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A tale of two cities: Jerusalem and Tel Aviv in an age of globalization ☆

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The current paper examines the impact of globalization on two large cities in Israel—Jerusalem and Tel Aviv—to understand how these cities integrate into the global flows. It explores fundamental differences between the cities. The state is deeply involved in Jerusalem's municipal issues, while its impact on Tel Aviv has weakened considerably. Several indicators of opposing municipal-state relations are introduced, along with differences in citizen–authority interactions and citizenship formations. We attribute these findings to Jerusalem being a national city and Tel Aviv becoming a global city: in Jerusalem, the state curtails global interactions and influences conceptions of citizenship, while Tel Aviv has developed policies independent of the state and is influenced by global attitudes of citizenship.

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Introduction

Only 60 km, or a 50-min drive, separate the mountain city Jerusalem and the coastal city Tel Aviv. In spite of the relatively short distance between them, the cultural, political and economic differences between the two cities continue to grow. This paper argues that the expression and practice of differences between 'local' Jerusalem and 'global' Tel Aviv are linked to the state's involvement in Jerusalem's municipal affairs, as opposed to Tel Aviv's municipal independence, a trend that affects the different formations of citizenship constructed in the two cities. In order to substantiate this argument, the paper focuses on the images and symbols of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, following a comparison of the cities' population size, composition and socio-economic status. It then explores how financial services function in the cities, highlighting globalization indicators in both cities' economic activities. Finally, the paper examines dif-

ferences in citizen–authority relations from the perspective of labor migrants and members of the gay community, and how these different relations affect the various constructions of 'global citizenship'.

The tale of the two cities: the capital and the metropolis

A short historical background of the two cities

Jerusalem, located in the Judea Mountain, is sacred to the three main monotheistic religions and is the capital city of Israel.¹ Throughout its history, it has been in almost constant geopolitical conflict, currently manifested between the Jews and the Palestinians over

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¹The city was declared the capital of Israel in 1948 when the state of Israel was established. Nevertheless, this declaration is not fully recognized internationally. Most countries do formally adhere to decisions of the United Nations from the 1940s that Jerusalem should have an international status. According to this stand, Israel's control over Jerusalem, according to the cease-fire lines of 1948 and 1967, remains controversial. Thus, most countries' embassies (including The USA, Britain, France) do not reside in Jerusalem but in Tel Aviv (Sharkansky, 1996).

the dominion of Jerusalem, which can be seen as another link in a long chain of battles, resulting from the city's holiness to Jews, Christians and Muslims, who each claim Jerusalem as their own. The Jews' attachment to Jerusalem dates back to the eleventh century BC, when King David conquered the city; for Christians, the city's holiness derives from Jesus' life and his crucifixion there, while for Muslims, its primary religious significance springs from Muhammad's miraculous voyage from Mecca to Jerusalem, and from there to heaven. Its holiness to these three main monotheistic religions has been a driving force throughout the city's history. However, from the twentieth century onwards, this religious aspect has been gradually overshadowed by the struggle emerging between two national groups, Jews and Palestinian Arabs. With the conflicting aspirations of Zionism and Arab nationalism, the struggle for Jerusalem intertwines with religious beliefs and symbols to make the city a major focus of contestation (Romann and Weingrod, 1991; Sharkansky, 2004). Today, despite huge efforts by world leaders, the political tensions in the city can hardly be resolved.²

Tel Aviv, founded in 1909 on the coastal areas as a small suburb near Jaffa, has always been a secular city. Although the local culture has crowned it as "the first Hebrew city", Tel Aviv is an Israeli city rather than a Jewish or a Hebrew one. It was its modern, free atmosphere which attracted European Jewish immigrants at the dawn of the 20th century (Shavit and Bigger, 2001). Since its early days, its leaders maintained an inclusive self-governing attitude, attempting to run the city's municipal and financial affairs independent of the central government, starting with the British Mandate, and, from 1948, the national Israeli government. The city's leadership actively encouraged overseas Jewish investments in land and property, which resulted in much of Tel Aviv's rapid urban growth. Today, it has a core of 2.5 million inhabitants in its metropolitan area, and in spite of its relatively short history, is the cultural focal point and trendsetter for the rest of the country (Sharkansky, 1997).

Cultural differences between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv

Much is said about the cultural differences between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem; about the national spirit linked to Jerusalem and the free, rootless, and innovative atmosphere attached to Tel Aviv. The opposing mindsets of the two cities are part of Israeli folklore. In Modern Hebrew literature, the stone that supplies Jerusalem's buildings is a metaphor of the city's holiness and a symbol of its static, eternal

state, while in contrast, the sand on the Tel Aviv beaches represents the city's secularity and stands for its dynamic, open mood (Govrin, 1989). Using Tuan's notions, Kellerman (1989) identifies Jerusalem as a Vertical Cosmos "charged with meaning" that "coincides often with a cyclical conception of time" (Tuan, 1974, 129) whereas Tel Aviv's simple, flat, broadening landscape affirms its Horizontal Cosmos and its linear, modernist conception of time. Hadar (1992) reviews the different political tendencies of the cities; the peace hunting tendency of Tel Aviv versus the resistant attitude of Jerusalem.³

In terms of international awareness, Jerusalem sparks more interest than Tel Aviv. Indicators confirming the international importance of Jerusalem span various fields, including the academic. Since 1990, 635 academic articles were published with Jerusalem in the title, compared to only 27 articles about Tel Aviv;⁴ similarly, Amazon lists 1703 books with Jerusalem in the title compared with only 103 books with Tel Aviv in the titles.⁵ Tourism is another indicator pointing to the centrality of Jerusalem. There are over 9000 hotel rooms in more than 70 hotels in Jerusalem, while there are less than 6000 rooms in some 45 hotels in Tel Aviv, and this ratio is also manifested in the number of tourists who visit them; during 1999, before the Intifada uprising, more than 3 millions nights were spent in Jerusalem's hotels, compared to less than 2 million nights in Tel Aviv.⁶

In spite of these indicators, which show significant international interest in Jerusalem, current globalization processes seem to be more influential in Tel Aviv. The following analysis will show that while Tel Aviv continues to undergo economic globalization as Israel's financial and international gate, Jerusalem's economy maintains its local orientation and this in turn affects the different construction of citizenship in the cities. Moreover, globalization processes impact Tel Aviv's inner atmosphere as well as its relations with the state, whereas their influence on Jerusalem's municipal affairs and its citizenship formations remains marginal.

Globalization and the city

According to Borja and Castells (1997), urban societies worldwide undergo an historic, structural

²Jerusalem was not included in the Oslo Peace Agreement signed by President Clinton, Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat on 1993, which indicates its overloaded position. While, bringing it up on the Camp David Committee led to the burst of 'Al Aktza Intifada', the Palestinian revolt, on October 2000 and to the fall of the Israeli government.

³Indeed, on the national elections of 1996, Peres, head of Israeli left faction, got only 30% of Jerusalem voters, while Netanyahu, head of the Israeli political right faction, got 70% of Jerusalem's voters.

⁴The search was done on 8.6.2003 via ProQuest. It revealed 623 articles that were published since 1990 mentioning Jerusalem in the abstract; only 103 articles mentioned Tel Aviv in their abstract.

⁵The site address is www.amazon.com. The search has also indicated 800 books that included Jerusalem in their subjects, and only 23 books that included Tel Aviv in their subjects.

⁶Based on information from Israel Central Bureau of statistics, Statistical Abstract of Israel no. 50 and 52 (1999, 2001). In the course of the Intifada, on 2001, the amount of hotel nights in Jerusalem dropped to 1.4 million, and less than that in Tel Aviv.

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