European Migration and Middle East Urbanization: Tel Aviv, The First Jewish City.

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1. Introduction

The metropolitan area of Tel Aviv draws its origins from the migratory movement which started in the nineteenth century, mainly from Europe, when a large number of Jewish people went to settle in the "Promised Land", Palestine. This region, situated on the periphery of the Ottoman Empire, was characterized by a low level of social development with very small-sized towns[1] which on account of their fortifications were often built on top of one another. These towns were dominated by sheiks, tribal chiefs, local aristocracies and corrupt officials who did not possess a sufficiently large number of troops to protect the population from Bedouin raids. That is why many villages along the coastal plain, in the Jezreel Valley and in Lower Galilee, were abandoned and fertile agricultural areas became malaria-infested or deserted. The Ottoman State owned all the agricultural land called *miri* which were handed over to the peasants for cultivation. But any land which was left uncultivated for a period of at least three years was declared by

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[1] In 1840 there were about twelve towns with at least 2000 inhabitants. Cf. Ben-Arieh Y, "The Population of the Large Towns in Palestine during the First Eighty Years of the Nineteenth Century, According to Western Sources" in Ma'oz M, (ed), *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period*, (The Magnes Press, Jerusalem), 1977, pp. 42-69.

law to be abandoned - *mahul* - and was repossessed by the Sublime Porte[2].

The combination of these factors - the Bedouin threat and the type of land system - resulted in the division of Palestine into two regions: the inland hill region which was partly farmed using the *musha*[3] and which was controlled by sheiks and local chiefs with Nablus, Ramallah and Hebron as the main centres; the coastal area and the valley which was scarcely cultivated, semi-deserted and comprised the towns of Jaffa, Acco and Gaza.

With improved security, Palestine's entry into the world market as an area of agricultural production[4] and the issue of the new Ottoman land law (1856)[5] which required compulsory registration of landholdings, rich Arab families (*effendi*) and European entrepreneurs showed increasing interest for land in the coastal region, which the Sublime Porte, moreover, was selling off cheaply, having to face a serious economic crisis. In this way much of the

[2] For a full study of Ottoman land laws see: Findly C.V., *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire. The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey), 1980; Inalcik H., "The Emergence of Big Farms, Chiftliks: State, Landlords and Tenants" in *Contributions à l'histoire economique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman*, Institut Francais d'Etudes Anatoliennes d'Istanbul - Association pour le Developpement des Etudes Turques, (Editions Peeters, Louvrain, Belgium), 1983; Gerber H., *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, 1987); Nicolini F., *La Palestina ottomana (1839-1922). Nascita di un conflitto*, (Atheneum, Florence), 1990.

[3] The *musha* is a system of collective farming with the periodic rotation of land plots among individual members.

[4] On this subject of great interest is: Owen R., *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914*, (Methuen, London-New York), 1987.

[5] The new Ottoman land law which was drawn up in the political climate of the *Tanzimat* as a means of codifying the customs that had governed rural Ottoman society up till then, contained two innovations, one historical and cultural, the other legal. The first came from the expression *chiftliks*, latifundium; the second, introduced to legalise and modernise the whole sector of landed property, was the obligation imposed on each landowner to register his own land at the Land Registry, the *defterhane*, in exchange for a certificate which testified to one's rights. Thus, this fundamentally conservative law laid the basis for a substantial transformation of the countryside with the creation of large estates which were so big they had to be farmed using wage labourers. Cf. Davison R.H., *Reform in the Ottoman Empire (1856-1876)*, (Gordian Press, New York), 1973.

land in that area came to be concentrated into the hands of a few owners while in the inland regions, where agriculture was the primary source of subsistence, the number of large estates was insignificant[6].

Among the new landowners there were also Jewish companies who represented small groups of settlers, merchants, philanthropic and active Zionists; they began to form agricultural centres many of which were situated in proximity to Jaffa. Jaffa was the only protected port in the region and had grown considerably, becoming the main trading centre for the sale of agricultural products destined for the international market. If Jerusalem was the city of the Immaterial Spirit, Jaffa was "....the city of the spirit, the spirit of trade"[7].

In the mid-nineteenth century Jaffa began to expand beyond its walls[8] on the sandy dunes to the north-east and to the south. Arab neighbourhoods grew up alongside those which were settled by European and American organizations such as the German Order of the Templars which built the Sarona neighbourhood according to the traditional orthogonal grid layout, the American "Church of the Messiah" which founded the American Colony, and the French "Alliance Israelite Universelle" which opened the first Jewish agricultural school in Miqwe Yisra'el (1870)[9].

The increase in Jewish immigration with the first *aliyah*[10], in 1882, the rise of the Zionist movement under Theodor Herzl[11], the development of agricultural communities, the *moshavot*, in the

[6] Cf. Gerber H., *The Social Origins of the Modern Middle East*, *op. cit.*

[7] Ben-Yehuda E., "Jaffa", in *Hazvi*, n.37, 1885.

[8] The demolition of the walls began in 1874.

[9] This agricultural school which had the task of training the new Palestinian Jews to become farmers, had an important impact on local Jews and those of the Diaspora and served as a centre for different groups of settlers, even though from a financial point of view it ended in bankruptcy. Cf. Kark R., *Jaffa. A City in Evolution, 1799-1917*, (Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Press, Jerusalem), 1990, pp.91-93.

[10] The Jewish term *aliyah* has now entered into common international usage to signify the various waves of Jewish immigration firstly to Palestine and then to Israel.

[11] At the end of the nineteenth century, acting as spokesman on behalf of European Jews in the face of the anti-Semitism reaction which had been sparked off by the Dreyfus affair in France. Dreyfus, a capitan in the French army and the only Jew to hold such a position, was accused of espionage, tried, stripped of office and deported to Devil's

countryside around Jaffa (Petah Tiqwa, Rishon LeZiyyon, Rehovot), founded on the private ownership of land and on wage labour, the location of the main Zionist institutions in Jaffa[12] and the continual conflict with the Arab population, were all factors which led to the building of separate and wholly Jewish neighbourhoods in the city; at the beginning of the twentieth century 6000 Jews, mostly from East Europe, were living in Jaffa.

Living conditions in Jaffa were typical of those of a Mediterranean sea port with narrow, dirty and noisy streets and small and crowded dwellings lacking sanitary facilities. Such standards were hardly acceptable to many of the newcomers, most of whom came from orderly European cities and so they started to organize themselves in order to recreate their native environment[13], outside the city which was by then completely built up. For these reasons eleven Jewish neighbourhoods were built from 1887 to 1909 outside Jaffa[14]. They were built without any kind of planning and according to existing building practices close to the old part of Jaffa and soon bore a close resemblance to the ghettos of east-central Europe. Despite the background of growing Zionist fervour these neighbourhoods did not embody the "new Jew", lacking the strong ideological charge and the awareness of a new era which, together with a combination of fortunate circumstances, were to characterize the genesis of Tel Aviv.

Island. The case split France into two and was a large scandal because, as emerged twelve years later, Dreyfus was innocent. Theodor Herzl published his essay *Der Judenstaat* (1895) "in which he advocated the setting up of a Jewish company in the form of a joint-stock society to be entrusted to the political protection of Great Britain with the task of founding a new Jewish nation". Cf. P. Sica, *Storia dell'Urbanistica. Il Novecento*, (Edizioni Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1985), p. 641.

[12] Jaffa became the centre for the main Zionist organizations including the movement for settlement, the *Hovvei Zion*, the Zionist financial agency (APC), the centre for the World Zionist Organisation in Palestine, the central workers committee and the centre for Zionist sports organizations. Cf. Kellerman A., *Society and Settlement. Jewish Land of Israel in the Twentieth Century*, (State University of New York Press, Albany), 1993, p.129.

[13] Cf. Smilansky D., *With the People of My Country and My City*, (Tel Aviv, 1958) (in Hebrew), pp. 482-484.

[14] Cf. Kark R., *op.cit.*, pp.110-111.

2. Tel Aviv: origins and growth

In the wake of many other associations which in the meantime had appeared in Palestine, in 1906 the *Ahuzat-Bayit Company*[15] was set up. It had 60 members and its purpose was to build a new neighbourhood, Tel Aviv[16], at a certain distance from Jaffa, on the model of the British garden suburbs. The new neighbourhood was to act as a residential area[17], leaving Jaffa as the centre of production and services. The choice of Howard's garden city as a model which, although already quite fashionable in Britain, Germany and Belgium, was decidedly innovatory, helped to make Tel Aviv the symbol of the new Jewish society: young, cosmopolitan and laicised and very different from the Palestinian *Yishuv*[18], which was conservative and concentrated in Jerusalem.

The funds for financing the building of the neighbourhood were mostly provided by the World Zionist Organization[19] which saw in the development of a modern zionist settlement the establishment of a national zionist society in Palestine and secured the success of the initiative through its support. The plan of the neighbourhood was initially drawn up by the German architect A. Treidel and was finally laid out by the company directors themselves. It was executed by the engineer Goldman[20] according to a model of orthogonal grids, not too

[15] For a full analysis of the founding of the "Ahuzat Bayit Company", cf. Katz, Y., *The Business of "Settlement". Private Entrepreneurship in the Jewish Settlement of Palestine, 1900-1914*, (Magnes Press, Jerusalem), 1994, pp. 278-286.

[16] The name was chosen both in memory of Theodor Herzl since Tel Aviv was the Hebrew translation of "Altneuland", and to evoke the mystique associated with the place: Tel (= old ruins) recalls the long lost past and the diaspora while Aviv (= spring) takes on the meaning of renewal.

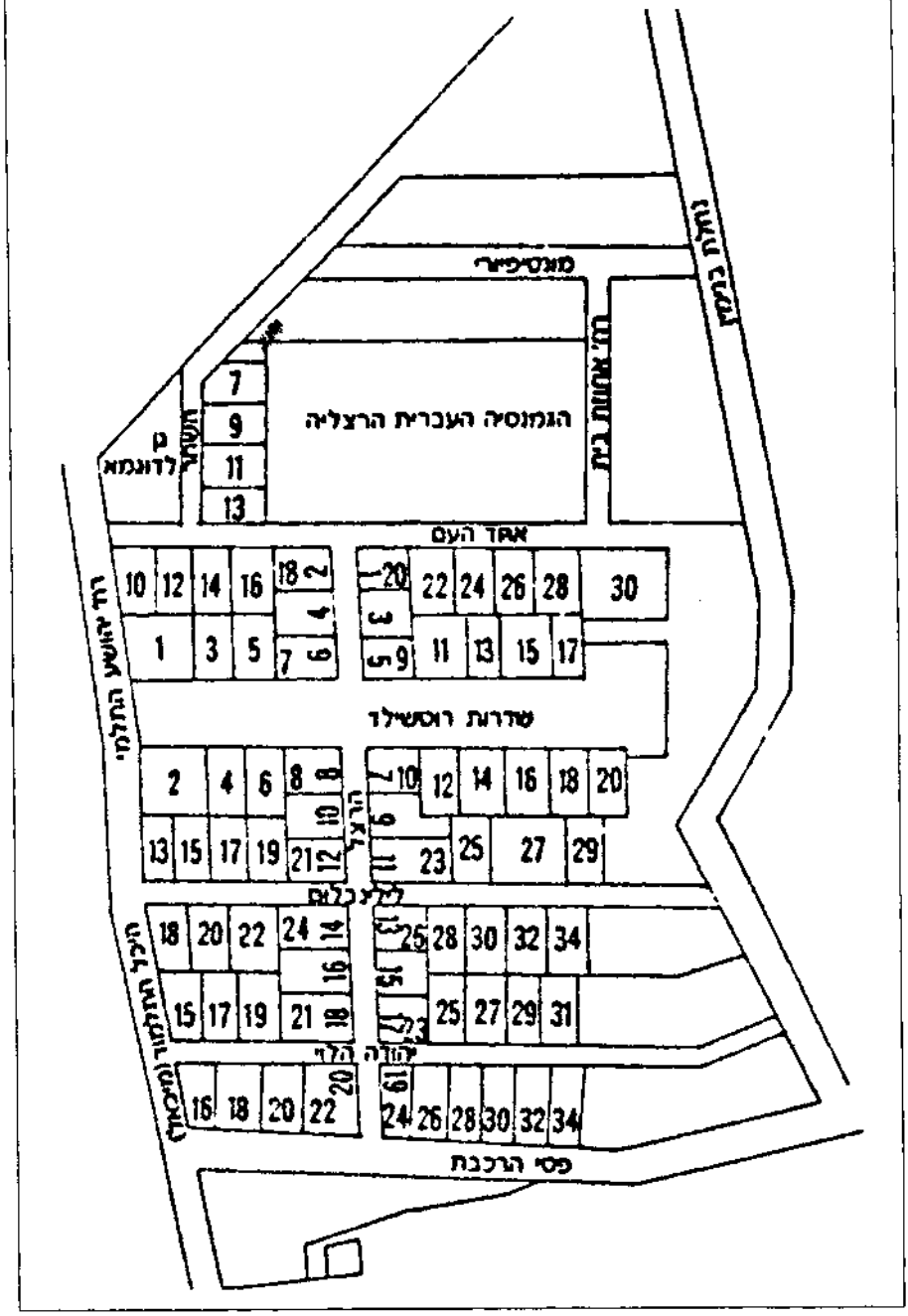
[17] The original nucleus was created to accommodate the families of the 60 company members who divided the land plots using the lottery system.

[18] This term was used to signify the Jewish community in Palestine, already existing before the nineteenth and twentieth-century immigrations.

[19] The Jewish National Fund (J.N.F.) provided a loan of 250,000 French francs towards the 300,000 needed for building the district. Cf. Katz Y., *op.cit.*, pp.284-285.

[20] Treidel's project served as a basis for discussion. A comparison between the original plan and the final plan reveals a reduction in the space for gardens and public parks due to economic considerations. Cf. Katz Y., *op.cit*, pp.286. The directors were probably influenced by a plan designed by the Viennese architect Vilhelm Stiasni,

FIGURE 1 - Outline Scheme of Ahuzat Bayit neighbourhood (1909) (Pinhas Ben Shahar).



unlike those found in the American colonies or that of the nearby Templar colonies: it used their building code[21] but differed from them in the size of the roads - the main ones measuring around 12 metrès, the secondary roads about 10 metres[22] - , in the size of the building lots, which measured around 500 mq., in cover ratios (33%-40%) and in the creation of a wide boulevard which crossed sideways the main axis. In this way the neighbourhood, with its rectangular building lots and one-floor dwellings surrounded by a garden, resembled a watered down version of the garden suburb designed by Unwin, lacking the latter's site planning detail, its road network and areas for public use[23]. However, a factor which contributed to the fortunes of Tel Aviv was the relocation of the *Herzelia High School* which was moved from Jaffa to the new neighbourhood (1910) at the end of the main axis, Herzl Street, and occupied a new building designed by the engineer Barski in a distinct eclectic "neo-ottoman" architectural style. The school became the first public institution and monument in Tel Aviv and its first symbol of collective identity[24].

The neighbourhood offered the inhabitants a fairly comfortable and economical existence despite its not being situated in a very favourable position: it was not near to the sea nor to an agricultural area, and neither was situated on the banks of the River Yarqon, the

based on a narrow rectangular grid and a monument with two vertical columns which arose from the uniform residential model. In this connection cf. Kunda B., *Tel Aviv, the Locus of Amnesia*, (UMI, Ann Arbor, 1992), pp. 39-40.

[21] The building code which set down the sanitary standards of the dwellings, their relation to the road axes, the size of trading premises and the separation between public and private space, stemmed from the various codes that had been drawn up since the end of the nineteenth century following the example of the Templar Colony in Haifa. Cf. Kark R., *Jerusalem Neighborhoods. Planning and By-Laws 1855-1930*, (The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1991).

[22] Cf. Unwin., *Town Planning in Practice*, London, 1909. It. translation, *La pratica della progettazione urbana*, (Il Saggiatore, Milan, 1971).

[23] Cf. Unwin R., *Town Planning in Practice*, (London, 1909).

[24] Since its position restricted the development of Herzl Street as the central north-south artery, the building was knocked down in 1958 and replaced by Tel Aviv's first skyscraper, the *Shalom Tower* without any voice of dissent. Cf. Kunda B., *op.cit.*, pp. 44-47.

region's main waterway which could have acted as focal point for urban development. Ahuzat-Bayit had been built in the heart of the sand dunes, probably because cheap land was readily available there and because it was near to the main roads to Jerusalem, Acco and Nablus and to the more important *moshavot* (Petah Tiqwa etc.)[25]. As far as zionist colonization objectives were concerned, it was more important to maintain close links with inland agricultural settlements rather than to have an outlet onto the sea. Neither was the geographical position favourable from a climatic point of view: lying further south than Jaffa and a long distance from the sea, the town did not benefit from the fresh sea breeze and high humidity and temperature levels during the summer months hardly made conditions there very pleasant for the inhabitants.

In order to encourage urban expansion of the town, a Neighbourhood Committee was set up in 1910 acquiring land both independently and in agreement with other groups of businessmen[26]. As a result the neighbourhood grew rapidly: on the eve of the war (1914) the population consisted of 2,000 inhabitants, all Jews.

In the first decade of its existence the town did not undergo sufficient economic development. Its inhabitants were employed in light industry, trade and services, located in Jaffa. After showing initial interest, the Zionist movement was too busy in sustaining the agricultural development of Jewish colonies; as the whole task of expanding Tel Aviv was entrusted to private enterprise it did not take long for building speculation to spread.

Tel Aviv's rise from Jaffa, suburb to the "first Jewish city", was sealed in 1921 when disorders involving Arab and Jews broke out in Jaffa. As a result of the clashes Tel Aviv became isolated and was forced to develop those services which up till then had been provided by Jaffa[27]. The British Mandatory Authorities who had take over from

[25] Cf. Efrat E., *Urbanization in Israel*, (Croom Helm, London), 1984 pp. 56-59.
[26] Katz Y., *op.cit.*, p. 287.
[27] Cf. Kellerman A., *op.cit.*, p. 131.

the Ottoman Government recognised Tel Aviv as an autonomous township[28] even though it still came under Jaffa's Town Planning Committee and was included in Jaffa's plan for urban development[29].

The newly-gained administrative independence encouraged many Jewish tradesmen and artisans in Jaffa to move their businesses to Tel Aviv in the area near to the railway station for Jerusalem where various light industries were set up, and at the same time further accelerated the process of building construction. Despite the efforts made by the Mandatory Authorities to combat speculation[30], many people invested in the building sector to provide the homes needed for a growing number of immigrants who were transforming the suburban nature of the city during the third (1921-1923) and fourth *aliyah* (1924-25). The population of Tel Aviv increased from 12,392 inhabitants in 1922 to 34,200 at the end of 1925. In contrast to the previous system of one-family dwellings, the new three-floor buildings used the "Key-money system" which on the one hand enabled buyers to defer payment and on the other hand enabled constructors to build using the money advanced to them.

The uncontrolled nature of the development, which proceeded without any regard to the original development plan and whose only criterion was that of exploiting to the full the available space, produced an urban sprawl and a visible fall in living standards[31]. The original concept of the "garden city" - if indeed it had ever been present in the eyes of the builders - had totally disappeared[32].

[28] At the beginning of 1921 the representatives of Tel Aviv met the British Authorities to argue on behalf of separation from Jaffa. The Local Councils Ordinance of April 1921 authorized the setting up of self-governing bodies in urban districts of a unitary nature. On 11 May 1921 Tel Aviv was proclaimed a township but it was only in 1934 that it obtained city status. Cf. Biger G., *An Empire in the Holy Land*, (St. Martin Press, New York, 1994), pp. 232-233.

[29] Cf. Biger G., "A Scotsman in the First Hebrew City" in *Ariel*, n.77-78, 1989.

[30] Cf. Biger G. (1994), p.232.

[31] Cf. Biger G. (1983), p.15.

[32] The built-up area increased from 143 ha. in 1921 to 351 ha. in 1925.

3. Patrick Geddes Master Plan

In the light of the rapid growth of Tel Aviv, which officially came under the control of the Jaffa District Council Town Planning Committee, the Mandatory Authorities acknowledged the need to set up a town planning sub-committee composed exclusively of residents and responsible for supervising building activity[33].

The Committee was presided over by the founding members of the community. It decided on the need for a plan which channelled and regulated the city's growth and provided for parks, gardens, public buildings, squares and an adequate road network which would give all the neighbourhoods in the city, including those built before 1901, a similar look. Meanwhile, a group of property developers had purchased from the Arabs in the neighbouring village of Sumail most of the sand dunes to the north and had drained the land and prepared it for construction. The Town Planning Committee then decided to use these areas, extending the city towards the north and planning a link up with existing neighbourhoods so as to be able to give unity to the city's future development.

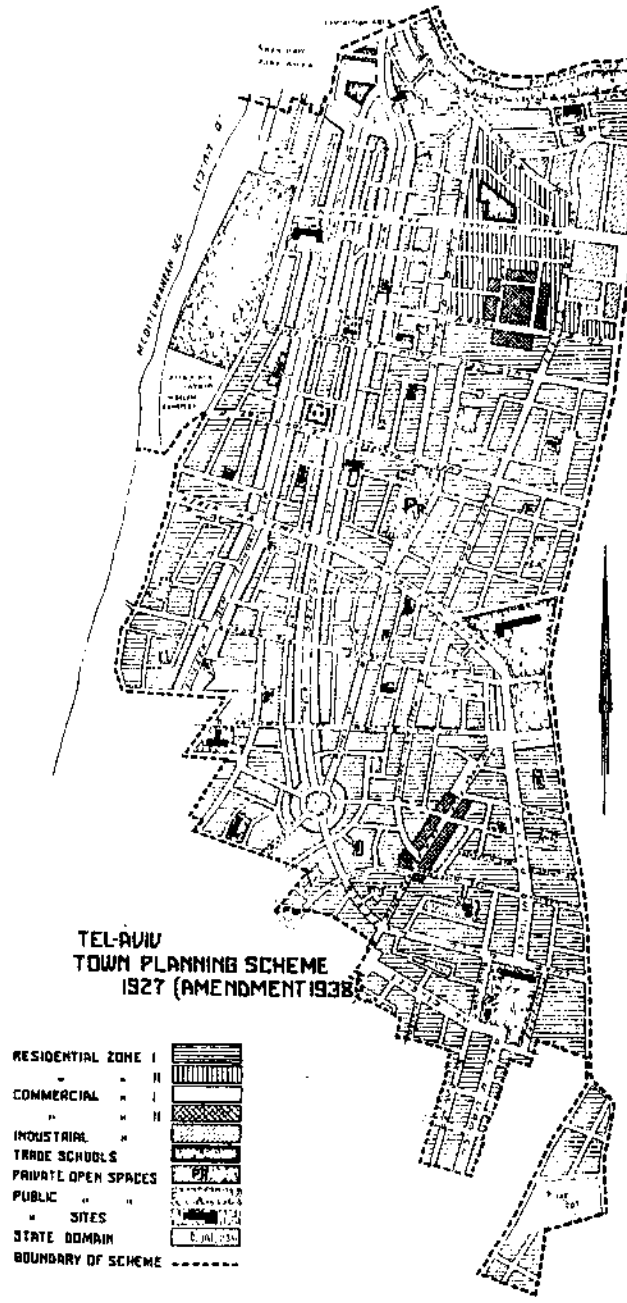
The task of drawing up the development plan was given by the Mayor of Tel Aviv, Meir Dizengoff[34], to Patrick Geddes, a biologist and sociologist and a modern town-planning theorist. His plan, completed at the end of 1925, approved by the District Town Planning Committee in 1927 and ratified in 1929[35], was to have provided for the development of an area measuring around 3 sq.km north of the city. In practice, the project was much more ambitious, as was Geddes' habit. While the introduction referred to a single "Greater Jaffa" taking in Tel Aviv, the project envisaged a restructuring of Tel Aviv's economic and social system based on the classical model of the Greek *Polis*. The Geddes Plan was conceived for 100,000 inhabitants, and was designed to keep alive the image

[33] Cf. Biger G., (1994), p. 233.

[34] Mein Dizengoff was the champion of Tel Aviv's Development Plan. He even asked help from the World Zionist Organisation in order to find the most suitable town planner for the job; he was to have wide acclaim but was not to be connected in any way with the British Mandatory Authorities. Cf. Biger G., (1989), p. 17.

[35] Cf. Biger G., (1994), p. 233.

FIGURE 2 - The Patrick Geddes's Tel Aviv Outline Scheme, approved in 1927, whit the 1938's amendments (Municipality or Tel Aviv)



of the garden suburb. Geddes organized a "garden city"[36] laid out according to a grid street plan whose main streets went from north to south along the sand dunes and were crossed transversely by smaller side streets which followed existing routes. The plan included two different residential areas, two types of business area with a shopping centre built around an hexagonal square, the Dizengoff Circle[37]. In addition, the plan extended the Rothschild Boulevard which, together with the other two boulevards, were clearly reminiscent of Howard; similarly, the park situated along the River Yarqon resembled the beginning of a green belt project.

In line with Geddes' idea, the plan took account of local geographical conditions and proposed facing the buildings westward, "....in order to take advantage of the sea breeze"[38]. It envisaged low buildings - at the most on three floors - to enable air to circulate and small windows to avoid excessive sunlight. The garden city had to be built with dwellings separated from the road, with a garden at the centre of each block which could be reached through small alleys, and with a cover ratio which did not exceed a third of the total area.

In his plan Geddes also proposed building a new port at the mouth of the River Yarqon with an industrial zone next to it and envisaged the construction of primary and secondary schools, cinemas, theatres and museums. Lastly he advised the local authorities to buy land north of the River Yaron for future expansion[39]. This plan laid out what was to become the present-day urban structure of the northern part of Tel Aviv, which was certainly better than the congested and unplanned southern part of the city, although plans for public buildings and parks were not fulfilled due to the high costs of purchasing construction land. Moreover, the expansion of the city proved to be much more

[36] His idea was to create a garden city, but with orchards full of fruit trees. Cf. Biger G., (1989), p.18.

[37] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 18.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[39] Cf. Meller H., *Patrick Geddes. Social Evolutionist and City Planner*, (Routledge, London-New York, 1990), pp. 279-280.

rapid than had been anticipated, too rapid to be sustained by Geddes' garden city.

4. The "Modernism" and major growth of the 1930s

The early years of the implementation of the Geddes Plan saw the rise of a city with poor and "commercial"[40] buildings. It was only at the beginning of 1932[41] that Tel Aviv started to lose the characteristics of a small provincial town. This process certainly benefited from the arrival of a new wave of immigration from Europe, mainly from Germany, and middle class. These immigrants included many architects[42] who did much to get towns to abandon the "vernacular" architecture which prevailed in Palestine at the time and to draw them closer to concepts so dear to the modern movement by introducing Le Corbusier's five points and making builders replace masonry with plastered and whitewashed reinforced concrete[43]. This earned Tel Aviv the name of "white city" and made it the capital of the "Modern Movement".

In the absence of an architectural tradition in which the new Jews could identify themselves, European rationalism was swiftly adopted; condemned by the Nazis, for Zionist workers organisations it not only constituted a link with European socialism - of which the Jewish organizations felt themselves to be in the vanguard with their agricultural communes - but it also marked the definitive break with both Arab traditions, which had been adopted in the many eclectic buildings of the previous period, and in the Jewish *Yishuv* culture.

[40] "Commercial" is the term.used by the architect A. Sharon to describe dwellings in Tel Aviv. Cf. Sharon A., *Kibbutz + Bauhaus. An Architect's Way in a New Land*, (Karl Kramer Verlag and Massada, Stuttgard-Israel, 1976), p.46.

[41] Around 3000 buildings were constructed in the period 1932-1936.

[42] These architects coming from all over Europe had been trained in the most important schools of architecture of the time. The most outstanding included such architects as Joseph Neufeld, from Mendelsohn's Berlin practice, Ze'ev Rechter from Paris and strongly influenced by Le Corbusier, Arieh Sharon, a pupil of Hannes Meyer at the Bauhaus, and Dov Karmi. All of them helped to set up the "architectural circle", of which many young Jews became members.

[43] Cf. Levin M., "When Tel Aviv was White" in *Ariel*, n.77-78, 1989, pp. 59-63; Sharon A., *op.cit.*, pp.46-49.

Tel Aviv. Cooperative housing. Project: A. Sharon (1935) - (Central Zionist Archives)

While the workers movement entrusted the rationalist architects with the task of implementing its programme to build cooperative houses[44], government offices and finance companies also adapted to the new style. Thus, apart from most of the housing projects, the council's public projects - the port, the *Dizengoff Circle*, the national theatre and the Levant Fair - also followed its principles. The new architecture, moreover, also affected the districts which had already been built in the south, with many alterations made, such as extra floors and extensions, as well as the surrounding suburbs. Allenby Street, for example, which was turned into a major shopping area, saw its one-family low houses replaced by three to four-floor commercial buildings.

In 1934, Tel Aviv obtained city status and had a population of 72,000 inhabitants, larger than Jaffa and Jerusalem. For the new political and cultural Jewish society, it had become the centre of community life and its "window on the world."

[44] The city council planned minimum 400-500 sq.m building lots, raised by Geddes to 560 sq.m. for two to three-floor buildings with 4-6 apartments. This led to considerable fragmentation and the appearance of small cooperative houses which "did not exceed 150 units". Cf. Kunda B., *op.cit*, p. 95.

View of Tel Aviv and its beach promenade during the early thirties. (A. Sharon).

At that time the southern part of the city had witnessed a burgeoning of industry which had increased job opportunities and in turn had encouraged immigration and the growth of suburbs. In 1938, the city borders were extended eastward, from the boundary marked out by the Geddes Plan up to the River Ayalon[45]. For these areas the "Plan 50 - East Tel Aviv Land Plan" was drawn up which kept the urban structure along the main arteries as conceived by the Geddes Plan and extended east-west road links. In the direction

[45] Cf. Elyakim T., *The Urban Planning of Tel Aviv up to the Foundation of Israel*, (Tel Aviv, 1994) (typescript held at Tel Aviv City Hall).

going from north to south the Plan laid out a new road for Haifa as well as the *Rehov Weizmann*, which was to become the central road hub. Lastly the plan envisaged a large circular plaza - *Kikar HaMedina* - inspired by Geddes' *Dizengoff Circus*. These directives were implemented with detailed plans which completed the "urban centre collage"[46].

The growth of the city was accompanied by the transformation of the surrounding *moshavot*. Based on private enterprise and wage labour, these were not sustained by any ideology about rural living as were the agricultural communes, but only by economic interest. Driven by such interest, landowners were amenable to changes in production and were prepared to undertake new commercial and industrial initiatives, selling off agricultural land as land for construction[47]. These continual changes brought about a cyclical rise in land value and enhanced the appeal of such settlements as residential areas for newcomers. So, with new agricultural techniques which "made possible higher yields per unit of land and increased the need for labour and for commercial outlets"[48], the *moshavot* developed as mixed settlements, both urban and agricultural. The sale of building lots, with the increased demand of houses for the new arrivals, enriched local private builders and led to an increase in the number of houses and services which was proportionately greater than that of Tel Aviv. Moreover, since the number of people attracted to live in the *moshavot* was greater than the number of jobs on offer, they developed into dormitory towns. In particular, the settlements nearer to the centre - Ramat Gan, Bnei Brak, Nahlat Yitzhak, Givatayim and Bat Yam - shed their agricultural identity totally and were absorbed into the Tel Aviv conurbation, while those further away - Petah Tiqwa, Hertzlia, Kfar Saba, Raanana, Rishon LeZiyyon, Rehovot - retained their original

[46] *Ibid.*, p.6.

[47] Cf. Feasey R.A., *Planning and Immigration in Relation to Spatial Development*, (Department of Geography, University of Durham, Durham, 1976).

[48] Drinberg C., "Israele: lineamenti dell'evoluzione urbana e territoriale (1882-oggi)" in *Storia Urbana*, n. 15, April-June 1981, p.172.

identity, at least up till the creation of the new State. Generally speaking, these settlements consisted of ".... an original nucleus inhabited by early settlers and by outlying districts developed for the new immigrants and for agricultural and industrial workers"[49]. They were all characterized by great discontinuity in the intensity and modality of land use: entire urban sectors remained separate from agricultural land and from large underused areas. The new districts were built in the outlying areas of the *moshavot*: the owners of the land, who were often first-wave immigrants, were opposed to having the new arrivals - mainly eastern Jews - at close proximity. This reflected, of course, a dangerous socio-economic stratification which was to be the cause of so many failures in subsequent Israeli planning. The whole process led to the development of high-density urbanized areas on the outskirts and low-density semi-agricultural central areas destined for a variety of uses, thereby hindering a rational distribution of infrastructure and services.

The growth of outlying settlements did not check Tel Aviv's expansion. In 1946 its population was 198,000 while at the time of the creation of the Independent State of Israel in 1948 the population stood at 287,380; three years later the population had already risen to 345,000, saturating all the central areas whose densities touched on 4 inhabitants per room in some cases[50]. Moreover, in addition to the resident population there were also those who, while living in the surrounding districts, poured into the city every day to work or to use the city's services. This population concentration helped to create in practice the metropolitan area of Tel Aviv, causing those in charge of planning the new State to neglect urban planning and to concentrate on policies for dispersing the population and balancing the settlement structure in order to deal with problems facing the whole district area.

[49] *ivi.*, p. 173.

[50] Cf. *A Survey Of Palestine*, Prepared in December 1945 and January 1946 for the information of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, reprinted by the Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington, 1991, p.799.

5. National policies and the development of "Greater Tel Aviv"

The settlement pattern of the Jewish population at the end of the British Mandate and the founding of the State of Israel was typical of that of a country whose population had been recently urbanised, not dissimilar to that of Argentina and Australia. It was characterized by a low percentage of rural population, lack of medium and small-sized urban centres and a high population concentration in the three largest cities of the country and their environs.

In 1948, the Tel Aviv area alone contained 40.5% of the country's Jewish population[51]. The proportion of Jewish population concentrated in the central part of the coastal plain - which included the administrative districts of Tel Aviv, Centre and Haifa - reached 79.5%[52]. The country's settlement structure was therefore a "polarized" one, with one main city, Tel Aviv, in which the main administrative, cultural and economic functions were concentrated, two large cities - Jerusalem and Haifa - respectively religious centre and industrial pole, and the rural communities at the base with an almost total absence of intermediate settlements made up of medium and small-sized towns[53]. Moreover, there were strong pressures arising from continual belligerence with nearby Arab countries and from the rapid population growth, due mainly to immigration[54].

In order to avoid the complete breakdown of the urban system it was necessary to bring about a drastic change in the way of

[51] The area of Tel Aviv, according to the statistics under study, corresponds to the entire conurbation which, apart from the central city, covers the satellite settlements of Ramat-Gan, Givatayim, Benei-Beraq, Holon and and Bat-Yam. Cf. Brutzkus E., *Regional Policy in Israel*, (Ministry of the Interior - Town and Country Planning Dept., Jerusalem, 1970), p.17.

[52] This enormous demographic weight is even more striking if one considers that the three main cities - Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa - alone contained 68% of the total Jewish population. Cf. Brutzkus E., *op.cit.*, p.17.

[53] Cf. Efrat E., *op. cit.*

[54] Cf. Hill M., *Planning in Turbulence. Urban and Regional Planning in Israel, 1948-1977*, (Center for Urban and Regional Studies, Technion Institute, Haifa, 1977).

urban processes were conceived[55]. This was done with the creation of the Planning Department. Under the direction of A. Sharon it heeded the proposals of the most advanced cultural vanguard and set for itself the priority objective of transforming the "polarized" model into a much more complex model based on Christaller's hierarchical principles. The result was the so-called "Sharon Plan" (1950) which defined three intermediate levels between large cities and rural settlements, chose 17 centres - already in existence or to be built - which were to populate the new areas in parallel to the settlement of agricultural regions, with the final aim of creating "balanced" regions[56]. The planners aimed to break the elementary functional ties between rural settlements and large cities and to replace them with regional interlinks, alleviating the pressure on large cities and promoting settlement of the country's more remote areas. It was the slogan about territorial population dispersion which won over the Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion and the Israeli government and which as a result became the basic principle behind the new State's policies[57]. Thus the creation of new intermediate cities became a government policy and was pursued energetically in all the districts[58].

In particular the plan set out to stabilize the population of the Tel Aviv district, directing the surplus and the new immigrants to neighbouring districts. For this purpose new urban settlements

[55] The first signs of a new awareness appeared in 1937-38 among urban planners who had been trained mainly in western European countries and who considered the model of Jewish Palestinian settlements immature and temporary; they envisaged the development of a hierarchical model for the regions, influenced by "regionalist" literature, by L Mumford's works and, afterwards, by Christaller's Theory of Central Localities and by Losch's theoretical models. The idea of a close tie between the regional urban centre and its hinterland in a regional context began to take shape, in memory of the 1928-32 world recession. Just before independence, to bolster this position, the "Circle for Settlement Reform" was set up based on regionalist principles. Cf. Brutzkus E., *op.cit*, pp. 18-19.

[56] Cf. *op.cit*, p.20.

[57] Cf. *ibid*, p.21.

[58] For a more detailed study of the Israeli State planning policies, cf. G. Pace, *La pianificazione urbanistica in Israele. Dal Piano Sharon ad Israel 2020*, (I.Pi.Ge.T. - C.N.R., Napoli 1993) (working paper).

were chosen either around existing nuclei or in abandoned Arab towns, whose sizes were predetermined on the basis of economic and geographical criteria and the country's general development needs.

However, the new State had to meet the immigrants' pressing needs. It did not possess adequate funds and it could not accommodate immigrants in areas lacking facilities and jobs nor expropriate land in the Tel Aviv District and in the nearby centres at very high prices. Therefore the plan directed expansion towards nearby Arab land, abandoned after the 1948 War and bought by the Israeli Land Authority, which included villages and agricultural land lying between Tel Aviv and eastern suburban centres. As a result, the small number of free interstitial areas which might have been useful for residential decongestion and for developing new facilities, were quickly filled and turned into ghettos; they were built too quickly without adequate funds and with methods which reflected the urgency to provide a roof for any Jew who came knocking on the door[59]. Thus, in the first few years of the country's existence, the plan for the urban development of the city of Tel Aviv was terminated and the ground prepared for the next phase of suburbanisation. Extending the city into the ring of ex-rural settlements the conurbation known as "Greater Tel Aviv" thus came into being.

Undoubtedly, the aforementioned emergencies were important in inducing planners to plan for a population of 450,000 inhabitants compared to 287,380 in 1948 and in a city like Tel Aviv which was already overcrowded. Yet even more surprising is their belief that the State would have the tranquillity to build in the free areas not dormitory towns - which is what actually happened - but urban centres with facilities and industrial zones, whose sizes were to be determined by economic potential and by local characteristics[60].

[59] In 1951 the Israeli Parliament approved the Return Law which encouraged Jews from all over the world to emigrate to the country.

[60] Sharon A., *Planning in Israel: National and Regional Planning*, (Israel, 1951), p.26.

Apart from such ingenuousness, there were also the shortcomings typical of a young State without well-tested systems and procedures. This made coordination between the ministries which had been set up to develop new centres extremely difficult. In addition, the financial burden of buying land and flaws in the legislation meant that settlements developed according to the law of the market. In this way public utilities which were much needed to autonomise peripheral areas were replaced by more housing projects.

So, while on land owned by the State - accounting for about 92% of the country's total land resources[61] - the government was free to plan and to implement broad-based planning policies, once the difficulties of expropriation were overcome, in the remaining areas situated mainly in the Tel Aviv district private interests prevailed. This demonstrated the weakness of the government's planning policies which in the case of Tel Aviv, was both unable to carry out a convincing programme of rehabilitation and to equip local authorities with the necessary tools for developing it.

Yet at the beginning of the 1950s, Tel Aviv City Council had entrusted Aaron Horwitz[62], an American town-planner, with the task of drawing up a new general development plan. The problems that had to be tackled appeared to be very similar to those facing large cities in developing countries: high-density building construction, traffic, over-crowded housing, inadequate roads and lack of community facilities and green areas. Horwitz considered the problems of Tel Aviv as those of the centre of a metropolitan area with 600.000 inhabitants. On one hand his plan aimed to maintain the city's residential function while on the other it acknowledged its metropolitan role. Using the criterion of decentralization which was

[61] In 1945 about 1,600,000 dunam (1 dunam=0.1 ha) were owned by Jews, that is 7.7% of the future Israeli territory. After the 1948 War and the foundation of the new State, with the consequent Palestinian diaspora, Israel acquired the state-owned lands (handed over by the Ottoman Empire to the Britannic Mandatory Authorities), the vacant Palestinian lands, but not the Christian, Arab and Jewish residents' lands. The greater part of this private land, about the 75%, was situated in Tel Aviv and its environs. Cf. *A Survey of Palestine*, Brinberg C., *op. cit.*

[62] Cf. Alexander M., *Planning Tel Aviv. A Survey of Master Plans, 1909-1984*, (Technion, Haifa, 1986) (Typescript held at Tel Aviv City Hall).

at that time greatly in vogue, he divided the city into four areas, each with its own industries and services and which were in turn divided into neighbourhoods of 4-7,000 inhabitants with their own commercial zones and primary utilities. In view of the city's metropolitan functions the plan envisaged the growth of the central commercial district, allowed for the opening of a limited number only of light industries in the city and prohibited the expansion of housing projects into non-residential areas.

In particular, the plan reduced population density in the central part of the city and following indications in the national plan, set out new residential areas in the free areas situated within the municipal boundaries, areas which amounted to around 60% of the total area. Lastly, Horwitz planned a reorganization of the transport system, with motorways and secondary roads which by-passed the city to the east in the north-south direction; he also planned a reorganization of green belts, extending Geddes' green belt beyond the Yarqon, and created a new park to the south on the Jaffa sands.

The plan was adopted by the City Council but was never approved by the central government. Consequently the city continued to develop without any real guidance on the basis of the Geddes Plan and its ever increasing number of variants.

Thus, despite the good results achieved at the national level in the policy of dispersion[63], the city continued in its "polarized" development, controlled by a market economy which made it difficult and onerous to put aside areas for public facilities and to satisfy town planning standards. In this way it boycotted every attempt to regulate city growth. The creation of a network of urban and semi-urban centres encountered considerable difficulty: facing both social and economic problems in the process of adapting to the new environment, the immigrants who had been sent to populate the new centres tended to move to areas such as Tel Aviv which offered better chances of assimilation.

[63] The population concentration in the three metropolitan areas passed from 54% (68% of Jewish population) in the 1948 to 45.6% (49.4%) Tel Aviv metropolitan area fell from 40.5% (1948) to 30.6% (1968).

6. The growth of the metropolitan area. The Hashimshoni Plan

The deficiencies arising from forty years of uncontrolled development became manifest towards the end of the 1960s. The "heroic" phase in the construction of the new country was over; gradually the population - particularly the middle classes - began to demand greater quality in housing and services. As a result, many people, especially young people, were induced to move way from the central areas of Tel Aviv to satellite neighbourhoods or towns where standards responded more to the needs of modern living. This tendency was encouraged by the tertiarization process which was underway in the city as a result of the undisputed power exercised by business companies. The low buildings typical of the first decades of the century were now being replaced by tall skyscrapers housing offices and businesses. These greatly changed the city skyline and speeded up the suburbanization process in central regions, creating new commuter flows which were not sustained by an efficient network of public transport.

As a result of this situation the city expanded its metropolitan area, with the loss of more green belts around the centre and an intensification of the process of "spontaneous"[64] development. Such development also sprang from the fact that Tel Aviv Inner City had kept its autonomous municipal council and carried out independent planning[65].

The National Master Plan drawn up in 1964 addressed the problem of Tel Aviv and its district seeking global solutions to common problems and to unify planning. For the inner city the plan defined green belts and industrial zones which would be relocated in the outskirts. These would be linked to the national

[64] The total number of workers who were living and working in Tel Aviv fell from 66% in 1961 to around 40% in 1990. Cf. Schnell I., Gracier I., "Causes of In-migration to Tel Aviv Inner City" in *Urban Studies*, vol. 30, n.7, 1993, p.1191.

[65] It was only in 1965 that the new Town Planning Law came out. While this reconfirmed the law in force during the British Mandate, it established three planning levels with three distinct committees: national, regional and local. It was a long time, however, before the effects began to be felt.

transport system by a new road network and a suburban metro system. If the aim was to discourage people from going to the centre where facilities were inadequate and to dislocate various services in areas which were a long way from the city but which were easily reached, the action proposed by the national plan - like the locating in remote areas of major facilities such as the international airport at Lod, the industrial port at Ashod, the Weizman Institute of Science at Rehovot, the Meteorological Centre at Bet Dagan and the Wingate Sport Academy at Netanya or the relocation of the industrial area from the southern part of the city to the eastern part, between the conurbation and the *moshavot* - was hardly sufficient. Rather it demonstrated the failure of the national plan to address the complex reality of the metropolitan area which was developing as well as the need to implement a local development plan and the need for local, or rather metropolitan management of the area.

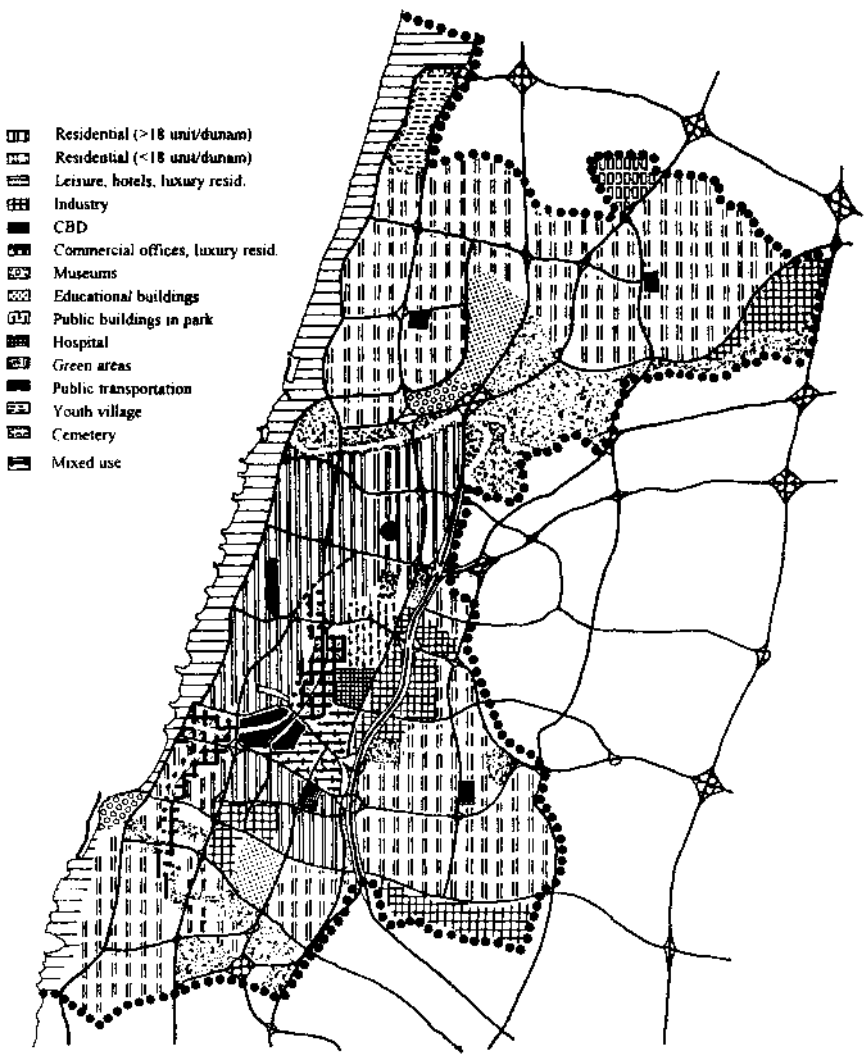
The 1964 Development Plan[66] drawn up by Tel Aviv's Municipal Planning Department made some progress along this path, under the direction of A. Hashimshoni.

The plan sprang from the need to find a more suitable location for Tel Aviv's new "Central Business District" (CBD). The aim of the national authorities and many local groups was to locate the new centre between the city and Jaffa in the district of Manshiye which had been badly damaged during the 1948 War. For Hashimshoni this was not the best solution since it took no account of the city's metropolitan function. For him the plan had to tackle two kinds of problem: on the one hand the increasing importance of Tel Aviv as a national and metropolitan commercial and business centre; on the other hand, the fact that the city suffered from high housing density.

In order to offer a series of alternative solutions, the plan subdivided the municipal district into six areas with varying levels

[66] Cf. Dash J.; Efrat E., *The Israel Physical Master Plan*, (Ministry of the Interior, Planning Department, Jerusalem, 1964).

FIGURE 5 - Tel Aviv. Hashimshoni's Outline Scheme with the Central Business District in the downtown area (1954). (Municipality of Tel Aviv).



of building density: on one hand the central area - bordering on the River Yarqon to the north, on the sea to the west, on the Jerusalem Road to the south and on the River Ayalon to the east - with its high density of buildings and on the other the districts in the inner-city with medium and low densities. In the central area only two shopping precincts were to remain to revive its principal function as a residential area. The new CBD was to be built in the east along the north-south motorway where it would be easily connected with both the city-centre and with all areas gravitating around the metropolis including the outer-city districts. Urban parks in the north and south would provided green belts, linking the different areas to the sea.

As regards the high housing density, Hashimshoni chose the solution already adopted by Horwitz: completing external areas with even more emphasis on metro links.

The plan was the fruit of a new awareness about the role of metropolitan areas in world town planning and offered an interesting alternative to the building of the new CBD. The effects were not all positive: the plans for the southern part of the city were shelved and the existing Business Centre situated in the city-centre continued to expand. Moreover, Mayor Rabinovich prevented the plan from becoming a law for fear of seeing a curtailment of his own power and encouraged the proliferation of variants to the Geddes Plan[67].

The approval of the new Town Planning Law (1965) rendered imperative the preparation of development plans for each district[68]. While nothing moved for the District of Tel Aviv, the Central District Committee and the Ministry of the Interior's Planning Authorities began to draw up a Master Plan for the Central District at the end of the 1960s. The plan was completed in 1972 but the process of approval was so beset with objections and changes that the plan became official only in 1982. Despite this, throughout the 1970s its proposals influenced many munici-

[67] Cf. Alexander M., *op.cit.*

[68] Cf. Gouldman M. D. *Legal Aspect of Town Planning in Israel*, (Institute for Legislative Research and Comparative Law, Jerusalem, 1966).

pal development plans and many decisions taken by the District Authorities, to the point of laying out the district's physical development. Through this it became clear that its principles were outdated and its demographic and economic forecasts incorrect. The population growth rate of many towns in the District was faster than the plan had predicted due to a significant migratory movement the District of Tel Aviv whilst the employment rate moved in the opposite direction, since the number of jobs in the District did not increase in ratio to the population. This increased commuter traffic into the District of Tel Aviv[69].

It was impossible to ignore the fact that the problems of the two Districts had become interconnected and that any regional town planning policy had to acknowledge this and to treat them as part of the metropolitan region of Tel Aviv.

7. The Mazor Plan and the new situation

Although, as we have said, many attempt were made in the 1960s to define and demarcate the boundaries of the metropolitan area of Tel Aviv, it was only at the end of the 1970s that a solution was finally adopted. From among criteria based on accessibility and those which used existing administrative boundaries, the settlement model based on "concentric rings" was selected; this established a central hub, an inner ring, an intermediate ring and an outer ring. The central districts, where the main business activities were carried on, made up the central hub of the metropolitan city. The suburban towns belonging to the inner ring contained suburban districts, local business areas and light industries, while further away there were the satellite towns, with few interconnections and made up of low density areas, including exclusive districts. This is an area which, in the 1970s, acted as a great magnet of attraction, with a large part of the population moving there from the central area. The outer ring was made up of the old *moshavot* which had

[69] Cf. Hertz J., Fogel U., Garon M., "A District Outline Plan - The Central District towards Choosing the Preferred Alternative" in AA.VV., *Planning & Housing in Israel in the Wake of Rapid Changes*, (Ministry of the Interior, Jerusalem, 1992).

grown up in independent towns with their own town centres attracting substantial economic investments. Apart from supplying Tel Aviv with a large work-force, this area has developed strong economic ties with the entire conurbation. Important features are: the differing growth rates between the centre which has been slower and the rest of the metropolitan region which has been growing faster and faster; the population structure with older and poorer people in much poorer housing in the centre and younger people in districts with higher living standards in the outskirts[70].

While this model overcomes the geographical indetermination of the first plan and is not so rigid as the second, nonetheless it has been too much the object of political bargaining which has prevented it from being effectively implemented. However, towards the end of the 1970s the towns of the so-called "inner ring" started to put pressure on the government to set up a single metropolitan authority, promoting the implementation of a Metropolitan Development Plan. This was entrusted to an architect, Adam Mazor, and apart from Tel Aviv included the towns of Ramat Gan, Bnei Berak, Azor, Givataim, Holon and Bat Yam. Although the process of building the metropolitan area has not yet been completed, this metropolitan plan has served as the basis for the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Strategic Development Plan drawn up by Mazor himself (1984). With its metropolitan perspective the Plan appears to resemble the one drawn up by Hashimshoni twenty years earlier. In practice, while the latter plan never went beyond the municipal limits, the Mazor Plan differs from it considerably since it deals with the municipal scale only after it has worked on the metropolitan scale. Moreover, the process of suburbanization had caused a significant drop in the population of the central areas. From 1963 to 1983 the population of Tel Aviv fell from 400,000 to 330,000. So the main aim of Mazor's Plan became that of repopulating the city, at the same time preserving its role as a metropolitan centre. For this purpose he proposed

[70] Cf. Schnell I., Gracier I., *op.cit.*, p. 1191.

maintaining the heterogeneous nature of functions, keeping them distinctly separate from one another; reducing the gap between the northern and southern parts of the city by creating a residential area in the central hub; preserving the city's role as the centre of culture and entertainment; lastly, regulating the expansion of the CBD towards the eastern part of the city along the River Ayalon, as already set out in the Hashimshoni Plan.

The city was divided into areas defined on the basis of their main function. Each area could contain centres where the main activities were concentrated. Finally different types of road or canals were to interconnect the areas.

There was a clear intention to reduce the size of the present CBD to recover the city's residential function. The plan predicted an increase of 130,000 inhabitants, a forecast which proved yet again to be higher than actual growth; the inhabitants were to be distributed in forty residential areas. The residential function of the central areas were to be revived, sometimes with rather questionable actions such as the adding of two floors in districts rich in fine examples of 1930s rationalist architecture.

Although it was adopted as a Master Plan by the city council, the plan never received the approval of the national town planning committee. Nonetheless, several of Mazor's proposals became detailed plans as variants of the Geddes Plan, with the government's consent. As a result the plan has been able to exercise some influence over the development of the city, helped in this by a spontaneous process of regeneration which has been taking place in the central areas since the mid-1980s. This process has been marked by a generation renewal of the residents, a steady exodus of people living in the run-down areas in the south, some of which have been replaced by service-based centres, and lastly a high level of immigration into northern districts, those of the "Bauhaus" period, made up of young professional people from the new middle classes, employed in the high-tech sector, the leisure industry and the scientific research.

Yet the failure to implement the plan in its entirety has pre-

vented it from addressing the major problems posed by the metropolitan area, problems which have been aggravated by the recent waves of immigration from eastern European countries.

The National Strategic Plan for the assimilation of immigrants (NOS#31) drawn up to cope with the emergency arising from the great *Aliyah* from the ex-Soviet Union (which turned out not to be so great: 480,000 instead of a million), begun with the opening of the frontiers in 1989, adopted the metropolitan concept in its distribution of settlements. Going against the existing monocentric model, the plan established four metropolitan regions, plus four sub-metropolitan regions, with urban settlements operating as regional centres.

The four metropolitan regions are Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa and Beer Sheva. The first two, defined as the "core" of Israel, function as a single national metropolis for the planners, with most of the government's administrative offices, businesses, industries and cultural activities situated there, even though they are suffering from high density, lack of infrastructure and very serious environmental problems.

In demarcating Tel Aviv's metropolitan area, the planners have applied the leading definition[71] consisting of a centre, the city of Tel Aviv, an inner ring, the conurbation, divisible in suburban and satellite towns, and an outer ring including the ex-*moshavot* centres, old Arab towns and new towns, as well as Ashdod, Netanya and the future town of Modi'in[72], linking the metropolitan area of Tel Aviv with that of Jerusalem.

According to NOS#31, therefore, Israel was to be organised as "a multipolar metropolitan area" in which each centre had its own conurbation and was able to specialise and compete with other

[71] Efrat E., *op. cit.*

[72] Modi'in is still at the centre of controversy in Israel. It originated as the main element in the development plan of the inner area alongside the coastal strip, astride the green line, its purposes were purely expansionist, although no account was taken of the needs of the existing nearby towns, Ramla and Lod, nor of the environmental impact on one of the central district's few agricultural regions. On this issue see AA.VV., *Planning & Housing in Israel in the Wake of Rapid Changes*, (Ministry of the Interior, Jerusalem, 1992).

centres. Two very different cases were taken as an example: the Ruhr region in Germany and the Boston-Washington continuum. Nonetheless, one might note that in a country like Israel whose size is no greater than an Italian region like Tuscany and whose morphology is extremely varied, it is very difficult to find the right isotropic conditions to generate competition between the centres. Moreover, we should not forget the symbolic implications which make Tel Aviv, the first Jewish city, Israel's window on the world, the country's only real political, economic and cultural centre[73]. Again, another factor has been the recent rise of Tel Aviv as a leader in world high-tech business. Although it is claimed that the industry has a complete freedom of allocation, as studies have shown[74], it undoubtedly benefits from proximity to the decision-making centres of the economy. The centre of Tel Aviv absorbs around 70% of workers specialised in this sector. True to its reputation as a trading city, Tel Aviv is a focal point for multinational companies and is one of the few cities in the Mediterranean area to have risen to the status of world city.

While this transformation has promoted the aforementioned process of urban regeneration which is changing the centre's social structure, within a short time it could very well threaten its stability with a tendency - typical of that of a market economy - for land rents and building speculation to rise and for residential functions to be taken away from the centre into more remote districts.

However, the great challenge, to which the Israeli authorities ought to respond, is the global planning of the whole metropolitan area, setting as its main goals a real and effective integration between the many different types of urban situation which are developing. Such a task appears all the more difficult if we consider the fact that is has to be undertaken while the country is still coming to grips with a number of very serious problems.

[73] Cf. Kellerman A., *op. cit.*
[74] Cf. Schnell I., Graicer I., *op.cit.*

FIGURE 6 - The National Outline Scheme # 31 defines four metropolitan areas - Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, Beer Shova (1992). (Atlas of Israel).