrictions on possibilities that arise out of urban cohabitation were explored through certain limitations on spatial mix and multi-culturalism in the Israeli context. Even though Jaffa already violates ordinary rules of urban residence in Israel, particular kinds of spatial restrictions on cohabitation apply to it regardless. As noted by Ben Rafael and Sharot (1991: 77), ethnic pluralism in Israel is only legitimated in certain spheres like religion and folklore, leading to the creation of enclosed spaces such as synagogues that historically emerged as legitimate responses to the cultural hegemony of the Israeli public sphere. Kimmerling argues that a single, unified Israeli identity had declined by the new millennium. As a result, a system of cultural and social plurality was emerging, but without a concept or ideology of multiculturalism (Kimmerling 2001). This thesis observes this precise conundrum at the neighbourhood scale. This conundrum is explored in detail in Chapters 7 and 8, but the idea of the multi-cultural employed in the thesis is not substantive. Multi-culturalism is kept under a constant critical lens to avoid it turning into a political doctrine of “formal singularity” despite it standing for a “wide range of social articulations, ideals, and practices” (Hall 2000: 210). Anthropologists like Nancy Foner (2007) have shown how the “city as context” (in her case New York) matters in how we articulate the kind of multi-culturalism specifically conditioned by migration and urban diversity in a particular place. The capacity of ethnicity, race and multiculture to be reified in intersections of state power and placemaking, and tendencies towards essentialism amongst residents living in diverse urban environments (Back 1996, Baumann 1996) inform the understanding of multi-culturalism in this thesis.

The second stage of my intervention comes through the employment of the notion of bordering to describe interactions across difference. In Chapter 6, I illustrate how bordering practices produce dense instances of othering and the hegemonic status of the homogenising

state in diverse settings. Chapter 7 observes how a network of state and non-state agents use urban space to “integrate” Ethiopian immigrants into Israeli-Jewish society through the production of communal borders. It also demonstrates how the factor of racialisation produces new borders of identity and new materialities. Finally, Chapter 8 generates the notion of *intimate bordering* to describe the ways in which forms of intimate dwelling produce moments of transcultural encounter and their bordering limits. Les Back argued that the impulses of essentialism and anti-essentialism combine in complex ways at the everyday level in inner-city Britain, such that there is an oscillation between racism and violence and forms of transculturation (Back 1996). What the notion of bordering does is tip this oscillation away from the crossing of cultures, and towards a banal cohabitation of perceived difference, heavily regulated through the centrality of nationalist spatial production. I finish this chapter by overviewing the shape of the thesis and chapters.

Organisation of the Thesis

As stated above, the thesis is separated into three sections. Section I, “Cement” outlines the interplay between histories of planning, collective spatial memories, and the current shape of the neighbourhoods. Chapter 1, “The Space of Ethnography” illustrates how the borders of the field came to be defined. Observational, archival, visual, and audial material were brought together with interview material, forming an eclectic combination of ethnographic objects that are represented dialogically to reflect how the ethnography was conducted. Interviews and participant-observation were conducted with architects, planners, municipal workers, and residents. The combination of these perspectives allowed me to attend to the multiplicity of ways of representing place within one bounded field site with “teeming multiplicity” (Candea 2009).

Chapter 2, “Neighbourhood Formations in an Ambiguous Space,” is a spatial history narrating the relationship between planning and place in Jaffa’s borderlands. It observes such

developments through an elaboration of Henri Lefebvre's insights on space as a distinct form of modern power. It tracks histories of mapping, zoning, reordering, reimagining, discursively framing, and redefining, in order to understand how configurations of urban space produce *regimes of place* that map and remap the city. This history begins in the pre-1948 mandate period, where shifting urban boundaries mark the area's ambiguity, and contemporary status as a *borderland* between Arab and Jewish place/space. But the hegemonic form of spatial production in Jaffa is illustrated through the introduction of the 1955 Master Plan, which rezones and reimagines the area. The creation of *maḳom* is the central aim of urbanism in southern Jaffa since 1948. This involved the discursive erasure of Arab places. Yet there is also a persistence of ambiguity to place regimes, in part drawn from the ambiguity of the area in the past, but also produced by the contradictory process of peripheralization. This is illustrated through discursive imaginations and reorganizations of space in forms of population management over largely *Mizraḥi* squatters in Arab homes in the 1950s, and urban regeneration programmes beginning in the late 1970s. The individuals relocated to *shikunim* eventually found themselves dwelling in neighbourhoods which came to be seen as needing rehabilitation. The arrival of populations of Former Soviet Union and Ethiopian Jews to the area is understood within these processes of peripheralisation.

Chapter 3, "Modernism and *Ma'abarot* (Transit Camps)," focuses on the historical role of architecture in the production of *maḳom*. It explores how state projects spatialize the nation through architectural erasure and reconstruction, elaborating on the functionalist-modernist and anti-urban nationalist goals of Arie Sharon, the "nation's architect," and Yitzhak Perlstein, a student of Sharon who designed the neighbourhoods of Yafo Dalet and Neve Golan. It illustrates how an Israeli version of modernism projected a blueprint to transform the area and the people who live in it. Crucially, however, an argument cuts through the very notion of a blueprint. The spatial imagination of the plan is presented alongside the social encounter

between Palestinian inhabitants of the *bayārāt* (orchards) who remained after 1948 and largely *Mizraḥi* (of Middle Eastern origin) Jewish immigrants who lived in *ma‘abarot* (transit camps) in the area before the construction of *shikunim* (circa 1949-60). This form of urban collective memory contributes to collective understanding of the area as an ambiguous place and directly dislodges the linear order imagined by architects who constructed the *shikunim* in the area. The chapter finishes by tracking the “afterlife of modernism,” putting the ethnographic present into the context of the 2017 urban regeneration plan (ATH 2017) which seeks to regenerate these Jewish neighbourhoods. It traces the development of modernist ideologies into the present, through analysis of the perspectives of different architects who proposed plans for the area’s transformation. I argue that principles of top-down urban creation of *maḳom* persist into the *fast* planning logic that dominates the plan. However, despite this dominance, an alternative *slow* planning perspective exists that seeks to preserve *shikunim* and aspects of the *bayārāt/pardesim*. Consequently, modernism has been a creation of *maḳom* with limits and pores.

Section II, “Orchards,” attends to this by focusing on the interplay between *shikunim* and *bayārāt* as social worlds and urban forms. Chapter 4, “The Well and the Orange: Fragmentation, Fragments, Traces” is a journey through fieldwork, poetry and art, observing the exchange between *bayārāt/pardesim* as a contemporary urban discourse and a historical dwelling form that generates urban memories and materialities. Using Walter Benjamin’s notion of “traces,” it contrasts processes of spatial fragmentation with the fragments that persist through the dwelling practices of family members, and the memory traces of wells and oranges. Illuminated by the distinction between the *bayārāt* whose inhabitants remained, and the spaces in which they became ruins in Jaffa’s Eastern borderlands, the *bayārāt*, now referred to primarily in the Hebrew “*pardesim*,” run the risk of becoming an empty symbol. Yet, at the same time, the presence of symbols of the past unsettles Jewish residents and creates

contradictions in their understanding of Jaffa as *maḳom*. Certain practices of continuity both within the *bayārāt*, and materialized outside of them, allow for the persistence of a materiality of memory that interrupts the spatial regime of the “first Hebrew city.”

Chapter 5, “Conviviality, Materiality and Deception in the (Post)colony,” explores the relationship between *bayārāt* dwellers and the rest of the neighbourhood. As conviviality has developed as a framework for interpreting everyday social life in diverse urban contexts, racism and power have become suspiciously absent. This chapter argues for a reengagement of early conceptualisations of conviviality proposed by Achille Mbembe and Paul Gilroy. Respectively, they draw our attention to the co-existence of power and intimacy, and the coupling of racialised urban structures with everyday interaction. The palpable co-existence of uneven material and legal structures, deceptive discourses, and everyday sociability between inhabitants leads us to a conception of conviviality that can broaden our understanding of mixed cities and raise questions over its use in other contexts. The chapter generates the ground for the next section, where placemaking is observed through bordering practices in everyday life.

Section III, “Everyday Borders,” analyses the everyday urban landscape of multi-sensorial forms of placemaking. These often involve bordering practices that interact with state power and its border formations. Chapter 6, “Performing the State: *Mizraḥi* and Secular Constructions of the Jewish City” draws on visual observation and discussions with residents, to attend to forms of verbal and nonverbal placemaking that work towards the hegemony of *maḳom*. The practice of bordering amongst peripheral *Mizraḥi* Jewish inhabitants allows them to actively work towards its identity as a Jewish place. Secular newcomers converge on this, creating a collective consciousness that aims to produce a Jewish neighbourhood. From urban discourses of “cleaning up the neighbourhood” to an “Arab takeover” (Palestinians families have migrated from gentrified northern Jaffa to southern Jaffa in the last two decades), Jewish residents do

neighbourhood work in the perceived absence of state sovereignty. This is also observed through the hegemony of Hebrew scriptural representation and Jewish symbolic representation in vernacular aesthetic adjustments to the neighbourhoods, through the use of *luah mo'adot* (notice boards) and graffiti. Collectively, such practices illustrate how the neighbourhood is seen as threatened, requiring material and cultural work to produce its meaning as a part of Israeli-Jewish national territory.

Chapter 7, “Community, Race and the Urban Limits of Nationalism,” considers the latest shift in the demography of southern Jaffa and its articulation in *regimes of place*. There are many Russian and FSU immigrants in the area, but the area’s Ethiopian-Jewish population are strongly perceived as a *kehila* (community) within the neighbourhoods. Municipal governance regimes form borders by reifying the Ethiopian population into a homogenous moral *kehila* (community) and socialising them into particular *dati le'umi* (national-religious) networks. This is accompanied by discourses generated by veteran residents that stigmatise areas populated by Ethiopians. Yet ordinary Ethiopian residents voice criticisms of quotidian racism and produce new materialisations in the urban landscape — such as 2Pac graffiti tags and Ahmaric signed shops. Rather than a strong articulation of place, they rearticulate borders, producing open conceptions of urban space that run counter to the reifying narrative of *kehila*, as well as dominant conceptions of *makom*.

Chapter 8, “Intimate Bordering and Multi-cultural Encounter in Jaffa’s *Shikunim*,” reflects on the inevitability of encounter and performative moments of transculturation. Whilst southern Jaffa has been subject to transformations of space over decades, in which patterns of bordering and parallel existence produce the daily rhythms of the neighbourhoods, the space in between the *shikunim* — corridors, paths, squares, and the very stairwells and *amudim* (pilotis) of the buildings themselves — are spaces of urban encounter, as well as material forms to be visually resigned and socially appropriated. It is the possibility of interaction that offers

to give these spaces new meanings, but in an inversion of Perlstein's original architectural intentions — the co-existence of difference, rather than its absolution, is what marks quotidian movement in these spaces. The chapter argues against analysis of official multiculturalism, and focuses on the entanglement of intimacy and difference – what I call *intimate bordering* – in the uncoordinated daily use of public and semi-public space between individuals of different ethnic origin. The latest encounter between the Palestinian and Ethiopian populations of southern Jaffa illustrates moments of intercultural exchange and solidarity, but unable argues that they are unable to be effectively bridged in dominant forms of engagement. But from the perspective of co-dwelling in domestic spaces, possibilities of reflexivity emerge, and a “metropolitan paradox” (Back 1996) exists where *Mizrahi* Jewish residents accept dominant political views about “Arab culture,” whilst challenging these very views in their articulations of daily life. This represents the soft edges of *thin borders* (Gurevitch 2018). But although Jaffa's *shikunim* contain the possibility of multi-cultures that challenge *regimes of place* and popular racisms in Israeli society, political contradiction lurks under the surface of every encounter and guides the development of mediation, bordering, and encounter.

The Conclusion, “The Borders of National Place and the Possibilities of Urban Space,” demonstrates how the sections and chapters are interlinked in the overall argument of the thesis. Namely, that studies of mixed cities should hold in tension the contradictions between ethno-national state production and ethnic diversity. It then draws five key claims that the thesis has made. First, that urban analysis benefits from the combination of geography, history and culture and the multiplication of perspective. This is expressed methodologically and in the writing of the ethnography. Second, that cities are sites of power and central spaces for nationalist projects and state formation in Israel. Third, that given this, diverse demographics do not necessarily produce a heteronomy of spatial form. Fourth, that despite this, dominant processes of national production are inherently difficult to close in city-space. Fifth, that spatial flow — understood

materially and socially — interrupts the stable production of place, allowing us to see dominant regimes of place alongside their moments of transgression.

I

CEMENT

“In order to change life, society, space, architecture, even the city must change” (Lefebvre 1987: 11).

“There are types of structural forgetting which are specific to the culture of modernity” (Connerton 2009: 2).

“There, straddled between the first Hebrew city, a new Jaffa rose from the ashes of its destruction in 1948 — Israel’s very first Hebraized city” (Rotbard 2015: 112).

ONE

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The Space of Ethnography

“I see the image of the tree in the middle of the visual field.”
And now we are inclined to ask, “and where do you see the visual field?”

Ludwig Wittgenstein, *The Blue Book* (1960: 8)

In *Improvising Theory*, Allaine Cerwonka and Liisa Malkki argue that the best materials emerge from “found objects,” which necessitate new techniques and improvisation during fieldwork (Cerwonka and Malkki 2007). Thus, although I arrived in Jaffa armed with a set of broad research questions, ethnographic research is a process of “negotiating crossroads” (Stoller 2002: 54). The inevitability of improvisation did not, however, prevent me from always keeping my research agenda in mind (Mead 1977, Geertz 1989). Indeed, preparation geared me towards an attunement to others, helping me to improvise in a way that both reflected the agenda and recognised that interruptions and eruptions are an essential part of anthropological inquiry (Rabinow 2007: 154). But such groundwork required fresh epistemological strategies, given the complex nature of modern transnational cities (Stoller 1996: 785, 2002: 58). Epistemological diversity and flexibility eventually allowed me to link narrative, ethnographic description, and social theory to capture “on the ground” complexity, recognizing that ephemeral phenomena and fragmentary understandings are permanent features of the “field” (Malkki 1997).

Combining “being, seeing, and writing” (Mills and Morton 2013: 2), ethnography is part of an anthropological triangle related to comparison and contextualization (Sanjek 2014: x). Erica Bornstein distinguishes ethnography as follows: “Through fiction and literary nonfiction, we ride the crest of stories. Through ethnography, we travel to anthropological sites, cautiously

defined and contextually documented” (Bornstein 2014: 183). Ethnographic validity, Roger Sanjek argues, is constituted by the “I-was-there” truth, which has three aspects (Sanjek 2014: 96-8). First, the ethnographer must show theoretical candour. Ethnography is more valid when it is explicit about theoretical decisions that structure fieldwork. Second, she or he must portray the ethnographer’s path in fieldwork. Greater validity is achieved through the identification of the range of informants encountered, the kind of information they provided, “and their social and cultural characteristics in relation to the totality of persons inhabiting the locale that the ethnography describes.” Finally, fieldnote evidence and its relation to ethnographic conclusions should be made explicit. This final aspect is the work of the ethnography, but this chapter’s role is to illustrate how my research illustrates the first two aspects. The first section of this chapter, “structuring the field,” reflects on aspect one. Sanjek’s second aspect is split into two, which makes up sections two and three. Namely, “forms of engagement,” and “sources of knowledge.”

1.1 Structuring the Field

The fieldwork was conducted between August 2017 and March 2019. The first few months were focused on language training, but I began to visit the neighbourhoods early on to generate a sense of navigation, and to address how my entry into the field would best suit my research agenda. These early walks developed into a goal: to produce the *borders of the field*. Months of walking, mapping, and questioning led to an answer, but also to new questions.

Binding the Fieldsite

The broad borders of my field site shifted early on, as I extended it from just Yafo Dalet to include Yafo Gimmel too. This decision was not made arbitrarily. Not only had I been open to it prior to fieldwork — arguing that together the neighbourhoods constitute “southern Jaffa” or “peripheral Jaffa” — it quickly became clear to me that many Jaffa residents perceived the

neighbourhoods in similar terms, and regularly moved between the spaces of both neighbourhoods. Indeed, it was common for someone to refer to streets in Yafo Gimmel as “Yafo Dalet.” This collapsing has an ideological purchase that I will not expand on here, but this very practice of naming augmented the decision. Both municipal actors and residents define and perceive these areas in similar terms, so expanding the field site made sense.

Still, I asked myself, why am I binding *this* area? What features justify this drawing of a line on the map? My original aim had been to treat Yafo Dalet as a “bounded site” for methodological purposes (Candea 2009), noting the prime importance of the “process of demonstrating the physical connection of researcher and text with place” (Coleman and Collins 2006: 2). Candea (2009) identifies this kind of binding as an *arbitrary location*, a methodological instrument for deferring closure and challenging totality. It provides a locus whose incompleteness and contingency provides a counterpoint from which to challenge the imagined totality of “cultural formations” (2009: 39). The *arbitrary location* is a “nexus,” a term borrowed from the philosopher Alfred Norse Whitehead, and described as “a particular fact of togetherness among actual entities” (Whitehead 1920). As a “nexus,” an arbitrary location provides a vantage point on society to see how wholes are made and unmade (2009: 40-41). Whilst this epistemological justification seems wise to me, my experience in the field was at times, much more open-ended and fluid. The process of defining the field continued through the earlier stages of field work, as I kept in mind how site and boundaries may be discovered post-hoc through analyses and writing (Coleman and Collins 2006: 6).

As I continued to flirt with the boundaries of my field site, I asked myself whether this very process could be interpreted as a failure to cut the network, or as, rather, a productive form of experimentalism. The goal was that at some point I will have something defined called “southern Jaffa.” Consequently, as time persisted, I felt less inclined to note observations in northern/central Jaffa or southern Tel Aviv, but there were always references — from the white

cylinders of Dizengoff Square, to the *shikunim* of Eilat on the border of Jordan, and Tiberias in the Galilee. The neighbourhoods, or more accurately “urban areas,” are defined according to certain features: a diverse migratory demographics; a relative class homogeneity; a major distinction in relationalities to the state and municipality (not necessarily defined by Arabness or Jewishness though usually so); and ex-public housing built on previously agricultural land. This became clear early on, yet the axes and continuities of movement in and out did not restrict the neighbourhoods to a closed, controlled domain.

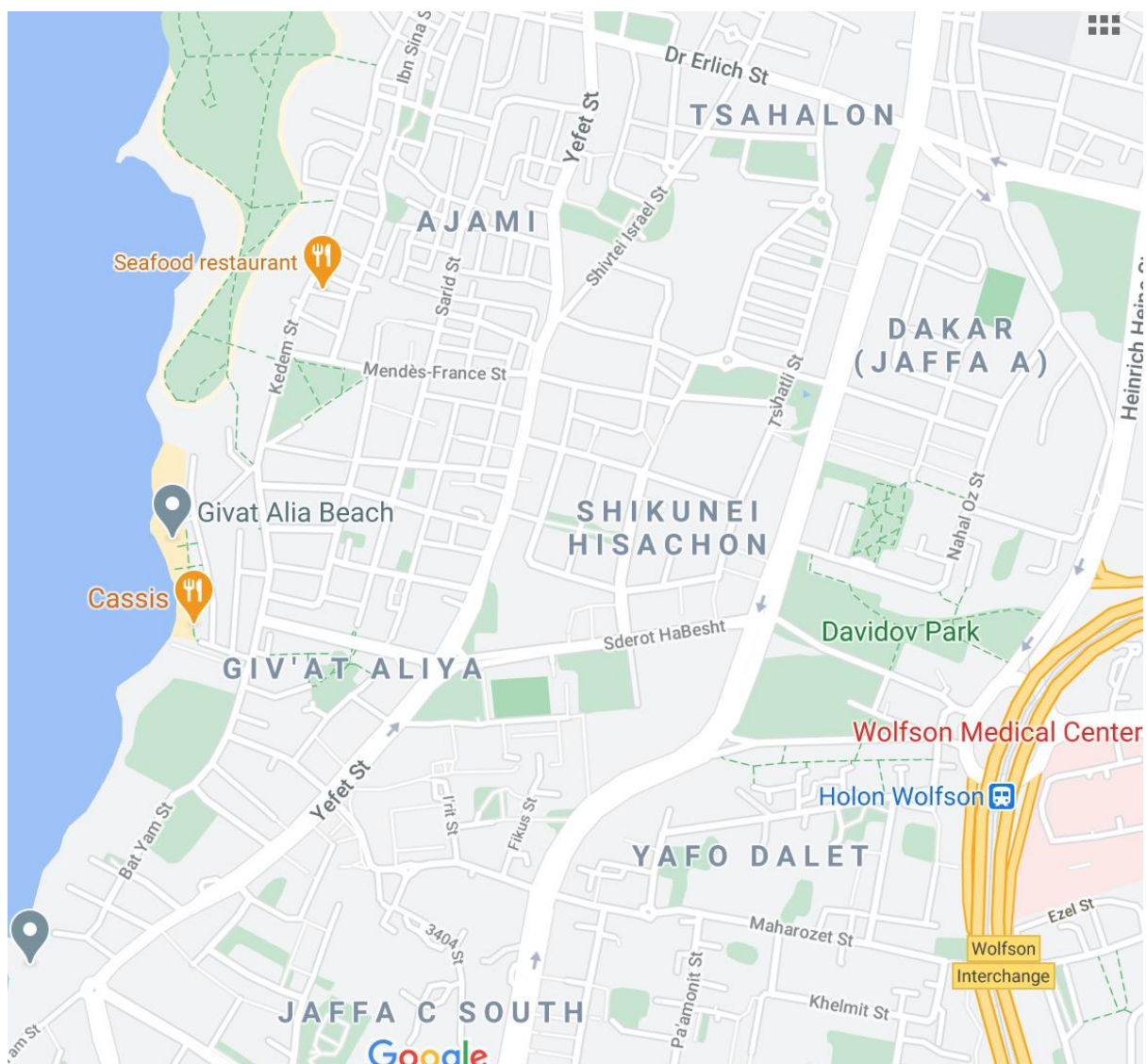


Fig. 1.1 – a Google Maps image of the field site (Jaffa C South and Yafo Dalet) and its surrounding neighbourhoods,

Due to their distinctive housing typologies, some areas of the city were easier to cut out, including most of 'Ajami and Sderot Yerushalayim from Dr. Erlich Street northwards (see Fig. 1). But for some time, I considered whether Jabaliyye (Givat 'Aliyah) should be included. A *shikunim*-esque beige building at the edge of Yafo Gimmel and Jabaliyye – which is one of the rare social housing projects in Jaffa built for Arabs – at times seemed problematic to ignore. I found its story compelling, and after visiting it, particular aesthetic images stuck with me; particularly a portrait of a *sheikh* with sunglasses above one of the building entrances. The curiosity persisted, but in the end, feasibility stopped me from trying to include it. I had also found the *shikunim* of Shikunei Hisachon (Yafo Alif) where there is another small *bayāra* (Dalek), and Tsahalon (northern Yafo Alif) sociologically compelling. Both these areas are geographically proximate to the point that it seemed hard to erase them; the call to prayer from Jabaliyye mosque, for instance, can be heard from all of Yafo Gimmel. The cultural weight of sound goes beyond cartographic definitions. Indeed, living in Yafo Gimmel skewed or rather reordered the navigator's relation to the city at-large. Two streets in particular drew me in. First, Ha-Besht, as well as being the Yafo Alif/Gimmel border, shares the features of urban space I had designating as defining the field. It was made even more alluring by its levels of personalised spatial reconfiguration, its 50/50 Jewish/Arab population, its approval of a TAMA 38 (urban renewal) project, and the easy access I had to the project and the information around it through the Housing Clinic of Tel Aviv University. Second, Tsihatli Street almost acts as an aesthetic border between the *shikunim* and Old Jaffa; the original urban contours of Jaffa probably stopped there. On both these streets, Arab residents had added features that almost seem like an attempt to reconfigure continuity and materialise Palestinian Jaffa in Jewish Jaffa.

The process of defining the field is made more complicated by the improvisational, serendipitous nature of urban fieldwork, and the directions in which informants push you. At the same time, although eventually the contours were drawn, such a process is crucial to reflect

on, as it was theoretically productive. Borders — Bat Yam, *bayārāt*, Wolfson Highway, ‘Ajami — as physically defined, materialised in signage and symbols, and imaginary fictions of otherness or sameness, make bounding itself difficult. In the end, the appeal of arbitrarily binding the field site made sense in order to precisely think about how these borders operate from any one locale. I even thought about quite literally drawing the line, instead of running with the municipal definition. In the end, I stuck to their definition, whilst accepting that entry into the field site is denser and thicker at certain locales, and that the edges of the field may indeed feature in the ethnography.

This closure has its theoretical purchase as well. Although the city can be described, heard, smelled and embodied in multiple ways, and that this creates distinctive imaginations of place (Weszkalnys 2010), the aim was to be attentive to the possibility of temporary spatial closures, and material bordering practices which create distinct social barriers. Urbanism need not prevent the ethnographer from turning an “explosion of spaces” (Brenner 2000: 361) into a coherent narrative. The urban order is in flux, and the city is marked by multiple spatialities and temporalities, but populations and networks crosscut *in space*, and are made visible by socialities and materialities of exclusion and belonging. Specifying the borders of the field made it easier to capture this.

Though I do not adhere to the term “shifting location” (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 39) over “bounded field” – a theoretical device designed to critique and move past anthropology’s problematic tendency to produce distinct, static, cultural areas – the site will not be considered an “epistemologically controlled unit” (Passaro 1997: 151). Sanjek (2014) argues that anthropology in the city can be done in a similar manner to village ethnographies through the drawing of artificial borders—in his case eleven buildings containing 423 people in a city block in Accra, Ghana. The difference, however, is that much of the participant-observation and behaviour recorded in network interviews occurs beyond it.

A legitimate question may be asked: was the Tel Aviv-Jaffa I “lived, worked, and played in” to be defined as part of “the field” like Joanne Passaro’s New York? (1997: 153). My intention was not to. Karen Brown’s (1991) study of the Haitian diaspora in Brooklyn contains little information about everyday life in Manhattan, and my personal life in Tel Aviv-Jaffa at-large did not often intertwine with ethnographic research. But I thought of the field site concentrically; from *shikun* to street, to neighbourhood, to city. This meant that it wasn’t always easy to switch off, even whilst I aimed for a systematic coming “in” and “out” (Clifford 1997: 189), both for the period I lived in the neighbourhood and for the period I didn’t. This reflects how “scales of operation” (Hannerz 2006) are inevitably shifted in contemporary ethnographic urban research. From meeting individuals who had bought drugs from Abu Seif or volunteered in Yafo Dalet, to the making of the distinctive sensory space of the *peripheryah* through the sounds of *Mizrahi* Jews praying in a small synagogue in central Jaffa, there were occasionally encounters of learning to be had across the city. Often when running, I would easily move in and out of my technical field and would constantly ask myself if I should switch off or remain attentive to symbols. The mythography of Tel Aviv (Azarayahu 2007, Mann 2006, Nocke 2009) seemed to be an almost constant referent.

Even when outside of Jaffa/Tel Aviv I sometimes felt a strong necessity to switch on, urged by the conspicuous nature of the landscape and built environment in Israel. For example, on a bus journey from Zicron Ya’acov in the north back to Tel Aviv, we drove through landscapes of citrus orchards on the way into Pardes Hanna, which make *pardes* not just a reference to the past. Then, I noted how the city was rich with symbols of the *Mizrahification* of urban space, such as the *Ashuri* script and homemade couscous restaurants. Then we passed through Hadera, which I noted is a place of placeless built environment: sandbrick *shikunim*, kitsch 1980s buildings mimicking Miami Vice that look identical to buildings on the border of Jaffa and Bat Yam, as well as Netanya, and *mashrabeeyas* — concrete like Jaffa’s Yehuda Hamayit Street,

and a nation-wide symbol of Israel's borrowed architectural motifs. I also noted the peripheral makeup of *Mizrahim*, Ethiopians, and Russians, and how this was similar to Yafo Dalet, but for the lack of Palestinians. Finally, I noticed an “*ahava hub*” (love in Hebrew and Arabic) print that is found all over the walls of Jaffa. Even if the site remains geographically controlled, one can still retain the capacity to make connections and translations beyond a bounded site (Marcus 1995: 100-1). Particularly, I might add, in one that is already multi-sited through its architecture and cultural networks, and the strength of nationalist symbols and contestations in the public sphere. Indeed, there is a need to avoid overprivileging the local through the micro-worlds of everyday life and intimate community (Soja 1996: 20). As a “strategically situated (single-sited) ethnography” (Marcus 1995: 110), southern Jaffa was a multi-sited context. Thus, references are made outside of the geographical borders of the field—particularly its immediate surroundings. But how was I to gain a foothold in the context at all?

Entering the Field: Arriving at a Municipal Perspective

My entry to the field was given direction by my pre-field intentions to bind the site. Though I had visited the area before, it was important to me that my visibility in the neighbourhoods would not be sudden, but rather built up cautiously over time. This is in part ethical, and in part strategic. As residential neighbourhoods, I did not want to impinge on the everyday order of social life by sitting in conspicuous spots with a notepad. Moreover, I did not want to arouse suspicion about alliance with particular groups over others. This is in part because my enquiry into distinctive perspectives required me to maintain partial relations with distinctive groups, but also because relying on such perspectives meant developing relations of trust across the neighbourhood's diverse populations.

I arrived and began taking daily intensive Hebrew classes at Tel Aviv University. Needing to be closer to the university, and wanting to remain inside Jaffa, I rented an apartment in the northern part of the city. Whilst living in northern Jaffa, and finding it difficult to switch off, I

began to consider the option of taking a citywide view instead of treating one peripheral area as a spatially closed unit. This was in part due to the practicalities of a “village ethnography in the city,” but also to my ethnographic switch being unwillingly awoken by the quotidian pace of multiculture (and its contradictions), and the affective interplay between migration and the city I found before me. I was constantly entangled in webs of urban encounter, migration and planning — networks I had prepared to start sensing. I was also meeting distinctive sets of “migrant groups,” such as musicians, or Arabs from outside of Jaffa, and was curious about the conditions and experiences of their arrival. I had not, however, fully considered the implications of not separating the field and my personal life. Being able to switch off, at least occasionally, was integral to the maintenance of ethnographic energy. On two further visits to Yafo Dalet, and after considering the advice of veteran Israeli anthropologist Alex Weingrod, I became more convinced that the *shikunot* (neighbourhoods) of Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel could together provide a rich field site. Their mundane tempo made them a trickier egg to crack, yet drawing one’s eyes to small clues, I quickly realised their abundance in resources for exploring diversity, migration, racism, and planning in a way *sui genesis* to the study of Israeli mixed cities.

After a few months of intensive language classes, I decided I could begin conceiving of a way in that is not, at the outset, intrusive. By this point, after short stints in other parts of the city — namely northern Jerusalem Boulevard and ‘Ajami — I had moved to al-Nusra neighbourhood at the southern edge of north Jaffa. I was now a 5-minute cycle away from the neighbourhoods of southern Jaffa, which allowed me to maintain a sense of personal distance, whilst being able to visit the neighbourhood on a daily basis. I hoped to maintain a discrete “field” that remains “out there,” in which the space and relations of the neighbourhood could not be “neatly spatialized,” but nonetheless could be visited as a “a different place...intensely” (Clifford 1997: 189). On initial visits to Yafo Dalet, I had spoken with shopkeepers and

residents hanging out on Mahrozet Street. I had not taken down too many numbers, but I did have the card of an Ethiopian real estate agent from a visit made months prior to fieldwork. I called it, but the number was no longer in use. Luckily, I had a meeting arranged the following week with an anthropologist and a sociologist, one of whom I had been put into contact with months before fieldwork. They were working on a project on sustainability and citizenship in Tel Aviv-Jaffa and had identified Yafo Dalet as a potential field site. They had recently visited Yafo Dalet and introduced me to Or. Or is a “cultural referent” for the Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality in Yafo Dalet. He is around my age, lives in the Florentin neighbourhood of southern Tel Aviv, is left-wing and was studying for an MA in Cultural Studies at Tel Aviv University. Over the following 15 months, he took an active interest in my project, and was extremely responsive. He helped to connect me to individuals of a variety of backgrounds. After our productive first meeting he invited me to the neighbourhood council of Yafo Dalet. He also connected me to his boss, the director of recreational activities for all of southern Jaffa, and she invited me to the neighbourhood council of Yafo Gimmel. I was to make an entry into another perspective on the field: namely, that of the municipality. Accordingly, I became interested in management of diversity, and this guided my theoretical agenda thereon. Another set of experiences early on also widened my theoretical perspective.

The Archi-texture of the Neighbourhoods

Prior to field work, I had not envisaged that architects would become one of the agents shaping my research. I had planned to touch on the materialities of planning and architecture, but I began to realise that architects and planners offered a specific perspective on the meaning and status of these neighbourhoods. As a consequence, historical and present planning and rehabilitation policies became more closely intertwined with the ethnography of quotidian life in all of the research agenda. On the one hand, this is a matter of access. Yet I came to realise that it was more closely related to the kind of ethnographer I found myself to be. As Ruth Behar

writes, it is important to acquire a “keen understanding of what aspects of the self are the most important filters through which one perceives the world and, more particularly, the topic being studied” (Behar 1996: 13). Bias isn’t just emotional, and reflexivity not just about one’s nationality, ethnicity, gender, or sexuality. It’s also what you find relevant as a thinker, and I have found that a strong understanding of the historical, legal, political and material frameworks producing the urban spaces of southern Jaffa were essential foreground, not mere background to the ethnographic. Perhaps in part this is because I found it easy to communicate with architects. The ethnographer is a communicator after all, and he or she is more likely to communicate successfully and productively – to co-produce – with those he or she detects an aura of ideational compatibility with. Productive ethnography, I found, is also about attuning to particular ways of seeing, and drawing common understanding.

Architects become agents in my ethnography and offered a lens within a broader matrix of ways of seeing. Whilst rejecting caricatures, my engagement with architects was critical. Such engagements provided me insight into the detached attitude of contemporary (and historical) planners of southern Jaffa, allowing me to analyse the discursive construction of the 2013 plan for the area’s regeneration (ATH 2013, 2017). In doing so, studying architects was a kind of studying “up,” to the powerful as well as the powerless, a phenomenon revisited by anthropologists over years (Nader 1974, Marcus and Fischer 1986, Gusteron 1997). Collating perspective with documents, plans, and maps is an instructive way of both working with architecture critically and understanding its anthropological dimensions. It provoked such questions as: how do anthropologists and architects speak about the urban distinctively? How is my role as mediator of two distinctive ways of seeing inflected in my ethnographic position? I will discuss this further as I elaborate on my archival research and use of documents, but I also wanted to point out that seeing from the architect’s perspective also helped me to read signs, symbols, and materialities of the city more productively.

To provide an example, I was introduced to an architecture student who lived in Yafo Gimmel and had designed her final BA project on the neighbourhoods of Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel. She suggested we walk around the neighbourhood. This walk helped me to visualise architectural imaginaries — to understand how they envision the interpretation of plans, and moreover to read the historical signs of design and renewal projects. This included panels added during the 1970s rehabilitation projects under Menachem Begin, or the inward paths of the neighbourhood which were part of the original vision of Yitzhak Perlstein, who wished to create anti-urban inward-facing communities (discussed in Chapter 3). This allowed a more attentive form of observation to develop when walking alone or with others, which I turn to in Section 1.2. The final thing I reflect on in this section is how my own relationship to the field, as a visitor and then a resident, generated a theoretical perspective on everyday life.

Dwelling in Distance

I follow urban sociologist Les Back in recognizing how my position as a “white male ethnographer” might affect the interpretations of the meaning of particular events (Back 1996: 25), and invite the reader “to read against the grain of the text’s dominant voice,” so I am not suggesting my dwelling in a *shikun* absolves my conspicuous difference in the neighbourhood. Indeed, although I am an *Ashkenazi* British Jew, my blonde hair and green eyes mean I do not fit stereotypical images of any of the many Israeli ethnic identities one would expect to find in such a place, and my first trip to Yafo Dalet was met with an eccentric, outgoing Palestinian man jokingly referring to me as “the German.” However, recognising the physicality of the ethnographer — how bodily presence is negotiated during fieldwork (Coffey 1999, Ingold and Lee 2006) — as I moved to the area in June 2018, co-dwelling became a radically transformative way of catching “being there” through landscapes and tropes of place (Geertz 1988). Moreover, participation and observation are elements in dialectical tension (Passaro

1997: 155). Recognising this explicitly in method gave me a rich heuristic for attending to multiple perspectives.

Paul Rabinow (2007) argues that observation must take precedence over participation because one is always an outsider, no matter how much participation pushes one into “not-Otherness.” My own experience living in the neighbourhood was that of a renter-outsider. Although neighbourly relations emerged between myself and other residents of the block, I was conscious of the importance of maintaining distance. I began to capture these sentiments as soon as I moved in by keeping an extensive ethnographic diary, ensuring any scratch notes from around the neighbourhood were transferred to typed field notes in order to stay vivid (Sanjek 1990: 97), and so that they didn't have a chance to go “cold” (Mead 1977: 202). My field notes were written as a narrative, with conjectures towards possible theoretical routes entangled with my observations of the field. They had their own distinct style, reflecting the fact that the relationship of field notes to data “varies, from a *contrast* to it, to a preliminary stab at analysis” (Jackson 1990: 7). This reflects the lack of consensus and precision on what constitutes a field note (Ibid., c.f Clifford 1990: 53). The process, however, involved what James Clifford calls “description,” “a turning *away* from dialogue and observation toward a separate place of writing, a place for reflection, analysis, and interpretation” (Clifford 1990: 52). The process of description didn't seem to make much sense before I was living in the neighbourhood, more readily able to capture the mundane details of life in the neighbourhoods.

The block is an original 1960s *rekevet* (train) building, conspicuously fulfilling aesthetic imaginations of the *shikunim* that most Israelis hold. It was built to house Middle Eastern Jewish migrants from Libya, Morocco, and Iraq who had been dwelling in crumbling Arab houses in old Jaffa or a *ma'abara* (transit camp) opposite Bayārat Abu Seif. It is on Saharon Street, at the border of Neve Golan/Yafo Gimmel and Yafo Dalet and facing the Daka compound on the other side of the street. I interviewed most of the residents about their

migration histories, experiences in the building, sense of connection to the neighbourhood, and their thoughts on the urban renewal process the building is undergoing. There were few residents who have been here since the sixties, and many of the inhabitants are Ethiopian and Palestinian. Whilst an intimate building biography would be a research project in its own right, the building became a microcosm for understanding the historic and contemporary relationship between *shikunim* dwellers and Bayārat Daka.

My first few nights were crucial to the process. I didn't sleep at all the first three nights, partially because new beginnings provoke anxiety and excitement, and partially because I was temporarily sleeping in the spare room looking out on to Saharon and Daka. I didn't not sleep because of the rowdy teenagers on their bikes in the nighttime atmosphere of Ramadan, or because of loud drinking youth in the square, or the fireworks — there are always fireworks going off in Jaffa. Rather it was the cockodoodledo. Memory took me to another place, and it wasn't a London estate. Roosters in the middle of the city from 4am. I was beginning to grasp a different geography—an aggregation of humans, plants, animals, and histories. Over the months I began to see how others understood this border, and how they understood their own place identity in relation to it.

The relationships I developed were “based on reciprocity and compatible learning” (Barth 1975: 225) and learning from other individuals (Jackson 2012: 5). I continued to think of the limitations of a singular focus on notions of collectivity, public space, and collective publics. I thus sought to find narratives of individual and personal memory (Skultans 1998), and material cultures of the home (Bahloul 1996), which together would partially map the social contestation and reproduction of urban and nationalist values. Framing a conceptual relation between public and private visions of the city was illuminated through my residence in a *shikun*, as well as through participation and observation in public spaces. In the next section, I

explain in more detail how I thought about processes of engagement with distinctive people, materialities, social environments, and perspectives, and how that shaped the agenda.

1.2 Forms of Engagement

Observing the State

My time spent in neighbourhood councils and amongst municipal employees offered significant insights into collective conceptualisations of neighbourhood change, processes of population management, and how people of different social circumstances negotiate the management and organisation of neighbourhood activities. Many attendees became important informants, particularly in my attempts to gain a *municipal perspective* on the area of southern Jaffa. The *moeztot* (councils) were monthly meetings illustrating who was responsible for regulating neighbourhood life, as well as who was notably absent. Collective concerns of the neighbourhood – particularly safety and security, and the psychological welfare of youth – were the main topics of discussion, but reading between the lines led to other productive sources of ethnographic knowledge, such as the referencing of specific Hebrew terms. Namely *kehila* (community), multiculturalism (*rav-tarbutiut*) as a negotiable value, and the discursive construction of groups, such as the “*oclusia aravi*” (Arab population). I delayed interviews with members of *mo'etsot* to ensure a subtle form of immersion before embarking on extensive interviews (Desjarlais 1997: 40, Stoller 2002: 36).

My attendance at community events organized by the municipality was another key form of participant-observation. This included registration events and activities at the Beit Reka Community Centre in Yafo Dalet, the Bnei Brith Community Centre in Yafo Gimmel, the *moked klitah* (absorption centre), and the Lev Yafo Community Centre (just north of Yafo Dalet). I also attended official celebrations for various Jewish festivals, included *Chanukah*, *Purim*, *Simhat Torah*, and a mass Passover *Seder* (meal and service) held for the Ethiopian population of southern Jaffa. Central to many of these events were the observations of a

socially staged, symbolic *rav-tarbutiut* (multiculturalism), a term rarely used in everyday Israeli lexicon but an important framing for municipal events to note the presence of a wide range of populations. These events informed part of my understanding of forms of everyday interaction and encounter but were particularly insightful in displaying socially staged narratives of the state and municipality.

When I first attended these events, I tried to maintain a fairly inconspicuous presence. This was part of my strategy of slow movement into particular networks associated with the neighbourhood. It allowed me to make use of the early stages of fieldwork without immersing myself too deeply into any particular locale. The fallback was always that my focus could become more narrowed due to the difficulty of maintaining relationships across lines of segregation, but I strived to retain balance and multiple situatedness. Moreover, developing informal ties over time is necessary in the peculiarity of the urban setting. As Stoller writes “the complex social and political conditions of current urban social settings...necessitate slow-paced, long-term field research – perhaps the only way for a researcher to earn the trust of informants in contemporary cities” (Stoller 2002: 57). The conundrum was exacerbated, however, when my engagement with the *bayārāt* began. Maintaining balance would become trickier as I had to juggle borders.

Engaging with the *Bayārāt*

Although I had briefly met a member of the Abu Seif family on a pre-fieldwork visit, after speaking with anthropologists and activists familiar with Jaffa, I was advised to meet Rima, who is around my age and has gained a reputation as a spokesperson for the family. She is the granddaughter of Mustafa, the patriarch of the *bayāra*. I was introduced to Rima via Whataspp, and I met her in a cafe in central Jaffa shortly after that. Over 15 months, we met many times, but she could be elusive. The first time we met, she was very inquisitive, particularly about my politics. As an archeology student at the University of Tel Aviv involved in cultural events for

Tel Aviv's Arabs, she had a range of Jewish and Palestinian friends who we would often bump into during our meetings. Early on, she took me to meet her father. He was happy to be interviewed. She was initially very open, inviting me to Ramadan celebrations months before the holiday arrived. We made a plan and set up themes to discuss: histories of urban encounter; the *bayāra* story and land ownership; colonialism and conflict; '48 Arabs and Palestinian identity; the future of Jaffa; and the place of the family in the Jaffa Arab community and Palestinian narrative. We discussed all these things over the times we met. I did not enter the *bayāra* again, however, and our plans to interview her grandfather, uncle, and a Jewish friend of her father did not materialise. Nor did her attempts to connect me to someone from the Daka family. Nonetheless, I felt compelled to give voice to her family's narrative. During our meetings, key details were confirmed, and she supplied me with legal documents from her family's court case over their right to the land. Because Rima is active in the public domain, and the family name known by all Jaffa residents, I have not anonymized details.

During my time with Rima, we categorised the varied stages of the *bayāra*'s transformation, beginning with the pre-48 dwelling form, and the post-48 story of how the family kept the land, and extended their dwelling units and housing forms. 1948-60s was primarily characterised by the *ma'abara-bayāra* encounter, in which significant continuities and changes in structure began, agricultural production was maintained, and a new spatial relationship to the *shikunim* birthed. The 1970s-80s saw *shikunim* renovation and privatisation, and changing relations between Jewish residents and the *bayāra*, as well as further changes in structure, the entrance of drug trade, and the Municipality beginning to take a more intrusive interest in land ownership. The 1990s saw the arrival of new residents from Russia and Ethiopia, as well as Palestinians from northern Jaffa, and shifting relations with *vatiqim* (veteran residents). Since 2010, urban renewal and gentrification accelerated, as did the lawsuit, as parts of the land have been identified for development in the Tel Aviv Municipality's 2017 urban renewal plan (ATH

2013, 2017). These categories were instructive as I engaged with others on the topic of the *bayārāt/pardesim*, or more generally on questions of urban transformation. Likewise, they were useful indicators in my engagement with Daka.

Access to Bayārat Daka proved much more difficult, with my first two contacts declining an interview. Whilst I did enter Daka once to interview a woman I met at a community cultural event, Entesa Daka — a Palestinian from Hebron who married into the family — and had a Facebook discussion with a male member of the family about friction with the police, internal insights were limited. Overall, the lack of absolute access forced me to shift lens. My analysis of the *bayārāt* became less about the internal perspective of the family, and more about the affective and material borders of the *bayārāt* in the neighbourhood. That is to say, what role did they play in generating conceptions of place amongst *shikunim* dwellers? What are their material and spatial effects on the everyday order of the neighbourhood? How are they imagined within the formal lexicons of architects? How might we conceptualise fragments and traces of *bayārāt* when they exist in the present as spatially fragmented landscapes? How do Palestinians in the wider Jaffa community feel about the status of the *bayārāt*? The privacy and internality of the families turned out to be productive — provocative even — in my attempts to understand the relationship between the state, the city, and distinctive populations in southern Jaffa. Moreover, the improvisational shifts allowed me to not get sucked in to one perspective — and to maintain a multi-perspectival approach. Likewise, they encouraged a particular type of engagement with urban observation.

Symbolic Cities

Despite not having a background in visual anthropology, throughout fieldwork, I found myself constantly attentive to the visual field as a symbolic field. Architectural structure, graffiti, and botanical metaphors became key markers of interpreting the neighbourhoods. Interpretation shifted from an anxiety about linguistic precision to an understanding that ethnography of the

city is necessarily multiangular and multiscaled, and that this is analytically productive. I did not receive training in mapping urban space, but my insights from ethnographic engagement with architects assisted in my mapping of the city through walking diaries and photo elicitation, and what Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst and call “slow-paced and looking around mode” (Ingold and Vergunst 2006: 70). Shifting beyond architectural mapping, I was constantly searching for what Clifford Geertz calls the signs of the “symbolic economy” of the city, or the semiotics of urban life. He writes

And though the signs involved are, so far at least as human beings are concerned, predominantly linguistic, they are not exclusively so: images, numbers, melodies, gestures, and, in the case at hand, objects of the built environment (or, for that matter, the unbuilt) interweave with words, and words with them, to produce the web of perceptions we weakly call “experience” (Geertz 1989: 293).

I followed Geertz methodologically whilst departing from his interpretive perspective, giving agency to the semiotics of urban life, and recognizing the value of non-verbal knowledge. I thus frequently repeated the same routes and noticed changes in buildings and other aspects of the landscape, allowing for the construction of an ongoing narrative of place (Ingold and Lee 2006: 70). I was able to capture change in the city, with symbols and materialities encountered in the neighbourhood which mediate wider contexts that frame residents’ everyday lives. Such visual material became ethnographically productive (Rose 2001, Pink 2013).

Searching for symbols, my methodology at times was reminiscent of what Maura Finkelstein calls the “ethnographer-archivist” who “dig[s]...through memory and through ruins” in order to reveal multiple habitations of the present (Finkelstein 2019: 1). Conducting “a social physiognomy of the streets” (Shields 1994: 63), this process produced the material for Chapter 4, where I conceptualise the *bayārāt* as traces. Overall, it led to a greater attention to the themes of memory and historic materialities. It follows Valentina Napolitano in seeing “the trace as a

methodological tool and theoretical pathway...to broaden our debate of an anthropology beyond the subject” (2015: 47).

The triangulation of three perspectives — architects and planners, municipal actors, and residents — as well as associated materialities, is, in the end, guided by my own sensibilities and perspective. Nonetheless, it involves what Hugh Gusterson labels polymorphous engagement. That is, the interaction with informants across a number of dispersed sites, collecting information from diverse sources, some virtual. He writes, “polymorphous engagement preserves the pragmatic amateurism that has characterised anthropological research, but displaces it away from a fetishistic obsession with participant observation” (Gusterson 1997: 116). David Plath adds, “Our files include fieldnotes...but they tend to include...even vaster amounts of material that is not verbal at all: films, slides, maps, music recordings, artefacts— all the cumulating detritus of our years of trying to document some scene in the human comedy” (Plath 1990: 374). It is this kind of thinking that led to the multiplicity of sources I collected during field work.

1.3 Sources of Knowledge

Interviews

Anthropological description relies on narrative portraits, even whilst emphasizing institutional contexts (Bornstein 2014: 185). The ethnographic interview, which is the most formative stage of elaborating portraits, is a particular kind of “speech event” that distinguishes it from the more formulaic journalistic or sociological model of interview (Spradley 1979: 55). By delaying the interview process, I hoped to achieve a degree of rapport and openness. Indeed, it is precisely the emphasis on fieldwork that allows anthropologists to maximize the validity of interviews (Sanjek 2014: 176). I used semi-structured and “active” interviews – dynamic, interpersonal, with an evolving plot (Gubrium and Holstein 1997) – aimed at unravelling distinctive positions and intersections across the neighbourhoods’ social dynamics. I sought to

recognise the gendered nature of interviews (Williams and Heikes 1993), the subtle differences in framing responses according to power dynamics, and an awareness of how damaged narratives prevent the emergence of some details (Preser 2014).

My aim was to complement but also problematize Monterescu's presentation of "multilayered personal histories" in Jaffa that dismantle "the dichotomous totality of nationalist categories" (2015: 213). Such stories are meant to illustrate how political violence, social proximity, and cultural intimacy, are weaved together in ways that produce a binational relational field in Jaffa with "grey areas" that confuse the "collective *doxa* of both Palestinian and Jewish essentialisms." My interviews did build on the themes of memory, violence and intimacy, but I tried to pay attention the ways in which narratives strive for coherence (Skultans 1998), and those that reaffirm dominant discourses (Baumann 1996). I framed narratives within localized, materialized symbols, and multilayered experiences of the present. To do this, I followed Ingold and Vergunst in introducing a methodological focus on walking, which creates bonds through physical co-presence, and an emphasis on common movements and looking *with* informants (2006: 69, 82). By interviewing through walks in the city, as well as in face-to-face encounters, I hoped to achieve a way of being-together that is more than just co-presence.

I have already mentioned my engagement with architects. This eventually took the shape of informal interviews conducted in parallel to modes of social engagement with the neighbourhoods. But they were conducted prior to deeper forms of immersion, from February-March 2018. I interviewed 13 architects and planners, including the team responsible for the Tel Aviv Municipality's current plans for urban renewal in *Drom Yafo* (southern Jaffa), as well as the architects heading multiple architectural practices who were commissioned to write policies for Yafo Gimmel and Dalet (one team of three practices), and Tsahalon and Shikunei Hisachon (Yafo Alif) (a second team of two practices). Additionally, I interviewed three Jewish architects who live in southern Jaffa, and one Palestinian architect from 'Ajami. Finally, I

interviewed Amnon Bar-Or, the architect who lead efforts to preserve the *bayārāt*, the architectural critic Sharon Rotbard who lives in the southern Tel Aviv neighbourhood of Shapira, and the only Palestinian architect who has a practice in Jaffa, Senan Abdelqader (though he lives in Neve Shalom/Wadi Salam). All of these were conducted in English and have not been anonymized.

After months of attending the neighbourhood councils and other municipal events, I began the process of informally interviewing municipal employees and coordinators of active NGOs in the neighbourhoods. These interviews took place either exclusively in Hebrew, or in a mixture of Hebrew and English. I interviewed: the director of recreation at the Meshlama (the Jaffa wing of Tel Aviv Municipality); did several interviews with Or, the cultural referent Beit Reka Community Centre in Yafo Dalet; the community coordinator of the Meshlama (who is Palestinian); the head coordinator and the Jaffa team leader of Tel Aviv Municipality's '*avodat Rehov* (trans. street work), a youth councillor programme; the Ethiopian coordinators of activities at the *Moked klitah* (absorption centre), including the director who I interviewed twice; the social worker and art therapist who chaired the Yafo Gimmel *mo'etsa*; volunteers at Beit Reka; the Chair of Yafo Dalet *mo'etsa* — who is also a resident of the neighbourhood; the director of Social Network — a mentoring programme for Ethiopian Youth; and of HaNoar HaOved — a socialist-Zionist youth movement which works with Russian and Ethiopian teens; a Rabbi who coordinates activities for Garinim — a *dati le'umi* (national-religious) social support organisation active in the neighbourhood; the Rabbi of the Ethiopian Community in Tel Aviv (which effectively means southern Jaffa); and the director of Sadaka Reut — an NGO working on Arab-Jewish youth partnership across the country, as well as one of her employees who worked with an Ethiopian youth group. Most of these interviews took place between February-May 2018. No one requested anonymization and due to the public status of these officials, I have not changed their names.

Additionally, I interviewed 20 residents from different ethnic groups, of different ages and genders, all Palestinian or Jewish and interviewed in Hebrew, except for one Nigerian migrant, and two naturalized Vietnamese sisters who I interviewed in English. Some of them are active on the *va'ad shikunot* (neighbourhood committees) and attend the *mo'etsot*. Where their status is difficult to hide – such as where they have been elected to the *va'ad shikunah* – I have usually not sought to conceal their identity. I have, however, anonymized any non-public interlocuter we may have met together, and in some cases, I felt it necessary to anonymize them regardless. Although other interviewed residents did not request anonymization, I have changed names and details in order to protect the privacy of ordinary residents.

Many of these individuals were key informants, and so initial interviews, which took place between April-May 2018, were followed up around November 2018. The distinctive forms of relationships that emerged with informants pushed me to think about the distinctive layers of knowledge gained through interlocution, and how engagements should be represented in the ethnography. For example, as brief snippets of insights, as characters in particular chapters, or as the centre of a chapter, as is the case in the ethnographic portraiture in Chapter 6. In each case, the aim is to draw comparative links between individual testimony and collective beliefs and infrastructures.

I also conducted a few interviews in English that augmented some of my analytical concerns. These were mostly conducted with leading activists in Jaffa's Palestinian community, some of whom sat on the al-Rabita League for Jaffa Arabs. They included an MK (Minister of Knesset) for the Nationalist Balad party, and the first Arab to be elected to the Tel Aviv Municipality, who ran as head of a joint Arab-Jewish list called Jaffa List. To deepen my perspective on memory and *al-nakba*, I interviewed the Jewish coordinator of activities at Zochrot, a Jewish archeologist working on the *bayārāt*, who I maintain in contact with, two Israeli-Jewish tour guides who offer tours in the ex-*bayārāt* area of Abu Kabir (now southern Tel Aviv). The

collectivity of these interviews led to alternative sources of knowledge being attained, and further investigated and collated. Due to the public status of these individuals, I have not anonymized their names, though I have anonymized details on request.

The Archive and the Field as Ethnographic Objects

Archival research was conducted between April 2018 and May 2018 at the Tel Aviv Municipality Historical Archive and the Yavin Architecture Archive at the Technion, Haifa. Visiting archives before I moved to the neighbourhood was an extremely important stage in the research. It allowed a clearer set of symbols from which to read signs of the city, and to understand architectural ideologies from a more embodied perspective. The plan was to gather information on the construction of Jaffa's *shikunim*, to gauge a sense of the architectural discourses involved in ideas of national and social engineering, and more pragmatically, to understand how and why buildings were constructed in the way they were, and the challenges of construction in this space, particularly with regard to land ownership and the *bayārāt*. The history of Jaffa's architectural plans and terms, and their relation to broader patterns of Israeli urban planning (particularly of towns constructed for new immigrants), could only be understood with documents. This involves some engagement with secondary literature (Segal and Weizman 2003, Efrat 2018, Rotbard 2015), and primary literature that is widely available in English (Sharon 1953, Perlstein 1948), but it had to be supplemented.

At the Yavin archive, I found architectural brochures, planning documents, housing agency minutes, and public participation reports. Additionally, I was given various documents, policies, plans, building reports from state archives, and maps by architects and planners. At the municipal archive, I found urban policy dossiers and distinctive plans from over the decades, some of which became important sources in constructing histories of placemaking and connecting them to contemporary forms of place identities. These are *active documents* within the historical narrative conducted in the thesis.

I use the word *active* to signify that documents, maps, and plans do not exist in a vacuum. They were active instruments during the process of research, as I connected them to my analysis on-the-ground. Documents do not only represent a history, but can also be productive instruments, creating new forms of historical knowledge (Trundle and Kaplonski 2011, Des Chene 1997). Additionally, legal documents are places of affect, “mutualised and mutualising spaces” (Navaro-Yashin 2007), which required my working with documents to be interactive and affective. As well as legal documents, maps, plans, and policies are understood as affective tools in the field. Such a multi-scalar and multi-temporal ethnography reflects the imagination of space as “neither a “subject” nor an “object” but rather a set of social relations and forms” (Lefebvre 1991: 116). Nowhere more than in the process of producing a film in the neighbourhood did the appearance of multiple scales and temporalities, and different levels of spatiotemporal entry come to light.

Visual Knowledge

As previously mentioned, photography became a key instrument in my attempts to map urban symbols, borders and places. I recognize, however, that this process requires some reflexivity. Indeed, as Sarah Pink writes, “ethnographers can have dual (or multiple) intentions when photographing during fieldwork. For example, these intentions could be personal, artistic or ethnographic, and could combine to determine the content of the image” (Pink 2004: 72). The process of photographing was not always in service of ethnography. As Susan Sontag writes in her highly provocative but thought-provoking essay *On Photography*, “the camera is an ideal arm of consciousness in its acquisitive mood.” “Photographs,” moreover, “...are a grammar, and more importantly, an ethics of seeing” (Sontag 1977: 3). They should therefore be understood as distinctive forms of representation that require a relationship with other ethnographic processes in order to be established as ethnographic knowledge. Nonetheless, along with video, they do provide the ethnographer with “visual texts” (Pink 2011: 21). I follow

Douglas McDougall in arguing anthropology should be considered more than a “discipline of words,” with some categories of anthropological knowledge only accessible by non-verbal means (McDougall 1997: 292). As Iain Edgar notes (2004), imagework has the ability to demonstrate verbal narratives about intangible images despite being nonverbal. In the field, I acquired many hundreds of images, mostly discreetly on my iPhone, but occasionally on my DSLR. I had not however, at this point, considered the use of photography as a dramatic intervention in the field.

The idea of the film extended from an earlier methodological conception. I had planned to capture “building biographies” across the neighbourhoods, and to compare the distinctive dwelling and sociability patterns within each building. I had selected three buildings where I had already interviewed residents. The idea did not come to fruition, but it remained with me. I had recently met an enthusiastic visual anthropology student at Tel Aviv University. We began to discuss the idea of shooting something in Yafo Dalet, and assembled together the necessary resources through our networks. We were lucky enough to be able to borrow most of the necessary equipment — a high-quality digital camera, tripods, and recording equipment. We later rented a gimbal with the support of St. Antony’s College’s Antonian fund.

Our first move was to use the *luah mo ‘adot* (notice boards) to put up advertisements seeking participants. They were written in Hebrew, Arabic, Russian, and Ahmarit scripts. We received no phone calls and found our advertisements had been taken down or laid over within days. Consequently, I began contacting previous interviewees, as well as other suitable contacts, and eventually we had six willing participants. As Ella and I began to shoot, we quickly realised that somewhat by chance, the idea of a building biography had translated into a biography of a street in Yafo Dalet. By showing the disconnected lives of six people living on a street in the neighbourhood, we hoped to show how distinctive perceptions of place densely packed into one space are connected through broader processes of infrastructural placemaking.

The meta-aim was to further multiply perspective, seeing the space of Yafo Dalet from another lens (or perhaps six versions of a new lens). In contrast to the aerial maps and scaled visions of planners and architects, producing visual material zoomed in on the street level; the world of dwelling. This illustrated to me how visual representation offers a particular perspective on how individuals navigate, interpret and construct the city. This is in tune with Michel De Certeau's assertion that owing to the wonderings and networks of its people, "a migrational, or metaphorical city...slips into the clear text of the planned and readable city" (De Certeau 1988: 93). I thus explicitly connect plans and maps of the city with that which is lived, discovered, appropriated or engaged with by people. For example, through walking routes in the film, we hoped to capture how "places" are "created by routes" (Lee and Ingold 2006: 68). That is, to achieve a sense of different narratives of place, overlapping with regimes of place in distinctive ways, presenting insights into differentiations in mobility, and how individuals perceive their movement through intimate, interpersonal and impersonal spaces in the city (Madanipour 2003: 1). Shooting in homes, moreover, illustrated how dwelling spaces can be spaces of freedom, vocalization, and socialization (Biehl 2014: 603).

The film was shot in the last three weeks of fieldwork, and the process of making the film with a budding visual anthropologist and amateur filmmaker taught us both a lot about the value of cooperative fieldwork. As a form of methodological intervention, and as an ethnographic technology, the introduction of the camera into the field changed the nature of its interpretation and bred new forms of understanding and communication with informants. It thus invited a distinctive "way of knowing," in which knowledge is constructed "not by "description" (to borrow Bertrand Russell's terms) but by a form of "acquaintance" (MagDougall 1997: 286). Inviting a wider spectrum of sensory representation, and insight into different ways of seeing, the film helped to visualise my understanding of how the materiality of *shikunim* mediate social worlds. The process of filmmaking and editing, moreover, instilled

a stronger ability to see the spatial and temporal agency of material objects that I had begun to interpret. Such radical shifts in perspective towards the latter end of the fieldwork process assisted in my understanding of the methodological process as not merely a process of bounding and observing space, but also of creating the conceptual *space of ethnography*.

Let me give an example of some observations from a day of shooting. Live from the set of Sumkan, an area of Yafo Dalet constantly referred to in derogatory terms, it is a notoriously contested spatial symbol. Being there with the camera, we were met with both suspicion and curiosity by the people that passed us. But with our eyes and ears wide open, both aesthetically and ethnographically, our ability to capture urban encounter was heightened. In the space/time of 2 minutes, I heard Arabic, Hebrew, Russian, Ahmarit. I saw a man sporting a Bukhari Kippah, Ethiopian kids with braids, a Vietnamese teenager with earrings smoking a cigarette on a bench, Ethiopian elders in white clothing stood in the playground, their backdrop *shikunim*. I looked up to the *shikunim*, and a window bore the bisexual pride flag. An alternative naming of the city. Flags of Zion, tattered and worn out, do not fly, define, alone. The walls were tagged with 2 Pac and Metallica. Yet, suddenly unevenness emerged in two soldiers—and more en route to the train station. And I remembered where I was. A woman ornamented in fabrics and Jewels of Yemen asked, “why are you making a film in this ghetto?” We asked why it’s a ghetto. She critiqued the radical openness of the *shikunim*, stating “any house not connected to the ground is a ghetto because you’re not connected to your roots.” I have almost the same quote written down from an interview with Sharon Rotbard. A Palestinian woman with a large cross and Jesus's body crossed us, as an Ethiopian woman with a cross on forehead and braids passes the other way. Christ did not bring them together in love today. Bodies and signs mingle apart. They debate amongst a backdrop of even infrastructure, uneven in the shape of the city at-large. But language speaks louder. Some signs speak louder than others.



Fig. 1.2 – One of the *shikunim* in Sumkan, taken from inside the *gan* (public garden).



Fig. 1.3 – on another day shooting at Sumkan, two Palestinian men requested that we take their picture.

In this moment, I thought of Regev Nathanson's summary of the “mixing city” as “the reflexive city” (Nathanson 2017). The city that asks you to ask what it means to live in a city with the other. In southern Jaffa, the other, others, and other others. 2 minutes of space/time that will partially be clipped into a film; a product; a narrative of visual order if not analytical

order. But 2 minutes of space/time provided the puzzle, not the explanation, of encounter. Attention to the visual, assisted by the camera's entrance to the field, provoked questions, captured ambivalence and contradiction, and invited commentary from the public—commentary that spoke directly to theoretical frameworks and the process of working them out. The process was, however, fraught with uneasiness about who we were giving voice to and how it might serve them. Indeed, worries about my positionality in the field must be further addressed in my concluding remarks.

Conclusion: Representing the Field

Although ethnography offers the chance to gain cultural knowledge through a “metaphysics of presence,” face-to-face(/walk-by-walk) *in situ* encounters, presence cannot be taken for granted—the ethnographer might be a “camera” but what about his or her “filters”? (Coleman and Collins 2006: 9). Historically, anthropologists’ “fields” have been radically separated from their academic home, with certain kinds of knowledge valorized to the exclusion of others, and a normative anthropological subject constructed against its others (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 12-18). Given this history, and the recognition of how the “field” in anthropology and the field of fieldwork are politically and epistemologically intertwined, rather than being obsessed with the “other of others” (Hannerz 1986), I note how choosing an urban field site challenges the idea that “the word field connotes a place set apart from the urban” (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 8). The thematic, theoretical, and methodological focus on urban multicultural (and its limits) is also placed precisely against previous anthropological assumptions of discrete “culture areas.” However, given the privilege of my position in Israel — as an educated white man with a British passport allowing me free movement across Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories, and as a British Jew legally entitled to an Israeli passport over Palestinians whose parents owned houses in Jaffa — concerns about representation and responsibility were persistent.

Throughout fieldwork, I thought about what it means to conduct research in the midst of a deeply fraught political climate. Given my strong views on the conflict, I did not wish to depoliticize my agenda entirely, but nor to commit to any kind of activist anthropology. In order to maintain academic integrity, I felt that political considerations should not usually trump anthropological and philosophical ones. I did indeed constantly find myself in the company of people whose political views I found problematic, like my previous research on the Iraqi-Jewish diaspora in London, some of whom I felt were not particularly sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. A mixture of biting my tongue, carefully asking critical questions, and always showing some level of understanding and equanimity became part of my methodology. This, in fact, allowed me to open new doors, make surprising discoveries, and in the end, make an argument grounded in diverse opinions, accounting for the complex intersections of identity amongst my informants.

Diverse opinions led to a picture of diverse forms of placemaking co-habiting in proximate space. The rest of Section I delves into the dominant conceptions of place formed over time in southern Jaffa, and the modes of governance, population control, and city design that were key to their formation. The next chapter provides an ethnographic history of urban planning in the area, generating a set of processes that denote the cultural weight of history in the everyday life of peripheral geographies. It thus sets a tone and a set of conceptual frameworks that drive interpretation in the rest of the ethnography. It is, of course, a representation of place, and not a definitive structure guiding all notions of place that have emerged in the area over time. But it is a representation gathered from a wide range of sources, which, as this chapter has shown, is grounded in the attempt to create a multi-angular perspective.

TWO

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Neighbourhood Formations in an Ambiguous Space

“There exists a series of tensions in modernity that manifest themselves as ambiguities and contradictions” (Frisby 2001: 2).

“Every discourse says something about a space (places or sets of places); and every discourse is emitted from a space” (Lefebvre 1991: 132).

After illustrating how the construction of the field generates a multi-perspectival study of place, this chapter delves into the archives to unravel the history of spatial production and urban formation that has created dominant and marginal forms of *placeness* in southern Jaffa over time. This chapter follows Henri Lefebvre’s approach to history. He writes, “We should have to study not only the history of space, but also the history of representations, along with that of their relationships – with each other, with practice, and with ideology” (Lefebvre 1991: 42). It connects plans, maps, and governmental discourses to create a framework for comprehending the emergence of dominant conceptions of place over time. The purpose being to illustrate that without recourse to wider sets of spatial relations that produce the historical specificity of a particular site, ethnographic study’s indispensable power to grasp lived daily experiences of urban dwellers falls short methodologically (Murray 2011: xx).

One of the aims of this thesis is to suggest a way of explaining how multiple scales of urban formation are entangled. As Les Back and Michael Keith argue

this means thinking differently about the relationship between the vantage point of observation and scale, so that nearness is not automatically coded positively and distance negatively. The scale of that imagination needs to shift, so that we can oscillate from the view from the sky to the view from the bridge, or the window (Back and Keith 2014: 21).

In southern Jaffa, the “view from above” has involved zoning, mapping, reordering, reimagining, discursively framing, redefining, and reconstructing city space; creating new territorial imaginaries (the focus of Chapter 2) and a new built landscape (the focus of Chapter 3). Attention to this helps us to see how urban ideologies and materialities map and remap the city, whilst being contested by users of urban space. The mutually constitutive relationship between regimes and persons is understood through Henri Lefebvre’s ideas of spatial production, which the first section of the chapter outlines. Such concepts lend theoretical support to the task of providing a multiangular view on the transformation a discreet geographical area.

The chapter then turns to the illustration of spatially contested definitions of Southern Jaffa emerging over time through maps and documents. The second section illustrates how Southern Jaffa’s spatial history begins with ambiguous shifts in topographical form in the area prior to 1948. The social effects of this are evident in the contemporary perception of the area as a *borderland* between Arab and Jewish place/space. But the hegemonic form of spatial production in Jaffa is illustrated through the introduction of a masterplan to rezone and reimagine the area, outlined in the third section of the chapter. An in-depth discussion of the 1955 masterplan and the planning concepts that inform it, is required to understand how the area could come to be conceived of as a modern Israeli place that could be unequivocally recognised as such. The plan is understood in relation to processes of population management that rearticulated urban borders, illustrating how the creation of *maḳom* has been the central aim of urban planning in Jaffa since 1948. This is the conceptual precursor to the fourth and fifth sections, which outline the processes of spatial management that emerged in two periods. Section Four considers the 1950s-1960s, when the municipality began to categorise Jews living in dilapidated housing and *ma‘abarot*, and identified suitable inhabitants for specific *shikunim*. Section Five then turns to the next two decades (1970s-80s) when the neighbourhoods came to

be designated by the Municipality as problematic and discursive imaginations of peripherality were applied to the area in urban regeneration programmes. Although ambiguities of spatial definition persist to the present day, the 1990s saw the further peripheralisation of the area. The sixth and final section explores the introduction of new populations of Ethiopian and former Soviet Union Jews – who arrived at a stage of spatial separation from the past – through this lens.

As the outline suggests, this chapter's main focus is on the "2-D" spatial imaginaries that informed the shifting articulation and reception of urban space over time. It understands shifting migratory landscapes through these processes. Ironically, the production of the *peripheryah* in Jaffa reproduces the city's southern areas as immigrant space, the space of others, and a field not yet closed to the persistence of Arab space. This demonstrates the limitations of territorial imaginaries – in contrast to structural changes in built space – that allow for more porous border formations and the persistence of alterities. The conclusion reflects on this.

2.1 Regimes of place

This thesis contends that urban anthropology must proceed from the aim neither to privilege social relations nor material infrastructures. The everyday is a convergence of regimes of place and urban modalities, or as Henri Lefebvre puts it, the "spatial codes" that emerge through "an interaction between 'subjects' and their space and surroundings" (Lefebvre 1991: 17-18). The idea that sociopolitical life is grounded in the spatial is rooted in the foundational thought of Michel Foucault, as well as Lefebvre. As the theoretical progenitors of the "spatial turn" in social sciences, Foucault's contributions cannot be ignored. For example, Foucault states "I think it is somewhat arbitrary to try to disassociate the effective practice of freedom by people, the practice of social relations, and the spatial distributions in which they find themselves" (Foucault 1991: 244).

However, although Foucault's attention to the spatial in practices and experiences of governance should be recognised, the approach here is more grounded in the ideas of Lefebvre, who offered his own critique of Foucault. In the introduction to *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre writes

Foucault never explains what space it is that he is referring to, nor how it bridges the gap between the theoretical (epistemological) realm and the practical one, between the mental and social, between the space of the philosophers and the space of people who deal with material things (Lefebvre 1991: 4).

Whilst Lefebvre characteristically abides by continental philosophical traditions in applying his critique to *all* of Western Cartesian thought — from figures as distinct as Chomsky and Derrida — his characterisation of *space per se* as a distinct form of domination does move in a different direction to Foucault's notion of the spatialised subject. Moreover, the approach is in the spirit of anthropological critiques of philosophy that abide to Cartesian distinctions between mind and body. As Clifford Geertz writes

The sovereign division in Western thought between Meanings and Materialities is, like the very similar and derivative one between soul and body, perhaps overdue for retirement, certainly for revision. Meanings of any value in human life are inevitably sunk in materialities. Materialities that bear on that life in some practical way inevitably do so within a webwork of sense and expression (Geertz 1989: 301).

Geertz's broad call to attend to the entanglements of people, bodies, and spaces, is of course, not quite the unorthodox Marxism of Lefebvre, but Lefebvre offers a way of reading urban space with a holistic, dialogical approach. For Lefebvre, space is the domain in which hierarchies of society and culture are articulated. He writes:

Social (space) is a (social) product... space has taken on, within the present mode of production, within society as it actually is, a sort of reality of its own, a reality clearly distinct from, yet much like, those assumed in the same global process by commodities, money and capital...the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power (Lefebvre 1991: 26).

However, “as such, it escapes in part from those who would make use of it” (Ibid.) This chapter considers how urban formation is guided by the shifting control of space over time. It considers how the confluence of planning practices and governmental discourses and technologies convene space to draw out regimes of place. Nonetheless, the distinction between 2-D practices that generate *territorial borders*, and 3-D practices that intervene in space to generate physical and *built borders* is important. Chapter 3 will turn more explicitly to the latter, but it is precisely the lack of simultaneity between these imaginary and material borders that allows for spatial leaks. In other words, although physical borders generate forms of social segregation, the ambiguities of spatial mapping, zoning, and discursively producing borders over time prevents absolute articulation of boundaries. I turn to Lefebvre’s spatial triad to explicate this more clearly.

The production of space, Lefebvre argues, can be observed through the interconnections between the conceived, perceived, and lived realms. Conceived space or “representations of space,” he defines as

conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artists with a scientific bent — all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with that is conceived (Lefebvre 1991: 39).

He continues, “this is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production).” Perceived space, or “spatial practices,” are mostly generated through the forms produced by conceived space. Yet they produce a spatial order that users respond to:

The spatial practice of a society secretes that society’s space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space (Lefebvre 1991: 38).

This process of deciphering emerges because “it embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality...and urban reality.” In other words, the routes, rhythms, and everyday meanings of spatial experience relate to the space of the city itself. Hence “a spatial practice must have a certain cohesiveness, but this does not imply that it is coherent (in the sense of intellectually worked out or logically conceived)” (1991: 38). This “perceived space” is likewise linked to “lived space,” or “representational spaces”:

space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users.’...This is the dominated — and hence passively experienced — space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects (1991: 39).

These “tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs.” As opposed to representations of space, it “need obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness” (Ibid.: 41), and may be “directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic” (Ibid.: 42). Lefebvre’s unorthodox Marxism is mostly found in his understanding of these categories as interlocking dialectically; in his words, in the “dialectical relationship which exists within the terrain of the perceived, the conceived, and the lived” (Lefebvre 1991: 39). For Lefebvre, “the perceived-concieved-lived triad (in spatial

terms: spatial practice, representations of space, representational spaces) loses all forces if it is treated as an abstract “model” (Ibid., 40). Hence, a spatial history illustrating the emergence of regimes of place is precisely a mapping out of everyday life that is grounded in the production of space. A regime of place is a mediation of *maḳom gadol* through the signs and symbols of the city that people use, assemble and are regulated by in everyday life.

Broadly speaking, *maḳom* designates a spatial rather than linguistic concept. It reflects processes of Hebraizing the land of Israel/Palestine and creating senses of place that most Israelis recognise as distinctively Israeli. The interplay I am primarily concerned with is the production of *maḳom* and the negation of *makān* (Arabic: place). For that reason, I refer only to *majāl* (Arabic: space) when referencing personal conceptions and spatialisations, or when considering how *maḳom gadol* is threatened by its Palestinian spatial pasts. The distinction between Jewish and Arab space/place is primary in Israeli society, but in the mixed city we see the direct friction emerging out of new topographies, geographies, and urban processes. Whilst the chapter demonstrates the emergence of a Hebraized regime of place in the area, neighbourhood formations in the southern borderlands have their own forms of combination and friction.

2.2 Formations of Borders and Spatial Ambiguities

The history of Southern Jaffa begins with the creation of municipal boundaries. These boundaries are significant markers of urban navigation and perceptions of place to this day. The colonial origins of boundaries between Tel Aviv and Jaffa have been documented extensively (Levine 2005, 2007, Golan 2009 Rotbard 2015, Hatuka and Kallus 2006), and likewise in Southern Jaffa, after the violence of the Great Arab Revolt in 1936, the British granted Bayit Vegan (see Fig. 2.1 and 2.2) – the small Jewish suburb to the south of historic Jaffa – local council status. In 1937, it was renamed Bat Yam. The drawing of such lines instigated another boundary between Jewish space and the increasingly Arab space of Jaffa.

This line has particular salience for southern Jaffa because ultimately — and this argument will run as a thread through this ethnography — the neighbourhoods that now stand there are spatially ambiguous. Bayit Vagan/Bat Yam grew up in a hyphen between Jaffa and Tel Aviv, and as a critical response to both. The neighbourhoods of southern Jaffa grew up in a hyphen between Jaffa, Tel, Aviv, and Bat Yam. This is evidenced in particular by the 1936 proposal by British Mandate authorities under the direction of Henry Kendal. A modern suburb of Jaffa was planned for its southern area based on the principles of Garden City planning (which the British had also transported to Cairo). Project N, as it was known, would have preserved some existing orchards, whilst destroying others decades earlier than when the Israeli state eventually began constructing in this area (see map Gavish 1993: 144).

Project N became rearticulated by Egyptian town planner, ‘Ali Mas‘ud, in his masterplan for Jaffa proposed in 1945, which blended Garden city straight grid patterns with winding streets, wide boulevards, and green spaces, as well as proposing to integrate the Arab villages on Jaffa’s outskirts (Levine 2006: 176). The Kendal plan was eventually chosen, but as Israel was established in 1948 it had yet a chance to make any marks, and both plans were eventually shelved. Nonetheless, a history of geographical spaces being redefined and spatially reimagined is marked in part, by those plans that didn’t emerge. Shmuel Groag, architect and Head of Conservation Unit at the Architecture Department of Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design in Jerusalem emphasised to me the significance of this period of planning.

What's interesting when the Municipality of Jaffa invited Ali Masoud to plan — when they presented his plan — they really totally ignored the whole British planning system. So, in a way they overlooked it as if it’s not there, and this kind of denial of previous planning is quite *inherited in the ground*.

Multiple possibilities of spatial realisation are symbolic of a broader trend that defines the area. In contemporary architectural imaginaries, the ambiguity and malleability of the area is marked, filtering into broader perceptions of space.

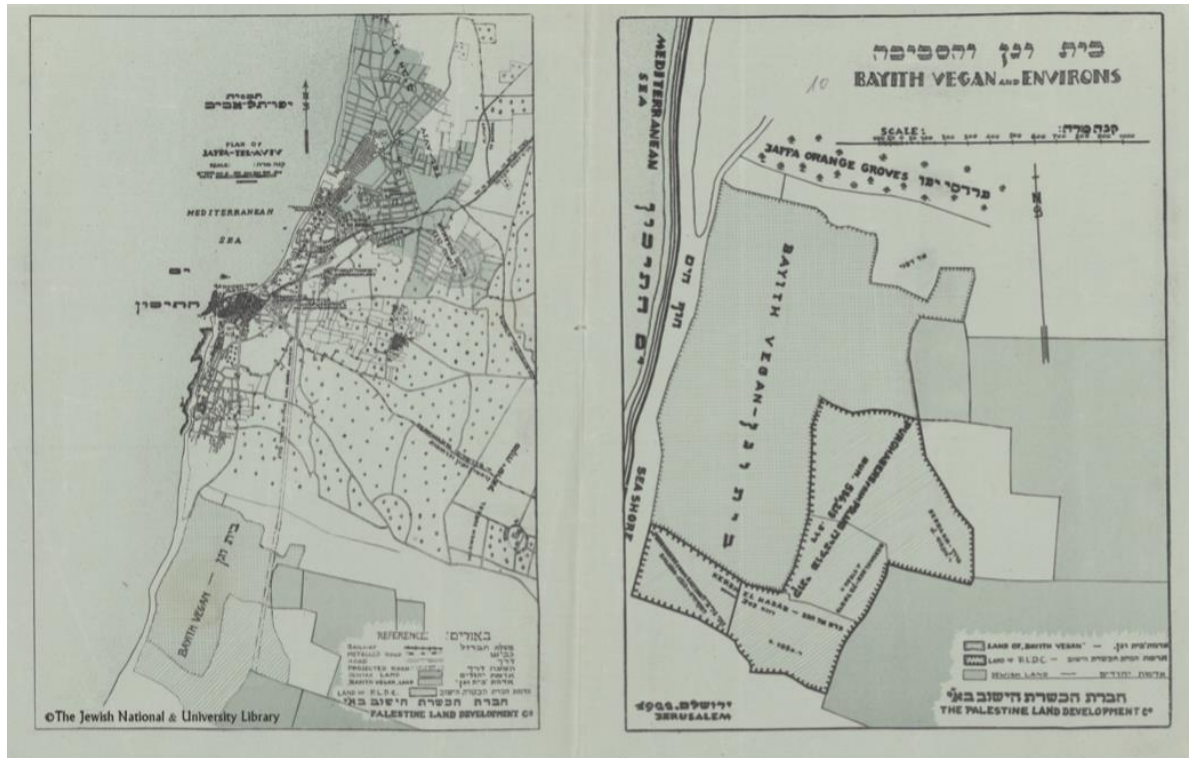


Fig. 2.1 - The plan that laid the foundation for Bayit Vegan Association in the area south of Jaffa in 1922. The orange groves and the sand in between act as a border between Jaffa and Bat Yam at this stage (Groag 2012).

What is striking, however is that it is in these murky borderlands and layered plans that the neighbourhoods of southern Jaffa – with a strong vision for the *maḳom gadol* of the new nation – would be constructed; as if a spatial *carte blanche* could again be arrested away from the area's contested urban histories. The spatial ambiguity of the area, however, and indeed, perhaps the reason for such layered planning projections, is marked by non-urban land use. The area between Jaffa and Bayit Vegan was largely orange orchards. Sets of groves were centred around *bayārāt* (single *bayāra*), well-houses that irrigated the orange groves, and accompanying mansions. In addition to the luxury *bayārāt*, were *saknāt*, villages where Arab labourers dwelled. One such place, Saknāt Darwīsh, was located near to Bayit Vegan. These

semi-rural edges formed the natural topography of the area and were the beating heart of an agricultural industry in Jaffa from the late 19th to mid-20th century. Thus, with the status of Bayit Vegan upgraded, the imaginary hard border of Jewish settlement was being drawn against these agricultural areas. The physical boundaries articulated here would also generate worldly and social borders. New *representations of space* were being imagined against the topographical structures, social norms, and landscapes of the *bayārāt*.

In the aerial photo below (Fig. 2.4), one can see the Amidar neighbourhood of northern Bat Yam constructed in 1951. Today, it forms a contiguous border with Yafo Dalet. Above it are the open agricultural plots that were centred around the *bayāra* house of the Palestinian Abu Seif family, one of very few to stay in and around Jaffa after 1948. As was hinted at, the Abu Seif family represent a particular kind of aggregation of labour and dwelling that was common in Jaffa's rural fringes. In Chapters 3 and 4, I expand on the symbolic weight of this and its mnemonic traces into the ethnographic present, and against the imaginary borders of Israeli modernity. The *bayāra* is not thought of only in the form of architectural heritage, nor of late-Ottoman Palestinian identity, but as a living architectural entity that has evolved over time. It is also a series of urban forms and discourses that shape the meaning of Jaffa and collective, national, political, and social identities within it. The place of the *bayārāt* in the spatial identity of these neighbourhoods is both physically and ideologically contested, but its place in the collective memory and urban identity of these neighbourhoods cannot be denied. This only adds to the spatial ambiguity with which southern Jaffa is often received and navigated. Representations of space are infringed by everyday space and its fragmented histories.

However, here we are interested in their discursive erasure in the construction of new neighbourhoods.

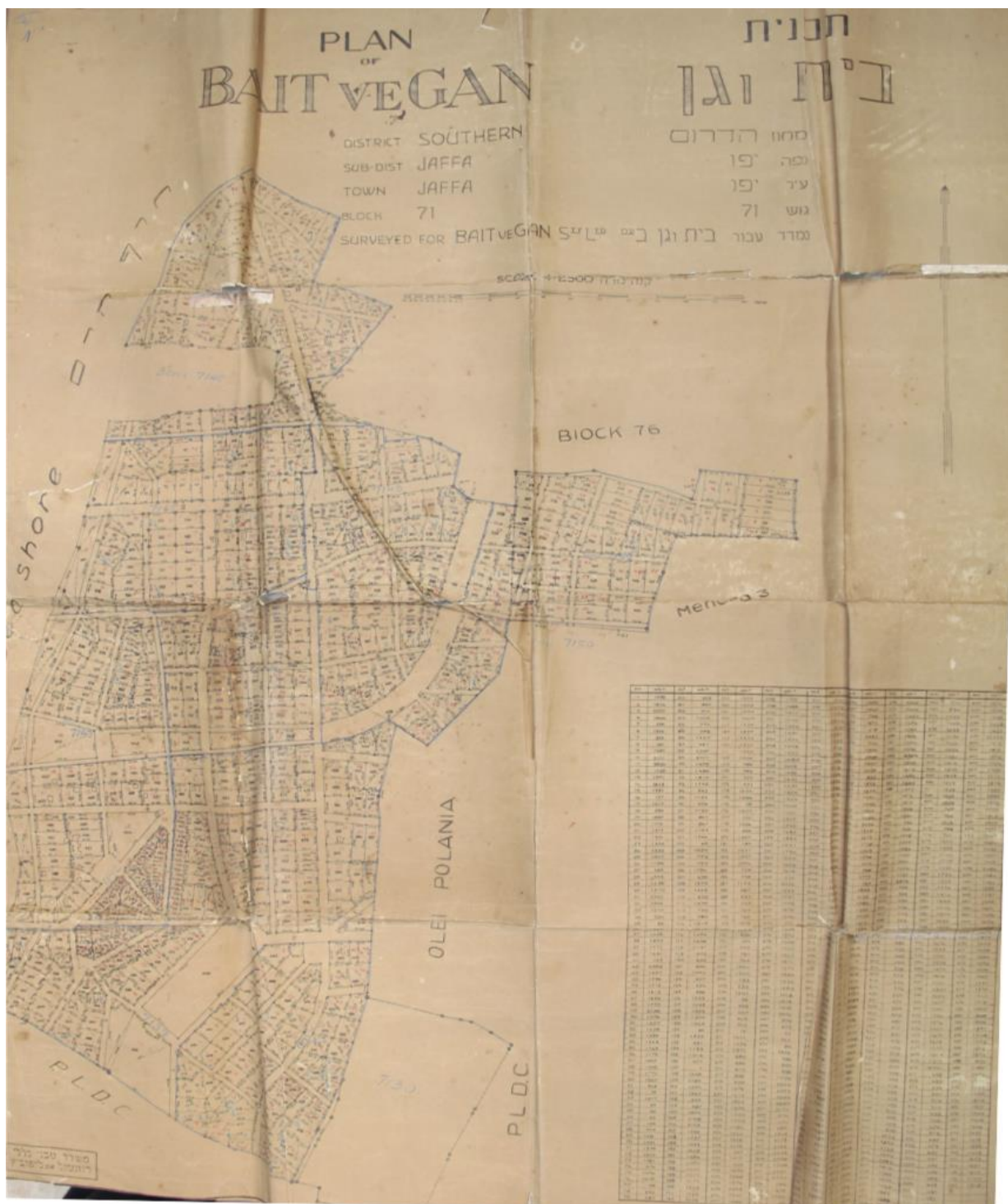


Fig. 2.2 - Delineating the borders of Bayit Vegan. At this stage, it was defined as within the “*maḥoz hadrom*” (southern district) of the sub-district and town of Jaffa (Groag 2012).



Fig. 2.3 - 1930. Shifting boundaries are marked first, by the sand dunes to the south of Jabaliyye known to be desolate spaces, and second by the fact that municipal borders seem to exclude some of the *bayārāt* - the areas that make up Daka and Abu Seif today (Groag 2012).



Fig. 2.4 - Amidar neighbourhood bordering fields of orchards. As Rotbard (2015: 63) writes, “when the black patches turned white, they also turned Jewish” (Groag 2012).

This begins with the application of a British system of blocks which already attempted to formalise a style of social existence and spatial organisation. Indeed, Alex Shams (2018) notes the effects of British bureaucratic management of Palestinian life which led to “increasingly limited, literal, and identitarian understanding of religious space and worship” (Shams 2018: 98). The application of new definitions of social life is part of the same process in which technical norms were applied to the urban space of Jaffa. For Paul Rabinow, a system of norms regulated by experts was an integral part of modern governance (Rabinow 1989), and the application of clearly defined urban space in Jaffa can be likened to the manner in which the colonial reordering of Cairo occurred through the logic of urban space as “material” to be “organised” (Mitchell 1991: 68). Moreover, beyond laying the conceptual groundwork for the interpretation of urban space, the first few decades of planning in Israel were highly influenced by British planning models and typologies, such as the “garden city,” and later the “linear city

(Shadar 2016). Yet the continuation of the block system, now known as *gushim* (the vernacular to denote a new regime of formalisation) inserts an order over space in a new manner, as the shelving of the Kendal Plan indicates. Encouraged by the idea of turning physical space into *maḳom*, and in the aftermath of the *al-nakba*, the national threat of the Arab is as much – if not more – spatial as it is linguistic. The masterplan conceives a new territorial imagination over the area that is articulated in maps and plans prior to its application on the ground.

2.3 The Masterplan: Creating *Maḳom*

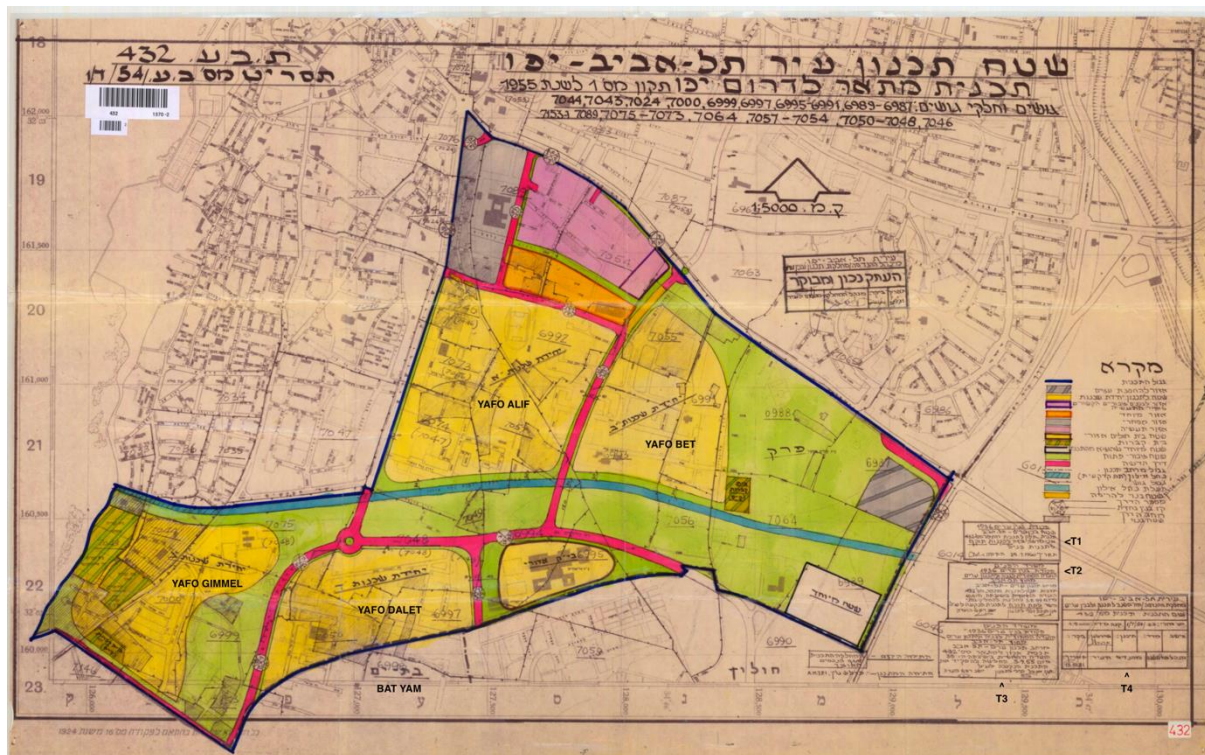


Fig. 2.5 - In 1955 a *tochnit mitar* (masterplan) provides a new mapping for southern Jaffa, with “Taba” (legal dictates for the built environment) defined, and new neighbourhoods planned. The yellow areas mark the new planned *yehidot shikunot* (neighbourhood units) numbered *alif* (top left), *bet* (top right), *gimmel* (bottom left), and *dalet* (second from bottom right). Bat Yam is marked underneath Yafo Dalet (TAYM 1955).

In 1955, a *tochnit mitar* (masterplan) was conceived for the area of southern Jaffa. The map is understood beyond its 2-D form, and in its projected worlds of governance and sociality. As Matthew Hull writes, “A planning map is not only an ideological projection of a bureaucratic vision of the city; this vision is embedded in the technical and procedural processes that link a

map to roads, structures, streams, and documents” (Hull 2012: 5). However, it is primarily a tool of the imagination of *thick borders* – rather than any strict realisation. The plan laid out *taba* 432 (an acronym for *tochnit binyan 'Ir* - city building plan), the rules that zone areas for specific building typologies and uses. The plan defined the area by various lines.

First, by the boundaries of specific *gushim* (blocks), across which new neighbourhoods would be built. “Open” spaces defined in green, and areas of *yehidot shikunot* (neighbourhood units) defined in yellow, as well as an area for the Azuri Hospital (later named Wolfson). Through “representations of space” (Lefebvre 1991: 30), the map tries to imprint a new order (“spatial practices”), in which specific logics of zoning are designed to imprint distinct ways of living and navigating on the inhabitants who would come to live there. The boundaries between southern Jaffa and Bat Yam look transparent and marked. *Gvul Tochnit* (the border of the plan) stands in between them. We know that such an ordered plan does not match the mapped experience of inhabitants, but one should not underplay the significance of it as an ideological apparatus that has radically shifted the manner in which past and current inhabitants perceive the meaning of the space around them. As Le Corbusier argued, ground-level perception makes you “lose all sense of the whole. Take a plane and you will see, and you will understand” (Le Corbusier 1929 in Sundaram 2015). Although a form of scaled imagination — its effects are therefore integrated into planning regimes and practices.

It is thus notable that there is a distinct absence of demarcation of the *bayārāt*, apart from some ambiguous reference to *shetaḥ binui* (built areas) that are laid over by the *shetaḥ letichnon yehidot shikunot* (area to plan neighbourhood units). The new urban blueprint did not imagine a city that integrates the spatial pasts of the area. This is perhaps unsurprising, given what James Holston refers to as the commonplace affinity between “modernism as an aesthetic of erasure and reinscription and modernisation as an ideology of development in which

governments, regardless of persuasion, seek to rewrite national histories” (Holston 1989: 5).

He continues

one of the most distinctive and original features of modernist architecture is that it refuses any accommodation whatsoever to existing urban and social conditions. The break with the past must be absolute” (Ibid.: 53).

Hence why the seductive logic of modernism, in this case, did not have to do much seducing. It is as if this ethic/aesthetic was tailor-made for the nascent Israeli state (this will be discussed further in Chapter 3).

Aside from what it omits, analysis of the masterplan must pay attention to spatial definitions given in the process of mapping. First and foremost, we may note that the breaking down of neighbourhoods by numeration is peculiar to the broader logic of spatialization by the Israeli state. This logic also transpires in the naming of particular streets via numbers. The existence of numbered roads in Jaffa is common, whilst the name of roads in Tel Aviv are usually intimate, signified, or symbolic.¹⁸ For George Simmel, the social significance of numeration is its “characterless and impersonal nature” (Simmel 1950: 107). When referring to persons, it refers “not to individuals as persons but to a purely social structure” (Ibid.: 111). Given the purpose of neighbourhood units was to reshape the social orientation of individual Jews of diverse origins, numeration here signifies the collective goals of the plan. Yael Zerubavel has written about the use of numerical commemoration in Israel as a mnemonic device that strips members of memorialized groups of their individual identities and signifies their place as mathematically equal components of the group as a whole (Zerubavel 2016: 7). The logic of

¹⁸ Daniel Monterescu accounts for the turbulent political history of street naming in Jaffa. After 1948, street names were dropped and changed to numbers, and after 1950, they became clustered according to the group system (*shitat ha-kvutzot*) already effect in Tel Aviv since 1934. The categories of street names in Jaffa include righteous gentiles, biblical names, names from the new testament, Greek mythology, Zionist and Jewish history, geographical markers, plants, zodiac signs, and a handful of Arabic names, in addition to the numbered roads that remained. The relative absence of Arabic names has continued to constitute a bone of contention in mixed cities (Monterescu 2015: 60-1).

an alphabet map is precisely to engineer a homology between place, space, and the individual; to create a national body that is intertwined with urban space.

It is important to note that, despite this peculiar naming system, Yafo Alif and Yafo Bet are rarely described as such in contemporary colloquial urban discourse. This is in contrast to Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel — closer to Bat Yam, a city unambiguously constructed according to the principles of *hityavshut* (settlement), and clearly defined *maḳom*. They are only ever referred to as *Gvul Bat Yam* (the border of Bat Yam) as an alternative. I first discovered this when I had moved to Yafo Gimmel, and a taxi driver insisted to me that my final destination “isn't *Yafo* (Jaffa), it's *Gvul Bat Yam*.” I then began to notice that this is a widely shared sentiment. The notion of *Gvul Bat Yam* as a distinctive place is felt strongly by many of those who dwell at the borderlands of Jaffa and Bat Yam. The way people name these areas of the city at once confirms and contests the map. As De Certeau writes, “rhetoric and everyday practices can be defined as *internal manipulations* of a system—that of language or that of *an established order*” (1988: 24). Such forms of naming are indicative of a normative order of distinction between Jewish and Arab place/space. Without Bat Yam as a clearly defined Jewish place – and the attempt to create new Jewish places in the shape of new neighbourhoods – such effects would not be felt. This may explain why today Yafo Gimmel is often collapsed into Yafo Dalet, the area closer to Bat Yam, and not bordering historic Arab Jaffa to its East.

The plan also designates an official superimposition of colonial period plans. Although continuity of some elements of the British planning system are present, the space is defined in new terms employed in the language of the National Masterplan. Through the spatialisation of the area, the imagination of a new Hebrew spatial identity of *maḳom* is created *ex-nihilo*. Through the authorisation of various different bodies (pictured to the bottom right of the plan in Fig. 2.5, translations below), one can see how the plan is officially sanctioned by the stamps of Israeli state institutions, therefore providing a new form of authorisation of space.

MISRAD HAPANIM (Ministry of Interior)

TOWN BUILDING ORDINANCE 1936

Mirhav Tichnon (planning space): Tel Aviv

Plan - amendment to outline plan no. 432

The District Committee at its 100th session

of 5.9.55 decided to submit to the

Minister to validate the plan for the WAL

Deputy Chief Planning Officer <signature

Chairman of the Notice <signature>

<T4>

MISRAD HAPANIM (Ministry of Interior)

TOWN BUILDING ORDINANCE 1936

Mirhav Tichnon (planning space): Tel Aviv

Plan - amendment to outline plan no. 432

The District Committee at its 100th session

of 3.8.59 decided to submit to the

Minister to validate the plan for the WAL

Deputy Chief Planning Officer <signature

Chairman of the Notice <signature>

<T2>

TOWN BUILDING ORDINANCE 1936

Area of Building Ordinance - Tel Aviv

Plan - amendment to outline plan no. 432

I authorize this to give effect to the

aforesaid plan

Signed, Date: 25.7.1960 <T3>

TEL AVIV YAFO MUNICIPALITY

ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT/TOWN PLANNING DEPARTMENT

Name of Plan: Plan' 432, Number of arrangement: 1/DALET/54 - AYIN:BET

<spaces for signatures of town engineer, minister of town planning - no signatures>

Date 15.12.81 <T4>

However, the gap between spatial authorisation and physical urban choreography must be emphasised. Shmuel Groag insisted to me that the “neighbourhood unit” is more apparent in other areas of the country. In Jaffa, separate, smaller projects were superimposed on the existing architectural and urban bones creating discontinuous islands of *yehidot shikunot*. In the case of southern Jaffa, this is most apparent in the juxtaposition of the *bayārāt* and the post-1960s built environment. The imagination of a clean, straight space of rows of architecturally attuned buildings nonetheless was applied in Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel. The plan above is curious first and foremost for providing an imaginary urbanism, in which even Jaffa could be a place moulded into the new national space. Such an urbanism is guided by a duality of creation and destruction. As David Frisby writes

For contemporary architects and observers/users/dwellers, this architecture could be conceived as *text in the process of being created or produced*. At the same time, the creation of a new modern architecture in the context of a historically existing urban and architectural constellation also implied *the destruction of text* (Frisby 2001: 19).

This requires us to look further at the architectural ideologies surrounding the construction of these neighbourhoods, whilst considering it as an instance of a broader goal: the creation of a national Jewish place, *maḳom*, defined by a built environment with an aesthetic/ethic purpose. This will be expanded on in the next chapter, as this chapter continues by observing other types of discursive modes of management in the area. These produced — alongside ambiguous space and *maḳom* — a peripheral place.

2.4 Population Management and the Production of *Periphery*

A Tel Aviv Municipality document from the Israeli National Archives dated 1949-1951 discusses the challenge of moving squatters out of the Arab houses they now occupied (MY 2002, Fig. 2.6). These are the very squatters who, prior to the construction of *shikunim*, lived in the post-1948 war neighbourhoods of 'Ajami and Jaffa's old town amongst the 3000 remaining Palestinian inhabitants of Jaffa. The document lays the groundwork for understanding how governance was conceptualised with regards to the new immigrants. It also illustrates the ways in which the 2-D masterplan began to be articulated on the ground. The committee responsible were in the process of investigating 300 ruined houses in the old city, and 4500 in Ajami, and were recommending building *shikunim* for next winter. They were looking into three areas, but in the meantime, they would build a temporary camp (*ma'abara*) before the next rainy season. At this point, a *shikun* would be established. There is a suggestion of building it on "free land" between Sderot Yerushalayim and Givat 'Aliyah, which is essentially the area that makes up Yafo Alif, Bet, Gimmel, and Dalet (of the plan). This area is considered alongside already municipally defined land "inside Jaffa," which could refer to Manshiya and Abu Kabir. Other areas identified are Tel a-Rish to the East of Yafo Dalet (which eventually became the Neve Ofer neighbourhood), and the possibility of constructing a *shikun* in a *kfar* (village).

Alongside practical concerns about price, proximity to the city and municipal services, the committee decided that the last option would not solve the problem because the majority of residents are considered urban, not agricultural people. They then recommend the area of southern Jaffa, which it considered to be most suitable regarding topography, urban planning, municipal services, and proximity to workplaces. The committee first decides on *gushim* 7045, 7047 of the Tsahalon area (Yafo Alif), and *gushim* 7048, 7000, 6999, the area of Yafo Gimmel and Bayārat Daka. The areas of Yafo Dalet and Bayārat Abu Seif would follow later.

Pre-1948 populations and infrastructures are absent as the municipality begins to define people. It goes further, discussing the illegal status of people living in areas considered dangerous, after a large landslide in 1951 in which a building collapsed. It points out that there is still a movement of population in the Old City and other parts of the city without permission, and continues

The people that are entitled to stay in Jaffa are the following:

- A) people that get orders to evacuate apartments because they are in dangerous states
- B) people that were living in these houses from May 1950
- C) people from the *macheneh ma'abara* (transit camp) who were evacuated from buildings

These terms would be general instructions for picking residents, but the committee suggests that the institute running the entire operation should make a special committee to check on the social and economic status of every resident...before every resident would get a permit to stay in Jaffa.

[...]

...the committee stated that the status for the project has got worse and could bring disasters to many families. The government and the municipality and other public bodies should interfere with a solution as quickly as possible.

[...]

The committee is underlying that the planning for the permanent project – even if it would be on the right terms and times – will not in any circumstances solve the problem of evacuating the dilapidated buildings in Old Jaffa at risk of collapse, and they must solve the problem of 500 families that need a *ma'abara* by next winter. It is very urgent and should occur imminently.

[...]

The document includes various letters and meetings about the collapsed building in 'Ajami, as well as the danger for families in Old Jaffa who are living in inhumane conditions. One such letter states:

I am deeply appalled by what the eyes saw. I can't describe with words how bad the terms of living are. They are not suitable for human beings or even beasts. No air and no light.

Within the broad plan to create *shikunim* in Jaffa are parallel processes of categorisation of populations and fears of illegality and inhumane ways of living. Concerns of duty and care notwithstanding, the populations are seen as spatial threats to the new order being erected. Indeed, Timothy Mitchell has shown how the notion of “light” and “open” were essential to the creation of a modernist order in Cairo (Mitchell 1991: 54-59). Beneath the surface of attempts to create a “clean design” with “geometric forms and repetition,” was the idea of “cleanliness,” not as a mere matter of design, “but also of morality: cleanliness from corruption, cleanliness from the interest dictated by the power of private property, cleanliness from the self-interest of a small elite” (Aharon-Gutman 2009: 217). Read in the context of an administration that clearly delineated between levels of human material, the notion of “inhumane” becomes tenuous. In the infamous words of Israel’s first Prime Minister David Ben Gurion: “An *Ashkenazi* gangster, thief, pimp or murderer will not gain the sympathy of the *Ashkenazi* community (if there is such a thing), nor will he expect it. But in such a primate community as the Moroccans’ — such a thing is possible” (Konrad 2015).

As a 1954 ten-year bulletin of the housing company Neve-Oved states: “The Arab village, with winding allies and wild buildings, is not suitable for any planning conception” (Efrat 2018: 476). The myth of uncontrolled urban development – of Le Corbusier’s “etiology of urban chaos” rooted in “disease metaphors” (Holston 1989: 48) – guided such a vision. It could not

allow Jews to continue dwelling with Arabs, or in Arab dwellings. Hence why “by 1966 about 5,000 families had been evacuated from former Arab houses in the Tel Aviv municipal area; of these, about 1,900 were from Manshiya, 415 from the Old City, and the 450 from Abu Kabir and environs” (Golan 2009: 1031). The modernist architectural visions of Arie Sharon and Yitzhak Perlstein elaborated on in the next chapter should be seen within the context of an enormous level of rescaling and intra-urban population movement. National categorisations of populations would carry through into the categorisation of the neighbourhoods of southern Jaffa.

By the mid-1970s, the *shikunim* of Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel had begun to show their lack of material resilience. One may consider the distinct possibility that the *shikunim* of southern Jaffa were not Perlstein’s most prized architectural objects, but rather what Arie Sharon called “drawer plans” (see p.133-4). Indeed, Noam Leshem notes how in the eyes of some residents of low-income *shikunim*, the housing block is imagined as a “modern transit camp on pillars” (Leshem 2017: 151-4). Particularly, that is, after the increasing privatisation of Israeli housing, which reached a peak with Prime Minister Menachem Begin’s “Build Your Own Home” project of the 1970s. Most dwellers in Yafo Gimmel and Dalet found themselves with mortgages and neglected public spaces. As Efrat writes, “The category of “popular housing” (Heb. *shikun amami*) is neither an architectural typology nor a class distinction, but a process of financing based upon various degrees of participation of the tenants.” *Shikunim* became “communit[ies] of consumers with options to choose from and decisions to make concerning their homes” (Efrat 2018: 478). The introduction of the discursive notions of *rehabilitation* and *difference* arrives within the context of a neglected physical environment and the creation of ego-driven socially inward attitudes towards the apartment, the block, the neighbourhood, and the city. The policies and plans that led to this will be explored in Chapter 3. The process was however flagged here to indicate the importance of reading governmental discourses through

a context in which physical space reflects governmental imaginations of social space as the *periphery* (periphery).

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עיריית תל-אביב-יפו

רחוב ביאליק 20, ת.ד. 8001
טלפון: 4800 - 4801
פלג: עיריית תל-אביב

תעודת זהות: 17084
ט/8/1

8-JUN 1951 ד.א. סיון תשי"א

לכבוד
מר י. קיסילוב
מנהל האגף לאדמיניסטרציה
כללית במדינה,
מסד הכניס,
י.ד. נ.ל. י.ה.

הנדון: מכון קבע למסגרות הסכנים
מיזם העתיקה.
מכתב: טס/אד/טכ/17-10227 מיום
18 במאי 1951.

א"ב

הריני לאשר את קבלת המכתב הנ"ל
ולתורידו, כי רשמי לשנות לבי את הכנסות
שעוררת בקשר למסד מכון הקבע למסגרות הסכנים-
כיום מיזם העתיקה.

כ"ב המכתב מכתב של שר האוצר, מר
א. קפלן, מיום 25 באפריל ש"ו, ובו אישר
למחן סלוח לעיריית לבנות 500 בתים לסכנים
אלה. הסכום המוקצב הוא לפי 850 ל"י לכל
יחידה ועל העירייה למצוא מקור כספי למלוח
בסך 325 ל"י.

בכבוד רב
(ישראל חוקם)
ראש העירייה

ר"ב 1 העתק.
מנהל האגף
מ.ה. חוקם
" לעזרה
307,500
307,500

650
500
1500
307,500

Fig. 2.6 (MY 2002)

2.5 Rehabilitation, Difference and the Double-face of the City

In a visit to the Tel Aviv Municipal Archives, I encountered an abundance of documents concerning the neighbourhoods from 1977 through to the past decade. These documents illustrate how the development of the built environment and the society within came to be defined by municipal governance regimes. When analysing the planning models of modernism, it is essential to note both the architects' intentions for social change, embodied in its design, and the government's intentions to build and occupy it (Holston 1989: 4). The blueprint is distinct from the process of building and governing, which is distinct from the process of living and dwelling (to be discussed in later chapters). The argument here is that we can observe the governmental development of the masterplan through these rehabilitation schemes over decades. We can conceptualise them as governance schemes that reproduce and reify the peripheral status of the neighbourhoods and of the residents dwelling within them. One 1977 document states:

The topic of neighbourhoods has global relevance. I just mentioned the tip of the iceberg, and dealt with just some of the many topics regarding neighbourhood life. We must remember the basic fact that we are dealing with human beings with different social backgrounds and economic backgrounds, with *different norms and life patterns, and behaviour* that was shaped through many generations in Israel and outside of Israel. Human beings with different housing cultures, with different awareness for sharing social and ideological references. To sum it all up, people with all their different shapes and colours, create together the face of the city (*hamisket ha'ironit*), and dictates its purpose [my emphases] (TAYM 1977).

“Norms” and “housing cultures” are the key explanatory concepts in distinguishing between the development of neighbourhood life. On Yafo Dalet specifically, the document states:

A heterogenous neighbourhood which consists of projects for new 'olim and projects for young couples and evacuated citizens which was renovated by Halamish [a national housing company]. The neighbourhood of Yafo Dalet is one of the biggest neighbourhoods in Tel Aviv, and has 20,000 in it [referring to Yafo Gimmel and other areas of *shikunim* too]...Its problems are more similar to the problems of Tel-Kabir and other neighbourhoods that are in the process of being formed. Throughout the years, the neighbourhood's place in all renovation programmes was absent. Only the current administration has begun to take care of the serious problems of the neighbourhood, which in this case derive mostly from *an absence of proper infrastructure* [my emphases] (TAYM 1977).

Given the persistent failure and limited attempts to undo low rates of employment and education, rehabilitation seems to be nothing more than a code word for underlying ideas of essentialist class stagnation. Alongside this, diversity is referenced in vague terms, without addressing underlying tensions. Difference is seen as a planning and policy problem, but historic governmental regimes that produce difference and ethnospatial hierarchies are not considered within any policy assessments.

A 1979 document prepared by Halamish discusses the need for project-manager engineers, architects, and community workers to work together to "rehabilitate" the neighbourhood; for the 2-D plan to be realised in 3-D space (Halamish 1979). Work would soon be started on six buildings to create a feeling of "authenticity." Beautification of public areas was envisaged as form of character improvement. Rehabilitation here is a discursive urban form which acts as a set of moral management techniques, whilst making the neglect of heterogenous areas visible. Yet other than the addition of panels to privatise the laundry displays of each apartment, little interventions were made. Moreover, this was only applied to some buildings, and no comprehensive plan was produced. Its designation is therefore more a signification of classification (of people) than an indicator of shifts in built space. To this day, the area is still defined as both "heterogenous" and "complex" by municipal authorities and in municipal

publications. The persistent and dominant discourse around the social decay of southern Jaffa is premised not on the structural features of the plan, but rather on the people that inhabit it.



Fig. 2.8 - An image from a document laying out the need for regeneration and rehabilitation in Yafo Dalet (TAYM 1994).

It is important to state here that a particular trope was repeated amongst the architects and planners I interviewed throughout fieldwork. The trope compares Yafo Dalet to two other neighbourhoods in Tel Aviv Jaffa planned by Perlstein and almost identical in design. In the words of Olesh Key, Jaffa resident and award-winning architect who was one of three architects employed by the Tel Aviv Municipality to develop new policies for urban renewal in southern Jaffa:

But you cannot take it from the *shikunim* that they were very functional in settling down, on each Israeli...you know the planning of those *shikunim* are very good. The only problem is that, if you, have you been to Ramat Aviv? Go and you'll see it. You have Ramat Aviv, and you

have Yad Eliyahu, and you have *Drom Yafo* (southern Jaffa). The buildings are the same. Here and here and here. Yet Ramat Aviv is in one place, Yad Eliyahu is in another place, and Yafo is in a third place, even worst.

Adar Seker, former student of Olesh and the second of three architects commissioned (I discuss both their plans at length in the fourth section of Chapter 3), put it:

Not everything is about planning, because if you go to see Ramat Aviv Alif you have the same plan, Yad Eliyahu you have the same plan, and here you have the same plan. This is a total disaster, what you have here...It's about the context, it's about the people, it's about how well educated they are, how much income do they have, and how well are they connected to their *shilton* (government), to their municipality head...and how well people know each other. That means if you put the ex-Polish with the ex-Moroccan, with the ex-Yemeni, with the ex-Bulgarian, you won't be able to get what you have in Ramat Aviv...If they are more of the same, they are more able to work together.

Prima facie, the trope operates to explain how the nature or mixture of people are responsible for the degeneration of the planned neighbourhood. This contributes to the area's reputation as inherently marginal and problematic. Janice Perlman has demonstrated how, in the context of the favelas, discursive mythical frames of urban marginality led to structural discrimination predicated on the geography of residency (Perlman 2010). She demonstrates that "the ideology of marginality, with its moralistic, victim-blaming narrative, has persisted in the face of blatantly contradictory evidence" (Perlman 2010: 150). In Jaffa's borderlands, the logic of the diseased neighbourhood is at once a form of marginalization and ethnicisation.

This exposes a flawed urban logic. In a suspension of the architectural propensity to see the built environment as socially powerful, the city becomes imagined in the terms of Robert Parks and the Chicagoan school of the 1960s, who "imagined the shape of the city in primitive two-dimensional terms, and thought about three-dimensional built forms not at all" (Sennett 2018:

68). “The city is not,” Park said, “merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction. It is involved in the vital process of the people who compose it; it is a product of nature, and particularly of human nature” (Park 1969 in Sennett 2018: 69). Such *representations of space* erase the socioeconomic context of neglect and architectural context of poor construction from the physical development of the neighbourhood’s space. This provides important context to the final section of this chapter — understanding the process of the diversification of Jaffa’s borderlands through the arrival of Former Soviet Union (FSU) and Ethiopian immigrants as emerging within the persistent marginalisation of the neighbourhoods. The arrival of new populations to the neighbourhood must be seen in the context of broader regimes of place, spatial techniques and relations.

2.6 Constructed Multiplicity and the New *Periphery*

When analysing the urban development of Jaffa since 1948, Sharon Rotbard distinguishes between Arab Jaffa — subject to processes of destruction and erasure — and the Jewish neighbourhoods of Jaffa (Neve She’enan, Florentin, Hatikvah, Ezra and Shapira). Although not destroyed, they have been subject to a “lifetime of neglect” and ideological, economic, geographical and cultural irrelevance as Tel Aviv developed. He notes how there is almost no reference to the history of these neighbourhoods in any municipal plans presented or implemented in the last 60 years (Rotbard 2015: 140-41). In doing so he reveals the dual contradictions of creating *maḳom* whilst maintaining peripheral geographies. The same stigma has been attached to Yafo Dalet and Gimmel, neighbourhoods that became naturalised into the periphery of Tel Aviv-Jaffa since their construction. New migrations to the area emerged within this context.

In what has been labelled the “frontiphery process,” planning and housing policies have been at the forefront of placing disadvantaged immigrants in Israel’s geographical periphery. They reside there “with little hope of escaping their marginalized situation” (Yitachel 2010: 90). This

has occurred from the 1950 establishment of the development towns to the construction of government subsidised housing for Former Soviet Union and Ethiopian immigrants by Ariel Sharon in the 1990s. Ariel Sharon's two-part planning approach of “strategic bifurcation” : a) national commercialisation of land resources and subjugation of planning to the considerations and profit of local investor groups b) large-scale real estate development and investment in Israeli and international entrepreneurial capital was undertaken with an agenda of metropolitanization, privatization, and urban densification (Ibid.: 89). Moreover

Whereas during the 1960s-70s, spatial development was used as a tool to construct a national identity and lifestyle as a means to reorganise territory (Kallus and Yone 2002), currently, the central government is promoting similar goals with the assistance of the private sector (Hatuka and Bar 2018: 888).

Urban developments are rooted in historical formations (Batty 2001). The private sector is now in the service of the re-organization of territory, maintaining ethnospatial distinctions in dwelling patterns, whilst producing new ones that readjust ethnospatial segregations of the past. Both the arrival of FSU and Ethiopian Jews to southern Jaffa is part of this process. In the case of the Ethiopian *‘aliyah*, this logic is more pronounced, as cheap, subsidised housing was provided by Halamish and other housing companies for Ethiopian immigrants who now form a fifth of the population of southern Jaffa. Migration to Jaffa is thus a “spatial dynamic” that accompanies housing and planning policies. It is used to achieve political goals — in Yiftachel’s words to put “in motion processes of long-term political-structural discrimination between populations on the basis of their ethnic origin” (Yiftachel 2010: 73).

Since 2006, a *moked klitah* (absorption centre) was set up in Jaffa alongside subsidised housing. Its approach is to integrate new immigrants in ways specifically curated for specific populations. In southern Jaffa, the current targeted population is Ethiopian Jews. By making a community centre — architecturally designed as pillars of inwardness — into a *moked klitah*,

an incentive towards ghettoisation was materialized. A unit within the spatial collective of centripetal service, its specific, differentiated purpose effects the spatial directionality of the neighbourhood, and shifts the parcellation of dwelling within it. Space becomes associative, itself the very form of othering within the dense city. Accordingly, as well as indicating the collusion of state and market in using Jewish immigration to create demographic “balance” within mixed cities (Yacobi 2009: 72-84), new patterns of intra-Jewish spatial segregation and discursive difference are produced.

The diversity of southern Jaffa can be seen as a form of *constructed multiplicity*, where the intersections of urban planning and governmental policy have placed Ethiopians in “difficult” neighbourhoods highly populated by FSU immigrants as well as low-income veteran residents, and in which there are social tensions between residents of the *bayārāt* and *shikunim*. However, against the governmentally directed grain, there is a growing Palestinian population in the *shikunim*. This has occurred since the gentrification of northern Jaffa, the other side of the Sharon policy in which the municipality implemented a reordering of Jaffa into a tourist destination and extension of Tel Aviv (see Monterescu 2015: 135-207). Although this process is indeed a spatial challenge to *maḳom* and the national-functionalist vision of the *shikunim* (the very fact of Palestinians living in *shikunim* challenges their architectural purpose), it illustrates how some of the weakest populations of Tel Aviv-Jaffa have been pushed into a dense setting.

Peripheralisation has provided the spatial setting for new forms of tension, as well as moments of encounter. Home now also to some non-Jewish, non-Arab migrant workers, southern Jaffa is one housing option amongst southern Tel Aviv’s growing “grey spaces” — unstable or illegal, neither fully integrated nor eliminated — where thousands of foreign labourers reside (Avni and Yiftachel 2014: 501). The domination of the city’s grey spaces by Arabs and non-Jews exposes the “*ethnic nature* of this phenomenon” (Ibid.: 502). It is clear

that this phenomenon is about the ethnicisation of space and creation of ethnospatially imbalanced geographies, but the case of Jaffa's *periphery* shows that *Mizrahim*, FSU and Ethiopian immigrants are also suitable candidates for spatial manipulation. Indeed, Nati Marom goes as far to state

As a postcolonial *dual city*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa was no longer sharply divided along ethnonational lines between Arabs and Jews; rather, its 'hybrid' yet hierarchical space was more intricately fragmented along ethnoclass lines, migratory origins, and order of arrival in the country and location of settlement in the city (Marom 2014: 1919).

He points out that behind the facade of policies of absorption was a "highly differentiated and protracted process of inclusion/exclusion of areas and residents in the city's geographical and social periphery" (Ibid.: 1920). He implies, therefore, that blood isn't always thicker than water, and the sociospatial distinction that emerges through regimes of governance and techniques of planning create a "peripheral habitus" that is primary in the division of Tel Aviv's urban development. The more recent migrations to southern Jaffa emerge out of this historical context, creating fragmentary urban landscapes that challenge the spatial imaginaries of the 1955 masterplan.

However, southern Jaffa is the near-periphery of a rapidly developing metropolis, and the gentrification of Tel Aviv-Jaffa's low-income areas (north Jaffa, Florentin and Shapira) is expanding south. The future of the area is unclear due to new architectural, municipal, and entrepreneurial forces that are moving to reorder it. With development thus far rudimentary, Jaffa's urban borderlands can be said to be exemplary cases of diverse peripheral geographies, produced over time by an inherently contradictory nationalist engineering of space.

Conclusion: Territorial Imaginations and their Contradictions

—Uniformity became the masquerade of ethnic segregation and political discrimination (Efrat 2018: 478).

The purpose of this chapter was to consider how the contemporary ethnographic field is shaped by a history of shifting spatial arrangements in the built environment. It has presented a picture of regimes of place, whilst inviting the reader to consider how urban forms might emerge in connection to them. Neither opting for a closed segregated political geography, nor an ethnography that proceeds from heteronomous space, the thesis seeks a synthesis. Whilst noting the specific conditions of southern Jaffa and the spatial biases such an area inevitably produces, the urban field is embedded in territorial imaginaries, forms of discursive management, and spatial engineering that continue to produce it. Moreover, the historical period of neighbourhood formations (1950s-70s approximately) presupposes questions related to the afterlife of historically situated urban forms and how they interact with new migrations. Planning, zoning and management have been ways of implementing nationalist projects that have curated specifically constructed forms of diversity over time. Any series of collective experiences and encounters are mediated by shifting urban borders and imaginaries, which have reconfigured urban space over time, but between ambiguous place, *maḳom*, and *periferiyah*, such configurations are not yet closed. *Representational spaces* are drawn out of the ambiguous porosity of urban borders, and the dense diversity of peripheral geographies.

In southern Jaffa, this began with shifting municipal borders and definitions of Arab and Jewish space prior to the establishment of the state of Israel. Neighbourhood formation involved the application of the discursive reordering of space and functionalist-modernist planning principles aiming to establish a *maḳom* that superimposes the previous forms of dwelling, society and landscape within the area — the *bayāra* houses and their surrounding orchards (*bayārāt*) and settlements (*saknāt*). Municipal and state policies, however, sought to

repress the continuing presence of the *bayārāt*, whilst managing the largely *Mizraḥi*-Jewish population, and directly and indirectly adding more disadvantaged inhabitants to the mix in the last few decades. Indeed, the “ethnoscape” (Appadurai 1990) of contemporary Jaffa is a history of migration understood alongside and in relation to the history of planning. The diversity of the area today is rooted in the nationalist spatial paradigms that produced it, and urban forms that continue to make the neighbourhood and the city today. Regimes of place are caught between the contradictory processes of nation-building within urban configurations, as Section III in particular will bring to the fore. In order to further understand the dominance of *maḵom*, the next chapter focuses on the functionalist-modernist architectural discourses and anti-urban nationalist goals that intervened on 3-D space and guided the material skeleton of the neighbourhoods.

THREE

**

Modernism and *Ma‘abarot*

Architecture and Transformation

Architecture has always provided the prototype of a work of art that is received in a state of distraction and by the collective. The laws governing its reception have most to tell us.

—Walter Benjamin (1935), *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Production*, (Benjamin 2008: 33)

Progress...the theory that you alone understand the meaning of history.

—Aldous Huxley (1948), *Ape and Essence*, (Huxley 2005: 93-4)

This chapter explores the character of modernism – an international architectural and urban movement – through the blueprint projected to transform the area of Jaffa’s borderlands. This Israeli version of modernism radically transformed Jaffa’s built landscape in the nascent decades of the Israeli state. National modernity was imagined as a project of architectural urbanism — defined by Lefebvre as “a universalising system of structures and functions in supposedly rational geometric forms” (Lefebvre 1987: 8). The Israeli version is rooted in the functionalist project articulated in Le Corbusier’s *Athens Charter* (1933) and in Britain’s Garden City Movement, first articulated by Ebenezer Howard in *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* (1898). The chapter’s first aim is to understand how the application of this ideology to construction on the ground demonstrates architecture as a “border-making practice” (Hatuka and Kallus 2006: 39).

Crucially, however, two arguments cut through the very notion of a blueprint. First, the spatial imagination of the plan is presented alongside historical social forms and vernacular architectural forms it either interacted with, erased or superimposed itself on. Second, current

and historical plans are couched in the contextual ambiguity of place that runs through the particular spaces of southern Jaffa over the *longue durée*. The chapter seeks to illustrate how this argument emerged through ethnographic immersion in distinctive perspectival lenses. This involved the constant shifting of perspectives, but also interchanges between them. It thus presents the material as a dialogue between historic architects, contemporary architects, plans, documents, and residential oral histories. But the architectural is still thought of as a distinct analytical category. As Victor Buchli writes, it “serves as a very specific material register producing social lives and modes of governance” (2013: 17).

The very nature of a spatial architectural vision, with a notion of place projecting borders onto an already existing space with historical forms of place, denotes a distinctive reading of modernity. Like in Holston’s account of Brasilia (Holston 1989), the projection of Israeli modernity is confused by the past. Unlike it, however, the form of the plan is exposed by the historically dense spatiality it is imagined in. Social realities and past geographies disrupt the architectural intervention, and history escapes erasure. Southern Jaffa offers a particularly vivid articulation of this. The focus here is on the application of modernist architectural ways of thinking urban transformation in distinctive ways; in what Lefebvre calls *representations of space*. To reiterate “this is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production)” (Lefebvre 1991: 39). Accordingly, I think of the architectural imaginary as a particular kind of power in the urban environment that shapes the production of *maḳom*. Crucially, however, this chapter makes the link between architectural imaginaries and built space more explicit.

In the first section, a theory of *maḳom* is introduced. It explains how and why the use of the Hebrew word for place is used to describe the making of neighbourhoods in southern Jaffa, and how it is linked to a broader set of national typologies of housing and dwelling. This is followed in the second section by the description of the social encounter between Palestinian inhabitants of the area who remained after 1948 and largely *Mizraḥi* (of Middle Eastern origin)

Jewish immigrants who lived in *ma'abarot* (transit camps) adjacent to the *bayārāt* or Arab homes in Old Jaffa. This period (circa 1949-60) is a formative experience in the shaping of many southern Jaffa residents prior to the construction of *shikunim* (social housing). The third section relies partially on secondary literature in order to explore the modernist architectural vision applied to the design of the neighbourhood as they were constructed from the 1960s. It understands this is an attempt to construct hard physical borders that erase the social porosity of these borderlands. Yet the coupling of these processes gives the area and buildings a sense of ambiguous place, and the linearity imagined by architects who designed the *shikunim* in the area is, in fact, serrated by the memory of distinctive urban landscapes and social arrangements. The final section of the chapter – based largely on interview material with the architects responsible for the current masterplan in southern Jaffa, as well as their critical contemporaries – compares the discursive afterlife of modernist architectural imaginaries in the present. A sharp distinction is made between notions of “slow” and “fast” (or “action”) planning, the latter of which dominated the production of the current *tochnit meitar* (masterplan) for southern Jaffa. I argue that recognition of the past (and present) of Palestinian life in Jaffa supports the “slow” architectural imaginary that sees buildings as dynamic entities, and the creation of them as emerging out of a dialogue between history, planner, and dweller. This has implications for residents as well as the future of the *shikunim* as a housing form.

3.1. A Theory of *Maḳom*

The Israeli urban and rural landscape is permeated by many distinctive instantiations of settlement, territory, and place, but the concern here is with how a particular typology — namely *shikunim* — is imagined by architects as a way of constructing the distinctly Jewish place of the neighbourhood out of existing urban space. *Maḳom* is a spatial concept. It implies an accepted order of things, and a distinct, shared set of understanding about the meaning of

particular spaces.¹⁹ Such understandings come out of an idea of Zionism as productive and redemptive of land; as “an epic salvation of a *terra nullius*” (Efrat 2018: 35). One of the aims of this chapter is explore the creative and productive means of placemaking that go beyond a sense of territorial unity achieved through the combination of presence, ownership, and sovereignty (Kimmerling 1983). *Faits accomplis* require constant reproduction, and land is given meaning when it is actively worked on, both materially and imaginatively. Indeed, as Rabinowitz has argued, there is “a tendency within mainstream Zionism to evaluate its own territorial advent as tentative and fragile” (Rabinowitz 1997: 77). Consequently, it is the role of architectural imaginaries to fill this void, and the creation of *maḳom* provides a means of territorial control through the iconicity of architectural placemaking.

It is thus important to reflect on the symbolic role of *hityashvut*, a Hebrew term that technically denotes “settling” and includes the full spectrum of Zionist forms of dwelling and community, including *kibbutzim* and *moshavim*. The term has always been used to denote something exclusively Israeli, and indeed Zionism’s political relationship with land requires that ownership of land, ‘*aliyah* (immigration) and *hityashvut* must remain exclusively Israeli or they lose their very meaning (Rabinowitz 1997: 80). The effects of this in previously Arab settlements add to the complex ambiguity of place running through their spatial production and contestation over time. For Rabinowitz,

temporary Israeli ownership, presence, and even sovereignty are not enough to qualify these sites [the old quarters of Jaffa, Haifa Lod etc] as genuine components of national redemption. Israeli presence and ownership in downtown Haifa and Jaffa could thus be reversed without stimulating an emotional response on the part of Israelis. The cultural meaning and powerful symbolism of *hityashvut* simply does not apply here (1997: 80).

¹⁹ Though I am introducing *maḳom* as a spatial concept, the relationship between language and space in the production of place is salient. As Yair Wallach argues, in the late 19th century, Hebrew was transformed from a ritualistic language to a profane marker of territory (Wallach 2020).

This thesis contends that it is precisely the adjacency of the neighbourhoods of southern Jaffa to Bat Yam that make the application of *hityashvut* neither absolutely inapplicable nor unambiguously defined. However, the creation of *shikunim* are an attempt to make meaningful place out of such ambiguous space. Indeed, there is a peculiar magnitude to the ambitions of Israeli planners reminiscent of what James Scott's refers to as Le Corbusier's "total city planning" (Scott 1998: 104). As Efrat asserts

Contrary to common belief and to visual impression, Israel was born not of haphazard improvisation, emergency routine, or speculative ventures, and certainly not of gradual spontaneous buildup, but rather of the unprecedented objective to put into practice one of the most comprehensive, controlled, and efficient architectural projects in the modern era (Efrat 2018: 61).

Towards *maḳom*, architecture is used to productively create territory, where planning only imagines it. Thus, although it is true that "the terrestrial space of 'the Israeli state' is...less uniform than hitherto assumed" (Rabinowitz 1997: 81), this fact only serves to signify the importance of productive ideologies and everyday forms of placemaking and bordering. Yet whilst the modernist project plays a significant role in contemporary urbanisms of southern Jaffa, their physical construction was preceded by an urban encounter that cuts through their realisation and shapes the ambiguity of spatial and social life in the area today.

3.2. The *Bayāra* -*Ma'abara* Encounter

This precursory social encounter is introduced here to indicate the limitations of modernist functionalist planning's attempts to manipulate time and space. This chapter is focused on the perspective of planners and architects, who are almost always projecting towards the future, whilst being in constant dialogue with the national time of the past. Many veteran residents, however, live mostly according to a politics of existence loosely geared towards the future blended with nostalgias of the past, as Chapter 6 will unpack. The inception of the

neighbourhoods aimed to create a perfected formal order through the rigid segregation of functions, and the delineation of an urban space where single-purpose planning and standardisation would be made possible (Scott 1998: 110-11). Yet each particular block within the plan is in fact a heterogeneous unit in time, experience, and belonging, as well as ethnicity and religion, a theme explored in Chapter 8. This begins with the forms of social interaction and spatial movement that jostled with the strings of material production as *shikunim* were being planned and constructed. I understand memories of this period – which still today mark the consciousnesses of residents and their memory of space – under the collective rubric of an *urban form*. Throughout this thesis, the affectivity of this form can be isolated, as it shapes the contradictions of collective memory that challenge the sociospatially segregated norms dictating the pace of neighbourhood life today.

After the 1948 Arab-Israeli war ended, a period of mixture and interaction between Palestinians and Jewish immigrants occurred within an ambiguous landscape defined by informality. Across Jaffa, the arrival of Jewish immigrants en masse would be felt strongly. As urban historian Arnon Golan remarks

On July 14, 1948, while actual fighting moved to other sections of the country, the newly formed Israeli government decided to repopulate abandoned areas of Jaffa with Jews...Israeli authorities estimated that 2800 buildings were available for accommodation, comprising 16,000 rooms...In early September 1949, a first wave of squatters, most of whom were war refugees or newly arrived immigrants, broke into former Arab houses, including the few existent premodern houses of the old city and the remaining houses of Manshiya and Abu Kabir (Golan 2009: 1028)

However

Over 16,000 dwelling units were constructed in the Tel Aviv municipal area during the 1950s and early 1960s...including 3300 on open lands of Jaffa. These were mainly allocated to

residents of temporary immigrant camps and to pre-1948 working-class and lower-middle-class people and demobilized soldiers rather than to residents of former Arab destitute areas. Many of these residents preferred to remain where they were rather than move to remote housing estates, some of which were located outside the Tel Aviv boundary (Ibid: 1030).

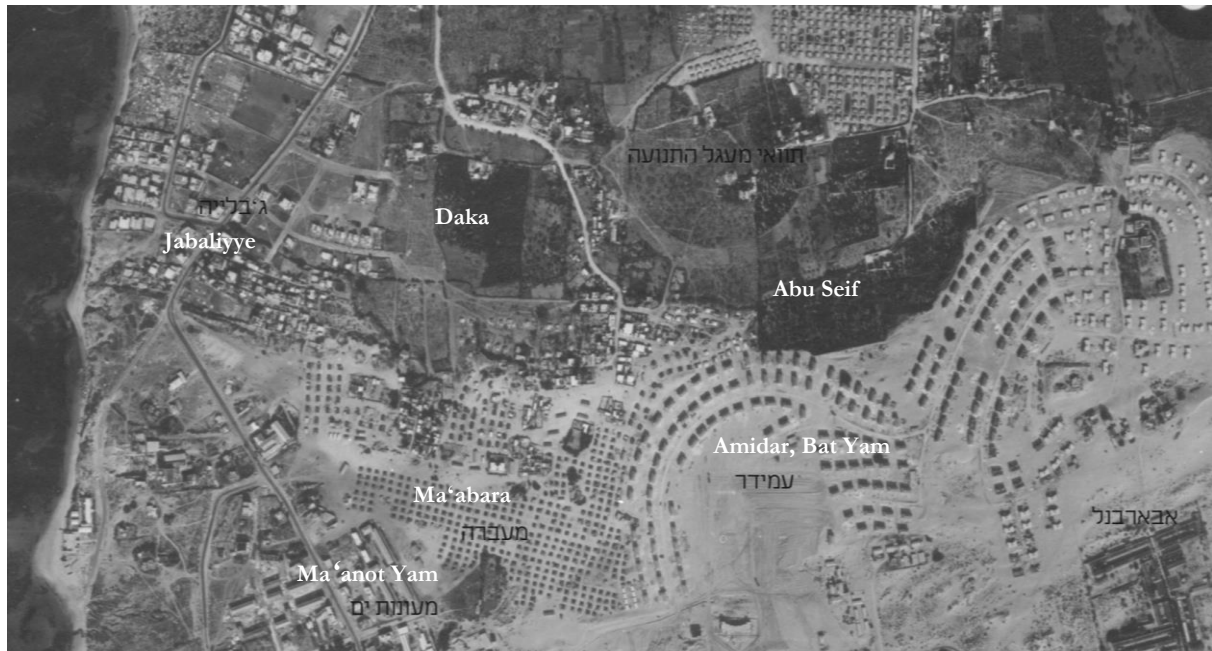


Fig. 3.1 - An aerial photo from 1951 demonstrating the *ma'abara* to the south, Amidar to their right, and the Abu Seif and Daka orchards still intact (Groag 2012, English annotations added).

In July 1950, the State of Israel ordered the demolition of eight hundred former Arab houses within Tel Aviv's jurisdiction, including almost all of the built-up area of old city and many houses in Manshiya and Abu Kabir. They then constructed transit camps (*ma'abarot*) for evacuated populations on tracts of land on the southern outskirts of Jaffa (Golan 2009: 1030). According to Zvi Efrat, *ma'abarot* were integrated into national aims with the March 1950 Transit Camp Plan. Levi Eshkol, head of the Land Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, declared the aim of using the transit camps as a source of employment for immigrants and as economic stimulus (Efrat 2018: 204). It is here where the beginnings of many of

southern Jaffa's *vatiqim* (veteran residents) lie. It is important to note that "the municipality for its part was far from enthusiastic about embracing an area populated by destitute immigrants, war refugees, former slum dwellers, and Arabs" (Ibid: 1029). Before Jaffa was swallowed by Tel Aviv, its status as problematic was applied to the largely *Mizrahi* (Middle Eastern Jewish) population as well as the remaining Palestinian population. The delay in the official unification of Jaffa and Tel Aviv was partially a marker of a desire not to expand the desirable city by intaking incoming undesirables.

The *vatiqim* of southern Jaffa share a common story of migration. Their home countries were largely Middle Eastern and North African, but *oilm* (immigrants) also came from Romania and Bulgaria, many of who have since left Jaffa. The largest Middle Eastern component was Libyan, with Iraqi, Tunisian, Moroccan, and Turkish immigrants too, and they make up the vast majority of *vatiqim* today. Their story usually goes as follows: First, they migrated to Israel in the 1950s. Second, they spent time in abandoned Palestinian homes in the 'Ajami and Jabaliyye neighbourhoods, and then were forced to move into *ma'abarot* (transit camps). Alternatively, they went straight to *ma'abarot*. On the aerial photos above and below (Fig. 3.1 and 3.2), one can see to the West of the Bat Yam neighbourhood of Amidar, rows of tents stretching to the borders of another Bat Yam neighbourhood, Ma'anot Yam, and in the north to the *bayārāt* of Abu Seif and Daka. The inhabitants of this *ma'abara* were eventually relocated to *shikunim* in Bat Yam, or in Yafo Dalet, Yafo Gimmel, and the other areas of *shikunim* in Jaffa. It is the adjacency to the *bayārāt* that bears reflection on. Indeed, Rotbard points out that prior to 1948, veteran residents of Jaffa reported the status of the Bayāra houses as zones of "daily encounters and interactions" (Rotbard 2015: 90). Although he notes the sharp transformation of the orchards around Abu Kabir (northeast Jaffa) into "industrial areas, public housing projects and metropolitan and urban infrastructures," (Ibid.) from the perspective of

southern Jaffa, these “grey zones” would actively continue to provoke ambiguity, contact, and encounter for decades to come.



Fig. 3.2 - The *ma'abara* of southern Jaffa (from Sharon 1951).

Faisal Abu Seif, the informally appointed head of Bayārat Abu Seif, recalled this period to me with some element of nostalgia. He described the tents and wooden shacks put together with metal blades and remembers *'olim* (immigrants) living in the *ma'abara* being largely from Tripoli. In the 1960s and 1970s, the *bayāra* was still functioning, and had an abundance of cattle, sheep, goats, horses, as well as oranges, grapes and vegetables. He even sold produce to Tnuva, the national agricultural company now turned Israeli conglomerate. The abundance and spatial openness of the *bayāra* — in his words “it had no borders” — meant that *ma'abara* dwellers could freely pick fruit from the trees. He emphasizes, “the area was *hofshi* [the Hebrew word for free, here meaning open].” He was attending the Tierra Santa Catholic High School

on Yefet Street (the primary commercial street serving the Palestinian population in Jaffa) and into the 1970s he remembers Arab and Jewish children playing football together in abandoned public areas, as well as adults working together in construction. Though most of his Jewish friends originated in the Middle East, they conversed in Hebrew. Connecting urbanism and space to politics, he states “that period was very good. You didn’t feel a political problem between Arabs and Jews as citizens.”

Many Jews also remember the period fondly. Curiously, they referred to the area as *shikunah* (neighbourhood) Saknāt Darwīsh, indicating the name of the settlement for workers of *bayārāt* (orchards) in the area, of which Abu Seif was just one. Many recall the exact shifts in topography over time, and the first buildings to be constructed. Amram resided in a *ma‘abara* from 1956-1959. He recalls his experiences with great detail.

I remember how much there were *yehasei shikunot* (neighbourly relations) with Abu Seif. The eldest son would help many people and would come to visit us. There was a *kibud hadedi* (mutual respect) and *yedidot tova* (good friendship). I remember the grandfather, who was albino, selling milk from aluminum containers with a cart and a donkey, and much more.

Amram hasn’t lived in the area for a while, but the articulation of a nostalgic past is located at a particular intersection of governance, urban space, and time. Omri Ben-Yehuda conceptualizes the term *ma‘abara* through its unstable and tenuous temporality. He argues that it is a metaphor for a place without solid boundaries (Ben-Yehuda 2018: 250). Here the *ma‘abara* is defined both by an uncertain temporality and by the spatial flow of its immediate surroundings. I think of this period as a mnemonic form that would persist for some residents who lived in the *shikunim* over time, reproducing memories of ambiguous space and more fluid relations.

But this period is also marked by state processes of peripheralisation, and the fusing of national subjects through a transitory temporality. Indeed, although Amram emphasizes the

relationality of the period, other residents describe the period with less glee. Boaz, who now resides in Amidar but regularly attends the Libyan Synagogue in Yafo Dalet, lived in a *ma'abara* from 1949-1960, after emigrating from Libya. He told me there were one thousand families living in huts/shacks (*tzriphim*), without electricity, in which up to five families would share one toilet and service centre. This period of hardship was described by *Mizraḥi* scholar and social critic Sami Shalom Chetrit as “the period of the first stone in the collective trauma of the *Mizraḥim*” in a recently aired series on Israeli channel Kan (Zvi-Riklis 2018). Boaz described the area as going from “*Pardes*” Daka through to Abu Seif and up to another *bayāra* where the Wolfson Hospital was. Yet he was reluctant to describe relations with them or acknowledge their social presence.

All of this was one big neighbourhood bit by bit because people want to improve themselves. Abu Seif was a place in and of itself, Arabs. In front of Wolfson Hospital, where there's a Hapoel Tel Aviv football pitch, that was also an orchard. In that part up there, there were houses of Arabs. Arabs fled the area, they ran away from Jaffa. Jaffa was empty.

This contradictory narrative illustrates how spatial distinctions between Jewish and Arab space were not completely absent in this period, or at least in the framing of the memory of it. Yet it also indicates the focus some narratives of marginality took. This may be unsurprising given Abu Seif family members described the conditions of the *ma'abara* to me as “like a ghetto.”

The *ma'abara/shikunim* dwellers of Jaffa — who are mostly *Mizraḥi* — are still, much like the majority of *Mizraḥim* in the country, down the pecking order in Israel's geographic-ethno-class structure. Shlomo Swirski illustrates how Development Towns that are situated in the most far-flung areas of Israel's geographical periphery, and where the majority of Israel's *Mizraḥi* Jews dwell, have continuously affected the position of *Mizraḥi* town residents in the

country's overall division of labour (1989: 31).²⁰ Even contemporaneously, low income *Mizraḥi* Jews, in addition to self-segregating ultra-orthodox Jewish communities and Palestinian-Arab “ghettos,” occupy the social fringes of most Israeli cities (Yiftachel 2001: 288), and this has had “an adverse impact on the ongoing shaping of Israel's ethnic divisions and inequalities” (Ibid: 291). Thus, *ma‘abara* dwellers must be understood through the lack of social mobility afforded to them by their geographical location on the fringes of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, and accordingly, continued exclusion from geographies of political power. But their experiences were nonetheless mediated by collective references of the *bayārāt*, and the memory of a landscape soon to be destroyed.

Moreover, this collective encounter forms the basis of the deeper relations that run between the inhabitants of Abu Seif and Daka, and their neighbours who stayed in Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel throughout the decades. Thick histories of intertwined social lives go beyond the *ma‘abara-bayāra* encounter, but they begin there. Although the study of such encounters is scarce, and the dominant national and local narratives about it often consciously forgetful, “to study the social formation of memory is to study acts of transfer that make remembering in common possible” (Connerton 1989: 39). The distinctive nature of this form of urban memory and its affects that persist into social production in the present should be considered within a broader perspective on *ma‘abarot* and the peripheralisation of their inhabitants. Neighbourhood formation in southern Jaffa is located in the national-political narrative of peripheralisation, but the presence of Palestinians – and open relations with them in memories of the *ma‘abara* experience – redirects the nature in which the periphery has been continuously produced.

The questions that frame relations between *vatiḳim* and Palestinian Arabs from the *bayārāt* must dwell in part on these collective processes. Largely *Mizraḥi* Jews were peripheralised

²⁰ See Motzafi-Haller 2018 for ethnography of *Mizraḥi* women in the peripheral town of Yeruham.

continuously in a space they share with Palestinians whose existence in the area predates the founding of the State of Israel. The move from *ma‘abara* dwellers to *shikunim* dwellers was nonetheless the next significant shift and a distinctive stage in the spatial practices that shape southern Jaffa today. One cannot say that the construction of the *shikunim* totally obliterated the intimate relations that formed during the *ma‘abara-bayāra* encounter, but with time, its spatial repercussions would be felt. On visits to the neighbourhood today, what is most striking is precisely the juxtaposition of these urban forms — of the formally planned neighbourhood and what Palestinian architect Senan Abdelqader observes as the “radical phenomenon of informality.” Moreover, the narratives of many dwellers of the *shikunim* are premised on the intertwining of separation and neglect. As Leshem argues, “If the Arab house and the transit camp were the epitome of the emergency period, the housing block typifies the years that followed, with their collective ideals and their specific breakdowns” (Leshem 2017: 132). He illustrates how, in the peripheral *Mizrahi* town of Kfar Shalem, Jewish residents were dismissed, rights compromised and demands delegitimised because of the houses they inhabited. Many of the residents of the *shikunim* of Yafo Dalet and Gimmel, who dwelled in Palestinian houses in ‘Ajami for some time, had similar experiences. The movement of populations into formalised housing was promulgated as a benevolent, progressive process, but in the context of Jaffa, it is important to pay attention to the regimes of separation that remapped the city and the personal experiences and resentments underlying such processes.

“They Fooled Us”

Shoshana was my neighbour in Yafo Gimmel. She is a 65-year-old Jew of Iraqi origin who lived in a *ma‘abara* and an Arab house in ‘Ajami before moving to a *shikun* in the 1960s on Saharon Street opposite Bayārat/Pardes Daka. Whilst she was at times coy in her representation of her relationship with the Daka family, one constant phrase she repeated was that “Daka are good people.” Nostalgically, she speaks of a time where she used to visit Bayārat/Pardes Daka

and her friends from there would visit her in her apartment across the road. She insists that this has been made impossible over time. For her, moving from an abandoned Arab house on Kedem Street, 'Ajami to the *shikunim* is one of moving from a more social, communal, public environment, to the privacy of the household. Her narrative hinges on the radical shift in spaces available for constant Arab-Jewish interaction and mixture, as each household in the *shikun* became a distinct unit, and a separate space. What we might counter-intuitively call the privatisation of space is in fact a process laden with complexity, intimacy, and bitterness.

My brother found an apartment from Amidar [national housing company] on Rehov Shishim – that they call today Rehov Kedem. We lived there, it came from Amidar, they told us “it’s a house for let,” *'avdu alienu* (they fooled us). Then they gave us a *shikun*. They gave us a *shikun*, and today, to buy land over there costs lots of money. *'avdu alienu*. Do you understand what I'm saying? In order to take the land. Today the land is worth millions. Millions. *'Avdu* (they fooled) my parents, they gave us a *shikun bayit dromi* (a house in the south). We had been there — Jews and Arabs.

Although Shoshana's perceptions are common amongst *vatiḳim* who feel their sense of peripherality, such sentiments are strengthened by a strong literature demonstrating how the professional apparatus of planning has been used to codify ethnoclass hierarchies within Israeli planning and the planning of Tel Aviv-Jaffa specifically (Marom 2014, Rotbard 2005, Yiftachel and Yacobi 2003, Yiftachel 2006, 2010, Efrat 2018).

To use the pithy words of Nati Marom (2014), planning is a principle of “vision and division,” but it is not just that we need to peel away the layers of the facade to get to the underlying divisive processes, but rather to see how vision itself — modernist architectural ideology and intervention — is an attempt to socially engineer populations. Productive as well as restrictive, the planning of the neighbourhoods was used in the service of creation as well as destruction; creation of identities, and ways of moving, navigating, territorializing, and being in the city.

The forces it unleashed inculcated logics of bordering, as well as the emotional currency of neglect. I will unpack such ambiguous identities, and their material marks on the urban landscape, in the remainder of the thesis. At this stage, however, I introduced the encounter as an important stage in the transformation of urban space in southern Jaffa. Post-1948 spatial and social ambiguities indicate a transitory period for the *bayārāt* of southern Jaffa. The potential effects of these mnemonic forms must not be erased when considering the planning imaginaries whose scope were more significant in the political fate of the area. In short, modernism in southern Jaffa was always already serrated by its own space.

3.3 Drawer Plans

—Zionist history merged modern utopias with changing architectural and urban trends and grounded them in the context of a national-territorial conflict (Segal and Weizman 2003: 25).

Arieh Sharon was Israel's chief architect in the nascent decades of state building. He was highly influential on Yitzhak Perlstein, the architect responsible for the design of southern Jaffa's neighbourhoods. In the summer of 2018, an exhibition was held at the Helena Rubenstein Museum. "The Nation's Architect," as it was called, was presented in linear, smooth, clean, white architectural models. All of that elite, aesthetic architecture representing real architect's dreams; from the new Jerusalem neighbourhoods of Gilo and Lifta built after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, to cooperative housing units of Haifa (the real socialist utopic bricks), to the dining halls of the walled (mostly) *Ashkenazi* strongholds of *kibbutzim* in the Galilee. As architectural models can be so striking, encountering this exhibition led me to a new visual map, extending from word (as the *white city* is presented in Rotbard's polemical tour de force) to form.

But irony was present. Indeed, as one enters the exhibition, one encounter a black-and-white video of Arieh Sharon standing in a lecture theatre, in which he states:

During the first years, it was indeed a quick fix, and the Ministry of Labor was urged to develop all those tin shack, block, and asbestos neighbourhoods (*shikunot shel funim, blokonim ve-absestos*). Of course, during those 5 years, there was no money, and so the plans were to build only 30, 40... 35-50 sqm shacks, which are basically considered slums they're so small. Naturally, it's hard these days to restore those shacks. Later on, Israel improved its apartment plans. They grew to 60-80 sqm, enough to fit a family, but sadly, we abided by the monotony, the uniformity of long rows of houses or even square blocks that stretch on end, and are identical, in the south, the north and the west, and of course, it's a grim site both architecturally and visually, and I believe also socially. I admit that it's easier to build these houses according to a standard plan – what architects call drawer plans (*tochnit shel megirot*), which you find in the drawers of housing companies or the Labor Ministry – than to come up with comprehensive architectural ones where all the functions of life – housing and education facilities – are located in an orderly fashion, both visually and architecturally. This of course requires effort, and I'd like to stress that I don't mean to let architects and engineers off the hook - but it is a matter of policy, set by the Ministry of Construction, our municipalities, as well as housing companies, who, I admit, are in a rush, and must quickly build these *shikunim*, but on the other hand, it's clear that what they call in England “comprehensive planning” demands more effort, more endurance, more time, more talent, and I believe that architects showed their talent in the public buildings they designed. And of course, more patience than just copying the same design.

Sharon states that as most *shikunim* were foremost a resourceful realisation of policy, cheap materials, and unimaginative plans may have been applied to many of the peripheral towns. The nation's architect, then, admits that the architecture most of the nation would dwell in, is an architecture of neglect.

Sharon was a functionalist who studied architecture at the Bauhaus from 1926-1929. He was in charge of the Physical National Plan, regional plans and master plans for 20 new towns. In April 1952, he published a text called “Planning in Israel” for *The Town Planning Review*. It

lays out the ideological basis of the Physical National Plan that would follow. According to Efrat, whilst the “publication is by no means a statutory document...it should all the same be considered as the initial master plan of Israel, the protocol according to which the State was set up almost verbatim” (Efrat 2018: 64). As Sharon writes

Any physical planning that aims to determine the use made of the landed resources of a country, and the shape to be given to it must be based on economic, social, and national-defence considerations (Sharon 1952: 66).



Fig. 3.3 - The social housing section of the “Arieh Sharon: The Nation’s Architect” Exhibition at the Helena Rubinstein Pavillion, Tel Aviv.

Sharon sought the “determination of a rational and healthy distribution of urban centres” within the purpose of “intensive and all-embracing development of this country” that “calls for effective and precise planning.” Land, nation, and time are the three factors Sharon identified as necessary to control in order to achieve his technocratic utopia. The wide variety of natural characteristics, variations in climate accompanied by changes in the properties of the soil “produce a rich and colourful mosaic offering ample planning opportunities” (Sharon 1952: 67). On the question of access to land, existing agricultural patterns, practices, and knowledge are absent. When it came to “nation,” diversity was introduced as a planning problem:

With the founding of new and the enlargement of existing settlements, with the establishment of new towns, and objective of balanced distribution of the population, attention must be paid to social composition, and a planning framework prepared that will promote the acclimatisation of the diverse groups of the population, old and new, and expedite their integration into one organic and productive entity (Ibid.)

However, although diversity is integrated into the plan, the fact that the plan is to create *maḳom* means the minority Arab population is absent. The “organic and productive entity” that functionalist planning seeks to create does not impose itself on Palestinian Arabs who fall out of this body. It is telling then, to note both the similarities between and fundamental distinction between the Sharon Plan and the Charter of Athens proposed by Le Corbusier at the International Congresses of Modern Architecture in 1933. CIAM Planning “would destroy national and class boundaries. It would create international and interclass communication; it would equalise” (Holston 1989: 50). Holston describes the principal idea behind CIAM planning as

To treat the new city itself as a machine, that is, to plan it as an engineer plans an industrial process by conceiving of the city as an industrial product. This new city would be organised

not as a metaphor of the machine but quite literally as a machine, as a “machine for living in” (as Le Corbusier once described the house) (Holston 1989: 51).

Within this ethos

the architect no longer designs individual objects. Instead, the architect organises these objects into processes—into functions, interrelations, and communications—and plans their future development...much more than just provide a blueprint...to redefine systematically the social basis of each function (Ibid.)

As new cities were planned, this logic was applied to the new Jewish immigrants, but not to the native Palestinians.

When it comes to the issue of time, Sharon discusses the urgency of trebling agricultural and urban settlements within a few years, which is “detrimental to the quality of planning.” Crucially, he wrote

Immigrant camps, transit camps, permanent settlements and housing estates, all planned and built in haste, will remain as a social and economic blot on the national landscape and may be succeeded by even worse blemishes later on (Sharon 1952: 68).

This foresight is in fact the insidious mask of policies that instructed deliberately hasty construction and did so more or less dependent upon one’s ethnic origins. Ambivalent as Sharon is towards the service architecture may be able to provide, peripheralisation was recognised as a distinct possibility. The time that remains is transferred to those who dwell in haste, those who dwell in “drawer plans.”

At the same time, the attempt to create a new spatial paradigm is clear and unambiguous in the National Plan. Efrat notes that whilst not an innovative document, the Sharon Plan is “unique only in its scope...a single vision, a stately concept at a scale of 1:20,000...always through the systemic reproduction of zoning doctrines, building typologies and construction

methods” (Efrat 2018: 69). Moreover, “its sweeping vision, exceeding all instrumental explanations, is rooted in the utopian imagination and redemptive territorialism of the Zionist movement itself” (Ibid.: 62). Although there is an ambiguity over the application of such visions to Jaffa, Sharon himself wrote, “The definition of new town is equally applicable to existing ones” (1952: 72). The mixed cities *could* be transformed into national Hebrew spaces through the implication of rationalist, functionalist architectural principles. This is how

public housing estates, which became very common to the post-1948 Israeli urban landscape, and their location in the urban framework cannot be understood without consideration that many of them were built on former Arab-owned land that became available after being liquidated by the state of Israel and allocated to housing companies (Golan 2009: 1023).

The interface of *maḳom* and *Al-Nakba* is a national phenomenon, and the idea of producing space without reference to previous infrastructures was inbuilt.

For Oren Yiftachel, Sharon was “at least declaratively” identified with “the socialist school of planning” and “rhetoric of historic and social justice” with models applied such as the “Garden City strategy, regional balance, decentralisation, development of peripheral areas and growth limitations imposed on large cities.” But

the theories were imported to Israel as “shells” emptied of their socialist and democratic content...to assist the process of Judaizing areas previously populated and or cultivated by Palestinians. In other words, the Sharon Plan used planning and socialist rhetoric to spawn and legitimise forced population transformation in disputed areas—from Arab to Jewish (Yiftachel 2010: 85).

Whilst the absence of reference to Arab space is complex and deserves more attention — particularly in light of the spatial and existential remnants that have persisted into the contemporary area — the focus in this chapter is on the notion of production at work. Policies

enacted are as much about division as they are about vision and transformation of space. The Jewish immigrants who would be placed in ex-Arab spaces — in the case of southern Jaffa not quite ex-spaces — were social material in the service of a new spatial paradigm, whom architects sought to transform. The transformation of personhood and identity was seen as a spatial technique in the service of national political aims. It is important to place the creation of southern Jaffa's neighbourhoods in this context, and the Tel Aviv Regional Plan that extends from this. Yitzhak Perlstein spearheaded the plan, and defined it as follows:

The new policy for the national distribution of population finds expression here as an attempt to stabilise the population of greater Tel Aviv as much as possible, and to divert the population surplus and new immigrants from the urban areas within the district"—Yitzhak Perlstein, *Tel Aviv Regional Plan* (Perlstein 1951: 26).

After studying architecture, town planning and civic architecture at the University of London with Patrick Abercrombie, Yitzhak Perlstein ran one of the largest private planning architectural firms in Israel. He had previously prepared the masterplan for Haifa in 1942 and became a significant player in the Sharon team. Though Efrat notes that Perlstein became critical of the exact replication of building typologies throughout the country (Efrat 2018: 509), it is clear that the plan for southern Jaffa fell under the rubric of centralised planning and the Sharon Plan. Efrat describes the significance of this:

In this context, centralized planning is the ultimate trope that binds words and things; it is the Zionist spirit itself, emanating from layers of fictional prose, ideological manifestos, and programmatic protocols, printed on the landscape over and over again with every new spatial move or architectural object (Efrat 2018: 62).

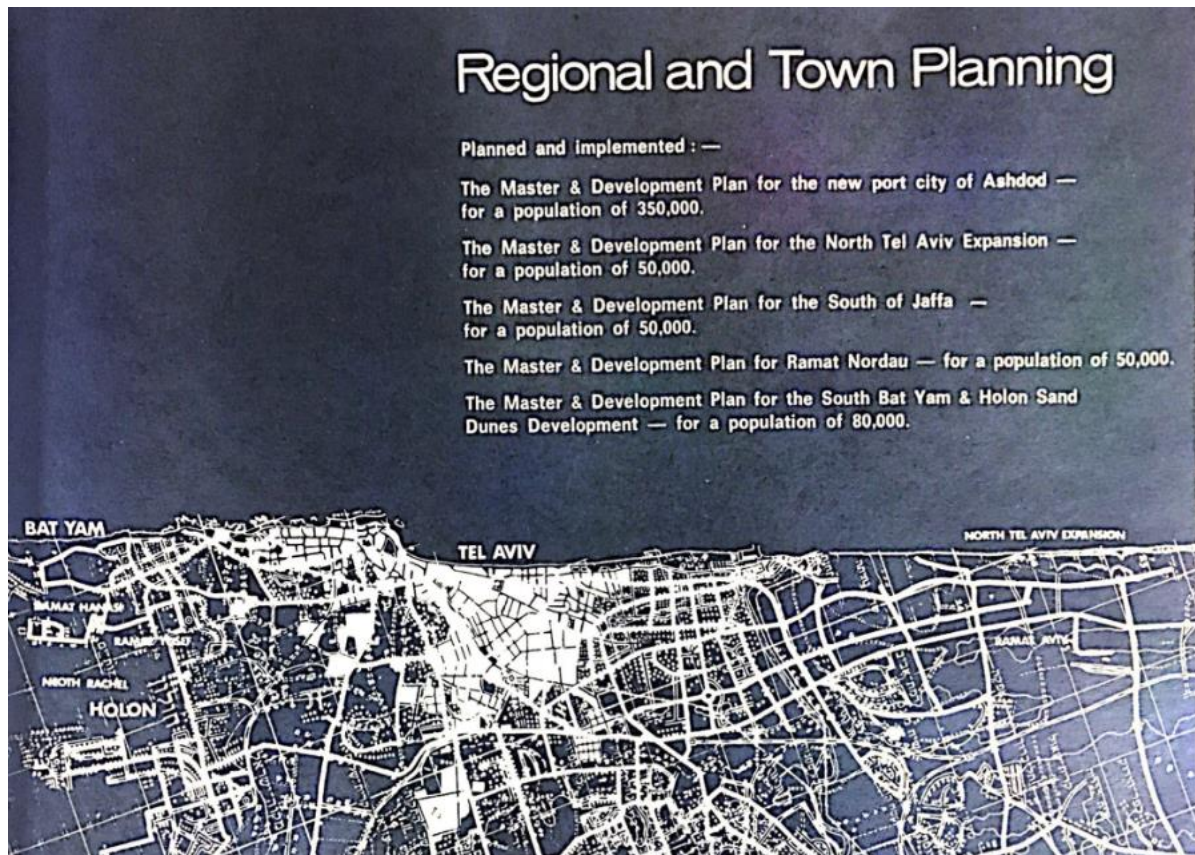


Fig. 3.4 - A brochure of Y. Perlstein and Assoc. demonstrates Perlstein's master planner credentials. The space of Tel Aviv and bordering Bat Yam is presented as linear in this map, without reference to Jaffa (Perlstein 1970).

The *shikunim* of southern Jaffa were designed to orient a neatly mapped communal inwardness based on self-contained *yehidot shikunot* (neighbourhood units). Sharon describes the vision, which “differs from the conservative town-planning methods hitherto employed in European towns as well as those of Israel,” as follows:

The basic principle adopted was to divide the new towns into a number of neighbourhood units, each to serve as a self-sufficient entity, supplying its residents with all their needs in the most efficient fashion (Sharon 1952: 74)

This “ideology of anti-urban urbanization,” however, did not emerge in the 1950s as an innovative response to the massive influx of Jewish immigrants. Rather it, has its roots the establishment of a worker's housing company by the Histradut (pre-state workers union) (Efrat

2003: 58, c.f Shadar 2016: 579). The Shikun Company had been active on the housing industry since 1928, strongly influencing the national planning, building and dwelling culture in Israel. The typologies of *shikunim*, *blokim*, or *yehidot shikunot* are rooted in the two models of the *me'onot 'ovdim* (Labourer's Dormitories'), cooperative worker's housing projects located in the centre or edges of cities, mostly populated by the elite of the Histadrut, and *Krayot Amal* (Labour Towns), garden suburbs for unionised workers with low income. These two prototypes "paved the way to the residential "block" and the "neighbouring unit" (a compound of blocks)" (Efrat 2018: 472).

As a reaction to zoning and garden city planning, the plan sought to create communities within cities amongst Jews of different origins.²¹ The concept of neighbourhood unit (*yehida shikunot*) generated the value of "internal unity" which could prevent the "anti-integrative" ideology of urbanity (Shadar 2016: 590). This is physically demarcated by evenly arranged entrances to apartment blocks directed into interconnecting paths, rather than to the street. Buildings were constructed on *amudim* — rectangular columns creating a walkable ground level, in a manner similar to the "*pilotis* (columns) on which equal blocks of residential units in Brasilia stood" (Holston 1989: 20 — from the *Brasilia* 1963 plan). The intention was to keep the ground floor open for pedestrians, and for gardens to exist in between each block. The representation of the built form in both aesthetic form and ideological rhetoric did not meet reality, however, as the quality of the materials used was notoriously low-standard. A skeleton was produced, but without significant development or maintenance. Thus, although the dissonance between ideology and materials is significant, the images are telling. The fantasy of a new urban space that represents national place was materialized in form, and whilst not as

²¹ According to Efrat, the Zionist and Garden City movements were "born simultaneously; they solved within the same zeitgeist and shared similar reformist values. With "perhaps the most illustrious adherent of the garden-city movement," Patrick Geddes, becoming first official town planner for the WZO, Zionism was "conceptually...as Jewish Levantine dialect of the garden-city movement all along" (2018: 92).

orderly and clean as images sought to illustrate (see Fig. 3.5 and 3.6), the spaces are what *shikunim* dwellers came to understand and navigate. As Efrat writes

the autonomous, inward-looking units and the separation of motorways and pedestrian paths obstructed the development of street-life. The ‘alienation, degeneration and low quality of life’ in the big city, so consistently denounced by official state propaganda, were replaced in no time with homogeneity, remoteness and deprivation (2003: 73).



Fig. 3.5. An image depicting Ashdod — the idealised city of neighbourhood units — from the brochure of Y. Perlstein and Assoc. (Perlstein 1970).

The homogenisation of spatial form, and the use of architecture to create spatially internalized units of social engineering relied primarily on the premise of preventing urban mixture. As Efrat writes, “far from invigorating the city, these cooperative housing units drained its public

performance” (Efrat 2018: 473). By curating an internalized existence, the spatial re-ordering exhibited the logic of contained sociality. Against urban spontaneity, the threat of ethnic and urban traditions, and the city’s nurturing of them, could theoretically be controlled, and “passive subjects in a national experiment” could be organised and fulfil the Zionist Project (Efrat 2003). As Meirav Aharon-Gutman — who conducted three years of ethnographic research in Ashdod, a city designed by Perlstein — writes, “The concept of neighbourhood was seen as a way of negating individual egoism in favour of community” (Meirav Aharon-Gutman 2009: 218). In southern Jaffa, there was eventually neither community without egoism nor egoistic urbanism, but rather, a faint sense of community trumped by an egoism without urbanism. This logic of “community” and its critical development, however, needs unpacking.

The Lure of the Urban

—The street wears us out. And when all is said and done, we have to admit it disgusts us (Le Corbusier in Sennett 2018: 73).

—The final size of these towns or villages cannot be left to their *subjective tendencies* to become a large city (Perlstein 1951: 26, my emphases).

George Simmel wrote in *The Metropolis and Mental Life* (1903), “the psychological basis of the metropolitan type of individuality consists *in the intensification of nervous stimulation* which results from the swift and uninterrupted change of outer and inner stimuli” (Simmel 1997a: 175). For Richard Sennett, Simmel’s point in this celebrated essay is that urban life is to be feared due to the intensity and anxiety caused by too much stimulation (Sennett 2018: 54). Certainly, these fears were felt by modernist architects from Le Corbusier to Arie Sharon and Yitzhak Perlstein, but within Simmel’s essay is an analysis that gives the urban its own distinctive logic that could not easily fit into the ordered, rationalised architectural imaginary. As David Frisby argues, Simmel’s spatial analysis “suggested a conception of the metropolis as a configuration of highly differentiated spaces” (Frisby 2001: 306). Hence why, in Le

Corbusier's own words, "*By creating a new form of dwelling* the second phase of the Machine Age enters a period of universal construction" (Le Corbusier 1999 [1957]: 28). Although Simmel's response to the lure of the urban was, according to Sennett, to assert "that functional, rational, blasé behaviour protects against the drama of the streets," "Corbusier created an architecture which could actually do the work of de-sentisizing, a blasé architecture, the mechanical liberated from the visceral" (Sennett 2018: 73). With architecture imagined as "the conductor and condenser of a new way of life," the street and the urban crowd could be eliminated (Holston 1989: 51-2). Urban life contains the possibilities of bourgeois sensibilities but also of liberatory social forms; the freedom of the street emerges from the movement between past and future, never the blank slate.

The *ma'abara-bayāra* encounter, and the mixture between Jews and Arabs in the houses of 'Ajami and Old Jaffa prior to 1960 were glitches in the systematic attempt to utilize the urban form of new neighbourhoods to create and control new subjects. Indeed, "the street is not simply a place where various categories of activity occur. It also embodies a principle of architectural order through which the public sphere of civic life is both represented and constituted" (Holston 1989: 103). The threat of new forms of Middle Eastern exchange and civility would be countered by the machine. This was all within the framework of expertise and norms that could be utilized to pacify, experiment on, and ultimately form new social spaces (Rabinow 1989). Indeed, the sheer belief in the power of architecture — of linear modernity — meant that a "communal urban cell...impervious to the modern city and social malaise" could be constructed. The neighbourhood unit could be applied across Jaffa, "cloning itself endlessly in perfectly isotropic grids, freeing itself from the habits and memories of the old city" (Efrat 2018: 473-4). Jaffa's traces, however, slipped through the matrix. The machine is serrated by old and emergent cultural landscapes. This will be discussed in Chapters Four, Seven and Eight, whilst the more effective segregating functions of these architectural projects

will be considered in Chapters Five and Six. The rest of this chapter focuses on the conception of this period amongst contemporary Israeli architects who have proposed plans in southern Jaffa



Fig. 3.6 - In image depicting Ramat Aviv Alif from the brochure of Y. Perlstein and Assoc (Perlstein 1970). This neighbourhood, now considered a successful model neighbourhood and was notably Perlstein's most prized achievement (see Efrat 2018: 506-515).

3.4 The Afterlife of Modernism

In a 2013 municipal document outlining the policies for the urban renewal of southern Jaffa — including the approved planning guidelines of the *tochnit meitar* (masterplan) — the map of the masterplan from 1955 (Fig. 2.5, Chapter 2) appears in a section on the “history of the neighbourhoods” (ATH 2013: 11). The purpose of the construction, it argues, was to provide a “housing solution” to the mixed group of immigrants. This time, however, a new map follows

on the following page mentioning the *pardesim* and the “approved” plans that have “not yet been implemented.”



Fig. 3.7 - Image from the 2013 Tel Aviv Municipality City Planning Division “Document of Policies for *Drom Yafo* (southern Jaffa)” delineating the lines that mark the borders of the *shikunim* and *bayārāt/pardesim* (ATH: 13).

This is part of a process in which Israeli planning regimes have begun to recognise “chaotic spaces of illegality developing outside and against the formal planning system” (Braier and Yacobi 2017: 23). However, the *pardesim* are only featured once in the entire document, and they are besieged by inverted commas, both indicating their status as cultural remnants (to be discussed in Chapter 4) and highlighting the current reality of land use devoid of significant plots of orchards. Visually, the stark imbalance between formality and informality is laid out

in the map presented in the document (Fig. 3.7 above). Although it could be argued that the very practice of architecture involves a formality in which “the lineaments of the structure” are “unite[d]...with the material” in the process of building — and that this “belie[s] the creativity of the ‘messy practices’ that give rise to *real* buildings” (Ingold 2013: 59) — this section of the chapter distinguishes between “fast” and “slow” approaches. The latter recognises the fluidity between architectural imaginaries, the material development of the built environment, and the social environment. This section asks how, in a neoliberal capitalist economy — where a kind of fatalism exists amongst some architects and municipal workers about the control of the city’s development by entrepreneurs²² — do those nascent concepts of functionalist-modernism, the neighbourhood unit, and the production of ethnoclass spatial hierarchies in their construction, still persist in urban discourse and urban transformation. How, that is, they are imagined or reimagined in relation to the dialectics of Israeli placemaking and the Palestinian space of Jaffa, and whether the idea of creating machines that prevent the capricious urban society is still a dominant mode of thought and practice.

Action Planning

—Even neocapitalism or ‘organized’ capitalism, even technocratic planners and programmers, cannot produce a space with a perfectly clear understanding of cause and effect, motive and implication (Lefebvre 1991: 37).

Briefly introduced in the last Chapter, I met Adar Seker in his office in central Tel Aviv. He is the second of three architects commissioned to produce the current *tochnit meitar* for southern Jaffa. Our discussion was centred around a visual presentation of the plans he proposed.

²² One might argue that the fatalism is well-founded. As Foucault argues, “They are not the technicians or engineers of the three great variables — territory, communication, and speed. These escape the domain of architects.” (1991: 244) And as Jameson points: “Architecture is, however, of all the arts, that closest constitutively to the economic, with which, in the form of commissions and land values, it has a virtually unmediated relationship: it will therefore not be surprising to find the extraordinary flowering of the new postmodern architecture grounded in the patronage of multinational business, whose expansion and development is strictly contemporaneous with it” (1993: 65).

Contrasting between his approach and the “slow” approach of Shmuel Groag and Ayala Ronel, Adar explained its purpose:

What they [the municipality] didn’t have is actual boots on the ground. Nothing was happening. And what was happening had nothing to do with the plan. So they called us to do an action plan. It’s different to urban renewal... “Do something that will make something happen” ... In Jaffa, everything is gated, everything is cut, everything is staged. And nothing is happening... We are looking to create. It doesn’t matter if its New York, Jaffa or London. We are looking for the best way for people to live.

The architect’s imagination is scaled, and the space in which he applies his imagination decontextualised. This is permitted through a temporal shift embedded in contemporary digital imaginaries — where architecture and planning are modelled on metaphors of movement, speed, and the spaces beyond and between the built form:

We will use mainly *the tool of connectivity*... We’re talking about connectivity, walking. You’ll see the buildings are actually on pillars, you can move all around. This practice, and also Olesh’s practice [the other major designer of the 2012 plan] believes that the ground belongs to the people, to the public. Nobody owns it. You can own the skylight, you can also own a box of air which is called an apartment in the city. But since we hope that Israel is finite...and we have more and more people coming, and the population is growing, you need to keep the entire ground belonging to the people, to the public... we’re talking about the continuity of the ground plan, making sure that under the buildings and everything people can walk all around. All kinds of urban characteristics, like using the street, the major streets, smart growth, walkable city, everything Leon Krier is talking about....We’re talking about creating all kinds of economic structures...Take part of the profits into a different place where you can actually turn around and use this money to improve the way of living for the people there. And that means you’re

trying to connect all kinds of different places. *And not connect it physically but it can be connected as one plan, and one closed economical equilibrium.*

Adar's citation of Leon Krier is crucial, an architect famous for stating "I'm an architect because I don't build" (Krier 1987: 37). He is regarded as one of the most anti-functionalist-modernist thinkers, a leader of the "new urbanism" movement in the USA and Europe who seeks a return to classical European models of city space. He rejects precisely the kind of polycentric models used to design the *shikunim*. Rejecting core principles of functionalist-modernism, the choice of Leon Krier, the anti-hero of Le Corbusier, masks a rationalistic, futuristic approach which ironically represents a continuation of the *creation ex-nihilo* approach embodied by Sharon and Perlstein. This becomes clearer when we consider the question of preservation:

This kind of development that we have here where it's not so urban, can only happen in Jaffa...There is a question, "What are we preserving here?" And this is where Olesh is working with a big plan at the moment...In specific places, everybody that lives there doesn't want to preserve it. They're living there because they couldn't live in any other place in Tel Aviv.

The space is still imagined as transitory; amenable. But to argue for "the urban" today is to argue for the transformation of southern Jaffa into a smoother contiguity with the Jewish urban space that surrounds it. In my discussion with Olesh, who I met at his office in Old Jaffa, I got the sense that whilst he argues that there has been a failure to create successful urban neighbourhoods in southern Jaffa due to anti-urban planning principles, and due to problematic populations (see Chapter 2.5), this is arguably a smokescreen for the recognition of the role of the *bayārāt/pardesim* in Jaffa in creating ambiguous urban production. Sketching rectangular blocks as he spoke, he told me

You know, the international style of Perlstein and all those guys who came up with this *shikun* idea...when I was younger, we, I, we all believed that this is the real thing. But we did not realise that those *shikunim* are actually the real reason that urbanism fell apart. Because, by doing “one building, open area, another building, open area,” and all this, *we forgot the street*. And we forgot the public areas that are very important for urban life.

However

Of course, the other big element of these neighbourhoods is the *pardesim* in Yafo. ...I mean it's quite an unusual form for an architect or a planner to think about. It's not an architectural...it's no man's land. It's *ex-territory*, it has different laws, and I don't think in the near future anything will happen there unfortunately.

Even fast fantasies of radical urban transformation are riddled with the ambiguity of the informal and its affects and mnemonic properties. The fast approach — whilst embedded in principles of classic urbanity, and in the essentiality of the street — prizes the plan and fears the unplanned. In the words of Leon Krier, the architect's drawing gains its power and authority from “the capacity to describe, suggest, direct and give a form and shape to objects, structures and events according to a precise aim and vision” (Krier 2009: 22). The *pardesim* — which contain in them the vernacular Arab architecture of the *bayāra* houses — cannot be drawn into or integrated into the *res publica*.²³ In Adar's words:

Okay, we have the problem of the *pardes*, which in English is orchard, which seems to be like a good fantasy, but actually you should see it as, if you've been to Sicily, it's like Corleone...They do whatever they want. There is, as you can see, major plans over here...This

²³ Whilst Krier does argue that “Modernity in architecture can no longer be conceived as a unitary and indivisible phenomenon: it is irreversibly plural, embracing widely divergent and even contradictory conceptions” (2009: 13), this does not absolve the contradictory reality of architecture occurring within societies and geographies defined by ethnospatial hierarchies. In the Israeli case, the modern development of informal Arab architectures is not often seen as part of the legitimate plurality of forms.

is the actual plan done to revise the orchard....Look at the plan that is actually being done. *It has nothing to do with urban, it has nothing to do with the south of Jaffa. It doesn't have any connection to anything that's happening around it*, the problems that are going on around it. It has not enough public spaces, public buildings, it has no roads, it has no nothing.

Only the formal street that connects to the energy of the broader metropolis will be permitted in the future of southern Jaffa. Thus, although Corbusian anti-urban architecture is rejected, the idea of Israeli architecture, and indeed architecture in general, as the formal creation of Israeli-Jewish urban space, as *maqom*, continues in a new guise. It is not yet postmodern and has not fully tamed the idea “that the modern architect should use technology to construct a material embodiment of certain ideal, eternal classic forms” (Berman 1988: 7).

Slow Design, Democratic Architecture?

—I think that it [architecture] can and does produce positive effects when the liberating intentions of the architect coincide with the real practice of people in the exercise of their freedom (Foucault 1991: 246).

Adar insists that alternative proposals are economically unviable, including a measured and careful attempt to regenerate these neighbourhoods, even preserving many features of the *shikunim*. Eventually, municipal officials agreed, but that these ideas were brought into discursive circulation is evident of their potential. Arguing for preservation is based not on the logic of radical recreation, but on a respect for history, experience, the past, and the trace. The question of the *bayārāt/pardesim* as traces of Palestinian modernity will be addressed in the next chapter. This chapter continues by briefly outlining a distinctive architectural vision for the *shikunim* of southern Jaffa.

Ayala Ronel was commissioned to write a policy vision for the *shikunim* neighbourhoods to the north of Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel. The practice began by conducting historical research

on the development of *shikunim*, and into the application of distinctive masterplans, from ‘Ali Ma’soud under the British Mandate through to the realisation of the *shikunim* by Yitzhak Perlstein. The team researched the idea and organisation of the *shikunim*, and how the urban form of the area developed from 1949 until today. I met Ayala at her practice in a repurposed ex-industrial area of Shapira, southern Tel Aviv. She emphasised in our discussion, “we studied the *idea* of the building block itself.” Noting distinctions in different periods of building (between the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s), she pointed out that although many of the older blocks are in a more faded material state, the spaces in between them maintain the positive urban features of public space. In contrast, the “younger blocks are busy and much messier, with many more flats in one block.” The nuanced approach is designed to “maintain the positive values of the *shikunim*. Which means narrow lines for pedestrians, the organisation of open areas, and the public buildings that are part of the planning.” To focus only on the material deterioration of the blocks would be to miss the “value of the open area.” In addition, she suggests a flexible development that maintains the existing population and keeps the specific values nurtured within each block. She told me

We want to keep the values of the *shikunim* because we see that the towers that are being built right now...create different kinds of community, different kinds of space. And what we see is that there is a structure of community that won’t be preserved with the towers.

The vision includes the creation of small units, “new spaces,” and the connection of the neighbourhoods of southern Jaffa to each other and to the sea. Other suggestions include the introduction of community projects and seeking local investors, stressing “*and it should be slow and not quick.*” Beyond programmes for dwelling, there should be attempts to create a “dialogue between open areas and the built area.” Public participation would be at the forefront. This would begin with a pilot study to ascertain what the population want and what they do not want in terms of urban renewal, TAMA38 (the addition of cladding, the extension of the size

of apartments, and the construction of up to two more floors), or *pinui binui* (the destruction of the *shikun*, and evacuation and complete reconstruction of a new apartment block, including as tower blocks). This would involve “learning the site, to go into every unit, every family alone.” In doing so, the approach seeks to develop a new proposal for urban renewal, to bring the initiative back to the public bodies, and not to avoid the domination of central procedures by private investors. This would help develop tools to maintain local urban values in the process of renewal. Only after the pilot could a second stage of developing planning principles and an economical plan begin.

Fast Planning, Renewed Neighbourhoods

In both cases, many of the key features argued for were rejected. In Adar and Olesh’s plan, the specification of particular buildings as designated for destruction or renovation were adjusted, and for Ronel, whilst they accepted the idea of housing committees, the idea of a pilot was rejected. The Municipal Planning Unit exhibited a fatalistic logic, seeing themselves and residents as weaker actors in a triangle with entrepreneurs. I met Shlomit Sonnerstein and Yotam Ben Ya’acov in their municipal office. Shlomit is the Municipal Architect for Urban Renewal, and Yotam the Planner for Jaffa and southern Tel Aviv. Although they both signaled a respect for the idea of preservation, the temporal logic of “fast” planning was seemingly accepted as inevitable. Geared towards the future, Shlomit summarized the potential of urban renewal: “there a lot of problems, but a lot of potential. It’s very close to the centre. To the sea. It’s very attractive.” Moreover, “most of the changes will be in the *pardesim*,” as “it’s about how you think about who will come to live here if you have these places in your back yard.” When asked about how they sought to protect the existing community, Shlomit stated “we try to change the way the city reacts to it. It’s not easy, and I’m not sure we know how to do it also. The reality is that in this neighbourhood, the process has already begun. So, you can’t stop it.” Yotam added, “Even before everything started, you see the change of the place, and

there's nothing you can do about it.” Ethiopians selling houses because of rising house prices was cited as an example of this.

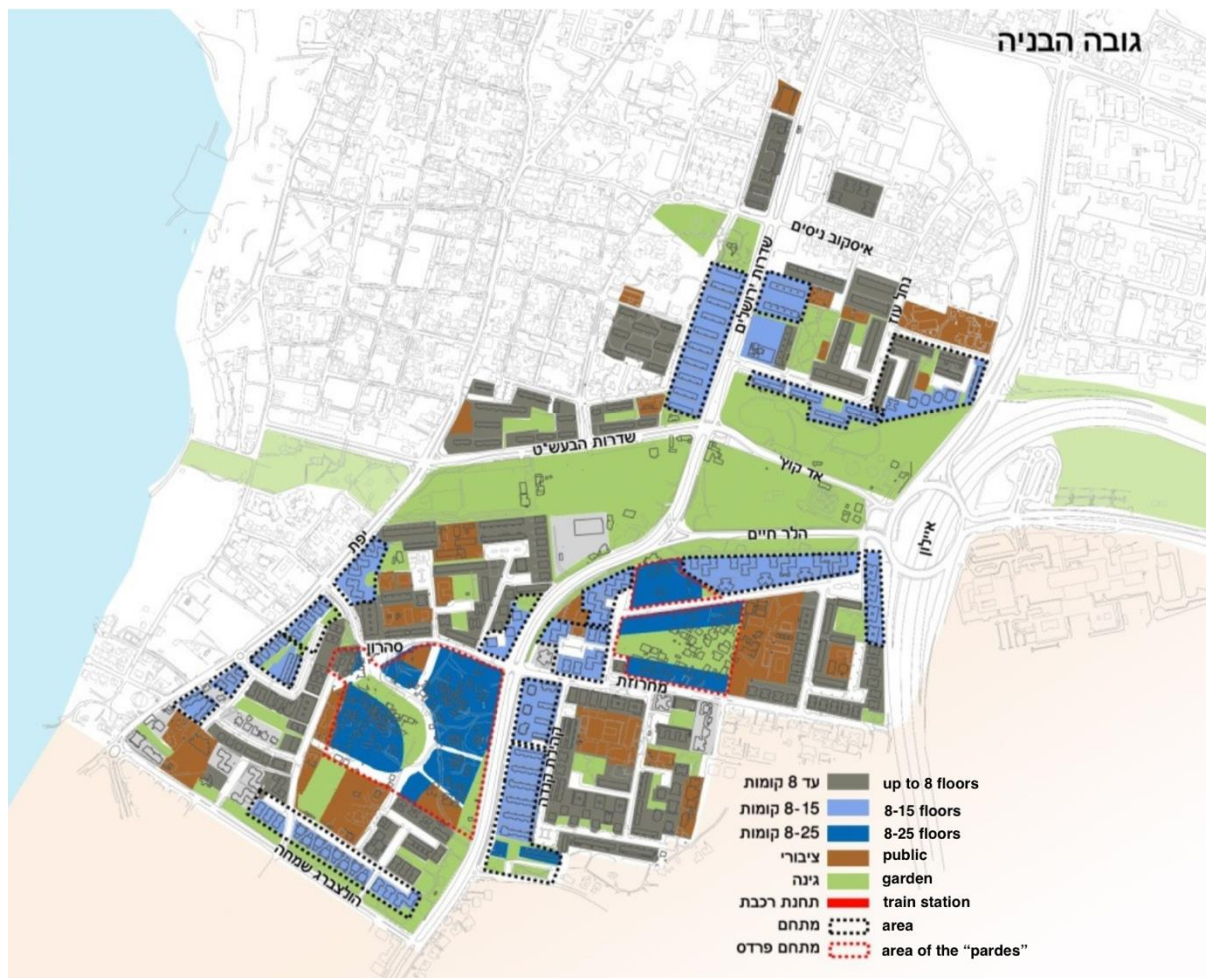


Fig. 3.8 – the majority of the area of Bayārat Daka is designated for the construction of towers from 8-25 floors. The space in between garden area. Abu Seif is mostly designated as garden area with two rectangular areas on its north and south side designated to be towers with 8-25 floors. Article 2.4.2.A of the document reads “public areas in the area of unoccupied *pardesim* were included in the existing public space count, from the perception that the area of the *pardesim* is an integral part of the planning space, and should contribute its contribution to the public areas required in the development of the entire area.” (ATH 2017: 30).

The 2017 City Planning Division document reflects this (ATH 2017). A *maḥom* of the 21st century does not envision closed communities geared towards one nationalist agenda, but it does seek to finalise the formalization of the area. This includes the renewal of *shikunim* previously left to deteriorate, the erasure of most of the *bayārāt* in their current form (with some of Daka formalized, see Fig. 3.8 above), and a vision of neighbourhoods more formally

connected to their urban spaces of Tel Aviv and Bat Yam. The discursive trajectories amongst different architects are couched in distinctive spatiotemporal logics with regards to the role of architecture and urban planning in public life.

Preserving the Unpredictable City

As Shmuel Groag writes, architects in Israel are driven by a “disregard for temporal continuity and for traces left by earlier generations and cultures,” which “results in a structured disavowal even of natural and architectural vestiges relating to the recent past” (Groag 2007: 75). In Israel’s history, first modernism obliterated regionalism — the “attempt to identify a *genus loci* in order to recreate an imaginary, local Jewish past” (Ibid.: 74) — and now it seeks to obliterate itself. Groag argues for what he calls the “third space of planning.” In his words, this is

another model of urban planning: this alternative model is implemented on a small, local scale: it includes building additions, while challenging the imposition of large-scale (and often ugly) projects upon the site. The taming of the site is thus undermined, leading to what may be termed a “third sphere of preservation” (Groag 2007: 78).

This applies as much to the *shikunim* as it does to Palestinian architecture. However, a disclaimer is needed. Sennett casts some doubt on this logic, arguing

though Corbusier’s white-concrete modernism is the enemy of dirty buildings worn by history — that is, by human experience — it certainly is correct that a city cannot be a museum of form, which historical conservation practiced for its own sake (Sennett 2019: 75).

This may be true, but the *shikunim*, Israel’s version of Corbusian white-concrete modernism, are, in fact, buildings worn by history — the place of memory in the city is that it always works its way into the cracks of buildings; the worn-out *shikunim* are not only symbols of neglected “subjects” of a state, but of time, experience, and life. This is why a third sphere of preservation

does not seek only to destruct failed utopic plans but rejects the very idea of utopia originally articulated in the Athens Charter.

Whilst the purpose of the *shikunim* was to kill the spontaneity of street life, to create internalised communities of modern Israeli-Jewish citizens with shared values — and then failing that, to utilise these problematic spaces to dis/integrate new populations of Ethiopian Jews — the combination of the memory of the *bayāra -ma‘abara* encounter, the migratory city, and the diversity of dwelling itself means these neighbourhoods have developed their own spontaneous, unpredictable logic. What a “slow” approach to urban regeneration in the area captures is the importance of time and context in city-making, including an openness to the past and the anticipation of uncertain futures, the combination of which illustrate what Sennett and Burdett call “the choreography of city-making” (Sennett and Burdett 2018). It is devised in the spirit of Jane Jacobs who “spoke for mixed neighbourhoods, for informal street life and for local control” (Sennett 2018: 78). The trope of the urban — of the street — was employed in the “fast” model for urban change, but crucially, to see the street is to see it as something that emerges from “below,” “a city in which there are pockets of order, a city growing in an open-end, non-linear way” (Sennett 2018: 87).

Groag and Ronel advocate for a deeply embedded public participation that recognises the cultural diversity of the contemporary neighbourhoods, and how the very lives of diverse peoples have recreated the meaning of each and every block, and each and every apartment. Indeed, Aharon-Gutman shows how in the city of Ashdod, Perlstein’s most famous and extensive plan, street peddlers selling ethnically diverse goods from diverse geographical origins revert the “vaunted cleanliness of modernism” (Aharon-Gutman 2009: 222). Such spatial encroachments in southern Jaffa will be discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, but it is important to note here that the approach of Groag and Ronel to diversity is embedded in a recognition of its spatial effects on planned buildings themselves. Indeed, when the architect shifts his or her

imaginary to the social world in which buildings exist, it is possible to imagine a spatially democratic urbanity, embodied in a respect for the relationship between each dweller and the city. That is, when architects realise that

the architect, the planner, the sociologist, the economist, the philosopher or the politician cannot out of nothingness create new forms and relations. More precisely, the architect is no more a miracle-worker than the sociologist. Neither can create social relations (Lefebvre 1996: 151).

To do that is to agree with architectural critic George Baird's contention that architecture's rejection of the totalizing logics of modernism should not amount to its rejection of a social agenda that creates spaces of appearance, in the Arendtian sense, that are capacious and diverse enough for all of us (Baird 1995).

Conversely, although Olesh's response to my question about the integration of urban diversity into the planning logic was met with architectural modesty— "Although we as architects think that we are kings of the world, our input is fairly limited. And I agree that in this field of architecture there are a lot of different aspects of input into the planning, especially in the city"—and whilst both him and Adar pointed out that diverse populations make good urban spaces, without sustained public participation and an appreciation of diverse cultural life histories, the view from the plane persists. The age of utopia, of the "planner as poet and augur" (Holston 1989: 74) may appear dead, but the principles of top-down urban creation – of regimes of *maḳom* – persist into the dominant planning logic and policies applied to the area.

Indeed, despite what Adar and Olesh insist, it is even possible to imagine the *pardesim* as architectural objects. Senan Abdelqader, the only Palestinian architect running a practice in Jaffa, proposed a mode of social integration. Though sceptical of the notion of "integration," he insists that the "radical phenomenon of informality" needs addressing. Spatial and political justice should not be based on romanticised history, he argued. "They have a right to be in the area, but they need formal concepts to make it work for everyone." As parallel societies with

their own mode of social relations, they must be protected, yet the reality of being surrounded by the formal urban streets and the financial power that now controls them, led him to develop a policy that both formalises and preserves some features of the existing infrastructure. Whilst some of the inhabitants of Bayārat Daka wanted to approve it, many did not, and plans were rejected by both families.



Fig. 3.9 - The Mashrabeeya House by Senan Abdelqader in Jerusalem

Senan writes with regards to one of his most famous projects, the Mashrabiya House in Jerusalem (pictured below), “contemporary reinterpretation of elements of Arab vernacular architecture” can provide “new, innovative solutions for transforming the political, social and cultural landscape” of populations on the “brink of urbanisation” (Abdelqader 2019). The rejection by the families may lie in part due to a complete lack of trust in the Israeli planning system and fear of integrating into Israeli-Jewish urban space, but Senan’s proposals illustrate

the potential of features of the *bayārāt* to persist despite proposed municipal plans to erase them. Moreover, some Israeli-Jewish architects seek to integrate the history of the *bayārāt/pardesim* into analysis of the contemporary neighbourhoods. This is exhibited by one Jewish architecture student from Tel Aviv University who lives in an apartment on Saharon Street, the *shikun* overlooking Bayārat Daka (see Fig. 3.10). Despite the dominance of regimes of place, the Israeli-Jewish architectural imaginary is not foreclosed when rooted in a recognition of dwelling itself as not a form defined by architects, but rather by the distinctive geographies and temporalities of human life across social histories.

Conclusion: The Serrated Modernity of *Maḵom*

Although contemporary Israeli architecture is still laden with modernist architectural thinking — the bird’s eye view and the fetish of zoning — the fast approach is still embedded in the power of architecture to create *tabula rasas*, whilst the slow approach is temporally and spatially modest.²⁴ The significance of this is the application of distinctive architectural imaginaries towards the *shikunim* today, which represent radically different propensities for the future development of *maḵom* in southern Jaffa. They also represent opposing approaches to Arab space, and the question of the *bayārāt/pardesim*. The formation of these neighbourhoods is thus still being reflected on today in contemporary Israeli architectural discourse. A core ambiguity posed by the very question of creating modernist Israeli neighbourhoods in historically Palestinian places persists. This is because, architectures are “archi-textures,” to put it in Lefebvre’s terms, defined by the populated areas and associated networks in their vicinity and context (Lefebvre 1991: 118). Spatial creation is therefore marked by ambiguity and incompleteness. Ironically, it is this ambiguity that allows southern

²⁴ Planning in Jaffa may be distinguished from contexts like Jerusalem, where terminology in planning strategies often takes on a military nature. Terms such as engulf, breach, penetration, territorial domination and control are often used (Romann and Weingrod 1991: 56). Jaffa clearly exhibits more contestation over the responsibilities of Jewish architects and even the “fast” planning approaches aspire to a socially productive agenda guided by technocratic professionalism. Arguably, however, this leads to more subtle but exhaustive control.

Jaffa to be understood as an undefined space by inhabitants, whilst at the same time manipulated and used for spatial control.



Fig. 3.10 - an image from the final project of an architecture student at Tel Aviv University visualising the spatial development of Bayārat/Pardes Daka in the last two decades (Mundarer 2018).

The point of reading southern Jaffa in this way is not only to demonstrate the dominant modes of thinking guiding its construction and governance, but also to permit a certain reading of the modern through its conversations across the jagged edges of time, and the materialities of form that have persisted despite the beliefs of architects, town planners, politicians and others in the conceptual fluidity between the rational imagination and urban form. Marshall Berman argued that functionalist city planning was “urbicidal,” that Le Corbusier “hated the city,” (Berman 2010), and that what is needed is a “broader and more inclusive idea of modernism [...that] implies an open and expansive way of understanding culture” (Berman 1988: 5). That is not to ignore the radical shifts in socioeconomic organisation, or perhaps even to admit that

“fluidity” is the “leading metaphor for the present stage of the modern era,” as Zygmunt Bauman argues (Bauman 2000: 2). However, even if a “solid” modernity – that projects a certain global systemic structure and “agencies of collective action” – is being replaced by the disintegration of such certainties and replaced by “increasingly mobile, slippery, shifty, evasive and fugitive power” (Bauman 2000: 14), by the perpetual uncertainty of “liquid modernity,” I argue that uncertainty of form existed at the moment of inception of the most solid of plans. The construction of architectural borders was delimited by the overlapping, shifting social borders of past encounters. Bauman asserts that “we are witnessing the revenge of nomadism over the principle of territoriality and settlement” (Ibid: 13). But if we approach the modern in Berman’s terms, we can see the flaws:

The broad and open way is only one of many possible ways, but it has advantages. It enables us to see all sorts of artistic, intellectual, religious and political activities as part of one dialectical process, and to develop creative interplay among them. It creates conditions for dialogue among the past, the present and the future. It cuts across physical and social space...It unites people across the bounds of ethnicity and nationality, of sex and class and race. It enlarges our vision of our own experience, shows us that there is more to our lives than we thought, gives our days a new resonance and depth. Certainly, this is not the only way to interpret modern culture, or culture in general. But it makes sense if we want culture to be a source of nourishment for ongoing life, rather than a cult of the dead (Berman 1988: 5-7).

If the point is to see the spatial history of southern Jaffa as a dialogical process in which imaginaries articulated in material form seek to order and segregate populations, this might seem counterintuitive. But the ways in which such processes of ordering fail, are modern ways of being and belonging too. They are alter-modernities that attest to the continuously incomplete formation of the urban. This thesis will constantly flicker between the power of the *solid* form and its constructed borders, and the potential liberatory power of the loose traces

and new openings that resist it. These traces are what makes modernity itself a serrated notion. Although not directly reflected on in the next section, the implications of this will be clear throughout the thesis.

II

ORCHARDS

“Only the orange peel is ours, and behind me lay the desert.”

— Maḥmūd Darwīsh, in “A Lover from Palestine” (Darwīsh 2007: 152)

FOUR

**

The Well and the Orange: Fragmentation, Fragments, Traces

Leaving traces is not just a habit, but the primal phenomenon of all the habits that are involved in a place.

—Walter Benjamin, “Short Shadows II,” 1931 (Benjamin 2005: 472)

I didn't apologize to the well when I passed the well,
 I borrowed from the ancient pine tree a cloud
 and squeezed it like an orange, then waited for a gazelle
 white and legendary. And I ordered my heart to be patient:
 Be neutral as if you were not of me! Right here
 the kind shepherds stood on air and evolved
 their flutes, then persuaded the mountain quail toward
 the snare. And right here I saddled a horse for flying toward
 my planets, then flew. And right here the priestess
 told me: Beware of the asphalt road and the cars
 and walk upon your exhalation. Right here
 I slackened my shadow and waited, I picked the tiniest
 rock and stayed up late. I broke the myth and I broke.
 And I circled the well until I flew from myself
 to what isn't of it. A deep voice shouted at me:
 This grave isn't your grave. So I apologized.
 I read verses from the wise holy book, and said
 to the unknown one in the well: Salaam upon you the day
 you were killed in the land of peace, and the day you rise
 from the darkness of the well alive!

— Maḥmūd Darwīsh, 2003 (Darwīsh 2007: 197-8)

I arrived in Abu Kabir, an historic *saknāt* (settlement) on the edges of Jaffa. It was home mainly to *fellahin* (peasants) who worked in the citrus orchards sprawling around the city. It is now the Tabitha and Giv'at Herzl areas of southern Tel Aviv, home to low-income *Mizraḥim*. Our meeting points was one of the area's many historic *bayārāt*. Some have been left to

dilapidation, and others, such as this one, recently renovated. The 120 or so Israelis present were there for a historical tour of this area, “to see the remnants of the wells and pools that were part of the citrus grove landscape in the area.” This was during the annual “*Batim Mibifnim* (Houses from Within)” weekend, in which 150 open houses and tours exploring the architectural heritage of Tel Aviv-Jaffa are offered to the general public. It is part of the global Open House initiative, which invites participants to observe and reflect on distinctive architectural features and traditions. Given the continued presence of the *bayārāt/pardesim* of southern Jaffa as living dwellings, I was curious to see how this notion of “remnant” was being employed. Was marking this area off as heritage allowing Israeli-Jews to romanticise Arab objects of curiosity — or even let them become “fetishes” (Clifford 1980) — without a present sense of threat? Why does the Tel Aviv Municipality choose to preserve some parts of the area’s Arab architectural heritage? We walked into the park adjacent to the road Derech Ben Tzvi, with its remnants of two *biarot* — to use the Hebraized plural I would hear for the first time — and newly planted citrus trees. Before entering the church, our tour guide pointed out the “russian *biarot*” at its fringes. I was finally within the red church, a building that had always protruded in the Jaffa landscape (though not in an imposing way), but which I had never able to place. Now, I looked out from it to views of the city, the new white apartment blocks on Jerusalem Boulevard most jarring. “Look, there’s still *pardesim*,” a man from the tour pointed to his wife. It is true that the immediate vicinity is an insight into the landscape of the citrus orchards of the past — ironically perhaps even more than amongst the living *bayārāt* of Daka

and Abu Seif — but one's eyes will eventually be drawn to the beige superimposition of rows of *shikunim* constructed in the 1960s, and the new white city under construction.



Fig. 4.1 the view of the Abu Kabir remnants from the Tabitha Church.

This detour into the *bayārāt* of southern Tel Aviv is part of an attempt to conceptualise southern Jaffa's *bayārāt* as part of a broad historic landscape. I compare the fragmented landscape of *bayārāt* in southern Jaffa with fragments and traces in other parts of Jaffa's borderlands. Arriving at this comparative analysis stemmed first from curiosity. I was constantly struck by various walks around Jaffa and southern Tel Aviv, at the stretches of no-man's lands, with seemingly empty spaces, and eerie and surreal built forms. This tour provoked a deeper investigation of how Israeli Jews relate to Arab spatiality and materiality distinctively when Arab bodies fill the space too. It also ignited me to consider how traces of past *bayārāt* still emerge in urban practices of Palestinians, asking: what do the existing *bayārāt*

symbolise to Jaffa Palestinians today? Can they be sources of *ṣumūd* (steadfastness) within the socio-spatially fragmented city of contemporary Tel Aviv-Jaffa?



Fig. 4.2 - Orange production - from grove to port - in the first decades of the 20th century, exhibited in “Jaffa: It Was, and Still Is” in Jaffa Port, May 2019 (Turq 2019).

To answer these questions, I sought to “make sense of the fragmentary experiences and images of the metropolis, to search for the traces of origin...including memory traces, in order to reconstruct the past” (Frisby 2001: 312-3). Walter Benjamin articulated a notion of urban physiognomy that draws attention to the penumbral moments and urban materialities that counter the dominance of mythical cultural histories. As Graeme Gilloch writes (1995: 14), for Benjamin, “History itself is a construction of the present age and must always be read backwards from the ruins which persist in the here and now.” To remember is to “brush history against the grain.” (Benjamin 2015: 248, also see Kraucauer 1995). This chapter is an

investigative anthropology of the interstices—of the agency of ambiguous urban form in a politics of matter that bubbles beneath the symbolically violent surface of all postcolonial cities.

In Chapters 2 and 3, this surface leads to the discursive manipulation and physical erasure of *bayārāt/pardesim* within Israeli planning regimes and architectural imaginations. As Chapter 3 showed, the 2017 City Planning Division document promulgated municipal intentions to formalise Jaffa's remaining *bayārāt*, and turn the majority of the areas into housing towers. Yet we also saw an inability to erase from memory the presence of the *bayārāt* at the inception of the construction of southern Jaffa's neighbourhoods. They have persisted as social-historical features, generating a form of collective urban memory between *bayāra*-dwellers and mostly *Mizraḥi* Jewish *vatiḳim* (veteran residents). This chapter thus switches scales. *Bayārāt* are now read both as fragmentation *and* fragments, from their socio-political status today to their traces. *Bayārāt* were the symbolic hearth of the Arab families and labourers responsible for growing the globally renowned Shamouti oranges. Presented here are the memory traces of wells, oranges, and historic dwelling, reflecting the period when oranges and wells were infrastructurally co-dependent units.

The text draws on extensive observational field notes, supplemented by eclectic journeys through maps, architectural models, old and new photographs, and art, all symbolizing in different ways Palestinian predicaments of ruination and belonging. It also draws on interviews with leading Palestinian activists in Jaffa, Israeli-Jewish tour guides, and activists and conservation architects involved in the preservation of historic *bayārāt*. Observations followed Maura Finkelstein's approach as "ethnographer-archivist" who "dig[s]...through memory and through ruins" in order to reveal multiple habitations of the present (Finkelstein 2019: 1). Specifically, I looked for the ethnographic trace, understood by Valentina Napolitano as an instructive methodological tool for anthropologists seeking to signal the limits of

representations, auratic presences, and histories at the urban margins. She writes, “Ethnographic details become traces when they elude archives of official history.” They are “condensations of histories” (Napolitano 2015: 57). In these spaces, I search for “the liveliness existing within perceived spaces of ruination” (Finkelstein 2019: 6), or what Ann Stoler calls the “social afterlife of structures, sensibilities, and things” (Stoler 2013: 9).²⁵ This chapter thus cuts through the “illusion of transparency” located by Lefebvre, whereby “space appears as luminous, as intelligible” (Lefebvre 1991: 27). Ethnographic digging for traces is a means of peeling back the opacity of dominant regimes of place and the mnemonic borders they create.

Although the symbolic properties of Jaffa oranges have been explored (Bardenstein 1998), this chapter introduces the contested symbol in a spatial context. The semi-rural edges of Jaffa formed the natural topography of the area and the mythology of the city, namely as somewhere on the edge of agriculture, town-dwellers connected to *fellahin*. So much so that the scent of oranges makes up the sensual and bodily memory of the city. As Palestinian poet Maḥmūd Darwīsh writes in his essay *Absent Presence*, “No city that is not known from its smell can rely on being remembered” (2010: 60). Moreover, the very scent of citrus has the power to conjure up imagined geographies of Jaffa (Slyomovics 1998: xx-xxi). Whilst the chapter presents a spatial history of this landscape, the primary focus is on contemporary analysis of these mnemonic remnants in the current urban spatial order.

In Israel, there is, as Noam Leshem observes, a “persistence of Arab spatiality and materiality despite the absence of the people who created it” (Leshem 2007: 34). Buildings, flora, place-names and stones are “coded into the everyday space of Israelis” in general and approaching

²⁵ Stoler also contends, “Walter Benjamin provides the canonical text for thinking about ruins as “petrified life,” as traces that mark the fragility of power and the force of destruction...Unlike Benjamin’s focus, a focus on imperial debris seeks to mark the “trail of the psyche”—a venture he rejected—as much as it seeks to follow his acute alertness to the “track of things” (2013: 9). Whilst this chapter does engage with the effect of ruins on contemporary social life, it avoids an explicitly psychoanalytic approach, and focuses more on the urban symbolism of ruins and traces than their psychic effects.

spatial histories in particular locales can answer the question of “Why is to much still there?” The chapter considers the affects of the material structures of the *bayārāt* that remain in Jaffa, but with the added complexity of Palestinian presence in some areas, and depopulation in others. It thus contributes to the mapping of shifting terrains of postcolonial ecologies (Deloughrey and Handley 2011: 30). I build on Leshem’s questions with some references to the significant anthropological and cultural history literature on depopulated areas and Palestinian cultural memory (Abu-Lughod and Sa’di 2007, Abu-Lughod 2007, Benvenisti 2002, Chatty 2010, Davis 2007, 2010, Jayussi 2007, Kadman 2015, Khalidi 1992, Peteet 2009, Slyomovics 1998, 2007). The bulk of the material, however, is presented from the vantage point of how I found it in the context and space of my fieldwork. But, as stated in the introductory chapter, the investigation of expropriation is conducted in relation to Palestinian spatialities that reflects their continuity vis-à-vis mnemonic relations with the land itself. The material was assembled in a context where the Israeli state has effaced much of this historic landscape, so I was searching for ruins amongst an urban context where other ruins have been repurposed. The connections between distinctive patterns, moments, and instantiations of the *bayārāt* are made available through fragments. As Walter Benjamin wrote,

Fragments of a vessel which are to be glued together must match one another in the smallest details, although they need not be like one another. In the same way a translation, instead of resembling the meaning of the original, must lovingly and in detail incorporate the original’s mode of signification, thus making both the original and the translation recognizable as fragments of a greater language, just as fragments are part of a vessel (Benjamin 2015: 79).

Following Benjamin, the fragmentary landscape is reflected in the fragmentary assemblage of materials presented in this text. The aim is to make style commensurate with context.



Fig. 4.3 - Workers packing oranges in early 20th century Jaffa, exhibited in “Jaffa: It Was, and Still Is” in Jaffa Port, May 2019 (Turq 2019).

The chapter is separated into five sections. 4.1 is an account of the Shamouti oranges in collective Palestinian memory, and 4.2 of the appropriation of the citrus industry by the State of Israel. 4.3 presents the contemporary *bayārāt* through the lens of fragmentation. It argues that a focus on the *bayāra* as a dwelling form provides a unique perspective on the post-48 development of southern Jaffa. Material strangulation and discursive stigmatization generate an urban order that fragments Palestinian life in the area. Illuminated by the distinction between the fragmented *bayārāt* whose inhabitants remained, and the spaces in which they became

ruins, the *bayārāt*, now referred to primarily in the Hebrew “*pardesim*” run the risk of becoming an empty symbol. 4.4, however, tracks how symbols of the past can be understood as materialities of memory whose presence interrupts the spatial regime of the “first Hebrew city.” The politics of heritage is addressed in 4.5, with the preservation of *bayārāt* understood through the fear amongst Jaffa Palestinians of the threat of national symbols metamorphosing into empty symbols. The conclusion reflects on the methodological value of the chapter, arguing that despite Israel’s powerful fragmentation of Jaffa’s Palestinian space, a focus on material fragments and traces of the *bayārāt* reveals how Palestinian modernities are still emergent.

4.1 A Nexus of Ecology and Modernity

The significance of the *bayāra* as a social form and architectural heritage is generated from Jaffa’s industrious citrus industry. According to sociologist Sami Tamārī (2009), Palestinian Arab modernity emerged in Jaffa. Alongside other “agro-cities” of the Arab Mediterranean (Abusaada 2020), the city developed as a political and cultural centre alongside blossoming citrus, cotton and olive oil industries. Modern urban culture in Jaffa rested in two ecological relationships; one with the sea, which Tamārī shows became appropriated by the urban masses, representing a potential to subvert “purity of culture” and thus loathed by mountain dwellers (Tamārī 2009). Second, was the city’s fame as an exporter of citrus, particularly oranges. Although the production of and global distribution of cotton made its mark on Palestine (Owen 1993: 175-9), the Jaffa orange became the commodity most symbolic of modern economic production (Baram and Carroll 2000: 146). It was developed by Arab farmers in the 19th century and by 1913, 1,609,000 boxes were exported for a value of £300,000. By 1939, an area of 30,000 hectares led to an output of 15 million crates annually (Issawi 1982: 127). The labour relations and global image of the city was mediated by its semi-rural fringes. Many Jaffa

residents worked in the orange industry, and labourers came from Egypt, Syria, and other parts of the Middle East for the same purpose.

The permanent exhibition at the Yasser Arafat Museum in Ramallah opens with images of *fellahin* picking Shamouti oranges, as well as olive harvests and craftwork in Nablus, Jerusalem and elsewhere. These images produce a vision of Palestinian nationalism rooted in earthly practices and relationships between people and the land. The combination of these vernacular practices is central to contemporary framings of Palestinian nationalism.²⁶ Such visions extend from a national discourse found across memorial books that glorifies the peasant lifestyle and map the lost worlds of rural Palestine (Davis 2007). A visual representation of this discourse was brought to Jaffa last year in the collated images of an exhibition in the port entitled “Jaffa: It was and Still is” (Figs. 4.2, 4.3). Susan Slyomovics notes that photographs, as well as maps, are crucial references for the developments of Palestinian collective memory (1998: 7).²⁷ This chapter explores the symbolic lexicon of Palestinian nationalism and persistent Palestinian vernacular modernities, and how its specific construction from the urban perspective of Jaffa continues to parallel the spatial construction of Israeli nationalism in Jaffa. Fragments of the past embodied in the city’s symbolic dimensions continue to play their part in the dual construction of Palestinian and Israeli nationalisms.

²⁶ Indeed, the everyday front line of defence against the Israeli state and radical settlers in the West Bank is based on non-violent resistance against shifts in land use, encroachment on agricultural land, or sometimes, arson against olive tree plots. Defence is often framed under the right to practice agriculture and craft on ancestral land. Such a form of Palestinian identity is not limited to opposition against Israeli rule. Indeed, Ramallite Zahran Jaghab of *Dar Zahran* has been at loggerheads with the Ramallah Municipality over their sale of rich soils and ancient trees to investors from Sweden and Qatar. This behaviour is part of a broader neoliberalisation of Ramallah which Zahran insisted was the same philosophy that led to the often-celebrated construction of a new city: Rawabi. In our interview, he called this “the first Palestinian settlement.” Whilst one could read such oppositions as economic schisms in Palestinian nationalism, I want to suggest that a focus on the nexus of modernity and ecology offers a distinctive way of thinking about Palestinian identity.

²⁷ Peteet suggests that the term “collected memory,” employed by library critic James Young in his book on Holocaust memory, is more suited to the Palestinian experience than “collective memory.” She writes that it is “a particularly apt notion for a geographically fragmented society without a state in which to institutionalize and ritualize memory” (Peteet 2009: 204). Whilst I opt for “collective memory” throughout the thesis, I flag this term here to indicate that it would be central to the argument if its crux was on the collectivity of memory practices amongst the Palestinian nation rather than the mnemonic specificities of Jaffa’s urban context.

The focus, however, lies not only in the national memory of agricultural practices and botanical symbols, but on a contemporary tension in how the *bayāra* is and should be remembered and renewed. The explanatory scope of such an investigation is its ability to offer a particular perspective on the memory of the *al-nakba*, the persistence of *ṣumūd* (steadfastness), and the development of Jaffan Jewish and Palestinian urban cultures and identities, and their relationship to the ghosts of the past. It is important not to forget how this past is actively remembered beyond the 1967 Armistice Line. Indeed, “geographic space and imagined “place” is the fundamental inspiration for the Palestinian struggle for self-determination” (Chatty 2010: 25). One powerful example is Tamil al-Akhal’s painting “Jaffa - Bride of the Sea,” (Fig. 4.4) displayed in the Dar Zahran Heritage Museum in Ramallah.



Fig. 4.4. Tamil al-Akhal’s painting “Jaffa - Bride of the Sea,” (Fig. 2.3) displayed in the Dar Zahran Heritage Museum, Ramallah, January 2019 (Al-Akhal 2019).

It shows contemporary Palestinians in swimwear enjoying the beach, whilst to the right are beautiful white buildings, tinged with shades of orange reflecting their phenomenological affect across the city. These shadows emerge from the orange trees to their right, farmers picking them, and placing them in boxes. Fantasies of the future merge into fantasies of the past. al-Akhil writes “In season, the orange and green colors of ripe oranges on the trees filled me with joy, as did the happy rituals associated with picking and shipping the fruit across the blue Mediterranean.” As Edward Said writes, “Because of the presence of the colonising outsider, the land is recoverable at first only through imagination” (Said 1993: 77). But oranges are not merely symbolic. They can fulfil the mnemonic materiality of rituals articulating the duality of ecology and modernity in Palestine.

If such visual and sensory memories provide the substance of exilic Palestinian nationalism — of a textural longing for place dwelling in an imagined space, or as embodied memories of place that are part of the lived geographies of Palestinians (Jayussi 2007) — then one might imagine that for Jaffa Palestinians who remained after 1948, such memories are more sensorially powerful. However, they are also more disturbed by experiences of urban change and the present political conundrum. After looking to deepen my perspective on the relationship between the historic *bayārāt* and contemporary Palestinian identity in Jaffa, I was introduced to Yousef Asfoul, a local historian whose mother is from the *bayārāt* area of Saknāt Darwīsh (see Fig. 4.8). He invited me to the exhibition in Jaffa port, which was put on by ex-footballer Rifat Turq. I spent an afternoon in the space watching him interact passionately with the few attendees. As we discussed the content, and the role of memory in Palestinian identity in Jaffa today, I asked him about the particular role of the orange industry. He didn’t begin from a broad narrative brush, but rather took me into the lifeworld embodied in one specific photograph.



Fig. 4.4 - Image of orange farmer “Sharbush,” in “Jaffa: It Was, and Still Is” in Jaffa Port, May 2019 (Turq 2019).

“This man’s name is Sharbush. He actually was from the area of Bayārat Abu Mahmoud, the area that is now Davidoff Park [In Yafo ‘Alif, the neighbourhood above Yafo Dalet/Abu Seif]. He used to work in those *bayārāt*.” Visualising the link between the past and continuity, he walked me

over to the small section of the exhibition with contemporary photos and said, “this man is his son.”

Yet, the sense of symbolic destruction is always present. Yousef was eager to introduce me to more people, to show me more perspectives, and to deepen my understanding of the history of the *bayārāt*. “You need to understand the history,” he would often repeat. Indeed, the way he spoke about Jaffa was always imbued with a deep sense of longing, and a reverence for the past.

The next day he took me to Yafa Cafe, at the edge of Jaffa’s gentrified Flea Market. As the only Arabic language bookshop in Jaffa, it is arguably an instance of what Daniel Monterescu calls “creative marginality,” a reappropriation of Jaffa’s space and identity in response to

gentrification (Monterescu 2015: 279-80). I would often go there to eat *maqluba*, drink Arabic coffee, browse the books, and discuss their content with the owner of the cafe. Every time I went to the till to pay, I would see again a small Palestinian flag placed in beer mug from the Israeli brand Goldstar. It always served as a reminder of the quiet and stuck nationalism of Palestinians in Jaffa. This time, I went with Yousef to meet Abu George, an elderly Palestinian fisherman and local commentator from the agricultural area of Sheikh Munis (now Tel Aviv Port). It was a hot day, and as we arrived, Abu George was sat on the outside table reading an Arabic-language newspaper.

He ordered us a *finjan* of Cardamom scented coffee as we introduced ourselves. He had a very relaxed demeanour and would tell his stories with an heir of wisdom and a cautious certainty. Regarding the *bayārāt*, he focuses on the conditions of loss.

During the 50s, at springtime, all this area was full of the flavour, the scent, and aroma of oranges. When the season started, you would realise that all the city was working it. People came from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Horan [a mountain north of Jordan and south of Syria]. You need to understand, all of them worked in oranges, some of them in the *bayārāt*, just picking the oranges, and others in the port packing the boxes. The centre was Saknāt Darwīsh, but all the people used to work there. It is our identity because we are famous because of our oranges. And secondly, there is an economic reason. Suddenly, because of oranges, people improved their life. That's why it was so important. Millions of boxes of oranges were sent. It was a very big industry, even though its agricultural. It was a national economy. That's why it disappeared. *Instead of orchards and orange trees, you have cement and buildings.* It started here in the area of Yefet. The idea was to bring more immigrants here, and they started eating from the *bayārāt* from the east side. For two years the oranges were left without water. I believe that if you dry the land, you dry the people from the land.

dilapidation and a Palestine that was. As we discussed the possibilities of Israeli confrontation of the land's Arab past, she told me that in Kibbutz Amir in the north of Israel:

My mother was amazing, she also started to discover the *nakba*. She told me crazy stories. Where they live, in the Kibbutz, different kinds of fruit trees suddenly grew up, and I haven't been living there for years, and I thought that somebody planted them. And she said no, they just went up. Avocado, figs. And she told me no, they just started to go up. And then she went to the elderly people in the Kibbutz, and asked, and apparently, when they were building this neighbourhood, they cut all the trees and you know like, make the land flat. And then you know like, they started to build the neighbourhood in the 70s, and then around the 90s the trees came back. It was amazing. So, for her also, she was very enthusiastic about it. She learnt a lot.

There is symbolic and mnemonic power to past ecologies to provoke Israeli Jews into recognition, and at the same time, of roots themselves to persist as subjects, not merely objects, of memory.²⁸ The recognition of these dynamics — interconnected infrastructures of ecology, memory, and the built environment — informs the basis of this chapter's analysis. Whilst I discuss the development of the *bayārāt* as dwelling forms, their persistence as a form of material interruption should not be read only through the present built structure of the *bayārāt*, but additionally through their imagined past and how that may continue to be represented in the present. To understand the power of such representations, one must first unpack the process by which the history of orange production in the fringes of Jaffa became severed.

²⁸ Another example is provided by Shmuel Groag, who points to the former site of the destroyed village of Lubia, where “prickly pear hedges, olive and almond trees are still scattered among the pine trees planted by the Jewish National Fund” (Groag 2007: 77). Lila Abu-Lughod discusses aspects of the landscape her father would point to on a trip to Jaffa, such as the “stubborn cacti that mark the boundaries of Arab fields that no longer exist” (2007: 84).

4.2 Israeli Industrial Appropriation

Many Jewish settlers to pre-48 Palestine enthusiastically adopted the practice of cultivating oranges in the Jaffa region (Gilad 2019), some working with Palestinians within the industry. In the interwar period, there was a rapid growth in orange groves, and half were owned by Jews (Issawi 1982: 127). Memoirs authored by Jews as well as Arabs frequently refer to movements between *pardesim/bayārāt* of different names. In his book *City of Oranges: An Intimate History of Arabs and Jews in Jaffa*, Adam Lebor portrays the quotidian relations and friendships formed between Jaffa's Muslim, Jewish, and Christian inhabitants amidst a background of political upheaval, violence, and population ruptures in the early 20th century.²⁹ He writes of Yaakov Cherlouche, of a famous Arabic-speaking Sephardic Jaffa Jewish family:

‘My father was loved and respected in Jaffa,’ says Shlomo. ‘We went to a textile shop where they owed money. They came to the entrance to greet him, brought chairs and coffee. My father sat down and they talked, about the weather, the fruits, the oranges, how they were good this season, better than last, about how Muhammed Ali had brought a new house, and Ibn Dahab had just sold his orange grove. They drank the coffee and I had juice (Lebor 2006: 38).

However, Barbara Mann notes how *pardesim* possessed a “double mythological face.” As “far-flung places of mysterious desire,” *pardesim* were associated with a sense of risk. The edge of town was understood as a dangerous exposure to ethnic and social difference (Mann 2006: 222). Moreover, *Al-Nakba* was a rupturing event that meant a new spatial order, a new spatial politics, and thus, a spatial reordering of the orange industry, which mostly put an end to such Jewish-Arab socialities. In short, Israel appropriated the symbolism of Jaffa oranges, and the Israeli Council of Citrus Fruit created the “JAFFA” orange brand, which is now the

²⁹ Also see Karlinsky (2005) for a detailed account of the social fabric, economic structure, and ideological tenets of the Jewish citrus, and the relationship between this sector and the Palestinian-Arab citrus growers in early 20th century Palestine.

“most widely recognised Israeli brand in the world...protected as a trademark in over twenty countries” (Rotbard 2015: 137).³⁰ Yet the State of Israel uprooted most of the orchards on the fringes of Jaffa, and most JAFFA oranges are grown in geographical locations situated across the Sharon, the plain, and the Negev. As Sharon Rotbard writes

these oranges have nothing to do with Jaffa the old Arab capital or its soil or its people; despite their labels, they are cultivated in orchards based in *different* parts of the country or even different parts of the planet. JAFFA oranges today are grown anywhere but in Jaffa (2015: 137).

He continues, “the label is a signifier with no signified; it is only a simulacrum” (2015: 139).³¹ This is part of what Hadas Yaron calls “political agriculture,” a notion integral to Israel’s colonial transformation of land and the creation, protection and maintenance of political territory (Yaron 2010: 107). Beyond their political purchase, Israeli landscapes serve as means for triggering emotions and sentiments (Handelman and Shagmar-Handelman 1997). This extends to the products of agricultural landscapes.

Most Israeli Jews continue to see the “Jaffa” orange, as well as the sabra fruit — said to denote the Israeli personality as someone prickly on the outside and soft inside — as the most Israeli of products. Jaffa oranges have featured widely in the representation of modern Israeli culture, from Jaffa orange inspired uniforms worn by El-Al flight assistants, to the portrayal of Tel Aviv as “the big orange” on the front cover of a CD by forefather of Israeli folk rock, Arik Einstein (Bardenstein 1998: 17). Both the Jaffa orange and the sabra fruit are supposed to embody the Jewish connection to the products of the land (*tozeret haaretz*). The Israeli

³⁰Although according to Gilad (2019), the Israeli industry is in decline, and new strands are being developed as a result.

³¹ One irony of this appropriation is the appearance of an unusual “part bear, part tropical Orange” with an amorphous identity “orange,” in a late 1960s Soviet animated series. As the main source of import of oranges to the Soviet Union, and the signature import of the Jewish state, the representation was curious. As Katz (2018) writes, “Cheburashka’s official rejection from the zoo implies that despite the supposed socialist openness to genetic diversity, some “tropical” characters were simply not allowed to cross its threshold.”

industrialisation of the orange industry, however, fulfils a greater fantasy. The short-term car parks at Ben Gurion Airport are named “*Pardes*” (orchard) and “*Kerem*” (vineyard), dually perpetuating the myth of ecological revitalisation through the redemption of the Jewish people. This is most prominent in the infamous words of David Ben-Gurion, “to make the desert bloom.” Indeed, the trope of the desert in Zionist imaginations as a wild, feminine landscape in need of control by modern, western, masculine techniques, has recently been analysed by Yael Zerubavel (2019). The construction of Israeli identity in relation to the variety of “symbolic and physical landscapes” in Israel/Palestine — whose fertility are often imagined in relation to the arid desert — extends our understanding of the Israeli built environment beyond cemented structures. At the same time, it enriches our sense of its fragility. The pre-48 geographical landscape, and the dwelling forms that accompanied it continue to perform, narrate, and ultimately make the contemporary city. The “complex relationship between environment, technology and tradition,” the very *terroir* that historically drives its surrounding architecture (Camerlenghi 2016) persists in the collective experience of the neighbourhoods of southern Jaffa.

Having noted the cultural value generated from the memory (and appropriation) of the *bayārāt/pardesim*, this chapter turns to the spatial present. It first approaches analysis through the lens of the living *bayārāt* of southern Jaffa, where I conducted the bulk of my fieldwork. The predicament of the inhabitants — caught in a situation defined by strangulated dwelling and legal precarity, illustrates the need to address this question through the local urban dynamics within which any such forms and remnants are placed. Understanding the role of the *bayārāt* in the urbanism of southern Jaffa led me to the neighbourhoods of southern Tel Aviv that border Jaffa, where some *bayārāt* persist as ruins, and some *bayāra* houses have been renovated. A comparison between these two landscapes assists in understanding how the

bayārāt have transformed as dwelling forms, and what that transformation (and its limits) fundamentally means.



Left: Fig. 4.5- Plastic Jaffa oranges with the “Jaffa” brand hanging from trees on Jerusalem Boulevard, Jaffa’s main road. Right: Fig. 4.6 - blood oranges from Spain sold under the “Jaffa” brand in Tesco, Manchester, UK.

4.3 Fragmentation of the *Bayārāt*

The *bayārāt* were concentrated around originally Egyptian immigrant villages established in the 1830s, and later incorporated into Jaffa (Golan 2009: 1025). Despite being outside the municipal boundaries of Jaffa, architectural elements depict the urban-fringe continuity that connected the *bayārāt* to the identity of the city. Indeed, the historical archeologist Avi Sasson notes that Jaffa’s urban development made its mark on the architecture of the *bayārāt* houses, with local stone and functional division replaced by *liwan*-style late-Ottoman buildings, familiar in Jaffa, and across the coastal regions of the Levant (Sasson 2017). The area of Saknāt Darwīsh pictured maps below (Fig. 4.7 and Fig. 4.8), was one such place, and Bayārat Abu Seif, one of southern Jaffa’s “living *bayārāt*,” was a part of the Saknāt Darwīsh area (now Yafo

Dalet). Bayārat Daka borders Bat Yam and was a set of orange groves attached to the built-up area of Jabaliyye. Both these areas stand in contrast to Abu Kabir, whose inhabitants were part of the 97% of Jaffans who were exiled from Jaffa in the 1948 Israeli-Arab War. Abu Kabir is now a site of industrial parks, architectural ruins, a park, and increasingly an open museum.

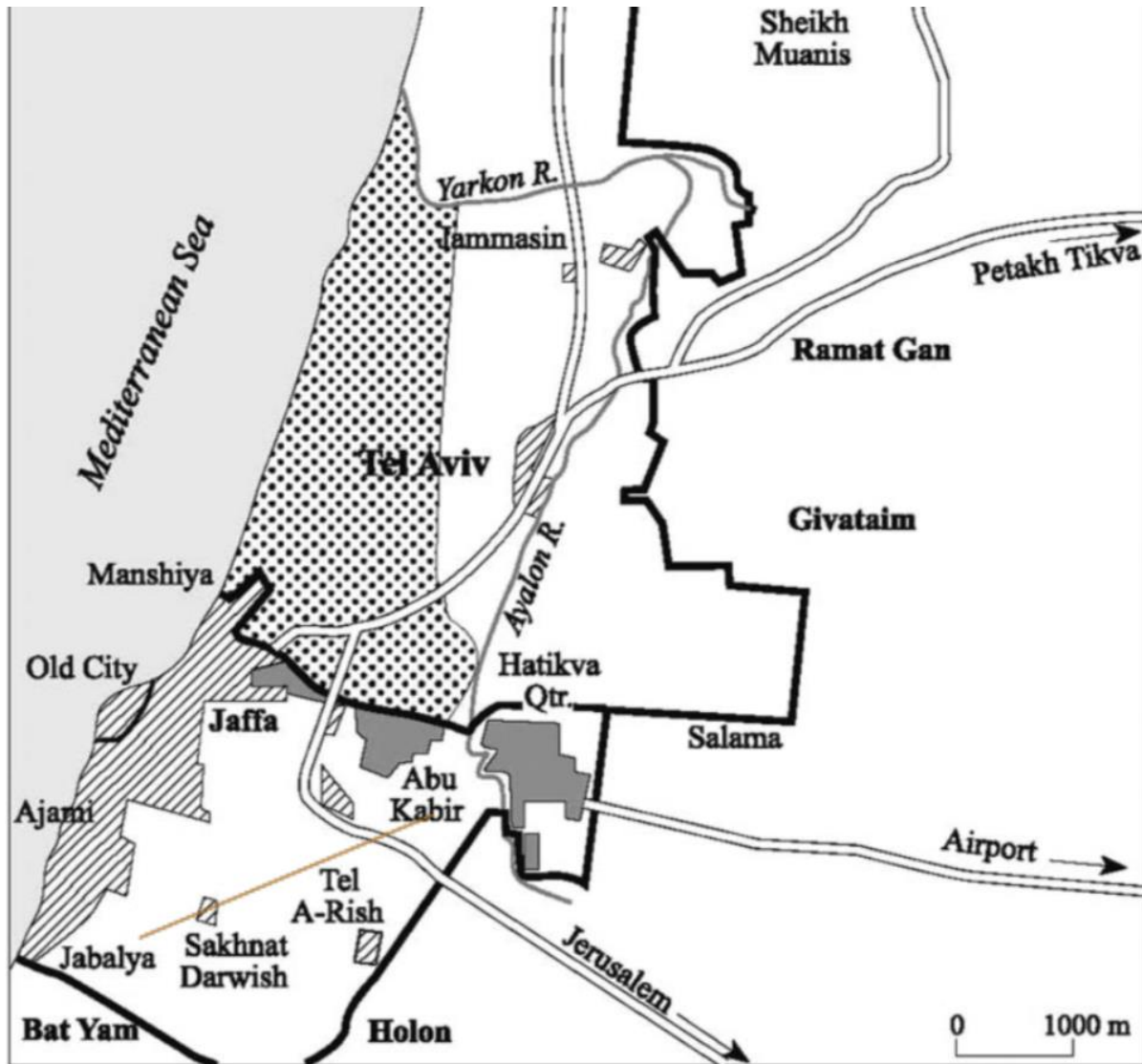


Fig. 4.7 - A map of pre-1948 Tel Aviv and Jaffa (from Golan 2009). The annotative line represents the spread of *bayārāt* and small semi-agricultural villages that effectively formed the suburbs of Jaffa.



Fig 4.8 - the *bayārāt* area in the south of Jaffa. The built up area of Jabaliyye borders the area to the west, and one can see Saknat Darwish in the east of the map (Groag 2012).

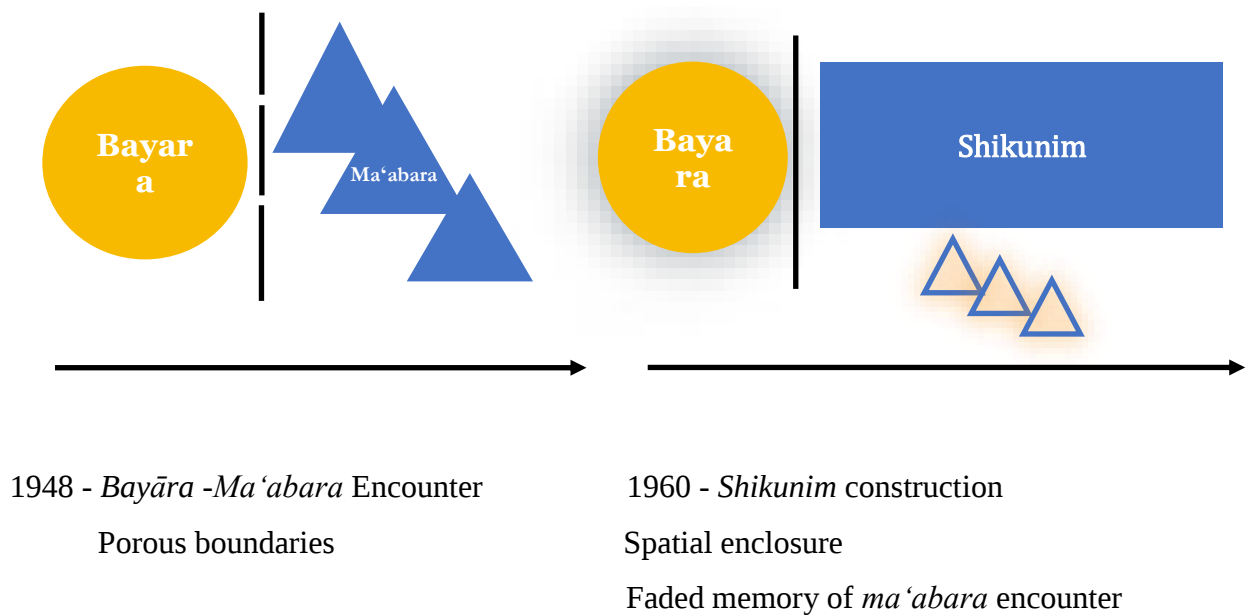


Fig. 4.9 - diagram demonstrating shifting boundaries and spatial relations between the *bayāra* dwellers and *oilm* (Jewish immigrants) in the first decades of the State of Israel.

As was argued in Chapter 2, in 1948, a new spatial regime was applied to the area. Namely, the creation of Hebrew urban space; or of *maḳom*. Yet, in the 1960s and 1970s, the *bayāra* was still functioning, and its agricultural abundance and spatial openness — in the words of Faisal Abu Seif, “it had no borders” — meant that Jewish immigrants from the Middle East dwelling nearby in a *ma‘abara* (transit camp) could freely pick fruit from the trees. After the 1955 masterplan for southern Jaffa, over the course of the 1960s-70s, the *ma‘abara* dwellers were moved into social housing (*shikunim*) constructed on and superimposed against the agricultural plots making up the majority of the area. The mnemonic effects of this are depicted in Fig. 4.9 above. Linear rows of standardised housing were juxtaposed against the *bayārāt*, which eventually became surrounded by seemingly permanent temporary steel hoarding, gated off and enclosed from the rest of the neighbourhoods in a form of strangulated dwelling (Figs. 4.11-4.12). There was a persistent tension in the reordering of space in southern Jaffa which led to the current predicament.



Fig. 4.10 - shift in urban space of southern Jaffa from 1944 to 2018. Orange circles represent Bayārat/Pardes Daka (left) and Bayārat/Pardes Abu Seif (right) and the shifts in their own typologies and surrounding urban topographies from 1944-2018 (Mundarer 2018).



Fig. 4.11 (above) and Fig. 4.12 (below) – Bayārat Abu Seif separated on two sides and surrounded by *shikunim*.



The spatial processes of urban transformation introduced in Chapter 2 have led to persistent pressure on the legitimacy of the continued presence of the *bayārāt* families, but the *bayārama* 'abara encounter introduced in Chapter 3 has produced a faded afterlife in which some relations between *bayārāt* dwellers and *vatiḳim* continue (see Fig. 4.9). After increasing pressure on land use, in the 1980s, some members of the Daka and Abu Seif families became engaged in crime and drug trade. This transpired into a collective stigma. From the perspective of the Abu Seif family, this stigma conceals the reality of the transformation of what Faisal described as an agricultural wonderland with a functioning *bayāra*, to a fortified dead land, jarred at all sides by the imposition of bordering landscapes of modernist *shikunim*. Unable to grow, more land was used for housing, and crops could no longer provide a sustainable source of income. Although the family members I spoke to insist they are no longer engaged in criminal activity, rumours persist about their continued engagement in drug trafficking and the Israeli police raid both areas annually.

This process of strangulation must be put within a broader understanding of Israeli planning policy and architectural innovation used to transform Arab political space. Sharon Rotbard — referring to Lefebvre's characterisation of "agrarian time and space as a heterogeneous combination of variables such as climate, fauna and flora, while claiming the industrialised time and space tends towards homogeneity and unity" — points to the *Homa UMigdal* (Wall and Tower) as the original architectural typology which transformed the territory it occupied. He continues, "despite the fact that the landscapes where the outposts were located have always been agrarian frontiers, this organised observation point was sufficient to transform territory into an industrialised space" (Rotbard 2003: 50). The relationship between ecology and architecture in Israel has been characterised by the need to manipulate local combinations of climate, flora, and the built environment by creating fortresses and *fait accomplis* that transform territorial status. The historic uprooting of the orange groves, and the current attempts to force

the remaining *bayārāt*-dwellers out of their plots of land, is part of the same process by which new architectural typologies are introduced to the area, and the space is radically transformed into *maḳom*. The ultimate aim is — as Yaron shows in the Galilee’s Jezreel Valley (Yaron 2010: 112) — to establish a homogenous landscape in which national territory is marked by spatial continuity and no disruptions.

I argue that as a spatial threat to *maḳom*, to what residents call the desire for “an ordinary Jewish neighbourhood,” the Hebraization of *bayārāt* into *pardesim* produces a spatial metaphor that signifies decline and stagnation. This was seen in the planning discourse around the regeneration of Jaffa in section 4 of Chapter 3. In a certain discursive frame, thick memorial content is replaced by an urban discourse which signifies spatial threat. The notion of *pardesim*, and the symbols and histories it evokes are superseded by its indication of an informal urbanism sitting outside the spatial and symbolic urban order. They provoke what Haim Yacobi, in his study of planning regimes in the mixed city of Lod, calls “territoriality,” or “the social construction of territorial belonging,” which “is built on the formation of a common consciousness and collective interests” (Yacobi 2009: 60). Yet at the same time, there is ambiguity in the feelings and statements of residents, marked by ambivalences of memory and intimacy. Whilst the *bayārāt/pardesim* pose a spatial threat to *maḳom*, their place in local memory as proximate units of relationality and service, as well as their symbolic place in the history of Palestinian Jaffa, creates contradictions in their understanding of modern Israel as *maḳom*. In the next chapter, I elaborate on the politics of policing in southern Jaffa, and the resultant spatial comportment of the *bayārāt*-dwellers. This next section of this chapter, however, considers the mnemonics of the *bayārāt* as interruptive forces in Israeli-Jewish urban space. This must be put into a spatial dynamics that mark the transformation of contemporary Tel Aviv-Jaffa’s ex-Arab areas.

From *Makān* to *Maḳom* and *Majāl*

In my many discussions with Jaffa's Palestinians, the word *majāl* – an Arabic word for space – was used to refer to the remnants of Arab architectures and ecologies, as well as the impossibility of complete erasure of Arab identity in the city of Jaffa. In the words of Yousef Asfoul

Majāl is the space that lets you feel free, feel that it's for you and you can do with it what you need and want. It is also part of your identity. For example, the port, the sea and the *bayārāt*. It is not just your *makān* (place), it is what you are out of your body.

As there are multiple words for space in Arabic, the use of *majāl* bears reflection. The word has metaphysical, intangible, and physical implications. It evokes both material and immaterial themes but embedded through spatial contexts. The word is derived from *jal*, which means roaming and wandering, implying movement that is not tied to a specific place. *Majāl* also translates as field – which could refer specifically to an agricultural field, signifying the word's spatial aspect, as well as its connection to Palestinian imaginaries of land. Space (*majāl*) rather than place (*makān*) implies fragments of extended continuity that are inherently elastic and irreducible to the current regime of place; *maḳom*. Spatial remnants, symbols, and materialities – broadly construed as traces, and tied together as *majāl* – undo the discursive emptying of the word *bayārāt/pardesim*.

To further clarify the urban configuration of *majāl*, I refer to Jeff Malpas's "philosophical topography," which makes the claim that space is given from a structure of place (*topos*) (Malpas 1999). Space, he argues, should be defined ontologically rather than stipulatively or heuristically. The latter two practices are dominant amongst human geographers, particularly in their articulation of a conception of relational space, but also in their use of spatial concepts and discussions of spatialities that fail to define "space" (Malpas 2012: 230). Place and space can be overlapping concepts in language use, so he attempts to distinguish them through the

notions of boundedness, openness and emergence (Ibid., 233). Place is bounded openness, and space is extracted from the structure of place and distinguished as a concept by “pure extendedness” (Ibid., 234). However, it is important not to spatialise place and assert unbounded over bounded openness when analysing any one place (Ibid., 236). He writes, “Place is always bounded, yet it is also always open and dynamic” (Ibid). This is why the regime of *maḳom* is limited and perceived as such by its Palestinian inhabitants.

Despite the fact “spatial meanings are thus established by those with the power to make places out of spaces” (Chatty 2014: 81), Palestinian presence and subversive tactics continue to allow for space, place, and landscape to maintain a multiplicity of conflicting meaning and representations (Peteet 2009: 31). Malpas’s criticisms extend to the political acclaim attributed to the “spatial turn” by figures like Doreen Massey who, he claims, fail to ground the concept’s ontology. Although I employ *majāl* to signify a spatial politics that resists the binding of place by the Israeli state, I do not think of it as *ontologically unbound*. As will be explored in the next section, it is through the persistent materialities in a place that extended spatial imaginations emerge.

4.4 Traces of Memory, Fragments of the City

I signed up to an urban foraging trip in southern Tel Aviv towards the end of my fieldwork period. I was excited to discover what edible ingredients I had probably passed countless times when walking around the city. Yet it soon dawned on me that it would take me into the nexus of *maḳom* and *Al-Nakba* that permeates southern Tel Aviv and northeast Jaffa. But I could not have predicted what was nestled between Shapira’s bungalows, the main highway of Kibbutz Galyot, and some *shikunim* built at the edge of Ayalon Highway. We were to forage on the ruins of Salama, an Arab village that is part of the historic landscape of *bayārāt*. Precisely, we entered a Muslim graveyard by the name Murad. It shares this name with Bayārat Murad

nearby, a restored *bayāra* house that now operates as an art space.³² Our tour guide, Heela, described it as a “nature reserve,” but pointed to indications of its past, such as the row of sabra trees demonstrating the natural borders of the original agricultural territory. The site is embedded in layers of history, with the oldest archaeological evidence a stone engraving from the Mamlukian period. It is full of old local fruit trees, including Jujube, plum, mulberry and agave, as well as younger fig trees. There are some two-hundred-year-old olive and sycamore trees, and a nettle tree (arabic *mays*, Hebrew *maish*), a sacred tree commonly found in Palestinian cemeteries.

As we entered, I felt uneasy for the first half an hour. It was eerie to say the least. The Israelis around me were full of intrigue, perhaps some were even as disturbed as I was. According to Heela, most people are not too spooked after some time, though they feel uncomfortable initially due to religious sentimentality about graveyards. A few of them noted the beautiful architecture. I am still uncomfortable thinking about the idea of picking Khobiza from the ruins of Salama. Yet I must admit I was swept away by the sight of chickweed, henbit deadnettle, chrysanthemum, black calla, sea sow thistle, cruciferae, devil's thorn, and wild asparagus. Would the Salamites see this as theft? Or is nature really for everyone?

Khobiza, sabra, diaphragm arches, gravestones engraved in Arabic calligraphy. The greatest ghost, however, was not a ghost, but a symbol. Oranges did not grow in the graveyard. But in fact, it was my walk there from Shalma/Har Tziyon that its potential as symbol crept up upon me. I was walking up Kibbutz Galyot Road, and across the road from a Toyota Garage is a three-tiered *shikun*, with a small lemon tree creeping over its fence. I continued down Kibbutz Galuyot. The omnipresent scriptural celebration of Rabbi Nachman of Breslov, “*Na nah*

³² Braha Kunda, activist and architect at the design faculty in Holot Institute of Technology, has pointed to the “elephant in the room” in attempts to preserve *bayārāt*, referencing particularly the Sheikh Murad *bayāra* of Abu Kabir. Namely, who the preservation is for. She writes: “The “Sheikh-Murad” compound preservation process calls for a more comprehensive process through which the various collective narratives and the variety of voices, interests and viewpoints would be acknowledged” (Kunda 2016).

nahman me'uman” was written on the face of a *shikun*, blue script, golden/yellow background.³³ As I got closer to the corner of Kibbutz Galyuot and Hachmei Lublin — our intended meeting spot — I noted how every Shapira bungalow (some now two-tiered) grew lemons or oranges or both.



Fig. 4.13 - In an otherwise nearly abandoned Muslim cemetery on the edges of the Shapira neighbourhood of southern Tel Aviv, an orange is placed on the single gravestone laid in recent years.

As we left the cemetery to seek flora in the Abu Kabir orchards, I had been thinking about what Sharon Rotbard had said to me about Shapira. It is super diverse. It was a “mini utopia” when Sharon wrote *Black City, White City*. It was here before '48. I was persuaded by this logic, by this romance. But here I was, and the past was persistent. The orange became more symbolic than ever. In place of flowers or rocks, oranges are placed on two Arab graveyards. One hiding

³³ The implications of such iconography in the spatial politics of Jaffa’s urban borderlands is discussed in Chapter 6, p. 202. Also see footnote 42, p. 302 for its social implications.

under a tree is old and covered by grass. The other was built in 2015. It is not abandoned yet. I later found out that the graveyard had been dormant for some time and was reconstituted under the Waqf from 2005. The rumour in the Israeli-Jewish urban activism scene is that those who are buried there are mainly people who are accomplices to the Israeli government and aren't allowed to be buried in a Muslim cemetery. According to Yousef Asfoul, however, an elected Islamic body began to take care of it in the last few years due to a lack of space in 'Ajami, which is why you find more recent graves. The practice of placing oranges on the gravestones, Yousef understood as an extension of *majāl*.

If you go to Jaffa, there are no oranges, there isn't space for symbolic trees in our graveyards anymore as there is no space for bodies. But if you go out of the city to a place where there were once oranges, and trees are still planted, it says number one, we are here. Number two, no one can take our symbol, and number three, Jaffa is not just Yefet Street [the main commercial road serving Jaffa's Arab population today].

Thus, in the picture above (Fig. 4.13), an orange dually operates as a metaphor of the present and a memory of the past. Oranges have the power to evoke emotional turmoil, and to symbolise loss, such as in the 1962 short story "The Land of Sad Oranges (*ārd al-burtaqāl al-hazīn*)" by Ghassan Kanafani. The purchase of oranges by a woman exiled from Jaffa en route to Lebanon after the Jewish conquest of Jaffa in 1948, is followed by hysterical tears, symbolising displacement and a metonym for the "receding home of Palestine, and more specifically of Jaffa and the family's orange groves there" (Barderstein 1998: 18). As Barderstein writes, "Proustian recollections brought on by the smell of an orange grove in bloom, or of an olive tree, conjured up repeatedly, revive and re-articulate the memory of Palestinian rootedness in a Palestine before displacement and dispersion" (Ibid., 19). Through "mnemonic practices" (Olick and Robbins 1998) like the placing of an orange on a remaining graveyard, memory itself is materialized, rekindled, and ritualised as a fragment of possibility

in the fragmented city. Such fragments are directly connected to the possibility of the *bayārāt* maintaining their historic content under the threat of an emptying discursive frame. They are “the mattering of memory” (Valpolitano 2015: 59). Here we think of oranges as part of what Finkelstein calls “the archive of loss.” That is, “histories *of* loss and histories that *are* lost,” both of which have the capacity to emphasise “the power of loss as generative and critical” (Finkelstein (2019: 7-8).

This is accentuated when one considers the spatial context. Opposite the graveyard is Lasker Street, a road full of orange groves in the historical Shapira neighbourhood (it was established in 1920 by mainly *Mizraḥi* Jews. It now has a large Bukhari community). The Shapirites continue to live amongst citrus. Indeed, many residents of Shapira came from places where agriculture is a part and parcel of daily life, so their connection to place is guided by the range of fruit trees grown in the neighbourhood, which also symbolise abundance and provision. A flourishing continuity of flora, place and the city can, therefore, be sharply contrasted with the ruination of Salama. As we left the graveyard, an elderly *Mizraḥi* woman who resided nearby stopped us. She stated “why don’t they build a wall here? The graves are exposed! In Jaffa they built a wall.” Reentering the Abu Kabir orchards, my friend Ethan asked me “is this a *nakba* park?” I nodded. Grapefruit trees grow again, surrounding the ruins of *bayārāt*.

The distinctive symbolism of *bayārāt* for Palestinians has, however, been exemplified in a recent communal discussion about the transformation of the southern coast of Jaffa into a park. Na’ama Meishar (2017) conducted ethnographic research in a series of meetings between the landscape architect responsible for the planning and design of the Slope park and a mixture of Jewish and Arab residents of Jaffa. In a meeting with an Arab leadership group, she noted how there were requests for “as much orchards as possible and *as little lawn as possible*,” in addition to a “grove of olives, grapes, palms” (2017: 100). In an Arab Scouts Cadets group “oranges, roses, guavas” were favoured. All of these requests are uncommon in the design of large Israeli

urban parks. From desiring landscapes of citrus groves, to placing oranges on abandoned gravesites, to selling Shamouti oranges grown in the same plots of land that produced an abundance of fruit and national pride, the city is not yet closed or defined. For Jaffa Palestinians, memory is most pure when it is rooted in natural topography and its symbolic significance. Roots give life, monuments stabilise the past.



Fig. 4.14 - the remnants of Salama on the edges of Shapira and Kiryat Shalom neighbourhoods

Indeed, towards the end of my fieldwork I discovered that the life of the “*pardes*” proper, the *bayāra*, still emerges in certain practices, such as on Fridays during citrus season, where members of Bayārat Abu Seif sell a range of oranges and grapefruits to the residents of Yafo Dalet on the main street of the neighbourhood. Their main customers are *vatiqim* who stop by in their cars to acquire bags of oranges and grapefruits for *shabbat*, hanging out, catching up, and exchanging jokes and memories with the Abu Seif family members. To understand the

sociable atmosphere and the symbolic, mnemonic properties of this practice is to locate the presence of the *ma'abara-bayāra* encounter and its afterlife. Oranges are metaphors of both neighbourhood formation and its limits, and the persistence of Palestinian material identity in Jaffa. Following the orange, as remnants of times past, and material continuities, is to follow Benjamin, whom for “the truth of an object or event is only discernible when it is on the point of oblivion” (Giloch 1995: 14). As Benjamin writes, “memory is not an instrument for exploring the past but its theatre” (Benjamin 1985: 314). The *bayārāt* exhibit a dynamic materiality whose symbolic value invites us to read the historic city of Jaffa in its contemporary cityscapes. In doing so, the phenomenon of strangulated dwelling is placed within a context of persistent materialities that peel back the layers of the city’s current representation.

For Jaffa Palestinians, the physical space that surrounds them can generate affective states of living in ruination. This is what Eyal Weizman means when he writes, “Matter and memory are most closely entangled at the moment of destruction” (Weizman 2013: 24). The persistence of ruined bricks, and both dead and living botanical symbols allow us to see the fragments of Jaffa’s urban fringes that counter its state of “fragmentation.” They are objects of affect, that also exude their own affect (Navaro-Yashin 2009: 14). Just as “the reflexive ethical, political, and allegorical landscape utterances fracture the park’s overriding Israeli/Zionist landscape template” (Meishar 2017: 108), the holding of some part of the historic *bayārāt* is a threat to the spatial definition of *maḳom*.

This is perhaps why some Palestinians see retaining the areas of the *bayārāt* — and some sense of their associated landscapes — as a form of *ṣumūd* (steadfastness). Indeed, the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa tripled its open public spaces between 1948-53, due to the annexation of much of the land of pre-1948 Jaffa and the surrounding villages. In this process, “greening” was used as a veil concealing Palestinian pasts (Meishar 2017: 99). Abed Sattal, a veteran activist of the al-Rabita, and son of a legendary farmer of oranges, stated to me in an interview that the areas

still owned are “the last Arab areas of Jaffa,” emphasising the importance of land ownership to his sense of complete Palestinian identity. This echoed what Abu George had told me — that there is no difference between the case of Abu Seif and Daka and the West Bank. Jaffa, and indeed other mixed cities’ urban histories are marked by struggles to retain or attain land, and to build housing for growing populations. Consequently, despite the problems associated with these areas, the fate of who controls these lands is for many, the fate of Palestinian Jaffa.

As Weizman and others point out (Weizman, Hilal, and Petti 2014: 179), “Before the establishment of Israel in 1948 there existed in Palestine a variety of common lands—agricultural, religious, nomadic, etc. This diversity existed not only as a set of legal categories of communal ownership but more importantly as forms of communal use and communal life.” The *bayārāt* cannot return to the commons, to the open motility and sociality they once represented. As Nadia Abu El-Haj has argued

Historical-archaeological landscapes, architectural forms, urban designs, and artifactual factual remains embody the very Jewishness of a place (of the national home, writ large, and of specific spaces within it), and they *naturalize* Jewish presence. Territorial contraction is thus rendered ever more difficult to achieve (Abu El-Haj 2001: 18-19).

One need not romanticise the past in order to face the realities posed by the land regime of the present. To illustrate this point, I finish by considering the practice of conservation emerging in the *bayārāt* that were left to ruination after depopulation.

4.5 The Symbolic Violence of Integrated Materiality

—Preservation does preserve, but certainly not the space and performance of everyday life (Efrat 2018: 199).



Fig. 4.15 - placard outside Bayāra House on Shalma Road explaining its archaeological and architectural heritage.

The ruins of Abu Kabir have bordered low-income *Mizrahi* neighbourhoods, and in some cases, been destroyed to make way for industrial sites. As we have seen, ruination has been reappropriated to become the sites of public parks and foraging sites. Spearheaded by Professor Amnon Bar-Or, in the last decade, there has been a drive by Israeli-Jewish conservation architects to preserve these beautiful buildings, and Tel Aviv Yafo Municipality has recently restored a *bayāra* on Shalma Road (at the border of Tel Aviv and Jaffa).³⁴ An important project,

³⁴ As part of Bar-Or's project, a website was established delineating the precise archeological history and architectural typologies associated with the *bayārāt*: <http://www.batei-beer.com/student.html>

it is nonetheless notable that there was limited input from Palestinians in the process of conceptual and material production of the *bayāra* house.

Moreover, as Johannes Fabian writes “we can probably point to situations where public memory is being promoted...that is not shared, for instance, by those who are not involved in the promotion/production” (2007: 94). Indeed, historically Palestinian vernacular architecture was constructed by an *al-banna'* (expert mason and builder), or a *mu'allim al-bina'* (the masterbuilder). This figure

was neither the Western genius architect nor the nonreflexive, non-Western, traditional craftsman; his accomplished building skills were recognised and remunerated by his society, although the labor of an entire community contributed to the construction of a stone house (Slyomovics 1998: 90).

However, it is striking that at the border of Tel Aviv and Jaffa, where tourists regularly pass, you have some of the first placards marking Arab cultural heritage in the city of Tel Aviv Jaffa. Given the “produced “silences” (Yelvington 2002: 235) that have existed as forms of ruination alongside the construction of a new built environment, one cannot be completely cynical about such a project. Indeed, it will mediate new engagements on a daily basis.

Yet, as Yousef Asfoul reminded me, although “many Israelis have dignity, they understand that *Al-Nakba* is their responsibility,” the spatial reality is that objects of memory are concreted into landscapes of power. He continued “three meters from there, there is the huge buildings of the police. They are there. If you will go in this area, suddenly we realise there are no Palestinians who live there.” A building is an empty shell without dwelling. Lavi, the coordinator of activities at the Bayāra House Cultural Centre, is a documentary filmmaker and Jaffa resident who combined both of these facts to create a Facebook page dedicated to telling Jaffa stories. After attending the official opening of the Bayāra House, we arranged to meet and discuss his vision. When we met, he hinted his sense that there is something contradictory

about the process, telling me “it’s not housing anymore, but what can I do? This is the best I can do. I wish it was public housing for young couples from Jaffa.” With the outer buildings set to be used for commercial purpose, the fate of the preserved Bayāra House is not clear.

Palestinian memory in Israel relies on the trace — the stubborn remnants that move against active processes of forgetting — but not the superimposition thereof. Because the spatial is the very means of Zionism’s “utopian imagination” and “topian praxis” (Efrat 2003: 61), resistance by Palestinians to any kind of spatial integration is unsurprising. As Paul Ricoeur has argued, “Forgetting....[is] the effacement of traces” (2004: 426). Indeed, in the previously mentioned meeting about the construction of the Jaffa Slope Park, one Jewish gentrifier requested a “symbol for the Nakba.” Yet, during a meeting with the Arab leadership group, the landscape architect Aliza Braudo recalled one resident saying, “leave it all as a symbol of the Nakba” (Meishar 2017 101-2).

Artistic license to remember the Other in this context is a sensitive and delicate issue. As Slyomovics demonstrates, the creation of a Jewish artist’s colony in the exiled village of Ein Hud (now Ein Hod) mobilised Dada in its image-making and representation to create a consciously national (Jewish-Israeli) art that transforms and appropriated Palestinian Arab art and architecture. It did this through its “appreciation of the vernacular” combined with a “call for a return to a generalised indigenous art” (1998: 35). Hence the fears felt at the prospect of Israeli-Jewish visions employed in the service of preservation and renewal of vernacular Arab architectures. Just as Dada could provide a “cultural and intellectual alibi” and “absurdist cynicism,” so could any purpose be employed to provide an “aesthetic veneer” to hide or disenfranchise Arab origins. Indeed, for some, conservation could just be another of Israel’s attempt to create *maqom* — the place/space of the nation — in a way that paradoxically deletes traces of the Palestinian past in the moment of preservation.

As Amaya of Zochrot put it, “they are trying to put the Palestinian place into Zionist history. Even when they are talking about it, the framework, its Israel, and Israeli Zionism.” Whereas ruined stones can represent “a tangible survival, a relic from the mundane world of vernacular architecture” (Slyomovics 1998: 11). It is as Adorno wrote to Benjamin in a 1940 letter, “all reification is a forgetting: objects become thing-like in that moment in which they are captured without all their elements being present” (in Giloch 1995: 64-5).

Ambiguous Space

Palestinians in Jaffa resist the creation of *lieux de memoires* (sites of memory) (Nora 1989: 7). Refusing to be consigned to history, the memories and persistent spaces of the *bayārāt*, and their connected symbols and materialities are their *millieux de memoires* (real environments of memory). Let me give an example that helps describe this sense of ambiguity. When undertaking an intensive *Ulpan* (Hebrew course) in Tel Aviv University in the summer of 2017, I decided to join a tour of Old Jaffa on offer for participants of the *Ulpan*. The tour itself was, as expected, imbued with exoticist celebrations of Jaffa’s bohemian Mediterranean present, and both fetishisation of Arabic architecture (the architectural feature of the arch “gives Jaffa a little bit of spice”), and Orientalist references to endemic problems of hygiene and overcrowding. The tour began in Jaffa port, where many Jewish immigrants arrived in Palestine pre-1948. Images of Jews kissing the ground of the holy land on arrival were emphasised. Finally, as we passed through the narrow, sanitised streets of the now artist’s colony of Old Jaffa, the Palestinians were mentioned. The voice, however, was given to Israeli artist Ran Morin. *Oranger Suspendu* (suspended orange tree) is Morin’s “tribute to Jaffa’s Arab residents,” a sculpture of a Jaffa orange hanging above the ground, the tour guide stated it is “the symbol of Jaffa and symbol of Israel! They’re missing their roots because there are no more oranges.” He continued “the artist understands Arab pain, they love to live in Israel but

it is difficult for them. Most of them ran away in the war of 1948. It's really important to know the historical facts.”



Fig. 4.16 - Oranger Suspendu, by Ran Morin, in Old Jaffa.

The Jaffa orange, now rematerialised in steel, becomes an aesthetic object set across a background of luxury apartments (to the left of the sculpture, not pictured), subject to the manipulation of the tour guide's usually Zionist narrative. Although it mediates social imaginations in distinctive ways – as Alfred Gell argued, art objects are not merely passive and observed (Gell 1998) – it cannot control its presentation amongst obfuscating narratives. This, despite the professed intentions of the artist:

Is “Deracinement” the big sickness of our times? Can uprooted existence, established so definitely through international economics, communication and technology produce a new, lighter genuine aesthetic? My “growing sculptures” do not try to answer these questions. They rather show a “rooted - uprooted” state while going on living, much as we do, growing into an unclear future” (Morin 1993).

The aesthecization and integrative materiality of *Oranger Suspendu* overshadows, yet at the same time, captures, the ambivalent or even oppositional relationship Palestinians in Jaffa have towards restoration of their material past, and reification of their symbolic past. Their engagement with the city is often one clouded in a sense of loss of spatial, political, and spiritual control, but memory is their greatest actor in Jaffa's urban theatre.

Conclusion: Stubborn Materialities

—The relationship between the landscape and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is symbiotic (Segal and Weizman 2003: 19).

As well as a word describing orange orchards, a building typology and a dwelling form, *bayāra* today has a discursive logic. It is mobilised as nostalgia and collective urban identity for Jaffa Palestinians (particularly those with distinctive memories of pre-48 Jaffa), as well as today as a new kind of materiality, symbolised by urban strangulation and predicament, but also *ṣumūd*. From Israeli-Jewish perspectives in southern Jaffa, the *bayārāt* are framed within an urban

discourse in which their translation into the Hebrew *pardesim* generates a symbol of decline against which spatial identity is set. In the context of the areas in which *bayārāt* exist as ruins or restored buildings, they have become objects of curiosity or museums of the past which assuage guilt and crystallise the present.

Concerns over the future of the *bayārāt* cuts to the very heart of Palestinian identity struggles in Jaffa today. As the mobility of dwelling is suffocated by the power of municipal planning and capital, the rich symbolism of the *bayāra* and the Shamouti orange run the constant risk of being emptied of their rooted, embodied past. Capturing the fear of commoditisation in a space disconnected from its past, Walter Benjamin writes (2009: 75-6):

Paperweight - Place de la Concorde: Obelisk. Whatever was entombed inside it four thousand years ago, today stands in the middle of the greatest of all city squares. Had he received foreknowledge of this — what a triumph for the pharaoh! The foremost cultural empire in the West will one day have at its centre the stone commemorating his rule! What, in truth, does such fame look like? Not one in ten thousand passing here pauses for a moment. Not one in ten thousand pausing for a moment is able to read the inscription.

One cannot compare the preservation of ruins – of stone detached from those who carved it – to living stone; to dwellings. To dwell outside defined place is to threaten its definition. How, why, and who, seek to utilise the stone, spaces, and memories of the *bayārāt* reveals the complex and multilayered way in which the first Hebrew city of Tel Aviv-Yafo seeks to abridge its Jaffa spatially, as well as linguistically. The issue of the *bayārāt* in southern Jaffa demonstrates the limits of diversity when the Israeli-Palestinian conflict over land and identity is still present in southern Jaffa, and a conscious process in the mapping of power in the cityscapes of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Indeed, as memory haunts and *majāl* threatens, the municipality of Tel Aviv-Jaffa and the State of Israel seek to create integrative material and political space.

The contestation of Jaffa relies on the appropriation of traces, and the materialisation of memories in the contemporary urban landscape. The mnemonics of the city evokes the uncertainty of urban formation—of fortuitous form and creation, and the performance of ruined objects moving against the calculated rationalities of contemporary modernity. What such insights show is a city that is more reminiscent of a flaky mille-feuille than the homogenous isotropic space of classical (Euclidian/Cartesian) mathematics (Lefebvre 1991: 86).

A focused engagement on the city's mnemonic affects illustrates that “when the archive becomes a form of methodology, contemporary trends and phenomena emerge through alternative prisms” (Finkelstein 2019: 7). Disruptive materialities must however, be put into the context of the present symbolic order. I have used the term “traces” to highlight the effective limitations on such an order of place and the borders it seeks to form. Nonetheless, Jaffa's layered, complex and cosmopolitan history is embodied in architectural and material traces, and the relationship between the urban order, the urban spectator and this recent and long past deserves reflection. Reading the spaces of southern Jaffa as diachronic, one resists the power of regimes of place, whilst troubling the concept of linear, evolutionary time it imagines, and asking the reader to see history anthropologically (Sahlins 1983). Indeed, these traces force some to imagine a previous civilisation— challenging senses of a native past, and forcing the ethical engagement with the other, or at least an ambiguity in self-representation. As Abu-Lughod and Sa'di argue

Memory is one of the few weapons available to those against whom the tide of history has turned...Palestinian memory is, by dint of its preservation and social production under the conditions of silencing by the thundering story of Zionism, dissidents memory, counter-memory, it contributes to a counter-history (Sa'di and Abu Lughod 2007: 6).

This chapter, whilst contextualising traces within a contemporary politics of place, asks us to imagine that the city is not closed, that the past is physically embodied in the present and therefore the future. The birth of Palestine's modernity and the social relations formed and developed in this period of the city's urban memory continues to exist outside the urban regime of *maḵom*. Thus, *bayāra* offers a poignant metaphor for understanding the dialectics of memory and space, and the politics of place in Jaffa. It offers a lens through which to understand the interstitial geographies of Palestinian nationalism in Jaffa, and the ways in which the city's material structures are manipulated, mediated and symbolically appropriated in the construction of nationhood. The future of the fragmented landscapes of southern Jaffa's *bayārāt* relies on its related fragments across the city. In fragmented landscapes, as the next chapter explores, Palestinian national identities and symbols are repressed, but from the perspective of fragments, traces of Palestinian modernity are still emergent.

FIVE

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Conviviality, Materiality and Deception in the (Post)colony

The focal point of the Yafo Dalet neighbourhood, Mahrozet Street, is marked by rows of *shikunim* to the south, and after about 50 metres, the north side becomes Bayārat Abu Seif. The row of shops facing the main street includes a pizza place that also sells the Yemeni-Jewish pastries *Jachnun* and *Malawah*, a convenience store owned by Jews of Romanian origin, a bits-and-bobs store owned by a Jewish Moroccan-Bulgarian couple, and an empty store which is a storage space owned by the Abu Seif family. One cannot visit the street without seeing a few men from the family sat on the street with small plastic cups of Arabic coffee, often pouring them out for Jewish shop-owners. For some in the neighbourhood, a rich sociability has emerged through co-residence in this neighbourhood over decades.

Ahmad is an outsider to the Jaffa community. He is a doctor from the Palestinian town of Kfar Qasem, located around 20km from Tel Aviv and within the green line. He moved to Yafo Dalet with his Russian-Jewish wife, Dina. When describing his experiences within the neighbourhood as a newcomer, one of the first things he notes is how the Abu Seifs are seemingly permanently on Mahrozet Street. Every day, Ahmad walks to the nearby Wolfson Hospital where he works. This takes him through the neighbourhood. He often stops in the morning to drink coffee with the Abu Seifs. They are part of the quotidian texture of the street, making their presence felt beyond the territory of the *bayāra*, and maintaining sociable relations with residents. Their continuous presence on the road is the *bayāra* extending to the street — perhaps in its dwellers mind, the stolen street. Regardless of their status and relationships with regards to Jaffa, the *bayārāt* are the primary spatial referents for Palestinians who dwell in the *shikunim*. Whilst maintaining boundaries, for the Palestinian outsider, such a

nodal point is also an outlet for social belonging within a Jewish place, for “feeling Arab,” as Ahmad puts it.

Cross over Jerusalem Boulevard from Mahrozet Street and you reach Saharon Street of Neve Golan/Yafo Gimmel, which immediately depicts more separation. A stretch of *shikunim*— this time of the *rekevet* (train) typology to the north, and the Palestinian Arab *bayāra* (orchard) of the extended family Daka to the south. Walking through both streets, however, it is hard not to feel the physical boundaries. The formal and the informal. The geometric housing block and the “continuous materiality” (Mitchell 1991: 54). A putting into order and an “order without frameworks” (Ibid.: 55). On Saharon street, you are struck by a vastly distinct geography, represented by the topographical landscape. If you look out from the window from the upper apartments of Saharon, you see houses, machinery, cars, but consumed by trees – many old date palms – stretching back to the tall *shikunim* of Bat Yam. The drama before your eyes howls historic, local flora. An ecology of *ṣumūd* (steadfastness - how Palestinians refer to their endurance on land since 1948). Heavy gated boundaries between the *bayārāt* and the *shikunim* are new, and walking around the neighbourhoods, the appearance of informal housing and jarring wire constantly interrupts the *shikunim*. Yet inside, the green, lush landscape, one is struck by the scent of citrus, and the sight of fig and pomegranate trees and simple bungalows. Yet the balconies of Paamonit are literal windows onto Abu Seif, just as the apartments of Saharon are windows onto Daka. A *perspective cavalière* or an intimate proximity? This chapter poses that the workings of sociability cannot ignore this question.



Fig. 5.1 - The view of Bayārat Daka from a *shikun* on the top floor of Saharon Street.

Accounts of social conviviality are often devoid of the material frameworks they emerge in. Even distinctions between forms of social togetherness that explicitly refers to public, private, and semi-public spaces (see for example, Wessendorf 2014), can be reductive when it comes to the ways in which infrastructures and materialities of place inform spaces of interactions. Part of what this chapter argues is that urban form itself is pertinent to the study of urban sociability. Particularly, that is, when nationalist and state infrastructures are entangled with everyday spheres of social engagement. This argument is not novel, but it does suggest ways in which conviviality may be critically rethought. An older literature in urban anthropology drew attention to the ways in which fortified enclaves limit the possibility of public encounters between residents and non-residents, thus rigidly constructing material and social boundaries (Caldeira 1999: 135, Low 2001). I seek to demonstrate how everyday urban sociality is informed by histories of placemaking and spacemaking have led to an incongruity and obscurity that defines the urban scene, as explored in Chapters 2 and 3. The aim is to reveal

how discourses of conviviality are framed within a politics of materiality. Although it has been recognised that “spaces and times of convivial relations rest as much on material environs as they do on interpersonal and social relations,” (Wise and Noble 2016: 427), this has been neglected in much conviviality studies. Thus, my argument has implications for *all* urban spaces.

The first section unpacks Achille Mbembe’s notion of the convivial together with Paul Gilroy’s in order to argue that it is not just legacies of racism that are at stake in the neutrality of “conviviality,” but the very workings of power itself. The second section unpacks the material regimes that illustrate how urban social conviviality is delimited by the juridical deception of the Israel Land Authority and its filtering down into the beliefs of ordinary residents. The co-presence of these regimes and a quotidian sociability demonstrates the contradictions of conviviality within an urban configuration fractured by the imposed material borders of the Israeli nation-state. The third section develops this argument by pointing to the materialisation of state sovereignty in the neighbourhood through police presence. The final section points to the mnemonic geographies that resist power, not on the grounds of social interaction, but rather in the imaginaries of *bayārāt* dwellers. In the conclusion, I suggest ways of rethinking the concept of conviviality through its relationship to power. Despite Section III being understood through the distinctive material framework of intra-*shikunim* relations, this argument prepares the critical approach taken to urban encounter in the section.

5.1 Conviviality and Power

Whilst the anthropologists Joanna Overing and Alan Passess introduced a notion of conviviality to describe the aesthetics of everyday harmony and sociability amongst indigenous Amazonians (Overing and Passess 2000), Paul Gilroy’s intervention was to link it explicitly to urban life. Drawing on the philosopher Ivan Illich (1973), Gilroy first used conviviality to describe processes of vernacular cultural interaction in diverse areas of inner-city Britain. For

him, conviviality is “everyday ordinary virtue” that is not “deformed by fear, anxiety and violence,” providing an alternative to official multiculturalism (Gilroy 2004: 149). This framing allowed for an optimism about quotidian multicultures that does not overlook structural realities and legacies of racism, oppression, and exclusion.

Conviviality has since expanded across social sciences, describing forms and registers of interaction between people of difference in urban environments. This literature varies in its employment of the term, but there is a broadly positive valuation of urban cosmopolitanism implicit within it. The sociologist Sarah Neal et al (2013) describes the “mundane competencies for living cultural differences” as “cool conviviality.” More recently, Neal has sought to foreground it “as a concrete social interaction” (Neal et al 2017). The social anthropologist Susanne Wessendorf describes conviviality as a “commonplace diversity” in which differences are acknowledged and negotiated in semi-public spaces (Wessendorf 2014, c.f. Hall 2012, Radice 2016, Bryant 2016, Duru 2016). “Human modes of togetherness,” Magdalena Nowicka and Steven Vertovec argue, should be interpreted through “notions of protection, neighbourliness, transience, negotiation and translation to interrogate the ways conviviality and conflict variably intertwine in everyday life” (Nowicka and Vertovec 2014: 342: 353). These studies focus on the *form of relations and attitudes* between populations, without significantly addressing *material and infrastructural impediments* to interaction. This chapter argues that in focusing on horizontal relations between humans, the separation of conviviality from conflict – even when understood as “intertwined” – obscures the power in and of the concept. For conviviality to be relational, it must be relation to the infrastructures that frame it. Although some contemporary studies describe a conviviality that encompasses or encourages conflict, racism, and racialisation (Karner and Parker 2011, Mattioli 2012 Wise and Noble 2016), one can see how the broad trajectory of conviviality studies has departed from Gilroy’s formulation.

Les Back and Shamser Sinha, who turn to Gilroy to note the co-existence of conviviality and racialisation, express their concerns over the ways the concept has developed, arguing “conviviality should not be a by-word for saccharine diversity fantasies” (Back and Sinha 2016: 523). Both rooted in postcolonial critique, Gilroy and Mbembe develop the concept from vastly contrasting geographical contexts. For both authors, the mundane is integral. For Gilroy, it signifies postcolonial hope, but for Mbembe, postcolonial absurdity. There is common ground too. For Gilroy, conviviality signifies the ways in which people live through and in racist systems and racialised worlds, and for Mbembe, through authoritarian horror. It is precisely through *convivium* (*feast*) that people live (*con*) together (*vivere*). Mbembe’s account captures this. He locates conviviality in Mikhail Bakhtin’s “carnavalesque,” which he explores through the manifestations of postcolonial power in Cameroon. In, “Provisional Notes on the Postcolony” (1992), and later in *On the Postcolony* (2001), he formulates these ideas. Central to his claims are that postcolonial power has a banal quality. As in Bakhtin, ordinary people (*la plébe*) are shown to interact with power through obscenity and the grotesque, ridiculing the arbitrary nature of instruments of authority. Yet, in these acts, Mbembe argues, are reproductions and affirmations of state power. He writes that there is a

need to go beyond the binary categories used in standard interpretations of domination, such as resistance v. passivity, autonomy v. subjection, state v. civil society, hegemony v. counter-hegemony, totalisation v. detotalisation. These oppositions are not helpful; rather, they cloud our understanding of postcolonial relations (Mbembe 1992: 3).

What Mbembe draws our attention to is the fact that the ordinariness of difference (Neal et al 2017) might in fact signify a banal co-production of power by instruments of the state and “subjects” of the state. This can involve play and ridicule but “illicit cohabitation” is “a relationship made fraught by the very fact of the commandement and its ‘subjects’ having to share the same living space” (Mbembe 1992: 4). Mbembe’s analysis is derived from accounts

of bureaucratic displays of authoritarian power, and festivities and state rituals in which citizens may partake in acts of debauchery and buffoonery which can take the shape of comedic obsessions with orifices, phallus, and odours. The concern here is not with authoritarian power in this sense, nor with the obscenity of carnal power, but with more forms of power that are routine and banal. The conviviality displayed at Jaffa's borderlands is not grotesque in the sense of comically repulsive, but rather in its surreal sense of incongruity.

The urban configuration of southern Jaffa has been framed by distinctively colonial geographical and historical conditions. Yet the framing of the site as a (Post)colony is intended to signify the fact of the State of Israel coming to fruition after a colonial regime that it is distinct from, as the previous chapters have demonstrated. The parentheses indicate the continuation of some of those practices, and the formation of its own racialised neocolonial praxis with regards to the Palestinians (and others).³⁵ The departure for this chapter begins from the contradictory materialities that undergird the social world of both Palestinian and Jewish residents.

5.2 Regimes of Deception

We have seen how southern Jaffa's landscapes are defined by urban contradiction, but residents of the *shikunim* and *bayārāt* share a low socio-economic status and dense urban environment. Conviviality is often experienced in situations of high urban density, where the duality of diversity and density produce forms of precarious living together that reflect cities as places of incompleteness (Nyamnjoh 2017: 264). In Jaffa's borderlands, we see how such precarity endures in a convivial atmosphere. The politics of planning lurking under the surface is demarcated in the 2017 City Planning Division document for *Shikunei Drom Yafa* (the

³⁵ This includes the otherization of migrant workers (Willen 2019), the delegitimization of refugees and asylum seekers from Eritrea (Ne'eman 2020), and also the Ethiopian-Jewish population (Yerday 2019) whose marginalisation I address in Chapter 7.

neighbourhoods of southern Jaffa) (ATH 2017), which lays out plans to build tower blocks on much of the areas of both Daka and Abu Seif, as was seen in Chapter 3. In the document, *mitham* (compound) is used to describe the areas, repeating their sense of temporary status, and grey legitimacy. Behind the scenes of everyday life is a juridical warfare which may entrench the fate of these lands. Such processes do not exist in a vacuum. The beliefs of Jewish-Israeli inhabitants are often commensurate with the behaviour of the state. Regimes are entangled with the convivial.

This section focuses on the regime, however, through the legal battle of the Abu Seif family, though the Daka family, who bought their land in the 1940s from the famous bourgeoisie Dajani family, are also undergoing a battle for legitimacy. The Abu Seif family has filed suit against The State of Israel, the Tel Aviv Municipality, *Reshut HaPituach* (the Development Authority), and a private company. They claim that despite residing in the area for a continuous period of 200 years, ownership of the complex — excluding 2395sqm of plot 22 in *gush* (block) 7050 which was registered by Mustafa Sayeed Abu Seif— was illegally transferred to the State of Israel, the *Reshut HaPituach* (Development Authority), Tel Aviv Municipality, *Chevrei HaYemenuta* (a subsidiary of the Jewish National Fund). At no point had the Abu Seif family been made aware of their property rights in the area. The family owned another 50 dunams in the area of the neighbouring city, Bat Yam, which was expropriated in 1948 with the conquest of the area, as well as a 2 dunam area across Mahrozet Street, which had land and a perimeter, but is now a *shikun* and the *mercez meshari* (commercial centre). This is the exact same geographical location as described in the opening scene of the thesis, where an everyday sociability between Jewish shopkeepers and residents of the Abu Seif was made evident.

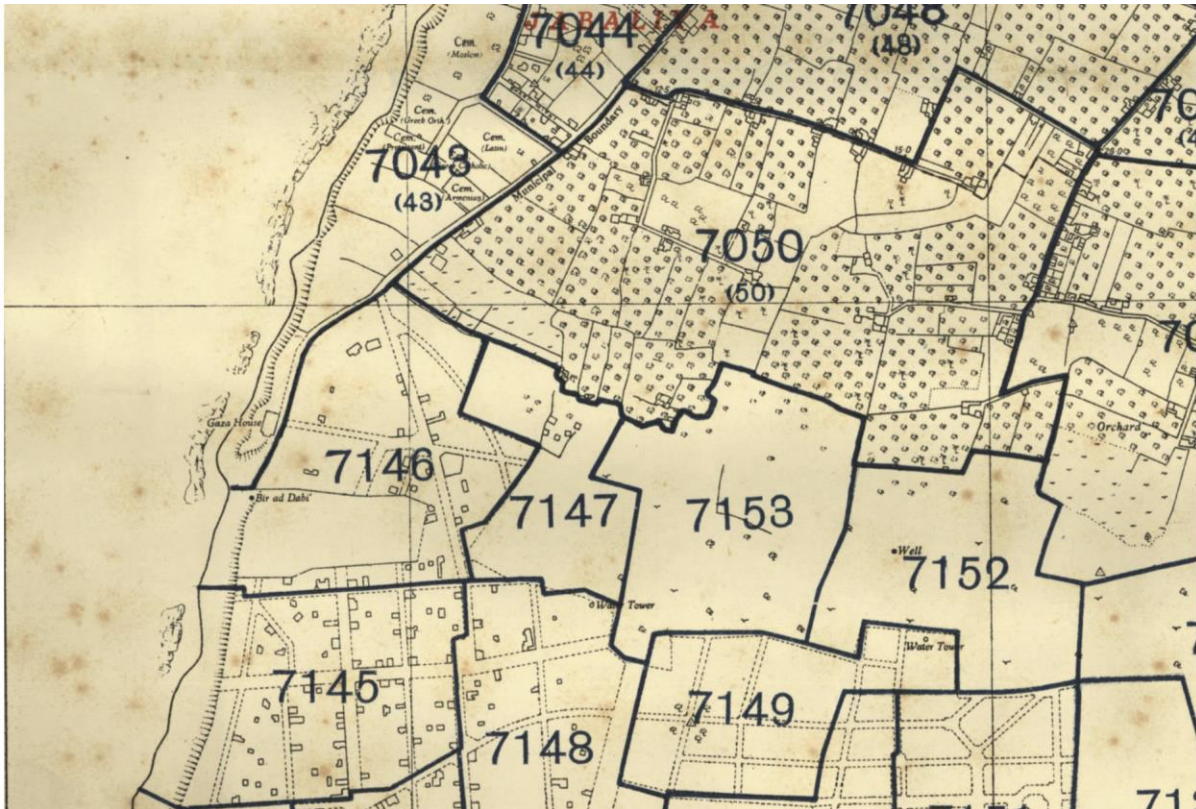


Fig. 5.2 - The numeration of space through the *gushim* delineation. The Israeli state claims the areas defined by the state are *gush* (block) 7048, 7050, although a map from 1932 (above) drawn by the British clearly demarcates these areas as agricultural plots (*bayārāt/pardesim*), which the Abu Seif family claim is their legal inheritance (Groag 2012).

Meanwhile, since the early 1960s, when the Tel Aviv Municipality tried to evacuate the family from the land located “in the middle of the neighbourhood,” as court documents describe, the family’s position has remained legally precarious. Furthermore, the grey space of legitimacy has been made visible by attempts to sell areas of the land to private developers. This is part of process in Jaffa in which the state began selling land which had been expropriated by the Israel Land Authority (ILA) in the early 1950s and had since then been leased to informal tenants. This process began in 1996, with the advent of gentrification in Jaffa, where the claim was ostensibly to grant leasers formalised housing status by allowing them to purchase property from ILA. But few could afford it (Avni and Yiftachel 2014: 498). Market forces now replace the state in combating informality in neoliberal Jaffa (Ibid.: 499, c.f. Monterescu 2015: 135-207). The ILA and public housing companies had originally been

entrusted with the guardianship of land expropriated under the Absentee Custody Law. Whilst decidedly not absentees, the Abu Seif case shows government intentions to issue a tender for the sale of land, with the winner of the auction to be responsible for the evacuation of the complex and the compensation of family members. The case presents evidence demonstrating dialogue between a real estate company called Beach Estate and the Tel Aviv Municipality.

The family also claim that Tel Aviv Municipality has not yet compensated them for a 1991 bi-lateral agreement. Lot 18 of *Gush* (block) 7048 was voluntarily given up make way for the paving of Rav Rubinstein St, connecting two sides of the neighbourhood. The family members had to make a financial claim against the municipality, the local planning and building committee in Tel Aviv, and Halamish, a public housing company. In their case, they claim that the defendants deliberately did not disclose to the settlement clerk and/or the Land Registry that Mustafa Sayeed Abu Seif owned half of the complex, as well as the holding of the Abu Seif family in the complex continuously since the late 19th century. This resulted in the registration of ownership by multiple actors in the *bayāra* through *hasdar* (settlement) and/or *haluka* (division).

Consequently, they are now asking for the Court of Justice to accept their claim, give a declaratory judgement before that attests to the family's rights, and to register such rights in the land registry books. Finally, they are seeking formal recognition of the *merimah* (deception) by actors at the time of the registration of *hasdar* (settlement) and/or *haluka* (division). Seeking legal legitimacy, the processes echo emerging practices in East Jerusalem, where independent plans are being submitted by informal residents. Perceived to be inhabiting “chaotic spaces of legality,” such submissions are forms of re-appropriating and re-tooling (Braier and Yacobi 2017: 13). Winning the case might be seen as an instance of “quiet enroachment” (Ibid.: 13), and their ability to maintain residency over the decades has gained the family respect in the Jaffa Arab community, representing a form of *ṣumūd* (steadfastness).

התפתחות טיפולוגיות- ה'פרדסים'



Fig. 5.3 - An architectural representation of the demographic and typographic features of the *bayārāt*. 12% of the residents of Daka are Jewish. Whilst the model represents Abu Seif as 100% Palestinian, there are a few Jewish families renting there too (Munarer 2018).

In the last chapter, we saw how the historic life of the *bayāra* still emerges in the practice of setting up citrus markets on Mahrozet Street. More than a sign of the past, it reflects the strong social presence of Abu Seif beyond the area of the *bayārāt*, and in the heart of Yafo Dalet. Yet the blatant contradiction at the heart of the issue is the quotidian coexistence of regimes of *merimah* (deception) and practices of sociability. Deception here is understood as a set of affective and intentional social patterns mediated by the dual materialities of legal documents and built form. This is indicated by the broad acceptance of illegitimacy by Jewish residents that has increased over time, to the point where it has become a normative sentiment. This contradiction represents a double deception, instigated from above and below – or more accurately, through regimes of place and their agents of production and reproduction. *Hagvulot shel HaPardes* (the borders of the orchard), a term employed within legal documents surrounding the case, is a term produced discursively in multiple domains of life. The status of

the borders of both *bayārāt* have shifted dramatically over time, with social conceptions adjusting accordingly.

The Discourse of Social and Material Separation

The spatial division between the *shikunim* and the *bayārāt* is the most radically distinctive feature of the built environment in southern Jaffa. Although histories of social intimacy and relationality between *bayārāt*-dwellers and *vatiḳim* persist into the present day, a dominant discourse has emerged that pertains to a correlation between the spatial and the social. As Mohammed, a Jaffa resident and cultural manager at the *Meshlema* put it:

Okay, I can't tell you if the perception is right, or if they are right-wing but they always say, "you're there, and we are here, apart from the two *pardesim*." You have nothing to look for here. As far as the Arab community is concerned, this is where the Jews are supposed to be, and this has been a Jewish area. So much so that in the consciousness of the Arab community, Yafo Gimmel/Yafo Dalet does not belong to Jaffa except for the *pardesim*. Leave the borders on the map, but in terms of feeling, they feel like they don't belong there.

This perception of territorial difference reflects a convivial atmosphere that has been inflected by shifting materialities over time. The beliefs of *vatiḳim* confirm this.

Amos buys oranges every Friday during the season. He is a 45-year-old veteran Yafo Dalet resident of Libyan origin. He served as head of the *va'ad shikunah* (neighbourhood committee) for 7 years and is a well-known figure across the neighbourhood. Unlike many of the friends he grew up with, he intends to stay in the neighbourhood. Asked about the greatest challenges in Yafo Dalet, he remarks

The first problem we have in the neighbourhood is with the area of Abu Seif. On the one hand, they are a good family, but on the other, there are some families within with drugs, weapons, and a lot of groups of *shabahi* [term used to describe Palestinians from the Occupied Palestine

territories], from Palestine, they're not Israelis. No ID. But this is not the problem, the problem is drugs and the drugs here are a very big problem because they use the teenagers to sell drugs, to sponsor. Many people don't want to buy apartments and many people go out from this neighbourhood because of the crime, because of the drugs. This is a big problem for us.



Fig. 5.4 – *Shikunim* to the left, *Bayarat Abu Seif* to the right.

This narrative is common amongst *vatiqim*. They are often the last to blame socioeconomic inequality and municipal neglect for the neighbourhood's lack of development. Rather, new immigrants, and the Abu Seif family. The tendency to associate these areas with non-Israeli Palestinians is part of the attempt to delegitimise their property rights, yet it also demonstrates the tacit recognition of Palestinian life within the *bayārāt*.

Moreover, new residents, by contrast, would not be seen purchasing there. As new populations could not maintain the same connection, neighbourhood formation was thick but its branches thin. As Hewitt (1986) notes, negotiation and dialogue between different ethnic groups often coexists alongside exclusion of other groups, particularly refugees or recent

migrants. Recent immigrants like the Ethiopian population have no relationship with the family, and no deep memory of intimate sociality in the area over time, but for long-time veteran families, there is an ambivalence that needs unpacking. When one looks at formal representations of community in the neighbourhood, one begins to understand how relations between *vatiḳim* and the Abu Seif family have become superficial.

In addition to the *va'ad shikunah*, Yafo Dalet has maintained a *mo'etsa* (council) for the last fifteen years. A project instituted by the individuals from long-standing veteran families, it is ostensibly a representative body for the discussion of concerns amongst the neighbourhood's diverse populations, and for those working in care, social support and development roles within the neighbourhood. Yet no Abu Seif has ever been present at a meeting. In one of the council meetings, Orli, the manager of Beit Reka, the neighbourhood's community centre, announced her attempt to engage with Abu Seifs, stating that she was meeting with them to try and deepen connections. Yet the announcement was inflected with sense of futility, with many attendees believing it is highly unlikely an Abu Seif will ever join the council. It is only on the request of left-leaning municipal and NGO workers that such an idea was raised in the first place. What is more conspicuous is the length of time within which an exclusive community was produced through discussion, nurture, and separation.

This sense of exclusivity, however, is also marked by a narrative of schism; of a more socially and spatially open past. As we saw in Chapter 3, Shoshana characterises her relationship with the Daka family as one of friendship across and movement between the spaces of the *shikunim* and the *bayārāt/pardesim* to further separation and a virtually complete lack of interaction today. As the convivial has been subject to material shifts over time, this is signified in particular by the perspective of new residents. Particularly those who have moved to the neighbourhood and hope for it to “improve,” a growing phenomenon due to rising house prices and municipal plans to implement urban renewal. Lilach, a 40-year-old single-mum who

sits on the *va'ad shikunah* (neighbourhood committee) for Yafo Dalet, has never entered Bayārat Abu Seif and thinks of it as a mystery. She states

They are in their own world; they are not involved in anything. They are outside, outside of all this thing. And this is also a thing I hope we will be to change one day. Right now, it is like a *kasbah*, a closed place, you cannot enter it. I tried to enter. What does it mean to enter? I took the wrong way, and I entered there. Very quickly they showed me the way out. It is not possible to walk there. I believe that with the urban renewal, as I see it, also this population will change.

Lilach's views are widely shared by Jewish residents, and such views extend to Bayārat Daka. However, one narrative indicates a slightly more ambivalent position that Jewish residents also often express. Albert, a 52-year-old Hungarian Jewish immigrant who lives in a *shikun* with his Slovakian wife and his son from his first marriage, is spearheading the renovation project in his block on Saharon. He sees the TAMA³⁸ project — an economic scheme allowing developers to add levels to existing buildings, on the condition that they provide existing residents with some extra space and amenities — as a “gift.” He is nonchalant about the difficulties for elderly residents and the populations he thinks will have to leave, including Ethiopian-Israelis. About Daka, he states:

It should disappear from here. It's not their place. They took 80% of this place from the Municipality of Tel Aviv. From the country. This place is not their place. It doesn't matter [that they've had it since 1948]. They will take money, and they will go from here. [But] I prefer that they stay here. You know why? Look out of the window. Everything is empty. If they leave the place, they're going to build 40, 50 floors. It's not nice for me. It's pretty now. I want to believe that they will stay here but I know it's not what will happen because its more than 20/30 years

that the Municipality of Tel Aviv has been fighting here. And they haven't got papers showing that they bought it. They haven't. They haven't got anything.



Fig. 5.5 - An Ethiopian woman walks past Abu Seif on Dr. Rubinstein Street.

This ambiguous narrative accepts state sovereignty, whilst contradictorily admiring the aesthetic effects of pre-state agricultural societies on the landscape. The separation of this landscape from the future highlights its increasing sense of otherness amongst Jewish residents. In Yafo Dalet, orange orchards peer above grey metal gates, the pink 80s *shikun* peaking behind. Gated, the fortress is now caught between *ṣumūd* (steadfastness) and the future. New residents regularly walk past these layered juxtapositions in both neighbourhoods, unaware of the historical significance of the scene, of how strings have been pulled to deliberately orchestrate it. It is, as Mbembe writes, “a hollow pretence, a regime of unreality” (1992: 8).

When one explores the presence of the Israeli National Police within the neighbourhood, this becomes clear.



Fig. 5.6 - Steel gating and barbed wire surrounding Bayārat Abu Seif on Rubinstein Street, Yafo Dalet. Clementine trees peer over.

5.3 “A Checkpoint Comes to Jaffa”

The relationship between the police and the Jaffa Arab community in general is fraught. There is a perceived failure by the population to put resources into dealing with the criminal elements of the community (Littman 2018), as well routine police harassment, and excessive police force leading to shootings of unarmed Arab youth (Monterescu 2017). But the relationship with the *bayārāt* is even more tense. During fieldwork, tragic events led to both these charges against the police. First, on September 16th, 2018, 5-year-old Walid Abu Seif was left in critical condition after a shooting outside Bayārat Abu Seif on Mahrozet Street. Media representation following the incident was telling. In an article in leading daily *Yediot Aḥronot* following the

shooting — even whilst pointing to the continuing stigma around the family’s previous practice of drug trafficking, and offering an opportunity for them to illustrate their ordinary patterns of family life and agricultural practice — tropes like the family being “completely isolated from the outside world,” and the family’s continuity to build “illegal structures and erecting fences” perpetuated their segregated status (Ilnai 2018). Soon after the event, *Reshimat Yafa* (The Jaffa List), a political union formed for the 2018 Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipal Elections, advertised a petition calling for greater restriction of illegal firearms. It read

When the victim is Arab, the police do not care, and turn a blind eye to the crime. This is what the data show: more than half of the victims of murder in the country are Arabs, five times higher than the Jewish community — instead of protecting citizens, the police are busy asking our society and its representatives to condemn the crimes, but what needs to be done is that the police do their duty to curb crime.

Although these sentiments were circulated across activist networks, and generally held by the overwhelming majority of the Jaffa Arab community, many in the community felt very differently about the unexplained police presence surrounding Bayārat Daka the previous month.

On the 12th August 2018, at 3.20pm, two police cars with *Mizraḥi* police officers (one man, one woman) were parked up outside Bayārat Daka smoking cigarettes and chatting. Across the road, the everyday sociability outside the *makolet* (convenience store) continued. Three hours later, the police were still there. This time, teenagers stood outside the *makolet* with notable concern in their faces. Two Palestinian female residents were there chatting. A man who sits out on the road sometimes emerged from his shop of hoarded oriental fabrics and materials. More flashing lights emerged in the distance. A van of armed police had parked further down the road, outside another entry point to Bayārat Daka. On the right was a *Mizraḥi* man with a black *yarmulke* smoking a cigarette, watching with a stern face. Further down were two more

police talking to two Arab men in a calm and convivial manner. As Mbembe writes, “the recognition of state power as a fetish is significant only at the very heart of the ludic relationship” (Mbembe 1992: 26).

By 11pm, the whole street was filled with police cars and vans. Residents of the *shikun* opposite seemed to have little knowledge about the purpose of such a heavy police presence. Shoshana suggested “they might be giving tickets to people speeding.” The next evening, the first police car that had arrived on the scene to the entrance of Bayārat Daka opposite Shoshana’s apartment on Saharon was still there.

The following day, the 14th of August, members of both families began to speak out on the community Facebook group Secret Jaffa. Nissrin Daka posted in Hebrew “*shuv mafriya pardes Daka* (again, a disturbance in *Pardes* Daka).” He included five pictures of the police along the Daka side of Saharon, with one particularly striking photo of six armed policemen — including an Ethiopian one — folding their arms, smiling, and seemingly chatting casually. Even with the squads and horses, the police officers looked strangely relaxed. The post was responded to by Meyer Daka, who stated in Hebrew

What will be with it? Let them stop scaring our women and children. Already a week in the *Pardes*. What will be with it? When will the police leave the *Pardes*? They are scaring the kids and the women.

Some of the teenage kids, however, were breaking the curfew during this week, shouting curses against the police whilst cycling down the road at high speeds, in a kind of performative protest. Power is toyed with, not confronted.

On another Facebook group, *Ḳehilat Yafo* (Jaffa Community), Nissrin Daka wrote “the police have already been stood outside *Pardes* Daka for two days.” Muhammed Aguami replied, “what is the story?” Nissrin stated “Until now we don't know why they're there...They are checking those who enter the orchard...and those who leave from it.” Rima Abu Seif, who has

previously referred to the police presence in her family's area as "harassment" (Lehavi 2017), replied "the criminality of the uniform, a checkpoint inside Jaffa." Although the police claim there is a lot of criminal activity in and round the *bayārāt*, their regular checks on the areas seem more concerned with a kind of staging of presence. Thus, the convivial is permeated by the ritualistic staging of sovereignty at particular junctures in the time and space of the neighbourhood.

Five evenings later, two police cars with flashing lights were outside the shops of Saharon, seemingly arguing with a bunch of teenage boys on bikes. Shortly after, one left, still flashing. The other left shortly after, flash off. An hour later, three more arrived. Two outside the shops and one where the armed police had been the previous last week. An unpredictable rhythm, but a constant flow. Red and blue flashing lights, grey uniforms, and M16s and M4s usually reserved for the Israeli Border Guard, are routinely part of the sensoria and symbolic materiality of the neighbourhoods, particularly around the *bayārāt/pardesim*. They articulate a materialisation of state sovereignty at the urban margins. Metaphors of the spatially stuck conditions of the inhabitants of the *bayārāt*, they illustrate both the limits of integration with all residents of southern Jaffa, and the Arab community across Jaffa. But this routine presence that both criminalises and delegitimises their status in the neighbourhood is not conducted with intensely destructive violence. Interactions can often be comical and playful, and the police officers themselves do not portray a stern aura. What this indicates is the important distinction raised by Hannah Arendt between violence and power. She writes, "Power and violence are opposites; where the one rules absolutely, the other is absent" (Arendt 1970: 56). The mundane flow between sociability and power illustrates how domination emerges without constant physical coercion.

Indeed, as the state and municipality have plotted with real estate agents to mount further encroachments on the property of the *bayārāt*, and this has filtered down into neighbourhood

discourse also informed by police presence, social engagement has been constantly undergirded by the power of the state. There is a sense in which Palestinian residents of the *bayārāt* perform and institutionalize state norms through forms of convivial engagement with Jewish residents. However, they also play with them at the same time through performative gestures articulating the continuity of the pre-1948 past. “They are constantly undergoing mitosis, whether it be in ‘official space’ or not” (Mbembe 1992: 5). They are therefore splintered persons, and the convivial has become doublespeak. It is only in imaginaries, and not in the convivial, therefore, that state power is resisted and reimagined; “there they can take it or shut it up and render it powerless” (Mbembe 1992: 8).

5.4 Imagined Geographies

If convivial social relations co-exist with the ritualistic staging of police presence and the filtering through of legal *merimah* (deception) into the beliefs of Jewish residents, where might we find the space of Palestinian alterity? There is no obvious answer to this question, but this section proposes that the unneutral status of public engagement requires us to seek alternative understandings of resistance to power. It suggests that we may find it located in the material and social separation also felt by residents of the *bayārāt*. Rima Abu Seif is a 28-year-old master’s student in Archaeology at Tel Aviv University. She lives in a house in Bayārat Abu Seif with her parents and siblings. Her father, Faisal, is the son of Mustafa Abu Seif, the only member of the family to stay in the area in 1948, ensuring the land was not completely lost under the Absentee Property Laws that followed the formation of the State of Israel. Rima is active in Jaffa’s various online communities on Facebook, as well as in Palestinian cultural networks in broader Tel Aviv-Jaffa. When it comes to her own area, however, she feels isolated, stating “I don’t go around my neighbourhood.” She describes the increasing physical isolation over her own lifetime as a further depreciation of the freedom to practice Palestinian life on the land. She describes her relationship with her grandfather as follows

Growing up, we went to visit him every time, he didn't need to force culture on me. He just like took me around, he showed me how to feed the goats, feed the chickens, and go around and collecting like foods everywhere, and showing me the style of life, and how to learn Palestinian culture without forcing it about. He was the ultimate Palestinian, without saying any words.

She connects this relationship to land with the geography of the area in pre-1948 Palestine

Jabaliyye was a district. Jabaliyye has different names inside. And the thing is that you had *bayārāt* inside it, which means orchards, but not in the concept of your Western orchards, but more in the concept of our orchards. *Bayāra* comes from the word *bi'ir*, which means you have to have a well to have an orchard, and that's the land of peasants. It's very different. So, lots of families had wells and they had the *bayārāt*, and it was all open — no gates and borders and everything. You didn't have that. You could cross the neighbourhood and everything. You had orange groves, lots of horses, lots of cows, lots of chickens, and you had a place to sleep, but mostly they were like going around inside the house — not the cows though as they are too big! But imagine living like this in that period when you're like a small family. It was like paradise! So, most of the families around us fled to Jordan, Gaza, or, part of my family is actually in Ramle today. The thing is that the *bayāra* in front of us was Abu Hasouna and they today fled to Lydd. So, they fled to Lydd, and today you have stores in front of us and *shikunim* but what my dad told me was that these were actually a *ma'abara*. He told me that, you know, they used to not have the municipality and everything and the orchard was full of fruits and vegetables, and the Jews were like coming in and out, and I asked him, so why do our neighbours really hate us? Because they don't remember!!

Rima imagines a geographic landscape unhinged by physical borders and Israeli-Jewish urban features. Contemporary Jabaliyye is expanded in the imagination to integrate its surrounding open landscape of *bayārāt*. A landscape before displacement. Pointing to the *ma'abara*-

bayārāt encounter described in Chapter 3, she isolates memory as integral to the maintenance of sociability. A sociability without deception or borders. She continues by describing the memories many Jews have of eating in both Bayārat Daka and Bayārat Abu Seif. But “You have the bubble of Jaffa, and you have the bubble of *bayāra*. And it’s a very protective bubble.” Here she points to the reality of social isolation, but also to the possibilities of the interior of the *bayāra* cradling mnemonic geographies. This metaphor is perhaps even more pronounced for the Daka family, who are believed to originate from Gaza, and whom speak a distinctive dialect from the rest of Jaffans, more recognisable in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Yet such cultural and linguistic specificities do not necessitate a social distance. Threads of continuity between the texture of the *bayārāt* and the rest of the neighbourhoods can be subversive. Hannah Baumann has argued with regards to segregated Palestinian spaces in Jerusalem, “enclaves are not static, but are consistently undermined and re-made through quotidian practices.” (Baumann 2015: 173). Whilst I am not arguing that there is an everyday subversion of *maqom* in the social navigation of *bayārāt* dwellers, we can see how specific kinds of engagement beyond the enclaves of the *bayārāt* may challenge the production of space. This does not rely on the negotiated behavioural patterns of convivial engagement between residents, but rather on the insertion of Palestinian identity in Israeli political space.

On a warm overcast day in late winter, underneath the old Ficus trees in the long narrow strip of green space and playgrounds in front of the Yafo Dalet neighbourhood, and next to Sderot Yerushalayim and the Wolfson highway, a hybrid collation of *darbouka* (Middle Eastern drum), *niggunim* (melodies originating in Chassidic Eastern European hummed without words), and the chanting of the Arabic word *aiwa* (meaning yes) is performed for the children of the neighbourhoods. A row of stalls roofed in canvas was erected, selling crafts from different residents in Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel. This was *AuthentiYafo* (“Authentic Yafo”), an event organised by someone from the Tel Aviv Municipality who coordinates cultural

activities at Beit Reka, the community centre in Yafo Dalet. Whilst many of the events organised by the Municipality exhibit a conspicuously staged sense of multi-culturalism (explored in Chapter 8), this event was an opportunity for a momentary forum of cultural exchange and interaction. Alongside homemade glass *hamsas*, miniature ceramic statues of *Kes* (Ethiopian Jewish spiritual leaders), and *habesha* shawls, were garments, necklaces and purses embroidered in Palestinian styles. One of these Palestinian stalls belonged Entesa Daka. “I’m from Hebron. I got married in Jaffa. So, the style is Palestinian and Beduin. I was happy to bring these here.”

Entessa began learning to embroider at the age of 16, with her mother passing down her ancestral knowledge. She weaves in the styles of Nablus, Bethlehem, and Ramallah, as well as Jaffa and her hometown of Khalil (Hebron), both of which the main colour is red. Some pieces can take up to six months to weave, and so they are both financially and culturally prized, traditionally worn for specific occasions like *henna* ceremonies. She sells pieces to some Arabs and Jews in Jaffa, but more to Palestinians in Jordan and the West Bank, as well as sending pieces abroad to Australia, the USA, Turkey, and Dubai. The purpose of bringing these fabrics into the public cannot only be thought of as financial. For Entessa, it was an opportunity to represent Palestinian culture from within the Daka family into the public view of the neighbourhood.



Fig. 5.7 - Entesa Daka at “AuthentiYafo” selling a range of Palestinian embroidery and jewellery.

In “A Lamentation of Threads and Pins” (Abu Milhem 2018) a 2018 exhibition at the Umm al-Fahem Art Gallery, Palestinian artist Buthina Abu Milhem uses clothes, lots and pins to create “maps of something external: representations of soil, territory, and ownership of territory.” The curator writes

The lines, composed of pins and threads, seem to describe concretely a landscape that is a place—encoded signs of sand dunes, hills, gullies, fences, walls, and barriers across the spaces of the cloth/the landscape. For Abu Milhem, however, they are primarily tablecloths that have lost their hold on the real table, the essence of the home, and have become empty and absent symbols, suspended between worlds (Maor 2018).

The artistic representation of loss has roots in the craftwoman’s representation of continuity, and both are attempts to thread out a sense of rooted existence and identity out of a troubled, ambiguous reality. Beneath the surface of staged multi-culturalism, and beyond the artistic

representation of repressed culture, threads of live culture weave into the city. Subtle forms of Palestinian presence form in southern Jaffa's urban life, demonstrating ways in which marginalised actors decompress the normative spatial and temporal order (Sopranzetti 2014). They do not, however, fundamentally challenge the "logic of conviviality," which "inscribe[s] the dominant and the dominated within the same episteme" (Mbembe 1992: 10).



Fig. 5.8 Piece from the exhibition "A Lamentation of Threads and Pins," by Palestinian artist Buthina Abu Milhem. Umm el-Fahem Gallery, September 2018.

Conclusion: Conviviality and Domination in Israel/Palestine

Strangled by policing and legal precarity, social presence within the neighbourhoods and convivial relations between residents of *bayārāt* and *shikunim* over time have, at times, provided a quotidian crack in the state's spatial organisation of the area. But it has been shown that convivialities in Israel/Palestine emerge through immediate spatial inequalities. In any

situation, the convivial can be subject to power relations, but this is particularly pronounced in Israel/Palestine, where regimes of separation and deception encourage stigmatisation, territorial urban attitudes and senses of insularity and incarceration. Urban social conviviality is informed by the materialisation of state sovereignties in the form of police presence, and the juridical power of the Israeli Land Authority. These state organs mediate collective beliefs of the impermanent, illegitimate, and criminal presence of *bayārāt* dwellers, and in doing so represent the everyday materiality of statecraft (Navaro-Yashin 2002). Thus, there is a contradictory reality in which conviviality can be practiced in an exchange amongst non-equal subjects of the state, city, and neighbourhood.

Mbembe states that he is specifically interested in the reality of “postcolonial mode of domination” as a “regime that involves not just control but conviviality, even connivance” (1992: 24-25). The application of this logic to the social world of mixed Jewish-Palestinian cities and to Palestinian citizens of Israel provides a way of explaining the duality of power and everyday sociality. There is network of rituals that reaffirm the tyranny of regimes of place predicated on Jewish sovereignty. Conviviality then, must be added to the other modalities of resistance and disorder, which are “all inherent in the postcolonial form of authority” (Mbembe 1992: 25). Its application in the Israeli context can be thought through with regards to distinctive positions within the ethno-class hierarchy. Palestinians in Jaffa, Palestinians in the West Bank, *Mizrahim* or Ethiopians in peripheral neighbourhoods relate to state power through distinctive registers – from conviviality to violent subversion. Amongst peripheral Israeli-Jews, the performance of their own subordination may even emerge through stronger registers of conviviality. The Occupied Palestinian Territories certainly involve more resistance and disorder, but even in that context protests take on ritualistic, performative, and even performative shapes.

Yet, to take notice of conviviality as a site of power is not to absolve the possibilities of living together. In Israel/Palestine, moments of recognition of the Other in dense urban space might well be the seeds of decolonisation. The life of the *bayārāt* is Palestinian life, and the ways in which cultural expressions and practices seep out of its “borders” are not insignificant. Yet the ways in which its social outputs appear contradictory or stunted must constantly be grappled with. Conviviality as a concept must not background material structures to social interactions. Borrowing from cultural geography, we may see everyday moments of conviviality as mediated through a repertoire of multi-sensory encounters (Amin and Thrift 2004), infrastructurally connected through “thrown-togetherness” (Massey 2005). Conviviality is “always proximate to its negation” (Back and Singha 2016: 522). If there is a way in which it can grasp everyday life as an amalgam of power, urban infrastructure, and history, then it might serve not only as a descriptive tool, but also as a spatiopolitical concept. Diverse urban configurations in general would benefit from a richer engagement with the intellectual genealogy of conviviality. This need not purge us of optimism, but rather, may lead us to promote ways of living together that are effective, resilient, and based on trust and more equitable material conditions. Moving beyond the framing of conviviality, the next section of the thesis explores the multi-lateral tensions that extend from social belonging and encounter between residents of the *shikunim*.

III

EVERYDAY BORDERS

“And the human being is...the bordering creature who has no border”

(Simmel 1994: 10).

“A border is a place of encounter, a place as encounter”

(Gurevitch 2018: 14).

SIX

**

Performing the State

Mizrahi and Secular Constructions of the Jewish City

Walking down a street in southern Jaffa, you may hear the iconic sound of Umm Kulthum blasting from windows. Sat on the balcony of your apartment block, Ge'ez liturgical chanting during an Ethiopian wedding. In a country hyper-aware of ethnonational and ethnic distinctions, sound, like sight and scent, is a powerful way of staking claim to the mixed Jewish-Palestinian city. One synagogue blares the *Shabbat* song *Shalom Aleichem* on Friday evening, in a practice foreign to diasporic Judaism that mimics the Islamic call to prayer. This synagogue borders Bayārat Daka in Yafo Gimmel. When I enquired about this practice with Yosef, a man involved in neighbourhood activism, a curious interchange emerged:

Y: Does it disturb you?

J: No, no, I am just interested.

Y: Why did you ask?

J: There is no issue. It is just not typical.

Y: And why do you do for example, hear *Allah hu Akbar* with the loudspeakers? Is this good?

Does this not disturb the neighbourhood?

J: No, it does not disturb me, because this is Islamic law.

Y: But this you do five times a day. But here only once a week, *Shalom Aleichem*.

J: Yes.

Y: And people are happy, it is touching. It is touching people. Listen, if there is no *Shabbat*, the world does not exist. I tell you. People do not know that; the entire world exists because of the *Shabbat*. Nowadays, even the Christians say that. Because of our *Torah*. Ah, what does it bother you, it is only two songs!



Fig. 6.1 – Jabaliyye Mosque. Neighbouring Yafo Gimmel, the Islamic call to prayer can be heard 5 times a day from the neighbourhood.

Yosef is a 65-year-old man from Jerusalem. His Kurdish-Iraqi parents emigrated from their home in northern Iraq in 1951, during Operation Ezra and Nehemiah, the dramatic airlift of 120,000 Jews from Baghdad to Lod Airport. He exhibits many of the paradoxical attributes of *Mizrahi* residents in southern Jaffa. On the one hand, Yosef's narrative is in tune with what Nissim Mizrahi and Menachem Mautner label as the *core identity* of *Mizrahi* Jewish communitarianism, which has emerged from divergent historical conditions, rejects liberal

norms, and represents a distinct political outlook (Mizrachi and Mautner 2016).³⁶ On the other hand, his aspirations for the neighbourhood's identity and his own neighbourhood work – even with professed in religious and spiritual terms – reproduces the territorial aims of the Israeli state, signified in particular by its articulation in opposition to Palestinian Arab cultural practice and beliefs in bordering neighbourhoods.



Fig. 6.1 – the text on the pillar to the right reads “*yehudim ba’dam*” (Jews by blood).

³⁶ Despite the diversity of immigrants in the early period of immigration (1948-56), Jews from the Middle East began to see themselves, alongside indigenous Sephardic Palestinian community “as constituting one semihomogenous Oriental or *Mizrahi* group” (Roby 2015: 7). SHAS, a political party with some presence in South Jaffa was “the first *Mizrahi* movement to propose a complete alternative to Jewish nationalism—to Ashkenazi Zionism,” but did not consciously define as anti-Zionist (unlike previous Haredi political projects). According to Sami Shalom Chetrit, they sought to redefine Jewish identity through inclusion and equal belonging to *Israeliness*. Importantly, this was matched by an uncritical national loyalty developed within their discourse (Chetrit 2010: 120-2). Indeed, Sammy Smooha notes how in the 1980s, 25% of Orientals, as opposed to only 9.3% Ashkenazim, rejected Arab minority rights to live in Israel with full civil rights (Smooha 1989: 58). This is just one example of the more aggressive nationalism adopted by some *Mizrahim* alongside animosity towards Arabs.



Fig. 6.3 – the inscription, found on the ‘Ajami side of its border with Yafo Gimmel, reads “*yaas*” (despair) in Arabic, “*Ali*” in Hebrew.

Likewise, the blasting of *Shalom Aleichem* on Friday evenings represents an oppositional audio-territorial practice that seeks to shape the soundscape of Jaffa’s urban borderlands. Such practices are expressed different sensory mediums and at different scales. Another example can be found at the border of ‘Ajami and Yafo Gimmel, where the *shikunim* contrast Ottoman period and neo-orientalist structures. For the months I was living around the corner from this spot, I would regularly walk through the *amudim* (pilotis) of Yefet 177, passing a graffiti inscription of two Stars of David with the words “*yehudim ba’dam*” (Jews by blood) written next to it (Fig. 6.2). The term “*ba’dam*” (in blood) is typically used to highlight a strong identification with something. The coupling of “*yehudim*” and “*ba’dam*” is not a claim of

superiority per se, but its spatial location indicates the need to articulate a particular Jewish identity rooted in the *Mizrahi* periphery. During one encounter with this graffiti, I was on the way to the beach in 'Ajami. I crossed the road, struck again by the striking shift in housing form and built environment. On the ledge outside the house opposite Yefet 177, I spotted graffiti that read *yaas* (Arabic) 'Ali (Hebrew) (Fig. 6.3). *Yaas* translates as “despair.” The Hebrew 'Ali, he pointed out, is to mark his territory and ownership of the building. Such practices indicate the contested urban borderlands between the perceived Jewish and Arab neighbourhoods of southern Jaffa. Such bordering practices arise in zones of contact (Anzaldúa, 1987, Pratt 1991).

Yosef's defensive tone, and the graffiti at Yefet 177 are expressions of a broad tendency amongst Jewish (usually *Mizrahi*) veteran residents in southern Jaffa. Through either everyday social practice, concerted activism, or aesthetic adjustments and interventions in neighbourhood space, these residents seek to defend and cultivate the Jewish character of the neighbourhoods. Such practices have emerged in a context in where, for two main reasons, the national redemptive purpose of the planned neighbourhoods has become less clear. First, the arrival of non-Jewish residents; mainly a significant minority population of Palestinians. Second, the absence of public investment in the *shikunim* since Menachem Begin's liberalisation agenda was initiated in 1977, leading to the granting of full ownership of apartments to residents at subsidised prices. This cultural and material work, I argue, demonstrates the ways in which residents fulfil the work of the state.

This chapter attends to forms of verbal and nonverbal placemaking that seek to create visions of *maqom* that materially fulfil nationalist ideational projects. Specifically, where residents seek to erase ambiguities by performing the territorialisation of land in the absence of the state, thus representing analysis of urban borders “in action,” (Aharon-Gutman 2019: 4) or “the border as it is being made” (Agier 2016: 18). “Making” and “creating” Israel through the

transformation of the country's physical landscape and through autochony is key to Israeli Jewish culture (Ben-Ari and Bilu 1997: 5), and the work of everyday actors at the urban margin offers a vernacular lens through which to see how national sovereignty is produced. Urban borderlands can offer insights about state-making and nation-making in ways similar to the rich anthropological literature on national borders (Donnon and Wilson 1999, Navaro-Yashin 2005, Obeid 2010). Taking particular care not to marginalize material and spatial aspects in representing the city (King 1996: 2), the chapter's goal is to demonstrate how discursive practices and materialities reinforce each other in urban ethnographic accounts.

In the first section, the dominant aesthetic order is explored through restrictions on symbolic representation of non-Hebrew languages, and vernacular materializations of Jewish and Zionist imagery. The second section considers how representational limits at the neighbourhoods' *moeztot* (councils) illustrate a constructed border in the everyday civil management of the neighbourhood. The final section unpacks projects of Jewish placemaking through ethnographic portraiture. Yosef's worldview and practice illustrate discourses of Judaization and the cultivation of a defence through which to perform against. The section then connects these discourses to other secular actors, including one of seven members of the *va'ad shikunah* (neighbourhood committee) in Yafo Dalet. Together, they illustrate a convergence on the goal of Judaization and the sustenance of *maḳom*. The conclusion reflects on how the chapter demonstrates the place of the state at the urban margins.

6.1 Judaizing the *Shikunim*, Materializing the State

The ideological vision of a "Jewish neighbourhood" is, as was argued in Chapters 2 and 3, rooted in the spatial reorganisation of land use in the area of southern Jaffa from the 1950s. Residents of *ma'abara* and ex-Palestinian homes were moved to *shikunim* with the goal of creating a sense of homogenous Jewish communities at the edges of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Although this goal certainly had major limitations, particularly after the privatization of the housing

stocks of southern Jaffa since the late 1970s, a goal of creating *Mizrahi* Jewish urban space has been taken on by some of the residents who remained. This is reflected positively (through re-materializations and symbolic representation) and negatively (through restrictions on forms of audial and visual representation). Together, they illustrate the binding up of social structures with political structures, as Lefebvre describes. This is evidenced, he argues, by

the ever-growing hegemony of vision, of the visible and the legible (of the written, and of writing). All these elements — these forms, functions and structures — have complex spatial interrelationships which can be analysed and explained (Lefebvre 1991: 140).

The need to express aesthetic hegemony is not always accompanied by fervent ideology, but it is nonetheless widespread. This is exhibited in the election campaign of Meital Peleg, a 30-year-old newcomer to Yafo Dalet, of mixed German-Libyan heritage, who stood for the independent Tel Aviv List in the 2019 Municipal Elections. Her husband is of mixed Persian-Kurdish descent. They purchased a property in Yafo Dalet after living in the mixed Bukhari-Haredi neighbourhood of Neve Sharet/Tel Kabir in the Eastern border of Jaffa and southern Tel Aviv. She has worked as a social worker and activist for 10 years. They have a three-year-old son and strongly imagine their future to be in the neighbourhood. They feel very comfortable in the neighbourhood due to what Meital describes as the *Mizrahi* sense of a “community hug.” Describing herself as a leftist, she is critical of *smol levanim* (white leftists) in Jaffa who ignore the plight of its southern areas and focus only on oppression towards Arabs at the municipal level. For her, the *Mizrahi* cultural hegemony of the neighbourhood is justified due to the *metsuka* (distress) most residents feel in their daily lives. Accordingly, when she ran in the municipal elections of 2018, she encountered *giz’anut* (racism) towards Palestinians that she finds an explanation for:

Everybody in the neighbourhood told me, yeh we will put signs up for you. My neighbour, Limor, she was the first one to put up a sign. And it was so touching, and after 2 days, I came back home and saw that she took down the sign. So, I called her, and I said, “Limor, why did you take it down?” She told me, “I’m not able to put Arabic at the front, I’m sorry. I’m gonna vote for you but I’m not gonna put up Arabic.” We did a special sign for Jaffa with Arabic and Hebrew and it says “*Yafo Ba’Reshimat Tel Avivit* (Jaffa in the Tel Aviv List) and it’s a picture of me, Eitan, and Or [two other candidates who reside in Jaffa].

Such restrictions on Arabic representation come from a collective desire to, in the words of Limor, create an “ordinary Jewish neighbourhood.” Meital explains it:

The people here they’re not racist against Arabs. Well, some of them are, yes – they took off signs because it was in Arabic – but they’re not racist in the traditional way that we think about racists. They can say *mavit l’aravim* (death to the Arabs) but at the same time, they will go down during Chanukah and give *sufganiya* (festive donuts) to their Arab neighbour. I think it goes with the *zeit Mizrahit* (*Mizrahi* identity). For us, the *Mizrahim*, traditionally if you’re *Mizrahi*, you need to be *yemeni* (right-wing), and you need to vote Likud. And you need to shout *mavit l’aravim*, but we are Arabs.

Thus, when Meital spoke about this issue with Abed Abu Shahadeh, the first candidate for the Yaffa Arab List (a party formed for the election which included 5 Arabs and 1 Jew - Abed was elected to the Municipality, a historic moment in Tel Aviv’s municipal politics), she felt he was missing the point. “He was upset, and he said my neighbour is racist. It may be true, but it’s irrelevant. It’s true, but she was born here. She’s 47 and she’s living with her mother and her 5 children in an apartment this size.” A rejection of “liberal grammar,” which is seen as a “grave identity threat” (Mizrachi 2016), is part-and-parcel of neighbourhood identity in southern Jaffa, and that means rejecting Arabic visual representation, despite the contradictions. Benedict Anderson argues that both historically and contemporaneously,

nation-states are particularly interested in limiting alternative scripts of minority groups, whilst being indifferent about what they speak (Anderson 2006: 45). In an environment where the hegemonic norms or residents seek to performatively replace the work of the state, regulating the spatial representation of non-Hebrew alphabets across the neighbourhoods becomes central to this work. To control the visual representation of language is one form of sovereignty easier for neighbourhood actors to achieve than audial hegemony. By offering an explanation, nuanced as it is, Meital converges on a restrictive vision for the neighbourhood. In the remainder of section, I explore this through vernacular visual representations.

Luah Mo‘adot and Other Vernacular Representation

Luah Mo‘adot (Notice Boards) are public bulletin boards which allow residents to place an advertisement without requiring any approval from authorities. There are 350 billboards in Tel Aviv-Jaffa, with sixteen in Yafo Dalet and thirteen in Yafo Gimmel. Tel Aviv Municipality describes them as “respond[ing] to anyone who wants to place an ad and help keep the city and its walls clean.” The number of boards in the area is curious, given there are only 4 in Yafo Alif/Bet combined, four in central Jaffa, one in Old Jaffa, one in north Jaffa, and six in ‘Ajami. A combination of planning, activism, and the lack of commercial space in the area has allowed for the significant number of board space for residents of the area to utilise. Throughout fieldwork, I kept a visual record of boards in specific locations.

Figs. 6.4-5 (below) represent the normative typographic and symbolic content, and symbolic order found in the neighbourhoods. In both figures, the scene is dominated by religious, spiritual, and *Mizrahi* content. Fig. 6.4 demonstrates the forms of contestation that are common. On the rare occasions that adverts for non-Hebrew scripts are placed on the board, they are quickly overlaid. The municipal advert to the right is for an event at Beit Reka community centre in Yafo Dalet. It is only advertised in Hebrew, a decision authorised by the centre’s director, despite attempts by some recreational workers to encourage the use of Arabic,

Ahmarit, and Russian in all advertisements in the area. To the left is an advert for a “small Purim tour,” offering to take participants to the biblical sites in Haifa and Tel Hazor, and to the holy cities of Safed and Tiberias. Famous *Sephardi* rabbis like the Rambam are here pictured alongside the Rabbis who will guide the trip. A small advert in Russian entitled “Attention” overlays part of it. The three posters that remain behind the other newer ones were, at one point, covering all of the boards around Mahrozet Street and Rav Rubinstein Street. They advertise Rabbi Amnon Yitzhak – a Haredi rabbi of Yemenite origin involved in *kiruv* (Orthodox Judaism outreach) amongst *Mizrahi* Jews – coming to speak in Bat Yam. The title of his talk, “Time is short, and the war is imminent” refers to the belief in the apocalyptic War of Gog and Magog, which he reads through the lens of Middle Eastern geopolitics.



Fig. 6.4



Fig. 6.5

Figure 6.5 was taken during the 2018 municipal elections. Top right is an advert for the Sephardic party SHAS which reads “the *Mizrah* (East) of the *Torah* world.” Next to it an advert for the Likud candidate, which has been overlaid by an advert for a concert in neighbouring Holon entitled “*HaYelulot* (the revelry) of *Moshe Rebeinu* (Moses, Our Father).” Curiously, the subtitle reads “*Koncert Parsi* (Persian concert)” in Hebrew script, and “*Koncert Arabi*,” (the Hebrew for “Arabic concert” but using Arabic letters). The other two adverts are for a clothing shop for modest clothes for Ultra-Orthodox woman, and an evening with lectures from holy Rabbis, both in the neighbouring city of Holon. Contradictory ideologies converge on a hegemonic representation of Hebrew, *Mizraḥim*, Orthodox and *masorti* (traditional) Judaism, and male dominance of the public sphere. The adverts for Bat Yam and Holon indicate the sense of spatial continuity between the *Mizraḥi* periphery and southern Jaffa that veteran residents feel.



Fig. 6.6

Figs. 6.6 (above) and 6.7 (below) demonstrate how the vernacular use of these boards constructs *makom* against Arab cultural and sociospatial representation, thereby producing a national presence in Jaffa's contested urban borderlands. 6.6 was taken is on the border of Yafo Dalet and Lev Yafo, a more evenly mixed Jewish-Palestinian neighbourhood with a mixture

of *shikunim* and low-rise housing. An advert for “Yafa List” is overlaid by graffiti reading the letters “Nun – Nun – Mem” is an acronym for “*Na Nah Nahma Nahman Me’Uman*,” a Kabbalistic formula based on four Hebrew letters which refers to founder of the Hasid Breslov movement, Rebbe Nachman of Breslov. The phrase itself was revealed by Rabbi Yisroel Ber Odesser, a well-known Breslov figure who lived in Tiberias, and has become a very popular phrase amongst *Mizrahim* seeking to assert their Jewish identity (also see Fig. 6.8). It is not possible to verify the intentions of the graffiti artist, only to note the symbolic significance of this act of overlaying at the borders of “Jewish” and “mixed” Jaffa. Michael Keith, Les Back, and John Solomos have argued

Graffiti writing invokes a technology of communication that is neither entirely logocentric nor merely symbolic, but instead creates a regime of communication that refigures the public sphere just as it is defined by the surfaces of inscriptions on which this and other forms of wall writing occur (Keith, Back and Solomos 1998: 75).

Whilst they also contend that “graffiti are reducible neither to articulations of a priori natural areas nor to projects of territorial claims” (Ibid.: 78), the interplay between the material space – mostly the walls of *amudim*, built with the intention of generating a shared public ground, and the *Luah Mo‘adot*, built for the public to express their values and desires – and the symbolic forms of inscription generate precisely a dominant form of configuration of the public sphere. Such expressions are not reducible to territorial claim making, but writ large, they produce a normative aesthetic order that combines materiality and spatiality to ascribe *maḳom*. Ironically, more assertive forms of expression indicate precisely the fragility of *maḳom*.



Fig. 6.7

For example, Figure 6.7 has a more pernicious genealogy. Reading “*tag mahir*” (price tag), it is a common phrase found alongside the more violent words of “death to Arabs,” “Jews wake up!” and “Revenge” sprayed by far-right Israeli activists on Palestinian homes in the West Bank. It is not clear who the target of the tag is, but it demonstrates the fragility of spatial dominance felt by Jewish residents in the neighbourhood (also see Fig. 6.12). Such feelings have led to common forms of visual expressions such as Stars of David on *amudim* and on walls of many *shikunim* across the neighbourhood (Fig. 6.11). More permanent in effect, and thus perhaps more significantly, is the attempt of one set of residents to restyle the standard frame steel balcony rails around their apartment (Fig. 6.9), and others to “nationalise” their own ground (in a *shikun* without *amudim*) through a rather ostentatious display of Israeli flags (Fig. 6.10). Collectively, these vernacular representations serve to perform the Israeli state vis-à-vis its Palestinian Arab borders in Jaffa. Such sensibilities also take the form of discourses,

such as the threat of Arab men taking Jewish women, particularly of Jewish women being attracted to the wealth accumulated by Abu Seif through the crime and drug networks of some family members. Such patterns of vernacularisation cannot be reduced to forms of discursive othering, but they do indicate how racialisation can be produced precisely through close contact, particularly in light of sharp distinctions in urban housing forms (as Chapter 5 explored). When we consider the social management of the neighbourhood, the links between the material and the social become clearer.



Fig. 6.8 “*Na nah nahma nahman me’uman*” graffiti outside a convenience shop in Yafo Dalet.



Fig. 6.9 - Judaizing *shikunim*?



Fig. 6.10 – Israel flags flown from the bottom of a *shikun* without *amudim* in Yafo Dalet.



Fig. 6.11 – The Star of David is the most common form of graffiti across the neighbourhoods.



Fig. 6.12 – In a direct message to the Palestinian residents of southern Jaffa, a sticker is placed on the gates of Yafo Dalet's Anis auditorium by the far-right organisation Lehava. Perhaps in protest to the mixed drama groups that practice there, the sticker reads “don’t mess with my sister” in Hebrew and Arabic.

6.2 *Mo'etsot* (Councils): Managing the (Jewish) Neighbourhood

The social construction of place is exemplified by the *mo'etsot* (councils), which were briefly introduced in Chapter 5. The *mo'etsot* (councils) take place monthly in both neighbourhoods, illustrating the who's who, and who's notably not there. They are primarily insights into processes of population management, and how borders of collective neighbourhood identity emerge through a particular choreography. The first *mo'etsa* was established in Yafo Dalet fifteen years ago. Yafo Gimmel's was established in the last few years. The idea began with the vision of the sitting *rosh va'ad shikunah* at the time, who sought to bring together actors with political or professional power in the neighbourhood in order to improve its development and to grant it more services. Members of the elected *va'ad shikunah* who are residents of the neighbourhoods sit alongside municipal and social workers, and NGO workers from various fields. These includes psychological services, welfare services, community centres, kindergartens, social services *'avodat rehov* (street work), recreational services, youth groups, *Mishṭara Yiśrael* (Israel police), and municipal community officers. Although the presence of diverse sources of professional perspectives creates a forum for the cultivation of collective forms of neighbourhood care and nurture, and an opportunity for some voices to note inadequacies of representation, it is precisely the latter social fact that indicates the borders of collective placemaking. Though the *mo'etsot* are ostensibly based on issues of neutral concern for residents – security, safety, services – the residents present are usually from veteran *Mizraḥi* families, or newcomers with particular and narrow visions for the neighbourhood. The focus on social management and security often means a particular focus on (usually) Arab and Ethiopian youth, meaning the absence of Arab and Ethiopian residents from the *mo'etsot* becomes salient. In this section, I explore these predicaments through one veteran resident.

Pnina is in her late 50s, is of Libyan and Syrian origin, lived in an Arab house until she was three, and has lived in the *shikunim* of Yafo Dalet ever since. She was one of the founding

members of the *mo'etsa* in Yafo Dalet and has worked in various social roles throughout her life. She is now a community worker and was previously a *madricha lemahut* (mother's councillor) and an administrator of *Etgar* (challenge), a programme helping children to connect emotionally to their mothers. Overall, her neighbourhood work is premised on the development of emotional connections, psychological connections, and *atzema* (strength/empowerment) amongst the neighbourhood's struggling residents. Pnina's care for the neighbourhood is serious and unflinching. She points out that one of the major problems for the neighbourhood is the lack of knowledge about services, and that one of the roles of the *mo'etsa* is to make people aware of the different services and bodies, and "to create solidarity between people." She told me, "life in the neighbourhood is like a family, its homogenous – where everyone knows each other." It is common for *Mizrahi* oldtimers to express this sentiment, though usually imbued in a nostalgia for the past. When Pnina expresses the aims of the *mo'etsa's* neighbourhood work, therefore, the question of who the work is for becomes manifest. As she states

The neighbourhood has changed a lot. A lot. There are loads of challenges. You have here Jews, Arabs, Ethiopian Jews, Jews from Russia, they're white, Bukhari, lots and lots. There is a lot here. There is here *'erev rav* (a rabble), it's a very diverse population.

When I pointed out the lack of representation in the *mo'etsa*, she responded:

This is a problem and it's something that we are working on. We already have an Ethiopian representative; this is something that we have already worked on. Until now, we haven't succeeded to bring an Arab representative. This is something that costs us all the time. This challenge is for Jaffa overall, not just Yafo Dalet, Jaffa generally, to compete with this topic - this issue of nationalism, Arabs and Jews. It's a country-wide issue, a worldwide issue, for sure, in *Yafo Sheli* (my Jaffa) its mixed, but there is here a lot of increased police mobility. There is also here the presence of *sayeret ironit* (urban patrol). All the time there is security and safety

issues, but what I can tell you is that there are youth who are looking for more places where we will see them less. I can tell you what they do, they use speakers, there are problems in public spaces with noise, disturbances, boys that drink alcohol and make noise and so we have the police, the city police, and volunteers, including parents of the children, who roam the public gardens to stop them making noise. There is the patrol of the *madirchei noar* (youth councillors) at night.

Though, “this is their challenge. It doesn’t end,” there is an implicit recognition of the limits to care-giving in neighbourhood life. This is because the terms of description are highly integrated into the national agenda of the Israeli state. The mission of the *mo’etsa*, she told me, is to *create haseder hatziburi* (public order), and to create a “normative atmosphere.” Some persons need to be cared for; others require controlling. Indeed, Pnina’s sense of a neighbourhood is inherently spatialised in the sense that she distinguishes between Jewish and Arab areas.

Where there’s already a mixed area, there’s areas where they live – due to the real estate situation here, there are more Arabs moving to the areas where there are more Jew – this is because *their area* has become a lot more expensive.

Hence, the question of creating better relations must involve the creation of *mirhavim* (spaces) outside of the order of place. The challenge of creating relations across borders involves the need

to generate all the time *mirhavim*, to make a space where people will be together, where people talk to one and other, become familiar with one another, as much as possible on a *rama ishit* (personal level). I can say for example that I have an Arab friend that I love. We work together, we learn together, and we have a very good connection. And I forget that like, as a Jew, all the time in my head there is the tension between Arabs and Jews. Particularly when we have wars. But when I have a personal connection with her, I don’t notice *aravia-yehudia* (Arab woman-Jewish woman). She is a human being and I am a human being (*ben adam*) and we’re friends.

I think that we need to create *mirḥavim* like this, where people see each other with a personal connection, so that the *metcha le'umi* (national tension) gets away from you.

But although Pnina sees the need to address interpersonal prejudice, the lack of participation in the *mo'etsa* by any representative of the Abu Seif family, or indeed, other Arabs, persists, and collective neighbourhood care continues with an imbalance. Indeed, one left-leaning attendee of the *mo'etsa* privately told me after a meeting that there “has to be a representative of the Arab community in this council. It’s outrageous that there’s no one there. They are part of the community.” Likewise, Ethiopians won’t have access to making their life better without participation. But she was not confident.

I felt that people around agreed it was so important, and they always say it’s so important, but no one gave me any clear answer about what they are going to do about it. Nobody ever gives me clear answers.

Thus, when projects of collective neighbourhood nurture and care are geared at specific populations, it becomes clear that visions of past and future place are limited. The need to generate *mirḥavim* (spaces) indicates the limited vision of *maḳom* (place). The production of a Jewish neighbourhood is reflected in its discursive realisation through individual and collective visions of Jewish urban space. From within the social space of the border, “from within the circle,” as Gurevitch puts it, “this ethnocentric otherness is essentially unconscious” (Gurevitch 2018: 20). Such border constructions indicate forms of state sovereignty – of *maḳom gadol* – at the heart of the peripheral neighbourhood, and this is reflected in the narratives explored in the final section.

6.3 Working on and Imagining *Maḳom*

Yosef: Towards *Mizraḥi* Urban Space

Yosef has lived in Jaffa since 1967. His biography is typical of most *vatiḳim* (veteran residents) in southern Jaffa, spending a short spell in a *bayit aravi* (Arab house) on Kedem Street in ‘Ajami, his family then moved a *shikun* in Yafo Gimmel. From a synagogue that sits on the edge of ‘Ajami and Yafo Gimmel, we entered a discussion. As well as fulfilling roles in neighbourhood committees, Yosef participates in taking care of the synagogue, a role he proudly claims he has done for many years. Yosef’s apartment is in a *shikun* on Issac Harif street, opposite the synagogue that borders Bayārat Daka and plays *Shalom Aleichem* on Friday evenings. About the Daka family, he states, “we grew up together. They come to our weddings, I go to their weddings, sure. When my mother died, about fifty of them came to give respect to her. My mother was a *tsadiḳa* (righteous woman). She died when she was 106.” Moreover

During the 1950s everyone was Jewish, there were many Jews in the *Pardes* [in the *ma‘abara*].
My wife was born there. And then came the government and evacuated them, and that’s it.
Also, today, the *Pardes* is not entirely theirs, part of it belongs to the government.

Here Yosef indicates both the power of the *bayārāt-ma‘abara* encounter explored in Chapter 3, and its dominance by the regime of *maḳom* today.

The synagogue is a modest structure, tucked away from Palestinian Arab Yefet Street. Its steel gates painted in blue contrast to the old stone buildings to its east and *shikunim* to the west. A photograph of Bibi Netanyahu is placed in the entrance of the synagogue, but otherwise, it is devoid of political symbols. The iconography and typography are typical to the *Mizraḥi* synagogues of southern Jaffa (and elsewhere). Blue “Yahwehs,” gold and silver railing on the *bimmah* (raised platform), and not many Kurdish motifs. However, as noted by Ben-Rafael and Sharot (1991: 77), ethnic pluralism in Israel might only be legitimated in certain spheres like religion and folklore, consequently creating enclosed spaces such as synagogues

that historically emerged as legitimate responses to the cultural hegemony of the Israeli public sphere. Yosef was keen to articulate that the structure is not incongruous with its surroundings:

In Jaffa, there is no problem. It is a national problem. Look, in Jaffa there are Arabs and they like the synagogue. They donate money. There are Arabs that like this place. There is a holiness here. Yes, they like this place. We do not have a problem here with the Arabs. [calling someone with an Arab name]. You saw that Arab who passed by here.

Yet, suspecting my curiosity about his relations with Palestinians, Yosef was constantly keen to revert to and emphasize the wondrous work of the Israeli state:

The country is investing a lot in the neighbourhoods. What, in 70 years, Israel has developed so much, it is incredible. Amazing. There are countries which have not at all developed in 70 years, you understand? Israel is always thinking 20 years into the future. This, *this*, is the difference.

And this is related to his understanding of the terms of interaction with Palestinian Arabs in his daily life:

I speak Hebrew with them. Listen, we are here on good terms. There are Arabs here from Hebron. They sit here, they work here, once a week they go to Hebron. I go every day to them. If they need something, I help them. They are happy here. What did an Arab tell me here? You won't believe it. He told me, last week: "The Jews always think 20 years in advance. Mahmoud Abbas is thinking 100 years back in time." He still thinks about '48 and we think about the future. Have you understood the difference? They talk with you about '48. What is '48? '48 is long gone, you have to progress, begin a new life. You understand?



Fig. 6.13 the door to an apartment on a *shikun* in Mahrozet Street. A common form of vernacularisation in the neighbourhoods is to cover one's entrance in stickers of famous Sephardi rabbis.

But Yosef is more concerned with the shifts he perceives in neighbourhood life due to changing behavioural norms amongst youth:

What I remember from my childhood. Oh wow, the neighbourhood was very different at that time. At that time there was

a different youth, not like today. Today, youth are violent. The youth of today are not like the youth of previous times. At that time youth were listening to the parents. Today they do what they want, only vandalism, drinking during the night, they do drugs. It is not like before. At their age, I was never drinking. Now they sit in the gardens, drink beer, become drunk. In my opinion, there must be a law, that if you catch someone like this, 10 years in prison. It does not work like this, you understand?

Moreover,

I told you, at that time there was a different youth, nowadays you have a different youth. Nowadays hatred exists for nothing. In former times, people used to love each other. Nowadays, even fathers and sons do not talk to each other.

Though, “It is like this everywhere in the world,” part of the problem is the changing demographics of the neighbourhood:

There are many from the past and there are many new populations here. Ethiopians, Russians.

You understand? everything is mixed today.

Nostalgia for a more collective *Mizrahi* Jewish neighbourhood is the other side of the coin that sees diversity as responsible for this decline. Struggling to maintain the Jewish identity of the neighbourhood is a major concern for Yosef.

Hence for Yosef, seeking forms of Jewish unity are key. Synagogues are for him social and spatial centres from which to cultivate a basis for Jewish cultural life:

In the neighbourhood there are no *edot* (traditions of Judaism), everyone is the same. *Amcha* [an Arabic word often used pejoratively to describe working-class Israelis], not rich people, *amcha*. You understand? You know what *amcha* is? Simple people, not rich ones, but they are happy. They have the joy of life, in our neighbourhood’s synagogue, in the Hazikarim synagogue [bordering Bayārat Daka], where there are always 200 prayers, many prayers, the synagogue is always full of children. There is no space to move. This synagogue... come let me tell you a story. There was no synagogue. About 35 years ago, there was an *‘edah*. We brought a caravan, the *va ‘ad shikunah* put it there and that was the synagogue. So, this is it, we decided that there is a synagogue here. However, to his credit, Chich was the mayor at that time [Shlomo “Chich” Lahat was mayor of Tel Aviv 1974-1993], he arrived there and said: “This is not a synagogue, I will make you a synagogue.” He brought a donor from the US, his name is Shmuel, Shmuel something, and he built the synagogue.

Utilizing the resources of the state and other Zionist actors to produce a Jewish centre at the borders of Arab Jaffa, Yosef is proud of the synagogue and constantly sought to encourage my attendance. This was entangled with another proselyting aim of his, to encourage my taking up

Israeli citizenship. “Why don’t you make ‘*aliyah* (emigrate to Israel)? You don’t have it good here in Israel? Are you getting on well with the Christians? It is better for you here in Israel!” he would often say. “Come to me for *Shabbat* dinner. Every *Shabbat* you can come. You pray here and then we go together for *Shabbat* dinner at my place.” These aims seemed intertwined and rooted in a set of boundarized beliefs that equated my Judaism with Zionism. Whilst this made me uncomfortable, his generosity and hospitality encouraged me to take up the offer one *Shabbat*.

I arrived for the *kabbalat shabbat* service. It was my first time hearing a Kurdish *channayut* (liturgical melodies specific to particular geographical origins). I picked up one of the many *siddurim* (prayer books) with Mizraḥi rabbis on the front. A mid 19th century Baghdadi *kabbalist* Yossef Hayim was one of them, Yosef pointed out. The Rabbi of the synagogue moved to Yafo Dalet and now lives on Kēhilat Kanada Street. He used to live in the ultra-orthodox city of Bnei Brak. During the Rabbi’s sermon, Yosef came to sit next to me and pointed out “does anyone else gift in this way? It’s only the Jews”

After the service, I began walking with Yosef towards his house, sporting a *kippah* (skullcap). I had been quite anxious at the prospect of walking down Yefet street as a Jew. Publicly assigning myself to a form of collectivity was a difficult thing to stomach, but when it happened, I was much calmer than expected. I still noticed my surroundings – the Hinnawi butcher I occasionally bought meat from, the *makolet* (convenience store) I bought *shatta* (Palestinian fermented chilli sauce) from – and felt a fear of other people’s attention to incongruity. These feelings were stronger than the dilemmas of partiality I was constantly grappling with. We walked home with one of the two Ethiopian men attending the service. Yitzhak was, quite remarkably, the same Ethiopian man I had been sat next to at a *seder* ceremony for Jaffa’s Ethiopians during Passover (see Chapter 7). His smile on realising it was me was gleaming. Despite not being able to converse (his Hebrew was basic, and he didn’t

speak English), I found myself connecting. His goodbye handshake was strong and heartfelt. I had now discovered that he lives on the *rekevet* (train) building before Yefet 177-181, around the corner from my rented apartment. Here I was, finding myself now momentarily entering a very male, Jewish texture of neighbourhood life; forming a *social border* (Agier 2016).

As Yosef and I continued on to his house, we walked past an entry point to Bayārat/Pardes Daka, where the plastic silver boards were crushed. He said, “The police entered here.” I asked why, to which he replied “drugs” as he pointed to the boards. As we passed through previously unknown paths between the back of a few *shikunim*, I noted his dexterity in navigation and so I asked whether he enjoyed the ground space the *amudim* provided to the neighbourhood. He smiled and said “Yes, “I’ve lived here for a long time.” Connecting navigation with place, we can see, with Michel De Certeau, “walking as a space of enunciation” (De Certeau 1988: 98).

We walked up four flights of stairs. I waited at the door whilst one of his daughters, Roni, wrapped her hair up. She was wearing all black, lots of chic jewellery and trendy glasses. She was *baal teshuva* (“returned to faith”), along with her husband Zohar, who was raised in Yafo Dalet. They have five kids, and the three boys had long *payot* (long sidelocks worn by ultra-orthodox Jews). Yosef’s son I had met in the synagogue – he had invited me to his place for dinner before I explained I was going to Yosefs (without realising it was his father). His other two daughters were present. Shay lives in the secular Tel Aviv suburb Givatayim and was wearing Jeans and a casual top. It was her birthday. She considers herself as someone modern, liberal, and open-minded, and the meal became an insight into the negotiation of intra-family difference. She was checking her phone at times throughout the night, despite Roni and Zohar’s observance of *Shabbat*. The final daughter, Kim, was wearing a black dress, lots of make-up, and was keen to point out to me the name of two Sushi restaurants in London. Yosef’s wife, Tamar, was wearing tracksuit bottoms and shared with her husband a similar *masorti* (traditional) but modern self-projection. Initially, I was met with curiosity and respect. I didn’t

give too much away, realising I didn't have that much to say about the neighbourhood that wouldn't provoke suspicion. They kept asking me to tell them what I'd found out about their neighbourhood, and in the end, I referred to its complexity. They seemed to like my approach of expanding the encounter beyond Arabs and Jews. They told me they think it's hard for the Ethiopians here.

The interior walls were plastered with 'ayins and hamsas alongside a print of New York covered in fake diamonds. *Yerushalayim shel Zahav* (Jerusalem of Gold) in bold lettering and a gold background provides the setting for one of the kid's portraits. We began discussing Jewish-Muslim relations in the UK – a topic Yosef brought up regularly. I insisted they were largely positive, not expecting what was to follow. “Muslims are taking over Europe,” he insisted. I pointed out that Muslims make up only 5% of the British population. Then came the more serious charge, contextually-speaking, that there are “no Palestinian people” because they have “no culture.” It sounded straight out of *Yisrael haYom* (a right-wing newspaper), though *Yediot Aḥronot* (more centrist) was on the sofa. Shay and I pointed to the richness of Arab culture. After accepting this, Yosef still contended, “it's the same in Syria, it's not Palestinian.” I then asked him whether his Arab friends consider themselves Palestinian. He answered with a begrudging acknowledgement, and then repeated, “they have Arabic culture, but they're not a people.”

He continued, “My Muslim friend even says, the Jews are 20 years ahead, and the Muslims are 50 years behind.” But his daughter, passionately replied “they are a people, they share a territory, why does it bother you?” I then interjected, trying to explain Benedict Anderson in simple Hebrew. “They have a history. They share an experience. The Israelis are a new people.” The issue wasn't resolved. We both spent the next 20 minutes looking at the paper, and then dinner was served.

Kiddush was made by Zohar. It was all quite relaxed. As is custom, I washed my hands prior to the meal and uttered the blessing, even though they had insisted it's my choice not to. Dinner itself was a medley. It began with *challah* (a braided loaf made for *shabbat*) and lots of pre-bought salads, including *Ashkenazi* egg, Turkish tomato and chilli, coleslaw, and three homemade salads of parsley and cranberry, peppers, cucumber and carrot and a potato salad with pickled cucumbers in it which Yosef's wife was most proud of. Then came a fish course, as is customary on *Shabbat*. It was a version of the Libyan dish *Chraime*, white fish in a spicy tomato sauce. Later came a *Kubbeh Hamusta* (meat stuffed dumplings in a sour broth) with *Bamieh* (okra), which she insisted I ate with rice. Here were the remnants of Iraqi Kurdistan.

A persistent theme throughout the meal was collective joking about a *Mizrahi* wedding they had recently attended, with *hafla* (Arabic: party) and *dabke* (Palestinian traditional dance) movements mimicked. It was "like the Arabs," Kim said. As we delved into my research further, they were surprised, even amused, that I had visited Bayārat Daka and Abu Seif. They asked me who I had met in Daka, with an attuned familiarity. Kim was seemingly suspicious of my intentions. She asked me if I had joined the army, insisting it's fun, as well as important. Shay pointed out that it was a stupid question, and also questioned how important or enjoyable it was. Zohar said jokingly "*Ani lo ohev et ha kibush*" (I don't like the occupation), after previously saying in response to Kim's assertion that "it's good to serve your country," "I served *elohim* (God)".

Then came a discussion about housing. Jews are leaving Jaffa because its Arab "they're only 26%, it's not a lot, but you can feel them," said Kim. Throughout, they expressed a mentality of fear of Arabs taking over. Many Jewish residents left because "there are too many Arabs here." The husband remarked on this, "I tried to get away and they followed me" about his neighbour in the Amidar neighbourhood bordering Jaffa. "Amidar is for religious families, a kosher neighbourhood. But Arabs move there for more private space, and the Bat Yam

municipality's permission to do extensions.” He also noted how his school, Roni Zion, only had two Arabs in the class and now its 50% Arab. Despite this, there was an awareness of the limits of Arab housing choices. They asked me where they're going and I explained, without politicising, why Arabs are moving to Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel, as well as Bat Yam, Lod and Ramle. They didn't argue with my statement that north Jaffa had become too expensive. Unfinished with her interest in Arab presence in Tel Aviv, later in the conversation, Kim stated “every restaurant in Ramat Aviv is Arab.” After missing some of the conversation, Shay explained that she had been “disagreeing over cleanliness of restaurants, she won't eat in some.”

Delving into Yosef's familial world, I began to understand how his own drive to ensure flourishing Jewish life in the neighbourhood was imbricated in a distinct family awareness of the neighbourhood's others (mainly Arabs), although with some resistance from his daughter Shay. Noga Shani and Meirav Aharon-Gutman (2017) demonstrate how the performance of ‘*avodat HaMaḳom* (God's work) by Breslov *ḥasidim* (a sect of Ultra-Orthodox Jews) in the socioeconomically peripheral city of Safed preserves its centrality in the national image as a holy city. The performance of rituals, rites, the study of *torah*, and other religious acts are forms of working on place as both a physical environment and a symbolic, sacred centre. ‘*avodat HaMaḳom* (God's work) and ‘*avodat maḳom* (the work of place) are thus co-constituting. This is in contrast to the argument of Merav Alush-Levron (2016), who reflects on the film *Hamashgihim* (God's Neighbour's), to demonstrate how working-class *Mizraḥi* identity in the peripheral city of Bat Yam represents cultural autonomy from the liberal state and the formation of a peripheral religious *Mizraḥi* territory. I argue that from the perspective of Jaffa's *periferyah*, the notion of cultural autonomy is undermined by the sense of bordering others (in the film, secular Russian immigrants, and Arabs from Jaffa – in southern Jaffa, these and more) and the symbiotic nature of spiritual work and the creation of *maḳom*. Entangling Yosef's neighbourhood work with his sense of intimate borders, his missionary placemaking seeks to

articulate Yafo Gimmel within the space of the nation. The discourse of Arabisation of the neighbourhoods, the lack of public order, and his desire to sanctify neighbourhood space co-produce conceptions of place that are commonly felt and performed by *Mizraḥi* residents. Looking to other non-*Mizraḥi* neighbourhood actors, we see how aims, tropes and discursive affects and performances are shared by secular activists.

Lilach: Cleaning up the Neighbourhood

In my penultimate month of fieldwork, I began to meet some neighbourhood actors about shooting a film in Yafo Dalet. Lilach, a newcomer to the neighbourhood who was elected to the *va'ad shikunah* (neighbourhood committee) agreed to meet me and the co-producer at her house with Anat, the *rosh* (head) of the *va'ad shikunah*. In a strange turn of events, we had been doubled booked with two other filmmakers who had been shooting a film about Jaffa for the past few years for the Israeli Public Broadcasting Corporation branded as *Kan* in Hebrew (meaning “here”) and *Makān* in Arabic (meaning “a place”). They were now shooting the Yafo Dalet part of their film. With the less direct concerns of our ethnographic film receding to the background, the conversation that followed was enlightening. Lavi and Keren’s film for Kan is focused on problems of *dior* (housing) and gentrification. Yet the stage now offered was an opportunity to perform the neighbourhood.

Lilach was excited. “Jaffa is on the map, everyone wants to make a film about Yafo Dalet,” she said. Lavin began the discussion by asking Anat, a long-time resident, about her heritage. She made her *Mizraḥi* heritage and place in Jaffa in general clear by shifting the spotlight to the Libyan synagogue In Old Jaffa. Switching back to the neighbourhood, she said nostalgically, “Yafo Dalet used to be only Jews.” Pointing to new Arab residents, she then switched to a narrative about neighbourhood decline and the lack of safety. “I take the car everywhere.” Lilach responded, “You’re using it because you’re lazy.” Lavi agreed, “Let’s speak about statistics. How many Jews have been killed in Jaffa? Zero! Zero!” Lilach nodded.

Anat responded, “I don’t think that’s true. And there was this girl that was raped.” Lilach said, “but you don’t count rape in that, because you wouldn’t let your daughter walk around anywhere in Israel.”

Lilach was keen to talk about the situation getting better. Keren said, “we’ve been filming for 2 years, what do you think has changed?” Lilach talked about the increased cleanliness. She pointed to the *pikuah ironi* (city officers), and their sense that there are only two centres that are problematic. “Their used to be so many.” She said it came from hard work, from telling people in the street to stop littering. When state actors don’t do the work, she takes it upon herself to tell people. Her aim is to “push...away the dirt,” as Sibley puts it (1995: 14). “They come, they sit, they bring all the food and they leave everything here. You know, the *hamulot* [pluralized Hebraization of *hamula*, Arabic for clan/extended family]. I don’t want to say, but like Arabs.” Anat replied, “why are you saying Arabs?” Lilach replied “I didn’t mean they are Arabs, I meant they are doing it like Arabs. They acted like Arabs, *hamulot* making noise.” Lavi wanted her to confirm “Yeh, but Jews or Arabs?” She said “Both. A lot of Jews, Ethiopians.” She confirmed that the Arab-esque disorder was behaviour replicated across the neighbourhood. She pointed out an Ethiopian woman who hides from her now and puts the bags in her pocket when she sees her there.

But the Arab youth are particularly problematic, she pointed out. Lavi asked if she’s afraid to speak to them. She said she’s not, and that they are shocked when she speaks to them. But eventually, she calls the *pikuah* (officer) to tell them that they don’t clean. Then they come and take them away. This neighbourhood work is a moral mission that represents what Richard Sennett calls, “the peculiar desire for purity” (Sennett 1971: 12). Lilach was keen to demonstrate the convergence of her work with her aspiration to see the neighbourhood to grow in prosperity and to change in population. She used to rent in Neve Sharett, a wealthy

neighbourhood in north Tel Aviv, and after purchasing a property in Yafo Dalet, she hopes it can become similar.

Conversely, Anat stated

I'm not like Lilach, I've been here a long time. I could tell you who lives here, here, and there. There were criminals but it made us feel safe because I knew that if someone not from here came and tried something, I would feel protected. But you know, I was a child, and for parents it's different. Maybe I wasn't thinking about safety. Now I know it's different. They're trying in our neighbourhood to change things, blocking areas so that bikes cannot get inside and we were proud of that. But currently they're coming in with bikes, and they're not even from the neighbourhood. Making noise, doing whatever.

Asked why they're doing that, she responded "its provocation!" Then she was pressed, and she said, "Is it not a provocation, to do *a la esh* (make a barbecue) on Yom Kippur?" Anat's sense of place-based legitimacy was not just directed at Arab outsiders. She was keen to demonstrate her difference from Lilach and other newcomers. But for Lilach, the Jewish majority in Yafo Dalet was key to her choice to move. "I looked at Shikunei Hisachon (Yafo Alif) first but it was full of Arabs, so I moved to Yafo Dalet. That's the situation we have in this country." Whether marked by decline and insecurity or aspiration and mission, their convergence on the Jewish character of the neighbourhood was apparent. But for Anat, a Jewish neighbourhood is – as for Yosef – rooted in a *Mizrahi* conception of urban space and neighbourhood life. Making *makom* requires restrictive work against outsiders. For Lilach, the work required is productive, with the outsiders that Anat and Yosef and his familiar fear actively undermined by Lilach.

Crucially, Lilach has heritage in Jaffa. Her Bulgarian grandparents were part of the major veteran community living in central Jaffa from the 1950 (Haskell 1994). When I met Lilach at her apartment on another occasion, she explained this to me:

They lived on Mezeri, Ba'al Shem Tov. So today it is called the Bulgarian neighbourhood. There are many Arabs there nowadays, but at the time there were not. They held really much less [estates]. So, this was my *shikun*, and the reason that I decided to move to here. It was really during the first years when my grandparents lived here. My parents lived in Bat Yam, but often came here and therefore my love for Jaffa grew.

She hopes that “that there will be a stronger populating flowing in.” She continues

And what I hope to do is to raise the voice, to accelerate the renewal of the neighbourhood. Because though the municipality really tries to help, and the municipality has understood that for years she needs to spend money, it does not reach the right places and that she does not satisfy the residents. Because there is a difference between when you say what to do with the money and when are satisfied with it, when you feel it. And there is something about the fact that there is now a committee that examines it together with the municipality and tells the municipality what to do.

Despite some ambivalence about mixture, her neighbourhood work is entangled in a specific vision for the future. This impacts the decisions she makes, such as choosing a kindergarten for her daughter:

There is maybe one Arab child, there is always one, two children. I was in a dilemma, because there is a bilingual kindergarten here in Jaffa. And it has an excellent reputation. I read about and it is excellent. But I decided that it will be too difficult. I mean I agree with the fact that everyone is equal, but at the bottom line if you take the fact that everyone is equal, but the moment her best friends will be Arabs or that she will marry an Arab. If I would be fine with that? The answer is no. So, I do not have a problem with her being confused about the holidays or something like that.

Lilach is happy that the neighbourhood is not too Arab but still has fears

In Yafo Gimmel there are more Arabs. Here also they introduce them. In former times, they have almost never been here. Except for Abu Seif. In some places they complain, in some other places I've already heard that people want to leave the neighbourhood because they have many difficulties. With the noise that they produce: shouting, curses, havoc, they throw things. A true havoc.

But

I believe that with the urban renewal, as I see it, also this population will change. In what concerns quality of life, this one is steadily improving.

Lilach's neighbourhood work is based on the belief that her active placemaking now can assist in "cleaning" the neighbourhood and purging it of disorder. Thus, the aim of creating a *Mizrahi* place becomes entangled in the politics of "upgrading" the neighbourhood and seeking to exclude its others (particularly Ethiopians and Palestinians). These dominant voices in the civil political life of the neighbourhood illustrate the widespread sentiments I encountered, as well as their ambiguities. Moreover, the aesthetic order and political exclusion explored in 6.1 and 6.2 can be linked to the discursive constructions of place explored in this last section.

Conclusion: The *Place* of the State at the Urban Margins

In the late 1980s, Israeli anthropology began to focus on notions of place found in root metaphors and everyday cultural conceptions and notions (Ben-Ari and Bilu 1997: 8). Gurevitch's seminal essay pointed to the struggles over the meaning of *ha-makom* (the place) within Israeli society, as it figures distinctively in different versions of Jewish and Israeli identities (Gurevitch 1997). Dan Rabinowitz (1997) suggests that we can only ever capture "partial Israeli worlds" because, where Palestinian Arabs are at once participant and observer in particular spaces, their profound ambivalence to the state makes Israel cease to be a unitary

phenomenon. In other words, the practices of spatial continuity I have designated as *majāl* interrupt the spatial production of *maḳom*. Moreover, Jewish-Israeli cultures, it has been argued, are not restricted to the geopolitical boundaries of the state (Levy 1997). This is evidenced by the fact that Israelis themselves profess to have multiple homelands (Goldberg 1997), indicated by Moroccan and Ethiopian diasporic connections – as well as Russian ones (Siegel 1998) – which demonstrate the “contradictions of homecoming” (Weingrod and Levy 2006). Yet the partiality of place in the urban borderlands of southern Jaffa illustrates ways in which *Mizraḥi* residents in particular mobilise bordering practices – both discursive and aesthetic – to fulfil a particular vision of *maḳom* that territorialises Jaffa as Jewish and applies a vernacular sovereignty to the area. Consequently, this demonstrates how the state’s sovereignty is materially realized through a network of agents (Navaro-Yashin 2012).

Tzfadia and Yacobi (2011) and Yiftachel (2006) have spoken of an alternative sense of place linked to *Mizraḥi* diaspora identity that undermines the production of sovereign space in Israel. But in the context of the Jewish-Palestinian mixed city, it is precisely *Mizraḥi* symbols that produce Jewish place vis-à-vis Arab space. Whilst in the southern city of Netivot “a diaspora place is produced within a national-sovereign space” (Yacobi 2008: 66), in Jaffa, the same symbols are articulated within a project of national Judaization.³⁷ Yacobi writes

Indeed, within the Israeli space, the modernist housing machine became hybrid twice. First, it was transformed from a site that expressed a unified modernist national identity into a site that symbolizes the excluded *Mizraḥi* population. Second, it was transformed from a site based on

³⁷ Yacobi argues that in Netivot the *shikunim* – intended to reflect sovereignty over national territory and incentivise identity production – have been transformed by *Mizraḥim* where an extensive city life takes place with a backdrop of *shikunim* (Yacobi 2008: 69-70). He writes, “Spatially speaking, on the day of the *Hillulah*, the neglected space between the edge of the city and the cemetery is transformed into a meeting place of the pilgrims” (Ibid.: 74).

the notion of progressive modernity into a site of alternative modernity, where individual place production violates the top-down initiatives (Yacobi 2008: 76).

But what that “modernity” is “alternative” to shifts according to the quotidian territorial context in which it is framed. In the mixed city undergoing demographic shifts, forms of spatial practice around Judaism become interwoven into broader socio-political dynamics (Ram and Aharon-Gutman 2017). “Diaspora” can be articulated as a term of resentment against the Arabisation of space (Torstrick 2000: 157). For *hitna'alut* (settlement) to be successful, residents must become key actors in the production of landscapes that articulate nationalist concepts (Handelman and Shagmar-Handelman 1997) and thereby the sovereign presence of the state. Spaces of enclosure and discourses that exclude Palestinians and other population groups from participation in placemaking practices are part of the contemporary practice of ethno-statecraft. Suspending forces of the city, the urban domain is manipulated and materialised by the state.

In her ethnography of state power in Turkey, Yael Navaro has argued that state and civil society discourses are so enmeshed that analytical distinctions become obsolete. Moreover, “In order to survive, the habitus of an established statecraft had to be reproduced on a daily basis” (Navaro-Yashin 2002: 167). In Jaffa, there is not a cynical reproduction of statecraft, but a reciprocal relationship between the urban borderlands and the Israeli nation-state. Although Zionist nationalism’s combination of territory, presence and ownership (Kimmerling 1983) may be difficult to achieve even in the formal domain of statecraft, what we see are everyday performances that encourage the visual and audial Hebraization of public space, and the construction of social borders within neighbourhood life. Yacobi writes, “Territoriality” or “the social construction of territorial belonging” like “any other social arena” is built on formation of “common consciousness and collective interests” (Yacobi 2009: 60). Whilst social behaviour cannot be reduced to purely territorial purposes, it is clear that the demarcation of borders is attempted not only on national geopolitical scales but also at frontier regions (Ibid:

61). This chapter, however, has drawn our attention to the ways in which this political consciousness goes beyond specific formal planning decisions, as Yacobi argues, and seeps into everyday life as constant and productive cultural and material work. Collectively, such practices illustrate how the neighbourhood is seen as threatened, requiring this work to produce its meaning as a part of Israeli-Jewish territory. Attention to these multiple facets of urban representation demonstrates the everyday presence of the state in which both secular and sacred visions of *maḳom* converge to affectively produce *the Jewish city*. In the next chapter, I explore some limitations on such a sociospatial production through the processes of “integration” applied towards a new immigrant population of Ethiopian Jews, and forms of racialisation that such processes have generated.

SEVEN

**

Race, Community and the Urban Limits of Nationalism



Fig. 7.1 - A sign from the January protest reads: “I am Yehuda (of blessed memory) and I was murdered by a police officer.” The protest began by blocking Tel Aviv’s main highway, pictured here. A “Black lives Matter” sign with the Hebrew names of those murdered or beaten by the police surrounding the English letters is in the background.

On the 18th January 2019, Yehuda Biadga, a 24-year-old Ethiopian-Israeli suffering from PTSD was killed by a police officer in Bat Yam, the Jewish city contiguous with southern Jaffa. Protests arranged a few days later blocked Tel Aviv’s main highway. The crowds chanted “*Medinat Mishṭara*” (Police State) and placards read “Black Lives Matter” and “Racism? Not in my country!” Two days prior, I had been interviewing the director of ‘*avodat Rehov*’ (street work), an arm of the municipality’s social services that counsels teenagers involved in crime, drug and alcohol abuse, or those suffering from domestic violence. In southern Jaffa, the majority of these teenagers are Ethiopian or Palestinian. As we were discussing one of the

major problems for these youth — encounters with the police — he said to me, with a pronounced poise

In Israel we want to believe it's different [to the US] because we're all Jewish people. And we're *'am ahad* (one people). But they don't shoot. In the Arab community, the police do. Not like every day, but sometimes it happens. It doesn't happen so much that the police shoot Jewish people. It's very extreme.

Two days later, Yehuda Biadga was shot dead. Yehuda had been carrying a kitchen knife, but the police officers had been aware that he suffered from psychological trauma and hadn't taken his medication. Despite this, in May 2019, the case was closed for investigation.

These events were catalytic in accelerating my understanding of the experience of young Ethiopian-Israelis in Jaffa. At the protest, having mistaken my audio recorder for a taser, two Ethiopian women asked me if I was a police officer and what I was doing in the crowd. This sobering moment forced me to delve into the depth of fear many must feel. Though I was myself riddled with sadness at the collective pain I experienced all around me, I was made conscious of how solidarity from non-Ethiopians was unexpected, and, moreover, of how the very presence of a white body could provoke insecurity. For at least a decade, many have refused to accept the urgency and institutionalisation of discrimination against Ethiopians. Such doubts are not restricted to antagonists and proud racists but were even expressed by supposed white allies working on human rights issues. See, for instance, the claims of Micha Odenheimier, a rabbi, journalist and activist who founded the Israel Association of Ethiopian Jews. He candidly wrote

But mainly, I found it hard to absorb what my Ethiopian-Israeli friends were telling me, because I believed that racism in Israel was not the ugly and violent hatred of blacks, rooted in slavery, that has a long history in the United States. Here it was more benighted prejudices against their

“primitive” culture—which I knew through long experience with the “Beta Israel”, was not primitive at all. Or it was about limited expectations—the often institutional assumptions that Ethiopian-Israelis were not as capable as others (Odenheimer 2020).

In the last two decades, Ethiopian concerns have switched from interpersonal worries about being labelled by some *sabrim* (native Israelis) as *kushim* (negroes) (Dominguez 1989: 92), to a broad understanding of their place in Israeli society as marked by structural discrimination. For this reason, it felt necessary to frame my analysis of the Ethiopian population in Jaffa within and around these events. As Mali, one of the coordinators at the *moked klitah* puts it

You can't separate Jaffa from the general context for the Ethiopian community. Do you understand? You cannot ignore what happens at the national level because there is the matter of Ethiopian immigrants facing Israeli society. There has to be a way for Israeli society do deal with this issue.

The notion of separation between *kehilat etiopit* (the Ethiopian community) and *ha-hevra ha-israelit* (Israeli society) frames this analysis. However, my own observations of the events were highly localised in the urban context of southern Jaffa, where the Ethiopian population reside in close connection to the neighbouring population in Bat Yam. This chapter considers the processes of “integration” that use city space to create new national subjects, whilst simultaneously producing the segregated geographies experienced by Ethiopian-Israelis in Jaffa. In doing so, I offer a critical perspective on the employment of the term *kehila* (community) at urban and national scales, arguing that although urbanisation facilitates forms of socialisation into the *Mizrahi* urban periphery, this process is limited by the reifying notion of *kehila*. The sociologist Brian Alleyne has argued that the discursive use of the term community totalizes people, reinforces a historically and theoretically untenable notion of immutable difference, and serves to reinforce presumed difference of minority groups (Alleyne

2002: 609). Moreover, rooted in a rural idea of contiguous social relations and group cohesion (Creed 2006), the idea of community denies intra-group difference, and exaggerates inter-group difference (Amit 2002). Community is understood here as a particular instance in which sites of difference are also sites of power (Goldberg and Solomos 2002).

In this context, the construction and reification of community through urban space is a mode of integrating an '*edah* ("ethnicity") into the national body in a way that maintains their distinctive status.³⁸ This chapter thus reflects on how borders are formed through the temporal, social and spatial construction of the Ethiopian population in Jaffa as a "community." These three aspects of the border are derived from Michel Agier. He argues that the border is temporal "in the sense that the place and the community have not always existed" social in the sense that "the threshold where the instituted group symbolically begins is recognized on both side," and spatial in the sense that it "has a form that partitions space and materialises an inside and an outside"(Agier 2016: 18-19). I combine these aspects to illustrate how the external and internally mediated reification of the population constitutes the *borders of community*. These borders, however, offer a space in which identities can be reconstituted. Indeed, whilst the city becomes the stage of the state, difference is marked racially by processes of racial stigmatisation rooted in global regimes of spatial racemaking and blackness that are reflected in particular through urban space (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991, Gilroy 1993, McKittrick 2006, Simone 2016). Race thus becomes the thorn that "undoes" process of Israeli-nation state building. Because nation-building in city-space is refused by urban black identities and materialities, the contradictions of contemporary Zionism become exposed.

³⁸ The term '*edah* refers to a specific geographically produced Jewish historical tradition. I translate it here as "ethnicity," but it importantly refers to an exclusive community (Jews) of *edot* (ethnicities). The emphasis of Ethiopian-Israelis has often been on Beta Israel's self-characterisation as an '*edah*, often defined in contrast with others. For example, Christians in Ethiopia, and in Israel "converts" and "Russians," whilst identifying themselves sometimes with other Jewish Israelis and Yemenites (Herman 2012: 257). Indeed, Teferi (2005) argues that whilst there was a similarity to Christians ethnically, culturally and architecturally (places of worship have same architectural division), monasticism, and animal sacrifice, they should still be defined as an '*edah*. He shows how in all cases, Jews elsewhere exhibited similar patterns of similarity with neighbours.

The chapter is separated into four sections. The first section presents a brief contextualisation of the Ethiopian migration to Israel. The second section presents ethnographic and interview material from inside the *moked klitah* (absorption centre) and other municipal actors to illustrate the managerial discourses that frame the community. Noting the strong presence of neo-Zionist politics in processes of “integration” – which at once frames the population as a separate *kehila* (community) and as subjects of the *dati le’umi* (national-religious) political project – I explore how Judaism, citizenship, and city-making are co-produced simultaneously. This includes the moral policing of youth that emerges from such frameworks of absorption. The third section looks at how such processes are produced and subverted in communal events. In the final section, I present ethnographic material conducted amongst Ethiopian youth on the streets, in parks, and in youth centres in southern Jaffa. Here I discuss emergent identities amongst Ethiopian youth themselves that reject normative orders and processes of reification, reconfiguring urban borders through the urban fabric of the neighbourhoods. Forms of rebordering illustrate the limitations of nationalist assimilationist project when initiated through the city space of peripheral place. Whilst the second and fourth sections are separated according to “management” and “residents,” it is important to note that these realms are iterative and intertwined, which the third section shows. The conclusion proposes a model of black spatial syncretism that not only challenges processes of acculturation, but also raises challenges to the very production of *maḳom*.

7.1 From Beta Israel to Ethiopian-Israelis: Discrimination from 1973-2020

Prior to their arrival in Israel, Ethiopian-Israelis were known as “falasha,” which refers to specific regions of Ethiopia (Gondar and Semien), or as “Beta Israel,” a term only relevant in the Ethiopian context. Amaleetch Teferi argues we should opt for the broader term “Ethiopian Jews” (Teferi 2005). Although they trace their lineage back to the first Babylonian exile, Ethiopian-Israelis’ specific form of Judaism was developed distinctly from the Sephardic and

Ashkenazi traditions. Daniel Summerfield (2017) argues that the dress, diet, family structure, language and even religion was remarkably similar to their Christians neighbours, and the transformation of Falashas into Ethiopian Jews was gradual. The shift from Falasha into Ethiopian Jews – both in terms of internal definitions and in the eyes of Western Jewry – began with the emergence of international Jewish agencies in the late 19th century. From 1860-1960, there was an influx of external influences, such that by the 1970s, Falasha customs that most resembled normative Judaism were emphasised and given Hebrew names.³⁹ Conversely, those that did not were adjusted significantly. In Israel today, many place emphases on their status as a lost tribe of Dan. But whilst the process of “integration” can be traced over the *longue durée* of the late 19th century with the emergence of Jewish internationalism through to Zionism, the Ministry of Absorption maintained skepticism about their claims to Jewishness. They even declared in 1973 that they were foreign in all aspects to the Jewish nation, and that no action was needed to assist with a collective ‘*aliyah* (immigration). Eventually, after much debate and crypticism, and perhaps more significantly, pressure from American Jewish institutions, their status was recognized after a *halakhic* decree by Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, then chief Sephardic Rabbi of Israel.

Yet the road to Israel was full of trauma, suffering, and pain. It was during the Ethiopian Civil war that the first ‘*aliyah* took place. Israel had no diplomatic relations with Ethiopia, so many went to temporary camps on the border of Sudan. This was during a period of famine. In 1984, Operation Moses was conducted, airlifting 8000 Jews from Sudan via Brussels. However, between the years of 1977-1984, many crossed the desert to get to Israel, dying on the way. Towards the end of the Civil War in 1991, an agreement was reached between officials

³⁹ Also see Teferra (2018: 494) on the complex practice of choosing Hebrew names, in which some names were chosen due to phonetic similarity to Ethiopian names, others arbitrarily, at the whim of the officials. Additionally, the practice of taking the husbands surname was alien to Ethiopian culture, and second names were defined by name of the father, so Israeli authorities decided the grandfather’s name should serve as the family name.

of outgoing dictator Mengistu and the Israeli government. \$35,000,000 was paid by Israel to allow 14,400 Beta Israel to come to Israel in Operation Solomon. Since the 2016 approval of around 10,000 Feles Mura (descendants of Beta Israel who converted to Christianity),⁴⁰ current statistics shows that there are more than 135,000 Ethiopian Jews living in Israel. Around 500 families live in Jaffa, and a few hundred more in neighbouring Bat Yam.

The focus of this chapter is on the local production of an Ethiopian *kehila* (community), and how this process relates to racialization and quotidian experiences of segregation. However, it is important to mention the significant collective controversies over mass ritual conversions and forced contraception of women. Tebeka, the leading NGO advocating for equality and justice for Ethiopian-Israelis has successfully won 7,100 cases of racial discrimination in the workplace, family law, education, housing and even in the health sector. These figures indicate the broad national context of religious, racial and class prejudice towards Ethiopians (Webster-Kogen 2016: 280, Kaplan and Sharaby 2015), and the sense of marginality experienced by many immigrants (Anteby-Yemeni 2015, Schindler 2005: 139-40, Sharaby and Kaplan 2015 Trevisan Semi and Parfitt 2005: xvi-xvii, Shokeid 2015).⁴¹ The account offered here is a localised, spatialised perspective connected to the broader political landscape.

7.2 Reifying Communal Borders

⁴⁰ Seeman (2009) has pointed to the desire of the *Feles Mura* to be “absorbed quickly.” This is despite the discriminatory processes “imposed upon them by the gatekeepers of national purity” (2009: 123), and the discriminatory sentiment amongst Beta Israel expresses in the discourse of fear of “*misiyonarim*” (missionaries). Daniel Friedmann also notes, (1999: 78-9) that in the first instance, the law of return was only allowed in cases of family reunification to the extent that individuals had a first-degree relative. Two thousand *feles mura* came in 1993, and a conversion process for thirty thousand more began.

⁴¹ One form of marginality has been experienced specifically by *kesoch* (priests), who’s status and authority has declined in Israel (Kaplan and Sharaby 2015). Also see Kaplan and Rosen 1993.

⁴¹ Seeman has also argued that the denial of their privilege of conducting marriage and divorce, as well as their roles as spiritual counsellors has placed in a very vulnerable position (Seeman 2009: 135). In May 2020, a landmark decision by The National Labor Court recognised decades of discrimination. Retroactive payment from the state and local religious councils was ordered to 16 Ethiopian Israeli rabbis and spiritual leaders after decades of discriminatory allocation of resources, pay gaps and failure to redress the injustices despite protests and legal appeals (Kashti 2020).

As we saw in Chapter 2, from the 1990s, subsidized housing was provided by Halamish and other public housing companies for Ethiopian immigrants who now form around 20-30% of the population in the south of the city (the population has grown since the 2008 census). The arrival of Ethiopian-Israelis to Jaffa's *peripheryah* is the latest stage of a history of spatial policy in Tel Aviv-Jaffa that has deliberately delineated specific areas of the city according to ethno-class lines (Rotbard 2015, Marom 2014). As Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrated, southern Jaffa's neighbourhoods were constructed to house largely *Mizrahi* immigrants dwelling in *ma'abarot*. Moreover, peripheral Jaffa has been continuously neglected and discursively marginalised, and Ethiopians navigate their part in the city of Tel Aviv Jaffa and Israeli society at-large within the distinctive politics of this built environment. As well as understanding their migration to Jaffa as a demographic resource – comparable to what Haim Yacobi shows in the mixed Jewish-Palestinian city of Lod, where the formation of a new, planned neighbourhood for FSU (Former Soviet Union) immigrants “re-balanced” the demographic composition (Yacobi 2009: 72-84) – I consider how governmental management of the population segregates rather than integrates them into the national body. Although other cities demonstrate such patterns – for example Ashdod, where Ethiopian enclaves emerged in socioeconomically weaker neighbourhoods (Tzfadia and Yacobi 2011: 97) – as a mixed city, Jaffa illustrates the complex balance of demographic politics and the politics of exclusion. A *moked klitah* (absorption centre) has been operating at the edge of Neve Golan/Yafo Gimmel and Yafo Alif since 2006. There are 26 absorption centres in the country, and they exist in other mixed cities such as Haifa, and other peripheral Jewish cities like Bat Yam, Netanya, Yavneh, Petah Tikva, Ashqelon, Ashdod, and Beer Sheva.

Although it ostensibly a service centre covering employment, childcare, and extra-curricular activities, urban integration is often on the performance of rituals seeking to mold the Ethiopian-Jewish narrative into an Israeli-Zionist one, whilst maintaining their distinctive

status. This includes memorial days for Ethiopian Jews who perished on the journey from Sudan to Israel, or IDF enlistment ceremonies for Ethiopian teenagers in the neighbourhoods. As Stevan Kaplan has argued, “for all the lip service paid to cultural pluralism, the imposition of ideological domination, what Gramsci referred to as *hegemony* is a crucial part of the Israeli absorption process to this day” (Kaplan 1999: 120). Although I do not directly engage Gramsci’s notion of hegemony through social consent – I observe how absorption is a process of national formation mediated through city-space. The *moked klitah* is an institution that serves as precisely the material structure through which such processes emerge.

Crucially, the space allows for a construction of *kehila* that is not only designated externally, but is also produced by Ethiopian-Israelis from outside Jaffa who manage the population. Such actors mediate state narratives and social relations on the ground. As Asmare, an Ethiopian immigrant in his forties and director of the *moked klitah* describes

They support each other...no one should be isolated. Because in Ethiopia everyone is together. Grandfather, grandmother, uncles, aunts. Everyone is together. In Israel, everyone runs away. Someone lives here, here, here and here. That is a problem for the community. But the Ethiopian community still continues to exist, in joyful celebrations, weddings. If someone dies, the entire community comes, everyone comes to console one and other. There is no other ‘*edah*’ with something similar. Inside the community, everyone hugs each other. The community feeling still exists amongst us. This is different from other communities, maybe, maybe it exists in the Arab community.

As you enter the *moked klitah* — a building which has no conspicuous signs of Ethiopian culture from the exterior — you are greeted with a plaque entitled in Hebrew ‘*Aliyat Beta Israel*.’ Underneath is a smaller title in Ahmarit. The rest of the plaque is in Hebrew, telling “the ‘*Aliyah* (immigration) story of Beta Israel (Ethiopian Jews),” the brackets symbolically

indicating the formation of new identities. Asmare describes the role of the *moked klitah* in clear terms.

Our role to the community, is that we assist the Ethiopian community in all aspects of daily life. From the moment they leave the absorption centre, they come here to ask for permanent residence... So now you need to teach them a certain lifestyle. Lifestyle is how to behave, what to do. Because what existed in Ethiopia is different from here. Different in Israel, you know, everything is different, the food is different, the language is different, the environment is different, the houses are different. Life, lifestyle is different, work, in which field to work is different. Everything becomes totally different.

The processes of absorption are centred around an idea of “difference,” with Israeli society often invoked as a separate entity to “Ethiopian immigrants.” Individuals often reify their own culture in ways that reduces its complexity (Baumann 1996), and whilst we may think of Asmare’s positioning as a form of “strategic essentialism” (Spivak 1998), his mediating role reproduces an idea of ethnic difference. Moreover, as Stuart Hall has aptly noted, cultural differentialism is the other register of biological racism (Hall 2000: 223). These can combine in complex ways in the production of racism, with the former often not recognized as racism at all by those who use it to absolve them from any sense of biological racism.

More important than Asmare’s beliefs, however, is the normative framework in which the majority of Jaffa’s Ethiopian children are sent to *dati le’umi* (national-religious) boarding schools outside of the city, and the majority of the youth movements operating in southern Jaffa are *dati le’umi*. From Operation Moses, Ethiopian immigrant children have been educated by institutions associated with the National Religious Party (as was the case with children from Arab countries) (Trevisan Semi and Parfitt 2005: xiv). Just as Seeman argues we should see the “return-to-Judaism” program (to convert *Feres Mura*) in its “bureaucratic” context (2009: 137), and *mikveh* immersion and symbolic circumcision as “ritual-bureaucratic acts” and “rites

of submission” to state authority in a process of “religious coercion” (Ibid.: 138-9), we should see these processes of education and integration as attempts to create political subjects and their borders. Specifically, though not exclusively, *dati-le’umi* (national-religious) subjects and borders. This indicates a structural belief in the religious and cultural difference of Ethiopians, which also plays out in events at the *moked klitah*. The historicity of racial difference and spatiality of multiculture become the focus of a “governing gaze” (Keith 2005: 9). The activities provided by the municipality do provide support networks for the Ethiopians in Jaffa, but within an education system that encourages an anti-Arab, anti-Secular worldview, and with limited alternative strategies for cross-cultural education and interaction.

Indeed, the separation of services often leads to resentment by other Jewish residents. Lilach, the white Ashkenazi elected official of the Yafo Dalet *va’ad shikunah* (neighbourhood committee) we encountered in Chapter 6, illustrates this sentiment:

For example, if a ticket costs 20 NIS, for the Ethiopian it will only cost 5 NIS. Why? Because they have their associations, and someone will pay the 15 NIS and they will pay the remaining 5 NIS. Call it however you want to call it, this is *giz’anut* (racism). If someone comes, and it does not matter on which side. Because if we make a price for a someone with white skin, and for someone with black skin, and it does not matter what is the higher and what is the lower one, you call that *giz’anut*. And I have a big issue with that aspect. You have to solve it differently. Either you give subsidies to the entire neighbourhood, because this is a neighbourhood that is *metsuka* (distressed) from the beginning...so there is the senior population here that is enraged with the Ethiopian community...There are the Ethiopians here who use the fact of being Ethiopian, to say that when someone comments on doing illegal things, they will immediately tell you that you tell them no, because they are Ethiopian. This is something rooted inside. If you ask me, these are people who live here for twenty, thirty years. No one invents different laws for you. These are laws for everyone. But they will shout, this is because I am Ethiopian. These are different cultural practices that you need to learn to live with,

and we know how to live with them. Obviously, you need to continue and constantly learn how to live with them.

Whether Lilach's narrative is based in part on perceived material (positive) discrimination, we can see how the issue allows her to voice a wider set of prejudices. She attributes an essentialist culture to the Ethiopian population that is quite literally unchanging (for 20 to 30 years) and is *rooted inside*. These othering attitudes are common amongst non-Ethiopian neighbourhood managers, as well as amongst ordinary residents. Accordingly, we see how the combination of external and internal (less pejorative) forms of reification reproduce racial difference. As well as providing platforms for stigmatisation and resentment, the arrangements and networks of integration facilitate a particular kind of political subjectification that preys on the perceived religiosity of events. The urban performance of Judaism becomes the ground of state-making. This is illustrated with reference to two events, but first this will be illustrated with reference to the work of two Rabbis who are active in coordinating activities for Ethiopian youth in the area.

The Problem of Living with Others

Rabbi Yuval moved to Jaffa in 2006 and founded a *garinim* (seeds) programme.

The idea, what we're trying to do, is to understand the place we came to. We came to Jaffa, most of Jaffa is Jewish. 46,500 and out of them around 13,000 non-Jews. I chose the neighbourhoods that are mostly Jewish.

The broader mission of the movement is to come to "problematic neighbourhoods that immigrants arrive in and provide social, welfare and educational services." It began in the south of the country in peripheral *'iriyot pituah* (development cities) like Dimona. The group works in Jaffa's majority Jewish neighbourhoods, as well as the surrounding peripheral neighbourhoods of southern Tel Aviv. Claiming the secular education provided in Tel Aviv is "against what most of our neighbours wanted," and on the request of the native families, as he

puts it, he opened a national-religious day care centre, four national-religious kindergartens, a school, and a youth club to encourage teenagers not to “go out in the street with drugs.” Other activities include drawing attention of tourists to the “Jewish history of Jaffa.” *Yafo* is mentioned in the *torah* – most famously in the story of Jonah the prophet – and pre-state Jewish immigration came through Jaffa. Both these narratives are emphasised in educational activities too. Finally, they have sought to rejuvenate low-use and low-capacity synagogues across the city of Jaffa (there are 50 in total).

But when Yuval was questioned about the activities they provide for the Ethiopians, he told me “the Ethiopian activity is a different challenge... they don’t come to the regular events that we arrange. They want their specific events.” The organisation helped set up the ‘Ezra and Bnei Akiva national-religious youth movements which operate largely for Ethiopian teenagers in southern Jaffa. Yuval works closely with Rav Yehuda Sahale, the head of the Ethiopian community in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Sporting Ashkenazi *Haredi* black suit and hat, he self-defines as having undergone the process of *hozrim bi-teshuva* (to return to faith). This phenomenon, Seeman notes, “should be viewed within the context of the search for spirituality but is often motivated by religious political parties” (Seeman 2009: 138). For Yuval, “it’s a big thing that Rav Yehuda Sahale got the job as leader of the community, because he understands them.” I went to meet Yehuda to try and understand how he negotiates his faith, a political-religious mission and Ethiopian culture.

The Rabbinical Authority building is located in the neat, well-kept north of the city. Rabbi Sahale had an explicable warmth about him and was easy to talk to. We bonded over his time spent in Manchester. But the calm tone of the conversation included nonchalant descriptions of the Arab population of southern Jaffa, and the Eritrean population of southern Tel Aviv as “rough.” For Rabbi Sahale

the challenge for the community in Jaffa is living with the Arabs. And it's a bit problematic because the children are going with the Arab children in the same gang...Also we are living in south Tel Aviv, and don't forget that there are the immigrants from Eritrea and from Sudan. And our children, through their travel to school, meet them in *Tachana Merkazit* (the central bus station), and it's not good for us.

Rabbi Sahale is set on curating a moral mission that reflects Yuval's evangelising aims. He thus brings into social circulation and demiotic use an official notion of the Ethiopian population of Jaffa as a separate *kehila*. Moreover, his own path illustrates a model for integration that many Ethiopian-Israelis fulfil, accepting and reproducing norms and attitudes expressed by Rav Sahale and other leaders. Indeed, as well as encountering observant Ethiopian inhabitants, it was common for me to hear complaints from Ethiopian residents about "Arabs doing *balagan* (chaos)." Such accusations were multi-sensory – from the noise produced by horses, chickens, motorcycles, and music, to the practice of *mangal* (barbecue) on Yom Kippur. This latter practice in particular irked many observant Ethiopians – as well as other Jewish residents – indicating a desire for the exercise of moral constraints on behaviour in the public sphere according to Jewish law. Such attitudes are similar to those we encountered in the last chapter. What they suggest is that whilst Israeli-Jewish nationalism has often precluded blackness, it has not prevented Ethiopians from seeking full participation in the dominant ethnic group. Indeed, many Ethiopian-Israelis in Jaffa do adhere to new codes expected of them. Whiteness (or *Ashkenaziness*) is never an essence but it can be an aspiration (Hage 1998: 19). Moreover, Ben-Rafael and Sharot (1991: 9) have argued that most Israeli Jews rank their Jewish and Israeli identifications before any subethnic identification in the contexts of conflict with Palestinians, and this is usually extends to Ethiopian-Israelis.

Yet if we refer back to Rav Sahale's comments, they also reveal a dissonance in how state actors and population managers imagine and seek to mould what they view as a homogeneous

population, and the heterogeneous social motility of many Ethiopian-Israelis in Jaffa. This dissonance has spatial effects and outputs. It is embedded in the urban landscape through forms of ethnicized bordering and pockets of cultural emergence specific to the spatial conglomeration of southern Jaffa. We can begin to see how such contradictions emerge within the spatiality of staged religious events. First, a Passover ceremony specifically held for the Ethiopian community, and second, a *Simḥat Torah* celebration in Davidoff Park (the park in Yafo ‘Alif next to Yafo Dalet and Gimmel). In both these events, we begin to see the iterative process between management, reification and Ethiopian social life that oscillates between reproduction and subversion.

7.3 Rituals of Acculturation and their Contestation

Passover, from Efrat to Jaffa

On the eve of Passover 2018, the municipality sponsored a *Seder* (a ritual meal where the story of the enslavement of the Israelites in Egypt is narrated) for the entire Ethiopian population of Jaffa. It was held at Viola Hall, a conference centre at the edge of Yafo Dalet and the Ayalon Highway, standing at the intersection of Ayalon and other main roads leading to the north and south of the country. The event began with Rav Sahale leading prayers. He then addressed attendees in Amharic. After these initial proceedings, attendees were invited to the main conference hall and separated into tables.

Whilst watching the pre-meal prayers from the side lines, a child approached me and asked, “*ma chem ‘osim?* (what are they doing?)” I told him “*mitpellim* (praying)” He then asked why some were stood and others weren’t. An inquisitive child, but it still felt odd that his questions were guided towards me and not his fellow elders. I also spoke to the Ethiopian man next to me, who had come to visit his brother and family, but was from Jerusalem. He told me they have special songs in Amharic for Seder. It was, however, due to be a *Seder* conducted exclusively in Hebrew. Indeed, throughout the night, each table was guided by non-Ethiopian

individuals from a *dati-le'umi* group called Aviv HaTorah, whilst occasionally a collective prayer was conducted in Hebrew by Rav Sahale. I was invited to a table by a man named Refael, along with an Ethiopian family. He explained that “this is very new to them; they didn’t have something like this in Ethiopia. So, we are here to help.” The liturgy was conducted with a *Haggadah* (the Passover text) that had both Hebrew and Ahmaric explanations. The document was produced by Aviv HaTorah. Refael was from Shomron in the West Bank.

The ceremony began with Refael reading the *kiddush* prayer; a blessing over wine which is recited to officially designate the arrival of *Shabbat* or *Yomtov* (festival days). The wine was from the settlement of Efrat. As Refael read through the *Haggadah*, he occasionally attempted to get the youngest daughter who spoke Hebrew (everyone else on the table had limited Hebrew) to read out the explanations in Amharic, but this was not well integrated into the service. The service involves a series of consumption of ritualistic foods that invoke the bitterness of and mortar associated with slavery, as well as various stages of the Passover story. The servers of this food were Russian/Georgian (Refael said this and that they probably weren’t Jewish) and Palestinian. Refael’s wife, a real eccentric, handed each person a sweet when they pronounced Hebrew words correctly. Refael repeatedly emphasised the words *Eretz Yiśrael* (the land of Israel) when he read the prayers, and Yosefa constantly put her hands up towards the sky and shouted *Baruch Hashem* (Blessed is God). She also continued throughout the night to use the metaphor of the Israelites coming out of Egypt to describe the Ethiopians coming to Israel. *Abedim* as *geula* Jews (slaves as exilic Jews) redeemed through their journey out of Egypt and on to *Eretz Yiśrael*.

Through the ritualistic Zionisation of normative Judaism, this event stages processes of assimilation and integration – perhaps wanted or felt required by some in the “community” – rather than a policy of multi-culturalism that allows Ethiopian Judaism to flourish. Distinctive to the Ethiopian tradition, the *Sigt* festival may tell a different story (see Footnote 48, p. 312),

but the patronisation present is reminiscent of the same racialised biases that allowed this population to be converted en masse when they had not been considered Jewish enough. Through the performativity of such collective events – constructed through the idea of a *kehila* – social difference is repressed (Young 1990: 251). However, it has to be noted that such rituals have their limitations. Elders wore traditional white *habesha* shawls with yellow and red patterns, whilst youth were forming cliques on tables of their own and outside, exhibiting a range of sartorial styles and natural hairstyles — twisted pompadour and bun, bronze short knots, microbraids, and red and blue box braids. Some were watching the latest hip-hop videos on their phones and not participating in the event, indicating how it was taken up as an opportunity to rebel, or perform teenagehood, and definitely not something they felt compelled to participate in for religious purposes.

The multi-layered production of the event may also challenge the assimilative staging of the event. You had *dati le'umi* and mostly *Mizrahi* Jews teaching Ethiopians how to be Jewish-Israeli, with Russians and Palestinians serving them as *goyim shel shabbat* (non-Jews who are employed to perform tasks on the Sabbath and other holidays that would require Jews to violate their observance). One cannot deny that certain kinds of encounter and experiences of contradiction do emerge in such an environment, but the conspicuous set-up of the ethnic environment illustrates the failure of the political establishment to create mixed communities and spaces. More than that, the staging of actors is premised on the spatial bordering between groups: the *dati le'umi* Jewish establishment, the Ethiopian population, and the non-Jewish servers. Such ethnicised relations are likely “to find expression, at least provisionally, in a space of contact and exchange that makes a border” (Agier 2016: 19). Lived culture and lived environments are where new cultures, new values, and communal identities form. The second event described here nonetheless further explores how contradictions emerge.

***Simḥat Torah* in Yafo: Between Mizraḥi Periphery and the National Religion**

In October 2018, multiple events were advertised for *Simḥat Torah*, a festival marking the conclusion of the annual cycle of public readings from the *Torah*. I cycled to Yafo Dalet to see a party dedicated to Daklon, a Yemeni origin musician who was one of the progenitors of *musiḳa Mizraḥit* (a Middle Eastern style of music that dominates the markets of southern Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and elsewhere). It was an opportunity to see the sounds of the *Mizraḥi shuk* (market) in Pa‘amonim, the brutalist *rehevet hamercez hameshari* (commercial square) that sits behind Mahrozet Street opposite Bayārat Abu Seif. En route were two processions. A few hundred people followed vans with florescent Star of Davids and men carrying *Torah* scrolls. The procession was led by large crowds of young men from outside of Jaffa sporting white *kippot*. At the back of the procession were Ethiopian women in white *habesha* shawls. On seeing this, I suspected the Daklon party may be the alternative *masorti* (traditional but not orthodox) party.

Arriving at the square, a *Mizraḥi* man with a *kippah* was singing Daklon on a microphone, whilst men in *kippot* danced with *Torah* scrolls in a cordoned square within square. Ethiopian men danced alongside *Mizraḥi* men, all sporting *Haredi* (ultra-orthodox) black and white attire that originates with Ashkenazi Jews. Women watched with their elbows resting on the blue poles. A mixture of secular, *dati* (religious), *Mizraḥi* and Ethiopian. This was the *Mizraḥi* periphery in action. Arabic blended with guttural wailing Hebrew. *Aiwa* (Arabic: Yes) rallying the troops. Here was evidence of a *Mizraḥifying* element to the socialisation of the Ethiopians into Jaffa’s *periferyah* that accompanies *dati-le’umi* integration (see Prashizky 2019 on “Mizraḥi Russianness”). The intended architectural purpose of the square had been inverted. Rather than a kind of loitering dead space, a communal dancing space. Secular dancing,

however, has been replaced with *Mizrahi* rhythms and religion. As I cycled down Mahrozet, I saw Yara, a Palestinian activist and Yafo Dalet dweller getting out her car. Next to her car was a bus full of the same young men with white *kippot* leading the procession earlier — the vehicle from Efrat. It was now clear who those unfamiliar faces were. Jewish rituals in service of Judaization — of bringing Judea and Samaria to Yafo.

Stopping by Davidoff Park on the way back, I entered the park and stationed my bike next to three Sudanese men with fluorescent yellow safety jackets sat on a bench chewing on sunflower seeds. Although there was a distinctly diminished number of Palestinians in Jaffa out in public on his evening, as I entered, a small group of Palestinian teenagers exited the event through the silver railing. Blasting from the microphone were the words, “From Lod to Yafo [the Hebrew names of two mixed cities], *emunah* (belief)!” Rabbi Yuval was on stage holding the *Torah* to the sound of *moshiah*, *moshiah*, *moshiah* (an ecstatic song celebrating the upcoming arrival of the Messiah). It was all men on the stage of this municipally sponsored event. A *gabbay* (person who assists in running the synagogue) from Yafo Dalet was granted the honour of reciting the *shemah* (a prayer recited daily by individuals and in liturgy). Celebrating religious leaders from the communities of southern Jaffa, it was a kind of ritual celebration of the elders. An affirmation of the power of Judaism and its patriarchs in southern Jaffa today. Yuval invited Rav Sahale to complete the final blessing. He sung “*adonay melech, adonay melech*” Ashkenazi style but with a slight Ethiopian accent, whilst a man banged the *darbūkah* (Middle Eastern goblet drum) providing the background rhythm. This was the new Israeli multiculturalism, but distinctly gendered as male and ethnicised as Jewish. Uman for Jewish men of all colours. Inclusive but exclusive.⁴² A new border is articulated that “permits

⁴² I refer here to the annual pilgrimage to Uman, Ukraine, where Rabbi Nachman of Breslov, the founder of the Breslov Hasidic movement, was buried in 1810. Pfeffer (2018) writes: “I realized that I may be standing by the grave of a Hasidic rabbi, in a dreary backwater of what was once the Jewish Pale of Settlement, but most of the Jews surrounding me were not Ashkenazim. They were descended from families who had lived not long ago in the Maghreb, Yemen, Ethiopia, Iran and Iraq and every other non-European diaspora that ever existed. If I was

recognition of a group in the social world, and the inscription of a [Jewish] place in space” (Agier 2016: 18).

But for the spatial and sartorial challenges of women in short sleeves, a man with a bun jokingly extending his arms as if dancing to techno, an Ethiopian man in sports gear wearing a *kippah* carrying his kid who’s sporting a white two-piece with the colours of the Ethiopian flag — red, green and yellow — stitched round the neck. Crowds of Ethiopian youth reappropriating the event for their own amusement, as they did in Viola Hall. One young woman stood proudly with Ethiopia written in Amharic script and yellow, red, green colours with the pattern of the Ethiopian flag on her black t-shirt. As I exited the park and passed this multiplicity of engagement and style, “*na nah nahman b’uman*” was chanted. This event presents more evidence of the religionisation of the state and the attempt to carve out moral and social borders between Ethiopians and non-Jews, yet it also illuminates the ambivalence and contradictions of peripheral life in Jaffa, and the difficulty of curating national citizenship through religiosity in its urban space.

This section observed Ethiopian-Israelis from the outside-in. That is, in the multi-situated context of the diverse and multi-perspectival spaces of southern Jaffa. It has been over 50 years since Fredrik Barth’s seminal paper on ethnic groups, but the insights were prescient to a world now formed by ethnic groups situated in diverse contexts. Barth argued that there had been in anthropology an undue focus on the “internal constitution and history of separate groups” rather than “ethnic boundaries and boundary maintenance” (Barth 1969: 10). Many of the contemporary approaches to Ethiopian Jews suffer from precisely this phenomenon. Seeman argues that “kinship” was developed as a paradigm for the ethnography of Beta Israel (Seeman

writing for one of the more enlightened American Jewish publications, I would say that a majority of pilgrims at Uman are Jews of color. Jews of every color.”

1999: 94-112), when in fact the state is a major actor in the negotiated and conditional nature of kinship claims (Ibid., 104).

The problem with this approach is

it allows us to assume that boundary maintenance is unproblematical and follows from the isolation which the itemised characteristics imply: racial difference, cultural difference, social separation and language barriers, spontaneous and organised enmity. This also limits the range of factors that we use to explain cultural diversity (Barth 1969: 11).

The primary focus of this chapter so far has been in unravelling processes of boundary construction within an urban context, where intra-urban borders are materialised through the work of municipal organisation. Barth's proviso is that

most of the cultural matter that at any time is associated with a human population is *not* constrained by this boundary; it can vary, be learnt, and change without any critical relation to the boundary maintenance of the ethnic group (Barth 1969: 38).⁴³

Yet the implications of this claim are that certain forms of "cultural matter" found at the edges of "boundary maintenance" may challenge the constitution of that group. Particularly in a politically charged environment in which city-space is used to coordinate rituals of assimilation. This is why Agier's notion of the *in action* temporal, social and spatial border was employed. Rather than just focusing on the temporal fact of the differentiation of Ethiopian-Jews since their arrival to Israel, this section demonstrated how communal construction socialised and spatialised difference without successfully challenging the heterogeneity of the group. By tracing the border in the social field, I noted the "relational framework represented by the border itself" (Agier 2016: 19). This is spatial because "even

⁴³ One must note the forms of intra-racial distinction that have emerged within the Ethiopian population through the creation of an elite (Trevisan Semi and Parfitt 2005: xiii, c.f. Seeman 2009).

when the social separation is not materialised by a border in space, this is never just a metaphor” (Ibid.). The next section explores further the forms of heterogenous identity and materiality that, as we saw in this section, may challenge assimilative rituals. Such forms escape the boundaries of reification. This is explored amongst Ethiopian youth who, in addition to being subject to rituals of assimilation, navigate this socio-political urban environment through the internalisation of difference as racial. The section elaborates on processes of stigmatisation in which black youth becomes constructed as a problematic category (Solomos 1988), and observes bordering practices that articulate new socio-political positionalities, and create new, dynamic urban aesthetics.

7.4 Racial Difference and the Rearticulation of Borders

Though the urban habitus of Jaffa’s Ethiopians is shaped by external and internal power structures and the knowledge dissemination of “governors” (Rav Sahale, employees of the *moked klitah*), many young Ethiopians slip through the cracks, fashioning themselves in distinct ways. As bordering is the default modality in a society hyper-aware of ethnonational and ethnic distinctions, borders are paradoxically both the source of urban avoidance and segregation, and of the cultivation of distinctive urban identities marking cultural and political reinvention. Heterogenous spatial movements and social positioning illustrates how the ambiguous spatiality of southern Jaffa offers opportunities for emergent spaces of alterity. I make this argument in two steps. First, by pointing to the critique of *giz ‘anut* (racism) by young Ethiopians. Second, by illustrating how Ethiopian presence is spatially produced in the neighbourhood. Together, these instances illustrate the limits of *Mizraḥi*-inflected and *dati le’umi* forms of acculturation described in the last section.

Contesting Racism

Prior to the shooting, I had encountered many instances of perceived anti-Black racism – such as in the Beit Reka Community centre where a group of kids felt their removal from the library was motivated by *giz'anut* (racism), or where one of the left-leaning municipal employees had to intervene at reception to allow an Eritrean asylum seeker and her kids to attend the community centre, after her visa had not been accepted as legitimate ID (this despite a law granting the right to use municipal services to asylum seekers and by their status as residents of Tel Aviv). It was not uncommon to witness the power of racialized discourses over legal precepts in the management of the centre. However, I had not yet conceptualised the gravity it had on the quotidian experiences of Ethiopians in neighbourhood life.

A few days after the shooting of Yehuda Biadga, I visited the Lev Yafo youth centre, where a programme offering educational assistance to Jaffa's youth runs a few nights a week. Although the programme occasionally educates Palestinians, the majority of its attendees are Ethiopians. I spoke with a few different groups of teenagers about the events, male and female. Some asked for their comments to remain anonymous, but one group of male 16-year-olds were relaxed about sharing their views and experiences. They all attended the protest, whilst one of them prepared a sign stating "the finger is easier on the trigger when he's *shaḥor* (black)." Three of them live in Yafo Dalet and another one in Bat Yam. The boy from Bat Yam personally knew Yehuda. He told me how he would see Yehuda with his younger brother David walking together around the neighbourhood, and that now he sees him walking alone. With trepidation in his voice, he stated

I've been aware of the situation for years now, and I felt it when I was younger, but when someone you know is missing, it makes it feel more realistic...The protest was extremely important for me. Because it's a *ben adam* (person) from my neighbourhood. He was close to my friends and all. So, it's very difficult for me. In school now it's like, we hung a sign, and

his picture is now framed on the board with candles, and every day we light them at 5. Its forever, it won't end, it's also scary.

I asked him if he thinks there will be change after the protest. He replied

I pray that there will be. Because it's a scary murder that can kill me because I'm just walking down the street. It is a scary murder. I don't know what needs to change, I don't know how to do that. I'm just screaming for now. I don't know what I got out of it.

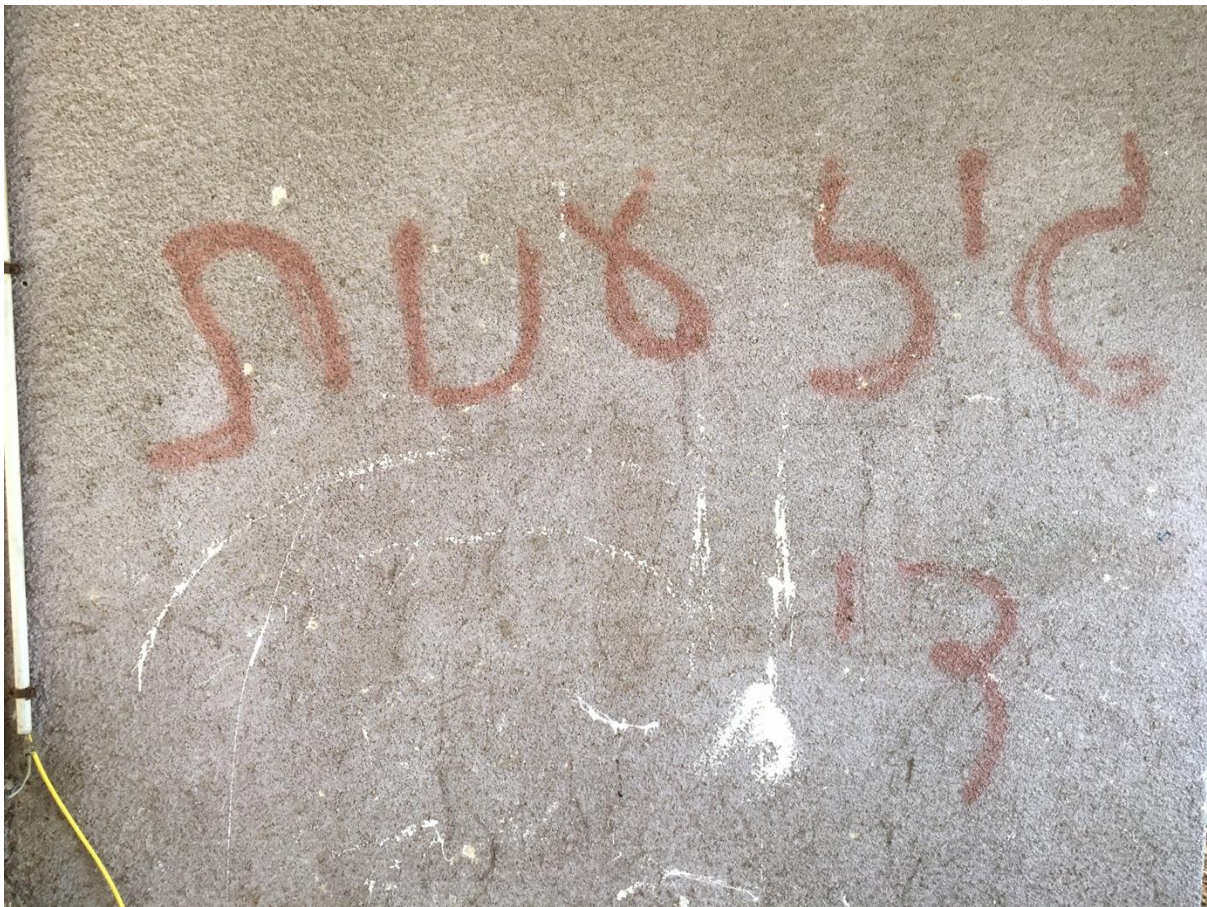


Fig. 7.2 - Graffiti in Yafo Dalet reads “enough racism” (credit: Lotte Beilin).

I then pointed the question at all of them “if you see the police, do you feel afraid?” He replied

I feel that it's unfair, like, that I walk down the street and they search me, that's what it is unfair. They throw us down like we're "Niggers from America" [stated in English]. They just look at us and harass us.

Young Ethiopians express the spatial injustice of belonging to constantly policed bodies, unable to move freely through the city. Whilst discussing their shared experiences of fear of the police, the shift in discussion towards Jaffa brought another social encounter into view. Namely, the shared experience of police harassment amongst the Ethiopian and Palestinian populations of southern Jaffa. I return to this in the next chapter, but thus far we have seen narratives of collective fear, spatial loss, and social exclusion. These narratives do not only circulate discursively, nor do words of protest only find voice during demonstrations. They find expression on the walls of the neighbourhood, as exhibited in the graffiti inscription “enough racism” depicted above. The insights drawn here illustrate how local narratives and materialisations do not always amount to a reproduction of dominant state agendas. At times, they are mobilised through an opposition to the *medinat mishṭara* (police state).

Brian K. Roby (2015) has illustrated how the 1950s police suppression of *Mizraḥim* was marked both by tangible forms of resistance like protests and the assertion of cultural dignity through cultural production in literature, plays and religious festivals derived from their countries of origin, which, as counter-modernities are “acts[s] of resistance” (Roby 2015: 8). The Ethiopian struggle today is on the one hand a continuation of this history, yet it is distinguished by the formation of non-*Mizraḥi*, black identities due to the factor of race.⁴⁴ Narratives of racial injustice are predicated on the need to reconstitute agency. This constitutes

⁴⁴ Despite distinctions, there is potential for *Mizraḥi-Ethiopian* alliance. Among the few non-Ethiopians I encountered at the protest was one young man holding a Kurdish flag. I asked him what brought him to the protest. He replied “my grandparents came from Kurdistan in the 50s... What the Ethiopians are doing today, I have come to express solidarity with my grandparents' immigration from Kurdistan in the 50s to Israel. Specifically the *ma'abarot*, abandonment of education, non-allocation of resources, neglect of infrastructure, basically all the social injustices done to my grandparents, which they could not rise up in, because it was a naive generation (*dior tamim*) without awareness, a generation that came to Israel and kissed the earth, and just said thank you for everything received. So I'm actually crying out the cry and I'm expressing this solidarity so that these wrongs can't come back like in the past. Today we stand united and strong.” Likewise, Marilyn Herman's ethnography of Ethiopian musicians indicates the blurred boundaries of racial categories. One Ethiopian interlocutor from a band called Porachat haTikva was discussing their issue with the 1985 conversion requirement, and stated “Yemenites empathise with Ethiopians because they say that's how it was for them too. The Moroccans also went through it all. Now it's our turn” (Herman 2012: 76).

tangible forms of cultural distinction that re-border of *kehila*. Indeed, whilst we have seen how the *moqed klitah* is a space for the production of the nation state that at once “integrates” and excludes the population, many of its Ethiopian employees are consciously aware of experiences of racism at national and local scales. Racism and race then produce a blind spot in the production of state power. Mali, one of the leading coordinators at the *moqed klitah*, continuously reiterated that there are everyday forms of exclusion within neighbourhood life, and to understand them, I would need to comprehend “what happens in the *mirhav* (space/area).” Practices that embody this are best explored through the forms of stigmatisation attached to particularly Ethiopian areas of the neighbourhood (which one commentator noted is the area closest to the highway and therefore most liable to pollution).



Fig. 7.3 - the painted *amudim* at the back of Sumkan (credit: Lotte Beilin).

Stigmatisation and Materialisation

Throughout fieldwork, Sumkan — a square in area of Yafo Dalet — was constantly referred to, in neighbourhood council meetings and by residents, as a “problematic area.” The *shikunim* around it are highly populated by Ethiopians, and many older veteran residents identify it as full of drugs, alcohol, and public disturbance. As well as explicit expressions of racism, subtle forms of discursive stigmatisation are salient to urban analysis of racialisation, as “urban hatred does not need to be spoken and announced in order to be socially alive” (Back and Keith 2014: 24). I understand this as a process of “territorial stigma” (Tyler and Slater 2018, Wacquant 2008, Wacquant, Slater and Pereira 2014). The concept is defined by Tyler and Slater as “how spatial taint is enacted and resisted” (Tyler and Slater 2018: 735). Like all diverse urban spaces, Sumkan contains diverse forms of sociality, but its status as a metaphor of Ethiopian marginality is persistent. Yet in multiple ways, Ethiopians reimagine and rematerialise the tainted space.

The *amudim* (pilotis) of Nardur — a street adjacent to the square — are painted in bright shades of green, blue, violet, a coordinated project by Ethiopian youth, who spent the day coordinating a vernacular design, in which urban togetherness created permanent effects on the urban aesthetics (Fig 7.3, above). When discussing the views of Sara, a *Mizrahi vatika* (veteran resident) who lives in Sumkan, 16 year-old Ageze — a resident of a *shikun* in Nardur — provided me with a direct response. Her complaints had been about the disorder and noise belonging to the movements and mouths of Ethiopian youth. He insisted that this is a false narrative in which there is an application of the behaviour of some to all. Just like himself, Sumkan is full of individual residents who don't play out in the streets, but the *ferengi* — the Ahmaric word for non-Ethiopians — are unable to identify personhood and distinction amongst their Ethiopian neighbours. From the private spaces couched within the reified space of Sumkan, one young Ethiopian dweller is able to articulate a critique of discursive stigmatisation.

Although Ethiopian Jews are ostensibly the most privileged of phenotypically black populations in Israel, they are often mistaken for the least privileged, Eritrean refugees. This is an insecurity, but it is often misunderstood. It is perhaps the reason Ageze was eager to find out how similar I think Ethiopians are to Eritreans. He insisted that “an Ethiopian can recognise an Ethiopian person immediately, just as you can recognise an English person immediately.” External projections are constant when it comes to black bodies. Consequently, I understood this as a protection and defence against his own racialised body. The desire to be recognised as simply *who you are*, is seemingly a constant battle for the Ethiopians in southern Jaffa. Ageze attends a *dati-le’umi* school outside of the city and spends little time on the neighbourhood’s streets. Thus, although he is more focused on his identity, he accepts some of the religious and political norms he learns at school and finds walking in the neighbourhood uncomfortable. Fitting into the texture of the neighbourhood, however, is made more difficult when dwelling-in-transition is facilitated by political socialisation into the *dati-le’umi* community across the country. This creates religious, political, and national borders that combine to hinder the effective countering of racialisation within the material space of the neighbourhoods.

In contrast, there are groups of young Ethiopian men who attend the local mixed population high school, Roni Zion, and spend a lot of time hanging out in the *amudim* of Sumkan and elsewhere. It is common to witness young groups of Ethiopian men hanging out under particular *amudim* across the neighbourhood, indicating the ways in which they spatialise areas through presence. Accordingly, the tension between transition and placemaking amongst the Ethiopian population is further articulated by these young Ethiopian-Israelis. Such processes are rooted in the density of space, the predicaments of class, and formations of lower-income neighbourhood masculinities. The combination of these factors leads to various forms of materialisation of neighbourhood space. The dominant forms of political socialisation in the neighbourhood, when coupled with processes of racialized discursive ghettoization, are

rendered ineffective. This is illustrated in particular by the forms of graffiti tagging across the neighbourhoods. One of the most common tags is “2Pac,” and this choice is not insignificant. As historian of global consumer culture Jeremy Prestholdt (2009: 201) has noted, “Tupac’s lyrics are steeped in the rhetoric of resilience, of overcoming unjust conditions of life.” Moreover, “Tupac’s imagery resonated with urban America but transcended its specific circumstances” (ibid). Tupac embodies and vocalises “*the habitus of the hood*” (Richardson 2012: 198) through his “self-reflexive recognition and vocalisation of a group habitus” (Ibid.: 195).

The materialisation of “2Pac” graffiti across the Ethiopian areas of the neighbourhoods illustrates the habitus of young Ethiopians in southern Jaffa who feel more connected to the streets (Fig 7.4). Connecting processes of stigmatisation and marginalisation with their experiences, adjustments to the urban fabric illustrate the possibility of “counterhegemonic reflection on the circumstances of the hood” (Richardson 2012: 198). Moreover, as prolific cultural critic and commentator on race Paul Gilroy observes, “hip hop culture, the powerful expressive medium of America’s urban black poor... has created a global youth movement of considerable significance” (Gilroy 1993: 33). “Black musical expression,” he continues, “has played a role in reproducing what Zygmunt Bauman has called the distinctive counterculture of modernity” (Ibid.: 36). African American hip-hop is the musical preference of many young Ethiopians and listening to it and performing it is common across the neighbourhood’s population. This influence has been further expressed with the emergence of Ethiopian-Israeli rap bands — such as KGC and Kafe Shachor Hazak — who express themes of racial discrimination, black identity, self-making and struggle. Renewal and remaking are central to such identifications. As one young Ethiopian told me, “it’s not related to the Ethiopian culture, it even sometimes contradicts it.”

I argue that as well as demonstrating a distinctive materialisation of resilience in the urban landscape, such forms of materiality illustrate what Gilroy calls “local conceptions of blackness” and the “lived sense of a racial self” (Gilroy 1993: 109). The attempts to morally police youth are based precisely on the threat of emergent black urbanisms. Such a threat is already materialised spatially in tags which include “fuck the police” (in English) and crown sketches (see Fig. 7.8-9), “*shaḥor hu hasholet*” (black is best) (see Fig. 7.5), and Ethiopian flags (see Fig. 7.6), in addition to 2Pac. Together such materialisations produce a distinctive Ethiopian engagement with space that runs counter to the dominant narrative of *kehila* (community), and the politics of *maḳom*. They are an urban graphology that indicate “an emergent struggle over inclusion, of citizenship, entitlement, and belonging” (Back, Keith and Solomos 1998: 70). Thus, alongside the production of urban borders between the Ethiopian community and other residents are forms of re-bordering that articulate distinctive counter-hegemonic spatial narratives. This includes shops and spaces of interaction, which, when coupled together with the critique of anti-black racism marking the walls of Yafo Dalet (Fig. 7.8), become markers of specifically black urbanism (otherwise they might just be understood as “immigrant space,” like the Russian shop).

The claims made here do not amount to a rejection of the claim that Ethiopian Jews may feel both Israeli and Ethiopian (Sharaby and Cicurel 2011, Weingrod and Levi 2006, Anteby-Yemeni 2004), but rather, it addresses tangible limitations on participation in Israeli-Jewishness in south Jaffa, and the specific forms materiality and identity that emerge as a result. Given their spatial counter-hegemony to reification processes, they produce another line of “syncretic” Ethiopian identity (Kaplan and Sharaby 2015). Such an identity is located in the broad tapestry of contestation represented in the materiality of neighbourhoods, and not the individual subject per se. Offered here is a critique based on the recognition of power relations, where the syncretic is a diasporic imaginary existing *outside* the racially defined nation.

Tzfadia and Yacobi (2011) and Yiftachel (2006) have written of an alternative sense of place linked to *Mizrahi* Diaspora identity that undermines the production of sovereign space in Israel. I would argue that this is even clearer when it comes to the Ethiopian population, whose contribution to the spatiality of *periphery* undoes the dominance and clarity of dominant regimes of *maqom*.⁴⁵

Local materialisations of black identity – understood as spatial, social and ultimately temporal re-articulations of intra-urban borders – are part of broader process of the development of “a black consciousness” which gives prominence to the *cavod* (honour) of African-American and African-Caribbean people in sport and music (Herman 2012: 71). This is illustrated by Ethiopian-Israeli performers such as Ester Rada, who performs in the “style of Black Atlantic” and exerts an “afrodiasporic presentation.” “Becoming black,” Rada provides an implicit politics of reclaiming and reconfiguring Ethiopian marginality and citizenship through blackness (Webster-Kohen 2016: 279). Through the syncretism of Blackness, Ethiopians expose the hegemonic mode of national production. This is explored in this conclusion.

⁴⁵ Other examples extend from linguistic forms which have not been addressed extensively in this chapter. It has been argued that the use of Amharic in public platforms enhances the possibility of more liberal interpretations of Israeliness and the possibility of pluralistic identities (Sharaby and Cicurel 2011), but in South Jaffa, its use was nearly exclusively set in contexts related to Ethiopians, preventing it from designating a shared form of multiculturalism, or a syncretic set of meanings. Indeed, its ceremonial usage in acculturation rituals illustrates the limits of its legitimacy. Its internal use may tell a different picture. As Kaplan has argued, whilst not learning Hebrew is seen as a failure, it “insulates them against almost all the demands that Israeli society normally places on its citizens...provid[ing] them (albeit at a price) with a powerful symbolic barrier to the hostile penetration by outside forces into their lives” (1999: 117). Moreover, Hebraized Amharic continues (Teferra 2018: 504), and involves renaming Hebrew place names by Amharic ones (Ibid., 511).



Fig. 7.4 - Ethiopian youth mark Jaffa's urban fabric through graffiti tags of 2Pac across the neighbourhoods of Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel.



Fig. 7.5 (below) - The words “black is the ruler” are inscribed multiple times over the *amudim* and walls of a *shikun* at the edge of Yafo Dalet, and bordering Bayārat Abu Seif. Fig. 7.6 (below) – Some of the pillars in the same spot are inscribed with Ethiopian flags (the first pillar to the right).



Fig. 7.7 (above) - In the main commercial centre of Yafo Dalet and bordering a health insurance centre, an Ethiopian shop sells a range of coffee, spices, grains, and hair products. Fig. 7.8 (below) – A crown is marked in green ink, the same colour as the Amharic script that marks the shop (credit: Lotte Beilin).



Fig. 7.9 - tags are also written in English, including “fuck the police.” A crown was a repetitive image in the graffiti-inspired art of Jean-Michel Basquiat, symbolising heroes of his who had achieved black

excellence. Now the crown finds itself on the walls of southern Jaffa, articulating aspirations of Ethiopian youth.

Conclusion: Spatial Syncretism and the Limits of *Maḳom*

This chapter analysed the Ethiopian arrival to southern Jaffa within a broad, long, history of planning regimes in Tel Aviv Jaffa pushing non-white populations into southern Tel Aviv and Jaffa (Rotbard 2015, Marom 2014). It also contextualised Ethiopian experiences in southern Jaffa within the contemporary national context of structural discrimination and protest. The notion of a *kehila etiopit* (Ethiopian community), was shown – in the context of migration, dwelling patterns, and integration processes – to be not innocuous. The social management of the population is driven by the goal of forming a moral community that must be kept apart from and border others (and non-Jews in particular) in order to be socialised into particular *dati le'umi* (national-religious) frameworks. The goal is to integrate a collective group into the national polity. Processes of integration offered by the state and *dati-le'umi* actors contribute to its separation and encourage forms of mimicry that reject blackness. Hence, this chapter illustrates a direct example of how the peripheral space of Jaffa has been used to stage nationalism and produce new political subjects.

In doing so, however, the forms of spatial flow that mark the interaction of persons with city space were denied. As philosopher Iris Marion Young writes, “In community persons cease to be other, opaque, not understood, and instead become mutually sympathetic, understanding one another as they understand themselves, fused. Such an ideal of the transparency of subjects to one another denies the difference, or basic asymmetry, of subjects” (Young 1990: 256). The ideal tends to enforce homogeneity, with Ethiopians targeted as a “community” to be shaped and morally policed. Here the everyday use of “community” and “culture” lead diverse individuals to reify their own culture, reproducing a dominant, essentialist governmental discourse equating ethnicity, culture, and community (Baumann 1996). I have thus tried to

address “community” *reflexively*. As Alleyne argues, “unreflexive notions of community often serve to hide the constructedness of culture, and the culture of community construction” (2002: 615).

Hence, what is ignored in this reification of a *kehilat etiopit* is its undoing. Processes of evangelisation and civilising are mobilised through city space, but paradoxically, are delimited by that very fact. As Young puts it, “city space offers delights and surprises. Walk around the corner, or over a few blocks, and you encounter a different spatial mood, a new play of sight and sound, and new interactive movement” (Young 1990; 267). This is precisely why the appeal of southern Tel Aviv — and its array of clubs playing hip hop, reggaeton, and Ethiopian and Eritrean music — is very real. The attempts to prevent young Ethiopians from heterogeneous forms of spatial motility and identity denies the capaciousness of interpersonal possibility in the city. This was seen through forms of contestation during rituals of acculturation, through resistance to racism, and how these patterns denote the rearticulation of borders.

Race, it was shown, complicates what Tzfadia and Yacobi have argued is the tendency of peripheral persons to remain trapped between spatial and socioeconomic marginality and a desire to be part of the national ethos (Tzadia and Yacobi 2011: 118). Whilst youth have not given up on the latter goal, their experience of racialisation encourages the development of black identities and materialities that question the very character of the national ethos and its spatialisation in the form of the neighbourhood. It has been claimed that the ability to coordinate cosmopolitan black identities and identity politics is a preserve of middle-class and elite Ethiopians (Mizrachi and Zadwu 2012 :449). Whilst it is true that many Ethiopians operate through distinctions based on their local Jewish (Israeli) identity (Mizrachi and Zadwu 2012 :438, c.f. Rabatou 2013: 34-5) — such as Ethiopian-Israelis thinking of themselves as red or brown and distinguishing themselves from African slaves — it does not follow that global

black identity is always ignored in strategies of destigmatization (Mizrachi and Zadwu 2012: 445).⁴⁶ Such claims, I would argue, ignore urban materialities in peripheral areas and the particular purchase of non-verbalised forms of politics. “Vernacular cosmopolitanism” is more than just the “cosmopolitanism of identity politics,” and global black identity is not the “preserve of the Ethiopian elite” (Ibid.) The *globalisation of black vernacular forms* has major implications for understanding how black identities are shaped (Gilroy 1993: 110, my emphases).

Seen from the socioeconomically peripheral perspective of Jaffa, and the spatial politics of race and place within an urban habitus reflected materially and behaviourally, sartorial and musical choices, and voices and materialities of protest against discrimination reflect resistance to political regimes of discrimination and domination.⁴⁷ Materialities such as graffiti subvert and reorder regulatory urban environments, particularly when they communicate ideas of racial injustice. Indeed, “graffiti is not merely the sign or the effect of an underlying ethological community; rather, it is the embodied social landscape,” and a “communicative technology...crucially implicated in an emergent spatial politics of entitlement and belonging within the city” (Keith, Back and Solomos 1998: 97). Second generation Ethiopians from socioeconomic peripheral neighbourhoods are expressing new black vernaculars that produce new, syncretic, counter-hegemonic identities and materialities. As Gilroy puts it, “Striving to

⁴⁶ I note that the desire to be detached from an ancestry defined by a legacy of slavery is not insignificant and indeed that in other contexts, such group framings can lead to the rejection of blackness or dominant frameworks of black identity. For example, in the US, where Ethiopian and Eritrean immigrants of Amhara, Tigrayan and Tigrinya ethnicity resist racialization within American categories by defining their identities as “Habasha,” a separate non-black ethno-racial category that emphasises Semitic origins (Habecker 2012). Whilst such self-representations are framed to distinguish the group as a “model minority,” it is precisely the injection of class into the picture that makes such forms collectively unthinkable. The exposure of anti-Black racism in Israel has illustrated the limitations on Ethiopian-Israeli abilities to present themselves as an unthreatening model.

⁴⁷ Beyond the political significance of musical tastes and black subject-formations, Kaplan argues that prior to the 1990s, adequate attention had not been paid to political dimensions of culture or Ethiopians ability to mobilise such dimensions (1999: 114). He argues, “We must also accept the possibility that the existence of pockets of Ethiopian culture in Israel today is not merely survival of apolitical cultural traditions carried out by engrained traditionalism, but an active response to what is often perceived as intrusive intervention in a community’s life” (Ibid., 118). Forms of dissimulation he views as “weapons of the weak.”

be both European and black requires some specific forms of double consciousness” (Gilroy 1993: 2). One could say the same for Ethiopian-Israelis. Hence why such urban formations rub against both the notion of national political space (*maḳom*) and dominant *Mizraḥi* conceptions of Israeli peripheral urban space.⁴⁸

But what are the limitations of such syncretism in the context of the mixed Jewish-Palestinian city? In the next chapter, I consider this question through the lens of mixture amongst Ethiopian and Palestinian youth who — despite close quotidian contact and shared experience of police violence — rarely form social groups or political coalitions. This is part of a broader argument which considers the possibilities and limitations on cross-ethnic urban encounters and spatial redefinitions in Jaffa’s borderlands today.

⁴⁸ Whilst beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that in addition to forms of urban behaviour, the Ethiopian sense of time exerts its influence on urban space. As Ravit Talmi Cohn has argued, the Ethiopian story in Israel is one of a moving, dynamic, nonlinear journey in search of place, in which the “permanent temporariness that immigrants experience is an inseparable part of the new meaning of place making (2017: 3).” Beyond this, Rachel Sharaby (2020) illustrates a dialectics of spatial identity amongst Ethiopian Jews. The *Sigt* festival, a religious holiday sui genesis to the Ethiopian *‘edah*, was completed as a “collective experience” in which the covenant of God and his people during the period of Ezra and Nehamia was reconstituted. *Sigt* involved ascending to the mountains near the village towards a “pure space,” reenacting the steps of Moses at Sinai. The physical and symbolic journey involves movement from a “Small” diasporic place to a “big” sacred national space.” It could be argued that neighbourhood life — as a segregated and reconstituted set of social practices — reproduces the “small place” of Ethiopian Jewry, while the *Sigt* in Jerusalem reconstitutes the “big place.” For more observant Ethiopians, *Ha-maḳom* is only in Jerusalem, and the space of South Jaffa is still diasporic.

EIGHT

**

Intimate Bordering

Multi-cultural Encounter in Jaffa's *Shikunim*

“Identity always borders on “otherness” (Gurevitch 2018: 17)

Yom Kippur is the holiest day in the Jewish calendar, and the Tel Aviv Municipality recognises this by closing the streets to vehicles. Walid Abu Seif had been looking forward to *Kippur*, his favourite *Eid* (as Palestinians in Jaffa describe the holiday, signifying its particular set of alternative social practices for them). But the 5-year old had been caught in crossfire and died a tragic death a week earlier. Many from the Abu Seif family were too mournful to celebrate the freedom to roam the streets, but for most of the neighbourhoods' multiple actors, the day took its typical shape.

Mizrahi families walking to synagogue, the men sporting white *kippot* (skullcaps) — the colour white symbolising purity on the day of atonement — pass through the green corridor between Wolfson Street and Jerusalem Boulevard, which backs onto the *shikunim* of Rav Rubenstein Street. They walk under crouching trees which suddenly transmogrify the landscape into an aura of forestry, but for the miniature industrial wasteland at the corner of Abu Seif, where cats roam and featherless peacocks perch on rusty bronze poles. They pass five seating and play areas. At the first are Palestinian families eating *garinim* (sunflower seeds). The next three are full of Ethiopian men, women, and children, with one or two *hiloni* (secular) Jews and their dogs, and at the last one, two elderly *Ashkenazi* women gossiping on a bench as if it was an ordinary Wednesday. They reach the end of the green corridor, which continues into the Ayalon Highway, and pass large groups of Ethiopian men and women sat separately. As they turn right into Yafo Dalet, they pass five Ethiopian women wearing *habesha* shawls over white dresses sat on a mat, chatting in Amharic. They are positioned away

from the crowds, but their appearance in this manner is an uncommon sight in the everyday visual order of the neighbourhood. The main streets of Yafo Dalet are filled with bikes. About two thirds of the children riding them Ethiopian, and the remaining third Palestinian. There is a distinct absence of Russian and *Mizrahi* kids, especially considering the level of exuberance in the atmosphere. The streets belonged to the kids on this day.

The families continue onto *Olei Lub* (the Libyan Synagogue), passing policemen and women laughing with one and another, nonchalant about the enormous guns wrapped over their shoulder. A large van with about eight armed police in front of it stands at the entrance of Mahrozet Square. Around the corner are three *Mizrahi* Jewish religious women in white head wraps sat outside on the lawn in front of their *shikun*.⁴⁹ An Ethiopian woman walks by slowly as she pulls along her son and his toy car, whilst coming the other way is a jovial Palestinian family in a golf buggy. A Palestinian guy passes them on a motor bike, nodding and laughing at two *Mizrahi* guys with tattoos and black *kippot*.

Meanwhile in Fikus Street, Yafo Gimmel, ten young Ethiopians men huddle under the *amudim* (pilotis) of a *shikun*. About half of them are sporting black *kippot*, but all wearing black and white sportswear or denim jeans. Further down is a group of eight teenage girls, six Ethiopian and the other two Palestinian. Onto Saharon Street, an Ethiopian kid on a scooter raises his hands doing *dabke*, a Levantine folk dance, as a car passes blasting Arabic electronica. The drama of Yom Kippur in southern Jaffa reveals transformations of space, and patterns of bordering and parallel existence that produce the daily rhythms of the

⁴⁹ Following emic use, *shikun* is used to indicate a singular entrance or apartment block within the broader landscape of social housing units known as *shikunim*. *Blok* (block) is used to describe a tower block with 6+ floors or the whole *rekevet* (train building) with all of its entrances. The latter were constructed approximately a decade later than the former. Many of the *shikunim* are built on *amudim* (pilotis).

neighbourhoods. Yet it also reveals a dense mingling of bodies and behaviours that produce inevitable encounters and performative moments of transculturation.



Fig. 8.1 Ethiopian boys wearing *kippot* (skullcaps) pass a Palestinian family on Yom Kippur in Yafo Dalet.

The space in between the *shikunim* — corridors, paths, squares, *ganim* (lit. gardens, refers to small parks), and the very stairwells and *amudim* (pilotis) of the buildings themselves — are spaces of urban encounter, as well as material forms to be visually resigned and socially mediated. As Appadurai argues, “it is through mediation, whether in the mode of seeing, touching, feeling, hearing, or tasting (or through more complex infrastructures), that matter becomes active, vital, energetic, agentic, and effective in the world around us” (Appadurai 2015: 233). All these openings can be thought of as architectural objects that mediate particular kinds of symbolic meanings and social possibilities. As George Simmel argues in “Bridge and Door,” paths were the first human means of expressing the “will to connection.” The bridge,

moreover, expresses the human will to connect separated parts of natures, and the door expresses the human tendency to separate the continuity of matter found in nature (Simmel 1994). Corridors, paths, and stairwells are unambiguous connecting points. They are minimal, moreover, in the architectural barriers they contain. Squares, parks and *amudim* are more ambiguous. The former contains a series of architectural objects – benches and separated playgrounds, as we saw in the opening vignette of this chapter – which allow separate groups to materially express the social borders between them. *Amudim* found on the ground floor of a building were designed to allow for pedestrian movement between the residential spaces of the neighbourhood and away from roads designated for traffic. They are in a sense, the corridors of the neighbourhood. Yet, as Chapters 6 and 7 began to display, their expression of the barriers of an individual *shikun* allow for forms of mediation and appropriation that generate strong claims of identity. In doing so, however, they encourage forms of interaction between residents of specific buildings.

Overall, it is the possibility of interaction that offers to give *shikunim* new meanings, but in an inversion of Perlstein’s original architectural intentions — the co-existence of difference, rather than its absolution, is what marks quotidian movement in these spaces. As Nati Marom and Haim Yacobi argue with regards to contemporary Tel Aviv, “ethnic heterogeneity and cultural diversity has infiltrated the vision of “purified” national urban spaces, re-ordering borders and creating contested terrains within the city itself” (Marom and Yacobi 2013: 2). Although we saw in Chapter 5 how the conditions of conviviality across the *bayārāt-shikunim* divide are defined by the co-existence of quotidian friendly relations and material regimes of deception, the material features of the *shikunim* do invite pockets of emergence that challenge this sociopolitical order. In other words, whilst Chapter 5 sought to develop a critique of conviviality, this chapter develops an alternative notion of intimate bordering.

Although the idea of the *yehidot shikunot* (neighbourhood unit) was to create total forms of urban collective materiality and communal identity, its standardisation ironically allowed for readjustments and reorientations. As “active users” of standardised spaces (Ghannam 2003), dwellers of the *shikunim*, who thrive in “apparent *disorder*” (Scott 1998: 137), invite the friction of new aesthetic forms, and the conditions of possibility for their reappropriation. The minimal and malleable aesthetics of *shikunim* contain possibilities for recognition across social, cultural, and political borders. What such forms of recognition illustrate are the leaky nature of intra-urban borders.

Whilst Chapter 3 argued that attempts to construct *maqom* through the adoption of functionalist-modernist urban ideology and international architecture were equally attempts to segregate Palestinians and Jews and homogenise Jewish immigrants, memories and migrations have altered the fate of these neighbourhoods. And it in *form* that new possibilities have emerged. Over time, collective residence and readjustments to physical space marks the *shikunim* as malleable to new cultural patterns. As Caroline Humphrey writes on the relationship between soviet planning ideology and the use of spaces by residents, “The built construction seems capable...of acting as if like a prism: gathering meanings and scattering them again, yet not randomly. As a prism has a given number of faces, the light it scatters has direction” (Humphrey 2005: 55). Externally equal shells have a capacity to provide a multiplicity of potential identities of place, as we began to see in Chapters 6 and 7. This is perhaps most aptly described in the Arabic renaming of *shikunim* to *shikunāt*. As Torstrick has shown, many Jewish residents of a *shikunah* (neighbourhood of *shikunim*) in Acre that was transformed by an influx of Palestinian residents expressed feelings of being in a “diaspora” (2000: 157). Bitter arguments between Jews about Arabs moving into the area and talk of the neighbourhood reputation being destroyed (Ibid.: 138) highlight the fragility of spatial meanings attributed to these forms. With the influx mainly from the dilapidated old city from

the 1960s, Arabs became a majority by '86, and the neighbourhood became “home, a territory to be secured and protected against outsiders” (Ibid.: 153).

Shikunim can nurture difference and encounter as well as mediation and reappropriation, and in southern Jaffa, Palestinians, Ethiopians, Russians and others have joined their *Mizrahi* co-residents, imparting distinctive uses and dwelling patterns on the life of the city, and moments of cultural encounter that escape the work of the state. This chapter explores the meeting of diverse urban lifeworlds in processes of culturalization and deculturalization of space and place (Sanjek 2014: 187), but it also observes how this is often guided by bordering. There is a constant interplay between the politics of encounter and the dense malleability of the *shikunim*. Such an interface can lead to the staging of violence in the city (Holston and Appadurai 1999, Das 2007, Hansen 2001), or the generation of anxiety about threats to socio-spatial knowledge of particular neighbourhoods (Sandercock 2005). Yet, urban encounter is also a site for the potential creation of new worldviews that are capable of mutating and hybridizing (Macintyre 1988). As Watson puts it in her thoughts on planning *for* diversity, “traditions change and evolve as a result of new situations which are encountered through contact with other communities and traditions” (Watson 2006: 35).⁵⁰

Ali Madanipour (2003: 5) argues the city should be investigated across the spatial scales of body, home, neighbourhood, city. This chapter connects persons and groups at different scales of public and private. Following the logic that “the public and the private...only make sense in

⁵⁰ The urban itself is, arguably, a peculiar kind of stage, and its peculiarity can be thought out if we are to establish how new and *shared* values might emerge (Watson 2006: 41). As Sennett argues “A city isn’t just a place to live, to shop, to go out and have kids play. It’s a place that implicates how one derives one’s ethics, how one develops a sense of justice, how one learns to talk with and learn from people who are unlike oneself, which is how a human being becomes human” (Sennett 1989: 83). This idea of a peculiarly urban ethics has been implicated by anthropologists calling for us to see the “humanity” in cities and inhumanity as merely taking place in cities (Gulick 1989: xiv), or those noting that whilst cities are part of wider forces, the urban still produces specific social outcomes (Zenner 1994: 58). The anthropology *of* the city requires us to understand variations of accessibility, diversity, anonymity and intimacy (Zenner 1994: 62). Indeed, “If the urban emerges as a particular kind of force field, an entity at odds with those taken for granted by the social sciences, then the theoretical and methodological practices of the main disciplines will need to change” (Amin 2013: 205). This chapter — particularly 8.3 — addresses these points by considering how the city facilitates urban ethical imaginaries generated from relations of hospitality and inter-cultural mixing.

relation to each other, as they are interdependent notions” (Madanipour 2003: 3), the chapter explores the public and private both separately and together. Based on the experiences of living in a *shikun*, participant-observation in neighbourhood life, and interview material with residents in distinctive *shikunim*, the first section explains how the chapter engages the term “multiculturalism.” I argue that coordinated municipal events ought not to be the focus of understanding multi-cultural life the neighbourhood. Rather, I suggest observing the possibilities and constraints on encounter in the public spaces of southern Jaffa which are in any case reproduced during these events. Consequently, the second section shifts to the uncoordinated public encounter. The formation of relations of *intimate borders* are explored in the social encounters of young Ethiopian and Palestinian men, and Russian, Mizrahi and Palestinians in an earlier generation. Forms of intercultural respect are discussed, and the “neutral” municipal activities that may help cultivate these sentiments. Yet the reality is that intimacy is carefully navigated. Interactions are limited by policies that separate populations and racialised notions of hierarchy that typically encourage avoidance. Such processes are mediated by the navigation of neighbourhood features like *amudim* and *ganim* and a territorial consciousness about spatial boundaries. Conversely, the final section considers the thresholds of public-private by considering how interpersonal cultural exchange emerges within the phenomenon of co-dwelling in the same *shikun*. Mediated by corridors and a shared sense of intra-*shikun* space, multi-cultural imaginaries and contradictions in dominant notions about others emerge in these contexts, but the inability to transcend bordering casts doubt on the extent of reflexive possibilities. The conclusion reflects on the limits and possibilities of multi-cultural encounter, whilst a coda points to forms of solidarity that may yet be cultivated.

8.1 State Multiculturalism and Multi-cultural Life

In the early 1990s, Terence Turner noted the major absence of anthropology from public debates on the politics of difference, which was problematic given anthropology might be uniquely positioned to contribute to multiculturalist theory and practice (Turner 1993: 426). Steven Vertovec (2007a) argues this absence has since been overturned, and the anthropology of migration and multiculturalism has shown that there are multi, multiculturalisms, for the term can mean possibly related but nevertheless discrete things. These include a demographic condition, a set of institutional accommodations, objectives of a political movement or a broad body of state principles. “Multiculturalism” in the Israeli context is both a state/municipal political agenda and a political term utilised in the discourse of neighbourhood actors. In other words, following Stuart Hall, we should distinguish between the “multi-cultural” — descriptions of the social characteristics and problems posed by societies where different cultural communities live together and attempt to build a common life while retaining something of their original identity, and “multiculturalism,” a substantive version of multiculturalism in which strategies and policies are adopted to govern or manage the problems of diversity and multiplicity (Hall 2000: 209). The way Tel Aviv Municipality sets out its diversity policy can be distinguished from the circulation and contextual use (or lack of use) of the term *rav-tarbutiut* (multi-culturalism), and how it emerges in practice.

Marom and Yacobi (2013) note municipal policies like the 2005 *The City Vision* which profess to emphasise the importance of maintaining demographic and social diversity and to strengthen different communities through institutional support for cultural diversity in community centres (Marom and Yacobi 2013: 6-7). They also point to the 2010 Global City Commission (*Minhelet Ir-Olam*) to develop and lead the *TLV Global City* initiative which states the advantages of Tel Aviv’s “multicultural lifestyle.” In Jaffa, the aim was to “leverage” the Old City, and to use the *Mishalma Le-Yafo* (lit. “Jaffa Complementary unit – the Jaffa wing

of the municipality) to further infrastructural, building, and social projects that promote multiculturalism amongst Jews and Arabs, and within these communities, between Muslims and Christians, and between immigrants from FSU, Ethiopia, and *vatiqim* (veteran residents). The aim is to “cultivate cultures” rather than “assimilate diasporas” (Ibid.: 8). They argue that municipal activities have made progress in addressing the cultural needs of Palestinians, but that “the incorporation of Arab culture into a wider framework is impeded by political and symbolic obstacles.” Moreover, non-Jewish migrant communities tend to organise their own festivities and “receive only symbolic or nominal support” (Ibid.: 12).



Fig. 8.2 - a painting by a Palestinian first grader exhibited on the walls of Jaffa's port as part of an *shonim b'yahad*, an artistic educational project “embracing differences, encouraging tolerance.”

Notwithstanding the preferred autonomy of many actors of particular origins, the limitations in this analysis are the tendency to place the burden of multi-cultural cultivation on municipal actors. The neighbourhood view can demonstrate how *rav-tarbutiut* is used by actors themselves. Members of neighbourhood councils – usually *vatiqim* – often identify it as a problematic feature of the neighbourhoods, referring to the *meruchav* (complex) nature of the *meguvan* (diverse) and *rav-tarbuti* (multi-cultural) social environment. At municipal events, these terms become modes of signification, describing the presence of a wide range of populations, without addressing daily obstacles to interaction.

In a hot evening in September 2019, the Bnei Brith Cultural Centre in Yafo Gimmel held a registration event. All notable constituents were present, with all members of the *va'ad shikunah* (neighbourhood committee) and *mo'etsa* (council) attending. If one was unaware of the pressures, tensions, and exclusions that occur outside of the event, one would be hard struck to not recognise the abundant mingling of bodies that display a multi-cultural life. A Palestinian woman holds the baby of an Orthodox Jewish woman. Palestinian women smile and laugh at a performance of *eskista*, an Ethiopian dance, by two Ethiopian women. A rendition by a Russian teenager followed the 20-minute performance of these two Ethiopian women, one who taught kids to the sounds of Arabic drums at *Authentiyafo*, a prior event in Yafo Dalet that celebrated the cultural textiles of the neighbourhood's constituent groups. Rosa, a Filipino migrant who is married to an American Israeli-Jew, is grateful for the possibilities presented in the neighbourhood by co-presence. "I always liked Jaffa, because, I don't know, I feel like people like you because they are already different, Arabs and Jews. They don't look at you differently. They don't care where you come from." Her kids attend Jaffa's Yad-by-Yad school, one of few bilingual Hebrew-Arabic schools in the country. We can see the performative celebration of difference, and the emergence of forms of ambivalence about closed territorial notions of the neighbourhood's public space. But to the extent that these

events are politicised, we ought to be skeptical about how these events represent dominant patterns of spatial interaction and use.



Fig. 8.3 At a registration event for one of the community centres in southern Jaffa, Palestinian and Mizrahi women and children watch Ethiopian women perform the *Eskista* dance.

Indeed, Yosef, the neighbourhood activist we encountered in Chapter 6 who does not support binational education, boasts that “yes, the whole neighbourhood is here, it’s for the kids.” Projecting to the future is more often than not merely a means of avoiding confronting harsh divisions of right now. When one looks beyond the immediate space of the event, one could spot the usual signs of distinction. A group of head wrapped *Mizrahi* women sat in the park, another group of Palestinian women doing the same, and a group of Ethiopian kids playing alone on the football pitch.

As we saw in Chapter 6, dominant platforms of participation in communal life are predicated on forms of linguistic exclusion and an acceptance of a particular *regime of place*. Chapter 7 illustrated how the promotion of separate activities for the Ethiopian “community” allows for the use of city space to stage the practice of moral assimilation. Moreover, we saw how the day-to-day participation of Ethiopians in municipal services is often exclusive to them. The employment of the term *rav-tarbutiut* is rarely marked by an attempt to cross the borders of *rav* (multi-) and *tarbutiut* (culture). For all the meaningful platforms they create, such events are often embodiments of the work of the state and neighbourhood actors to build a public profile for the *rav-tarbutiut* of the neighbourhoods involving symbolic performances within public spaces, particularly community centres.⁵¹ Yet daily rhythms of public contact and avoidance across distinctive groups make their mark in these events.

Moreover, these events are as much defined by whose not there, as they are by who is — indeed one coordinator at Beit Reka constantly pointed to the nominal appearance of representatives of neighbourhood groups as belying an undercurrent of failure to adequately cater to the neighbourhood’s diversity. These events are an important staging of official policy, and at times, they do represent powerful forms of cultural exchange, but it is the everyday pace of neighbourhood life that dominates and repeats itself at these events. What we need to observe then is how the regulation of space creates certain patterns of interaction. Symbolic gestures do not undo the tendency of actors to reproduce the normative state agenda (through regimes of place, planning and policy that have led to certain residential patterns and forms of racism, stigma, and avoidance over time). Just as these events are limiting in a society where the term *rav-tarbutiut* is mostly absent from everyday lexicon since the 1990s, research on multi-cultural citizenship in the Israeli context often leads to an analysis of the politics of

⁵¹ Torstrick notes how — despite the tensions between Jewish and Palestinian residents that she documented in her ethnography — the Wolfson neighbourhood of Acre was often staged as a “symbol of *du-qiyum* (co-existence)” with local officials parading it before visiting foreign dignitaries and potential benefactors (2000: 151).

classification, spurred by the actors themselves rejecting the terms (Aharon Gutman 2014: 53). It is for these reasons, that I focus the questions of border-negotiation, intimacy, and difference on the uncoordinated daily use of public and semi-public spaces. This is not detached entirely from social management strategies by municipal workers who participate in these processes, but the more impactful forms of cross-communal coordination come precisely from broader activities that are not premised on the performance of multiculturalism.

8.2 Marginality and Intimate Bordering in Uncoordinated Public Space

Although an exact delineation between coordinated and uncoordinated obfuscates the grey spaces between them — the subjective interpretation of actors at municipal events, the ways in which neighbourhood navigation is informed by structures of governance and reification — this section observes quotidian interactions between people across distinctive groups mediated in particular architectural spaces. Whilst there are many ways in which one may describe these encounters, my focus is on the young males who navigate and utilise the neighbourhood's urban spaces. It is young adults, and young males in particular who frequent the small parks, squares and *amudim* (pilotis) of specific *shikunim*. From the perspective of municipal actors, the tendency of young adults to reject social activities provided by youth clubs is seen as a social management problem, and vast amounts of time are spent discussing this during both neighbourhood's monthly *mo'etsot* (councils). Yet this social fact provides ample opportunity for encounter between people and groups.

Briefly introduced in the last chapter, *'avodat Rehov* (Street Work) is an arm of the municipality's social services that counsels teenagers involved in crime, drug and alcohol abuse, or those suffering from domestic violence. Teenagers they encounter on the street often don't know how to receive relevant services, so by providing *madrichim* (counsellors) who are allocated to specific streets in specific neighbourhoods, the aim is to connect these teenagers to the system. In southern Jaffa, the majority of these teenagers are Ethiopian or Palestinian,

who are understood by counsellors as a distinct *kvutza hashavim* (peer groups). Together they enact a kind of low-income societal collective behaviour that responds to state policy. As Arileh, coordinator of activities at *‘avodat Rehov* puts it, “the culture in the population of the low socio-economic is to hate the police. It's the system.” But “the Ethiopians feel shit, the lowest. They are really suffering from *giz‘anut*. Everyone does. Also, the Arabs too. But sometimes it can be *machane meshutaf* (joint camp).” I asked him “So what, that can make them come together?” He responded the “lowest common denominator is the drugs and alcohol and hating the police, and we are a gang.” Dwelling in excessively policed peripheral spaces produces tragic forms of shared experience, and an opportunity to cultivate that into productive cross-cultural interaction. Despite efforts by leaders in the Ethiopian community to ensure Ethiopian youth do not see themselves as sharing urban experiences with their Palestinian counterparts — through experiences of racism, police violence, labour-market discrimination, and marginalisation — alliance and respect, as well as violence and avoidance can emerge.

The direct experiences of neighbourhood life have created a platform for recognition of the other's struggles. In Chapter 7, I referred to an interview with four young Ethiopian men discussing their own sense of violation by the police. But when the question turned directly to the context of Jaffa, the conversation was imbued with a sense of ambivalence. One proclaimed, “Jaffa has more problems with Arabs. All the problems are with the Arabs. For Ethiopians here in Jaffa, you feel less problems, it is more for Arabs.” The conversation continued:

Joel: What is the problem between Arabs and Ethiopians in Jaffa?

Avraham: Ah, Ethiopians are cowardly, to tell the truth, Ethiopians are afraid of Arabs. No, Ethiopians are afraid of Arabs!

Ayele: There are Arabs who are *sababa* (cool) and others who want to fight all the time. Not everyone wants to fight all the time.

Solomon: Now they already know the Ethiopians, so they are *sababa* with them. They hate *levanim* (white people), they prefer Ethiopians.

The conversation exemplifies the contradictory recognition of tension between the two groups, and the reality of shared predicaments in a hierarchical society.

A similar sentiment can be seen amongst Palestinian youth. On a pedestrian corridor at the back of a *shikun*, a group of young Palestinian men are regularly found sat out on the ledge outside the *amudim* of their building. Jamal is the head of the “street gang.” He has two tattoos in Hebrew. The letters *alif*, *mem*, *alif* on his knuckles, and another one reading the same *iyma* (mother) on his forearm. Perhaps a form of disguise against police suspicion, or indicative of the predicament of being Palestinian in Jaffa — detached from his or her own language — he nonetheless insists that he opts for the Hebrew script over the Arabic script because “I live in Israel, I know Hebrew.” His story is not unusual in the neighbourhood. He has scars all over his body from the police. He is unemployed, and not searching for a job. He had been in and out of juvenile prison from 13-18. His father had passed away, but his family was originally from Gaza, and his mother from Egypt. He is now married at 21 with a new baby. I asked him if battered bodies — as he described it — was more particular to Arabs, but he said they also target Jews and Ethiopians. During the discussion, Ethiopians walked into the building and down the street without any interaction. They didn't even look. I asked if there is tension between the various populations of the neighbourhood. He said “no, we're not fighting all the time, only when there's an issue that we need to fight about.” Moreover, “This state is bad, but the people are good.”

Cultural borrowing and recognition are performed and materialized, whilst a clear sense of the *Other* is maintained. This constitutes the regular pattern of behaviour between these two

populations. As Gurevitch writes, “Otherness, one may say, becomes a fundamental, inner component of identity itself, which cannot be projected onto the other” (Gurevitch 2018: 18). The intimate Other then, may be marked within the self without that marking a border-crossing. Yet the tendency to form a border between groups can be overcome – at least temporarily – through the production of another spatial border. Police presence and the shared antipathy can even lead to forms of solidarity. *Ganim* in particular becomes spaces where Ethiopian-Israelis and Palestinians encounter one another, often sharing stories of their experience of being harassed by the police, and reflecting on their shared status as “*muḥlashim* (weakened people).” Ezra, a 19-year-old second-generation Ethiopian who lives in Yafo Dalet recalls one such event. He was hanging out with three other young Ethiopian men in a *gan*, and two young Palestinians were sat on the next bench. Two policemen arrived and began harassing the Palestinians. Given his own fear of the police, Ezra would not usually intervene, but this time he felt he couldn’t ignore it. He got up, walked over to the next bench and asked the policemen, “why are you speaking to them in this way?” The police responded, “Why does it bother you? These two guys are *aravim* (Arabs).” After coming to their defense again, the police said to Ezra, “what are you doing together anyway? You’re always smoking hash together, doing problems together.” After much back and forth, the police threatened to remove all of them from the *gan*. In this moment, the borders of the state are erected between the material presence of the policemen, their regulation of *maḳom*, and the mingling space of the *gan*. As *maḳom* becomes threatened, state actors seek to prevent mixture and re-articulation of space. These events take place in a routine-like fashion, and can often involve convivial interactions, but due to the weighting of power, and the multiple processes of spatial mediation at work, I argue that bordering a more suitable explanation of the social dynamics.

It is not just the police force that seek to regulate these kinds of encounters. There is a tendency amongst municipal employees to see the Ethiopian-Palestinian encounter as a management problem. As Mali from the *Moked klitah* put it

Jaffa is also a little bit complex. There is an Arab population. There is the old Jewish population, there are new immigrants. You have all these different kinds, and because of that the population that was new are the immigrants from Ethiopia. Now, there are many problems between the Arab population and the Ethiopian immigrants. The weak ones come and clobber the weak ones. The Arabs feel weak, and then there is the problem, the foremost, young people come and annoy the children of the Ethiopian immigrant.

Mohammed, the Jaffa resident and cultural manager at the *Meshlema* introduced in Chapter 5, proposes a solution. He is responsible for connecting the Jewish and Arab communities and on the issue of young Ethiopian and Palestinian men, he states:

We are working to collaborate between them, between the two communities. The manager of the *moked klitah* is also with us in the community body. One of the things we put together is through sports. It was to collaborate in the soccer field centre by bringing together a group of boys from the Arab and the Ethiopian community. We made a name for a league football team. A mixed group of Jews and Arabs. Inside the Arabs you have Christians and Muslims. Inside the Jews, you have the Soviet Union, Ethiopians and *sabrim* (native Israelis). Okay. And they play together and during training and playing, they are creating a *toda'ah* (consciousness). In the beginning, it was strange. But the absorption centre and managers of the football teams are doing a very good job and we went to welcome this work and expect there to be more and more.

What such forms of coordinated interaction indicate, however, is not the cultivation of inter-group solidarity through these activities. Rather, a further space to articulate a *toda'ah* that is mediated by the patterning of interaction in the *ganim* and other neighbourhood spaces. This is indicated by Mohammed's recognition of a key obstacle:

When it comes to schools in Jaffa, we have an issue in itself. There are Arab state schools, there are private Orthodox Christians, and when it come to the Jewish schools, its different, you have the Democratic and all that. The Ethiopian community mostly goes to religious schools. Automatically that leaves them outside of Jaffa. Because from my knowledge, I do not know how many religious schools in Jaffa, so they go outside and so what you say in the connection in the schools hardly ever happens. If there are some people who learn at Roni Zion, with the Arab community, Jewish community within it, where there are more Christians or Muslims and Ethiopians and Russians, then there is a connection, but the bulk goes to religious schools and therefore there is no more connection.

These tensions and obstacles often shadow the forms of shared experience and recognition that could lead to forms of peripheral transcultural expression. Although an ostensibly neutral activity like football avoids the problematic nature of management across groups, intimate social relations are generally hinged by state classifications and their regulation of neighbourhood space.

Everyday bordering practices are crucial to the navigation of intimacy. Indeed, when asked about the tensions between Palestinians and Arabs in the neighbourhood, one young Ethiopian man responded, “It’s something about territory.” I argue that this sense of bordering is deeply rooted in the politics of planning and governance over time. Although there have been examples of “ethnic fusion,” and “hybridity,” such as an emergent “*Mizrahi* Russianness” in the musical and popular cultural expressions of Russian immigrants (Prashizky 2019), the norm is for inter-group distinction to crystallise through urban spatial practices. Whilst the *shikunim* offer the potential for interaction across difference, in southern Jaffa, certain squares, *ganim* and *amudim* become stigmatized spaces often associated with particular ethnic groups. In Chapter 7, we saw the stigma attached to Sumkan Gardens, an area frequented by young Ethiopians. Stigmatisation and bordering as a result of ethnic tension is not new to the neighbourhoods.

Although it is distinguished by the racialized element, in many ways, there is a repetition of Russian-Palestinian-Mizrahi tensions of earlier generations. Ivan is a 27-year old man of Azerbaijani origin, who has lived in Yafo Dalet his whole life. He works at beach bars in Bat Yam and 'Ajami. Growing up, he spent most of his time with 2nd-generation FSU Jews whose parents came from Russian and Ukraine.⁵² Describing his experience of inter-group relations, he states "your skin has to be rough, coarse. When you go to school, you have to hide." Describing his journey home to Rubinstein 55, where he lived in a six-tier *shikun*, and being chased by Arabs from Abu Seif and other parts of Jaffa. "Sometimes I had to distinguish my territory. I Had to fight Arabs to take the swings at the playground." Yet he points out that it wasn't uncommon for friendships between Arabs and Russians to emerge. This is in contrast to *Mizrahim* and Russians who were more prone to conflict.⁵³ He described one Arab friend:

Mahmoud is a bandit who had a firearm and delivered drugs. He was recently shot in the middle of the street. I told him thousands of times, you're gna be killed. He used to hit me and defend me at the same time.

He describes his other friends Raed and Omar, "they know stuff, they showed me the rough parts of the neighbourhood." As new immigrants suffering from stigma who dwelled in close connection to another targeted group, they were able to cultivate forms of mutual respect. In fact, due to his friendships with Arabs, Ivan refers to himself ironically as a "*smolani*" (leftist), despite the fact that he has continued to vote for the right-wing Likud party.

Socioeconomically disadvantaged dense residential patterns produce and reproduce bordering mindsets and platforms for their negotiation. Indeed, mutual respect can lead to new

⁵² Until the 1990s, forms of "multiculturalism" that characterized Israeli society had been diffuse and accompanied by considerable ambivalence of leadership (Leshem and Shuval 1998: 33), and interesting questions have been raised by the enormous FSU migrations on the overall solidarity of society (Lissak and Leshem 1995). A cross-national comparison of different forms of multi-ethnicity and separatist phenomenon may be ephemeral or may contribute to the quality and form of multi-culturalism that is at the heart of Israeli society (Leshem and Shuval 1998: 38)

forms of spatial navigation and cultural mimicry. These forms are what I call *intimate bordering*. A current example of this can be seen on Saharon Street. Whilst Palestinian youth more visibly parade the streets on their electric bikes, it is not uncommon to see young Ethiopian men doing the same, if more quietly. Although they have already socialised certain *amudim* on Fikus and elsewhere (as we saw in Chapter 7 this is often marked through graffiti), such behaviour shows signs of mimicry in order to stake claims to the space of the streets. This current Palestinian-Ethiopian tension is reminiscent of the Mizrahi-Russian-Arab battle of Ivan's teenage years. Jewish masculinity is threatened by the dominance of Palestinian men in these mostly Jewish neighbourhoods, except in the latter case there is a greater sense of respect.⁵⁴ Threat met with admiration, from the co-presence of the streets *and* the co-familiarity of the classroom. This is one reason why, despite forms of mutual respect, tension is higher now, as most Ethiopian teenage boys go to school outside of the city. They come back and feel threatened not only as black men (many complain of encountering racist remarks and behaviour from Palestinians too),⁵⁵ but as men without references; without that urban familiarity that gives them some sense of security in these dense neighbourhoods.

Dina is coordinator of activities at Sadaka-Reut, an NGO encouraging active Arab-Jewish youth partnership in Jaffa and across the country. The organisation has worked with Ethiopian youth in southern Jaffa but she notes serious obstacles in cultivating tolerance of their Palestinian neighbours:

⁵⁴ There are significant gender differences in mixture amongst youth. Whilst there are some examples of young girls mixing, wherever I looked, men seemed to form ethnicised groups more easily. This section and indeed concept is necessarily gendered, but the next section addresses intimacy amongst women (and men) from the perspective of the borders, boundaries, and contradictions during processes of interpersonal cultural exchange.

⁵⁵ As Asmare from the *Moked klitah* put it, "I'm something overt, even an Arab can hide if he is white. All of them speak. Then you can't identify. That's the difference." Mali agreed, "And it doesn't make a difference if you're first, second or third generation. Your colour is with you. That's it."

I think it's a really common situation where one marginalised group turns against the other. Like even though there's a lot in common, you don't want to relate yourself with the weaker group, and you want to be more similar to the stronger. To the white Jews.⁵⁶

Awareness of an ethnic hierarchy casts over these relations, preventing common experiences from formalising into new socio-cultural patterns.⁵⁷ As Mali from the *Moked klitah* puts it, "We don't know each other. They don't know about us. They don't know from which ' *aliyah* we are from and if I hang out with this one and he hangs out with that one, and which ' *aliyah* he is from." The lack of cultivated knowledge between groups, and the infrastructural delineation of difference amongst groups over time, leaves moments for transculturation limited. Forms of interaction that don't transgress difference generate intimate borders. This process has another face when observed between residents of the same *bloq*. This is explored in the final section.

8.3 Dwelling Together and the Possibility of Reflexivity

We have seen how the spaces in between *shikunim* provide corridors of potential urban exchange across groups. A shared sense of marginality can generate an intimate respect which even informs sociocultural practice. Yet intimacy is much more demarcated by bordering practices, such as the marking of *amudim* and other spaces in the neighbourhoods. But does the dense co-dwelling in the *shikunim* tell a different story? Do neighbours articulate distinctive registers of interaction with built form that reshape the meaning of materialities, and generate

⁵⁶ Curiously, different results emerged in a context which brought together a group of Ethiopian youth from Netanya, and Palestinians from a nearby Arab town. Meital Shapiro reports in *Haaretz*: "The girls told me about some of the things they do. When talking about their meetings within the Jewish group, they described the *netchim* (whites, in the slang of Ethiopian Israelis) from Bat Yam as snobs, and of the Tel Aviv kids they met, they remembered only one boy with long hair. But they connected powerfully with the Palestinians – *kamantim*, as they call them. They said that the kids from Taibeh were the ones who listened with the greatest patience when the girls told them about Abera Mengistu, the Ethiopian-Israeli man who's being held in the Gaza Strip by Hamas, and about the ongoing struggle of the Salamsa family for justice for their late son" (Shapiro 2017).

⁵⁷ Whilst the ideology of "cultural pluralism" may have replaced the blurring of difference in the Israeli context (Ashkenazi and Weingrod 1984: 44), and switched from monoculturalist multiculturalism to multiculturalist multiculturalism (Paresh 2006: 6), a "hierarchy of belonging" (Torstick 2000: 12) still has residue, and categories like *sabra* (Israeli-born Jew) have often been portrayed in Hebrew literature as blond and blue-eyed with European features (Shohat 1989: 41).

collective forms of intimacy despite regimes of governmentality (Buchli 2013)? Does the materiality of the *shikunim* both shape and allows for formations of personhood that are not defined by collective patterns of bordering? Does quotidian domestic practice and the “inner feelings of...people” (Humphrey 2005: 40) interact with the built environment to create “a different possibility for living?” (Samanani and Lenhard 2019: 11)? These questions cannot be comprehensively addressed in this chapter, but their very evocation is intended to provoke urban imaginaries that offer “a stronger normative and utopian dimension to complement its tradition of diagnostic critique” (Lees 2004). Whilst there have been attempts to shape political subjects through housing (Rabinow 1989, Holston 1989, Scott 1998), and this is particularly pertinent in the Israeli case (Efrat 2018, Kallus and Yone 2002), the question of their limitations through mediated forms of encounter and intimacy offers an important space to reflect on how the meaning of the *shikunim* has been altered over time.

We saw in Chapters 2 and 3 how the *shikunim* were constructed with national redemptive purposes, intending to create ideologically and culturally homogenous communities of Jewish immigrants. We’ve also seen how contradictory processes of homogenization and peripheralisation have led to diverse sets of residents who have made their cultural impact on the aesthetic orientation of their internal private, and semi-public spaces (such as the Ethiopian graffiti on the *amudim* in Chapter 7). But despite residential patterns and the density of dwelling, sustained relations between distinctive residents of the same *blok* are not guaranteed. However, the formation of such relations reveals complex ways in which materiality and sociality combine to create quotidian forms of neighbourliness.

Dina from Sadaka-Reut lives in Yafo Dalet with her husband Ahmad. They are one of few mixed Palestinian-Jewish couples in the neighbourhood and have lived there since 2016. As we saw in Chapter 5, Ahmad is a doctor in his early thirties who works at the nearby Wolfson Hospital. He is from Kfar Qasem, a Palestinian town 30 minutes from Tel Aviv-Jaffa with a

population of around 20,000. Dina is in her late twenties. She is the daughter of Russian immigrants and grew up in a *shikun* in Hadar, a mixed Jewish-Palestinian neighbourhood in Haifa. We have already seen how Ahmad's daily walks to the hospital via the entrance to Abu Seif on Mahrozet Street provided him with an important Arab reference point in a majority-Jewish neighbourhood. But how does the need for Jaffa's public space to "feel Arab" transpire in the immediate dwelling space of his *bloḳ*? To answer this question, I refer to Ahmad and Dina's discussion with me which centred around their day-to-day relations with four elderly *Mizraḥi vatiḳim* originating from Morocco, Tunisia, and Iran. These women are regularly found sitting and chatting on the stone seating area by the *amudim* of their building.

Ahmad: Yeh, they're friends. They love Dina.

Dina: I love them! They're super nice. And they promise to babysit our child one day.

Ahmad: They will always try and push her to have babies.

Dina: I love it how they keep being excited about how nice Ahmad is. And they do it in a really racist but sweet way.

Ahmad: They're sweet yeh. They're like yeh, he's actually very good.

Dina: I love it because if you go this white Ashkenazi, they will be like yeh, we love Arabs, they're so, we need to make peace, but we like them far away, we like them...

Ahmad: It's like racist, but it's authentic.

Dina: Yeh, like, don't get near our daughters! And they're like "the Arabs are voting to the, and the Arabs this, the Arabs that," but Ahmad is like, I think they would love for you to be their son-in-law.

Ahmad: They want recipes from our mum. I send them all kinds of cookies, *kaak-al-eid*.

Ahmad and Dina are more focused on the perceived authenticity, hospitality, and neighbourliness of their interactions with these women than on their beliefs and political identities. Within the open corridors and *amudim* of their shared *bloḵ*, intimate relations can be cultivated. A shared sense of being non-white and thus in the periphery of Israeli society allows them to focus in this way. Asked to clarify whether they feel that these *Mizraḥi* women — despite professing political antagonism towards Arabs — have distinctive positions from those in the peripheral cities of *shikunim* that have no Arab residents, Ahmad stated

Ahmad: I dont think women in Kiryat Shmona are racist as well. I think most Israelis are, you rarely find an Israeli person — also Arabs by the way — who is racist on a personal level. Most of them are okay people in a personal level, most of the racism here, it's kind of a collective, ideological, us and them kind of racism. It's not like blacks and whites in the US, where whites think they're monkeys, and they can't see them, and they want them separated from them. Like I can't imagine people wanting Arabs not to be in the same restaurant as them in Israel, I don't think that would happen. They actually like each other, like Mizraḥi Jews and Palestinians, they got along more than Mizraḥi Jews and Ashkenazis, sometimes, most of the time! But I like our neighbours, they're very nice people. Aside from me being an anti-social, the ladies, they're very sweet ladies. I dont have a lot of, you know...

Dina: Meanwhile you always invite Mimi in!

Ahmad: No, I prefer not to have interaction but, because I'm a nice guy...

Dina: For an Arab.

Ahmad: For an Arab [laughing]. So I'm not, I don't like social interaction, but when they happen I'm nice. So Mimi is the *rosh va'ad bayit* (head of the house committee). And she collects the money every couple of months. And she likes us very much, and she likes me very much. And I invite her in. And sometimes I'm baking something or cooking something, so I

give her a taste, and we speak about this and we speak about that. So when we have interactions, they're very sweet and nice. And when we have interactions, they're very warm. I hate that word because it's a stereotype for Mizrahi Jews – calling them warm people, warm hearted — it's a compliment but it's used as a, you know, ah they're very nice, very warm. I don't know if you're getting my point.

Dina: I have to say that it's just feels like they're interested in you or us just as people. Like, equal to them. And not as projects of research. Because like the wife of your friend from work, because it feels like a lot of Jewish society, especially Ashkenazi, like I'm sorry for this political, identity politics, but it is, like, they don't look at you from this point of view of “on, an Arab, let's do a project together about peace and dancing. How nice that we have an Arab neighbour.” Like you're not a prize. They don't befriend you because it will give them social status to have an Arab friend. They like you despite the fact you're Arab. And I think it's a lot...

The shared sense of peripherality and respect for Middle Eastern patterns of hospitality allows for a quotidian sociability that is premised on an idea of interpersonal respect. This is how Ahmad can joke:

Ahmad: They're racist but it's nice.

Dina: Yeh but you said no one is racist on a personal level, but I think everyone's racist, but some people are racist in a more theoretical way, like to a group out there. And they don't implement it in a personal relationship. But like to be, to talk to you, like you are the representatives of all Arabs, and let's have projects together, and be so proud of it. It feels like, someone profits from the fact that you're Arab and that you're their friend. But they're like, like it's hard for them, and they have stereotypes about you, they don't gain anything by liking you, and they still do because they think you're a nice, sweet man.

The idea that no one gains from the cultivation of such sociability is crucial. It rejects the idea of a pragmatic transactionalism and invokes the idea of dwelling space as separate from

political space. They continue by discussing their daily experience of the neighbourhood and whether they see their future there:

Ahmad: There are children playing together in the park by our house, they're very multi-ethnic. Like, there are Palestinian children with Ethiopian children, playing with *Mizrahi* children. That that was very interesting for me to see because I almost never see that in different settings. I take it as a positive thing, like a positive thing in a neighbourhood, that children can meet someone that looks different from him, speaks different from him, have a different background, different culture, different religion, it's definitely a plus, but I do believe that children need to have some kind of base, cultural base. It need not be in a classical sense — like you're Palestinian that's it, or you're Jewish that's it. It can be very complex, but they need to have like, to go back to a cultural base. I am not sure we've figured that out.

Dina: Our friend's daughter goes to kindergarten here, and she's there with Ethiopian kids and Arab kids and Russian kids. Half of the Russians and the Arabs, some of them don't even speak Hebrew, and she is half Russian, half *Mizrahi*. But the girl is actually not having a good experience because it's very hard for her to find her place, she doesn't feel like she belongs here. And then he said something very interesting...

Ahmad: I said that maybe this is something that we throw on children. It's an adult kind of...

Dina: concept

Ahmad: perceiving reality, I don't think they think in that kind of way. They're children, you know, they want someone to play with. They don't care about identities.

Dina: It feels like she doesn't connect with, there's no one like her. There's no one that looks like her.

Ahmad: Yeh but is that a negative thing. Like why is it a negative thing that she's different? Like being different is not by itself a bad thing. You can even treat it as a positive thing. You know, being special. You can treat it as a positive thing. And you know children can be different on very different levels.

Undeterred by the political views of their neighbours and the cultural intimacy they enjoy with them, Ahmad and Dina find the social environment comfortable, and believe in the social potential of such multi-ethnic dense living. In the context of a Muslim-Hindu marriage in Delhi, Veena Das has written about the “small community of love [that] can come about and break the solidity of oppositional identities” (Das 2010: 397, c.f. Ring 2006). For Das, the concept of “nextness/adjacent self” is what allows for the calming of potentially turbulent situations. It means moral striving as attending to the concrete specificity of the other. As their *Mizrahi* neighbours lend hospitality and support to a boundary-crossing marriage, they challenge a monist tendency towards Jewish nationalism in their everyday interactions. The etiquette of neighbourliness, and the everyday realisation of harmony are prioritised. Yet what such relations demonstrate are contradictions in professed claims about others. The *Mizrahi* women in Ahmad and Dina’s *shikun* both accept dominant political views about “Arab culture,” and challenge these very views in their articulations of daily life. This is what Les Back calls the “metropolitan paradox,” the complex interplay between impulses towards essentialism and anti-essentialism at the everyday level (1996: 7). Multiply inflected forms of social identity are equally being met by multiply accented forms of popular racism that sometimes operate inside urban multiculturalism and at other times prey on these fragile forms of dialogue from outside.

The intimacy of these relations over years can leave a mark on residents who experience it, but the question of how it effects their sense of territorial belonging remains. This is demonstrated in the narrative of Adi, a 40-year old Lesbian woman of *Mizrahi* origin from Ramat Gan. She understands some Arabic from her Iraqi grandmother but operates entirely in

Hebrew. She lives in Mahrozet Street with her wife and two children, where she recently moved from a tower block on Irit Street, Yafo Gimmel. They moved there initially because their children go to a specialist environmental school in Tel Aviv, and this is the only place they could afford to live. With rental costs rising, Adi is luckily enough to be renting the apartment on Mahrozet from her sister. Larger than an ordinary *rekevet* (train) *shikun*, the block on Irit Street had eight floors, with four apartments on each. Her wife was the *va'ad bayit*, “she knew everybody.” But Adi remembers one relationship particularly fondly. As is a common story, 60-year old Samira, an Orthodox Muslim woman, moved to Yafo Gimmel from Nusra (northern Jaffa) as house prices began to rise.

And she adopted us, she made us food. Every Saturday, she called us. “When do you come home, I want to make you food. I want it to be hot. Amazing. amazing. *Kubbeh* (fried mincemeat dumplings), and lot of things with *ceves* (livers), and lamb, and pine nuts. *Pitot* (pita bread) with meat and pine nuts. And she called a woman to help her, and they made very very accurate circles. She worked with gloves. She was very very clean. That’s what she did most of the time. She lived alone. Most of the time she would bring it to us.

The sharing of food in particular helped to create bonds within this fragile environment:

Especially between Arabs and Jews. Like between Jews there are a lot of things that make a common relationship. I don’t know, with her [Samira] it was like that, Well, we were lucky she liked us a lot.

Adi points out that there is a reciprocity in which they sent Samira cookies and cakes, and *mishloah manot* (festive parcels of food) during the Jewish festival of *Purim*. When asked about whether Samira invited Adi and her family over for Iftar dinners during Ramadan and other festive events, she was quickly reminded of the more obscure encounters:

Sometimes she did. I remember during the war with Gaza 3 years ago. We didn't have a safe room in the house so we all went out to the common room. It was a very funny venture, I have to say. You know, it's absurd. You're all Israeli together in that situation. Everyone. I think it always feels tense when something happens. You can see here by the *hummusiyot* (hummus restaurants) and suddenly everything is quiet. One missile goes here, Yafo is in.

Asked about the atmosphere of the room

We were joking and talking. The kids went up and down with their friends. There was one time, in Samira house, I think her son, his daughters, a lot of Arab people went out. They heard the sirens and went out. *And it was very, I don't know, grotesque.*

Thus, despite the possibilities of hospitality, reciprocity, and neighbourliness, the contradictions of conviviality described in Chapter 5 cannot be absolved entirely. Intimacy is always coupled with the persistent reality of conflict and its uneven material effects.

Yet in his ethnography of Nazaret Illit, a newly mixed Jewish-Palestinian city next the Arab Nazareth, Dan Rabinowitz describes the extension of hospitality as “a unique chance for Palestinians to resist, an opportunity to reinstate the underlying natural order by which the native acts as host to the new-comer” (Rabinowitz 1997: 115). Although such resistance may be “tentative, temporary, tenuous” (Ibid.: 116), acts of Palestinian hospitality mediated through the *shikunim* indicate a form of spatial re-appropriation of *maqom*. Yet the surreal nature of sharing this space during conflict still persists as a feature of Adi's experience. This sense of contradiction experienced by inhabitants of mixed cities, Regev Nathanson has called “reflexive subjectivity,” forcing inhabitants to question pre-given structures. The local mixing environment coexists with a general hegemonic discourse of separation. As a result, the incommensurability of local experiences ends up prompting social practices of reflexivity

(Nathanson 2017). Such practices can even lead to awareness of inequalities that extend to multiple ethnic groups in the area:

It's very hard for Arab families to find places in Jaffa, and I know one family that decided to move to Kfar Qasem to live in a cottage...I heard the Jewish people talk like that [about pushing her out]. So, just, it's very interesting because we live with them. And still you hear a lot of people saying they will not rent their place, and they will not even sell their place to an Arab...When we looked for an apartment, to rent and then to buy for my sister, the first thing that someone told me about the apartment or the building is that there are no Arabs here, or there are very few Ethiopians. Like it's a magic word.

Yet, guided equally by process of separation and the experience of bordering, such recognition is limited:

I think maybe even more for Ethiopians. I can see their hatred to us. To the one with not black skin. They hate us. I know they have reasons to, but you can see the hatred in their eyes. That's why it's very very important to me that my kids will go to this kind of kindergarten so that they will see everybody. No prejudice. It was three years for them to get friends with Arabs and Russians and Ethiopians, and people like us.

And forms of neighbourhood discourse that stigmatise populations can still persist

A lot of Ethiopians. A lot of Arabs that I don't know, made picnic over there. They eat *garinim* (sunflower seeds). A lot of mess. They left a lot of mess. I don't know if it was just them, but it was very very messy. I have a dog so I could see the workers. They would clean it twice a day, but still it was very messy. I can't really deal with it. I prefer them to take them by car and take them to... I can't be in places like this.

And moreover, the sense of territorial ambiguity runs deeper than a discursive gesture towards the reality of difference and separation:

I think they feel that we are... I don't know how many times you've passed Yefet Street. But it's like, I don't know, the wild west, to me. When I drive there I'm in a different mode. *I know it's not my territory*, I know I have to be very alert.... Sometimes, I go there to eat. I have to say, I'm the easy part of our family. My partner she hates to enter this street, she's scared. She suffers from anxiety. Especially because she had a motorcycle accident. And when I drive, she doesn't like it. And when I do it on Yefet street. So, she's scared. There's a pizza place near our house. Shemesh, next to Abu Seif. And since there was a shooting there, she doesn't want to go. So, if it was only me, I would buy on Yefet Street. I'm not scared. *But when I drive there, I feel I'm not wanted there.*

Most pertinently, this sense is also attributed to the *bayārāt/pardesim* in the neighbourhood: "Since the shooting, every corner has a police car." One of her partner's colleagues is from Abu Seif, and works at a kindergarten in Neve Tzedek. Asked about Walid's death, she said: "I don't know why, disagreements between two *hamulot* (clans)." About their future in the neighbourhood, Adi says, "to move them they'll have to pay them off, a lot of money." Discussing my experiences talking to the families and entering the areas, she was inquisitive: "Why is it closed?" "is there drugs inside?" But "*It was always this closed area, it's not mine.* I don't need to ask questions but...I didn't feel threatened, but I feel I have nothing to do there. I'm not welcome." Asked if this was a discussion, she broached with Samira: "we didn't discuss it, but I feel that *she also felt that it's not her territory.* That's what I can tell you. They succeeded to make it very very their own place."

Conclusion: Sedimentation, Corridors, and the Limits of Multi-culture

This chapter points to the leaks in regimes of place and the hermetic borders they instigate socially and materially. It argues that unofficial forms of multi-cultural life provide insight into patterns of interaction across difference in the public and semi-public spaces of the *shikunim*. In the semi-public places of shared *blokim*, an intimacy of peripheral dwelling can cultivate pockets of interpersonal respect running parallel to national narratives of segregation and their material manifestation in ordinary patterns of segregation and avoidance. In some cases, hospitality nurtures belief in the potential of these diverse spaces, as Ahmad and Dina's narrative shows. The chapter also suggests that the even texture of public space in between *shikunim* provides openings and corridors for interactions to take place, and for formations of Jewish personhood to contradict domination notions of the Palestinian other. Intimacy at specific domestic scales provides an alternative to the broad patterns of conviviality and deception produced by the generic materiality of the neighbourhoods (as was described in Chapter 5).

Yet intimacy is also guided by a distinct sense of borders. Notions of territorial difference often stage the terms of engagement. The intimacy of semi-public spaces may generate forms of non-political hospitality, but engagement in public space is much more guarded. The navigation of intimacy through difference demonstrate a quotidian multiculturalism that is navigated through distinct borders and senses of hierarchal order. Although borders become thinner – to use Gurevitch's terminology – they do so without disintegrating boundaries. Thus urban multi-culturalism in the *shikunim* of south Jaffa may be described by what Majid Al-haj (2004) has called “ethnocratic multiculturalism” — the manner in which diversity in Israel is defined by a relationship between multiculturalism and ethnocratic control. This is in contrast to “cosmopolitan communities” marked by extensive transculturation (Pratt 1992) where a pluralising impact transforms cities into multicultural metropolises in which “disjunctures of

time, generation, spatialisation, and dissemination refuse to be neatly aligned” (Hall 2000: 227). In the context of Jaffa’s *shikunim*, such disjunctures are the potential of small moments that counter processes of what Ann Stoler calls “uneven sedimentation” (Stoler 2016: 13).

The latest encounter between the Palestinian and Ethiopian populations of southern Jaffa is often defined by ambivalence or active mistrust, with moments of intercultural exchange and solidarity present but unable to be effectively bridged in dominant forms of engagement. The recognition of Israel’s ethnic hierarchy is constantly reiterated by residents from southern Jaffa’s distinctive populations in collective and individual exchanges. Whilst ethnographies of Israel’s mixed Jewish-Arab cities have sought to provide an alternative narrative to the norms of geographical/ideological separation for most Israelis and Palestinians (Monterescu 2015, Monterescu and Hazan 2018, Nathanson 2010), from the perspectives of the urban borderlands where Jewish sovereignty is fragile, such narratives must transgress dominant norms. Bordering is a distinct and dominant part of socio-cultural life. It is a way of navigating the city, and this is illuminated by a reading of the mixed city from the perspective of urban encounters in public space. Such encounters also inform much of the interactions in shared dwelling transitional spaces.

Intimate bordering also reveals new insights when we consider the experiences of Ethiopian-Israelis in southern Jaffa. They illustrate a complex intersection of nation, race, space, and place which forces us to rethink the very articulation of Israeli “ethnocracy.” From the perspective of processes of racialisation and border practices at the neighbourhood scale, we see how difference does not articulate evenly. Ethiopian-Israelis are not obviously able to utilise their Jewish privilege to transcend Palestinians in the ethnic hierarchy. Recognition of this, however, would require a reckoning with the racial structures that undergird the Israeli state. It is preferable for many Ethiopian-Israelis to pertain to their desires for full participation in the Jewish nation, retaining social and political borders with Palestinian neighbours accordingly.

Thus, whilst the futures of Jaffa's *shikunim* contain the possibility of multi-cultures that challenge regimes of place and popular racisms in Israeli society, histories of ethnicised spatial production lurk under the surface of every encounter, guiding the development of identities. The effective nurture of the possibilities celebrated by Ahmad need to be addressed holistically, therefore, addressing forms of racial stigmatisation and the policies and regimes that produce segregation.

Coda: Solidarities Not Yet Made

In memory of the murdered Ethiopian Solomon Tekke, System 'Ali, a Jaffa-based mixed Jewish-Palestinian rap group posted "*Rak Dam (Only Blood)*," the words of Aimro Dinko, an Ethiopian rapper and a facilitator at System 'Ali, with the Hebrew statement: "Together we will continue to fight and fight until there are no victims of racism in this place." It read

At the end of the day everything is just blood

Only blood and flesh

The same racism inside, a very narrow bridge

I don't look like you eh?

Some short fuse

Let us all return to the same pit of ash and dirt

Yes, I also grew up in my homeland

This racism kept going with me

I thought of a dream but it wasn't realistic

How did I not understand?

No matter where I go

Always before skin color or religion

That's how it is generation after generation

Remembering everything as no choice

Even in my past then in the Black Country (*aretz shachor*)

There they spit on my face because of Judaism, because of *Torah*

Don't laugh, I was always considered an infiltrator where I was born, the same movie

Still silent I continued to nod

I did not know that I had the right to object to what had happened

I've always always felt as if I'm living in a foreign country

So I risked my life and came up here in the Holy Land

Alien to one god with a hot temper

Walla (Arabic: by god) it's good that you die for the flag and the people

So why don't MDA [the Israeli ambulance service] take blood from us?

At the end of the day everything is just blood

Only blood and flesh

The same racism inside, a very narrow bridge

I don't look like you eh?

Some short fuse

let us all return to the same pit of ash and dirt.

More recently, System 'Ali filmed a video and song called "No Place Like Jaffa." The chorus states, "*Iyma sheli Yaffa*" (my mother Jaffa), blending Hebrew with the Arabic name. In the verse, a Palestinian man raps in Arabic "Remember Kedem Street? They used to call it "Safari." Today every abandoned house is "authentic-oriental." Critiquing the transformation of

northern Jaffa into a neo-orientalist playground for the rich, the video is mostly shot in southern Jaffa, and ends with the shot of three members of the band. A Jewish-Israeli and his accordion sat by — and with the words of — two Palestinians. Their backdrop is *shikunim*.



Fig. 8.4. The fading shot of System Ali's "No Place Like Jaffa."

CONCLUSION

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The Borders of National Place and the Possibilities of Urban Space

The “mixed city” is not a concept in circulation amongst a wider urban and anthropological scholarship, and its peculiarity to the Israeli-Palestinian context is revealing. Whilst more of an academic term, it is also designated and contested in everyday discourse. With its implicit binarism of Palestinian and Jew, however, it obscures the multiple forms of difference and encounter that mark most contemporary cities. Thus, it presents a paradox. Namely how urban diversity is constructed within an ethno-national politics of bifurcation, and social relations are produced across multiple ethnic groups in ethno-nationally divided societies. In this thesis, I have argued that there has been a tendency to absolve the paradox by emphasising one side of it. Focussing on vertical power relations between Jews and Palestinians (Yacobi 2009, Yiftachel and Yacobi 2003, Rabinowitz 1997, 2007), urban dynamics have often been understood through the Oren Yiftachel’s concept of ethnocracy (Yiftachel 2006). The term denotes states that are structurally and territorially geared towards the majority ethnic group despite formal democratic processes. The sociological framework of the mixed city has also been used to challenge the notion that the ethnocratic state intervenes on all domains of social life (Monterescu 2015, Monterescu and Hazan 2018, Nathanson 2010, 2017). The concept of ethnocracy can no doubt be complicated by forms of sociability and what Daniel Monterescu defines as Jaffa’s “spatial heteronomy” (Monterescu 2015), but too much attention to diverse forms of spatiality may overlook the tension between this diversity and the everyday formation of state power.

I investigated this through an ethnography of the diverse neighbourhoods of Jaffa’s *periferiyah* that border the Jewish city of Bat Yam. The process of ethnography revealed to me an “everyday” deeply embedded in the spatial politics of nationalism. As much as it possible

to see the “reformulation [of] hegemonic scripts of nationalist subjectivity” in Jaffa (Monterescu and Hazan 2018: 9), I came to understand that Jaffa’s southern borderlands offer a vantage point for comprehending the formation of nationalist projects and nationalist identities in urban space; of understanding state power precisely *through* the daily cultural patterns of urban diversity in neighbourhood life.

Although nationalism is not always at the forefront of people’s minds — it guides the borders of spatial navigation and thereby emergent neighbourhood formations. However, the conceptual focus of this thesis has not centred around the notion of ethnocracy. Rather, it was concerned with the dynamics of placemaking at multiple spatial scales and temporal logics. Through historical forms and their presence in social dynamics today, I sought to depict the production of *regimes of place* and distinctive forms of borders. *Bordering*, I argued, is the dominant social modality in Jaffa’s urban borderlands, designating a way of navigating and marking the city in relation to the production of nationalism and state power. Ethnic and racial formations, and architectural forms and city space, were understood as vessels for a broader process of nationalist production and erasure. To demonstrate this, I sought to think materiality and sociality together. Following Appadurai (2015), I understood materialities to mediate social relations, and make visible nationalist goals, state formation, and urban identities. Lefebvre’s multi-scalar approach to the production of space (Lefebvre 1991) was used to illustrate the multiplicity of combinations between materiality and social mediation that the thesis unpacked within the defined field site. Chapter 1 identified the process of defining this in methodology, whilst the rest of Section I established the material production of place and borders over time. Section II focused on the materiality of memory traces, and the undercutting of everyday sociability by the materiality of built space and legalistic property frameworks. Section III, whilst more focused on the explicitly social relational frameworks amongst

residents, illustrated the centrality of material frameworks to the mediation of quotidian intra-urban borders and the claims and terms of identity, belonging, and encounter.

The primary aim of Section I was to set up a framework for comprehending how the current urban configuration of buildings and people was produced by radically transformative processes of planning and architectural intervention. It identified how dominant regimes of place and new landscapes of *shikunim* were formed over time through the physical and discursive erasure of formally Arab agricultural settlements and landscapes of orchards. Yet it also demonstrated how ambiguities persist through these mnemonically mediated landscapes, and the Palestinian residents who remained in the area after 1948 and became Israeli citizens. Both Chapter 2 and 3 illustrated how nationalist regimes of spatial production came to dominate the *spatial practices* of residents – as Lefebvre terms it, yet also where they are undercut through the movements and mixtures of peoples and the ways in which histories are revealed in the present. Chapter 2 focused on the territorial imagination and discursive construction of the area by the state, whilst Chapter 3 focused on how architecture transformed the physical landscapes of the built environment. Chapter 2 illustrated the circulation of multiple conceptions of place, and the limits of dominant imaginary practices, but also how they produce powerful effects through their mediation in the materiality of built form. Chapter 3 illustrated the power of modernist ideology to transform a landscape from orchards to urban neighbourhoods, and to separate Palestinians from Jews in the process. Yet it also illustrated how people live through modernist landscapes of *shikunim* with memories of their time dwelling next to Palestinians in a *ma'abara* (transit camp). Thus, the materiality of urban landscapes mediates multiple sets of territorial imagination. Facts on the ground produce new borders that are socially porous.

Section II addresses this more explicitly. Focusing on the physical and mnemonic persistence of the area's pre-1948 dwelling configurations – *bayārāt/pardesim* – it asked how the past

escapes today's dominant power relations, yet also the effects of today's dominant regime of place on the built environment and thereby mediated social relations. Chapter 4 considered the *bayārāt* through their historic relational frame which connected orchards, the orange industry, and Palestinian national identity in late 19th to mid 20th century Palestine. From the perspective of the remnants of this history, ethnographic *traces* were explored to depict the *fragments* of memory in the contemporaneously fragmented city. These traces and fragments were understood as *materialities* that illustrate the limitations of national production and erasure in cities. Expanding beyond the field site into the broader area of Jaffa's historic border landscapes of orchards, a comparison was drawn between the living *bayārāt* in Yafo Dalet and Yafo Gimmel – increasingly threatened by discursive stigmatization by the state and residents – and the ruined *bayārāt* whose materialities represent the persistence of Palestinian pasts and the interruption of *maḳom* (Jewish place) by *majāl* (Arab space).

Chapter 5 focused on the present juxtaposition between *bayārāt* and *shikunim* to illuminate how contradictions in physical landscapes affect social relations. Particularly, that is, when the built environment mediates the production of state power and national identity. The correlation between the physical borders of dwelling space and the mental borders of territorial imagination illustrates how state power infringes upon the terms of sociability. This chapter's material served as an intervention on current debates about *conviviality* – the question of how people of difference live together – by illustrating how the banal production of power is entangled with amiable social relations between residents, and the routine presence of the Israeli Police in the neighbourhood. It highlights how legal procedures that delegitimize the status of the *bayārāt* are mediated by neighbourhood space. This may involve the ritualistic presence of the Israeli police in the neighbourhood, or Jewish residents discursively reproducing such delegitimization whilst maintaining positive convivial relations with residents of the *bayārāt*. It is therefore shown that everyday conviviality is deeply mediated by

the power of the Israeli state. Palestinian identity in the neighbourhood, therefore, relies on spatial memory and imagination. The *bayārāt/shikunim* divide serves to create a set of physical and social borders that allow for the production of national identity and dominant regimes of *maḵom* (Jewish place) in everyday life. The final section of the thesis focused on interactions between people dwelling in *shikunim*, but the built space of the *shikunim* was understood to be undergirded by its juxtaposition with *bayārāt*.

Section III was divided into three chapters. Each represented ethnographic material from the everyday life of the neighbourhoods, illustrating how nationalist production and state processes are reproduced in the quotidian pace of Jaffa's borderlands. Chapter 6 considered how residents generate Jewish sovereignty and reproduce dominant regimes of *maḵom* through discursive, visual and audial bordering practices. Chapter 7 considered how the peripheral space of the neighbourhoods are utilised for the Israeli nationalist project of acculturating Ethiopian-Jewish residents, yet also how their racialization limits this process and leads youth in particular to form new borders of syncretic counter-hegemonic black identity and urban materiality. Finally, Chapter 8 unpacked the intimacy of multi-cultural encounter in the *shikunim*. It illustrated how moments of cultural mimicry and domestic sociability in overlapping space are articulated through the social and temporal borders of national identity. Intimate bordering thus represents a highly regulated set of social behaviors, mediated by the materiality of state formation, but also by the malleable materiality of the *shikunim*. Overall, we see how the everyday space of neighbourhood life is subject to powerful forces of ethno-national enclosure – to the attempt to weave borders – that are partially limited by their articulation in urban space. In this vein, I identify five key claims the thesis has made.

The first claim is that the combination of ethnographic perspective and historical context – or of geography, history, and culture – produces a plurality of perspectives for urban analysis. The implications of this are that present dynamics can be understood through a spatiotemporal

current that is not chronological. Furthermore, that the ethnographic is perspectival, but that that need not make it an alternative perspective to that of top-down spatial organisation. The materialities of built space mediate the lives of people and their sociocultural engagement in space. The thesis thus proposed a *methodology that is premised on the multiplicity of perspective*; a multi-spatial, multi-sensory, multi-temporal, and multi-agential approach that captures the fragmentary, emergent logic of the urban, whilst still being able to identity key processes of social formation within the study of diverse areas. This approach is generative of what Marilyn Strathern has called “partial connections.” Scales are created by the anthropologist, and perspectives are understood as relational rather than totalizing (Strathern 2004).

The organisation of the thesis reflects this. Even where particular chapters are framed around perspectives and periods of history, they are shown to be interactive with different temporalities, senses of place, and sensory experiences of space. For example, Chapters 2 and 3 focus on the spatial production of the neighbourhoods through the materialities of planning and architectural concepts – what Lefebvre calls *spaces of representation* – but this was presented in dialogue with residents’ spatial and audial perspectives, which have been shaped by these materialities and imaginaries over time. Chapter 4 is premised on the material trace as an interruptive force in the present. Chapter 5 understands contemporary sociability through a deep sense of material production over time. Chapters 6-8 all involve the employment of multiplicities of spatial experience, sensory urban patterns, temporal logics, and agencies. Overall, conversations across perspective, time, and space were shown to have a methodological and narrative value.

The second claim is that *cities* in contemporary Israel must be understood, at least in part, as *sites of power and depositories of nationalist projects and state formation*. The conspicuously uneven planning regime of Jaffa’s southern borderlands – which was demonstrated in Section

I and II – has led to the spaces of the city being used to display and discursively produce vernacular forms of Jewish nationalism, as Chapter 6 shows, and for the purpose of state-civilising projects, as Chapter 7 shows. More specifically, to comprehend Israeli cities, one must grapple with the transformation of Judaic placemaking sentiments into a nationalist project that fundamentally alters urban space, and Jewish conceptions of their relationship to urban space therein. As Zali Gurevitch writes, “The dialectic of book and land, and between land and exile, touches reality in its entirety” (Gurevitch 1997: 214).

To understand this conundrum, I engaged with research that understands Judaization through the unpacking of processes of erasure of the Arab past (Rotbard 2015, Yiftachel 2006, Yacobi 2009, Leshem 2017), but sought to connect such processes to the performativity of state power and nationalist sentiments in everyday urban life. Moving beyond binaries of hegemony and counter-hegemony, resistance and passivity, autonomy and subjection, a critique of the notion of *conviviality* – rooted in the work of Achille Mbembe and Paul Gilroy – was employed to explain the cohabitation of power, nationalism, and quotidian sociability (Mbembe 1992, Gilroy 2004, 2005). Yael Navaro’s notion of the multi-agency of state sovereignty and the “afterlife of the state” helped frame how residential actors fulfill nationalist purposes beyond the statist era (Navaro-Yashin 2002, 2005, 2012), whilst Stuart Hall’s call for a praxis generated conception of multi-culturalism was noted as I explored the intimate borders of negotiation of identity in everyday life (Hall 2000). Engaging these conceptual horizons helped to illuminate the contradictions of everyday urban co-habitation and a national land regime that discriminates unevenly. Rather than spatial segregation or spatial heteronomy, this thesis argued that we can see precisely the co-existence of both. Transactional interactions of the everyday should not be underplayed, but they also do not imply the weakened construction of power in the city. It is possible to see forms of social life that offer future and past glimpses of a more equitable public that moves beyond ethnocracy, whilst still recognising how the current

articulation of power relations undercuts social interaction. The formulation of conviviality in Chapter 5 in particular helps us to grapple with these contradictions.

Consequently, the third claim is that due to the power of state nationalism in the shaping of urban space *at the borderlands, ethnic diversity does not equate to spatial heteronomy*. As Henri Lefebvre argues

diversity is only apparent. It is only arranged. Once the dominant forces making it possible for these elements to combine with one another is understood, the artificial mechanism of their grouping is recognised and the fatuousness of their diversity becomes intolerable. The system breaks down (1987: 8).

This thesis emphasised the workings of state power precisely through the perspective of diversity in the majority-Jewish neighbourhoods of southern Jaffa. This thesis did not explicitly utilise Oren Yiftachel's notion of ethnocracy (Yiftachel 2006) nor Daniel Monterescu's notions of spatial heteronomy and cultural indeterminacy (Monterescu 2015). It has focused instead on multiple constructions of place – from regimes of place formed over time to momentary vernacularisations and cracks in those regimes. The evidence presented, however, points to a conceptualisation of ethnocracy as evolving, adaptative, dynamic, and yet entangled with oppositional urban forces.

My argument has been that when you write about a city in toto rather than at the neighbourhood scale, forms of “spatial heteronomy” across the city can depict alternative narratives. In doing so, however, it becomes easier to miss the interrelations of the everyday and state power at the neighbourhood scale. Monocultural and heteronomous spaces vary in intensity across cities, but demographic mix does necessitate culturally indeterminacy. From the perspective of the specific spaces of Jaffa's borderlands, I observed that it depends on what time and scale you fix the space. Spaces are sometimes marked by temporary social borders, and repetition and reenactment reproduce such borders within space, despite moments of

rupture and spatial inconclusion. The concept of heteronomy does not emerge simply from demographic diversity but needs to be explained through its performance in social space and its relation to material formation.

The fourth claim, however, is that recognising the second and third claim should not absolve ethnographic attention to the ways in which such *processes of Judaization are inherently difficult to close*. The *periphery* is both conspicuously staged, *and* an inevitable space for the formation of urban penumbra. Again, I turn to Lefebvre, who writes

The modern state promotes and imposes itself as the stable centre – definitively – of (national) societies and spaces. As both the end and the meaning of history – just as Hegel had forecast – it flattens the social and ‘cultural’ spheres...In this same space there are, however, other forces on the boil, because the rationality of the state, of its techniques, plans and programmes, provokes opposition (Lefebvre 1991: 23).

Chapters 4, 7 and 8 made such a claim in part, by pointing to moments of rearticulation of space through forms of social and material re-bordering that work against the dominant conception of *maḳom* formed over time. Chapter 4 illustrated how material remnants of the pre-1948 Palestinian past – both as ruins and contemporary practices – produce persistent forms of *majāl* (Arab space), whilst Chapter 7 showed how the combination of black bodies, experiences and urban space produces new forms of urban text that run counter to the narrative of a coherent Jewish urban space. Finally, Chapter 8 pointed to the ways in which semi-public spaces provide places of co-hospitality and encounter that partially prevent regimes of separation.

The fifth and final claim extends from this. Namely that although state projects may try and *enclose place against space, the flow of space limits the aims* of such projects. From Simmel to Benjamin, the multiplicity of urban space has been identified as possessing an inherently capricious quality. Even Lefebvre’s analysis of the powerful control of space by the state and

capital highlights how spaces of subversion or rearticulation can be carved out. As he wrote, “No space disappears in the course of growth and development: the *worldwide does not abolish the local*” (Lefebvre 1991: 86). Spatial possibilities in Israel/Palestine are derived from the possibility of thinking *outside the place* – the dominant conception of *place*, that is – of these borderlands. First, from the notions of *transitory space* and *nonplace*, which in thesis have been conceptualised as *ambiguous place* and *ambiguous space*. All urbanisms are, in a sense, transitory and in flux, but what I am pointing to here is a shared notion held by residents of a place that is ill defined, ambivalent, or temporary. Again, I turn to Gurevitch:

Dwellers of the land must come to grips again with their essential strangeness in the land. The necessity of place is thus counterpointed with a ritual of temporariness and of movement that highlights non-place and the freedom from captivity in place (1997: 213).

He suggests here that there is something about the Israeli-Jewish experience of *maḳom* in general that contains within it this sense of ambiguity. I have argued that it is particularly pronounced in the context of Jaffa’s urban borderlands, which is why bordering practices involve cultural and material work towards *maḳom* that ironically indicates the impossibility of finalising it.

Furthermore, as the *malleability of urban form* produces a multiplicity of borders – internal and external, material and social, governmental and intimate, national, ethnic and racial – the space in which they encounter, collide, and engage is a *space of possibility*. This is not merely figurative, however, and Gurevitch’s notion of the *thin border* helps us to grasp the spatiality of the point:

The thin border enables one to avoid being drawn to one side only or to content oneself with dialogic bridging or separation. The border is in the heart and cannot be glossed over, dismissed,

or shaken off. The thin border is an ongoing state, a long line that is not crossable. The other is already here, everywhere you are. You are always also another (Gurevitch 2018: 22).

What I have argued is that possibilities derive from the physical proximity of the other in space, despite the *thick borders* of place that encourage dense spatial, material, and temporal separation. From the stubborn persistence of *majāl*, to the iterative urban texts of graffiti, and the corridors of hospitality and co-dwelling, one can see spatial formations that counter regimes of place in specific material frameworks. Whilst *intimate borders* imply a stabilisation of relations, it also suggests a reading of an urban life that invites one *towards* border-crossing and engagement with proximate others. If Jaffa is read in this way, then it is possible to observe spaces of possibility without ignoring how regimes of place usually shut them out.

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