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Address of the Editorial Office
University of Bucharest - Interdisciplinary Centre for Advanced Researches on Territorial Dynamics
030018, 4-12, Regina Elisabeta Blv., Bucharest, Romania
Tel/fax: 0040 213 138 410, e-mail office@cicadit.ro, http://www.jurareview.ro

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"Bridging Diversity in a Globalizing World"
Selected Papers given at the IGU - Urban Commission Meeting
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Guest editor:

Izhak SCHNELL
Tel Aviv University, Israel

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INTRODUCTION

This volume is a result of the efforts of the Urban Commission at the IGU (International Geographical Union) regional conference held at Tel Aviv on July 2010. About 50 papers have been presented in the conference focusing on a wide range of urban issues. The commission brings together scholars from about 30 countries in four continents in order to exchange ideas and stimulate research from a comparative perspective. This volume brings together six articles, which focus on the ways in which cities are dealing with challenges set by the era of globalization. Each paper deals with one case study but by bringing them together some comparative perspective is highlighted.

Three main issues are raised. The first one evaluates the connection of cities to the network society and how to maintain local memories in the landscape of global flows. Fijalkov asks how can urban planning respect and maintain local memory and narrative in urban planning. He analyses the struggle of a local community to influence the planning of Paris. Gonzalez and his associates show that Spanish cities were late to absorb ICT technologies like computers and Internet. Yet, disparities in levels of absorption are extremely high. Madrid, Barcelona and some of the young upper-middle class suburbs highly adopted the new technologies while other areas are far behind.

The second issue relates to aspects of the transition of cities from a communist to a post communist political milieu. Parysek goes one step further asking what types of policies can post communist cities adopt in order to take into consideration disadvantages institutionalized during the communist era on the one hand and meeting the EU regulations on the other hand? Ancuta studies the performance of a marginal area in post communist Romania comparing data for 1992 and 2002. She shows how disparities within the region are growing with the core of the area rapidly developing and the rest being left behind.

The third issue relates to the way cities confront social diversity increased by globalization. Processes like gentrification and the entrance of migrant workers increases social diversity in urban societies. Israel is a unique case in this sense as an immigrant society. Omer analyses the social areas in Tel-Aviv-Jaffa showing the growing heterogeneity of social areas and the increasing diversity between ethnicity and socio-economic statuses in the city since the sixties. Rozenholc penetrates into one of the more heterogeneous neighborhoods in Tel Aviv, which inhabits gentrifies, migrant workers and Israelis from different ethnicities. She reconstructs the social life emerging in such a neighborhood located in the back yard of the CBD as an example of such neighborhoods in many Western cities.

Two main challenges are set in most articles: the growing social diversity within the studied territorial units whether it is the state, the region or the city, and the growing gaps in development. These two challenges raise the question of social cohesiveness in these societies. Further study is required in order to develop effective policies to deal with these issues.

Izhak SCHNELL
Tel Aviv University, Israel

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URBAN STRATEGIES AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY. AN UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS MUNICIPALITY IN THE *GRAND PARIS* PROJECT

Yankel FIJALKOW
UMR LAVUE CNRS 7218, Paris, France

Abstract: This article proposes a theoretical point of view in order to show the importance of the collective memory and the urban narrative in the strategic approach of the urban project. The capacity of a municipality to build a local narrative joining the past, the memory and the project, is examined in the second part of the article, in a case study of a collectivity confronted with the project of the Grand Paris and strong socio-spatial transformation since 1950. The conclusions of thirty deep interviews, conducted on the people involved in the city organization allow to differentiate legitimated and rejected places in the spaces of remembering, and the difficulties of this kind of municipalities to be pro active in the Grand Paris project.

Key Words: *collective memory, urban planning, local narrative, social urban geography, cognitive geography.*

As the growing publications on *Memory Studies* mobilize a variety of disciplines (Erll, 2008) it interests as much geographers of culture as those who study town planning and territorial development. Indeed, as collective memory steads in "commemorative sites" (Nora, 1974), it is also present in the decision of planners.

How this dimension can be harmonized with strategic analysis, which is a foundation of urban studies? This article proposes a theoretical point of view and shows the importance of the urban narrative. The capacity of communities to build a local narrative joining the past, the memory and the project, as it will be shown in the second part of the article, is examined in a study of a municipality confronted with the project of the Grand Paris.

A cognitive and a strategic hypothesis about city planning policy

Territory's organization, location of amenities, construction and allocation of housing, transportation, treatment of neighborhoods and protecting the environment are classic subjects in a city planning policy. Although strongly supported by legal instruments, city planning policy is also seems to be based on implicit rules about the collective *modus operandi* and agreements between elected officials, technicians and users that allow for a analysis of "government of the city" (Gaudin, 1999). Theories have been developed to describe these different processes in the wake of Max Weber's groundbreaking research. In 1922, Weber described "conflicts of legitimacy" between social groups and professionals who wanted to gain total control over what he called the "urban political economy". By showing that a political logic existed in cities, Max Weber largely contributed to the debates of his time about the administrative and political autonomy of cities within the framework of the German state.

On another scale, we know, since Jones (1970), that public decision-making articulates the fit between the formulation and legitimization of solutions in a complex manner. As such, the first

sequence, which involves putting an issue on the “agenda” (which can be done by institutional agents, experts or non-profit groups), influences the second sequence, which is based on the actual solution. A decision is thus a collective process in which each actor has limited vision and thus partial rationality. This principle underpins the study of systems of action that depends on a plethora of interacting public and private actors; it justifies research into public action networks (that is, private/public, non-hierarchical coordination between organizations that are familiar with each other)which can constitute growth coalitions in cities that mobilize local political and economic elites (Logan and Molotch, 1997). Such multi-level public action configurations have flourished in the current context of the decline of the Welfare State; this has most affected local municipalities and NGOs (Atkinson and Coleman, 1989). But public actor networks which inevitably require regulation are also dependent on the use of legal and material resources, knowledge and representations of their territories. The notion of a “public policy referential” is meant to bring together values, representations, arguments and public policy projects (Muller, 1990). To better understand them, we need to combine a cognitive approach and a strategic approach.

The cognitive approach, which consists in inventorying the “stock of knowledge” of the actors, is connected to the collective memory (Berger and Luckman, 1966) : what the actors know, what they remember. It defines itself in opposition with the history as a social wave, which realizes the memories of the group. It gives it cohesion and identity (Halbwachs, 1925). In the city, the collective memory reflects the recognition of the social groups and their capacity to appropriate their territory. It constitutes an important stake, in particular in the context of the post fordist city and globalization, strengthening the economy of leisure, exchanges and migrations, identical mechanisms and attractiveness of cities (Florida, 2003).

The strategic approach, inspired by the sociology and geography of organizations, is based on the principle that “actors” get autonomy of decision inside their “margin of action”. This theory, which emphasizes the "zone of uncertainty" of each, includes strategies of individuals and local groups (Hassard, 1995).

Urban narratives

What is the role of narrative, and more specifically of a narrative based on collective memory, in the creation of a system of action? Is the memory of cities a resource for collective action? Decisions to erase builts – by voluntarily burying or demolishing them – and moves to rehabilitate or renovate them are the result of the shared desire of local groups. The memory of cities exists through the *marks* and the *traces* of local actors; these cannot be physically erased since they are no longer labile. They are expressed through narratives, slogans, photographs, film sequences and buildings. We can identify cities that are “*full of traces and marks*”, that have been molded by social and spatial changes and are accustomed to the perpetual transformation of their destiny: they are composed of a diverse array of buildings and social groups which reactivate the memory of places. At the opposite end of the spectrum are *cities without memory*, which, like new towns or planned cities, have trouble, finding their place in the present and the future.

Indeed, given that politics mobilizes the past and uses it for its own ends, the *policy of memory* is an urban policy for the present. And yet, while the traditional functions of the city (safety, supply, solidarity) are exercised by certain categories of legitimate citizens, who among them has sufficient legitimacy to impose a narrative that embodies collective memory and a project? It is common to see numerous groups come together to lay down marks in the city at the site of labile traces that are threatened with being forgotten or by the existence of adverse groups.

Yet, those *traces*, which become *marks*, are those which have meaning for the collective memory of contemporary actors. As such, the contemporary territory of a neighborhood or a city can appear in the form of spaces of prime importance, spaces of attachment, spaces of detachment or rejected spaces which connect the past to the present, strategies and representations.

Over the past few years, city planners have begun to show an interest in urban narratives. Walter Benjamin's *The passageways of Paris* (1939) are of interest to them since they illustrate how cities were competiting over their image even in the first half of the 20th century (Keith, 2008). For example, the Great Exhibition of 1851 presented London as a city of power, tolerance and consumption. This narrative established a symbolic order which expressed itself through cards, texts and artistic creation. Such narratives have the power to define what exists and what does not. Some North American authors have drawn parallels between the importance of urban narratives and that of the memory of ethnic minorities (Hayden, 1995).

As such, the types of artistic expression that tell the story of a city are particularly strategic. Vanolo (2007) has underscored their importance in the context of the Post-Fordist city, connected to the emergence of a creative social class. The latter is less connected to institutional and industrial economic structures than to the development of values presented as positive by a dominant culture: multiculturalism, tolerance, respect for nature. The narrative of these global cities involves promoting the work of famous architects and of creating buzz about the city based on events, and notably through circulating images of public space that show groups that illustrate open-mindedness and tolerance. As such, the old French industrial city of Saint-Etienne, which is currently mired in economic crisis and torn between "*productivists*" and "*creatives*", has found a way to unite different social groups through the promotion of an industrial design (Dormois, 2007). And so we may consider that *urban narratives* can express a city's *spatial frame of reference*, meaning contemporary ways of thinking that are inherited from the past, and ways of thinking about the future according to values and norms shared by social groups.

A high middle class municipality in the Grand Paris project

We will test the notion of urban narrative on a large city in the Greater Paris Ile-de-France region (85,000 inhabitants, the 51st largest city in France) by showing how its collective memory, which is connected to its social composition, structures its relationship with the *Grand Paris* urban renewal project. Our research is based on thirty in-depth interviews conducted with the local elites (elected officials, public service directors, people in charge of non-profit groups) tasked with plotting the City's future direction. In order to help construct a local project within the context of the *Grand Paris* project, we asked departmental heads, elected officials, people in charge of non-profit groups and local historians to describe and tell us the relevant memory of the city and its places. Besides these interviewes treated qualitatively, we conducted with half of them "commented itineraries" consisting in visiting and recording their words on the portions of the city and the memories sites who appear significant. In this article we present a synthesis of the most wide spread quotations which reflect the social environment of the active persons in the city[1)]. How can the municipality of Courbevoie positions itself in terms of its unity, centrality and future? What can collective memory contribute to a project that integrates all of these aspects? These questions concern closely this municipality inserted into specific spatial constraints, inherited from its history. *First*, this city is located in the extension of the

1) The quoted places reflect at least two thirds of the interviews. We reported in this text the most illustrative extracts of interviews in a quantitative and a qualitative point of view.

large thoroughfare which runs from the Louvre to La Défense and along another Royal Road (less well-known as it cuts through poor areas) which runs from Saint-Denis (the *Tombeaux des rois de France* - royal tombs) to Versailles. In the latter direction, Courbevoie belongs to the working class municipalities along the river which were industrialized in the early 20th century (Saint-Denis, Villeneuve, Asnières, Puteaux). In the other direction lie the affluent municipalities of Western Paris such as Neuilly for example. As we see in the map 1. below, the city of Courbevoie is thus transected by external traffic flows which sub-divides it into heterogeneous neighborhoods: the neighborood of "Becon" is cut off by the Boulevard de Verdun and La Défense is delimited by the belt highway *(boulevard circulaire*) to give only the two most striking examples.

Fig. 1- **Localization of Courbevoie in the Ile de France Region**
Source : Aerial view (CNES), Ile de France Region (IGN)[2)]

Second, this municipality is identified with the business district La Défense, both an incursion on the landscape and a source of revenue. Courbevoie's centrality was modified at the start of the 1960s when the La Défense was created. The French government initiated the operation in an attempt to palliate the lack of office space in Paris and make the French capital a *"truly global city"*. In September 1958, the government created the Development Authorities of La Défense (*EPAD*) to build, to manage, and to rejuvenate the sector; the project was imposed on local municipalities through an aggressive strategy. As such, *EPAD*'s partners were the French government and the municipalities of Puteaux and Courbevoie, which had right-leaning local governments. The first buildings, including the Esso tower and the Nobel tower, were built in the following years and slowly replaced the engineering and automobile factories, the neighboring shantytowns and a few farms. The French President inaugurated the Center of New Industries and Technologies (CNIT) in 1958. The French government in 1964 approved an initial development plan. It was modified at the start of the 1970s to increase the scope of built surface space. The "La Défense district" extends over a large pedestrian mall of 31 hectares that is raised above natural ground level. It is shared by the municipalities of Puteaux and Courbevoie and is surrounded by a long, one-way belt highway.

This large office park includes 3 million square meters of office space, 600 000m² of housing, a shopping center, 180 000 employees (of which 80 000 work in Courbevoie) and 20 000

2) CNES: Centre Nationale d'Etudes Spatiales. IGN: Institut Géographique National

inhabitants (of which 10 000 live in Courbevoie). In 2010, *EPAD* was merged with the development authority for Seine-Arche (*EPASA*), which was formed by the communist municipality of Nanterre in order to conduct a global project on one of the major territories of the *Grand Paris* project. As such, starting in the 1960s, the French government imposed a new structure and created a complex relationship between three municipalities whose goals differed. For Courbevoie, La Défense has meant a rupture in the territory, but also a source of tax revenue from the business taxes paid by companies based on their turnover. Indeed, such taxes represent more than half of local tax revenue but this has not prevented Courbevoie from setting taxation at rates two times below the national average.

Third, the former working class municipality has fastly become a high middle class locality, what differentiates it to the close municipalities remained popular as Nanterre.

In Courbevoie in the 1960s, industrial activity was shared between precision engineering (automobile, aviation) and large perfume laboratories. These activities gradually disappeared in the thirty years after World War two and were replaced by service industries. Following the La Défense operation, housing prices soared alongside office real estate prices. A strong demographic shift occurred putting the working class population in the minority within a few decades (less than 10% in 2000 compared to 48% in 1954) while well-off professionals and socio-professional categories increased significantly (39% in 2000, compared to less than 8% in 1954). Although the presence of a middle class has limited the risk of social polarization (Préteceille, 2005), such rapid transformation has nonetheless represented a veritable gentrification, meaning the replacement of less well-off social categories by wealthier ones, a shift in the working population from the primary sector to the tertiary sector, an increase in the percentage of home owners (22% in 1962, 29% in 1982 and 42% in 2000), and a certain degree of social mix judging from the distribution of professional categories in different sub-neighborhoods (see the diagram).

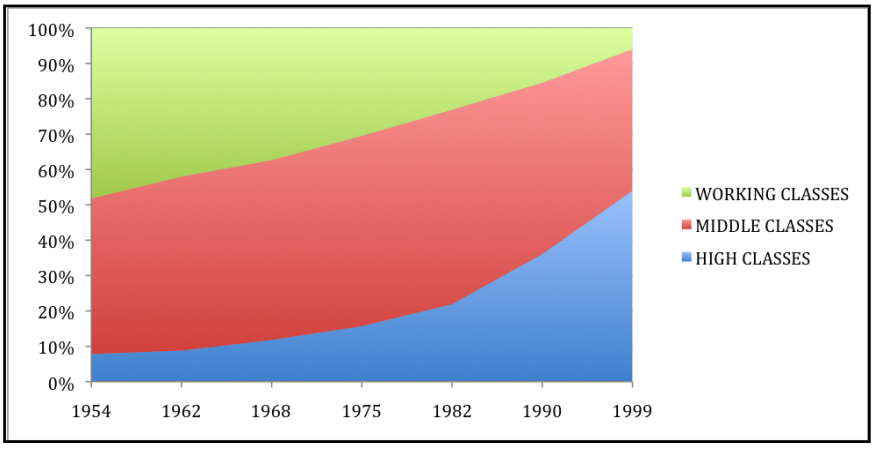

Fig.2 **- Social status of population in activity (1954-2000)**[3)]
(Sources: census of population, retrospective datas)

3) **High classes**: liberal professions, senior executives, business managers. **Middle classes**: employed, middle managers, storekeepers, intermediate occupations. **Working class**: workers, staffs of services

We should add, however, that even if Courbevoie include nearly 20% social housing (a requirement in France since 2000[4]) and 42% of privately-owned homes, mixed sectors with both social housing and owned (or mortgaged) homes are rare.

Fourth, Courbevoie became the 5th densest city in France; this is visible from the height of its high-rise apartment buildings. Between 1954 and 2000, there was a vigorous renewal of built infrastructure. Only a small percentage of houses built before 1871 remains; those built after 1949 now represent about three quarters of housing. The uncomfortable dwellings without indoor plumbing that counted over 40% of dwellings in 1954 are now only about 3%. Furnished rooms, which were facets of working class housing, especially for single immigrant workers, dropped from nearly 6% of dwellings in 1962 to an insignificant number in 2000. Due to its proximity to La Défense, Courbevoie was extremely sought after by private developers in the 1960s, who often took a *tabula rasa* approach and advocated planning based on slabs and towers. The municipality sets up financial partnerships with developers within the scope of local government planning projects. This trend has made the few remaining pre-war buildings, especially the detached houses – which make up about 3.7% of main residences according to the census – really stand out. But, as we shall see, these buildings have now become highly prized by the city's elites.

All theses factors product a strong spatial division into very individualized neighborhoods**.** In Courbevoie, according inhabitants, the roads that dissect the territory delimit the neighborhoods. They are also identified according to the city's points of entry.

- The La Défense residential neighborhood is cut off by the raised pedestrian area and the belt highway. It is accessible via the Paris subway and RER commuter train.
- A new neighborhood called the *Faubourg de l'Arche* was built on industrial land for wealthier social categories working in La Défense. It is clearly delimited by a boulevard undergoing renovation and a tramway line under construction.
- One of the oldest neighborhoods is Becon, accessible by a train station that is five minutes from Paris. This neighborhood is old, traditional middle class and is delimited by a true clearing in the city.
- Morever there is lower Courbevoie which also has a train station. It is a former working class district that has been completely transformed by high-rise buildings, municipal offices and a shopping center built in the 1960s with already obsolete slab architecture. This district is a neighborhood by default since there is no actual center.

In this context, what are the influential local groups on the urban policy? In fact, the distribution of influential local groups is a reflection of the city's landscape: the new economic base of the municipality includes people who work in the financial sector at La Défense. These groups embody values such as efficiency and profitability. They are part of a globalized social class that, when interested, use public services as customers. The way they use the city pays little attention to its memory. At the opposite, the traditional base, connected to the municipal government, reflects the established traditional high middle class (advocates, doctors, business managers, trading bourgeoisie) and is well represented in the Becon neighborhood[5]. It favors a paternalistic approach to managing the city. The public housing office and leisure and social

4) According to the article 55 of the law Solidarity and Renewal Urbain (2000), municipalities of more than 3500 inhabitants have to contain at least 20 % of social housing on their territories.

5) Since 1945, the municipal majority is situated to the right of the political scene. In the last municipal elections the party Union for the Presidential Majority win 58,7 % of the votes.

services offer personalized service to residents based on a relationship of proximity that is surprising for a city with 85 000 inhabitants. The La Défense operation was imposed on this group and it negotiated the various real estate operations that radically transformed the city.

A strategic position in the *Grand Paris* project

Since it is linked to La Défense, Courbevoie is also subject to the *Grand Paris* project that aims to transform the Paris urban agglomeration into a large global metropolis. The project was the focus of a highly mediatized international tender for architectural ideas. Concretely, it corresponds to the government's creation of a transportation network connecting the major economic poles around Paris (Fig.2 below). A company called the *Société du Grand Paris* was created to build a new automated subway in the Paris suburbs.

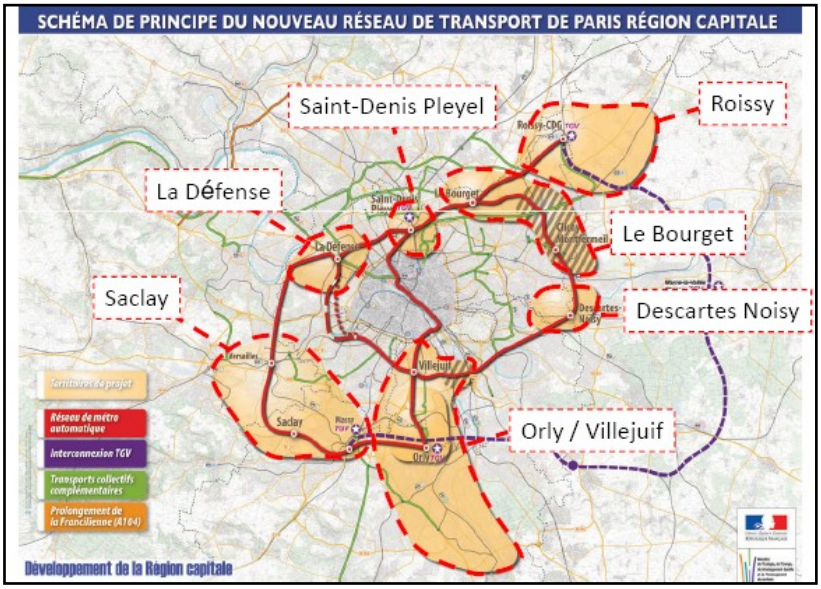

Fig. 2 - **Grand Paris master Plan : Courbevoie is on the financial cluster for La Défense**
(Source : Law report on the Grand Paris, may 2010)
http://www.le-buzz-immobilier.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/le-grand-paris-transports.jpg

At the institutional level, the government's *Grand Paris* project will merge Paris and the inner suburbs' administrative *départements* in line with the desire for legislative municipal reform. This scheme is in opposition to *Paris Métropole*, which is a joint association that includes the City of Paris, the Ile-de-France region and several dozen local authorities in the agglomeration which tend to have left-leaning local governments. It also opposes the Ile-de-France region's new outline development plan (*SDRIF*), also backed by the opposition. Financially speaking, the project could result in a better distribution of business taxes between municipalities; this is a problem for cities that have benefited from La Défense since its creation, including Courbevoie, which has many public services and low housing taxes. Talks about this are ongoing. Recently, the government-appointed Secretary of State in charge of development in the Greater Paris Area (meaning the person is a quasi-minister) suggested the creation of major economic poles

around Paris, as well as the creation of a primary transportation network for *Grand Paris* that would connect the poles to the airports, high-speed train stations and downtown Paris. This Secretary of State has also called for the creation of a public authority in charge of development, city planning and the creation of competitive "clusters", e.g., a "scientific cluster" for the Saclay plateau[6)] and a "financial cluster" for La Défense.

Overall, the municipality of Courbevoie supports the *Grand Paris* project that allows the La Défense operation to continue: *"without economic growth, there is no distribution"* said a municipal councilor from the majority who also admitted that "*La Défense does not need to be more connected to its environment*" and who advocated "*local city planning*". It appears that although the municipality wants to continue deriving benefit from La Défense, it no longer wants to be subjected to it as it was in the three decades following World War Two. It has been cautious about government policy which, since 2000, has tended to reduce the number of local municipalities in France and promote municipal consolidation. Another municipal leader said, "*Courbevoie has begun consolidation work with Puteaux and is involved in strategic thinking with five other municipalities in the département*". The terms have been cautiously set out.

It express the behalf of the traditional local political group of Courbevoie, supporting the governmental project and by way the maintain of an economic position within the Parisian conglomération (La Defense's compagnies and the sharp rises of the real estate prices[7)]) leading to the replacement of the old owners by more fortunate, young households (Monteiro, 2010). But the risk of a "disappearance" within the Grand Paris project and the "explosion" of the city in several different entities worry the elected representatives. Courbevoie traditional population is worried about its "*deterritorialization"*, meaning its ability to control dynamics across its territory. So, the actions of town planning consist so much in strengthening the dynamics registering Courbevoie in the Grand Paris where to rediscover a long time forgotten heritage. These two options reflect the memory of a compulsory town planning.

A transected city, an inheritance of an imposed town planning

Negative narrative illustrates a kind of fatalism about the city's bygone days. With regard to past urban renewal projects, we often heard that "Courbevoie was subjected to La Défense" and that the construction of public housing "was imposed by La Défense to re-house the population". Similarly, a person elected in the 1960s stated that, "We could not really tell what the blueprints and models were going to become", which highlights their fatalism as an elected official without any critical means of confronting the engineers. More recently, the city had to accept the closure of popular public services for financial reasons, such as medical clinics and the maternity ward which structured Courbevoie's territory. "People are no longer having babies in Courbevoie", declared the person in charge of social work who saw in this fact the city's inevitable demise. Such rhetoric also reflects a representation of the city as fractured and riven with outside elements such as the Faubourg de l'Arche neighborhood and public housing high-rise apartment buildings. The residents of the former are of higher social status and are perceived as "demanding", "consumerist", "intrusive" and "participatory", "demanding efficient management methods from the private sector" and "able to vote with their feet" (and leave the city), which increases the pressure they can exert and the local government's efforts to try and keep them. Inhabitants of social housing are viewed with the traditional distrust shown for poor populations. People often forget that they have lived in Courbevoie for several generations and are sometimes those who were re-housed by the La Défense project. Thus, there is a

6) In the Paris's Region this place is occupied by a High scientific research park.

7) This study on real estate shows an evolution of the number of sales : 42 % in five years. The average price was 2100€ / m^2 in 2000, and doubled to reach 3900€/m^2 in 2005.

supposedly “real Courbevoie” alongside these outside elements. It is in the context of representing this “real Courbevoie” that the municipal majority group has been considering implementing a local zoning plan intended to provide a real measure of control over the territory.

In the same way, many people stated that Courbevoie is particularly renowned for the high number of house moves which are proof of the population’s trouble settling down. However, census data compared to the neighboring 92 département tend to put this information in perspective. It seems above all that the 1500 house moves per year based on moving authorizations requested from the city’s technical services department reflect major moves by families, most often home owners, rather than young couples and students. And yet, even if the idea of mobile inhabitants needs to be qualified, it nonetheless influences development plans. Indeed, Courbevoie is often seen as a “transected city that lacks unity”: transected by populations that do not settle down, and transected by automobile flows that also come from outside.

As the impression of a transected city, where household move a lot, the vision of a city divided by districts and by social housing block (in particular in the city center) participates in the feeling of a *lack of identity*. This perception often returns in the history of the city. But while it concerns in 1970s very precise social housing block, it corresponds in 2000, to the sector of the Faubourg de l’Arche, recently built. As we have mentioned, many people are worried that the neighborhood is not part of the rest of the city and is totally identified with La Défense. We were told that, “many residents in this neighborhood do not realize that they live in Courbevoie”. “They do not attend the meetings organized by the municipality.” And, “the construction of a tramway line risks separating the neighborhood from the rest of the city…”

Futuristic and passeist answers

The answers to this imposed town planning consist at once in integrating the offices high rise towers of La Defense by getting closer to the futuristic model of Grand Paris and to refocus on the mythical inheritance of the former housing stock.

The first approach led to widespread establishment of new high rise towers along the belt highway, compelling large multinational firms to acquire an address and a public entrance on the street (a concept that had disappeared from modernist discourse). But it has also conversely resulted in the construction of two residential high-rise buildings for extremely high-income families near Neuilly bridge (the Hermitage towers, main contractor: Skenderov; architect: Foster); this has meant that poor families living in public housing have had to move out. This project is part of the government’s “financial cluster” idea. There is a risk that the extremely high real estate prices associated with this operation will attract other very high income groups and that the project will have a knock-on effect on prices in the ordinary local market. Yet this detail seems to matter little compared to “the beauty” of the project which symbolically marks the entrance to Courbevoie. Similarly, the Phare tower project (architect: Tom Mayne) was announced in 2009 by the French President to inaugurate the renewal of La Défense. It is currently the subject of heated debate due its 350m height and the environmental problems it will create. But it is located in the neighboring municipality of Puteaux, and opinions are divided in Courbevoie, including among the municipal majority group. The municipality has not overtly intervened with the neighboring mayor, but has discretely encouraged its inhabitants to express their opinion during the public enquiry preceding the granting of a building permit.

This strategic position has also resulted in the rediscovery of old buildings and almost

accidentally of the green corridor. Oddly, while the city has been profoundly modernized and contains very few old buildings, local leaders have become very interested in the city's built heritage. Around 1980, a former elected municipal official active during the period of urban renovation published a postcard album about old Courbevoie. In 2000, the director of the Mayor's office published a book on the "Spirit of Courbevoie". Furthermore, the city has multiplied the number of guidebooks in which there is a catalogue of remaining old buildings. Guided tours are available. And yet at the planning level, the city has never taken any active measures to protect or save its heritage. It was not until a small group of residents (composed of architects, artists and intellectuals) from the small, privately-owned houses located extremely near La Défense legally attacked the zoning plan that the municipality agreed to protect their area. This compromise needs to be kept in perspective, but it nonetheless marked a change in attitude compared to the former municipality that would never have accepted a compromise that challenged the modernity of La Défense.

A map of collective memory, legitimate or not

The desire to more effectively control city planning has strengthened the city's awareness of its heritage. When we ask the local actors, six places (more often called *places* than *spaces*) are unanimously presented to be the *legitimate memory* of the city. Their common characteristics consist in their prestige because of their localization, and their link with the national and social history, often connected in Paris, as the capital city.

- The Becon garden is located in the city's old middle class district; it is where fragments of the city's memory remain (the pediment of the former fire station, pavilions from the Paris Universal Exposition);
- The Pont de l'Aigle bridge (commemorating the transfer of Napoleon's ashes);
- The library built by Garnier (architect of the Paris Opera house);
- The former town hall, with paintings representing the Seine and Neuilly, as seen from Courbevoie;
- The Saint-Pierre Saint-Paul church, the only church to have been built by the French Revolution;
- The sports stadium built in the 1920s and recently classified as a Historical Monument by the French government. It is nonetheless disparaged for its "Stalinist architecture", probably because of the slightly left-leaning orientation of the mayor at the time.

The issue raised by the stadium is telling. Indeed, interest in the city's heritage is selective, notably regarding things that represent the municipality's working class past. Of course the elites (including an elected official who was a former boilermaker) remember the renovation and industrial zones and working class housing zones present at the start of the 1960s. They are even "nostalgic for the worker solidarity that reigned in Courbevoie", as one of them said. But this recollection has very little concrete basis today despite some elements still present in the landscape.

As such, during our interviews, the so-called Habitation Bon Marché[8)] built in the 1920s and 1930s in rose-colored brick are not included in the heritage discourse due to the population that lives there, which is perceived as "foreign" to the municipality. And yet Courbevoie's official guidebooks promote this type of architecture so the notion of heritage that should unite all inhabitants actually does the opposite and divides them.

8) «Cheap housing»: former appelation of the social housing before 1950.

In the same way, local leaders who want to give Courbevoie back a real downtown area (and not a simple modern market center we know today) do not make any connection between the loss of centrality and the transfer of the open-air market, which was the backbone of popular sociability.

As such, the collective memory of Courbevoie is composed of legitimate elements – marks – which identify it among the well-off Western Paris municipalities, and of relatively discreet traces which are the basis of its continuity with neighboring more working class municipalities such as Nanterre and Puteaux.

Conclusions

Within the scope of a cognitive and strategic study of public policy, the case of Courbevoie seems to clearly reflect the weight of memory in establishing a city project. Indeed, although the city of Courbevoie that presented itself as the city of *"perfumes and precision engineering"*[9] has disappeared, a municipality that ignores its collective memory and its continuity with the surrounding municipalities will be unable to develop a project that has the backing of its inhabitants. If the surrounding municipalities are not taken into account, the risk of *deterritorialization,* against which elected officials are reacting in attempting to develop a policy of negotiated control over city planning, may drift towards "museum-ification": i.e., strict regulation of the conditions under which the city and its heritage evolve.

On a theoretical level, it is obvious that even in the futuristic context of Grand Paris, urban narratives are kept up by local groups and continue to weigh heavily on the present. This confirms the relevance of crossing the cognitive approach (what the actors know, what they remember) and a strategic analysis, in particular the best-settled local group. For urban geographers it's important to notice that local identity turns out fragile when it leans on a space of legitimate memory arousing more divisions than cohesion. But in the context of competition between cities and big projects urban as that of the Big Paris, this dimension seems to be minor.

At least, it is a pity that collective memory was not incorporated into the broad consultation process on the future of Grand Paris. But we may understand why.

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ICT INEQUALITIES IN THE SPANISH URBAN SYSTEM

Ruben Camilo Lois GONZALEZ, *Jose Carlos Macia* ARCE,
Francisco Jose Armas QUINTA
University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Abstract: In the current Information Society cities enjoy a privileged position when it comes to transport and communication infrastructures. The post-industrial society has brought with it a notable change, changing from an economy based on the production of merchandise to another based on the production of services. The metropolitan areas act as key areas and markets for predominant sectors, such as finance and specialised services for business. In another way, big cities fulfil new roles in the global economy of the Information society, operating as command points in the world economy. They bring equipment together highly-qualified workers, they are big information and knowledge consumers and have been able to reinvent themselves, changing from industrial to cultural cities. They are, as well, ideal areas for big telecommunication companies and they are, for this reason, those who most benefit from information and communication technology. An important social area difference has then been introduced, with respect to other urban areas of lesser importance, or rather, with respect to rural areas that stay on the margin of the new technology revolution. In this context, it is right to ask what is happening in Spain. Why are ICT inequalities happening in Spain? Are there urban system differences before the arrival of the Information Society? Can it be said that Spanish urban areas are consolidated in the Information Society? In this article we try to outline the reality of the immersion the Information Society in the Spanish urban system, and, in the same way, bring to light a new idea of 'Digital Divide', amongst those sectors of the population that make the most of all or a great part of the potential new technology offers and those that limit themselves to using the most basic functions, such as looking up information and using communication.

Key Words: *ICT equipment, Information Society, urban system, Spain*

Introduction. New urban context in the information society

The technological revolution which started at the beginning of 1970 gave rise to a new type of society. This technological revolution could be compared to the importance of new sources of energy in the Industrial Revolution, which received different names according to the authors. Castells (2000) defines it as a Net Society or Information Society; Bell (1976) refers to it as a Post-industrial Society, meanwhile other authors such as Serra (1999) calls it a Knowledge Society. Toffler (1996) called this phase "the third wave", suggesting that it would be as important as the previous revolutions. The concept of a Post-industrial Society referred to by Bell (1976) makes reference to the changes in social structure and to the way in which the economy and job market is being transformed. In this new society, companies, limited companies and other types of organisations build networks (Castells, 2000). From these new activities emerge new economies and industries (Mattelart, 2002) which notably increase employment, although this means the destruction of repetitive and bureaucratic jobs.

The transition from the Industrial Society to the Information Society has meant, in an economic aspect, the change from factory work to service work and from physical work to mental work (Fukuyama, 2000). For the first time in history, the human brain has a direct productive strength and not only a decisive element in the production system (Castells, 2000). In the Information

Society the production is worldwide and the information technology is cheap, thus enabling the movement of information and financial transactions across national borders (Veltz, 1999; Castells, 2000).

With the arrival of the Internet, space-time relationship has narrowed more than ever. There was a rise at work and authors such as Cairncross talked about “The End of Distance”, “The Death of Distance”, “A World without Distances”, “Virtual Space”, “The Virtual Community”, or “Cyberspace”. All of them conclude that we are witnessing a large global opening with the creation of information flow with economic, political, social and cultural communication within a large worldwide net (Short and Kim, 1999). Nowadays, the Internet is the backbone of global communications through the computer, which at the same time connects millions of computer networks including the whole spectre of human communication (Castells, 2000). The development of the Internet not only has a large economic repercussion but also a social and cultural one which has given rise to a large amount of research on its origins and its consequences. Authors such as Serra Hurtado (1999) say that the Internet is the infrastructure for the knowledge society that is about to be designed and built. But the telecommunication infrastructures are not a solution to promote development processes alone (Malecki, 2003; Grimes, 2000), qualified personnel who can make the most of these technologies is necessary. For Serra Hurtado (1999) the challenge will be to know what is to be put in this infrastructure and which society will be developed on this platform. At the same time he asks for a study into whether this new type of society is to be planned, is to be spontaneous, or if it is just to make an impact on that rising society.

In the industrial society, information, technology and knowledge were exclusive to advanced nations, mainly concentrated in the big metropolis and important capitals. When it comes to the information society this situation changes in some aspects, being those of smaller size entities or even those on the rural outskirts having access to huge amounts of information that can generate knowledge and, at the same time, promote development processes. In the same way, the information society can mean a new opportunity for less developed areas and it can also increase the preexistent socioeconomic differences in the industrial age. The unplanned broadcasting boom of the information society generated large areas and social masses unimpressed by the Internet and therefore unaware of the profits and opportunities on offer. In this process the big cities and spaces nearby maintain a hegemonic position in the information society in respect to the small urban centres and rural spaces.

The first phase of the spread of information and communication technology development was in the urban areas (Gutiérrez Puebla, 1998). The arrival of telecommunications is creating a new urban hierarchy led by metropolitan areas with a higher capability to receive and process information (Moss, 1987). It must also be borne in mind that the Internet requires the minimum of infrastructure and this is usually provided by private telecommunication companies which only act in spaces associated to active markets and economic profitability. In this way, the telecommunication market decides which territories are connected to the Internet and which are not. All of this brings with it a large territorial and social breakdown known as “The Digital Gap”. This is the exclusion of some communities in the information society. The areas and social groups which are excluded from this emerging society are present in underdeveloped countries as well as developed countries, in rural and urban areas. Sassen (2005) points out that, apart from the Digital Gap, another division in cyberspace is between the populations that have high speed access to the Internet and those who only have a slow Internet connection. Nowadays, this fact stops these social groups having access to most services provided by the net, conditioning its use, and, at the same time, the development of some activities that can favour development processes, such as working from home or electronic commerce. Lastly,

there is a social group that, in spite of having Internet access, do not use it correctly due to either an insufficient knowledge of how to use the Internet or because they do not find it useful, and, in some cases, for both reasons. Education of the population is therefore necessary if there is to be absolute immersion in the information society as well as information on the opportunities available.

In the current framework of the technology revolution and the technology and communication diffusion process, it is worth mentioning the new functions that are being carried out for the organisation of the world economy in large cities. For Sassen (2003, 2005), the big cities are exercising a strategic function due to the growing globalisation of the economy, operating as command points for the world economy. These cities exercise as key places and markets for the predominant sectors, such as finance and the specialised business services. Sassen names these metropolis “Global Cities” for concentrating on highly important resources and where predominant sectors exercise a highly important influence on economic and social order in these settlements. The spread of factories, with some being situated in small urban centres or rural areas thanks to information and communication technology, requires executive management and centralised control from global cities. The rapid growth of the finance sector and specialised services not only generates employment for the highly qualified but also the lowly qualified due to the demand for services from a society with purchasing power (domestic services, cleaning, etc).

In this respect Castells (2000) considers that the global city is a process more than a place. In said process, the production centres and advanced consumer services and local subsidiary associations connect on a global network by way of information flow. According to this author, the global city phenomenon cannot be just reduced to urban centres with a high level of hierarchy. It is a process that implies advanced services, production centres and global network markets, with differing intensity and on different levels. Within each country the network architecture is rendered in regional and local centres, to which effect the system as a whole becomes interconnected on a global scale. For Castells, some of the motives gather the most advanced services in these metropolises. It is the production centres based on information where headquarters of large companies and advanced firms can find both suppliers and a highly qualified workforce. On the other hand, these large firms make big investments when settled in a place and so do not relocate as a result. But also in these spaces there is a considerable sector in the population living in poverty and thereby excluded from the technology revolution and the information society. The most significant thing about these big cities is that they are connected with the outside through global networks and stay disconnected with the inner population that is functionally unnecessary.

From these theoretical and introductory considerations, in this present article a brief diagnosis in the state of diffusion of the information society in the Spanish urban system is carried out through basic equipment indicators and the use of information and communication technology. It is an analysis of ICT equipment and Internet connection in households as well as the use by part of the population in relation to the size of the settlement, with the aim of valuing the state of the implantation of the information society in the Spanish urban area. At the same time, the intention is to research towards a new understanding of the related Digital Gap on the one hand, with those social masses that have unused Internet access, either through a lack of training or because no real use is seen for it or, on the other hand, with groups which, even with already being Internet users, only use the most basic functions, thus forgetting the advanced services the Internet has to offer and can offer, as well as offering a better quality of life for inhabitants, it also promotes economic and social development processes on peripheral areas.

Methodological notes

In order to carry out this analysis, sources that provide data on ICT equipment in homes were consulted, as well as inhabitant's access to the Internet. Among them is the survey on equipment and use of information and communication technology in the home which was carried out by the National Statistics Institute (INE); the records provided by the statistics office of the European Union (Euro stat); reports on e-España, published from 2007 by the Orange Foundation, The Media General Study (EGM) which was carried out by the Association for the Research of Media (AIMC), specifically the reports on "Internet Audience" and "Net Surfers".

With the objective of studying the diffusion level of information and communication technology in the Spanish urban system, data from these sources on equipment and the use of information and communication technology in the home from the National Statistics Institute were used. The said survey provides data on equipment and use of ICT according to the size of the councils with the following detailed division: Councils with more than 100,000 inhabitants and province capitals, councils with between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, councils with between 20,000 and 50,000 inhabitants, councils with between 10,000 and 20,000 inhabitants and councils with less than 10,000 inhabitants. Based on the proposed objective, the data provided by this survey was clustered into only three groups. Those councils with more than 100,000 inhabitants and province capitals, representing the biggest urban groups, taking into account the capital's demographic size for each province; councils with between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, which correspond to medium-sized cities; and lastly, councils with between 10,000 and 50,000 inhabitants which would cluster the least important urban groups. The areas with less than 10,000 inhabitants were dismissed for not being considered urban, according to the criterion used by the National Statistics Institute and, for that reason, excluded from our study.

In order to carry out an equipment diagnosis and the use of information and communication technology in the Spanish urban system five indicators were taken; three of them corresponding to ICT equipment in the home, the percentage of homes with computer, the percentage of homes with broadband Internet connection. The other two indicators refer to the use of information and communication technology of inhabitants between 16 and 74 years old, giving information on the number of people who used the net and shoppers on the net in the last three months, with relative values. The reason for choosing these last two indicators is due to the interest in knowing the type of use inhabitants make with these technological tools and to see the level of their potential use. In a parallel way, two more indicators were added resulting from the data provided by the ICT equipment survey and its use in the home, the real and potential users of computers and the Internet. These two indicators give interesting additional information for the study of the use of ICT, because they provide information on the population who do not use this type of equipment even when having access to it, either because they do not have adequate knowledge or because they do not find it useful. Therefore, we see a new concept of the Digital Gap generated by a social mass which has the correct equipment for the information society, but does not take part in it. To obtain data, an estimate of the average number of inhabitants between 15 and 74 was made so that they could be compared with computers users and the net. There is a small difference which does not coincide with the population extract that INE uses for the computer users and the net (from 16 to 74), but unfortunately it has not been possible to adapt data to make quinquennial groups of age to estimate demographic household volume. To calculate the real and potential users of the Internet and to keep the objective of comparing them to home net users, only the data referring to the use of the net from home was taken. At the same time these figures enable us to discover the volume of population who has access to the net from different places to home. If

we cross these figures with the number of homes with broadband Internet connection, the population's possible infrastructure demand in a particular territory can be known, if there is a high percentage of inhabitants with outside Internet access with a low percentage of broadband use. These last two variables are only calculated in autonomous communities in order to complete the analysis; this is due to the difficulties in obtaining population data by quinquennial age groups in accordance with council sizes.

ICT equipment in the home

In order to study the equipment for information and communication technology in the home in Spanish urban areas, three basic indicators were analysed: the presence of computers in the home, Internet access and broadband installation, which guarantees the quality of most Internet services.

Nowadays, the computer has become an essential tool and is present in the majority of human activity. Its applications are as varied as they are complex, going from the control of a cash register, tasks from home such as net access, pedagogical resources developed for education, to supercomputers used in science to carry out complex mathematical calculations. Just a few years old, this tool has had a big diffusion in society, companies, institutions and different associations. But, nowadays, there are parts of society who are at a disadvantage with new technologies and disconnected from its emergence.

In reference to the presence of the computer in the home, Spain is around the average for the European Union 15 (64%), but if the European Union 27 is taken its position improves because the average goes down to 60%, according to data published by Euro stat for 2009. But, in spite of this, Spain has big differences between autonomous communities and settlement sizes. When referring to the differences between autonomous communities, the values of Cataluña, Madrid, and Navarra stand out, because the data of homes with computer is above 70% according to the INE data in 2009. On the other hand, there are the communities with the lowest figures in this indicator, Extremadura and Galicia, which do not reach 60% of homes with computer. Therefore, there is a direct correlation between income levels and the use of the computer because if the first three's GDP per capita values rise to thirty points above the national average, the last two communities have up to thirty points below the national average.

If we take the data in terms of settlement size and analyse the aims of computer penetration in the Spanish urban system then certain differences that are not common to all regions appear. On one hand, there are the communities which have the biggest size settlements, those that surpass 100,000 inhabitants and province capitals, those registering the highest values in terms of household computer penetration, corresponding to larger size cities. Some examples are Extremadura, Canary Islands, Castilla and Leon, among others. In these communities over 72% of households possess computers in settlements of over 100,000 inhabitants while settlements of between 50,000 and 10,000 inhabitants show a figure of around 60%. The most positive figures among the cities in these autonomous communities are Las Palmas in Gran Canarias, Santa Cruz in Tenerife, Valladolid, Burgos, Salamanca and Albacete, among others. On the other hand, there are communities with medium and small cities which show higher values of computer penetration in the home. This is the case of Catalonia, Madrid, Galicia, Navarra, Asturias and Cantabria. A prime example of this situation is the Madrid case, registering an average of almost 73% in the presence index of household computers but the settlement size should be taken into account, in councils of between 50,000 and 10,000 inhabitants the figures are around 77% and in those of between 50,000 and 100,000 the figures are over 81%. In the case of the Madrid Community, the greatest presence of

computers can be found in homes of small and medium cities such as Coslada, Las Rozas, Pozuelo de Alarcon and San Sebastian de los Reyes. These are predominantly uncongested middle-class residential areas. The bigger cities such as Madrid itself, Mostoles or Alcalá de Henares have lower indexes due to the fact that Madrid has a higher level of aging in the population and, in the case of Mostoles or Alcala de Henares, the working class prevails in the social structure (see Fig.1).

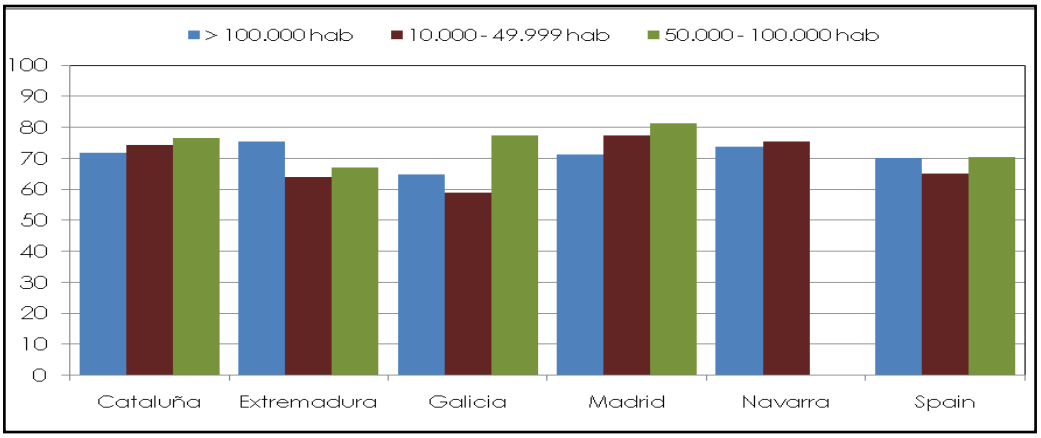

Fig. 1 **- Computer Presence in Households 2009 (%)**
(Source: INE, 2009)

Other indicators analysed in ICT equipment in the home are the Internet connections. The information and communication technology, specifically the Internet, enables instant communication and information exchange in any part of the world, however distant they may be, as long as they dispose of the appropriate infrastructure and equipment. In this way, times are reduced to a minimum thus territories that were once disadvantaged now have greater chances to develop should they take advantage of it. However, this is a fairly new process so not all the territories or even all society is immersed in the Information Society, hence, the phenomenon known as the “Digital Gap”. This phenomenon separates those people and spaces that are frozen out of this global world.

The presence of the Internet and its complete immersion in the Information Society in Spanish homes is currently a pending subject. If the proportion of households with computers is around the European Union 15 average, the values for Internet presence is much more alarming with various at fault in different Spanish regions. The average household with Internet connection is nine percentage points below the European Union 27, which rises to fourteen if the European Union 15 is taken as a reference, being at the bottom of the table of nations, far off are the leading nations in the Information Society such as The Low Countries, Denmark and Sweden, with 80% of households having Internet access. In the case of Spain, and taking into account its delayed diffusion of new technologies, a big disparity is found in the percentage points between the community with the most households with Internet connection, as is the case with Catalonia (64%) and the least, Extremadura (41%). It has to be said that Catalonia has a higher proportion of urban population as well as considerably higher values of GDP per capita than Extremadura. These factors determine the type of new technologies as well as the telecommunication infrastructures providing Internet access.

Taking this situation into account, the analysis of Internet in the home based on council size sees the same phenomenon as the household computer case. There are various regions where the demographic size is directly proportional to the number of homes connected to the Internet, the communities of Murcia, Extremadura, Andalucia, Castilla Leon, and Castilla La Mancha, among others. One example is the case of Castilla la Mancha. In this community more than 61% of homes are connected to the Internet in towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants and province capitals, seven percentage points above the Spanish average. On the other side of the coin are the smaller towns with 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants where only 44% of homes have this service, thus being thirteen percentage points below the national average. Therefore there would be substantial differences between cities such as Albacete, Toledo, Guadalajara and the other smaller, less important urban centres in the community, (see Fig. 2), following the classic model of innovation diffusion from the main cities to the other complementary centres in the urban system.

Instead, in other regions the situation is the reverse, where small and medium urban areas present more positive values in this register. This happens in the greater part of the country's autonomous communities, with Madrid, Catalonia and Aragon once again standing out. In the case of Catalonia there are twelve percentage points between the councils with 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, where almost 75% of home have Internet connections and those with more than 100,000 inhabitants with little more than 62%. Hence, small and medium urban centres such as Vic, Olot, Lloret de Mar and Sitges, among others, are better placed in this indicator than any of the four regional capitals (see Fig. 2). The first two centres have high income families while the other two are clear tourist destinations, thus positively influencing the diffusion of ICT equipment in the home. This situation is repeated if the indicator is broadband Internet connection. There are two new situations, the regions with high volume demographic urban centres and province capitals provide more favourable values, and, on the other hand, the regions with medium and small size hold an advantageous position in the information society's immersion process.

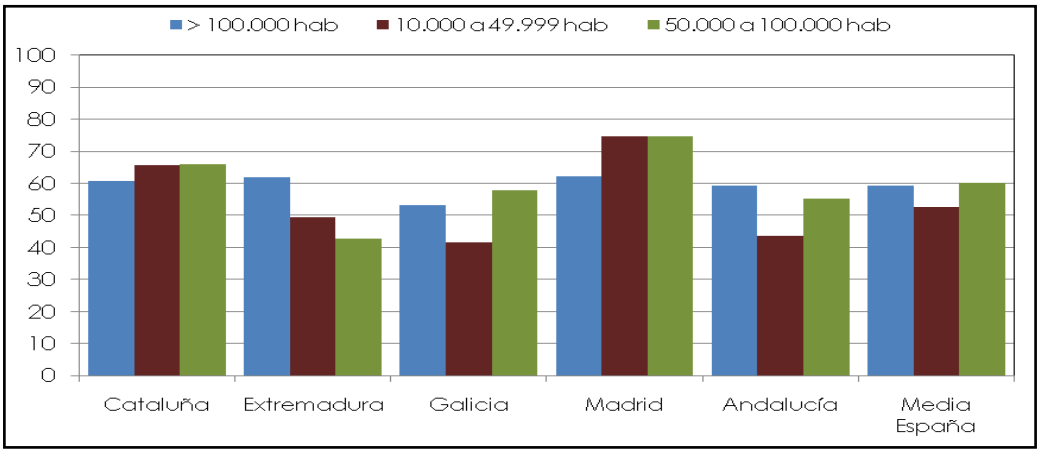

Fig. 2 - **Internet Presence in Homes 2009 (%)**
(Source: INE, 2009)

This duality mentioned previously can be down to, in good measure, the growing demography of the urban centres situated in the vicinity of large cities or in centres that, although leaving the urban belt, are well connected and enjoy remarkable public service equipment. This growth is

owing to the population's attraction to move from big cities to smaller urban centres in search of cheaper dwellings and a better quality of life. This sector of the population are usually young inhabitants with higher or lower qualifications as well as middle class and professions choosing to reside in these medium urban centres, whilst, at the same time, demanding the services of the information society. In the case of Madrid, in the ten fastest growing councils in the last ten years (1999-2009), six of them have less than 100,000 inhabitants and more than 10,000. Together with this, of all the smaller urban councils, those of between 10,000 and 50,000 inhabitants, more than 80% registered a positive vegetative growth in 2008. In view of this data, it can be said the medium and small urban areas of some autonomic communities provide a certain power of attraction for new inhabitants. On the other hand, two large groups can be seen to be frozen out of new technologies in the information society: the elderly population and the illiterate, unqualified. Madrid City has an elevated elderly population (18.6%) and an unqualified population (12%) in comparison to smaller cities located in the greater Madrid urban area. For instance, in the locality of Tres Cantos the percentage is 7.25% and 2.3% respectively. The unqualified population in Madrid City is linked to the large influx of immigrants over the last ten years, according to sources from the INE, representing 17.4% of the council's population. The foreign population in the small localities of the Madrid metropolitan area does not usually reach 10% of the council's population (see Table 1, Fig. 3 and 4).

Table 1

Population and ICT register in the Madrid Community

	Population	Foreigners	Elderly	Unqualified	Computer	Internet	Users
Madrid	3,255,944	17.42	18.66	12.01	71.3	62.1	66.5
Tres Cantos	41,064	8.56	7.25	2.31	81.6	76	88.2
Pozuelo	82,428	10.67	11.05	6.13	81.3	74.7	63.9
S. S. Reyes	75,912	13.00	9.29	9.83	81.3	74.7	63.9
Las Rozas	86,340	11.71	7.89	3.30	81.3	74.7	63.9

Source: *Madrid Community Statistics Institute, 2009, 2001; National Institute of Statistics, 2009.*

Note: *Total Council population (IEM, 2009); Percentage of foreigners in the council's population total (IEM, 2009); Elderly population in the council (IEM, 2009);Illiterate and unqualified population (IEM, 2001); Households with Internet connection (INE, 2009); Households with Internet connection (INE, 2009); Internet users in the last three months (INE, 2009).*

The use of ICT in the urban sector

From the moment that the Internet became popular and large masses began to have access to the Internet, the fundamental uses were limited to electronic mail exchange and the search for information. Nowadays there are many Internet services on offer, either from the public administration or from the private sector. The types of services range from a simple hotel reservation or weekly shopping on a supermarket site to multiple and varied administration processes. But, in spite of the availability of this type of service the statistics reflect that citizens still make very little use of the service, hence, leaving a long way to go in this respect. The strong growth seen in the number of Internet users in the last ten years has not gone hand in hand with the use of this type of service.

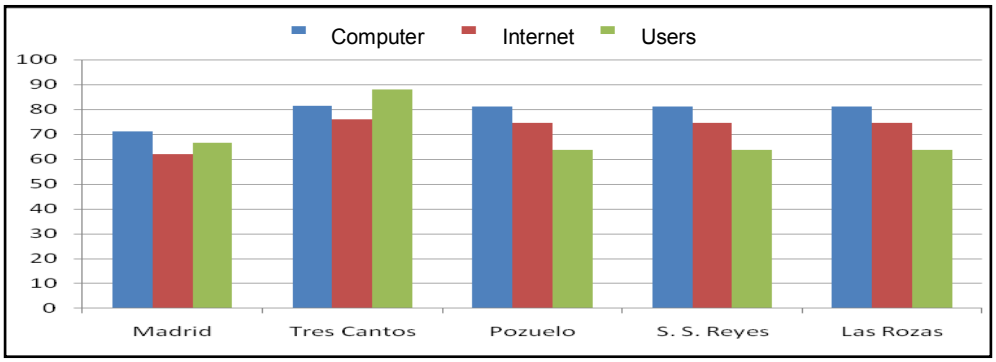

Fig. 3 - **ICT registers in the Madrid Community, 2009** (*Source:* INE, 2009)

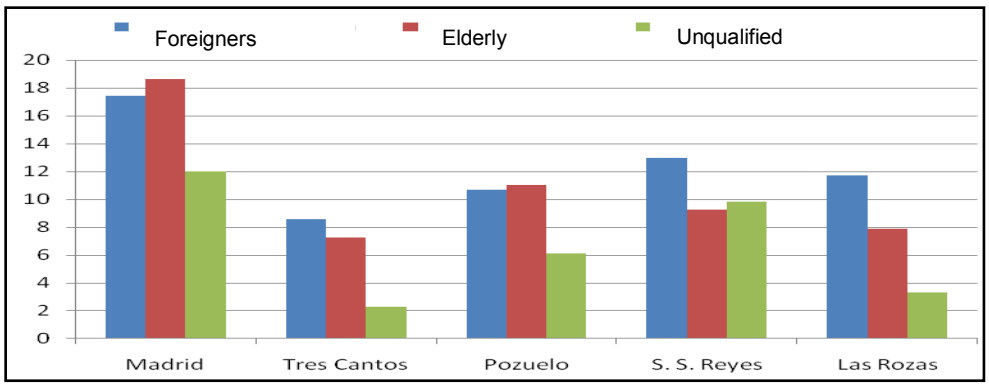

Fig.4 - **Demographic registers in the Madrid Community, 2009** (Source: INE, 2009)

In a European context, Spain is near the bottom in the use of the Internet table, following the same tendency as that of ICT equipment in the home. The average number of Internet users does not reach 60% of the population between 16 and 74 in 2009, according to The National Institute for Statistics, being the average for the European Union 27, 65% and for the 15, 69%. Spain would therefore be almost ten percentage points below the European Union 15 in respect to Internet users, a long way off the leading countries in the diffusion of the Information Society, such as Sweden, where 9 out of 10 inhabitants between 16 and 74 are Internet users. A similar situation can be found in the Low Countries, Denmark and Luxembourg where more than 85% of the population uses the Internet.

The Spanish delay in the European context new technologies diffusion reveals important disparities between the respective regions owing to, in part, the differences in economic and social dynamics. There are twenty percentage points between the autonomic communities with highest and lowest number of Internet users. Occupying the first places are Madrid, Catalonia, Navarra and the Balearic Islands with more than 65% of their inhabitants between 16 and 74 being Internet users. The other side of the coin is Extremadura and Galicia, where Internet users do not reach 50% (see Fig. 5).

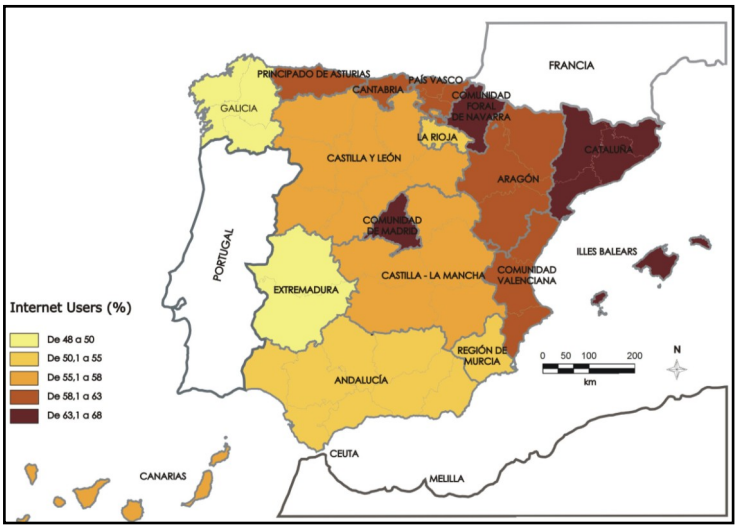

Fig. 5 - **Internet users in Spain, 2009** (Source: INE, 2009)

It must be taken into account that the richest communities are those that have the most positive values in Information Society diffusion. In fact, the Basque Country, Navarro and Madrid are between 25 and 30 percentage points above the national GDP average per inhabitant while Andalucia, Castilla la Mancha and Galicia are between 15 and 22 points below the average (see Fig. 6). Given these figures it is evident that it is necessary to develop realistic initiatives that achieve great advances and enable a convergence process in both the different Spanish regions and the different countries that make up the European Union. On a national level there have been various diffusion plans for the Information Society but the majority have not achieved their objectives. On the other hand, communities bringing up the rear, such as Galicia, were the last to design this type of measure, thus some time will have to pass for the proposed objectives to be achieved.

In the analysis of Internet users according to council size, a similar dynamic is noted with that of ICT equipment in the home, although in this indicator, the largest urban areas have a higher proportion of Internet users. In this case, it is not necessary to have a home Internet connection to make use of Internet services. In those urban centres with a larger public access offer there could be a higher use of the Internet. If in homes with Internet connections there were ten council regions with small size urban areas and higher positive values, then in the terms of Internet users this reduces to four. The most

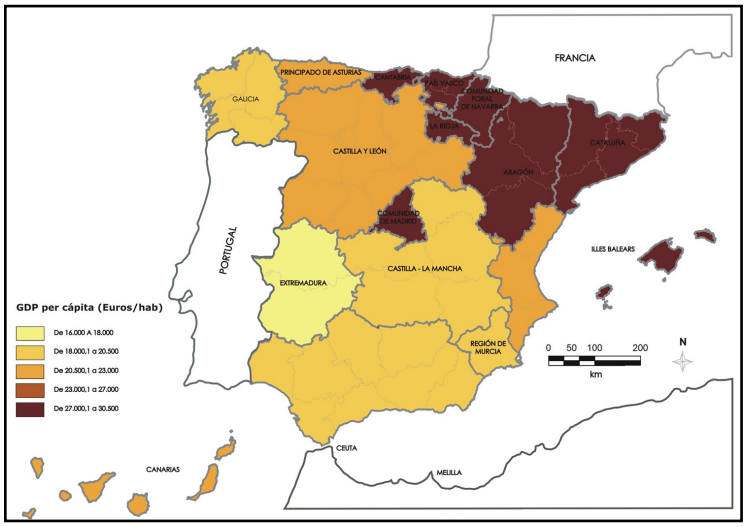

Fig. 6 - **Income per capita in autonomic communities in Spain (Euro/hab.)** (Source: INE, 2009)

prominent is in the community of Madrid and Castilla la Mancha and, to a lesser extent, Galicia and Catalonia. In Madrid the councils with towns of lesser entity in the region, providing home to between 10,000 and 50,000 inhabitants have an 80% Internet user rate in the population aged between 16 and 74, some 13 percentage points above the councils of more than 100,000 inhabitants. In Castilla la Mancha the situation is similar but here the urban areas are medium-sized. These are councils of around 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants who have more Internet users, around more than 75% of the 16 to 74 year old population, some 10 percentage points above councils of more than 100,000 inhabitants. In view of this information, and in the case of this community, the urban centres of Talavera de la Reina and Puertollano have a larger proportion of inhabitants using the Internet than in the province capitals. On the other hand, it should be taken into account that in Castilla la Mancha, four out of five province capitals have less than 100,000 inhabitants and are included within the group of large size councils. The other two cases are Galicia and Catalonia. In Galicia, the values of Internet users in councils of between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants surpass by six percentage points those of large size, although these conditions are only met in the cities of Santiago de Compostela and Ferrol. Lastly, in Catalonia the situation is similar. It has the same values for Internet users in the largest and the smallest councils, with 65% of the population Internet users. The medium-sized urban areas of this region are better situated in this respect although there are not great differences as in the cases of Madrid or Castilla la Mancha.

These differences between the behaviour of ICT equipment and net user figures in terms of settlement sizes could be down to the fact that it is not necessary to have a home Internet connection to surf the net. There is a proportion of the population that connects to the Internet outside the home, be it at the work place or the place of study etc. The motives can be varied; from the impossibility of having a broadband Internet connection to simply not considering it necessary. In this respect, the autonomous communities are those who carry most of the blame for the delay in the implantation of the information society, being these communities that have the highest proportion of users connecting from outside the home. In Extremadura, Castilla la Mancha, Murcia and Andalucia one out of four people have connected from outside the home in the last three months. This situation is different in the communities of Madrid, Catalonia and the Balearic Islands where more than 85% of Internet users connect from home. Among the Internet users connecting from outside the home, a near 60% do so from their place of work or study, 28% from a family or friend's home and around 10% connect from public libraries. This brings into play the fact that ICT equipment behaviour patterns do not correspond to settlement size as it does not follow the identical tendencies of that of Internet users.

The diffusion of information and communication technology delay in Spain is still more evident if the use of Internet services that go further than just consultation or information exchange is taken into account. If in the other indicators studied Spain was at the bottom then the figures on people making Internet purchases only confounds this situation. According to Euro stat data for 2009, in the European 27, 28% of net users made Internet purchases while if the European 15 is taken into account then that figure increases to 33%. In the Spanish case, and taking data from the National Statistics Institute, only 15% of Internet users made Internet purchases. On analysing this data in function of settlement size it can be seen that no type of tendency is followed, contrary to the other indicators studied. An example of this is Extremadura which has lower values of ICT equipment in the home and in net users. In these indicators the bigger settlements register more positive values whilst users making Internet purchases come from the medium and small urban councils. In the same way, there are other regions where the same behaviour as the rest of the indicators can be observed, as is the case with the communities of Madrid and Barcelona. This situation can be down to the low proportion of Internet users using the net specifically for this service and, possibly, there will have to be a

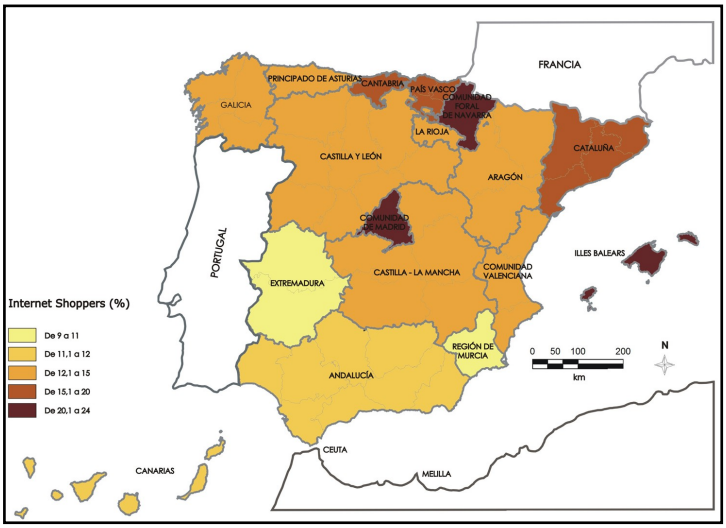

Fig. 7 - **Internet shoppers, 2009** (Source: INE, 2009)

substantial wait for Internet surfers to make use of this and other Internet services before a study on behaviour patterns in function of urban area size can be carried out (see Fig.7).

The gap in the "Digital Home".

The concept of the Digital gap arose at the hand of the III Technological Revolution. The birth of the Internet and the potential this type of technological tool has to offer has left a part of the population frozen out (Sassen, 2005; Castells, 2000; Serra, 1999). Many governments have tried to palliate these inequalities with various plans to foster infrastructure construction, the provision of computers and household Internet connections, education centres, in administration and the business sector. Regardless of the amount of success achieved, there must a reflection on the importance and the need to educate citizens for their full integration into this emerging society until the population can make use of this technology to the full and go beyond the simple consultations and information exchange. On one hand, it is needed that the population make use of existing Internet services and, on the other hand, that both the public and private sectors create new services with the aim of improving the population`s quality of life.

The use of ICT equipment in the home analysis detected that a part of the population has the equipment and the infrastructure for Internet access but does not connect. Therefore, there are two types of Internet user in the home: the potential and the real. The first are all those people who live in "connected homes" and that can access Internet when they want. The real users are those who actually make use of the equipment. This means that there is a bulk of the population that does not use either the ICT equipment or the Internet even when the equipment is available to them, either because they do not have the essential knowledge to use it or they simply see no use for it. This sector of the population would form part of the new Digital Gap dimension, the "The Digital Gap in the Home".

In the Spanish case this type of the Digital Gap was analysed on an autonomous community level, it being difficult to find data to calculate this function on council size. On average, in Spanish homes 8% of the population between 16 to 74 years old have computers but do not use them and 19% of these possess an Internet connection but do not use it. There are considerable differences between autonomous communities, ranging from 14% of inhabitants possessing computers and not using them in the Canary Islands to 3% in Valencia. In the case of Internet use, the digital gap is much higher inasmuch as more than 20% of the inhabitants in ten communities have the possibility to access Internet in their homes and do not do so. Heading the list is Extremadura, Castilla la Mancha and Murcia with more than 25%. Madrid and Catalonia are the regions where this phenomenon is less felt. Given these figures, building

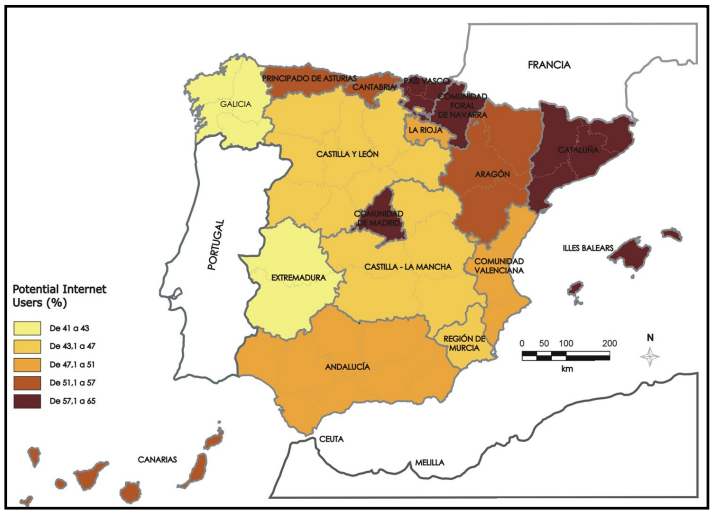

Fig. 8 - **Potential internet users, 2009** (Source: INE, 2009)

measures are needed to encourage this population stratum, with possibilities of full immersion as the objective (see Fig.8).

Conclusions

The analysis result of the information society immersion process in Spanish urban areas has evidently shown the delay the country has suffered as a whole in respect to leading countries in the diffusion of the information society. Similarly, this situation has been accompanied by a series of regional disparities that, in spite of a positive evolution in the last few years, still has not lead to a process of convergence between the main new technology diffusion indicators. In this context, and observing what the situation is like in Spanish urban areas, a duality in the level of ICT equipment and Internet users is detected. There are a group of regions, with Madrid and Catalonia standing out, where small and medium urban areas present more positive values. In the rest, the demographic capacitance in the urban areas is directly linked to equipment values and the use of ICT. This duality can be blamed on demographic growth in urban centres located on the edge of large cities or in centres that, although outside the urban belt, are well connected to the city and dispose of good public service equipment. Similarly, the socio-demographic make up of the cities must not be neglected as this conditions the use of new technology. As previously stated, there are small and medium cities with a high proportion of homes with computer, broadband connection and Internet users. These are urban, uncongested residential centres, demographically young with a high proportion of middle-class and professions in the population. On the other hand, there are large central cities with lower values in the use of new technology being that the level of the elderly population is higher and there is a greater diversity in the socio-professional structure of the population.

This behaviour pattern breaks when it comes to the number of Internet users shopping on the net. In this case, communities such as Extremadura, where the demographic size is a conditioning factor in the ICT diffusion, the situation is reversed, being the small and medium areas where the highest number of Internet shoppers are registered and have been conditioned by the relative isolation from large retail centre commerce. Lastly, the impact of the Digital Gap should be pointed out. It manifests in those who have ICT equipment and an adequate Internet connection but do not use it through a lack of sufficient knowledge or because no use is seen for it or both in some cases. Measures are needed to be taken to stimulate the use of this type of tool with the aim of the population making the most of the opportunities the information society has to offer.

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URBAN POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY URBANISATION PROCESSES AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES OF POLISH CITIES

Jerzy J. PARYSEK
Adam Mickiewicz University, Institute of Socio-Economic Geography
and Spatial Management, Poznań, Poland

Abstract: The great dynamics and wide range of contemporary Polish processes of urbanisation as well as problems of city development and operation require setting objectives, formulating rules and implementing urban policy. Its aim should be to support municipalities in their attempt to solve primary problems. What makes such a policy necessary is the fact that, while cities play a crucial role in global socio-economic development, they also experience financial, demographic, social, environmental, housing and other problems most severely. Therefore in many cases cities cannot be generators of development and cannot be responsible for the implementation of the Lisbon Strategy, as stipulated by the European Union. The aim of this paper is to present the principles of urban policy which could be implemented in Poland taking into account both, the existing situation and the position of the European Union on this matter. It is assumed that urban policy will be implemented at two levels: supra-local (the European Union, state and regional) and local. The first of these levels will apply to all European cities, Polish cities and those of a particular region, while the other, to a particular city and its spatial components. The policy principles will result from EU documents for which urban policy is a component of regional policy. Primarily, it is the *Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities* and the *Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion: Turning territorial diversity into strength*.

Key Words: *urban policy, urbanisation, Polish cities*

Introduction

In the new political situation present in Poland since 1990, especially after the restoration of a democratic system, local government and a market economy, the process of urban development has gained a new dimension. Particularly worth emphasizing is the reappearance, after 50 years of absence, of local government, a body responsible in law for securing the basic needs of a local community, the socio-economic development of a city, and its spatial development (Chojnicki, Czyż, Parysek, 1999). A consequence of these political changes was also Poland's opening to the world, which meant the country's fuller integration into ongoing processes, particularly globalisation. These changes have not only transformed its economic structures and boosted its socio-economic development, but have also stimulated such spatial processes as suburbanisation (and to a lesser extent reurbanisation). The new political conditions have also led to the emergence of new factors, but also new problems, of urban development (Parysek, 2005). The effect of development processes today is, on the one hand, a high dynamics of urban development, although mainly of urban agglomerations, and on the other, mounting problems to which city authorities have to find a solution, and this may not always be possible. Therefore, the resulting state of affairs makes it necessary to work out,

bring into effect and consistently implement urban policy; a policy which would be a form of intervention of the public sector, or more precisely the state, regional and local authorities, in the ongoing processes and pre-formed situations.

Currently, an autonomous urban policy does not exist in Poland. If some form of urban policy is pursued, then it is a component of regional policy, which has taken on a real dimension and significance only after Poland's inclusion into the European Union structures in 2004 (Churski, 2007; Parysek, 2008). This means it is necessary to design and administer urban policy, which is usually understood as measures taken by authorities of various levels and connected with the planning and implementation of the socio-economic and spatial development of a city (Grochowski, 2005), or as the role of the city authority in managing urban development, following an evolution of the approach to governance (Swianiewicz, 2005). The aim of this paper is to outline an overall model of urban policy taking into account the experiences and guidelines of the European Union in this regard.

Urban policy in the European Union

It is difficult to clearly indicate the period when local, regional and national authorities began to implement what we understand today as urban policy. Measures adopted by planners to prevent chaotic urban development can be seen as elements of urban policy; they gained new significance in the late nineteenth century. It is possible to speak of the birth of an autonomous urban policy only in the 1980s. It was then, first in the U.S. and later in West European and other countries, that a series of measures were taken to overcome problems which big cities started to experience as a result of the crisis of the Fordist model of production and capital accumulation (Florida, Jonas, 1991; Newman, Ashton, 2004; Albrechts, 1992, 2004; Soja, 2002). Those activities can be treated today as the beginning of the work on and implementation of autonomous urban policy. The European Union as an association of countries began to develop its rules only in the early twenty-first century (meetings in Lille, Rotterdam and Bristol).

The basis for the urban policy formulated by the European Union (EU) was the awareness of the unique situation of modern cities, which play an important role in the development of the contemporary world as places of the concentration of the population, municipal infrastructure, property and businesses. In a sense, modern cities bear the responsibility for global development. At the same time they experience contemporary demographic, social, environmental, housing and other problems most acutely. Hence, cities cannot always be generators of socio-economic development, and thus become involved in implementing the key EU strategic document, namely the Lisbon Strategy. In this situation, what appears to be a priority for action is the working out of a multilevel urban policy which could be pursued in the European Union as a whole as well as in its individual Member States and their regions and cities. Every level of government - local, regional, national as well as European - would be responsible for formulating and implementing such a policy. The assumed urban policy hierarchy means developing appropriate urban policies at the above-mentioned levels of territorial organisation and coordinating them efficiently. In other words, what we need is an integrated urban policy, or generally speaking, an urban development policy (the Leipzig Charter, the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion).

For these reasons, the European Union recommends drawing up and carrying out integrated urban development programmes. It suggests establishing partnerships between cities, especially in agglomeration and metropolitan areas, as well as between cities and rural areas. While leaving the Member States full freedom in implementing urban policies, the European

Union recommends that they comply with the Leipzig Charter programme, stressing the crucial importance of a country's urban policy and its inspirational role for policies at lower levels. The EU also recognizes the need for European cities to build up cooperation on development policy and exchange experiences in this field.

According to the European Union documents, urban policy should seek two main objectives, namely: (1) adopting a model of integrated urban development policy which takes into account economic and social development, ecological issues and spatial development, and (2) devoting special attention to problem areas of cities. To achieve them, the main tasks and strategies of their implementation have been set (see Table 1).

Table 1

Guidelines for urban policy on the basis of the Leipzig Charter

Aims	Tasks	Strategies
(1) Adopting a model of integrated urban development policy which simultaneously takes into account: economic, social, and spatial development as well as ecological issues	- analysing factors and constraints of development, - coordinating various urban development plans, - coordinating the spatial use of funds, - coordination actions at the local level (urban areas), and engaging in the development process of local businesses and residents	- creating high-quality public spaces, - modernizing infrastructure networks and improving energy efficiency, - innovation and qualified staff, as factors of development.
(2) Devoting special attention to urban problem areas		- improving the quality of the physical environment, - strengthening the local economy and solving the problems of local labour markets, - pursuing an active education policy for young people, - organizing efficient and affordable public transport.

Source: own based on: LEIPZIGER CHARTER ON SUSTAINABLE EUROPEAN CITIES, 2007, European Commission, European Urban Knowledge Network.

It is also possible to discern certain principles of urban policy in the EU documents. They include: (1) recognizing national urban policy as the leading one (the national level), (2) pursuing urban policy as one of the uses of the EU structural funds, (3) using the funds to solve the main problems of city development and functioning, (4) drawing up integrated urban development programmes for the problems being solved, (5) considering the possibility of concrete cities participating in new EU initiatives concerning urban development, (6) understanding the importance of cities as generators of development and the need to solve their problems, and (7) recognizing the importance of exchanging experiences and increasing our knowledge of issues of sustainable urban development.

As a member of the European Union, Poland should join in the efforts to develop principles and directions of its own urban policy taking into account the EU guidelines in this field. The current situation of Polish cities and their many problems require new legal acts to be passed as soon as possible in order to allow urban policy to be implemented at all the levels of the state's territorial organisation. Such a policy is also necessary for efficient planning of the development of cities and urban agglomerations.

The development of Polish cities and the need for an urban policy

As has already been stated, cities are both generators of development and places where many different problems accumulate. In addition, as places of concentration of socio-economic entities and municipal infrastructure, they serve adjacent areas. This means additional development and operation expenses that are not generated by city residents.

While the process of population concentration in cities, especially the largest ones, has slowed down in the recent years due to suburbanisation, the role of cities as areas of job concentration and service provision has not changed (Parysek, 2005; Parysek, Mierzejewska, 2005A, 2005B). Despite the gradual decline in the population, the role of cities in terms of housing concentration has not diminished either. For many people settling in a suburban area is not necessarily associated with leaving the previously occupied apartment in the city (acquiring a second place of residence); as for others, it means building a so-called 'summer house' for periodic use. This process, however, indicates the detachment of places of residence from a widely understood urban market (housing, jobs, services). On the one hand, this is due to growing individual motorisation, and on the other, to the adopted lifestyle and housing preferences connected with it, which change with the life cycle and with the improvement of one's financial situation (Hall, 2004).

Studies of the concentration of the population and fixed assets, housing, economic entities and schools indicate that the distribution of places of residence, work, and especially education is not clearly linked with that of the population (calculated for the set of the country's 16 regions, the correlation coefficients take the following values: 0.9895 for the population and housing distribution, 0.9374 for the population and economic entities, and 0.5429 for the population and post-primary students). Thus, the broadly understood municipal infrastructure does not only serve the inhabitants of cities, but also those who work and study there and take care of various businesses in a city while paying taxes in their places of residence.

It seems that this example indicates the need for the state to develop principles and provide financial support for cities (local urban policy) and to create conditions allowing cities to participate in the European Union structural funds.

At the same time, the pre-1990 neglect and deficiencies as well as certain consequences of the political transformation have given rise to the appearance of problem areas in Polish cities which require specific measures, including urban renewal. While one can hardly speak of shrinkage in the case of Polish cities, the process of depopulation of city centres, accompanied by the degradation of the building stock and infrastructure and not counteracted by reurbanisation processes, is increasingly apparent.

There is also no question that after 1989 the process of urbanisation in Poland took on a new character. The changes which have occurred in this respect are the result of dominant suburbanisation and not enough reurbanisation. This means that city authorities will be increasingly burdened with the costs of urban sprawl while the inflow of funds from taxpayers residing in the city will decline. The process of suburbanisation, which is the primary cause of the difficult situation of cities, has been well described, both in a European dimension (Berg, Drewett, Klassen, Rossi, Vijverberg, 1982) and a national one (Parysek, Mierzejewska, 2005; Parysek, 2008B, 2008C), and there is no need to describe it here. For the clarity of further exposition, however, it is essential at this point to state that: (1) As a result of suburbanisation, cities tend to spread (urban sprawl), and this fact should be taken into account when identifying

and solving problems of urban development. This means that the basic research unit for the study of urbanisation processes is the agglomeration and not the city within its administrative boundaries (which of course does not mean a withdrawal from researching the city itself). (2) When working on the assumptions of the socio-economic development of a concrete city, the entire agglomeration must be taken into consideration as an area in which to balance the distribution of the population, jobs and service facilities, and in which to plan the development of physical infrastructure. (3) It should be borne in mind that a city is not a homogeneous whole and that problems which need to be solved may concern the entire city or its various parts. (4) Although the number of inhabitants, especially of large Polish cities, is declining, it is in fact primarily a shift of the place of residence (to a much lesser extent of jobs and public services) from a city to the area outside, which entails certain consequences. In many cases, this process can be treated as qualitative development of a city (urban infrastructure is extended and, theoretically, service as well as living conditions should improve). (5) Planning procedures, whether in socio-economic strategic planning or spatial planning, should include both the city (a unit of the territorial division of a country) and the agglomeration (a set of units of the territorial division of the country). (6) In the spatial planning of an agglomeration, the social costs of its spatial development and functioning should be taken into account, which means the possibility of a practical application of new ideas and models of spatial urban development, in full awareness of their strong and weak points. One can list here models of spatial order, which is assumed to be the main objective of spatial management (Sorenson, 1990, 1992; Parysek, 2003, 2006; Mierzejewska, 2003, 2009A), those of sustainable development (Mierzejewska, 2009A), smart growth, new urbanism, the MILU conception (Downs, 2001; Filion, 2000, 2003; Dale, 2003; Braun, 2006; Braun, Scott, 2004; Duany, Plater-Zyberk, Speck, 2001; Duany, Plater-Zyberk, Almina, 2003; Parysek, 2008C), the XXQ concept of cities (Nijkamp, 2008; Mierzejewska, 2009A), that of resurgent cities (Musterd, 2006; Storper, Manville, 2006; Cheshire, 2006), and other.

While all the above argues for the need to work out an urban policy in Poland for each level of the country's territorial organisation, it seems that the most important reasons in favour of this move are the real problems of Polish cities and the urban policy of the European Union, the foundations of which are presented in the afore-mentioned documents, i.e. the Leipzig Charter and the Green Paper, and which Poland as a member state is obliged to follow.

Levels of urban policy

Introduction. Urban policy, as previously stated, is basically a new phenomenon in Poland since it was never an autonomous task for authorities at various levels. Urban policy has gained a new meaning and dimension in contemporary times, especially after Poland's integration into the European Union. Certain elements of urban policy, including its directions, were included (1) at the national level: in strategies and plans of the country's socio-economic and spatial development, and most recently in the concept of spatial development policy, (2) at the regional level: in the strategies of a voivodeship's socio-economic development and plans of its spatial development, and (3) at the local level: in strategies of a city's socio-economic development and studies of the conditions and directions of its spatial development.

When taking into account the above-mentioned forms, urban policy in Poland has never been (1) autonomous, (2) pursued in an integrated manner, (3) systemic, carried out in a hierarchical system of units of the country's territorial division, (4) of high priority, and (which concerns not only Poland) (5) conducted in a supra-national dimension (according to the European Union guidelines, including the stipulations of the Leipzig Charter and the *Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion: Turning territorial diversity into strength*).

Today, urban policy is a task which should be carried out in an integrated manner at all levels of the country's territorial division, especially national and local. At the national and regional levels (also at the level of the European Union) it will be an interurban policy, or simply an urban policy which should focus on a set of cities within a particular territory, while at the local level it will be an intraurban policy focusing on a concrete city. This kind of division can be seen in urban policies pursued in various countries around the world (Ley,1981, 1986, 1996; Martin, Mc Caan, Purcel, 2003; Newman, Ashton, 2004). Yet, in all of these cases, the effects of urban policy (in the full sense of the term) will always be felt in a particular city, primarily by the inhabitants, but also by economic entities.

However, it is the state's urban policy that should play a key role in the broadly understood urban policy which, as is stated in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, is a common good of its entire population, including urban residents. This role of the state is specifically emphasised in the two European Union documents mentioned (the Leipzig Charter and the Green Paper).

Interurban policy. *Urban policy at the central level (national urban policy).* The origins of both urban policy and regional policy can be traced primarily to the uneven level of socio-economic development of cities. The disparities have been due to many different factors: geographical situation, natural conditions, historical past, spatial structure of cities, economic structure and level of its development, dominant functions, level of physical and social infrastructure, social cohesion, as well as human potential and its quality, adaptability to changing political, economic and social situations, various types of crises, and often various random factors. The varied influence of the above-mentioned factors and determinants has led to a situation in which some cities have to contend with a relatively large set of problems, while others cope quite well with difficulties related to functioning and development. The aim of the state's urban policy, like that of regional policy, ought to be to eliminate disparities in the level of socio-economic urban development, and especially to improve residents' living conditions and quality of life, primarily by means of legal regulations and the financial support which it involves (Parysek, 2008A).

With Poland as a member of the European Union, its national urban policy should take into consideration the assumptions and guidelines of the EU urban policy, particularly those set in the Leipzig Charter and the Green Paper.

It appears that the primary task of the state is to determine general directions of urban policy, or an urban development strategy (within the national settlement system). In order to accomplish this task, there must be certain legal regulations which define the conditions and ways of solving problems connected with urban development and operation. Also, as has already been emphasised, it is necessary to provide financial support for implementing the objectives at the local level, i.e. in a concrete city, as that is where this policy will be implemented.

Perhaps the best legal regulation of the urban issue would be to pass a City Act which would determine the rules of city operation and the ways and means of solving urban problems. In this context, what seem to be urgently needed are legal regulations helping to prevent the degradation of the urban material substance (the building stock and infrastructure), inhibit spatial chaos (an urban renewal act and a new law on spatial planning), and stop the processes of social deprivation and exclusion. Legal regulations are also necessary to enable cities to (1) develop degraded areas, especially those owned by the State Treasury, (2) pursue

rational real-estate management, (3) manage the housing stock rationally, (4) develop municipal construction, (5) maintain and expand urban roads, (6) develop urban infrastructure, (7) maintain objects of cultural heritage in good repair, (8) eliminate or at least reduce social polarisation, (9) develop culture and art, and (10) obtain financial support for solving the most pressing problems (material degradation and social deprivation, civilisational backwardness, etc.). The need for introducing legal regulations to solve problems of this kind has been indicated by politicians from many Polish cities (e.g. members of the Association of Polish Cities).

Urban policy at the regional level. The regional level of urban policy should primarily include the implementation of the state's urban policy in a given region. It should thus serve as a bridge between this policy and the local (internal) policy of each city. In this context, an important component of urban policy at the regional level should be defining the role of cities in the regional settlement system, in the implementation of the socio-economic development strategy of the region, and in the plan of its spatial development, and also determining ways to support urban development and solve the existing problems. This level of government also has the responsibility to reduce the disparities in the level of development of cities and in their residents' standards of living. Regional urban policy should pay special attention to the situation of the regional centre, primarily due to the fact that it is a generator of development throughout the region and a place of higher-order services for its residents. Urban policy at the regional level should eliminate the centre – rest-of-region antagonism. An important element of urban policy at the regional level should also be, it seems, taking into account the needs of cities when considering applications for European Union subsidies and the use of the EU Structural Funds.

Intraurban policy. Urban policy at the local level. The local level of government plays a special role in implementing urban policy. In fact, it is the basic and most important level of its implementation since it is here that the focus is finally on a concrete city and its problems. A city is also the place of integration of the urban policies of the European Union, the state, regional authorities and its own. Perhaps not so much of integration, but a transformation of interurban policies into an intraurban one. Finally, what seems to be most important is the fact that every city struggles with its individual problems which ought to be solved (Atkinson, 2000; Bourne, 1993; Friedrichs, 1993; Hamnet,1991; Sinclair, 1997; Sinclair, Thompson, 1976; Kowala-Stamm, 2006). If the assumptions and directions of intraurban policy are to produce specific results, they must be included in cities' strategies of socio-economic and spatial development. The objectives of intraurban policy are not only to ensure the socio-economic development of a city as a whole and to meet the collective needs of its people, but above all to solve its internal problems, which include such issues as various standards of living and different living conditions, various spatial accessibility of services, degradation of the building stock and infrastructure, underdevelopment of physical and social infrastructure, an unbalanced labour market, poverty and social pathologies, differences in ecological conditions, threat to human and property security, ethnic and racial issues (this basically does not apply to Polish cities yet), and other (Billert, 2006; Jędraszko, 2008; Mierzejewska, 2009B). Intraurban policy should also determine the general direction of a city's spatial development by earmarking investment areas and identifying preferences in the types of investment (a selective choice of investors), and contain a record of measures intended to result in the revitalisation of degraded areas. Thus, intraurban policy can be defined as the activity of local authorities carried out together with other city-based entities to ensure residents the best possible living conditions and opportunities of development.

Two basic dimensions of urban policy. Some authors draw attention to two distinct

dimensions of urban policy, namely (1) political and (2) planning and decision-making (Grochowski, 2005). The political dimension means pursuing a policy which will gain the approval of city residents and allow the political party in power to keep governing the city. It is not difficult to note in this approach a client-patron view of governance, yet on the other hand it is difficult to question the point and meaning of a policy enjoying community support (Parysek, 1997). It is possible, at most, to discuss the relationship between authority and society (social satisfaction) and ask what is the cause and the effect in it. In turn, the planning and decision-making dimension of urban policy means taking measures which will (1) ensure further development of a city's economic base, (2) lead to its gaining a competitive advantage, (3) ensure residents the best services and the highest standards of living, (4) attract serious investors to the city, and (5) enhance its attractiveness and competitiveness as well as its importance as an economic, cultural and scientific-technological centre, gladly visited by customers and guests, and selected as a place to live and work in.

Of course, there must be a convergence between the political and the planning and decision-making dimensions of urban policy, which often involves the daunting issue of 'depoliticising' urban policy. This is important in the present times when the chief concern of political parties is maintaining power and fighting the political opponent. This may be the point of political activity, but such a perspective should be barred from urban policy because its objectives - the city's development and improving the living conditions and quality of life of its residents - require it to be a long-term and non-partisan process rather than one changing with the party in power. However, the fact that city (as well as regional and national) authorities engage more actively in development issues and making promises during pre-election periods clearly demonstrates that the political dimension of urban policy, dominates over the planning and decision-making one. It seems that no matter who holds power in a city, there should be a non-partisan climate in favour of its development and solving its problems. This is a task for both, regional and local authorities as well as local communities as bodies deciding about who is given power in their cities.

Socialisation of urban policy formulation. Formulating the directions of urban policy should be a social process at each level. This means that the directions of this policy should be arrived at by social consensus. At the local level this should be a consensus among residents, property owners, investors, and local authorities. There are many popular models of action which lead to achieving social consensus in both, planning and exercising power. In the case of planning, we have models of cooperation known as collaborative or cooperative planning (Healey, 1997, 1992; Alexander, 2002; Howe, Langdon, 2002). In the case of power, the idea is to pass from government to governance (Martin, Mc Cann, Purcell, 2003; Swianiewicz, 2005; Parysek, Toelle, 2007; Mierzejewska , 2009A).

Within each urban policy, it is necessary to develop effective tools of putting it into effect, especially when reality shows that many items in planning documents remain only a noble intention or a political slogan (Billert, 2006; Jędraszko, 2008). It is obvious that in developing such tools one must take into account, on the one hand, an academic point of view on socio-economic and spatial development of cities, and on the other hand, the point of view of the local community and its expectations. The latter, however, should take into account the existing reality, especially economic and financial. Obviously enough, no urban policy can be implemented without financial resources to back it up.

Conclusion

At present, urban policy in Poland is not an independent field of actions seeking to eliminate differences in the level of socio-economic development among cities or to solve their problems, even though some elements of such a policy may be traced in strategic planning carried out at the central, regional and local levels. The European Union is keenly interested in the implementation of urban policy in its Member States, pointing to its multilevel nature (starting from the EU level, through the national and regional levels, and finishing at the local level). In the existing situation, national authorities face the task of defining the objectives, principles, ways of implementing and funding of their urban policies following the guidelines of the European Union. A special role in this regard is played by the urban policy of a state and local policies implemented by the authorities of every city. However, before an urban policy can be implemented, relevant legal regulations must be established, e.g. in the form of a city act. There is no question that at every decision-making level (EU, national, regional, local) urban policy should be an integrated one, combining environmental, social, economic and spatial issues. Of course, for urban policy to accomplish its objectives, appropriate financial resources have to be earmarked for it, independent of the possible means from the budgets of cities themselves or from the European Union funds. It is also clear that urban policy must combine the political dimension with the decision-making one, with a clear priority for the latter. In practice, this means 'de-politicisation' of urban policy, or giving it a non-partisan priority. The necessity of implementing urban policy results from the fact, emphasised in the European Union documents, that while contemporary cities bear a global responsibility for the socio-economic development of the contemporary world as areas of concentration of the population, economic entities, municipal infrastructure and fixed assets, they also experience demographic, social, environmental, housing and other problems most acutely. In this situation cities cannot always be the generators of socio-economic development and thus become involved in implementing the Lisbon Strategy, especially after two years of a financial and economic crisis.

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TERRITORIAL DISPARITIES IN THE ROMANIAN BANAT: ASSESSMENT, DYNAMICS AND IMPACT ON THE TERRITORIAL SYSTEM

Cătălina ANCUȚA
West University of Timişoara, Romania

Abstract: The article aims to evaluate the heterogeneous nature of the regional space of Romanian Banat, perceived as a developed region. The method is based on the complex paradigm of the concept of territorial disparities, which includes other concepts such as development, territory, spatial equity. The elementary disparities are analyzed by studying three categories of variables: social, economic and of life standard. In order to reveal the intraregional behavior the presented methodology used data from two census – 1992 and 2002, which permitted an analysis in two key moments: little after the change of political regime and respectively, after 1o years of transition. Global disparities are studied by calculating a global development index; according to it two types of areas were established: advantaged (above the regional average) and disadvantaged (under this average). The study of the territorial disparities – both elementary and global ones – and of their dynamics 1992-2002 led to the establishment of a territorial model.

Key Words: *regional analysis, elementary/global disparities, regional model*

Introduction

Banat is the cultural-historical region that in the conscience and collective memory of the Romanian people extends between the rivers Mureş to the North, Tisa to the north-west, Danube to the west and the Carpathian Mountains to the east.

Today it is a trans-border region (Fig. 1), extended on the territory of three countries: Romania (18 966 sq. km), Serbia (9376 sq. km) and Hungary (284 sq. km).

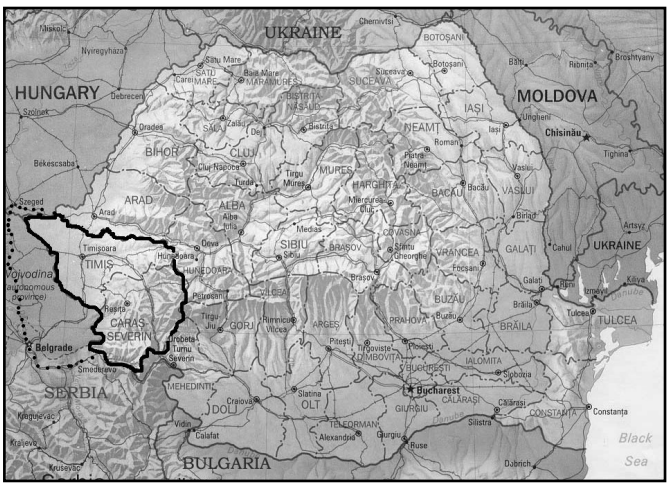

Fig. 1 **– Geographical position of Romanian Banat and historical Banat**
(Source: http://images.nationmaster.com/images/motw/europe/romania.gif, modified)

Space of Romanian ethnic genesis, disputed in the Middle Ages between Hungarians, Turks and Austrians, the Banat is occupied by the Austrians at the beginning of the 18th century (Sîrbovan, 1998).

Personal province of the House of Habsburg for nearly one century, Banat has been an experimental space for the mercantile theories of the time. This privileged status generated technology transfer, know-how infusion and foreigner flows, all of these generating an active, multi-ethnic and multi-religious environment and a market economy adapted to the demands of the foreign markets (Ancuța, 2007). The intercultural model of taking from the "other ethnic" only what is best together with peaceful coexistence is a major coordinate for the Banat territory (Neuman, 1997; Gavreliuc, 2001), and it has been maintained even under political regimes that were less favorable (annexation to Hungary at the end of the 19th century).

Banat becomes part of Romania after the First World War, in a period when it experiences demographic modernization. The involution of the population from natural causes is accompanied by emigration flows, towards USA in particular, event that brings later a capital infusion, during the interwar period, Banat being nicknamed "Romania's California".

The instauration of the communist regime, after the Second World War, brought a powerful hit to the way people lived in Banat for which private property represented a guarantee of capital accumulation through profitable work. Nationalization and the rigors of communism led to the emigration of German ethnics and not only, taking with them traditions and culture. The economic preoccupations of the regime have concentrated on resource exploitation and heavy industry, which privileged the area of mountain Banat. The previous poles, with complex functionality, created over time, continued to be dynamic, profiting by centripetal flows from rural space, which has been striped of it's substance – private owning of land and responsible administration of resources. The urban space is equivalent to industrial function, while the rural space is emptied.

After 50 years of communism, the political changes started in 1989, find the villages under-populated and with aged population, mostly incapable of administrating their development. After the political factor was removed from their functioning, the towns in Banat had different evolutions, in which functional complexity had a strong point. The centers of extractive and heavy industry, already under masked decline before 1989, collapsed as the state retreated its support.

Nowaday territorial system of Romanian Banat is the result of the accumulation of all these evolutions, different in rhythm and substance.

Romanian Banat represents 7.9% of the country surface and concentrates approximatively 5% of the country population (1065766 inhabitants, according to the 2002 census). The population density is inferior to the national average, i.e. 56.19 inh. /sq. km against 91 inh./sq. km. The share of urban population is superior to the national average: 64.6% against 53,3% (in 2002). The 21 towns form an urban system more developed then in other Romanian regions but, nevertheless, unbalanced in terms of size or urban polarization (Fig. 2, Table 1).

Romanian Banat is one of the most developed regions of the country in terms of regional GDP (Lefter, Constantin, 2009) and quality of living and thus a favourite traditional destination for inter regional migration (Trebici, Hristache,1986; Rey et al., 2002).

Nevertheless, the regional space is not homogeneous in terms of performance.

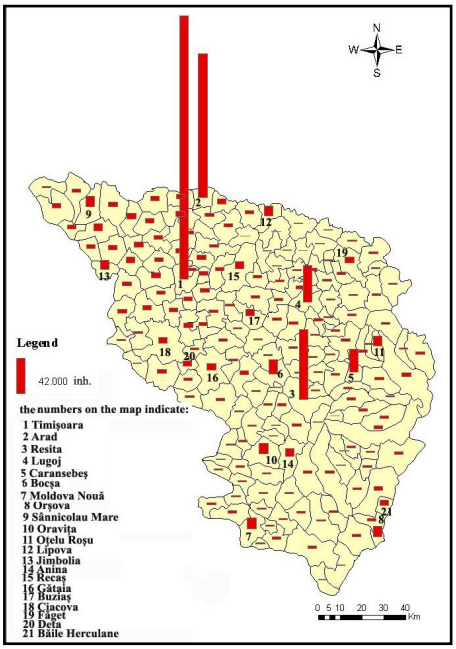

Fig. 2 – **The repartition of population in Romanian Banat**

The study of territorial disparities at intraregional level aims, thus, to reveal these differences intra-regional that could affect the coherence and perfomance of regional system on medium and long term.

Table 1

Towns of Romanian Banat, by categories of size (2002)

Category of size (according to the number of inhabitants)	Towns
> 200 000	Timişoara
100 000 - 199 999	Arad
50 000 - 99 99	Reşiţa
20 000 - 49 999	Caransebeş, Lugoj
10 000 - 19 999	Jimbolia, Lipova, Oţelu Roşu, Oraviţa, Sânnicolau Mare, Orşova, Moldova Nouă, Bocşa
< 10 000	Băile Herculane, Deta, Făget, Ciacova, Buziaş, Gătaia, Recaş, Anina

Source: *2002 Census of population and housing*

Materials and Methods

The study of territorial systems differentiation is relatively new in Romanian geography, geography which – deprived by its social and practical valence for a long period of time – practiced exhaustive description of territorial entities (Ancuţa, 2001). Thus, we consider necessary to establish the theoretical and methodological endeavor of the way towards the study of territorial disparities.

Disparities always existed. Traditionally, the study of heterogeneous space had the objective of delimiting the homogenous portions, regions, in studies with idiographic characteristics.

Under the influence of regional science and in the context of the time – defined by the cold war, the confrontation of the two political and economic systems, post-colonialism and the decline of the third world, urban explosion, demographic increase (Benko, 1998) – *disparities* have become a frequent subject in the studies regional geography from the second half of the 20th century, both because the existence of disparities (as of the equalizing tendencies) has specific effects in the functioning of the territory – and so its differentiation – and because inequality (under it's social aspect) is a violation of the ethical rules (Dramowicz, 1985).

Considered sometimes even necessary (Bolton and Hiks, cf. Coffey, 1982) , disparities are in general – in the present context of promoting concepts like *equity*, *equality*, *spatial justice*, *human rights* – a reason for concern and the object of analysis that precede the policies that have a spatial component.

The preoccupation for disparities is included in that for regional development and is the first obligatory step for studies on improving territorial cohesion. The approach has an important voluntary component, which presumes detecting the solutions for eliminating disparities.

The definitions found in dictionaries for the term "disparity" are not much different: *disparity* names an *inequality, difference, lack of resemblance, of harmony*.

In geographic acceptation, territorial disparity refers to an inequality that is "felt, perceived and lived as an injustice" (Brunet, Ferras, Thery, 1992, p. 150). This inequality can correspond to a difference in level in several domains (economic, social, cultural etc.). Disparities come into attention if they have an impact (quantitative or qualitative, positive or negative) on the functioning of territory and economical development (Aydalot, 1985). Disparities are evaluated necessarily in comparison with an implicit reference. The disparity marks deviation from a norm, or rule.

The paradigm of the concept includes concepts such as: spatial justice, equality and equity, development, territory as a system (Nir, 1990; Ianoş, 2000; Hagget, 2001; Cocean, 2002).

In the territory taken as a system:

- the quantification of the the subsystem`s *components* differences and their comparison to the norm that represents the average for the territorial system allows the revelation of *elementary or functional disparities*;
- the quantification of *performance* differences of the subsystems and their comparison to the average performance of the territorial system means the illustration of *territorial or global disparities.*

Elementary disparities can suggest elements of structure and inter-conditioning that can be useful in the study/explaining of global disparities.

The combining and switching from one level of analysis to another resolves the dilemma profound study – surface study/ extension and concentration (Watson, 1978)/large scale – small scale/ national – local/ big – small (Ferras, 1992), the continuous change of the scale allows the disclosure of micro, meso and macro scale interference.

The study of territorial disparities implies the use of *time* in a more dynamic sense than genetic (Dauphiné, 1979) i.e. to reveal the multiple temporalities and their articulation, to identify the *spatial events* (EPEES, 2003; Elissalde, 2003) or the simple fluctuations, to analyze an adequate period of time, in order to observe the tendencies, in a prospective manner.

In the context of the development of quantitative geography, the conceptualization of the territory and the revealing of the multidimensional character of the development process, the studies on territorial disparities have diversified their methodological and theoretical instruments, so that we can distinguish:

- studies that present the spatial distribution of different indicators, that reflect one aspect or another of development, starting from a model or not and choosing/not choosing a global approach at the end (based on the methods of multi-criteria analysis) (Muntele, Groza, Ţurcănaşu, 2002);
- studies that consider that the "individual good" is essential and in consequence analyses the "standard of life" or the "welfare", considered to be concepts with

integrating character and studying their variations (Racine, 1988; Di Meo, 1998);

- studies that start from defining a complex indicator, and based on that, they diagnose the state of the territory, using the results for a prospective analysis.

As a conclusion, disparities are *deviations from a norm* (Aydalot, 1985), which is the average level of development of the territorial system.

The *multidimensional* aspect of the development process, together with the *relational* characteristic of the information in the system, indicat as suitable to identify some *categories of variables* in the light of the features considered to be efficient, the analysis not being able to consist of an exhaustive inventory of elements with the sole aim of an illusive objectivity (Vallega, 1996; Bourdieu, 1984).

If the *regional level* hides the cleavages, then the *level of micro scale* becomes indicated, because it records the unbalanced effects in the system fastest.

A sequential approach is useful to reveal the structure of the system, while studying the *evolution through time* reveals the behavior of components.

The heuristic approach – taking into account the theories that explain the emergence and perpetuation of disparities – is important, but the prospective approach – leading to the processes that rebalance the region – is *essential* (Brunet, 2001; Eckert, 1996).

In conformity with the general practice and the complexity of the concepts of "territory" and "development", the study concentrated on three categories of elementary indicators (Ianoş, 1997):

- to evaluate the *state of the economy*, there are: turnover/capita (AFA), unemployment (SOM), percentage of employees in the active population (SAL), physiological density (inhabitants/agricultural hectares);
- to evaluate the *social and demographic situation*, there are four indicators: the intensity of depopulation (DEP); the percentage of population working in agriculture (AGR); percentage of old population (over 60 years of age/total population) (BAT); percentage of high school graduates in the over 12 years of age population (LIC);
- differentiations in *life standard* are analyzed through two indicators: inhabitable area (sqm/person) (SUP) and the number of telephones at 1000 persons (TEL).

The steps in analyzing territorial disparities were:

- measuring the *elementary disparities* by analyzing the individual variables, at commune and town levels, to determine their "weight" in the emerging of global disparities, their *convergence* or *divergence*, in order to appreciate their role in increasing or decreasing global disparities;
- measuring *global disparities* – on the base of a global development index calculated at commune and town levels – rending evident the *two fundamental types of areas* in relation with the norm: *advantaged areas* (above regional average) and *disadvantaged areas* (under the regional average).

The time factor is important in consequence, the presented methodology has been applied using two censuses: 1992 and 2002 that represent two key moments: just after the withdrawl of communist regime, respectively after 10 years of transition. The SWOT analysis of the identified areas was also useful for the establishement of space typology, which reveals the

state of the system. The analysis of the so defined regional model permits the identification of solutions to maintain or reaffirm the coherence of the system.

Results and Discussions

The study of elementary disparities. Disparities elementary analysis was performed according to the following algorithm: dispersion analysis, spatial transposition, identifying of possible explanatory factors and analysis of trend evolution.

Human capital disparities. The percentage of high school graduates from the active population (LIC) is a measure of the level of education and is considered symptomatic for the competitive capacity of a territory (Nordstrom, 1996), starting from the premise that a high school diploma is for an employer a guarantee of the essential qualities of an employee, in the context of the dynamic society of today: adapting capacity, opening towards permanent formation, self organizing spirit and teamwork spirit, interior motivation, implication in the task.

The 1992 (Fig. 3) and 2002 (Fig. 4) maps of this variable are structured on rural – urban: the highest values corresponds to cities, followed by the areas surrounding the cities and those alongside access ways, the values decreasing as the distance from these increases.

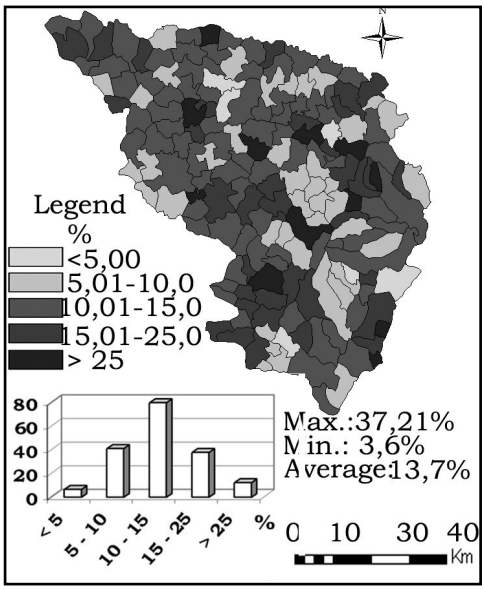

Fig. 3 – **The percentage of high school graduates from the active population (LIC) 1992**

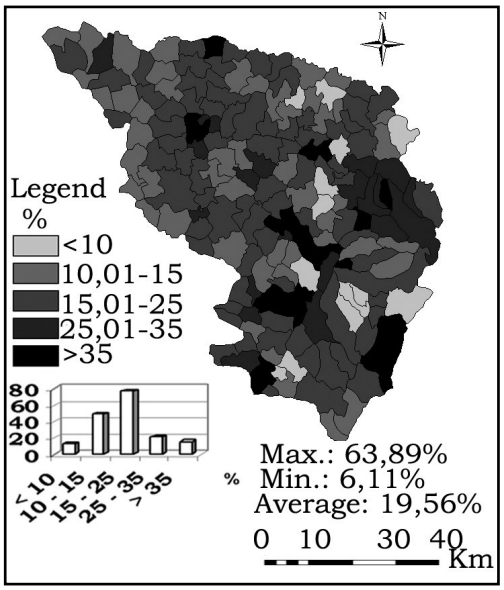

Fig. 4 – **The percentage of high school graduates from the active population (LIC) 2002**

The percentage of old population (above 60 years of age) of the total population (BAT) reflects the pressure on the active population and the vigor of the population as a development resource.

In 1992, the small values correspond to cities or rural settlements with industrial function (Fig. 5).

In 2002, the dispersion remains important, a movement of the center of weight towards the superior classes can be noted; an interregional dis-balance can be perceived in space, as the south-east is strongly aged, because of natural causes and the absence of centripetal flows (Fig. 6).

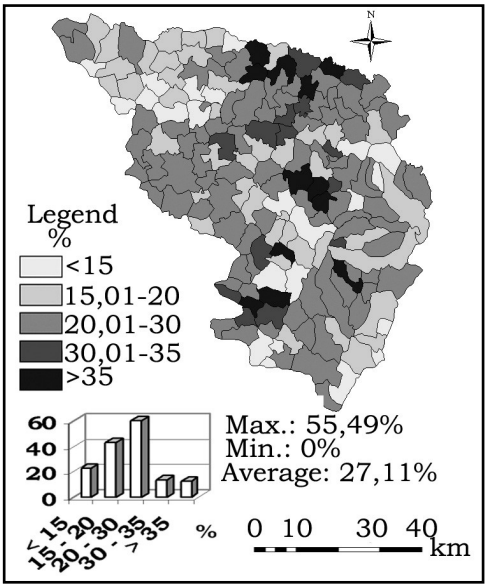

Fig. 5 – **The percentage of the old population (BAT) 1992**

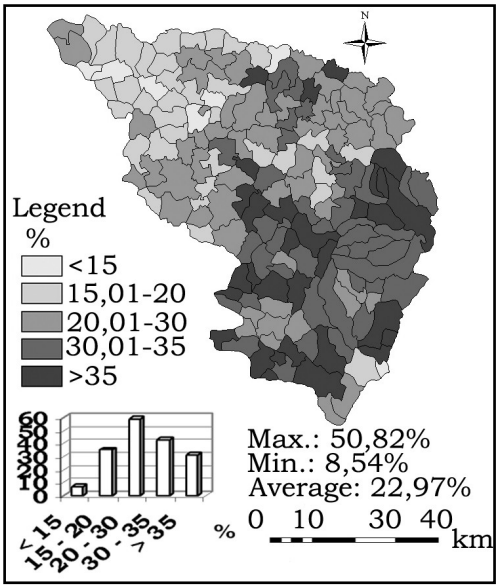

Fig. 6 – **The percentage of the old population (BAT) 2002**

The comparative analysis of the characteristic intervals of dispersion (quartiles), suggests a convergence tendency (the role of this indicator in creating intra-regional disparities is decreasing).

The intensity of depopulation (DEP), calculated as a ratio of the population at two successive censuses, indicates the stagnation of the population.

In 1992, the map is explained in relation with the existence of centers of economic polarization and their interconnection axes, respectively of areas with weak urban polarization (Fig. 7).

The 2002 map shows the favorable situation of the region's north-west, but a less heterogeneous situation at the whole region level (Fig. 8).

To appreciate the role of the variables analyzed above in the evolution of regional disparities, we have analyzed the simple indicator of dispersion – the variation coefficient – which permits the comparison of the dispersion of different variable distributions expressed in different measure units; it is the percentage ratio between the standard deviation and the arithmetical average (the more close to 0, the more homogenous the collectivity) (cf. Jaba, 1998) (Table 2).

Thus, the biggest intra-regional differences are due to the LIC variable – level of education – for which the tendency of divergence is increased, while the DEP (depopulation) presents a statistical community that is very homogenous and with a convergence tendency.

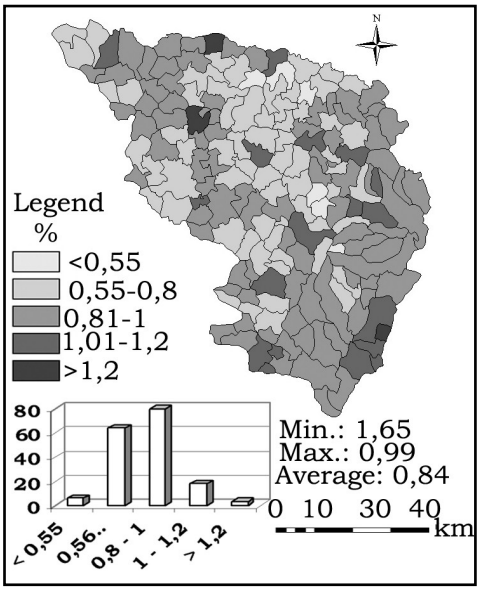

Fig. 7 – **Depopulation ratio (DEP) 1977/1992**

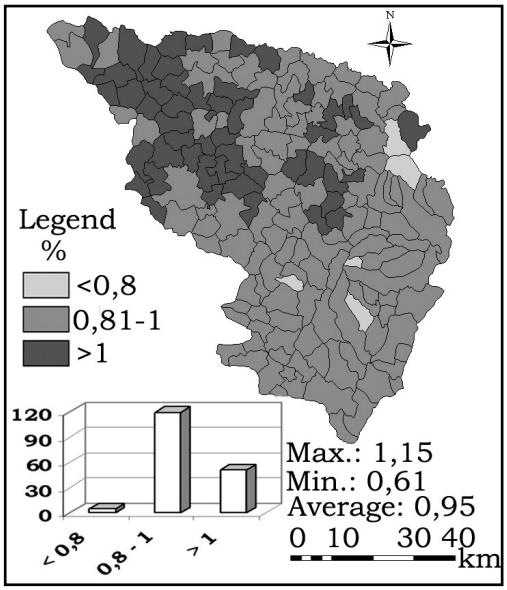

Fig. 8 – **Depopulation ratio (DEP) 1992/2002**

Table 2

The variation coefficients of variables LIC, BAT and DEP

Variable	Variation coefficient in 1992	Variation coefficient in 2002
LIC	43,48%	48,1%
BAT	32,78%	29,76%
DEP	17,85%	7,6%

Source: *calculated data*

Social and economic development disparities. Unemployment rate (ŞOM) and its intra-regional variations is a suggestive measure of social equilibrium, because the integration of active population in economic activities is an initial condition of its prosperity.

For the year 1992 the values present a great dispersion. Spatially, the regional pole and its immediate area are distinguished, with values inside the average interval.

In the north/western part of the region, small towns and their polarization areas have values above the average due to the social effect of industrial de-structuring. The south-eastern part, for which state support continued until 1997-1998, is below the regional average (Fig. 9).

In 2002, the unemployment rate has even bigger intra-regional disparities. This time, the situation is favorable in the north-west – and critical in the south-east (Fig. 10).

The analysis of *the percentage of active persons in agriculture (AGR)* indicator starts from the premise that a high percentage of people working in agriculture, thus in an activity with low

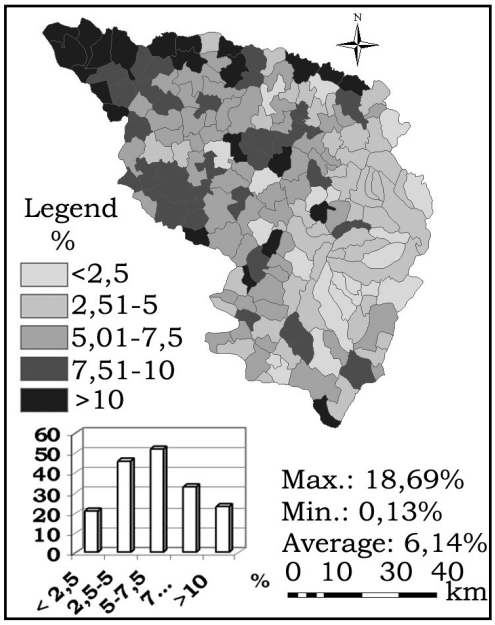

Fig. 9 – **The unemployment rate (SOM) 1992**

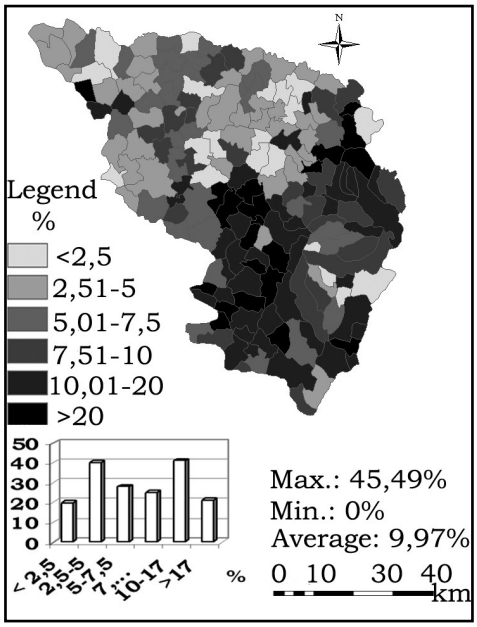

Fig. 10 – **The unemployment rate (SOM) 2002**

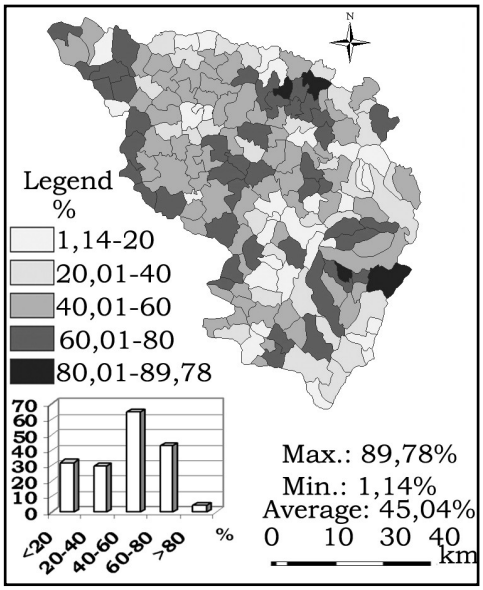

Fig. 11 – **The percentage of active persons in agriculture (AGR) 1992**

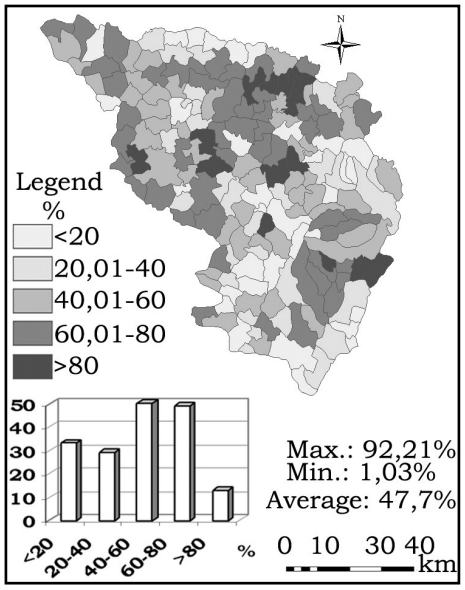

Fig. 12 – **The percentage of active persons in agriculture (AGR) 2002**

added value, leads to a lower competitiveness of the territory and is correlated with a modest productivity.

The region presents contrasting situations both in 1992 and in 2002.

The repartition in frequency classes shows the high share of the upper classes. The most significant evolutions are tied to the increase in importance of agriculture as a field of work for the inhabitants of the region (Fig. 11 and Fig. 12).

The increase of the dispersion of values and thus of the intra-regional disparities generated by the AGR variable is well shown by comparing the average of intervals that are characteristic for dispersion (Table 3).

Table 3

The distance between the characteristic intervals of the variable AGR and the tendency of evolution in the 1992-2002 decade

The characteristic intervals	The average of the characteristic intervals in 1992	% from the regional average (regional average 1992=100%)	The average of the characteristic intervals in 2002	% from the regional average (regional average 2002=100%)
1st decile	4,29%	9,52%	3,2%	6,7%
10th decile	78,01%	173,2%	83,54%	174,98%
1st quartile	13,03%	29,58%	12,29%	25,74%
4th quartile	70,66%	156,88%	77,07%	161,43%

Source: *calculated data*

Turnover/capita (AFA) is an expression of the way in which interact the elements that form the energy of the system, i.e. human and financial capitals.

In the year 1992, this variable introduces a major intra-regional differentiation: the biggest values are concentrated in north-west, in a linear way, alongside some convergent axes towards the urban centers. The smallest are in the south-east of the region – vast area of heavy industry artificially sustained by state subventions (Fig. 13).

The year 2002 reveals the emphasis of intra-regional disparities. Spatially, one can observe the obliteration of the intra-regional dichotomy north-west– south-east and the generalization of differences structured on urban – rural criteria.

The biggest diffusion power of the economic dynamism belongs to the regional pole, around which can be found the largest area with turnover values superior to the regional average (Fig. 14).

The analysis of the variation coefficients of social-economic development variables reveals the fact that in general these are responsible for important intra-regional differences. The biggest intra-regional disparities which have become even more accentuated in the analysis interval are those regarding unemployment and turnover (Table 4).

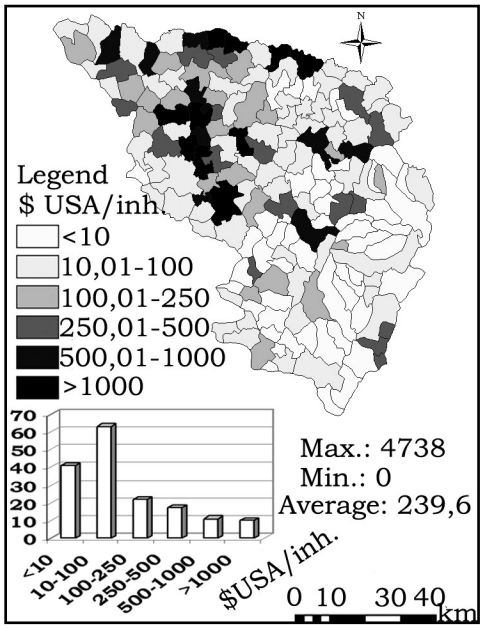

Fig. 13 – **Turnover/capita (AFA) – 1992**

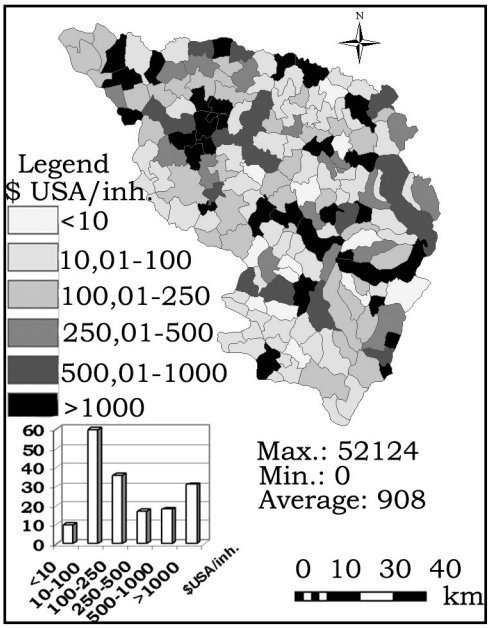

Fig. 14 – **Turnover/capita (AFA) - 2002**

Table 4

The variation coefficients of variables SOM, AGR and AFA

Variable	Variation coefficients in 1992	Variation coefficients in 2002
SOM	53,25%	85,95%
AGR	49,06%	51,94%
AFA	232,67%	447,66%

Source: *calculated data*

Disparities regarding quality of life. In relation with the social geography practice, the statistical data and the objective of the present analysis, the analyse concentrated on the degree of connection to the fixed phone network, which reflects the need to interact and communicate, and the inhabitable area/person, which would correspond to the need of home security (Maslow, cf. Popa, 1999).

The degree of connection to the fixed phone network presents big differentiations at the intra-regional level this indicator. The values above the average correspond to the big cities and polarization areas (Fig. 15 and Fig. 16).

The indicator of i*nhabitable area* introduces small differentiations at intra-regional level, given the importance of traditional housing, including in towns (Fig. 17 and Fig. 18).

Thus, the analysis was refined by *correlating* the dynamics of the inhabitable area with that of population in the decade 1992-2002.

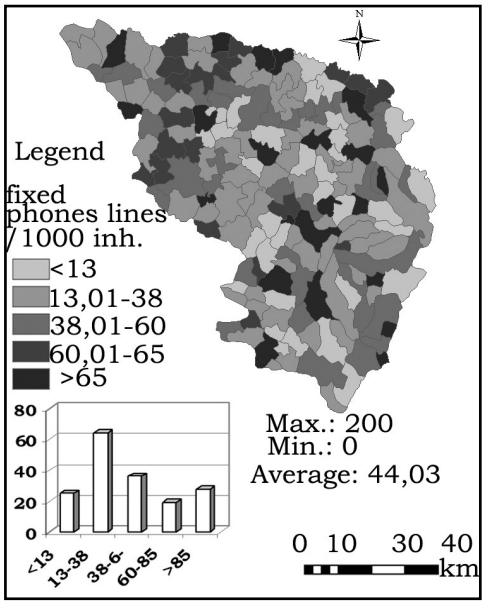

Fig. 15 – **The degree of connection to the fixed phone network (TEL) 1992**

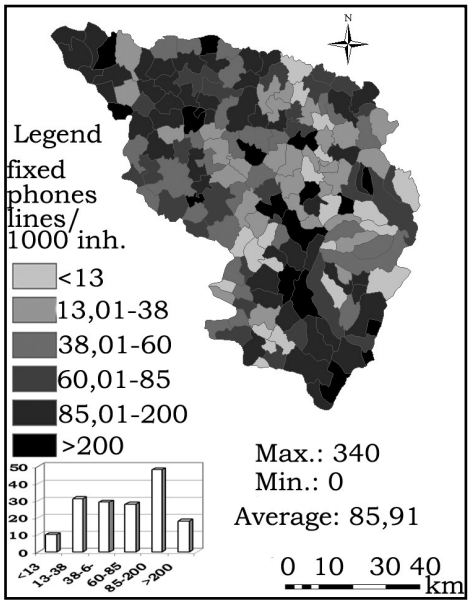

Fig. 16 – **The degree of connection to the fixed phone network (TEL) 2002**

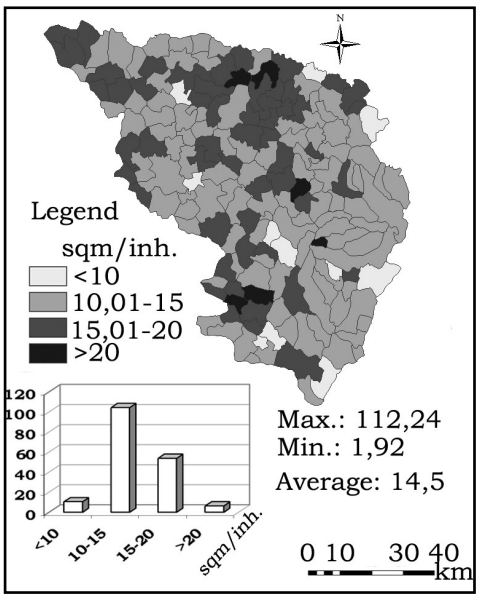

Fig. 17 – **The inhabitable area (SUP)-1992**

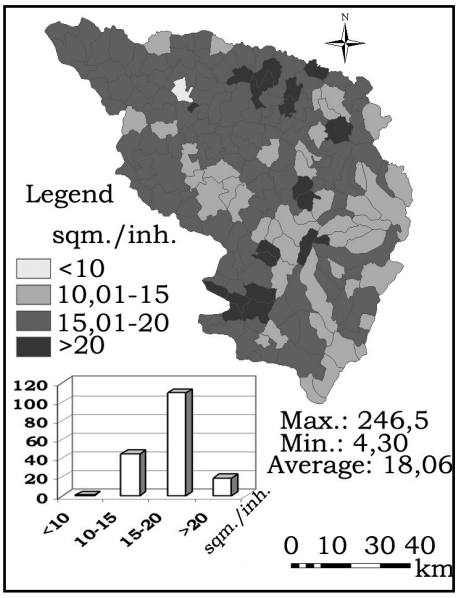

Fig. 18 – **The inhabitable area (SUP)-2002**

The following 6 different situations emerged:

- areas where the increase of inhabitable surface and the increase of the number of

population are direct proportional (Fig. 19 – T1);

- areas where the increase of inhabitable surface is much more emphasized than that of the population (the new inhabitants are urban citizens recently moved in suburban villages without changing their residence documents) (Fig. 19– T2);
- areas where the dynamics of the inhabitable surface is much more emphasized than the decrease of the population (this indicates an expansion of the already existing houses and consequently an improve of living standards) (Fig. 19– T3);
- areas where the population decreases highly but the inhabitable surface increases due to building of secondary residences (Fig. 19– T4);
- areas where the population increases, but not the inhabitable surface, which indicates a worsening of the living conditions due to financial incapacities (Fig. 19– T5);
- areas where the population decreases as well as the inhabitable surface, situation characteristic to the degrading of the apartments of the bloc of flats of the repulsive industrial centers or of the individual houses of the elders without families or descendants (Fig. 19– T6).

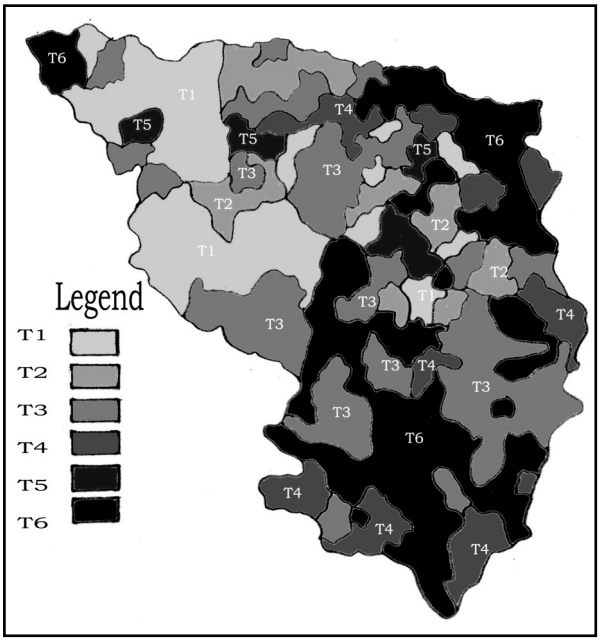

Fig. 19 – **Types of correlations between the dynamic of inhabitable surface and the dynamic of population in 1992-2002**

Global intraregional disparities. Global disparities have been quantified by calculating the INDEZV – global *development index* –, based on the standardized values of the elementary variables.

INDEZV=50+14 (AFA+SUP+LIC+TEL+DEF+SAL-DEP-AGR-BAT-SOM)/10 (Ianoş, 1997),

where: AFA: turnover/capita, SUP: inhabitable area (sqm/person), LIC: percentage of high school graduates in the over 12 years of age population , TEL: number of telephones at 1000 persons, DEF: physiological density (inhabitants/agricultural hectares), SAL: percentage of employees in the active population, DEP: intensity of depopulation, AGR: percentage of population working in agriculture, BAT: percentage of old population (over 60 years of age/total population), SOM: unemployment ratio.

The analysis has been made for the years 1992 and 2002, considering that this decade (*a transformational one,* sense Walerstein, 1998) offers the possibility to observe the *reaction of the spacial structures to the transition period*, the *strong components of the system* and possible *reorganization tendencies*.

In 1992 the dispersion of the INDEZV values was moderate. The distribution of values shows an asymmetry which at space level means *the concentration of the highest values in a small number of settlements*, mostly cities, including the surrounding communes that are

economically and socially dependent on the cities, but also rural settlements with industrial function (Fig. 20).

The majority of statistical units present *values inferior to the regional average*, but no less than 90% of it, covering the majority of *rural space.*

In 2002, the average level of development for the region is almost unchanged, revealed by an almost stationary average: 50. There is a slight tendency to diminish the extreme values. Spatially, the evolutions are towards de-structuration of some areas and the rising of others (Fig. 21).

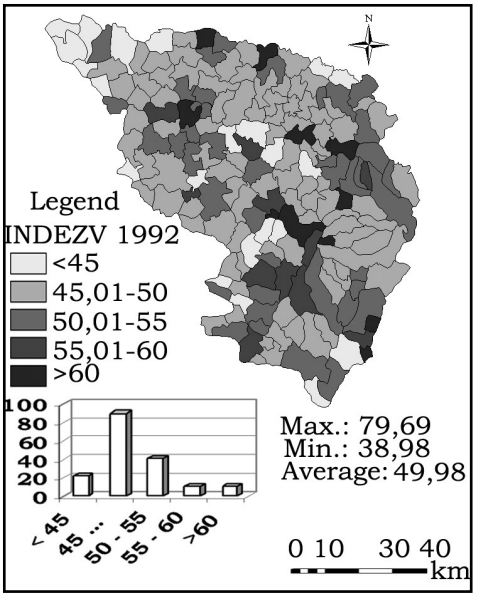

Fig. 20 – **Global development index 1992**

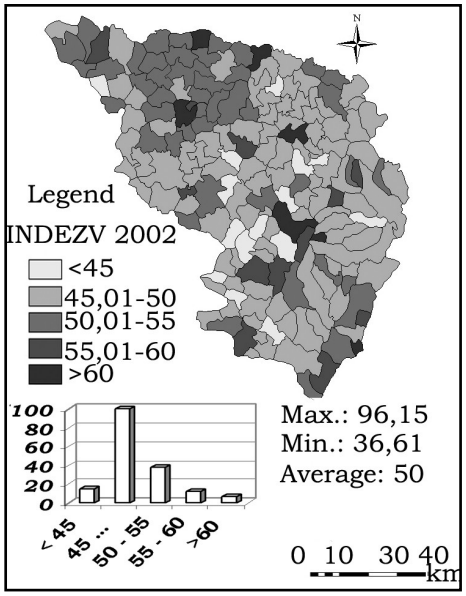

Fig. 21 – **Global development index 2002**

Thus, the areas that are above regional average are situated to the south and east of Banat, as the effect of the withdrawal of state subventions for heavy industry. On the other hand, urban centers that have begun transition to the market economy as soon as the years 1990-1992, have had ascending trajectories and have been capable of creating *diffusion areas of their growth*. The smallest values of INDEZV 2002 are found in the mountain region – 50% and hill region – 33%, where rural spaces have shown very few cases of functionality capable of inducing a development above the regional average.

The statistical values of the 2002 INDEZV index have imposed two categories of areas, in relation with the average level of regional development – 50: *advantaged* areas, with INDEZV superior to the regional average and *disadvantaged* areas, with INDEZV inferior to the regional average.

Taking into account the elements revelated in the former analysis of elementary disparities and of intraregional behaviour in the 1992-2002 decade, a *spatial typology* has been established.

The advantaged areas split into the following, based on their behavior and role inside the

system:

- an *effervescent area*, including the regional pole; through its demographic weight, economic diversity and dynamics this area is a real engine of the territorial system, "carrying" area, through which the area is connected to complex external flows and which also has an important role in assuring the competiveness of the region at a supra-regional scale;
- an *area in crisis* where traditional activities collapsed and economic revival signs are modest;
- an *affirmation area*, which although affected by economic involution that is inevitable in the case of political regime change and the shifting from centralized regime to a free competition one, has managed in the 1999-2002 interval to straighten itself out, putting to good use the resources it has, in tight relation with the effervescent area, from where the demand for tourism in special, comes from.

The disadvantaged areas have been classified based upon *the relations that they have with the advantaged areas and the problems* that through their gravity determine their placement in this category and can form obstacles in their development. The typology for these areas is as follows:

- *profound rural areas*: areas with average and high degree of isolation, with weak connections between settlements, poorly polarized by urban centers, and in risk of social service de-structuring, in which agricultural production is mostly destined for their use, and are generally disconnected from the evolutions of the rest of territorial system;
- *integrated rural areas:* they have a better position in the system and develop capital flows towards the other components, but especially towards the effervescent area, their potential being affirmed in the context of the effervescent area's needs; even if it is presently a partially used potential, recent evolutions prove the existence of opening and flexibility that are necessary – sometimes in a small amount, but any sign of revival is important – for creating an area capable of decisional autonomy on a long term;
- *agricultural areas* are somewhat situated at a distance from the major connection axis of the system or at a distance from the effervescent area, they occupy an intermediary position between the types mentioned above, have a function directly bound to the productivity of the soil, without any signs of putting to good use of other elements.

The hierarchy of urban centers shown in the model has been based on the polarization capacity or the types of relations – cooperation, subordination, competition and indifference – between cities (Ianoş, Humeau, 2000).

The typology that has been established for the urban poles inside the territorial system of Romanian Banat has taken into account the results of these researches, as well as the INDEZV values ant their evolutions in the analyzed interval (Fig. 22).

The territorial model puts in light some needed measures for rebalancing the region:

- the sustained development of some urban central points is needed in order to stimulate the diffusion of development in the disadvantaged areas;
- putting into good use the complex potential (e.g. tourism, agriculture, forestry, thermal water, traditional handmaded products) in order to stop the centrifugal demographic flux and to change the repulsive character of some rural areas;
- improvement of intraregional connectivity;
- the inter-communal projects and the efforts for reviving the regional identity and civil responsibility stimulating the inhabitants to assume the role of territorial actor would also be

essential for maintaining the system as a functional one.

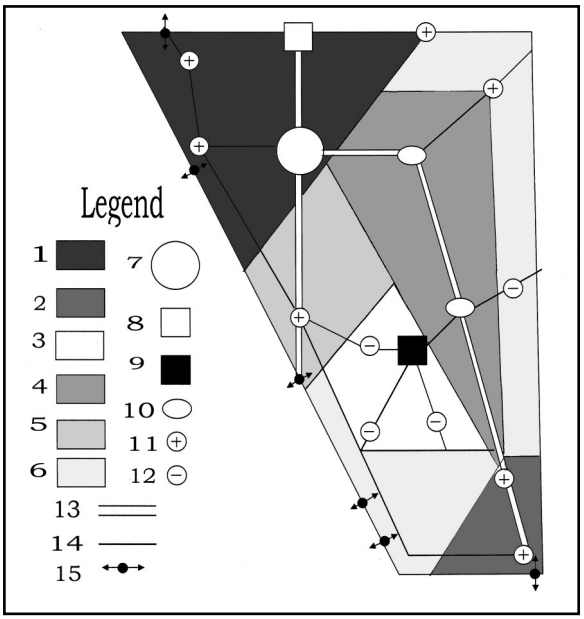

Fig. 22 – **The territorial model of the Romanian Banat**
(Legend: 1: effervescent area, 2: affirmation area, 3: area in crisis, 4: integrated rural areas, 5: agricultural areas, 6: profound rural areas, 7: regional pole with complex functions, 8: subregional pole with complex functions, in growth, 9: urban pole with complex functions in decline, 10: urban pole with mixt functions, 11: local pole, in growth, 12: local pole in decline, 13: international road, 14: national road, 15: crossborder point)

Conclusions

The geographic space is by excellence heterogeneous and geographers have always sought to reveal its diversity.

More than that, the study of territorial disparities enables to measure how much the different components of the system deviate from a norm and to show – in a diachronic analysis – the repercussions on the functioning and performances of the territorial system.

Romanian Banat, recognized historical region, is still not a conventional region, as long as it is constructed in terms of *represented and perceived space* and has limits that correspond to the area of extension of the feeling of devotion shown by its inhabitants.

With all these, the functioning of the region in the context of communism and later in the years of transition towards a market economy influenced the coherence and outlined some differences.

The study of the territorial disparities – both elementary and global ones – and of their dynamic 1992-2002, emphasized some advantaged and disadvantaged areas and led to the establishment of a territorial model which offers a clear synthesis of the territorial issues in this region.

The clearest dichotomy is that between the regional pole (city Timisoara) with its surroundings – the most dynamic and the most receptive at the same time – and the rest of the region.

If this fact is positive from the perspective of *regional competitiveness*, the *coherence*, is, on the

other hand, so much more affected.

The established regional model offers a clear synthesis of the territorial issues in this region and also guides in finding some needed rebalancing measures.

Thus, the study of territorial disparities proves its efficency as first obligatory step for studies on improving territorial cohesion.

The approach has an important voluntary component, which presumes detecting the solutions for eliminating disparities.

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RESIDENTIAL DIFFERENTIATION AT TWO GEOGRAPHIC SCALES – THE METROPOLITAN AREA AND THE CITY: THE CASE OF TEL AVIV

Itzhak OMER
Department of Geography and Human Environment, Tel Aviv University, Israel

Abstract: The research of residential differentiation in cities is concentrated on one geographic scale such as metropolitan areas, cities, or counties. As a result, we have relatively little information regarding the extent of residential differentiation and its spatial pattern at different geographic scales. This paper examines the residential differentiation within the socio-spatial structure of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area as it was in 1995. The analysis is conducted at two geographic scales. The first analyzes the entire metropolitan area as one spatial entity; the second examines the 22 cities located within that area. We applied the method of classical factorial social ecology to investigate residential differentiation along the social dimensions of ethnicity, socio-economic status and family status (stage in the family life cycle) in their spatial expression at the metropolitan and city geographic scales. The findings indicated that residential differentiation in the metropolitan area and in cities tends to be dominated by the ethnic dimension, which is most closely associated with the socio-economic dimension. The relative independence of family status enables the formation of socially diverse residential areas which are often organized in nearly a sectoral-concentric pattern. In general, residential differentiation was more significant at the geographic scale of cities.

Key Words: *factorial social ecology, residential differentiation, geographic scale, ethnicity, Tel Aviv metropolitan area.*

Introduction

The concept 'scale' is various defined in research of city. As Batty (2005) points out, we use scale to describe two things: the level of resolution at which we observe the city, such as streets and neighborhoods, and the level of functional differentiation that takes place at diverse locations or city sizes (Batty 2005, p. 34-36). These two meanings of scale are central to the research of urban residential differentiation or segregation. Yet, the literature often does not clearly distinguish between the two meanings, a situation that has led to their inconsistent application. Here we use the term 'level of resolution' to refer to the size of the spatial unit for which data are collected (e.g., streets, blocks, quarters) and the term 'geographic scale' to refer to the various functional levels of a geographic area (i.e., the location in which residential segregation is examined, such as the nation-state, county, metropolitan area and city)[1)].

The research of residential differentiation in cities varies by the level of resolution, the analysis of socio-demographic variables (e.g. socio-economic status and ethnicity) and the dimensions of segregation (e.g., evenness, exposure and clustering) examined. Common to most of this research is the concentration on one geographic scale, whether metropolitan areas, cities, or counties. We consequently have relatively little information regarding the extent of residential differentiation and its spatial expression at different geographic scales (Reardon et al., 2009).

1) Our use of the term 'geographical scale' corresponds to Reardon et al.'s (2008) definition: *"the dimensions of identifiable social or physical features of a landscape"*.

The geographic scale at which residential differentiation appears dominant is a crucial variable for the description and understanding of residential segregation and inter-group exposure. In recognition of its importance, several authors have recently referred to the intensity of segregation – especially racial segregation – at different scales: tracts, cities, and suburbs in U.S. metropolitan areas (Farrell, 2008; Fischer, 2004; Reardon et al., 2008; 2009). Analysis of residential segregation at different geographic scales is also necessary to improve our understanding of the development of metropolitan areas impacts on the social segregation within cities and suburbs as well as the spatial expression of that segregation. Such an analysis would enable the investigation of questions such as: Are the social dimensions of residential differentiation and their spatial expression similar on the metropolitan and the city scale? Does the classic three-factor model of residential differentiation (family status, socio-economic status and ethnicity) and its spatial expression as elaborated in 'factorial social ecology' (also known as 'social ecology' or 'urban ecology') studies apply equally to the metropolitan and the city scale (Fischer, 2004)?

The aim of the current study is to investigate the socio-spatial structure of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area in its 1995 structure at two geographic scales. The first analyzes the Tel Aviv metropolitan area as one spatial entity; the second examines the 22 cities located within that area. The Tel Aviv metropolitan area is currently at an advanced stage of development when compared to other metropolitan areas in Israel (Shachar, 1997); its residents in 1995 represent 57% of Israel's total urban population. Based on the factorial social ecology methodology as applied to cities, we examine the relative involvement and importance of socio-economic status, ethnicity and family status as sources for the formation of residential patterns of diverse social areas on each of the two scales.

The examination of socio-spatial structure on these two scales will enable formation of responses to two questions. First, how is Israel's social structure reflected in residential patterns on both these levels? An especially salient factor requiring in-depth study among the Jewish population is ethnicity. In Israel, this factor is related to the country of origin, most commonly between "Mizrahim" (of Near Eastern and African origin) and "Ashkenazim" (of European and American origin). Within such a context, the relationship of ethnicity to socio-economic status is especially germane. For instance, how does the residential environment reflect trends in intensifying ethnicity and multiculturalism on the one hand and increasing inequality in income distribution on the other (Cohen, 1998; Yonah and Shenhav, 2005)? Second, an understanding of the socio-spatial system on multiple scales is necessary for our ability to respond to the question of whether metropolitan areas and the cities within them can be considered distinct socio-spatial entities. In our case, we ask how does consolidation of a socio-spatial structure as part of the development of metropolitan Tel Aviv affect the residential patterns of distinctive social areas within its cities? That is, do the metropolitan area's cities represent part of socially distinct areas within the emerging metropolitan area or do they also represent autonomous socio-spatial entities having their own unique socio-spatial structure?

The paper is organized as follows. The first part presents the methodological framework, including a brief review of the principles of factorial social ecology as applied in Western cities, a delineation of the research questions as well as a description of the variables, the data and the statistical analysis. The second part will focus on the socio-spatial organization of metropolitan Tel Aviv. In the third part, we discuss the socio-spatial character of the cities within the metropolitan area. In the fourth part we present the research findings and our conclusions.

Methodological framework

One of the basic issues raised in research on social geography pertains to the major social dimensions of residential differentiation, the magnitude of segregation related to these dimensions in addition to their geographic manifestation. Based on the study of various Western cities during the modern era, considerable data has accumulated indicating the priority of three dimensions in the determination of urban residential distribution: socio-economic status, ethnicity and family status (stage in the family life cycle). A statistical analysis of the spatial organization of European and American cities by means of factorial ecology has produced two important findings (Berry and Kasarda, 1977; Davies, 1984; Davies and Murdie 1991; Wyly, 1999): (a) the major social dimensions are quite distinguishable and (b) among the three dimensions, socio-economic status is generally the main factor determining population distribution by residential area.

The priority of socio-economic status over ethnicity and the considerable lack of connection between the social dimensions reflect three variables that distinguish contemporary Western cities from cities found in traditional societies, where social areas are primarily ethnic in character. First, access and housing market conditions allow considerable spatial spread of residential housing when compared to the functional center of the city. Second, the separation between a person's achievement status from her ascription status is expressed in the interdependence between socio-economic status and ethnicity. Third, socio-economic status is a more powerful determinant of residential location than is ethnicity.

Social ecological studies have shown that European and American cities closely resemble one another in their spatial expression of social dimensions, with each social dimension exhibiting a consistent and distinctive spatial pattern (Cadwallader, 2001; Davies, 1984; Davies and Murdie 1991; Wyly, 1999). Figure 1 presents an ideal representation of these spatial patterns.

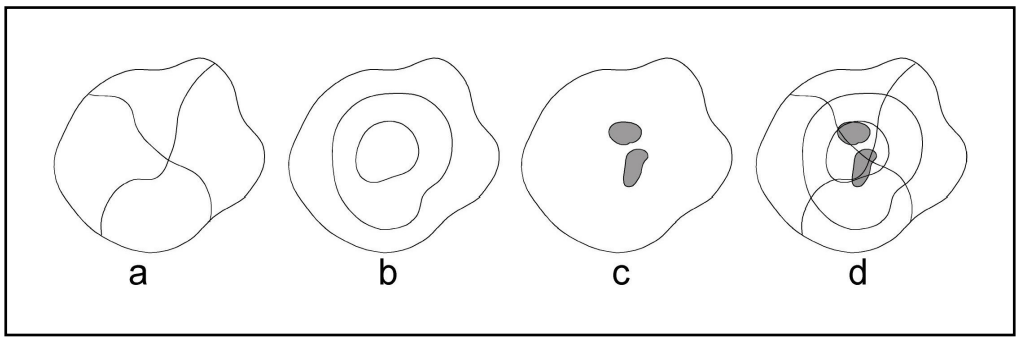

Fig.1 - **Idealized spatial patterns of the factorial ecology model:** (a) socio-economic status – sector pattern; (b) family status – concentric pattern; (c) ethnicity – enclaves; (d) composite model (sector-concentric-enclave lattice). (after: Cadwallader, 2001).

The spatial distribution of the population along the socio-economic dimension can be identified in the sector pattern that emerged from the upper classes' tendency to select prestigious places of residence (Fig. 1a). The scope and location of the respective sectors thus express the city's socio-economic (or class) structure. In contrast, distribution of the population according to the family status creates a pattern of concentric areas, with each area representing a different stage in the family life (Fig. 1b). In the city center, we generally find small families with a very young or elderly head of household, meaning the absence of families

in the early stages of the life cycle, that is, families having a large number of young children.

In contrast, the ethnic dimension creates a pattern of enclaves (Fig. 1c). In a society where ethnic minorities are minimal, the sector and concentric patterns merge to create a composite model comprised of sectors, concentric rings and enclaves, articulated in a wide variety of social areas within the city (Fig. 1d). Given its spontaneous emergence, the composite sector-concentric pattern can be considered as complementing two social forces, with the first reflecting inter-group relationships and the second reflecting relationships to the city center.

It is worth noting that despite the transformations undergone by cities in the postmodern and global era (e.g., Castells 2002), expressed in the formation of unique as well as heterogeneous social areas in the city, the factorial ecological model has yet been found relevant for understanding the social structure of Western cities (Davies and Murdie 1991; Wyly, 1999). Notwithstanding the above, research on socio-spatial structure and the relative dominance of different dimensions has been undertaken on a single geographic scale, usually on the level of the metropolitan area.

However, in this research we examine the socio-spatial structure of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area as a whole as well as the cities within it while testing for the dominance of the social dimensions and emerging spatial patterns. To do so we apply the factorial ecology methods ('social area analysis' and 'principal component analysis'). The residential segregation is referred to through the dimension of evenness as indicated by the means of 'coefficients of variation' (CV)[2)].

The social composition of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area, like that of Israeli society in general, is unique primarily due to its highly varied ethnic composition. As a result, the Jewish population is characterized by polarization based on country of origin (Mizrahim versus Ashkenazim), ethnicity-community (Jews versus Arabs), religiosity (the ultra-Orthodox versus the secular) and, to some degree, type of workers (foreign versus local). Here we focus on the ethnicity–community dimension among the Jewish population.

Research in the socio-spatial structure of Israel's metropolitan areas and cities, especially when applying the factorial ecology approach, has indicated that the ethnicity-community dimension, together with socio-economic status and family status, are dominant in the formation of social areas. This research includes the Haifa metropolitan area (Gradus 1976) and cities such as Ashqelon and Rehovot (Krakower, 1989), and Beer-Sheva (Gradus and Blustein-Libnon, 2001), but primarily the city of Tel Aviv and the Tel Aviv metropolitan area (Hasson and Choshen, 2003; Schnell 2009). Studies conducted in 1961 and 1972 on the socio -spatial structure of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area (Hershkovitz, 1984; Shachar et al., 1978) reported considerable association between the ethnicity-community, the demographic and the socio-economic dimensions, a phenomenon also found in some developing countries (Shachar et al., 1978). Nonetheless, as Hershkowitz (1984) has reported, during the 1960s (between the 1961 and the 1972 census), changes occurred that provide evidence for the weakening of this association: first, family status begins to act "independently"; second, a "weakening of the association between the ethnic-communal and the socioeconomic dimension" became evident (Hershkowitz, 1984, 53). The current investigation was conducted, among other things, to ascertain whether this trend was continuing.

2) The Coefficient of Variation (CV) is defined as the ratio of the standard deviation to the mean. We used CV instead of standard deviation in order to enable comparison of dimensions that have different means and units as well as different geographic scales.

Research objectives

The purpose of the current research was to estimate the relative influence of socio-economic status, ethnicity and family status as determinants of the division of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area and its cities into social areas. In the course of the research we also attempted to explore whether a common socio-spatial pattern for Israeli cities could be discern. Specifically, the investigation aimed to provide answers to the following questions:

1. What is the level of congruence or separation between the social dimensions, especially ethnicity and socio-economic status, and what is the spectrum of social areas consequently created?
2. What is the relative dominance of each social dimension as a determinant of socio–spatial differentiation?
3. What spatial patterns do social areas emerging within a metropolitan area and its cities exhibit?

Definitions: Research scale, data and variables

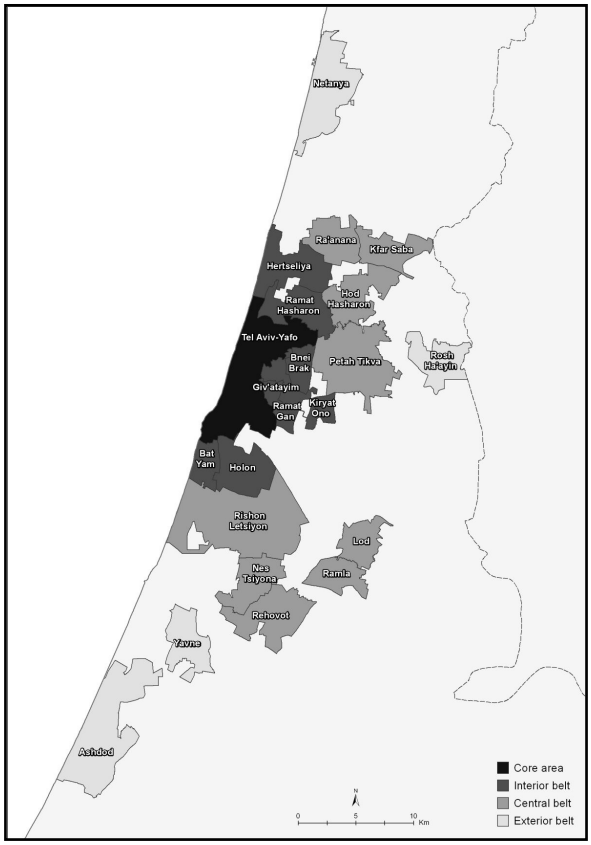

Fig. 2 - **Spatial structure of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area and its cities.**

The current research focuses on the Tel Aviv metropolitan area as defined in 1995 by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (ICBS) (see Fig. 2).

The research covers those urban settlements in the area having a population of over 20,000 in 1995. This group includes 22 settlements that we will refer to as "cities in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area". The total population of the selected cities in 1995 was about 2.1 million out of a total population of 2.5 million residing within the Tel Aviv metropolitan area. The data, by urban statistical area, was obtained from the 1995 Census of Population and Housing, the most detailed of all CBS-published surveys.

In factorial social-ecological studies generally, the variables representing the social dimensions are defined as follows: socio-economic status is represented by average (monthly) income and median education; family status (stage in the family life cycle) is represented by the percentage of children aged 0–14 as well as family size; ethnicity-community is represented by the percentage of people of Asian (primarily Near-Eastern) and African origin among the Jewish population (i.e., the proportion of

the population born in Asia-Africa or whose fathers were born in Asia-Africa among all Jewish residents in a statistical area)[3]. People of Asian-African origin represent about 37% of the entire population covered in the research (about 2.1 million people). For the sake of simplicity, we will use the phrase "Mizrahi origin" when referring to this group and the term "Western origin" when referring to the rest of the population even though it may include Israeli-born children of fathers also born in Israel.

Because ethnicity-community is relevant solely to the Jewish population, and because our purpose was to examine the relationship of this variable with other variables, we focus here on the Jewish population only. A complementary and separate study was also conducted among the Arabic population in Ramle[4], Lod and Tel-Aviv–Yafo, cities having a notably Arab presence. This second study included an investigation into the relative importance of ethnic-national identity (Arab versus Jew) in comparison to the other social dimensions: socio-economic status, family status and ethnicity-religiousity (Christian versus Muslim) as determinants of the Arabic population's distribution among various residential areas.

Socio-spatial structure in the Tel Aviv Metropolitan Area

Our investigation as reported in this section was aimed at shedding light on the consolidation of social areas and on their residential spatial patterns as they appear in metropolitan Tel Aviv. This part of the study was based on an estimation of the level of association between social dimensions, their relative dominance and the organization of the subsequent spatial patterns.

*The association between the social dimensions. E*stimation of the association between the social dimensions was conducted by means of a correlation analysis, as applied in the 'social area analysis' approach. The relationship between the social dimensions was examined at the level of resolution of statistical areas (the most detailed spatial units for which census data are published by the ICBS). Included in the examination were all the statistical areas demarcated within the cities in metropolitan Tel Aviv (a total of 665 areas). Results of the model are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Correlations between the social dimensions in metropolitan Tel Aviv.

Social Dimension	Variable	% of Children	Family Size	'Mizrahi' origin	Income	Education
Family status (life-cycle stage)	% of Children	------				
	Family Size	0.85	------			
Ethnicity	'Mizrahi' origin	0.16	0.25	------		
Socio-economic status	Income	-0.11	0.04	-0.47	------	
	Education	-0.09	-0.15	-0.45	0.53	------

All the correlation coefficients whose absolute values were greater than 0.1 were found to be significant at the level of 0.001. The results indicated a clear and meaningful correlation

3) Two variables were used to construct this variable: the percentage of those born in Asia-Africa (of all those born abroad) and the percentage of the population in which the father was born in Asia-Africa (of all Israeli-born). The decision to combine the two variables into one variable was based on findings indicating that Mizrahi immigrants (the first generation) and their children (the second generation) evidence similar socio-economic characteristics (see for example Cohen 1998).

4) ICBS publications do not list "nationality" but do use religion as an indicator differentiating between the Jewish and non-Jewish population. The Arabic population was therefore considered here as part of the non-Jewish population.

between ethnic origin and first, level of income and second, education stood at -0.47 and -0.45, respectively. These correlations indicated a significant association between the presence of families of Mizrahi origin and the presence of families of low socio-economic status within the same statistical areas. In contrast, excluding a moderate association between large families and families of Mizrahi origin, we find the residential distribution of the family dimension to be quite independent of the effects of the other dimensions. These findings indicate the possibility of consolidating diversified social areas within metropolitan Tel Aviv, the only exception being strong (i.e., wealthy) residential areas having a large proportion of Mizrahi residents.

Social Areas and their Geographic Distribution. In order to clarify how associations existing between the social dimensions were reflected in the consolidation of social areas, the SPSS program (ver. 11) was used to perform a principal component analysis in two ways. In the first, the analysis was conducted to clarify the variance between the variables without orthogonal rotation. In the second, the analysis was conducted according to the varimax criterion, an attempt was made to associate the minimum number of variables to each factor by means of orthogonal rotation. Results from the two analyses appear in Table 2.

Table 2

Factor analysis of the variables representing the social dimensions in metropolitan Tel Aviv.

Variables	Discrimination Axis (Unrotated)			Discrimination Axis (Varimax)		
	Factors			Factors		
	I	II	III	I	II	III
% children aged 0-14	.677	.673	-.111		-	-
Average family size	.707	.655	.-		-	.141
Mizrahi origin	.701	-.363	.607	-		.935
Income	-.613	.561	-.199	-		-.272
Education (median years of study)	-.643	.499	-.361	-	.876	-.131

The geographic mapping of the factors allows us to observe the degree to which and where the social areas identified by the analysis are concentrated. Figure 3 presents a spatial representation for each social dimension obtained by factor analysis (varimax method) for each factors. Due to the multiplicity of statistical areas, the factors were mapped according to the average values computed for the metropolitan area's cities.

The result of the first analysis (without orthogonal rotation) indicated the formation of social areas along two main factors (axes) that together explained about 76% of the variables' variance. The first factor (Factor I), which explained 45% of the variance, differentiated between weak socio-economic areas in which there was a high rate of families of Mizrahi origin and young families, and strong socio-economic areas in which there was a high rate of Ashkenazi families of older family status. A review of the spatial distribution of this factor (Factor I, Fig. 3) indicated that this factor distinguished between areas located primarily in the metropolitan core (Tel Aviv and cities in the interior belt, Fig. 2) containing an economically weak, Mizrahi and young population, and areas located primarily in the metropolitan periphery (cities in the central and exterior belts) in which an economically strong, Ashkenazi and relatively mature population resides. Thanks to the dominance of family status in this factor, its spatial distribution tends to conform to the concentric spatial pattern, in which the weight of families found in the early stage of the family life cycle increased as one moved from the metropolitan core to its periphery.

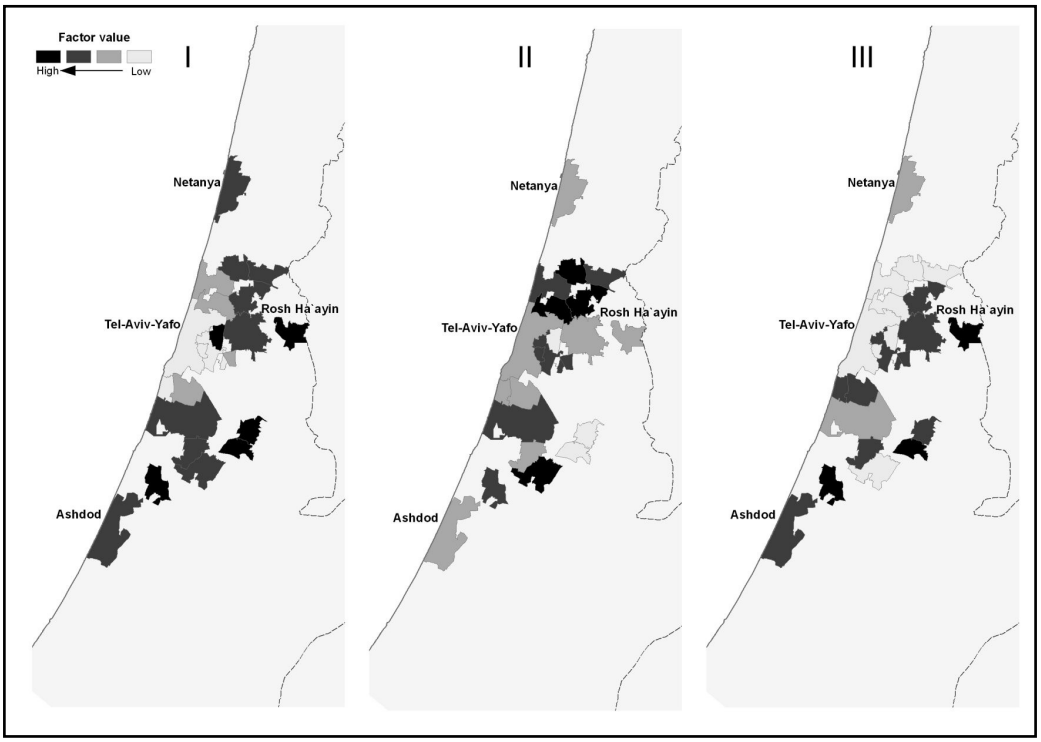

Fig.3 - **A spatial representation of the factor loadings representing the social dimensions in metropolitan Tel Aviv**
(factor loadings are presented in terms of their averages in the cities in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area).

In contrast, the second factor (II), which explained about 31% of the variance, distinguished between strong socio-economic areas in which families in the early stages of the life cycle and of Ashkenazi origin were found from social areas in which families in later stages of the life cycle and of the Mizrahi origin were found. As we can conclude from its spatial distribution (Factor II, Fig. 3), this factor distinguished primarily between the metropolitan area's internal belts, which contained a young, Ashkenazi and wealthy population, and the metropolitan core as well as its periphery, in which we found an older, Mizrahi and economically weak population. With the exception of the concentration of high factor values in the northern sector of the internal and central belts, which stretch north of Tel Aviv (from Ramat HaSharon to Herzliya, Hod HaSharon, Kfar Saba and Raanana), an area that we treated as a relatively distinct sector, the spatial distribution of this factor made it difficult to identify specific sectors in other parts of the metropolitan area. Along the third factor, which explained only 11% of the variance, we identified social areas that could be distinguished primarily on the basis of ethnic and socio-economic status, and only marginally according to family status. This implied that the spatial distribution of the population by family status did not follow the patterns set by socio-economic status or ethnicity.

These results were based on the association between socio-economic status and ethnicity, and the independence of family status from the effects of the other two dimensions. The association

between the socio-economic dimension that was observed in each of the factors (see Table 2) also found clearer and visible expression in their spatial association (the loading on the city level was -0.55 with $p < 0.01$).

A comparison of these findings with those obtained in other studies conducted in the same area during the 1960s (Hershkowitz, 1984) indicated that, on the one hand, family status has completed its separation from the other dimensions, a process begun in the early 1970s and, on the other hand, a considerable association continues to exist between socio-economic status and ethnicity, even if that association is less than what was observed in the 1970s.

The socio-spatial structure of cities in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area

A shift in perspective from the metropolitan area as a whole to the spatial structure of the area's cities was done to clarify the status of these cities as distinct socio-spatial entities. We first examined the degree of separation between the social dimensions and their relative dominance. We then examined the spatial patterns of social areas within selected cities. For the sake of simplicity and assuming that the variables constructing the social dimensions were sufficiently correlated, the variables percentage of children aged 0–14 and income level were chosen to represent the family and socio-economic dimensions, respectively.

Levels of association between the social dimensions. An examination of the correlations between the social dimensions by city indicated, as anticipated, that their associations were greater when conducted on the city scale than when conducted on the metropolitan scale. The examination indicated that when we lower the scale, the average correlation between socio-economic status and ethnicity intensifies (from 0.47 on the metropolitan scale to 0.54 on the city scale), although we can also observe an increase in the correlation between family status and socio-economic status (from 0.11 to 0.34) as well as family status and ethnicity (from 0.16 to 0.23). The differences, however, were not great. Excluding the correlation between the socio-economic dimension and the family status dimension, which reflected a stage in the city's development, the composition of social areas in each city tended to resemble the composition of the social areas throughout the metropolitan area. Each of the metropolitan area's cities, excluding the city of Ashdod[5)], exhibited a negative correlation between socio-economic status and ethnicity. Nonetheless, a highly varied range of values was obtained with no consistent correlations between family status and the other two dimensions (ethnicity and socio-economic status), as presented in Figure 4. As a result, the respective cities were distinguished by the type and variety of social areas within their boundaries as well as by the conditions supporting the formation of their spatial patterns.

As already noted, the consolidation of a combined pattern (sector-concentric) depended on a low correlation between socio-economic status and family status (the vertical dimension in Fig. 4). In the cities of Nes Ziona, Herzliya, Ramat Hasharon and Tel Aviv, for example, the low correlation between socio-economic status and family status provided more convenient conditions for the consolidation of a combined pattern in comparison to other cities, such Hod Hasharon, Givatayim and Lod, where those correlations are high. In contrast, the correlation between the family status and ethnicity (the horizontal axis in Fig. 4) was likely to weaken or, alternatively, strengthen this pattern.

5) The uniqueness of Ashdod is explained by the relatively high proportion of new immigrants who arrived from the former Soviet Union in 1990 and thereafter. This population is categorized as Western/ Ashkenazi The negative correlation between income level and Ashkenazi origin can thus be explained by this population relatively low income.

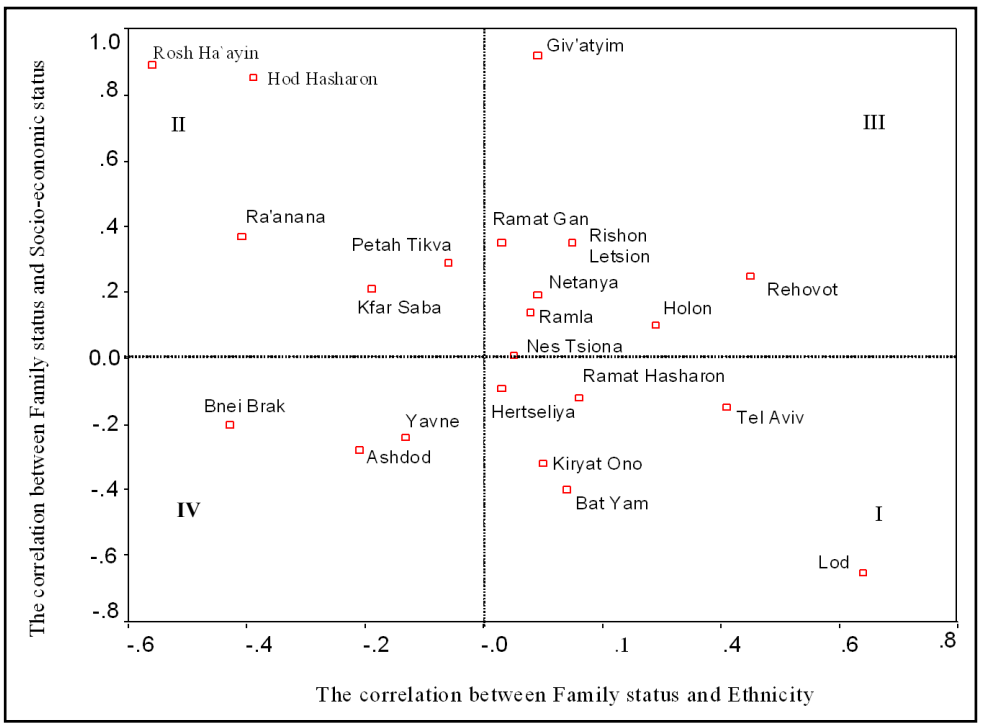

Fig. 4 - **Correlation between the social dimensions in cities in metropolitan Tel Aviv**

In order to categorize the cities according to the social areas within them, we found it convenient to distinguish between the four quadrants in Figure 4 that represent groups of cities according to the positive/negative values of their correlations. The correlation levels in the first group of cities (quadrant I) created conditions convenient for the existence of a relatively high frequency of only certain types of social areas, specifically, economically strong areas that were identified with older families of Ashkenazi origin; alternatively, they also supported the creation of economically weak social areas, identified with young families of Mizrahi origin. The frequencies of the areas depended on the strength of the correlations between the dimensions. The social areas that characterized the cities in the first group were not found at similar frequencies in other of the metropolitan area's cities, especially those located in the second group (quadrant II), which exhibited a greater frequency of social areas identified with young, economically strong families of Ashkenazi origin as well as social areas identified with families that are older, economically weaker and Mizrahi in origin. Such a mixture of social areas characterize cities such Rosh Ha'ayin and Hod Hasharon, which grew quickly as a result of the establishment of new neighborhoods occupied by a young and economically strong population during the 1980s and 1990s.

In contrast, the other two groups of cities (quadrants III, IV) exhibited no correlations between family status and socio-economic status with respect to ethnicity. Such a situation is potentially conducive to the creation of a wide range of social areas but, simultaneously, also presents difficulties in the consolidation of distinctive areas. In these two quadrants we can readily observe the absence of cities located far from the diagram's center; that is, there are no cities

having social areas characterized by young families of Mizrahi origin who are economically strong (III) or areas in which the population is young, of Ashkenzi origin and economically weak (IV).

The relative dominance of social dimensions. In order to ascertain the relative dominance of the social dimensions in cities of Tel Aviv metropolitan area, the coefficient of variation (CV) was computed between the population distribution and each social dimension, by statistical area. The comparison of the CV values clearly revealed that the ethnic dimension is the most meaningful determinant of social segregation in the city. The CV for the socio-economic, the family and the ethnic dimensions on the city scale was 0.23, 0.24 and 0.34, respectively, whereas the CV for these dimensions on the metropolitan scale (i.e., the variance between the average values for the 22 cities in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area) was 0.17, 0.22 and 0.23, respectively. A comparison between the average variance for each of the cities and the average variance between the cities indicates that social segregation, especially polarization based on ethnicity, was greater within cities than in the metropolitan area as a whole. This finding implies that the city represents the geographic scale on which the most significant social segregation was found.

An analysis of the distribution of the cities according to their variance along the three axes representing the three social dimensions (Fig. 5) indicated that the relative dominance between the dimensions was not consistent. An attempt to identify the ordering principle behind their distributions led to the cities' categorization into four groups. The first group included cities such as Tel Aviv and Rosh Ha'ayin, where the coefficients of variation were higher than average for all the dimensions, especially ethnicity and socio-economic status. In the second group, which included cities such as Raanana and Kfar Saba, the relative dominance of ethnicity increased, with the variance significantly higher than average on the ethnic dimension yet lower with respect to the two other dimensions. The third group included cities such as Yavne and Rehovot, in which the ethnic as well as the socio-economic dimensions are relatively dominant. In contrast, as shown in Figure 5, in the fourth group of cities, which included Bat Yam, Givatayim, Holon and Nes Ziona, family status dominated.

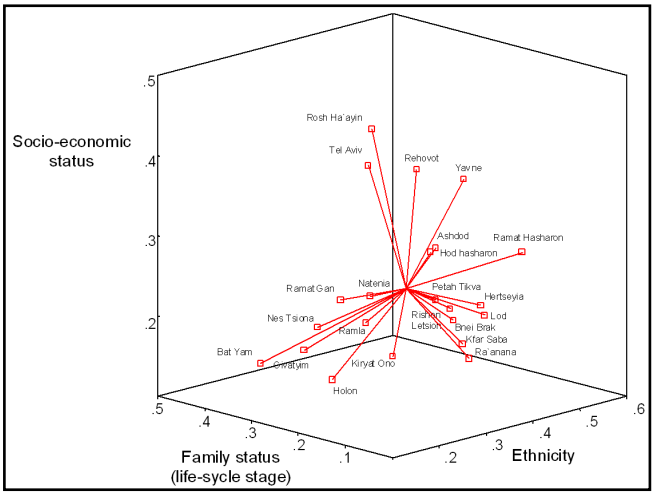

Fig.5 - **Coefficients of variation of social dimensions in cities in metropolitan Tel Aviv**

The findings indicate clear association between the ethnic and the socio-economic dimensions in the cities located in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area. It is important to stress that thus association, as indicated here, made it impossible for a city to exhibit high socio-economic variance together with the low ethnic variance (the absence of such a possibility is quite striking, as seen in Fig. 5). Yet, the dependence between socio-economic status and ethnicity was observed to be asymmetric. That is, socio-economic variance depended on the existence of ethnic variance, but not the opposite; we found no instance in

which high socio-economic variance was accompanied by low ethnic variance. Although it was possible to find a small number of cases in which the opposite occurred, the overwhelming conclusion that emerged from this analysis is that social polarization can appear in every city in a metropolitan area characterized by the convergence of the ethnic dimension with the socio-economic dimension.

The ethnic dimension has been found to be dominant in countries exhibiting the significant presence of an ethnic minority. Consider Montreal, where the French-speaking community represents a large minority population that is closely identified with low socio-economic status when compared with the English-speaking population, which is closely identified with high socio -economic status (e.g. Le Bourdais and Beaudry 1988).

In order to complete our analysis of the ethnic dimension, an additional and independent study was conducted among Arab residents in cities such as Ramle, Lod and Tel Aviv–Yafo, cities having a considerable Arab presence. An analysis of variance in the selected cities clearly indicated that the ethnic-national dimension was the major dimension determining segregation (CV=1.98). A comparison of the other dimensions studied here – the ethnicity- community (CV= 0.52), the socio-economic (CV= 0.35) and the family status (CV= 0.30) – were all less meaningful. When focusing solely on those residential areas in which Arab residents lived in significant numbers[6)], we found that the population was divided primarily according to ethnic-religious origin (CV= 1.14), a variable that divided the residents into Christians and Moslems, and to a lesser degree according to socio-economic status (CV= 0.41) and family status (CV=0.43 . The implications of this finding are that the ethnic dimension represents the primary determinant of residential differentiation in mixed cities as well as among the Arab populations residing there.

Patterns of socio-spatial distribution in selected cities. In order to clarify as well as demonstrate the manner in which the relative dominance of the social dimensions and their correlations are expressed in spatial patterns within cities, we observed six cities that appeared to represent the range of patterns found in cities in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area. These cities were: Tel Aviv, Netanya, Ashdod, Bat Yam, Kfar Saba, and Ramle, cities that likewise represent different parts of the metropolitan area as well as city sizes. Figure 6 shows the spatial patterns observed in each according to the three social dimensions.

As already mentioned, Tel Aviv is notable in its socio-spatial polarization along each of these social dimensions as well as in the clear expression of integrated spatial patterns resulting from the very low correlation between the socio-economic and the family status dimension. We can also discern the variance of the family dimension is expressed in a concentric pattern according to the proportion of younger residents, which is low in the city center and high in its periphery. In addition, we see the variance in the socio-economic dimension as expressed in two distinct sectors that represent polarization between "North Tel Aviv" and "South Tel Aviv". It therefore appears that within each sector, the population is further divided by stage in the family life cycle. The association between ethnicity and family status implies that ethnicity is congruent with the sector-concentric spatial pattern. As we can see in the map of Tel Aviv (Fig. 6), it encompasses economically weak areas identified with a young population of Mizrahi origin or economically strong areas having few residents of Mizrahi origin.

6) Arab residential areas were defined as those statistical areas in which the non-Jewish population exceeded 40% (see note 2).

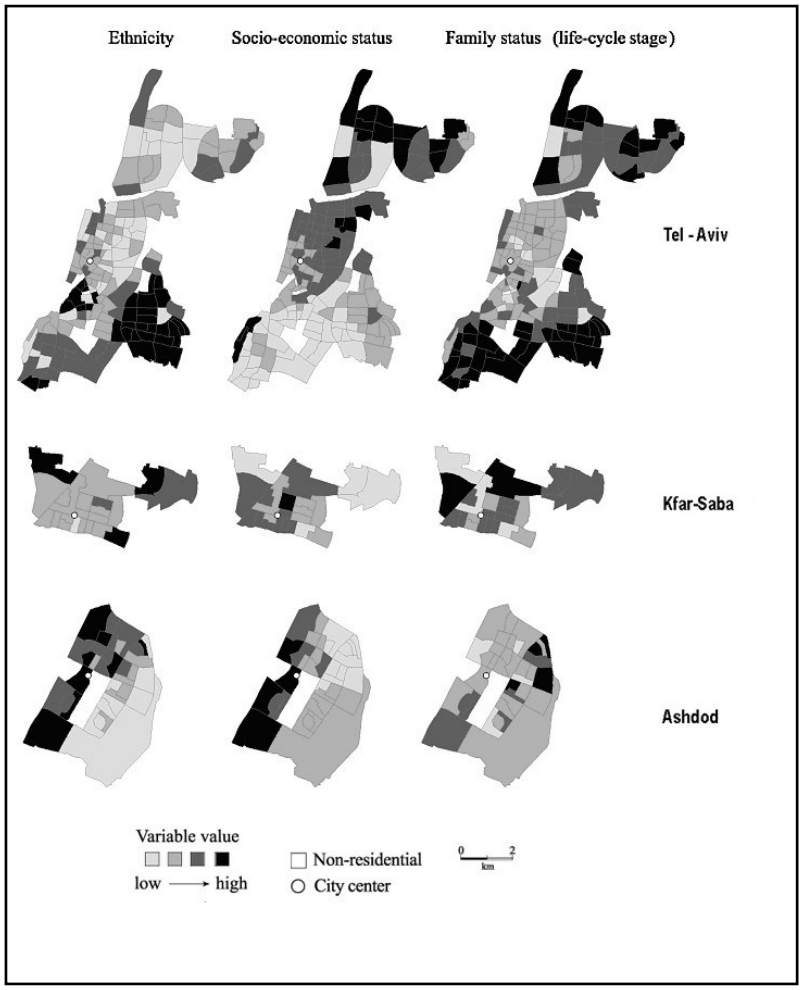

Fig.6 - **Spatial patterns of the social dimensions as observed in selected cities in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area**

Kfar Saba is typical of those cities where ethnicity has priority over the two other dimensions but it also resembles those cities where economically strong residential areas are identified with young Ashkenazi families. Hence, we can readily observe that the spatial pattern expressing the ethnic dimension closely resembles the sector-concentric pattern[7]. Another case, Ashdod, is the only city in metropolitan Tel Aviv to exhibit a positive correlation between the ethnic and the socio-economic dimension. That is, an economically strong social area identified with a Mizrahi population and an economically weak social area having a higher rate

7) Even though the social-structural and ethnic polarization is expressed differently in Tel Aviv and Kfar Saba – north–south in Tel Aviv as opposed to core–periphery in the suburban cities – the source of this polarization can be associated with the settlement in the cities of new immigrants of primarily Mizrahi origin in the years prior to and immediately after establishment of the State. This phenomenon also found significant spatial expression between residential areas (Gonen 1984).

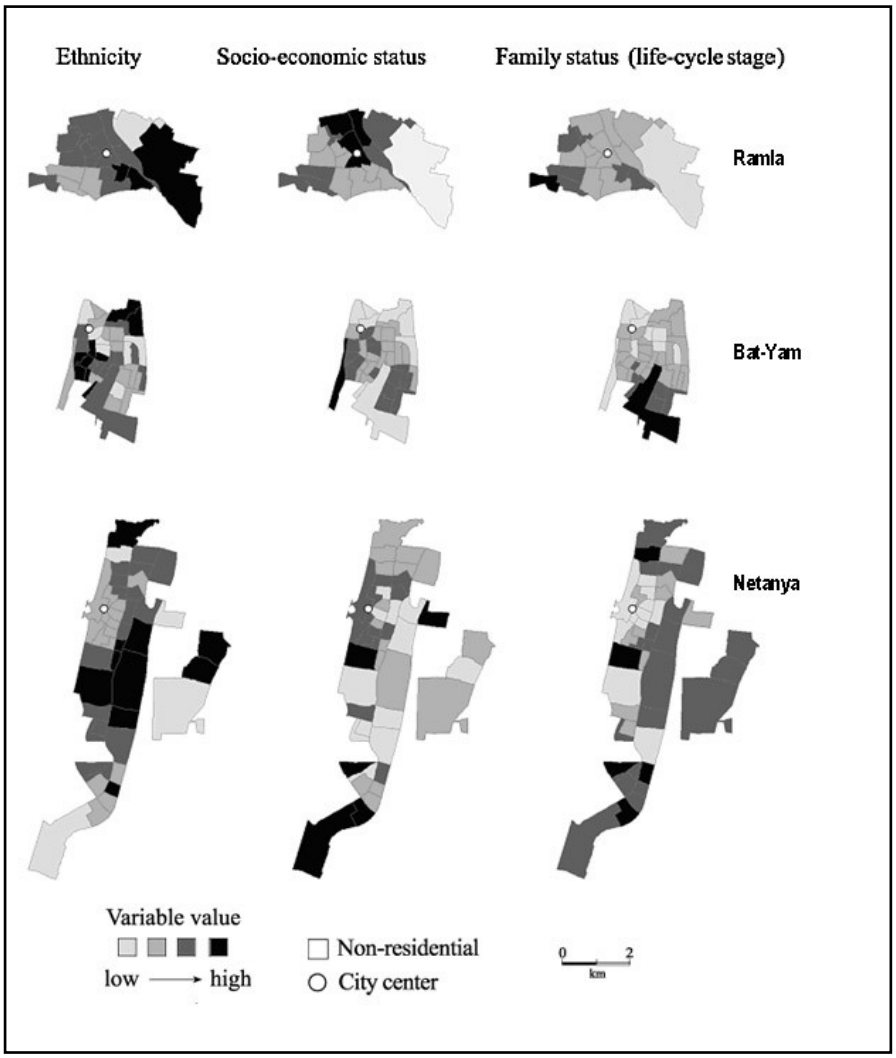

Fig.6 (continue) - **Spatial patterns of the social dimensions as observed in selected cities in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area**

of Ashkenazi residents (including a large proportion of new immigrants from the former Soviet Union). However, this unique phenomenon does not prevent the almost total spatial association between the ethnic dimension and the socio-economic dimension. In Ramle, we can clearly identify a tendency toward a sectoral-concentric spatial pattern as an expression of low correlations between the family dimension and the ethnicity and the socio-economic dimensions (0.09 and 0.19, respectively).

The spatial patterns exhibited by the previously described cities represent the relative

dominance holding between the social dimensions and their separation in cities found within the Tel Aviv metropolitan area. In addition to these, other relatively unique cities can be identified that can enrich the variety of socio-spatial patterns found in metropolitan Tel Aviv cities. Bat Yam, for example, represents a small group of cities in which family status dominates over the other two dimensions. The family status spatial pattern can thus be identified to a considerable extent according to its concentric form. Netanya's uniqueness is obvious in the weakness of the socio-economic dimension in comparison to the ethnic and the family dimensions. In addition, Netanya is included among the group of cities exhibiting little if any correlation between the family status and the socio-economic status with respect to the ethnic dimension, which may contain the potential for more numerous types of social areas. The combination of these two characteristics in Netanya expresses the difficulty involved in identifying some underlying order in the spatial patterns of its social areas.

The main findings from this investigation indicate that cities in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area are differentiated by the composition and variety of their social areas, primarily due to the different relationships holding between the family dimension and the other dimensions. These differences have not, however, prevented the consolidation of a composite spatial pattern in many of those cities. The findings thus imply that cities in the Tel Aviv metropolitan are generally autonomous socio-spatial entities having their own distinctive socio-spatial structure and evidencing significant social segregation.

Findings and Conclusions

The research reported here revealed three main findings.

(a) *Ethnicity is a dominant source of social residential differentiation*. The ethnic dimension was found to be a significant determinant for residential segregation, primarily at the city level. Moreover, in every city studied we also found that socio-economic segregation accompanied ethnic segregation. This finding is especially important in light of the fact that in the majority of western cities, socio-economic status represents the primary source of social segregation. The current findings can thus be explained by as well as support the position that despite the increasing economic inequality in Israeli society, this trend is, surprisingly, characterized by a rise in the importance of ethnicity (Cohen, 1998; Yonah and Shenhav, 2005). The ethnic dimension was also found to be dominant in mixed cities whereas the ethnic-national dimension is the major source for polarization among the Arab population, which is divided primarily according to the religious dimension (Khamaisi, 2008).

(b) *Socio-economic status and ethnicity are highly associated in metropolitan Tel Aviv as well as its cities***.** The association between the socio-economic and the ethnic dimension is expressed at the two geographic scales, the city and the metropolitan area. The spatial patterns accompanying these dimensions tend to association on the metropolitan level but primarily on the city level. However, this association does not prevent the formation of sector-concentric patterns in many cities.

The association between ethnicity and socio-economic status nonetheless evidences asymmetry, with social areas differentiated solely by ethnicity more prevalent than social areas differentiated solely by socio-economic status. The latter areas are generally associated with an identifiable ethnic identity. In any case, the association of a person's socio-economic status (income and education) with her ethnic affiliation represents, even today, a major layer in Israeli society's social structure (Cohen, 1998) that finds visible expression in the residential domain.

(c) *A metropolitan area's cities are distinct socio-spatial entities that maintain a spatial structure of social areas***.** The low level of association between the family status and the socio-economic and ethnic dimensions creates conditions conducive to the formation of a sector-concentric spatial pattern and the consolidation of diverse social areas in cities within the Tel Aviv metropolitan area. In general, the city level is revealed to be the geographic scale on which the most significant social segregation was found.

We can attribute this phenomenon to the unique history of urban settlement in Israel, which was characterized by waves of immigration especially during the early years of the State's existence. During this period, official public housing policies were implemented within the framework of immigrant absorption and population distribution, policies that aimed at the more or less equal residential distribution of immigrants among the urban settlements of metropolitan Tel Aviv (Efrat, 1988; Gonen, 1966; Kalush and Lu-Yuan 2000). As the immigrants generally represented a weak socio-economic population and of predominantly Mizrahi origin, they were settled in distinctive geographical areas, in isolation from the residence areas populated by a population comprised of veteran, relatively wealthy and Ashkenazi individuals. These polices established the conditions for social segregation and polarization at the city level.

In light of the research findings we can depict the socio-spatial structure of Israeli cities as characterized by significant ethnic residential differentiation and considerable association between ethnic and socio-economic dimensions. The existence of a common socio-spatial structure on the metropolitan and on the city level bears witness to the force of these trends in Israeli society. The conclusion to be reached on the basis of the comparison between these two geographic scales – the city and the metropolitan area – is that the city represents the dominant geographic scale with respect to residential differentiation. However, considering the structural tension between these two geographic scales, a long-term investigation is required that takes the development of metropolitan Tel Aviv into consideration.

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THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF FLORENTIN: A WINDOW TO THE GLOBALIZATION OF TEL AVIV

Caroline ROZENHOLC
University of Poitiers - MIGRINTER, University of Clermont-Ferrand, France

Abstract: Aside from open conflicts within Israel-Palestine, the neighborhood of Florentin is a key-space where to observe and decipher how globalization impacts on the daily-life scale and banal forms of identification and territorial appropriation. Situated south of the Tel Aviv Jaffa agglomeration, and standing in between the two historical entities, the neighborhood of Florentin also offers a fertile analytic ground for a better understanding and different narrative of Tel Aviv itself as well as the contemporary Israeli society in some of its complexity and diversity. Here, graffiti and other traces left in the streets and on the walls of Florentin by successive waves of population constitute the thread to follow for deep-reading the place.

Key Words: *globalization, diversity, sense of place, identification, territorial appropriation, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Florentin neighborhood, graffiti*

Introduction: Israel, Tel Aviv, the neighborhood of Florentin and globalization

Thinking about diversity and globalization, Israel-Palestine does not often come to mind first. Neither does the "singularity" of Israel ease the generalization from case studies conducted in the region on global-local topics. On the contrary, working in Israel, the social scientist's attention is most likely to be attracted by the geopolitical intensity of ongoing conflicts and dramatic events. The new forms of territorial appropriations and identity claims are thus rarely seek in the banal[1)] aspects of globalization and more, the societal evolutions of Israel are seldom investigated through the triviality of daily-urban-life. Thus, wishing to contribute to the debates on globalization and diversity from Israel and as an attempt to shift forward the practice of social sciences in and on Israel, this article will present a reflection on the city of Tel Aviv from a geographical point of view. But if Tel Aviv is more and more publicized as the coalescence of an open-to-world and tolerant Israel – the total "flipside of Jerusalem"[2)] – the attempt of this article is to go in the depth of the city and to see what is underneath the festive and postmodern reputation of Tel Aviv.

Therefore, the focus is not on the prosperous Tel Aviv – neither on the business quarters nor on the Bauhaus Unesco Worldwide Heritage site – but on one of Tel Aviv historical southern neighborhoods: the neighborhood of Florentin. Florentin emerged only recently from marginality to be "put back" on the map of Tel Aviv and yet, with about 6 000 inhabitants and after decades of decay, this small neighborhood is today strongly identified with the cosmopolitan youth and

1) This is specifically true for non-Israeli social scientists working on Israel-Palestine but it can also be traced within the Israeli academia. Of course, there are major exceptions to that general trend (see bibliography).

2) According to a recent article published online in the Israeli *Haaretz* newspaper (1st of November 2010), "Lonely Planet this week named Tel Aviv third in a list of the world's best cities, praising the coastal metropolis for its art and music scenes and relaxed, liberal culture", http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/tel-aviv-is-in-top-three-cities-in-the-world-says-lonely-planet-1.322274.

global atmosphere of Tel Aviv. Its "dark" reputation accumulated through years of poverty and lack of municipal concern is nowadays dissolving into a sense of "authenticity". Interestingly, in the last years, for people settling in Florentin, this sense of "authenticity" mixes with a desire for "exoticism" sustained as much by the presence of Asian and African migrant workers, Palestinian and working class families as by a whole range of small bakeries, groceries and spices boutiques, smiths and tapestries workshops, and restaurants serving from "home-cooking" to Indian *talhis* and Japanese *sushi*.

Looking at the global through the local

The streets of Florentin thus offer a unique and particularly rich accumulation of layers of activities and presences. By this accumulation itself, and through the complexity it produces, the streets present to the patient observer (as well as the punctual visitors) some elements testifying of the new "arrangements" of the contemporary Israeli society regarding identity, identification and territorial urban appropriation. In addition, a detailed reading of the neighborhood of Florentin – through in-depth interviews on the "life in the neighborhood" and archive work in the Municipality of Tel Aviv Jaffa crossed with street observation and photography – also reveals a different narrative of Tel Aviv than the one largely admitted of an apolitical and somehow de-territorialized city. Looking at Tel Aviv through the history of Florentin and the southern neighborhoods indeed helps rooting, surprisingly, a city often labeled as "the Bubble" in its geopolitical surroundings and settings. It shows a whole range of different faces and a larger panel of intermediate colors between the Black and the White cities. The neighborhood of Florentin thus functions theoretically both as a prismatic window through which to observe the globalization of the city and as a microcosm from where to analyze the ongoing social evolutions of the country. Therefore, by diving in this pulsating economical and cultural core of Israel, we want to show how and why one of its rather marginal neighborhoods emerged recently as a centrality from where to decipher what is, on the one hand, the "place" and sense of place today and, on the other hand, to understand how territorial identification works in Israel today.

By doing so, the challenge of looking at the global through place-based research, leads to knit a whole web of local and global scales and to reposition the local in its frame, being it the city, the country or the region. Trying to understand the specificities of the very place of Florentin and then generalizing from this case-study in Israel, I suggest that from a methodological point of view and as much as for the practice of Geography, this research on the neighborhood of Florentin can serve as a paradigmatic example to understand place-making in other contexts. Indeed, if we stick with the basic geographical preoccupation of how space and society intertwine, I argue that the effort of navigating among scales (of time and space) and strata of meanings has become, like it is for understanding the place of Florentin in Tel Aviv along the history of city, a methodological necessity. It helps clearing up the "place" a place bears in the

3) These reasoning process and methodological choice are detailed in the PhD thesis in Geography on which this article is based: "Florentin (2005-2009): a neighborhood of Tel Aviv in the globalization or how to read a place to tell about the city". The original title is in French: "Lire le lieu pour dire la ville. Florentin: une mise en perspective de Tel Aviv dans la mondialisation (2005-2009). It is based on a four years fieldwork conducted between 2005 and 2008. The PhD itself was concluded and defended in May 2010.

4) Since the 1920s, Tel Aviv has been nicknamed the *bubble* (Shavit 2004). More recently, this nickname has become very popular through Eytan Fox's movie "The Bubble", "Ha'bouah" (2007) in Hebrew.

5) The themes of the Black and the White cities are largely developed by the Israeli architect Sharon Rotbard, especially in his book (2005) *Ir levana, ir shrora*, Tel Aviv, Babel (in Hebrew).

complex ensembles cities constitute today and it is a key to understand the constitution of the urban and social fabrics; how it is created and sometimes unraveled.

Fig. 1- **Tel Aviv in 2008 with the business quarter and its high-rises in the background and the trees of Rotschild Boulevard on the right side of the picture**

Tel Aviv: a restless urban landscape[6)]

The tensions in the Middle East are so prevalent and the categories of the conflict in Israel-Palestine so dominant that they concentrate a lot of the social research. Observers reflecting on Israel have indeed embodied the habit of addressing topics and places through the most dramatic situations, leaving aside the mundane, yet crucial, urban settings and their ongoing transformations. As put by Saskia Sassen (2005) in her reflection on globalization, the master categories of State and conflict have a "blinding power" of explanation[7)]. They thus leave in the penumbra a very active part of the social reality. And this is why, precisely, digging in Tel Aviv, and in its less known aspects, might be efficient and informative.

Tel Aviv metropolitan area is about 3 millions of inhabitants and, as such, it is the biggest metropolis in Israel. Its inner ring composed of the agglomeration of Tel Aviv Jaffa (as illustrated on figure 2) represents about one tenth of the metropolis population (390 000 inhabitants according to the municipal statistics of 2009 – *Statistical Yearbook 2009*) and it concentrates most of the cultural and economical activity of the region. It surely is today, and

6) Lin and Wei (2002) quoted by Bonard and Felli (2008) use this expression of "restless urban landscape" to qualify the evolutions of the Chinese urban landscape.

7) Saskia Sassen's argument (2005: 402) about master categories and their explanatory power is very efficient in the attempt of breaking through the methodological nationalism prevalent in researches on Israel-Palestine: "From where I (Sassen 2006) look at it all, master categories have the power to illuminate, but theirs is blinding power thereby also keeping us from seeing other presences in the landscape. They produce, then, a vast penumbra around that centre of light. It is in that penumbra that we need to go digging".

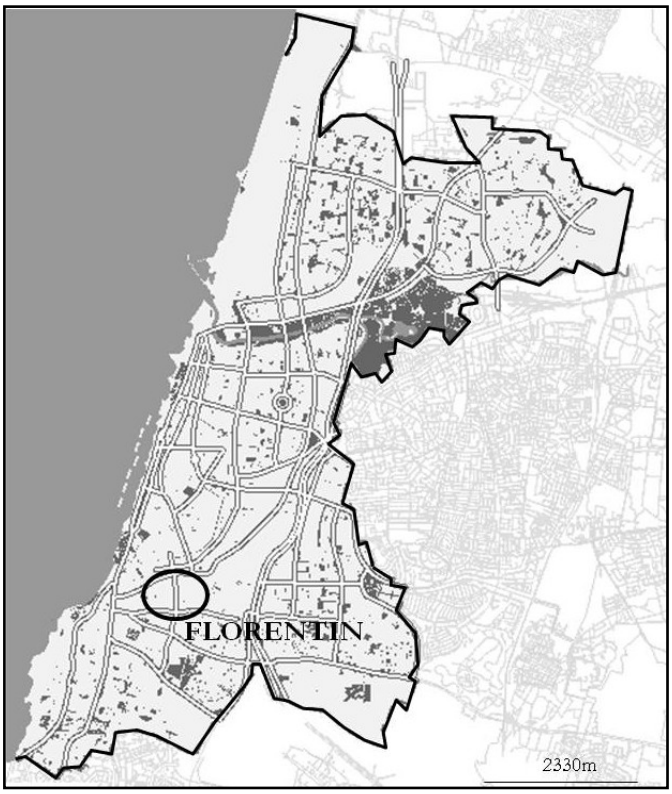

Fig.2 - **The neighborhood of Florentin, South of the Tel Aviv – Jaffa agglomeration** (source: Municipality of Tel Aviv Jaffa, http://gis.tel-aviv.gov.il/iview/).

happened to be within only 100 years[8)], the cosmopolitan and high-tech hub of the country. About Tel Aviv we need to point out how peculiar in the Israeli landscape the city is and how different from the rest of the country the city feels. In this sense, the nickname the city bears – not many cities have nicknames! – echoes the distance Tel Aviv seems to retain from its troubled context. Tel Aviv is often perceived, both in and outside the country, as a place of leisure and quality of life. A-political and somehow unquestioned, the global Tel Aviv stands, for example, and apparently more than ever as the complete opposite of Jerusalem (Alfasi and Fenster, 2005; Ram, 2008). The city almost seems disconnected from its geography and the myth of Tel Aviv rising from bared dunes is still strong[9)]. To complete the picture of what is Tel Aviv today, we have to mention that the UNESCO nominated the city in 2003 as a site of the World Wide Heritage. And this nomination surely added to the aura and prestige of the city, with a new emphasis on the city Bauhaus architecture and European urban planning. This nomination also showed a rather new patrimonial awareness for Tel Aviv. From 2003, many investments were brought to the center of the city but most of them didn't really pass the border between the center and the south of the city. As such, this development contributed to reinforce existing borders and discrepancies among the city.

The city itself is divided today in three statistical areas, from North to South. The neighborhood of Florentin is situated on the southern part of the city, just across the administrative boundary between the center and the southern areas. Until 1948 this administrative border between neighborhoods was the historical border between Tel Aviv and Jaffa. This single fact of having a border in the city is, and has been, of great importance for the functioning of Jaffa and Tel Aviv. This is especially true for neighborhoods like Florentin that stand in between two different,

8) Usually, the creation of Tel Aviv is dated from the creation, in 1909, of the Jewish neighborhood *Ahuzat Bait* in the Municipality of Jaffa which changed its name to *Tel Aviv* in 1910.

9) In her article "Narrative-Myth and Urban Design", the geographer Iris Aravot (1995: 82) writes that "Tel Aviv was a very unusual phenomenon. Its growth from Ahuzat Bayit, the European neighborhood of Jaffa, to the largest city in Israel arose from sheer necessity rather than from ideological preferences. Thus Tel Aviv originally had no relation to a recommended model or to a general urban myth".

and to some extent opposed, entities. If the political significance and social impact of this limit have been “forgotten” along the years, it never fully dissolved. Today it is what explains how the city articulates (or disarticulates) Jaffa and Tel Aviv and the development of Tel Aviv and “opposition” of Southern and Northern Tel Aviv. In the neighborhood of Florentin which interest us here, this partition is still literally marked on the ground as Florentin is still governed by two master plans, respectively the Yaffo B plan for Jaffa in its southern part and the Taba 48 for Tel Aviv in its northern part.

Being partly built under the jurisdiction of Jaffa and partly under the jurisdiction of the, at the time, new Tel Aviv, the neighborhood is literally situated in the frontier space between Tel Aviv and Jaffa. To some extent, and until today, it stands between what still represents modernity and tradition, between the “white” city of Ashkenazi middle class and the “black” South where the Sephardic working class and Palestinian families live. But to understand why Florentin, despite of being one of Tel Aviv historical neighborhoods, remained “out of the map” and distant from the White and prosperous city for many years, we need to follow the traces and signs the streets unveil and get to the history of the place. To understand why it was left aside from the narrative of the Bauhaus and patrimony Tel Aviv until now we need to go back to the beginning of the 20th century and to remember that Tel Aviv was at that time a political center and its development: a national issue. And simply by placing those elements, we start to understand Florentin as the junction where Jaffa and Tel Aviv meet but also as a place of rupture within the metropolis between the old city of Jaffa and the White central city area of the Bauhaus Tel Aviv[10)].This is what makes it so interesting, and this is where reside the challenge of researching in places of interstices, as we need to circulate among geographical scales and time to understand this very place and its changing meanings.

The choice of Florentin for studying globalization and diversity gets confirmed when we understand that among between 5 000 to 7 000 inhabitants[11)] can be find the widest panel of the Israeli population, from citizens to foreigners and all the people who stand in-between those two categories. The Municipality itself participates to this reading of Florentin as it proposes tourist tours of the neighborhood where to get some taste of the authenticity of the city and of the melting-pot of the Israeli society[12)]. Truth is that Florentin is now changing, and both the population figures and the place itself show how much the neighborhood is reinvested today with constructions and renovations. More people come to live in Florentin, younger ones, and by doing so they too add new layers of meaning to this place. The interest of Florentin is that because it stands on the other side of the border it has preserved a certain rhythm and all strata of successive migration waves and presences in the neighborhood. Therefore, Florentin became kind of « exotic » and « authentic » in the globalized and fast changing Tel Aviv and Israeli society as it lives reachable elements that have disappeared elsewhere.

10) In 2003, Tel Aviv has been nominated as a worldwide heritage site by the UNESCO. This nomination concerns what is now commonly called the White city and roughly designates the Bauhaus and International Style building constructed in the limits of the Geddes plan of 1925.

11) The Municipality tends to estimate the population to 5 000 inhabitants while local organization present much higher figures. The discrepancy lies in what the borders and the density are considered to be.

12) The Municipality proposes two tours of Florentin and its surroundings and the following quotes are withdrawn from the city hall website: “Taste and Color in South Tel Aviv : A tasting tour passing through the streets of South Tel Aviv, through the lanes and food stands of the Lewinsky Market. A tour between the sacks of fragant spices, a marzipan factory, soda kiosk, a little Turkish borecas store and more. The tour includes many opportunities for tasting” and “The Awakening of Florentin : A tour of one of Tel Aviv old neighborhoods, which had been undergoing a revival in the last few years, where new immigrants live next to veterans, students and artists, religious and secular. A genuine melting pot of Israeli society. The tour includes a visit to the LEHI”.

Fig. 3 - **The neighborhood of Florentin has a unique architecture among Tel Aviv with buildings on the street, shops on the ground floors and dwellings on the second and third floors.**

The neighborhood of Florentin as a fertile ground of research[13)]

The neighborhood of Florentin is a vivid working class neighborhood located in the poor southern sector of the city of Tel Aviv. Built in the 1920's on both sides of the border parting Tel Aviv from Jaffa, it is one of the city historical neighborhoods. In fact, the Northern part of the neighborhood, built in 1921 on the Tel Aviv side of the border and named *Merkaz Mishari*, was the first commercial area of the city. About one decade later, *Florentin*, on the other side of the border was built to welcome Jews from Thessaloniki who would work in the port of Jaffa. Nevertheless, until *Merkaz Mishari* was decided and built, Tel Aviv had been thought of like a residential neighborhood, modern, clean and devoid of any commercial activity. As such, the construction of *Merkaz Mishari* contributed to turn Tel Aviv into an economic center and to establish the neighborhood-city as an autonomous entity in the Israeli state-building context of Palestine. It can even be said that the transformation of Tel Aviv from a residential neighborhood of Jaffa into a city in the full sense of the term, and the rapid development of Tel Aviv from an autonomous township (1921) into a municipality by itself (1934)[14)], is rooted in the creation of the neighborhood of Florentin[15)]. For the Israeli historian Tom Segev (2001, 183), the autonomy of Tel Aviv in 1921 is the most important Zionist achievment since "since Britain was given the Mandate. It was a cornerstone of Jewish autonomy in Palestine".

Nevertheless, after the creation of the State of Israel and the conquest of Jaffa in 1948, the neighborhood was "withdrawn" from the city map. From the 1950s it started half a century of deprivation regarding municipal investments and social infrastructures. Florentin area was even set for evacuation in 1954 by one of the city planners[16)]. By then, the neighborhood is supposed to be strictly dedicated to an industrial activity and starts by then to be officially perceived as inappropriate for living. This plan was never put in action, neither were

13) I borrow this idea of a fertile ground of research from Anne Raulin (2008: 67).

14) Until 1950 and the dissolution of the Municipality of Jaffa, both municipalities will function side by side.

15) Today, the ancient city of Jaffa is included in the Municipality of Tel Aviv Jaffa and constitutes one of its quarters.

16) A. B. Horwitz, "Master Plan for Tel Aviv–Yafo", TAMA, *Yediot Tel Aviv – Yafo*, 22 (8-9), 1954, pp. I-IV.

renovations to compensate the degradation of the area. Still, it is important to note that this plan and perspective echoes the terms used by the British Authorities at the end of the 1940s to qualify the neighborhoods in between Tel Aviv and Jaffa[17)].

The combination of such factors and the gloomy reputation the neighborhood acquired over the years quickly turned Florentin into a place where you wouldn't want to live. Much of its population had left by the mid-1990s. But, nonetheless, and after years of decay, a local mobilization emerged and attracted the municipals attention to the poor situation of the neighborhood and the urgent need for changes. Combined with the municipal understanding of the potential of the neighborhood and its unique architecture – Florentin is the only place in Tel Aviv to be planned with low buildings straight on the street and to combine commercial, industrial, leisure and residential activities[18)] – it initiated a reverse movement. Money was injected to publicize the place and to incite people to come back to the neighborhood. Between 1992 and 1995, more than four millions of dollars are spent in a communication and revitalization campaign: publicity and rent subsidies, kindergarten renovation, street pavement and street transformation for pedestrians, creation of a community centre (Bigger and Shavit, 2001)[19)]. Those public investments both then initiated and carried on spontaneous (private) transformations of businesses and dwellings. Between 1990 and 1995, six hundreds of apartments previously used as stock space or businesses are turned back by their owners to their residential use (Carmon, 1999). Sur la même période, les loyers et le prix d'achat des appartements doublent (Erez, 1996). From 2 410 inhabitants in 1990, the population of Florentin rose to 3 641 in 2000 and to 5 197 inhabitants in 2009[20)].

This movement initiated a general – although at first very much localized around Florentin Street – revitalization of the neighborhood, upped by the recognition of its unique atmosphere of cultural vitality and mixed population, being Israeli nationals from different backgrounds or migrant workers. Both in terms of activities and population, Florentin is, at the time and until today, a mixed neighborhood for dwellings and businesses, with shops and workshops on ground floors and dwellings in the upper ones. You find there carpentries and smiths and the noise of sewing and stapling machines is a full feature of the sound-scape of Florentin. The neighborhood of Florentin is the only place for such production in the city. All contributed from the 1990s to redefine the position and the image of Florentin among Tel Aviv metropolis. Pop songs from well-known artists such Ehud Banaï (with his song *Florentin* 1992) and Eytan Fox's "Florentin" TV series participated to a large extant to establish and diffuse on a national scale the idea of this neighborhood as an alternative place for living, self-definitions and identity construction a part of the Israeli youth. Florentin then started to appear as a bohemian, generous, tolerant and tough neighborhood. Today's real estate fever only confirms what can be formulated today as a quest of exoticism, at home, within even the limits one of Israel big city. The neighborhood thus slowly but surely transforms from a remote space within the city –

17) « I also wish to draw your attention to the deplorable fact of the growing number of slums in these quarters when all efforts in England and elsewhere are directed towards the abolition of slums and the introduction of modern systems of building which would reduce poverty in residential quarters » Notes to the District Commissioner Mr. Fuller, 21st of July 1947, Tel Aviv Municipal Archives, *shhunot klali* – dossier n°04-2209 B – 01-1944 – 03.1949.

18) Florentin was not planned according the Geddes plan and it was not either planned according Tel Aviv policy which recommend to have

19) About 12 millions and a half of New Isreaeli shekels (12 571 700) are spent in five years. About half of it is spent in the only year 1992 (6 043 900 NIS) (Erez 1996).

20) The total population of the city of Tel Aviv rose from 339 354 in 1990 to 354 428 in 2000. It is now estimated to be about 392 500 (Municipality of Tel Aviv Jaffa *Statistical Yearbooks*). In the same time period, the population of Florentin was multiplied by 2.15 (the population of Tel Aviv by 1.15).

the “margin” within – into an “authentic” place in the constantly and fast changing “Bubble” Tel Aviv.

Untangling geographical theory and sense of place through observation

If we now zoom out the field, I can say that the research conducted in Florentin started from a desire to tackle two widespread ideas: 1) the disintegration of territory due to globalization and 2) the production and multiplication of non-places. In the context of globalized city, does globalization really annihilates territory and sense of place? And is globalization a destructive matter for space or place-related identities; knowing what a strong engine globalization is for mobility, for the re-composition of references – either social or spatial – and for the diversification of our surroundings? This relation between society and space is obviously not a new topic. But it needs to be re-interrogated today as globalization keeps on blurring this well-known – yet mysterious – equation which puts identity and place in balance. Especially if we agree that globalization constantly reshuffles local and global scales. This is why and how I investigated the neighborhood of Florentin; taking it as a place where to grasp the new layouts induced by the globalization of the city; and as a space where to observe social transformations at large. Here is the key to the title of this article: the neighborhood of Florentin is a window to the globalization of both the city and the country. In fact, this neighborhood provides a particularly rich arena for exploring the dynamics of place-making and of place transformation. Plus, and this is somehow new, researching on Florentin, allows to be dedicated to the complexity of today’s urban dynamics from an everyday life point of view and to transcend what U. Beck (2005) calls the “methodological nationalism” prevalent both in the Israeli Social Sciences and in the French research on Israel/Palestine.

Fig. 4 - **Graffiti “*Am Florentin hai*” - “the people of Florentin lives” Florentin 2008**

It is one of my arguments that Florentin offers a great arena for capturing the processes taking place nowadays in the Israeli society through a detailed observation and analysis of gentrification, migration, urban activism and of the production of urban identities. The picture reproduced above (Fig. 4) summarizes most of what has been just said and it is one example of a graffiti you can find on many walls of Florentin. Working on globalization, no doubt it is a detail but I suggest taking it as an informative one. It reads “Am Florentin hai”: “the people of Florentin lives” and is written in green and decorated with a

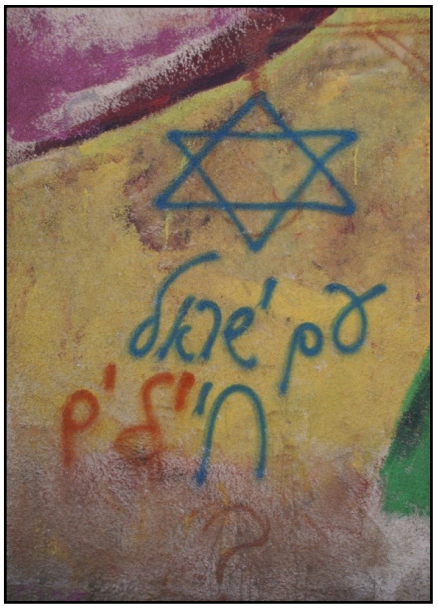

Fig.5 - **Double graffiti and play on the words: “am Israel hai” – “am israel haialim” - “the people of Israel is alive” – “Israel is a people of soldiers” – Florentin 2008.**

smile. It can be analyzed as an illustration of how Florentin is identified as a neighborhood with a specific – or defined – identity and how people identify with this neighborhood, to the point of calling themselves "the people of Florentin". This meaning is particularly strong as the "people of Florentin" actually echoes another graffiti spread, this time, all over Tel Aviv (Fig. 5).

This second graffiti states "am Israel hai": "the people of Israel live". The smile and probable humor of "the people of Florentin lives" is here replaced by a Star of David painted in blue. Both the blue color and the Star of David, in this context, immediately give the graffiti a nationalist tone[21)]. In this game of echoes with the walls of the city as go-betweens, another statement can be read on the same figure 5. Letters have been added at the end of the graffiti to change – and maybe invert – its meaning from the "people of Israel live" to "Israel is a people of soldiers". Through these two images (Fig. 4 and Fig. 5), we already reach many layers of meaning; relating to different ways of identification to space, place and territory, including national issues and a reference to war. And although it needs to be more detailed and pursued the simple use of these two images also indicate new paths for practicing geography. They also raise the question of the elements and angles through which we analyze the relations from society and people to space and place. This remarks leads here to a central point and to the choice of the South of Tel Aviv for an exploration of main and global geographical issues. If in the Israeli-Palestinian context Tel Aviv is regarded as the global city, the neighborhoods of the south of the city have mainly remained aside from this global narrative and from the recognition of Tel Aviv as a central place and as the high-tech economy and development lung of the country. But Florentin, like other marginal places "speak" about the center and tells us much about what is going on today in Tel Aviv.

Identification, history and expanded diversity in Israel

One striking example of this, once we understand why Florentin, despite of being one of Tel Aviv historical neighborhoods, remained "out of the map", is the presence of migrant workers; living, working and buying in the streets of Florentin. Southern neighborhoods of Tel Aviv like Florentin – although the imprint of migrant workers is stronger in adjacent neighborhoods such as Shapira or Neve Sheanan and both neighborhoods are strongly identified with the presence of migrant workers – are where the migrant workers from Asia, Europe and Africa settled since 10 to 20 years[22)]. The "new" central bus station of Tel Aviv, East of Florentin, aggregates those "new faces" of Israel and they have constituted, I must say, what drew my attention to this part of the city. For different reasons that can't be detailed here, their presence is an opportunity to get into globalization not only through reading the high rises we now see all over Tel Aviv, but also through the globalization of the city population. The migrant workers are estimated to constitute today between 10 to 13% of the country's labor force and started to arrive mostly after the Israeli borders started to close to the Palestinian workers which since 1967 constituted a massive and cheap labor force for Israel. By settling mostly in Tel Aviv, and in Tel Aviv mostly in the southern neighborhoods of Tel Aviv, they reinitiate Florentin as a landing - starting place in the country. They inscribe themselves somehow in an immigration history, a history of mobility, many traces of can be found in Florentin, through street names, shop signs such as Thessaloniki bakeries, Persian restaurants and more recently through Indian-like places where young Israelis coming back from India like to gather and maintain the feeling of traveling and being abroad.

21) In 1983, the Israeli singer Ofra Haza competed at the Eurovision with the song "Am Israel Hai". The nationalist understatement of the song was reinforced by the fact that the contest took place in Munich, some years after the Munich Olympic Games. It was criticized for bringing politics into a recreational event.

22) See Table 2 for Central Bureau of Statistics computed data from 1996 to 2008 on the number of entries in Israel with a work visa by continent and country of origin.

Table 1

The population of Tel Aviv and the repartition of the population of Florentin by age groups from 1986 to 2009

YEAR	Population of Tel Aviv	Population of Florentin	Florentin's population by age group (% of the total population of the neighborhood)				
			0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	+ 65
1986	320 258	3 105	*				
1987		2 862					
1988	317 806	2 760					
1989	321 715	2 565					
1990	339 354	2 410	21.8	5.1	28.8	20.1	24
1991	353 242	2 562	23.7	5.1	29.4	20.2	22
1992	356 911	3 188	25.3	6.3	32.3	18.8	17
1993	357 367	3 311	23.8	8.7	33.2	18.7	16
1994	355 197	3 309	22.2	9.6	33.9	19.2	15
1995	348 245	3 092	20.8	10.7	34	20.1	14
1996	349 217	4 700**	19.5	11.7	35.5	18.9	14
1997	348 570	3 710	13.4	14.7	39.1	18	15
1998	348 117	3 695	12.7	14.9	41.2	17.2	14
1999	350 753	3 582	11.9	14.1	44.7	16.9	22
2000	354 428	3 641	10.6	14	46.7	17.3	11
2001	358 800	3 866	9.8	14.3	47.7	17.8	10
2002	360 400	3 943	9.2	13.7	49.8	17.8	9.5
2003	363 387						
2004	371 400	3 913	8.9	12.5	51.5	18.1	9
2005	378 902	3 972	8.5	11.1	54.3	17.5	8.6
2006	384 399	4 205	7.7	10.5	57.2	17	7.6
2007	390 068	4 502	7.4	9.7	59.1	9.7	6.9
2008	392 500	4 878	6.6	9.7	61	17	5.7
2009		5 197	6.6	9.2	62.8	16.8	4.6

* Empty boxes correspond to missing data.

** This figure is an estimation.

Source: *Municipality of Tel Aviv Jaffa, Statistical Yearbook (1986-2010), computed data*.

Exploring sense of place and identity and territorial constructions in the global city of Tel-Aviv today raises the presence and of the foreign workers and the political steps the Israeli government took towards this "question". Here, one aspect that highly connects the foreign workers community, although "foreign", to the double issue of identity and territory is citizenship. Even though, the question of citizenship, as being a link between identity and territory, reminds us on a daily basis how sensitive it is in the Israeli-Palestinian context. Consequently, it is crucial to emphasize the major change the presence of foreign workers and their children born in Israel have brought in this legal area. Here again, it shows how immigration – even if important, by definition marginal – can shed light and enlarge the understanding of political and social issues of the host society itself; here Israel. Saying so, it is important to add that the changes, although major in their terms and potential, are very

modest in "quantity" and concern only a small thousand of persons. In the summer 2005, the Knesset adopted a law – to be more precise: a one-time regulation – to grant under certain conditions residential status to some foreign workers' children.

Table 2

Number of entries in Israel with a work visa
Absolute numbers and percentages of the total by continent and country of origin (1986-2008)

Year	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008
Country of origin							
Total (absolute numbers)	90800	64200	52200	33200	47900	32700	30300
Asia (% of the total)	**40.52**	**45.32**	**44.06**	**68.97**	**78.49**	**74.61**	**70.62**
India	400	700	700	500	1000	1100	2700
Turkey	9000	2900	1800	600	1400	1100	900
Lebanon	5200	5400	900				
Nepal						2800	2300
China	3600	3000	2900	1800	2800	3300	2300
Philippines	3200	6700	7600	7400	6500	6400	5500
Thailand	14900	9000	8000	12100	10400	9000	5800
Other Asian countries	500	1400	1000	500	1300	700	2000
Africa (% of the total)	**0.44**	**1.55**	**1.14**	**0.90**	**0.20**	**0.30**	**0.66**
Europe (% of the total)	**54.84**	**47.81**	**52.87**	**28.31**	**20.25**	**24.46**	**26.73**
Bulgaria	3300	2400	2300	1100	800	400	200
ex-USSR	4400	3400	4300	2100	3000	4300	5800
Germany	500	800	400	200	100	100	100
Great-Britain	400	900	600	300	200	100	100
Romania	37900	19300	16600	4500	4800	2600	1400
Other European countries	3300	3900	2400	1200	800	500	500
America – Oceania (% of the total)	**1.54**	**4.67**	**3.25**	**1.80**	**0.83**	**0.61**	**1.98**

Source: *CBS, Statistical Abstract of Israel (1996-2008) – computed data*.

Criteria were quite restrictive and only few hundreds of children fulfilled them. To be eligible, children had to be born in Israel, from parents who entered the country legally, even if they overstayed tourist visa. They also had to be 6 years old and above at the time of the regulation (July 2005). First meant for children from age 10 and above, the regulation was enlarge to children from age 6 under the pressure of different lobbies and NGOs. To obtain their permit children also had to speak Hebrew; which in fact most children in schooling age do as they usually attend public schools. Israel has signed the international treaties which require equal education for all children regardless of their parents' status and public schools accept children regardless to their parents' status. Taking all the conditions in account, 600 among 2 200 children in Tel-Aviv and probably 3 200 in the whole country fitted in. The brothers and sisters of those children – about 300 hundreds– also got their presence in Israel legalized. All together,

it is about 900 children who obtained a "resident status" and will at age 21, after compliance to the military duty, have the possibility to be granted with Israeli citizenship[23].Their parents also saw their situation changed and obtained, for the ones remaining in Israel, an "A5" permit to be renewed every year and giving them all civil rights, except voting ones.

In fact, in this frame, a very precise example shows how much the question of foreign immigration is linked to the specificity of the Israeli/Palestinian context. Some children obtained the legalization of their status after their father was deported. As such, those fathers would be entitled to get a title of residence themselves. But fearing that Palestinian families that were separated after the 1967 war will take advantage on this to reunite, a condition was added. Today, those deported fathers will only be allowed to come to Israel after their children are already one year in the army. As Arab Israelis are not subjected to the compulsive army service, this is a very contextual innovation. Regardless to all those restrictions, in a country where citizenship is gained through ethnic affiliation, this downswing from *jus sanguinis* to *jus soliis* is a real change[24]. This one time regulation which gives status to a new community within the society will give the country a new type of "nationals" at the time the foreign workers' children will become full citizens[25]. This very fact should be emphasized as proving efficiency of the migrants' participatory practices and their successful negotiated membership in Israel. The foreign workers have – as Adriana Kemp puts it – enlarged the whole Israeli public sphere through a global discourse on human rights (Kemp and al., 2000: 94, 98). Nevertheless, this success needs to be balanced by the government reactions – even or also they are various and changing – which shows a clear resistance to incorporate new members, non-Jewish immigrants, into the Israeli society. And there stands probably what geographers like William Berthomière (2005) call "the limits of an Israeli cosmopolitanism".

Conclusions

Researching in Florentin and studying this marginal and trendy neighborhood pulls us into the heart of the development of Tel Aviv as a political project one century ago. The border "contained" in Florentin crystallized in the organization of the city, regarding capital and population. As it travelled in time and maintains itself, it forces us to remember that Tel Aviv started as a neighborhood of Jaffa before becoming a municipal entity and turning Jaffa into one of its neighborhoods. Therefore, diving in the present of Florentin with in-depths interviews with residents, workers and decision makers only made sense by being combined with archives research and intensive and long term observation in the streets of the neighborhood. And as we move along the past present and future of the city and jump over scales, we produce a geography soaked in its surroundings, from which to go beyond the case-study. Thereafter, Florentin gives us to read a whole range of new identities regarding state and religion, but also regarding ways of positioning and linking ourselves to the world through the place we live in. Tel Aviv and more over the South of the city is therefore an excellent place where to decipher the local/global articulation and to understand the local impact and expression of global trends. Moreover, South Tel Aviv – being the poorest part of the city – is not where we would spontaneously look for globalization and movements of capital. Still, the analyses it allows show that we can globalization can also be read through the mundane and the details of a

23) At age 21, the grown up children will have the choice between Israeli citizenship or returning to their "country of origin".

24) It is true though that "ethnic belonging" was already not the only way to obtain citizenship in Israel as Palestinians who prove an interrupted residence in Israel between May 1948 and the enactment of the Law on citizenship in 1952 are also entitled to it (Dieckhoff 1999).

25) Israeli citizens are divided between Jewish, Arab, Druze, Circassian nationals. Until recently the each person's nationality was mentioned on the identity card.

Fig.6 - **Sticker "Rebranding Israel. A modern image for a modern state", Florentin 2008. A call for putting together a new image for Israel from the streets of Florentin.**

marginal place.

At a more theoretical level, in-depth work on Florentin also show how much *place* still makes sense today; especially in places where the references and layers of time and space are diverse and accumulate rather than replace each other. In global cities, spaces open to a multiplicity of experiences and behaviors still produce strong sense of identity and identification. In Florentin, this situation is both the result of globalization as diversification and of its proper history being since its construction a place in-between. It also shows that the globalization of our city intensify the need of identification and identification to what is seen as authentic, even in place like Florentin which are now changing and transformed by new populations settling in.

As a final conclusion, it is necessary to point out that with the impact of globalization it is the whole story of Tel Aviv that takes a different color once addressed through its southern neighborhoods. Doing so, the *Bubble* is grounded and sits in its political and geopolitical history and present. Therefore, the multi-analysis of the neighborhood induces the observer to take Florentin as a prism through which to observe the place, the city and the rapid transformations and inertias of the Israeli society itself. This example shows how this kind of multi-strata places is becoming a diffused "model" of place of meaning, where *sense of place* is reenacted through the multiplication of references and uses. Saying so, I want to point out that the choice of Tel Aviv and the multi-focal analysis of one of its "marginal" neighborhoods allow two shifts. First, it locates the reflection afar from the most mediated places of tension in a region still at war. Second, it sheds light on the mundane and the *sense of place* in our contemporary era of globalization from where it is less obviously traceable. This work can be sum up in three shifts: to reflect on globalization through a city that is not commonly thought of as a global city; to reflect on the evolution of a society in conflict through places that are not usually address; and last to reflect on a city and on its history through a neighborhood that was not retained as a historical neighborhood.

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Aims and scopes

Analysis of the urban and regional condition needs to be interdisciplinary. In reality, urban researchers usually tend to belong to a discipline reflecting their training whether as sociologists, geographers, planners or any number of subjects concerned with the study of space and place. Our training very often endorses an appreciation of how other disciplines explore the city. For the journal the acknowledgement of the many disciplines that concerned with understanding cities and regions will be indicated by the different disciplinary back-grounds reflected in the papers published. Articles will be published by geographers, sociologists, planners, economists, political scientists, to mention just few of the disciplines involved in urban and regional study.

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