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ID 1429 | THE ´FOSTER CITY´: THE DIFFERENT STRATA OF URBAN DIVERSITY IN A NEWLY-MIXED TOWN

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ABSTRACT: In the past several decades, an expeditious internal migration process is evident in Israel. Israeli towns which were established during the 1950s and 1960s have attracted Ultra-Orthodox communities and Palestinians who are Israeli citizens. This process stands in contrast to the Nationalist-Zionist ethos, which has aimed to plan and populate new towns in the peripheral areas of the new state, mainly for secular Jews. As a consequence, population groups who are considered as ´others´, share the urban space with the local population. Against this background, tensions between the different population groups arise, turning the city into a contested arena, where struggles over public resources, public services, local identity and urban image proliferate. This paper highlights the different strata of urban diversity in the context of planning, asking how urban management and planning deal with a city that becomes mixed and is characterized by multiple conflicts. Karmiel, a newly-mixed town in Israel, was selected as a case study. This paper is based on a PhD research that focused on three planning events which differ in scale and represent the conflicts within the urban realm, resulting from and intensified by increasing urban diversity in terms of religious inclination (secular vs. ultra-orthodox Jews), ethno-national identity (Jews vs. Palestinians who are Israeli citizens), and socio-economic inequalities (high socio-economic status vs. low socio-economic status). The methodology combines multiple sources of knowledge and information: historical knowledge (archival documentation); planning knowledge (statutory plans, municipal board-meetings' protocols, court verdicts, interviews with municipal officials and planning practitioners); local knowledge (in-depth conversations: local residents, social activists, local NGOs, building contractors, business owners, national and local press, the civic discourse in Facebook groups); quantitative data and information (Israeli central bureau of statistics, The Ministry of Housing publications, Israeli Tax authorities, Israeli Knesset research center). This approach has produced integrative knowledge about contemporary urbanism, stressing the unique urban dynamics within cities that are becoming mixed. This paper offers a new conceptualization- ´the Foster City´. Ultra-Orthodox Jews and Palestinians, who are Israeli citizens, are compared to ´step-inhabitants´- they are not an ideological product of the Nation-Zionist city. The Israeli urban reality is characterized by growing heterogeneity, subverting the Israeli planning policy which strives for absolute social, cultural and spatial separation between Jews and Arabs and between secular and Ultra-Orthodox Jews. This abnormality challenges the existing order, eroding the utopian ideal of the homogeneous Nation-City. The ´Foster City´ highlights the intermediate situation of newly-mixed cities, not only in Israel, but is germane to the European context as well. It emphasizes the complicated conditions of population groups considered as ´others´, in two central aspects: alienation and temporariness. In the ´Foster City´ the struggles over symbolic and spatial demands echo everywhere: at home, in the streets and neighborhoods and in the entire city. Nonetheless, the ´Foster City´ is an enabling space, providing for marginalized groups an opportunity to fulfill their civil rights: it reduces the supremacy of ethnic, religious, and socio-economic status, while allowing civic belonging to sprout.

1 INTRODUCTION

The scope of international immigration is rapidly growing in the last several decades. Many population groups are forced to relocate to other countries, whether as a consequence of war, political insecurity, famine or severe lack of sources of income. However, immigration processes are also derived from a personal choice, in search for better occupation conditions or in order to improve quality of life. The movement of population groups from one country to another has a significant impact on cities worldwide, making them more diverse and heterogenic in terms of religion, social and cultural composition, and economic characteristics (Wood, 2015).

The World Migration Report (IQM, 2015) has asserted that immigration is in its essence an urban matter. By the end of 2015, the amount of immigrants in the world was estimated by 232 million people, 50% of them dwell in Australia, Canada, United-States, France, Germany, United-Kingdom, Russia, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. In Sidney, London and New-York, immigrants constitute over one-third of the total population, and in Brussels and Dubai immigrants constitute more than half of the total population (ibid). Due to extensive international immigration processes, diversity has become one of the most prominent characteristics of cities. Diversity comes into play in many different ways: status, language, gender, age, sex, race, religion, life-styles, sexual preferences and world-views (Watson, 2006). Media reports all over the world document struggles between different population groups, turning cities into a contested arenas, where struggles over public resources, public services, local identity and urban image proliferate.

Israel is not a popular destination for international migration, mostly because its borders are closed up against foreign immigrants. However, during the 1950s and 1960s, Israel absorbed major international immigration influxes, exclusively of Jews, which have dramatically impacted the urban space. The Israeli case is unique because these massive immigration influxes of Jews to the new state have gained embracing support, both from the officialdom and the public. To date, immigration of Jews is perceived as a legitimate process which the state and its Jewish citizens have encouraged. Bringing Jews from all across the world to Israel has fulfilled a vital role in the establishment of a Jewish state in the land of Israel. For this reason, the immigration process of Jews gained inimitable label: "Aliya". In 1990s, Israel has absorbed over million immigrants from the former Soviet-Union countries, but ever since the Jewish immigration influx is relatively low and slow.

Nevertheless, in the past several decades Israeli towns are facing similar challenges, as other cities in the western-world are experiencing. Recently, in several Israeli towns and cities, urban conflicts between different population groups arise due to an unprecedented internal migration, mainly of Ultra-Orthodox Jews and Palestinians who are Israeli citizens to secular cities. This process stands in contrast to the National-Zionist ethos, which has aimed to plan and populate new towns in the peripheral areas of the new state, mainly for secular Jews. Israeli towns have become more heterogenic, subverting the organizational conception of Israeli space, as can be observed in the absolute spatial and social separation between Jews and Arabs and between secular and Ultra-Orthodox Jews. As a consequence, population groups who are considered as 'others', share the urban space with the local population.

This paper illuminates the different strata of urban diversity in Karmiel, a town in the central Galilee region in Israel, which was chosen as the case study. Karmiel is one of the last two development towns in Israel. Its intended purpose was to break the continuum of Arab settlements in the area and replace them with Jewish settlements (Falah, 1989). Its political agenda of "Judaizing the Galilee" was the reason for expropriating the lands of four Arab villages in 1976. Although officially planned for a secular Jewish population, mainly Jewish immigrants and veteran Israelis, over the years the town has attracted both Arabs from nearby Arab settlements and, recently, a sizable population of Ultra-Orthodox Jews.

An examination of the different strata of urban diversity allows better understanding of contemporary urbanism within towns and cities that are becoming mixed. It sheds light on the different aspects of the ongoing debate within urban planning and urban studies, and challenges the theoretical discourse that deals with mixed-cities, demonstrating how the incorporation of planning perspective illuminates the difference between mixed and newly-mixed cities by offering a new conceptualization: the 'Foster City'.

2 DIVERSITY AND CONFLICTS WITHIN THE URBAN SPACE

The theoretical thinking about urban diversity has evolved in numerous disciplines: Geography (Amin, 2002; Amin & Thrift, 2002; Fincher & Jacobs, 1998; Valentine, 2008), Sociology (Sennett, 2001), Political Science (Boyd, 2006; Putnam, 2007), and Urban Planning (Bollens, 2008; Koutrolikou, 2012; Sandercock, 1998; Soja, 1999; Van Leeuwen, 2014a), with a specific focus on urbanism and relationships between different groups in the urban space. Planning and Urban Studies literature deals mainly with the dynamics between population groups in public spaces. For example, research publications from Europe and U.S focus on the relationships between veterans and immigrants (Askins & Pain, 2011, Bailey, 2011; Besemer, Brameley, & Livingston, 2015; Wilson & Taub, 2011), whereas publications from Canada and Australia focus on the relationships between the local population, which has emigrated from Europe and other western countries as part of imperialism and colonialism, and the native population (Bloch & Dreher, 2009; Gyepi- Gabrah, Walker & Garcea, 2014).

However, two contradicting approaches can be identified. The first includes researchers who opine that urban diversity is one of the most valuable assets of cities (Bollens, 2007; Sandercock, 1998). It is argued that diverse street life enable positive interactions between different groups, which can assist in handling prejudice and even eradicate it (Wessel, 2009). For others, urban diversity is perceived as an instigator of social problems (Koutrolikou, 2007; Van Leeuwen, 2010, 2014b). Putnam (2007) expressed his concern from too close of a social contact, stating that:

"The more we are brought into physical proximity with people of another race or ethnic background, the more we stick to 'our own' and the less we trust the 'other' " (p. 142).

Empirical evidences show that public spaces turn into struggle arenas between groups, hence, aggravating social tensions (Amin, 2002; Van Leeuwen, 2014a). Spatial separation, language differences, mistrust and anxiety result in disrespect and intolerance (Dirksmeier, Helbrect & Mackrodt, 2014). The prime source of conflicts between population groups in cities appears to be a competition over urban resources (Bloch & Dreher, 2009; de Souza Briggs, 2007), for instance: over warship places (Beebeejaun, 2012; Sandercock, 2000), and over religious schools for minority groups (Bugg, 2013).

Empirical reports illustrate that religious and ethno-national diversity constitute a fundamental barrier for perceiving diversity as a potential. Nieuwenhuis, Volker & Flap (2013) found that the more religious diversity exists in cities, neighborly relationship will probably be negative. Similarly, the research of Bloch & Dreher (2009) from Sydney, Australia, indicated that the larger the Muslim population in the area, feelings, such as: fear, anger, and threat, were stronger even amidst people who expressed support in social diversity. Bakker & Dekker (2012), and Gundelach & Frietag (2014), found that as a minority group increases, it is probable that the majority group would feel that their social, cultural and economic privileges are at stake.

The complexity of urban diversity has raised many debates in regard to the ability of planning to balance between different spatial demands, to bridge and reconcile between groups and implement participatory planning processes that include the opposing parties. Theory suggests that the ability of urban planning to properly deal with urban diversity depends upon the recognition of the 'deep differences' between population groups (Watson, 2006), and their 'conflicting rationalities' (Watson, 2003).

3 METHODOLOGY

The research examined three planning events in Karmiel, which differ in scale and represent the conflicts within the urban realm, resulting from and intensified by increasing urban diversity. The first planning event focused on a struggle over elementary school buildings, which had evolved between the secular residents of an old neighborhood and an Ultra-Orthodox voluntary association. It emphasizes urban diversity in terms of religion inclination, and focuses on a conflict between secular veteran residents and newcomers Ultra-Orthodox Jews in one of the oldest neighborhoods of Karmiel. The second planning event followed the daily life of 'the other'- a Palestinian who is an Israeli citizen that has moved recently to Karmiel. The personal narrative opened up a discussion in regard to the dynamics of social relationships between Jews and Arabs in Karmiel, which are characterized on the one hand by discrimination and exclusion, and on the other hand, allow the organization of political-civilian actions which strive for a shared and respectful

city-life. This event emphasizes urban diversity in terms of ethno-national identity, and focus on the overt and often rampant conflicts between the Jewish residents of Karmiel and the town's Palestinians residents. The struggles over local identity, public services and urban image are manifested all over town, impacting the entire region.

The third planning event examined the master plan of a new neighborhood in Karmiel. It focuses on the interplay between physical and social aspects in neighborhood planning, and compared the way in which this interplay was reflected in the town's original planning and how it currently comes into play. Against the social vision raised by the city's leaders, the analysis relates to the spatial coding and the social message conveyed by it. Three spatial components are addressed in specific: housing mix, transportation planning scheme, and land use. This event highlights urban diversity in terms of socio-economic inequalities, and indicates on a potential conflict between the future residents of the neighborhood: those who are characterized by high socio-economic status versus those who are characterized by low socio-economic status. It is expected that the new neighborhood will offer alternative accommodation for the middle-class Arab sector, and like other neighborhoods built earlier, will most likely attract Arab residents from nearby Arab settlements.

The research approach utilized multiple sources of knowledge and information: (1) historical knowledge: books and archival documentation about Karmiel and its planning history; (2) planning knowledge: review of statutory plans, municipal board-meetings protocols, court verdicts, interviews with municipal officials and planning practitioners; (3) local knowledge: in-depth conversations with local residents, social activists, representatives of local NGOs, building contractors, local business owners, review of national and local press, and a follow-up review of civic discourse conducted in Facebook groups. The research tools include: interviews, conversations, observations and documents' review, which were processed by discourse analysis. Quantitative data was another valuable source of information, which was retrieved from the Israeli central bureau of statistics, Policy publications of The Ministry of Housing, documentation of real- estate transactions, as reported to the Tax authorities, and publications of the Israeli Knesset research center. The quantitative data served as a complementary source of information which was analyzed by descriptive statistics. Triangulation of the findings from the three different planning events was also conducted.

4 URBAN DIVERSITY IN ISRAEL

Inter-group tension in Israel's urban context stems both from global immigration processes and from internal migration. It is commonly discussed in terms of the ethno-national political dispute over national territory and resources (Falah, 1989; Kipnis, 1984; Peled, 2005; Rabinowitz & Monterescu, 2008; Soffer, 1991; Tzfadia, 2008; Yacobi, 2002; Yiftachel, 2009). Struggles between Palestinians and Jews are performed in varied contexts: over housing policy (Chiodelli, 2012), over infrastructure (Nolte & Yacobi, 2015), over holly places (Jabareen, 2006; Shmueli, Collins, Kreiner & Ben Gal, 2014) and over shared urban space (Jabareen, 2009; Kallus & Kolodney, 2010; Yacobi, 2002, 2013). Social dynamics between Jews and Arabs in Karmiel are characterized by extreme fluctuations. On the one hand, callous discrimination in the housing market, excluding institutional actions, and racist expressions in public places are highly prominent. On the other hand, a growing civic organization, representing both political and social actions, seeks to promote shared and respectful city-life.

Israeli scholars have outlined two distinct, yet complementary, theoretical perspectives: the first intends to contribute to the ongoing debate on multiculturalism and the way in which it is implemented in practice (Tzfadia, 2008); the second relates to the existing tension between the representation of the city as enabling space and the representation of the city as preserving and securing socio-national stratification (Marom & Yacobi, 2013; Yacobi & Tzfadia, 2009). Reality in Karmiel reflects the city as a situational place, where social relationships are not stabilized nor fixed, but rather in formation.

Lately, Israeli scholars have indicated on a burgeoning process of which a growing number of young Palestinians move to Jewish towns (Alfasi, 2014; Monterescue, 2011; Rabinowitz & Monterescu, 2008). Three fascinating trends can be identified as the major push and pull forces of such a process. The first trend stems from lack of planning in the Arab settlements in Israel, which has led to a severe housing shortage. The second trend relates to the significant improvements of the Palestinian population in Israel in varied aspects of life: education accomplishments, rise in employment rates, and social mobility,

processes which attest on the growing Palestinian middle-class sector in Israel. The third trend is connected to the second trend, in that mostly young, educated and economically stable Palestinian families in Israel search for a better quality of life than exist in their settlements of origin, combined with a relatively new and overt wish to move away from the nucleolus family and the traditional way of life.

Nevertheless, inter-group urban tensions also exist within the Jewish population. A growing migration of Ultra-Orthodox religious groups to secular urban neighborhoods has lately increased such tensions (Hason & Gonen, 1997, Shevah & Kallus, 2015). Although the secular and Ultra-Orthodox Jewish communities share the same faith and ethnicity, de facto, they are very different in terms of religious commitment and inclinations (Shilav, 1998), as well as in their spatial and social practices (Fenster, 2011). In the past several decades the Ultra-Orthodox population undergoes a salient expansion process. This process is characterized by massive departure from the 3 main Ultra-Orthodox centers: Jerusalem, Beney-Barak and Ashdod (Cahaner & Shilav, 2012), to distant peripheral cities, mostly located in the southern and northern parts of Israel. A combination of sharp increase in housing prices along with demographic pressure in these Ultra-Orthodox centers has caused the Ultra-Orthodox community to search for other accommodation alternatives.

Urban tensions between secular and Ultra-Orthodox Jewish communities are often over urban resources that are increasingly in demand by the fast-growing Ultra-Orthodox population; and this takeover of urban resources is often considered by the secular communities as interfering with their spatial patterns and use, and a threat to daily life. In addition, recent institutional policies aimed to confront and resolve the housing crisis in Israel have led to a contemporary trend of massive construction projects for building new neighborhoods largely distant from the urban core. Modern building standards and profit considerations fall short in addressing the need to enlarge the housing stock of affordable housing, hence raising additional tensions based on socio-economic characteristics.

4.1 CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF CITIES WITH SIGNIFICANT URBAN DIVERSITY

Cities across the world, remarkably diverse in terms of population composition, have become a major focus of research. Alongside the discourse on how to deal and manage urban conflicts under the circumstances of growing diversity, the literature offers conceptualizations of such cities. The typology of diverse cities suggests three types, differing by character and history of the relationships between different groups in the urban space.

The category 'divided city' addresses the relationships between ethnic-groups in a city in which a spatial separation is most obvious, whether by physical means such as: walls and fences, or by distinct residency areas for each population. This category includes cities, such as: Beirut, Nicosia, Sarajevo, Mostar, Belfast and Jerusalem, which were all divided as a result of national disputes (Allegra, Casagila & Rokem, 2012; Bollens, 2002; Kotek, 1999; Marcuse, 1993; Mitchel & Kelly, 2010; Van Kempen & Murie, 2009). Lately, it is also discussed in other geographical contexts, for example: the Middle-East (Silver, 2010), and China (Madrazo & Van Kempen, 2012).

The 'Dual city' is another conceptualization that describes relationships between different groups in cities, on the basis of economic differences. It was developed during 1990s, in light of the capitalist reality, emphasizing the difficulties arising from extreme economic rifts between wealthy and poor people (Marcuse, 1989). A third type, which is the most germane to the Israeli context, is known as the 'mixed-city'. It describes cities in which two different ethnic groups share the same urban space. The term mixed-city refers to cities which were historically populated mostly by Arabs, however as a consequence of 1948 war, their inhabitants were expelled or escaped. As a result, Arabs who remained have become a minority group within a significant Jewish space. The 5 Israeli mixed-cities are: Acre, Haifa, Jaffa, Lod, and Ramla, which later have been labeled by Rabinowitz & Monterscu (2008) 'depopulated colonized mixed towns'.

Three central aspects differentiate the Israeli case from the international debate in regard to urban diversity. Firstly, whereas the theoretical planning discourse on 'cities of difference' (Fincher & Jacobs, 1998) emphasizes the tensions between different ethnic groups derived mostly from cultural and economic differences, in the Israeli case, it is the regional dispute that produces and exacerbates tensions, therefore the socio-political dimension is substantial. The Israeli mixed-city is part of a historical process in which the Israeli territory, including Arab cities, have been Judaized, first by 1948 war and later through the policy of

population distribution (Yacobi, 2002; Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003). Secondly, the international literature deals with urban diversity under the conditions of massive immigration from third world countries to western countries, while urban diversity in Israel is currently derived from internal migration processes of Ultra-Orthodox Jews and Palestinians who are Israeli citizens from their hometowns to secular Israeli cities. Thirdly, the international literature stresses a univalent correlation between minority groups and low socio-economic status and political power. Conversely, in the Israeli case, this correlation is not significant. The Ultra-Orthodox population is indeed ascribed as having low socio-economic status, compared to other groups in the Israeli society; however, this group holds a considerable political power, at the national as well as at the local level. Similarly, Palestinians who are Israeli citizens, constitute a significant minority group in the Israeli society, however, those who choose to immigrate to secular Israeli cities, are mostly highly-educated and with high-income, representing the growing Israeli-Palestinian middle class.

Given the above, in order to better understand the current urban reality, it is important to inquire the different strata or urban diversity in cities that become mixed, especially in Israel, in which this trend has recently intensified in Karmiel, Beer-Sheva, Hazor-Haglilit, and Nazarat-Illit, turning them into newly-mixed cities, however not yet recognized as such by the state of by their local municipalities.

5 THE 'FOSTER CITY'

This paper addresses the internal-migration of Ultra-Orthodox and Palestinians who are Israeli citizens, to Karmiel. From a planning perspective, Karmiel challenges the theoretical conceptualizations on cities characterized by significant urban diversity. The 'Foster City' is a new conceptualization, in which the new immigrants are analogous to the city's 'step-inhabitant'. The 'step-inhabitants' are not an ideological product if the nation-city: they were not born nor raised in it. The duality in the 'Foster City' (i.e., on the one hand, conflicts between different population groups; on the other hand subversive actions for promoting shared and respectful urban space) symbolizes the difficulties of adjusting to the new reality and accepting the new order. The 'Foster City' illustrates the complexity of dealing with urban diversity in places that are not in line with liberal-western democracies (Watson, 2014). Its abnormality represents the cracking of the National-Zionist project which aimed for social, cultural, political and spatial separation between different population groups. Therefore, at least in the urban scale, the 'Foster City' undermines the theoretical 'ethnocratic' approach (Yiftachel, 1999; Yacobi & Yiftachel, 2003). The intermediate situation of the 'Foster City' reflects struggles and confrontations against the new reality in two central aspects: alienation and temporariness.

Civic discourse against the internal-migration processes are an evident of the newcomers' strangeness and alienation. The political power and the profound foothold of the Ultra-Orthodox community within the municipality raised a firm objection of the veteran residents against the municipality, but were not directed against the Ultra-Orthodox community. However, the Palestinian internal migration is being perceived as an infiltration into the Jewish urban space. The terminology that is being used as part of the public discourse represents the city as a battle field, distinguishing between the 'threatening group' and the 'threatened group'. Ultra-Orthodox tendency to separation and introversion: dressing codes and separation in the educational institutions are characteristics that emphasize their strangeness and alienation. Unlike the Ultra-Orthodox community, the aloofness of the Palestinian residents in Karmiel is forced upon them. The lack of public services for the Palestinian residents of Karmiel: in education, leisure and religious services, force them to divide their lives between Karmiel and their hometowns. This creates a phenomenon that can be labeled: 'double urban citizenship', which enhances their strangeness and alienation.

Although it seems as if the 'step-inhabitants' are here to stay, it is possible to assume that in case better conditions in terms of housing supply will be created in the future, the Ultra-Orthodox community would prefer to return to the three main Ultra-Orthodox urban centers: Jerusalem, Beney-Barak and Ashdod. It is also possible to assume that a substantial investments in developing Arab settlements in Israel (e.g. suitable housing, public services and open public spaces), that would meet the needs of the growing Palestinian middle-class, they would prefer to return to their hometowns. Yet, this temporariness is far from being certain, since immigration of families is very different from immigration based only on occupational conditions (which characterizes the international migration processes). Therefore, limiting it is highly unlikely (Orgad, 2015).

The 'Foster-City' enables and even encourages heterogeneity processes in Karmiel, making the city's space hybrid and liminal, while at the same time turning it to an object of abandonment. Regardless the awareness of the state and the municipality to the dramatic demographic, social and cultural changes, Karmiel is not officially recognized as a newly-mixed town. Daily life in the 'Foster City' challenge the utopian idea of the homogenous city, and at the same time the 'step-inhabitants' urge the city to redefine itself, demanding the officialdom to recognize the city as a formal newly-mixed town.

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Contemporary Israeli urban reality which stems from the different strata of urban diversity intensifies the contestations over urban space and urban identity and urban image. The presence of population groups which are considered as 'others' (e.g. Ultra-Orthodox and Palestinians who are Israeli citizens), and their spatial demands draw the public attention and provoke a profound public discourse. Particularly in towns and cities which were established during 1950s and 1960s as part of the National-Zionist project, urban diversity is most prominent. Increasing internal migration processes of such population groups indicate on a social-mix that is not directed, neither desirable by the officialdom. The 'Foster City' is a fait accompli, but is not yet accompanied by social cohesion between the different groups. Meanwhile, an undermined sense of belonging, lack of trust, disrespect, low recognition for the needs and preferences of the joining groups, and lack of desire for cooperation between them are more dominant than the actions and voices which implore for a shared and respectful city life. At the moment, urban diversity in Israel is not perceived as a potential but rather as an instigator of social problems. The ways in which urban conflicts are currently handled in Karmiel reflect the desire to oppress them or manage them by the law system, by political policy, by the housing market forces or by social movements but not as part of a comprehensive planning process. Such an attitude cannot reduce conflicts or mediate between the different and often contradicting spatial demands, rather, it might increase and even worsen them (Sorensen, 2014). As such, this attitude affects planning practice of which currently runs by default: fragmented and by an 'ad hoc' basis.

Karmiel as a 'Foster City', is an example of what is anticipated in the future, what is obviously ahead, as already happening in other cities across the world and especially in Europe. In the 'Foster City' the struggles over symbolic and spatial demands echo everywhere: at home, in the streets and neighborhoods and in the entire city. Nonetheless, the ´Foster City´ is an enabling space, providing for marginalized groups an opportunity to fulfill their civil rights: it reduces the supremacy of ethnic, religious, and socio-economic status, while allowing civic belonging to sprout. It is most probable, that the 'Foster City' will form the political discourse in Israel. As a consequence of the social interactions that have no explicit boundaries, the next generation will grow and hopefully determine the new 'Israeliness', in the civic dimension as well as in the spatial dimension.

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ID 1437 | PUBLIC SPACES AND URBAN CULTURE IN SAINT-LOUIS OF SENEGAL. DETERIORATION OR DISAPPEARANCE OF AN AFRICA´S UNESCO SITE

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1 INTRODUCTION

This paper collects some of the looks and thoughts arising within the framework of the project "Inter-university cooperation in the management of sustainable tourism between Cape Verde, Mauritania, Senegal and the Canary Islands". It is an activity that took place in the framework of the European project of "University institutional strengthening of the Canary Islands and Africa (Senegal-Mauritania - Cape Verde) space: SEMACA", which belongs to the European programme of cooperation transnational Madeira-Azores-Canary Islands (MAC 2007-2013). We will focus in the case of the city of Saint-Louis in Senegal, at the mouth of the Senegal[1] River, since its planning combines a historical past with strong French influence, with an urban morphology in grid and a building typology that has been awarded the recognition of world heritage of the UNESCO in the year 2000, in contrast to a peripheral urban growth out of the heritage area, where there is little control on its evolution.

The city of Saint-Louis has experienced an exponential growth in its population in recent years, which has generated a rapid urbanisation where the coalescence of buildings is completely uncontrolled. It urban crisis, reflecting an economic crisis and a crisis in the finances of the state, is marked by a decline in socio-economic indicators and a deterioration of living conditions and the health of its inhabitants, in a country where the management of cities is influenced by the predominant role of the State and its leader, standing over local authorities.

Our research is orientated towards the theory and technique of the transformation of the anthropogenic transformation of space based on spatial planning, which includes tourism, sustainability and landscape, understood as necessary elements for achieving social, economic and environmental balance.

[1] Senegal gained internal autonomy within the French West Africa (AOF) in 1958 becoming the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, and achieved independence in 1960.