

An Arab Segregated Neighborhood in Tel-Aviv: The Case of Adjami

Juval Portugali
Tel-Aviv University*

The Arab neighborhood of Adjami is the core area for Tel-Aviv's Arab community. Unlike other similar communities in mixed Israeli cities, such as Haifa and Jerusalem, Adjami has not previously been subject to geographic research. The paper examines the emergence of the neighborhood as an Arab ethnic enclave during the past twenty years with respect to the general metropolitan processes taking place in the Tel-Aviv region. The emergence of Adjami is much influenced by the general process of nationalism within the context of the Israel-Palestinian conflict, especially as regards the phenomenon of "nomad" Palestinian workers.

Political geographers tend to differentiate between national and local scales of politico-spatial analysis. While issues of state territory, ethnic conflict, national borders, and international relations form the core of a nation-wide level of analysis, the local scale has tended to focus on the function of urban regions, budgetary allocations and metropolitan fragmentation. Studies linking the two scales of analysis are few and far between. Yet it should be obvious that national problems and considerations will have a spillover effect at the local level and that the village or town provide the arena in which national policies are felt in daily life.

Such a case is that of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Most studies dealing with the geographical implications of this conflict concentrate on the wider regional and national issues (Newman and Portugali, 1987), while few focus on the micro-level of local spatial patterns. The purpose of this paper is to provide such a focus through an analysis of the Adjami neighborhood in Tel-Aviv. It will be seen that changes in residential patterns at the micro-level can only be understood within the wider context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in totum.

The Arab neighborhood of Tel-Aviv Yaffo, whose core area is Adjami, is inhabited by approximately 13,000 residents. The fact that this neighborhood is populated by a spatially segregated national minority community, Israeli Arabs, and also displays severe social problems (32 percent unemployment; 6.4 percent of the male population criminal offenders; Portugali, 1988b), makes it an "ideal" subject for urban geogra-

* Department of Geography, Tel-Aviv University, Tel-Aviv, Israel

phers and sociologists investigating phenomena of spatial inequality and ethnic segregation. The fact that no such study has been undertaken in Adjami may be partially due to the commonly held image of Tel-Aviv as the first "Hebrew city" within Israel. But the lack of previous research also arises out of the fact that the transformation of Adjami into an Arab poverty neighborhood is a fairly recent phenomenon, having occurred during the past two decades. Thus, the growth of poverty and deviance characteristics within the neighborhood have only been recently observed.

But Adjami is not the usual case of a segregated ethnic minority residing at the heart of a metropolis. It is also a segregated *national* minority whose immediate nationalist movement (Palestinianism) finds itself in direct confrontation with Israeli society, and whose overall nationalist movement (Pan-Arabism) is perceived by some as threatening the very existence of the State. Studies of nationalism tend to emphasize the nation-wide context of conflicting ideologies (as between Israelis, Palestinians and Israeli Arabs), but tend to ignore the implications of such relations in the local/urban context, such as the Adjami case.

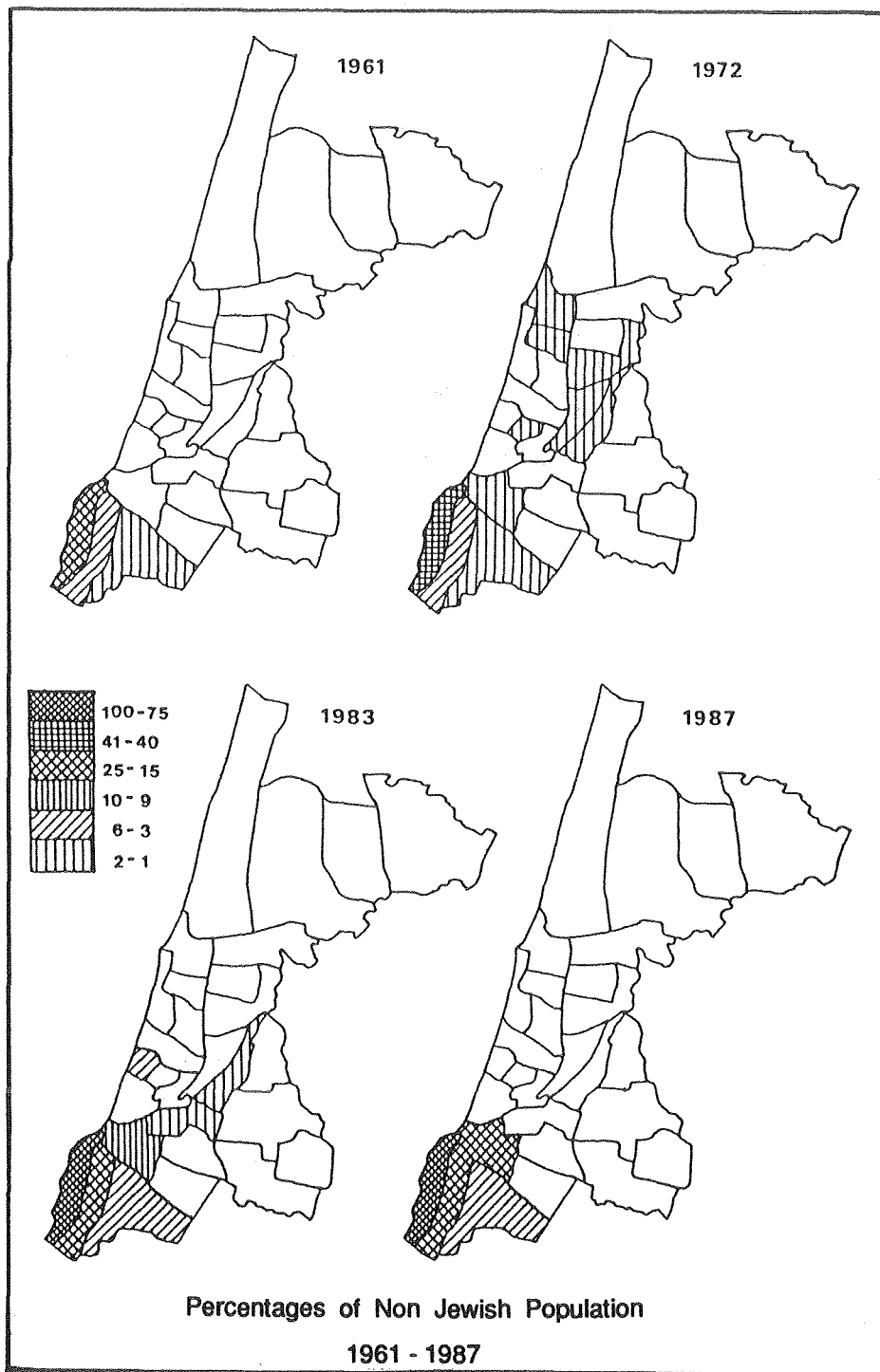
Tel-Aviv is the central city of the largest metropolitan area of Israel. Since 1967, and with respect to the socio-spatial economy, the Tel-Aviv metropolitan area has become not only an urban center for Israel, but also a metropolitan center for Palestinians from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank (Portugali, 1989; 1991). The integration of the Palestinian labor force of the occupied territories into the Israeli labor process is assumed to have influenced the development of the metropolitan region as a whole, and Adjami in particular.

This paper examines the effect of these processes on the development of Adjami: the local/urban development of a poverty neighborhood; the significance of a nationally segregated ethnic minority; and, the integration of the Palestinian labor force of the occupied territories. While the above processes are spontaneous, in the sense that they reflect the decisions and behavior of individuals operating within the context of socio-economic and political space, it is also necessary to consider the responses and activities of the various national, urban and local organizations operating within Adjami. The interaction of these groups amongst themselves, as well as with the neighborhood residents, is an important controlling factor which constrains development arising out of the spontaneous processes.

THE EVOLUTION OF A SPATIALLY SEGREGATED NATIONAL COMMUNITY

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 was followed by two exoduses: an emigration of refugee Arabs who left (fled) numerous villages and towns; and an immigration of Jews—many of them holocaust survivors from Europe, others from Muslim countries in North Africa and Asia—who "repopulated" those very same towns. The town of Yaffo, with an Arab population of over 100,000 inhabitants in 1947, became transformed into a "Jewish territory", containing a small Arab minority concentrated mainly (but not solely) in Adjami. New legislation resulted in the annexation of Yaffo to Tel-Aviv, the official name of the city becoming Tel-Aviv Yaffo.

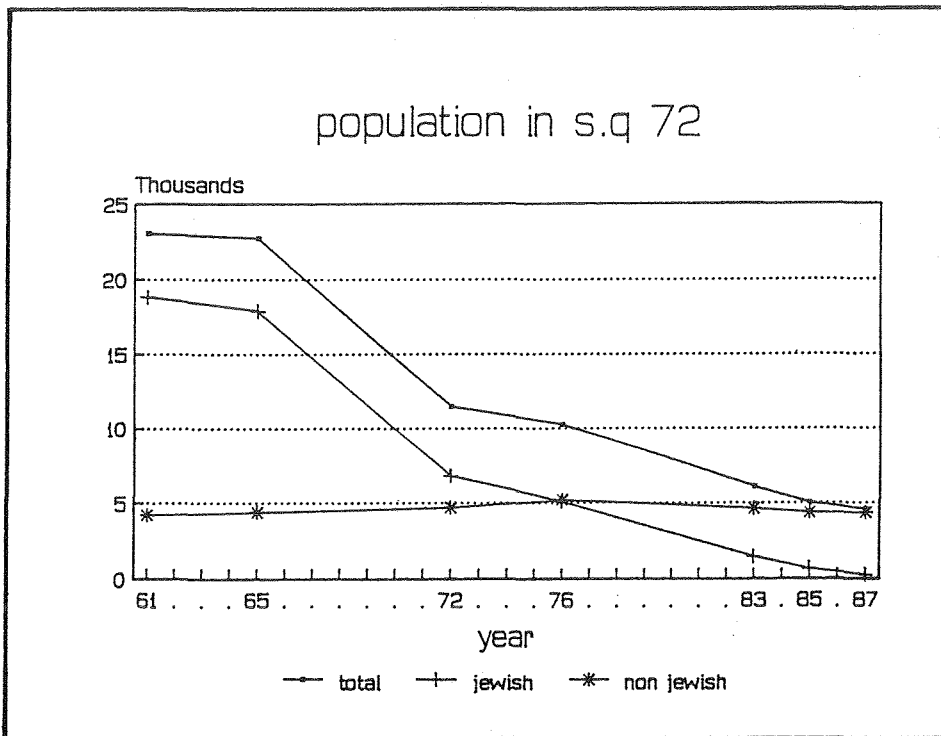
Figure 1: Arab population in Tel-Aviv-Yaffo, 1961-1987:



By 1961, the Arab inhabitants formed less than 1.5 percent of the total Tel-Aviv Yaffo population, although in certain parts of Adjami they formed a more significant minority of 33 percent of the local population (Figure 1).

The demographic ratios and the relative location of the two ethnic groups within the metropolitan area have changed considerably since 1961. In the first place, differential birth rates between Arabs and Jews (approximately 3.9 percent for the Arab population; 1.7 percent for the Jewish residents) have led to a relative growth in the proportion of Arab residents at the local scale. Secondly, differential access to public (governmental) housing between Jews and Arabs has favored the former. Public housing was made available to Jewish immigrants but not to the Arab residents of Adjami and Yaffo. These programs initiated a process of out-migration of the Jewish residents of Adjami and Givat Alia to new housing projects in Yaffo itself and in the neighboring towns of Bat Yam and Holon (Givat Alia, a neighborhood south of, and adjacent to, Adjami; in effect, a continuation of Adjami).

Figure 2: Jews and Arab population in Adjami (sub-quarter no. 72), 1961-1987.



A third process, to be found in all cities undergoing expansion, resulted in the out-migration of the second generation to the newer, outer, residential suburbs, leaving behind the parents and elderly population in the core neighborhood. While young Jewish couples had access to the entire urban field in this migration process, Arab migrants were limited in their choice to a few "islands," comprising the Arab towns of the metropolitan hinterland (see discussion below).

These processes have resulted in a changed population balance between Arabs and Jews in Adjami. The census data for 1972 displays an Arab majority within the neighborhood, which has continued to grow in subsequent years (Figure 1 and Figure 2). Thus Adjami, as the reconstituted, distinct Arab neighborhood of Tel-Aviv Yaffo, evolved during the late 1960s–early 1970s. Due to continued growth, the present Arab quarter of the city (and with it, the cognitive boundaries of the neighborhood) have extended beyond the formal boundaries of Adjami.

NATIONALISM, URBAN SEGREGATION AND THE METROPOLITAN PROCESS

The classic metropolitan process of change and growth has been amply described in the literature. As a city's population gets old, the second generation will migrate to the new, residential, neighborhoods in the urban periphery or in nearby suburbs. When the older generation dies, their flats and houses come onto the market. Competition for these properties between business and housing interests (both poverty and luxury housing) takes place. This internal metropolitan dynamics is spurred on by external forces which, due to their spatial advantages (economies of scale, employment opportunities, etc.) attracts businesses and migrants from the periphery in the competition for valuable land located close to the center of the metropolitan region.

This process has been a major focus for geographical research by social area analysts (Berry and Horton, 1970); economic geographers, who interpret the process in terms of various rent bid theories (Alonso, 1964; Evans, 1973); radical geographers, who interpret the processes of change in terms of a class struggle between capitalist firms (Dear and Scott, 1981); and humanist geographers (Ley, 1983). Yet all of the above analyses display a number of common features: (a) they all consider capitalism as *the* deriving force (or generative order) of human behavior; and (b) as a consequence, the State, the entire public sector, ethnic and national differences, etc., are considered as either external variables (by positivists and neo-classical economic geographers), or as derivative superstructures (by structuralists and Marxists; see Blaut, 1987/8 for a Marxist-geographical view of nationalism). In previous studies, an alternative approach has been developed and applied to the spatio-national scale of the Israel–Palestinian conflict (Portugali, 1986; 1988a; 1989) This alternative theoretical framework (outlined below) will be applied here to the local, micro, urban scale, with particular reference to the case of Adjami.

The alternative theoretical framework may be summarized in the following points:

1. Nationalism has become the *generative order*, of modern society with the nation state as its *material content* and the ideology of nationalism as its *information con-*

tent. Nationalism is a generative order in the sense that society is territorially ordered according to its imperatives (in nation states), and in the sense that this socio-spatial ordering is generally regarded as "natural." Capitalism acts as a supporting generative order, distributing the internal socio-economic relations of "natural" national groups within their "natural" territories and "natural" national governments (Portugali, 1988a).

2. The rise of nationalism and its space-time diffusion can best be understood in terms of a self-organizing open system, exhibiting relatively long periods of steady state and structural stability, followed by short periods of fluctuations, structural instability, spatial dialectics and—once again—self-organization and a new stable state system. This has resulted in the categorization of human society into national groups, residing in national territories, each with its own specific national generative order (Portugali, 1988a; 1989; 1991). In our own case study, the result has been, first, the categorization of Jews in the territory of the ancient Land of Israel, with Zionism constituting the generative social order for the Jews; and second, the creation (largely as a direct result of Zionism itself) and categorization of the Palestinians in the very same territory, with Palestinianism as their national social order. Due to the specific nature and interrelationships between Zionism and Judaism, the categorization of the Palestinian Arabs was such that it enfolds the previously divided Muslims and Christians.

Thus, nationalism as a generative order has produced the basic socio-spatial categories in Israel: Jews and Arabs as the major national groups composing the citizens of the Israeli society. This socio-spatial categorization also applies to processes in the Tel-Aviv metropolitan region and in the city itself. The major socio-spatial division here is between Jews and Arabs, the latter comprising both Muslims and Christians. Thus, the notions "Arab" and "Arab quarter" within this specific context, are a derivation from nationalism.

3. In capitalist economies, the emergence of nationalism as described here gave rise to the welfare-nation-state and, through it, to a legitimized form of discrimination of non-nationals with respect to access to various governmental public goods and services. Thus, in most western (and non-western) welfare States, foreign workers are often discriminated against with respect to access to various national benefits. Similarly, in Israel, Palestinian laborers from the occupied territories are discriminated against in terms of salaries and access to national benefits. (For a full theoretical and empirical discussion of the above statements see Portugali, 1989.) Israeli Arabs are discriminated against with respect to access to various public goods and services, especially within the field of housing. These processes are shown to apply to Tel-Aviv as a whole, and the Arab population of Yaffo and Adjami in particular.

The two processes described above—the metropolitan and the nationalist—has given rise to a metropolitan space in which there exists a discriminatory housing search field. Government welfare activities, particularly in the domain of housing, are legally and directly inaccessible to the Arab population. Government housing subsidies which are accessible to Jewish nationals alone, result in the blocking off of areas to Arab house seekers. This is even more acute, owing to the spontaneous

behavior of Jewish landlords who are reluctant to let flats to Arabs, not only because of their ethnic affiliation, but also because the inhabitants of Adjami are the poorest inhabitants of the metropolitan area. The resulting housing search field which has evolved within the Tel-Aviv region is such that the Jewish search field takes on a continuous pattern whereby Jews can potentially reside everywhere (excluding a few Arab islands, whose combined size constitute no more than large urban parks). By contrast, the Arab search field is limited to a few housing islands.

This discriminatory housing search field within the metropolis, together with natural self-segregation tendencies of a minority group, have resulted in differential migration behavior by the two national groups. The Jewish population take part in what can be described as the classical metropolitan process, in that they migrate from central to peripheral metropolitan areas leading to the physical expansion of the metropolis. This process is supplemented and reinforced by inter-regional Jewish migration to the metropolis from peripheral regions.

While the Arab population undergoes the same demographic processes as the Jews, their migration pattern is different. Internal demographic growth of neighborhoods (outpacing the parallel growth in Jewish neighborhoods) results in pressure on the limited housing stock. But for the Arabs, most of the metropolitan field is not accessible in their housing search. They are limited to the so-called Arab "villages" (in reality, small townships) of Tira, Taibe, Kalansua, as well as a number of mixed towns, such as Ramla and Lod, at the outskirts of the metropolitan field. The villages are not accessible since the local inhabitants are reluctant to sell or let property to outsiders. In addition, they themselves are subject to the strong demographic pressure on existing housing stock. The towns, Ramla and Lod, are also subject to demographic pressures, especially since Ramla is a focal point for Arab migration from the national periphery to the metropolitan region (see below). As a result, the only remaining solution for the population pressure originating in Adjami is within the neighborhood itself, or in the immediate vicinity.

The Tel-Aviv metropolitan area attracts both Jewish and Arab migrants from Israel's periphery. The Jewish migrants can reside anywhere in the wider housing search field, in the city itself, the suburban neighborhoods and, since 1967, in the western margins of the West Bank owing to government policies promoting Jewish settlement in this latter region (Benveniste, 1984; Newman, 1984; 1985; 1991; Portugali and Newman, 1987). These latter settlements have been established as dormitory suburbs, dependent on the employment opportunities offered in the metropolitan area. State subsidies and grants are provided by the government as a means of attracting Jews to settle in these new communities. Thus, despite the growing population of the metropolitan region, there is a paradoxical situation in which there is an unlimited supply of cheap land and housing for Jewish residents within a 40 minute drive of Tel-Aviv (Reichman, 1986; Newman, 1991; Portugali, 1991).

The metropolitan area is also a focus for Arab migration from the periphery. But, as noted above, their housing search field is limited to Adjami and Ramla. Adjami is thus subject to demographic pressure resulting from inter-regional migration, in addition to the internal pressures described in the previous section.

This last point needs to be considered with respect to the composition of the Arab migrants from the periphery. Three broad categories can be defined. There are the ordinary job seekers, those who come as a result of marriage to a spouse already residing in the metropolis, and those who may be termed as "para-social elements." The latter group can be understood within the context of the modernization processes which currently affect the largely traditional Israeli Arab society. Within the relatively closed communities of the periphery, Arab society is less tolerable to non-conformism, especially when it violates tradition or religious norms. Non-conformism within these communities often results in out-migration to the big city in search of anonymity. The discriminatory nature of the metropolitan housing search field causes most of these migrants to end up in Adjami and its immediate vicinity. Not only does this increase the population pressure on housing within the neighborhood, but it results in a concentration of nonconformist, sometimes deviant, groups within a small area. Thus crime rates in Adjami are amongst the highest in the Tel-Aviv region. Within Adjami, the population composition is polarized and includes criminals, the very poor, the middle classes and the intellectuals all living together within a nationally segregated urban space.

ADJAMI AND THE PALESTINIAN NOMAD WORKERS OF TEL-AVIV

In the pre-1967 period, Jewish residents of Adjami moved out of the neighborhood in order to benefit from public housing schemes initiated by the Israeli government. Adjami increasingly became an Arab-only neighborhood. However, in order to fully appreciate this structural change within the Tel-Aviv urban field, we also have to consider the impact of events following the 1967 War and the spatial incorporation of the occupied territories into the wider metropolitan region.

As a result of the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (WBGS), new lines of communication and spatial interaction were opened between the Palestinian inhabitants of these regions and Israel. One of the most important domains of this spatial interaction process has been that of labor. Since 1967, Palestinian workers from the occupied territories come to Israel as daily or weekly commuters (Portugali, 1986). A field survey carried out in 1985 (Portugali and Newman, 1987) indicated a daily flow of approximately 120,000 workers, of which some 40,000 come to the Tel-Aviv metropolitan region and some 10-15,000 to the city of Tel-Aviv itself. Yaffo, and Adjami in particular, have provided a focal point for these workers. The general cultural environment of Adjami, its physical layout, and the fact that Arabic is the spoken language, form a point of "familiarity" for the Palestinian workers in an otherwise alienated Israeli urban space. Yaffo's familiarity also derives from its having been a major Arab city prior to 1948, following which most of the town's residents fled to the refugee camps of the Gaza Strip. Since Tel-Aviv is the most accessible employment center for Gaza Strip workers, the majority of the city's cheap labor force originate in the Gaza Strip and the only street labor market is to be found in Adjami itself.

Of particular significance are the weekly (or monthly) residential habits of Palestinian workers within Tel-Aviv. In our 1985 survey, we noted that approximately 20 percent of the Gaza Strip workers stated that they stay in Tel-Aviv during the week (usually in order to save transportation costs) (Portugali and Newman, 1987). In a survey conducted in August 1989 amongst Palestinian workers (from the occupied territories) in Tel-Aviv, over 40 percent stated that they remain in Tel-Aviv during the entire week, returning to their homes only at the weekends. Of these, approximately 30 percent spend the night at their workplace; some 30 percent find accommodation in Yaffo, mostly in Adjami; some 60 percent stated that if they find themselves without a place to sleep they will go to Yaffo to look for a hotel; while over 60 percent noted that they feel unsafe within Tel-Aviv, and that Yaffo is the safest place within the metropolis.

It has been suggested that this phenomenon entailed the emergence of a new socio-economic class in the Tel-Aviv space economy (Portugali, 1986). Apparently, the major reason for this increase between 1985-1989 is the *Intifada* (the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories) (Noble and Efrat, 1990), which made it difficult (and sometimes impossible) for Palestinian workers to commute to Israel. The result is that there is now a much stronger spatial presence of Palestinians within the metropolis (to be seen in every garage, building site and restaurant), while this increased presence is strongest within Yaffo and Adjami. Both Israeli Jewish and Israeli Arab inhabitants of Yaffo surveyed indicated that they were acutely aware of this phenomenon. Interestingly enough, both of these groups note that they feel threatened by the Palestinian spatial presence and they have attempted to dissociate themselves from this newly emerging urban class.

This increased spatial presence has further intensified the development of Adjami into an Arab territory within the urban arena. Palestinian workers form no more than 6-10 percent of the Tel-Aviv labor force; yet, our field surveys show that they are "felt" to be "everywhere," more so in Yaffo, and mostly in Adjami. Owing to the violence which has been a major element within the *Intifada*—which has included cases of murder of Jewish residents by Palestinians from the occupied territories—Israelis in general, and municipality officials and police in particular, have become more conscious of the Palestinian residential habits within the city, despite the fact that these have been present for the last 10-15 years. Until recently, Israelis had tended to evade the implications of this demographic presence.

Thus, two apparently independent processes—demographic and metropolitan growth on the one hand, and Palestinian labor migration from the occupied territories on the other—coincided in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Together, they have served to transform Adjami and its immediate vicinity into a clearly defined Arab territory. What remains unclear, however, is when this phenomenon was first conceived or felt. When, in the evolution of the cognitive map of the Tel-Aviv region, did Adjami become an Arab neighborhood? Some pointers to the answer can be gleaned from an analysis of the policies of the public sector authorities responsible for the development of the region.

LOCAL AND NATIONAL POLITICS IN ADJAMI

The following analysis concentrates on the activities of four public sector authorities within Adjami: the *Minhal* (Israel Land Authority); *Amidar* (public sector housing agency); *Tel-Aviv Yaffo Municipality*; and, *Rabita* (a local organization founded by the Arab inhabitants of Yaffo).

Following 1948, the *Minhal* became the owner of most of the land in Yaffo, while the majority of the housing stock became the responsibility of *Amidar*. The latter authority rented the housing stock out to Jewish immigrants. For a period of about 15 years, *Amidar* concentrated on maintaining the existing housing stock, while the *Minhal* was not active in planning or development. This passive situation changed towards the end of the 1960s, by which time much of the Jewish population of the neighborhood had moved out to new housing developments in other areas, leaving behind an Arab majority in Adjami and Givat Alia. The *Minhal* and *Amidar*, with the support of the Municipality, commenced on an unofficial, but effective, destruction policy. Over 1,000 buildings in Adjami and Givat Alia were pulled down. This has resulted in direct confrontation between local Arab residents and the Israeli authorities. Since the growing Arab population had been excluded from the housing benefits offered to Jewish residents, the former sought to solve their own housing problems by moving into the vacated premises left behind by Jews. Both the *Minhal* and *Amidar* reject Arab claims for tenancy. In order to prevent them moving into these houses, they have simply pulled them down. In cases, where Arab residents have already moved in and claimed squatting rights, *Amidar* has ceased to maintain the buildings. In this way, the building deteriorates until it is declared a "dangerous structure," at which stage an evacuation order can be issued and the building pulled down. Needless to say, this policy has aroused considerable tension and antagonism between local inhabitants and the Israeli authorities.

The destruction of this housing stock has been explained away as being in tune with the spirit of the period, in which slum clearance was a major element in urban planning policy. The physical planning of the 1960s assumed that poverty would disappear together with the buildings. The 1965 Development Plan for this area designated many buildings for destruction to make way for new roads, open spaces, etc. While the destruction element of this plan has been sporadically implemented, the development has never taken place. Following the 1967 War, the *Minhal* embarked on a housing destruction policy throughout the country, especially in any remaining, deserted, Arab villages which had been evacuated in 1948. The reasoning behind this policy was, presumably, to prevent Palestinians from the occupied territories from returning to their previous homes. Thus the activities of both the *Minhal* and *Amidar* can be understood within the national context, and not only as a part of urban planning policy.

The Municipal Development and Building Plan for Adjami and Givat Alia was formally submitted in 1965; yet, it has never been practically implemented by the planning authorities of the Tel-Aviv Municipality—instead, the Municipality has supported the destruction policy of the *Minhal*. At the same time, it has begun to implement its own unofficial plan, known as *Midron Yaffo* (the Yaffo Slope), which

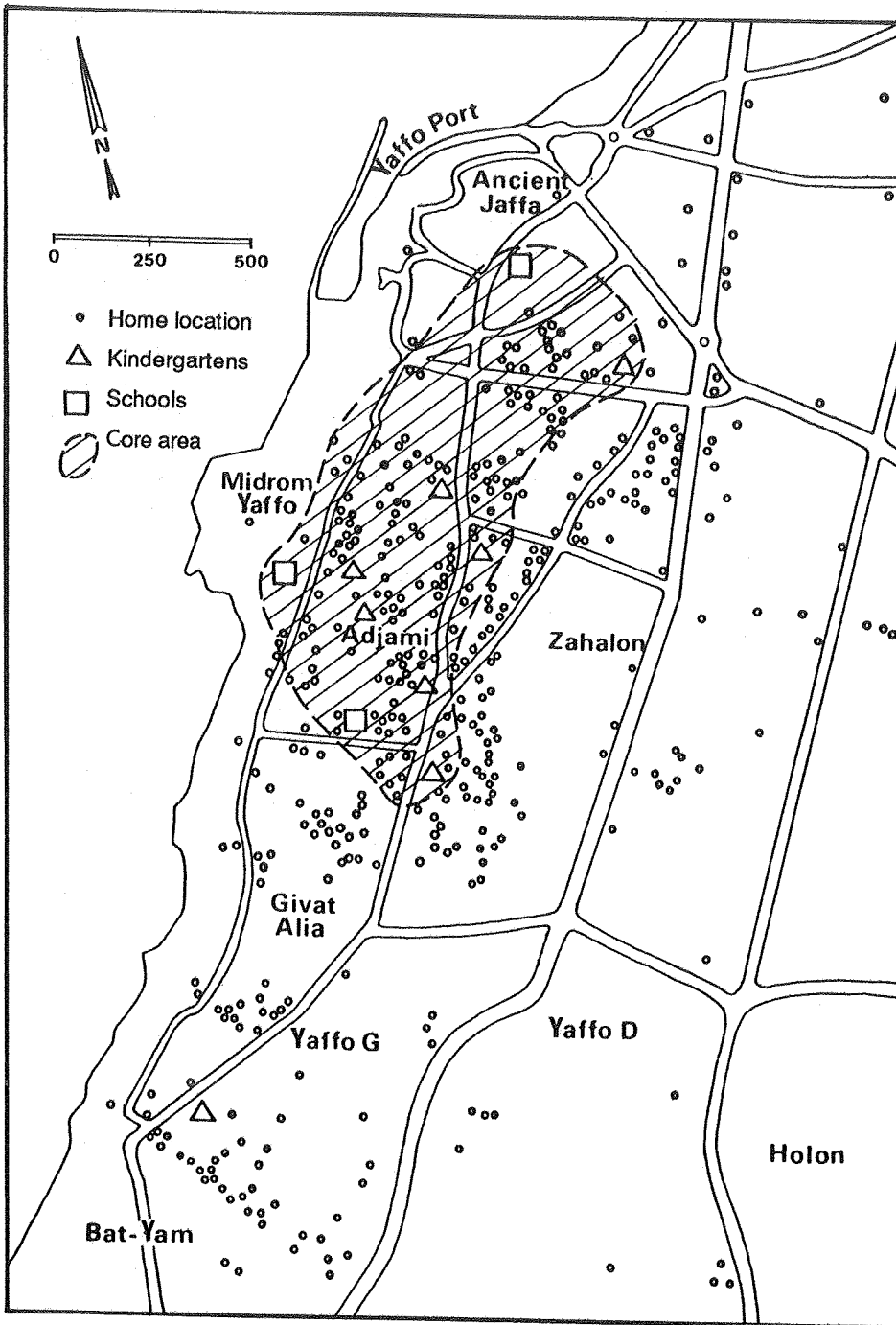
involved the knocking down of buildings along the sea shore and extending the available land area by filling in part of the sea with debris from building sites throughout Tel-Aviv. The new land area was to be sold by the Minhal and the Municipality to private developers for the construction of luxury apartments and housing. This plan has been partially implemented; the buildings along the sea shore have been pulled down and a large portion of the sea has been filled in, comprising approximately 50 percent of the plan. Despite this implementation, the plan has not yet been formally approved by the planning authorities.

This type of unofficial implementation of unauthorized plans was characteristic of Jewish planning authorities in the pre-State and early-State periods (Akzin and Dror, 1966). Residuals of such behavior still typify many planning authorities throughout Israel. The planners call upon global trends in urban planning—destruction followed by redevelopment—as legitimizing their policies, while inhabitants of poverty neighborhoods are unable to resist the combined force of municipality and private developer. Other poor Jewish neighborhoods throughout Tel-Aviv, were also knocked down during the 1960s and early 1970s, but in those cases, the displaced Jewish residents were rehoused by the government, either directly, in housing developments, or indirectly, through subsidized financial support. Arab citizens, however, not being Jewish nationals, were unable to benefit from the same public housing benefits.

The *Rabita* is a local Arab organization with the declared aim of protecting Arab interests regarding land and property in Adjami. Established around 1973 by a group of local inhabitants, most of whom were young professionals and intellectuals, it has attempted to resist the governmental and municipal planning policies described above. Its method of operation includes recourse to the legal system; the raising of media and public awareness and support to halt the destruction of property and evacuation of residents; and the granting of financial and legal assistance to families subject to evacuation orders. In an attempt to prevent Arab out-migration from the region, the Rabita has become involved in the development of various welfare facilities, such as a kindergarten system, which have supplemented the welfare services supplied by the government and municipality.

The activities of the Rabita have met with staunch opposition from two directions. Within the Arab community itself, the elderly, traditional, religious, local Arab leadership view the existence of the Rabita as encroaching upon their own hegemony over local affairs. But more significantly for urban development, the Israeli authorities have attempted to delegitimize the Rabita and have ignored the demands made by this organization. The authorities make use of nationalist symbols, such as accusing the Rabita of having Palestinian nationalist aspirations and receiving backing from the PLO, while at the same time they support the competing traditional Arab leadership. The important point to note here is that the Rabita came into existence as a reaction to, and hence a consequence of, the policies of the Israeli authorities. This implies that the Israeli authorities have played a major role in the very creation of a sense of Arab community and national(ist) identity within Adjami. In this way, Adjami has evolved into a relatively independent "Arabic island" in the midst of Tel-Aviv Yaffo, containing its own social infrastructure, population, sense of community, and political leadership.

Figure 3: Homes of young families in and around the core area of Adjami.



CONCLUDING COMMENTS: FROM ADJAMI TO YAFFO?

The emergence of Adjami as an Arab neighborhood has been described in terms of a generative order and an open, self-organizing, system within which the coincidence of several fluctuations has destabilized the existing system. Out of this disequilibrium, a new phase has emerged. It has been suggested that within the framework of nationalism as a generative order, the coincidence of demographic processes, Palestinian labor in the Israeli space economy, and the post-1967 policies of the Israeli authorities have brought about a new phase within the urban structure, with Adjami re-evolving as an Arab neighborhood.

Regarding the future, it is important to note that the policies of both national and local government have taken a turn in a new direction. Neither the Minhal nor Amidar are continuing with their policy of housing destruction, while Adjami has officially been declared as a rehabilitation neighborhood within the Project Renewal Program (PRP) sponsored by the Jewish Agency. This is the first time that the PRP has been applied to a non-Jewish neighborhood, using funds raised by diaspora Jewish communities (in this case, mostly Los Angeles). Within the framework of the program, a planning team, concerned with welfare projects, architectural renewal, etc., is active in the area. Following a Supreme Court order, the Municipality has been obliged to cease all activities directed at implementing the Yaffo Slope Project and is now awaiting the decision of the official planning authorities.

In recent years, population movement within the wider city area have also taken on a new direction. The Jewish neighborhoods around Adjami (to which their residents moved in the 1950s and 1960s) are now ageing; young families are moving out of Tel-Aviv Yaffo, and many apartments are once again on the market for sale or rent. As a result of the increasing demographic pressures brought to bear within Adjami, many of these apartments, originally built for Jewish residents, are now being taken over by Arab residents. The existing situation can be seen in Figure 3, although this represents no more than a "snapshot" of the late 1980s, and is likely to change over the coming years. Thus Adjami is beginning to function as a mini-metropolitan core for the Arab population in the surrounding neighborhoods. The public and community services, such as kindergartens and elementary schools, for the Arabs are concentrated in Adjami, while the consumers of these services are beginning to reside at greater distances from the core. An extrapolation of existing trends would point to the possibility of the whole of Yaffo becoming the future Arab quarter of the Tel-Aviv metropolitan field.

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