

# Paths of Erasure and Trails of Resistance in a Neo-Settler-Colonial City

Michal Huss

*Minerva Center for Human Rights, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel and  
Department of Architecture, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK,  
michalhuss12@googlemail.com*

**Abstract:** Urban displacement is receiving growing visibility within urban studies. However, most literature centres on the logic of late capitalism and tends to neglect colonial history and local resistance to displacement. This paper takes an alternative path: it relates (a) the history of colonialism and ethnic cleansing of the city of Jaffa with (b) the present-day gentrification and displacement caused by neoliberal urbanism. To unpack this entanglement, the article focuses on political city walking tours led by Internally Displaced Palestinians in Jaffa, alongside a broader repertoire of urban subaltern tactics to reclaim it—ranging from community meetings to more overtly politicised acts of protest and initiatives to disrupt gentrification. The article therefore advances debates on urban displacement and urban citizenship mobilisation through the lens of post-colonial theories, and by adopting a participatory interdisciplinary approach—from a novel perspective that centres local knowledge, lived experiences, and grassroots activism.

موضوع التهجير القسري الحضري يحصل على كشف متزايد في الدراسات الحضرية. مع ذلك، تركز الأبحاث الأدبية على منطق الرأسمالية المتأخرة والميل إلى إهمال التاريخ الاستعماري والمقاومة المحلية للنزوح. هذه الورقة البحثية تنتهج سُبُل مغايرة: حيث ترتبط ب، (أ) التاريخ الاستعماري والتطهير العرقي في مدينة يافا مع، (ب) تأهيل الأحياء القديمة (جيتريفيكيشن) والتهجير، على يد التحضر النيو ليبرالي. لُفك هذا التشابك، يركز هذا المقال على الجولات السياسية في المدينة بقيادة فلسطينيين مهجرين داخلياً في مدينة يافا، بالإضافة إلى وجود تكتيكات حضرية تابعة وداعمة لاستعادته، بدءاً من الاجتماعات المحلية، أعمال احتجاجية علنية وأكثر تسيساً وإلى مبادرات أخرى لمنع عملية تأهيل الأحياء القديمة (جيتريفيكيشن) والتبديل المجتمعي. لذلك، يقدم ويعزز هذا المقال النقاشات حول التهجير القسري الحضري والصراعات حول المواطنة الحضرية عن طريق نظريات ما بعد الاستعمار والاعتماد على نهج تشاركي متعدد المجالات، من وجهة نظر حديثة حيث تركز على المعرفة المحلية، التجارب الحية في المكان والنشاط المجتمعي الشعبي.

**Keywords:** gentrification, displacement, disruptions, urban social movements, neo-settler-colonialism, Palestinian agency

## Introduction

Revealing the contradictions within the projected image of Jaffa as a liberal model of coexistence, May 2021 saw an upsurge in violence—alongside other “mixed cities” in Israel—between Jews and Palestinians, culminating into mob lynchings. The term “mixed cities” was coined by the British authorities in Mandatory Palestine to quantify and control the local populations; initially used to describe Jewish neighbourhoods in Palestinian cities, it now defines a reversed situation (Yacobi 2002, 2009). Yet, whereas the notion of coexistence refers to

communities who co-inhabit a space with mutual respect and dignity, Palestinians in Jaffa face a reality of institutionalised marginalisation and house evictions. As global attention was directed towards the struggle of Palestinian residents of Jerusalem's Sheikh Jarrah neighbourhood against their eviction, Palestinians in Jaffa were similarly protesting a wave of demolitions in the months leading up to May 2021—a reality that is shaped directly by the legacy of the ethnic cleansing of Palestine in 1948. Analysing this case of urban displacement, the article stresses the connection between the past and present of the city, and between settler-colonial and capitalised logics, as they shape the everyday urban life in Jaffa and provoke a range of tactics of resistance that have emerged against it.

Following the 1948 Arab-Israel War, Jaffa was annexed to Israel's largest metropolis and became part of a united Tel Aviv-Yafo Municipality (despite its designation to remain a part of Palestine according to the 1947 UN Resolution No. 181). *Yafo* is the Hebrew word for Jaffa which is distinct from the Arab word *Yaffa*.<sup>1</sup> The change in name reflected the substantial subordination of the city to Jewish spatial monopolisations and design mechanisms that erased its Palestinian identity and history (LeVine 2005; Monterescu 2015). This was part of a broader process which Palestinians refer to as *al-Nakba* (the catastrophe)—a disaster that included the loss of homeland and the uprooting of 80% of Palestinians with the formation of the state of Israel over 78% of the land of Mandatory Palestine (Sa'di and Abu-Lughod 2007). Scholars describe *al-Nakba* as “ethnic cleansing” and “spaciocide” since it involved a systematic spatial annihilation (Hanafi 2006; Morris 2004; Pappé 2007). It also entailed the de-urbanisation of Palestine through the dispossession of coastal cities such as Yaffa—and the erasure of their history of socioeconomic advancement and cosmopolitanism (Blatman and Sabbagh-Khoury 2023; Hasan 2019; Tamari 2008).

However, as Noam Leshem (2016:15) observes, “Arab buildings, flora, place-names and stories are very much present, coded into the everyday space of Israelis”. This article will demonstrate how Internally Displaced Palestinian (IDP) activists render these traces visible by guiding city walking tours to reclaim Yaffa and its urbanity and stress the link between *al-Nakba* and current struggles over property. It will conduct what Edward Said (1994) refers to as a “contrapuntal analysis” of the urban domain, mapping modes of domination *and* resistance to it. Guided city tours are performative events that weave together time and place to produce an interactive narrative (Aoki and Yoshimizu 2015; Macdonald 2006; Modlin et al. 2011). Hence, this participatory mode of commemoration and reclamation of the city provides an ideal opportunity to study the exchange between agency, memory, place, and architecture. The analysis will situate these tours as part of a broader repertoire of urban subaltern tactics to reclaim the city and its memory—symbolically and materially—ranging from community meetings to more overtly politicised acts of protest and initiatives to disrupt gentrification. As such, it will provide tangible examples of local knowledges of resistance to prolonged spatial violence and modes to communicate belonging and heritage across generations. The article will frame this repertoire as mobilisation for the “right to the city”—namely, struggles where a community demands the right to access, inhabit, and use urban space (Butler 2012; Lefebvre 1996; Purcell 2003).

However, it will further stress the broad geo-temporal interpretation of the indigenous “right to the city”.

The article aims to stress the specific characteristics of urban displacement in a context such as Yaffa—where the logics of settler colonialism, nationalism, and neoliberalism collide in different configurations—as grounded in the perspectives and agencies of those subjected to it. It draws on three years’ research on the politics of heritage tours in urban landscapes of displacement. The methodology relies on an analysis of municipal city plans and court rulings alongside participatory qualitative methods, including: conducting informal “walk-along” interviews with organisers to co-create knowledge with activists and document their existing knowledge and experiences; participating in their planning sessions and guided tours; conducting “walk-along” interviews with participants; and documenting tours through photography and drawings to capture their performative interactions with ruins. Snapshots from these tours, planning sessions, and protest events will be used to illustrate the macro-performances, encounters, and creative interventions they encompass. Firstly, the article will review relevant debates on forced displacement and stress the theoretical contribution of the article to the urban settler-colonial analytic—and urban studies more broadly. Subsequently, the article will contextualise the “site” of the guided tours, charting a shift in the logics of the settler-colonial urbanism in Yaffa. Finally, the article will reflect on the current state of ethno-gentrification and displacement in Yaffa, alongside a close analysis of how activists constantly undermine and reclaim Yaffa and its indigenous urbanity.

## **Between Neo-Settler-Colonial Violence, Urban Displacement, and Agency**

Deliberate destruction of buildings and systematic spatial annihilation of the urban sphere, such as Yaffa experienced at the aftermath of 1948 war, are increasingly understood as forms of violence (Coward 2008; Hanafi 2006). However, this article seeks to unpack how it correlates with “slower” settler-colonial violence that manifests through new liberal policies to harm places, the built environment, public spheres, and inhabitants (Davies 2022; Nixon 2011). It therefore aims to illuminate what Rachel Pain (2019) names “chronic urban trauma”—referring to the intersection of cumulative effects of historical trauma and current processes of displacement due to gentrification and urban renewal. These processes are commonly attributed in the literature to the neoliberalisation of cities—a process which privatises the planning, production, supply, and allocation of the built environment and renders housing a commodity rather than a basic human right (Clark 2005; Sager 2011). Yet, recent debates problematise this “classical-critical” approach that centres on the logic of late capitalism through three promising avenues. The first illuminates the role of national and municipal authorities in facilitating gentrification to alter the ethnic and class configuration of neighbourhoods—leading to the forced displacement of communities which long suffer a chronic of disinvestment and marginalisation (Fullilove 2016; Stabrowski 2014; Wallace 2015).

The second direction of analysis shifts the scale of research and utilises participatory methodologies to register the daily lives and political engagement undertaken by those subjected to urban displacement (Arcilla 2022; Luke and Kaika 2019; Maharawal 2021). A third line of analysis reorientates the debate on urban displacement by transgressing beyond Euro-American epistemologies and perspectives (Ahmad 2022; Genç 2021). As Erez Tzfadia and Oren Yiftachel (2021) suggest, studying forced displacement from what they name a “southeast view”—a geographical-epistemic stance that refers to a less researched part of the world which has been imagined as the negative of the “progressive” West—illuminates its correlation with capitalist *and* colonial logics. For instance, Jeff Garmany and Matthew Richmond (2020) offer the Brazilian term *higienização* to theorise a particular form of urban displacement that is informed by legacies of colonialism, informality, and racial and class divisions. The urban settler-colonial analytic therefore helps unpack the ways settler-colonial dispossession, displacement, and violence manifests through the production of neoliberal urban spheres (Addie and Fraser 2019; Blatman-Thomas and Porter 2019; Blomley 2004; Kent-Stoll 2020; Porter and Yiftachel 2019; Simpson and Bagelman 2018; Wolfe 2006). Crucially, it frames settler colonialism as an ongoing phenomenon that is integral to our understanding of the contemporary urban world (Addie and Fraser 2019; Tomiak 2017). Yet, there remains much scope for a place-based situational analysis of different spatio-temporal interactions between historical and contemporary processes of indigenous disposition and displacement within and from cities.

For instance, Israel presents a case whereby the expansion of the settler-colonial frontiers is ongoing—including in the urban sphere—and involves reiterating and expanding earlier models of settler-colonial violence—generating new technologies and apparatuses for regulating, segregating, and policing ethnically- and racially-marked populations within neoliberal cities worldwide (Lloyd and Wolfe 2016). Hence, a close unpacking of the shifting Israeli settler-colonial logics in Yaffa and the Palestinian agency to disrupt and resist them can furnish strategic models for global resistance to neoliberal and/or colonial urban order. As Areej Sabbagh-Khoury (2022) notes, from its formation, the Zionist movement aimed at permanent settlement in Palestine, involved overseas sponsors such as economic institutions, private donors, and empires, and used the terminology of colonisation. Furthermore, as Said’s (1978) concept of “orientalism” probes, colonialism is a system of power–knowledge, through which the “Orient” emerges as a site and object of Western imagination—involving an infatuation with the East as exotic but also underdeveloped to justify imperial domination. Accordingly, Zionism imagined itself as Western *vis vis* à-vis the reduction of Palestinians as “primitive”; simultaneously trying to emulate and appropriate the Palestinian indigeneity to assert its claim for nativity (Guez 2015; Huss 2019). Following the 1948 war, Israel deployed “classic” settler-colonial apparatuses to nationalise the dispossessed Palestinian land and property and populate Jews in “frontier” regions (and replicated this process after 1967 in the Occupied Palestinian Territories) (Benvenisti 2002; Yacobi and Tzfadia 2019; Yiftachel 2009).

However, with the neoliberalisation of Israeli economy in the 1980s, the settler-colonial logic reinvented itself in symbiosis with the privatisation of space and planning and was reconstituted on new frontiers—a regime which Haim Yacobi and Tzfadia (2019) term “neo-settler colonialism”. In the past decade, this process accelerated through a wave of reforms in legislation, planning, and land institutions—dividing space and society through widening economic gaps and ethnically segregated neighbourhoods (Yiftachel and Avni 2019). As such, the privatisation impulses of capitalism work to confirm but also de-politicise the settler-colonial ethno-national logics of spatial expansion and disposition (Shmaryahu-Yeshurun and Ben-Porat 2021; Yacobi and Milner 2022). Meanwhile, this form of “racialised capitalism” is further enhanced and de-politicised at the international scale through a liberal economic-peace paradigm—as the 2020 Abraham Accords between Israel, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain demonstrate (Maoz 2020). This article seeks to advance debates on the Israeli neo-settler colonialism through a much-needed finer-scale analysis that registers its impact on mini-topographies of everyday urban life—from a novel perspective that centres Palestinian agency and political knowledge as manifested in anti-gentrification struggles and political city tours.

The article therefore wishes to contribute to an important body of literature that demonstrates how sites of settler-colonial violence—such as checkpoints and the separation barrier—manifest and are also shaped by indigenous agency, ranging from spatial tactics that sustain mobility and liveability to embodied direct action (Amir and Kotef 2015; Griffiths and Repo 2021; Hammami 2019; Joronen et al. 2021). As Mark Griffiths (2017) illustrates in his analysis of political tours in Hebron, Palestinian agency repatriates the violent effects of occupation, such as fear and “political depression”, towards resistance based on “critical hope”. Such embodied and affective manifestations of agency show remarkable resilience against indirect and ad hoc techniques of colonial violence (Joronen 2019). They are also susceptible to the effects of time as it is deployed to colonise through slowness, delay, and “theatres of recognition” (Joronen 2017); and through affective futures of precarity—such as the certainty that house demolition will occur alongside an uncertainty of when (Joronen and Griffiths 2019). This article seeks to enrich the geographical scope of these debates by analysing Palestinian agency as manifested in cities under Israeli planning regimes, against “slow” forms of colonisation and displacement through the mechanisms of regeneration and gentrification. Through this, it will demonstrate how Palestinian agency encapsulates the demands of the right to the city but also expands its geo-temporal depth.

The walking tours examined below will be shown to revive the past as it correlates with the present—testifying to a traumatic history *and* to its current implications to reclaim Palestinian Yaffa and promote a more just future (Abu Hatoum 2021). Indeed, whereas most settler colonies urbanise space as a tool of colonisation, “the existence of modern Palestinian cities pre-colonization yielded a different kind of settler-colonial urbanism in Israel” (Blatman and Sabbagh-Khoury 2023:127). The following section will closely analyse how this settler-colonial urbanism shifted its mechanism for dispossessing Yaffa from destruction to preservation, appropriation, and gentrification.

## Judaising Yaffa: A Shift from Erasure to Gentrification

As Daniel Monterescu (2015) suggests, the process of the Judaisation of Yaffa through the built space can be divided into key phases: (1) the 1948 war and its aftermath, in which Yaffa was refashioned as an impoverished migratory segment of Tel Aviv; (2) followed by a period between 1960 and 1985 marked by enforced decline and the destruction of built space under the guise of evacuation-construction plans; (3) and then a shift towards urban renewal and gentrification. These phases mark different approaches to the urban planning of Yaffa that nonetheless maintain the settler-colonial logic of achieving territorial and demographic superiority and the “ethnocratic” project of Judaising the land (Tzfadia and Yacobi 2011; Yiftachel 2006).

As a result of the war, 95% of Yaffa’s Palestinian population were forcibly displaced from the city. Though Yaffa’s architecture largely prevailed—except for the border neighbourhoods Abu-Kabir and Manshiya that suffered greater ruin—the city’s “living essence” was gone (Hasan 2019). Also lost was the Palestinian publicness, including the encounters it enabled and, more symbolically, the political capacity of a centralised representation of Palestinian will (Zreik 2007). The Absentee Property Law from 1950 designated Palestinian refugees “absentee” and their lands and property an “absentee property” belonging to the state, under the management of the Custodian of Absentee Property. In 1960, the Israeli Land Administration (ILA) was founded to manage these lands, while government housing companies managed the residences that inhabited them (Kedar and Yiftachel 2006). In Yaffa, Israel sub-contracted the emptied houses to the semi-private semi-public Amidar housing company and used them to meet the housing needs of Jewish war refugees, slum inhabitants, discharged soldiers, and immigrants (Golan 2009). Meanwhile, Israel imprisoned the Palestinian population that remained in the city (around 3,647 people) in the Ajami neighbourhood, surrounded for two years by barbed-wire fences patrolled by soldiers (Abu-Shehadeh and Sheveita 2010).

Whilst confined to Ajami and forced to live in properties that belonged to other Palestinian refugees, they were categorised “present absentees” and their houses were also confiscated as “absentee property”—from homeowners they became protected tenants living in Amidar housing (Ziv 2007). In 1951, Yaffa—which became a densely-populated site of marginality, neglect, and crime—was officially annexed to Tel Aviv, along with six emptied Palestinian villages (Roßbard 2015). In 1954, a new master plan for Greater Tel Aviv was formulated to integrate these territories. Yet it maintained older segregation lines, between the affluent planned north of the city and the underdeveloped south that was designated for eviction and reconstruction (Margalit and Vertes 2015). From the 1960s, Yaffa was subjected to waves of demolitions that resulted in the destruction of 70% of houses in the Old City and Ajami, 30% in Jabalia (Givat Aliyah) neighbourhood, and the complete erasure of Manshiya (Monterescu 2007). As stated in a State Comptrollers’ report, between 1975 and 1988, the municipality permitted the dumping of the wreckage of the destroyed Palestinian built environment (about seven million cubic meters of construction waste) at Ajami’s costal line.<sup>2</sup>

However, in 1985, a new municipal policy of “facing south” initiated a shift from destruction to profit-seeking urban renewal and gentrification—which deepened the local ethnic tensions, and led to a sharp rise in housing values (Monterescu 2009). It involved establishing a neo-orientalist architectural language in collaboration with the private sector to attract the Jewish elite and international capital. As Ilan Pivko, an Israeli architect that worked in Yaffa during that period, described: “we made orientalist buildings, a kind of imitation that is not preservation but a play with ‘Jaffian’ elements” (quoted in Riva 2019). Nevertheless, the shift in urban policy from destruction to rehabilitation only extended to the infrastructure and not to the communal fabric. The urban renewal plan (No. 2660) set to “rehabilitate the Ajami neighbourhood for its existing and future population”, whilst “preserving its special urban character and architectural quality” (Figure 1). Yet the expansion of houses and the construction of large housing units attracted wealthy tenants and entrepreneurs and was unaffordable to most of the Palestinian population. Another regeneration plan (No. 2236) used the housing waste dumped on Ajami’s coastline to create the Jaffa Slope Park (Figure 2). This renowned environmental accomplishment contributed to a rise in real-estate value—acting as an accidental memorial to Yaffa’s legacy of destruction (Meishar 2017).

Yaffa’s regeneration adopted a colonial principle of rendering of indigenous spaces as anachronistic—a means to legitimise colonial rule by associating the latter with modernity and progress (Fabian 2014). The municipality initiated costly refurbishments of the Old City, the port, the Clock Tower complex, and the flea market, rebranding these areas as a historical theme park and desirable real estate detached from their Palestinian heritage (Alfasi and Fabian 2009; Avni 2017; LeVine 2007). In contrast, Amider’s housing suffered years of neglect. Tenants’ requests for repairs and permits for house extensions were unanswered, whilst attempts to make such repairs themselves were considered a violation of a contract that deemed them as “invaders” (Abu-Shehadeh and Sheveita 2010). Whilst



**Figure 1:** Approved sketch for an outline plan for Ajami with the existing plan on the left and the suggested plan, which includes adding three additional neighbourhoods, on the right (source: “Sketch for outline plan 2660 Ajami” by Yair Center for Engineering Information, Municipality of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, 2001; public domain; available from the Israel Planning Administration at <https://mavat.iplan.gov.il/69557b19-14e7-4af3-a024-4eab2a2050aa>)



**Figure 2:** Approved sketch for altering Jaffa's coast to build the Slope Park with the existing plan on the left and the future plan on the right (the green area symbolising the park, the yellow a beach, and the blue and red a new residential area) (source: "Sketch for outline plan 2236 Midron Yaffo" by architect Avner Yashar, 1995; public domain; available from the Israel Planning Administration at <https://mavat.iplan.gov.il/e2ee07f1-4bd5-4d86-880a-53a54aa60f85>)

the Israel Land Administration introduced a policy from 1996 of selling absentee property to existing tenants, those defined as "invaders"—including people who began to occupy empty Amidar assets due to the housing crisis in Yaffa—were prohibited from buying their priority (Ariav and Ziv 2022). For instance, in 2014, Agbaria Ahmed appealed to the Supreme Court to prevent his expulsion from a property in Yaffa that he inhabited for over 30 years. As the verdict (No.3516/14) details, he argued that Amidar agreed, "both in practice and in silence, with the extensive renovations he made in the property and therefore it is appropriate that he should be entitled to purchase it".<sup>3</sup>

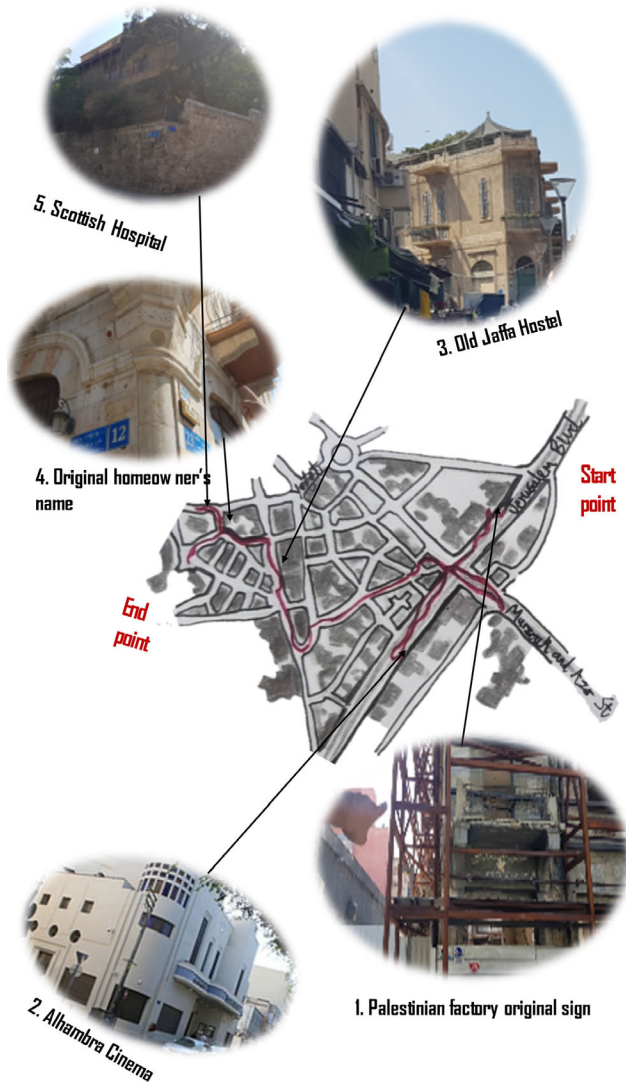
Nevertheless, the court denied his appeal and permitted his eviction on the grounds that he "invaded" the property. Palestinians in Yaffa have therefore been forced into what Oren Yiftachel (2009:250) names "grey spaces", which intermediate "the 'lightness' of legality/approval/safety and the 'darkness' of eviction/destruction/death". On some occasions, violations of contracts were punished and tenants were subjected to waves of demolitions and evacuations without compensation; on other occasions, no enforcement was carried out (Wallersein 2009). Indeed, grey spaces are permanently temporary, and its inhabitants suffer from de facto displacement *and* displaceability—a potential of being displaced due to change of policy, implementation of court-orders, or the arrival of established populations that gentrifies and "whitens" space (Tzfadia and

Yiftachel 2021). In Yaffa, gentrifiers include affluent liberals and organised groups of middle-class religious Zionists (Grain-Tornani) who receive state and municipal encouragement to settle in Israel's socioeconomic periphery and "mixed cities". These inducements include privatising public housing, allocating public buildings, and selling national land to support these settlers (Shmaryahu-Yeshurun 2022).

For instance, Grain-Tornani purchased an Amidar absentee property in Ajami to build *Shirat Moshe* yeshiva (a Jewish educational institution for men) and received municipal public assets to expand it and to build *Midreshet Yafu* for women and two pre-military schools in Shikunei Hisachon. Strategically appealing to Tel Aviv's sought-out image as a model for co-existence, they describe Yaffa in their website as city where "Jews, Arabs, and Christians live together in noteworthy peace and harmony"; nonetheless, alluding to their goal of Judaising Yaffa, they describe their aim to install "a new and fresh statement, continuing from the spring of Jewish life".<sup>4</sup> Evidence of growing antagonism towards Grain-Tornani in Yaffa emerged around a month before the violent events of May 2021. Mahmoud and Ahmad Garboa, two of Amidar's tenants facing eviction, attacked the rabbi and manager of *Shirat Moshe*, who had come to inspect their home as a future real-estate investment. The event culminated into opposing protests by Jews chanting "the people of eternity shall not fear" versus Palestinians shouting "Jaffa to Jaffians, settlers out" (Peleg 2021). Alongside such protests, the following section examines walking tours as an important strategy to protest displacement and gentrification.

## **Navigating Orientalism, "Co-existence", and Gentrification**

From the outset, Yusuf Asfour, third generation IDP, stresses that his guided tour blurs the boundaries between a pedagogical tourist experience and a tactic of activism, stating, "So, welcome to Yaffa's tour—throughout you will be asking yourself, is Yusuf leading you on a tour or is he fighting the Zionist narrative?" (quoted in Huss 2022a:1). A history teacher, he has hosted walking tours since 1996, as an interactive way to inspire young IDPs to learn about their history and identity—silenced in the Israeli discourse and public-school curriculum—and to other audiences. Yusuf explains that the feeling that Yaffa is continuously "being pulled from under his legs" saddens him and pushes him to be "more of an activist" (quoted in Huss 2022a:15). In an example of this ongoing disappearance, we visit the location of a former Palestinian factory (Stop 1 in Figure 3) to see its original sign that remains intact; however, upon our arrival we discover it is hidden by a construction site, the building soon to be erased altogether. "You see how they flatten the narrative", Yusuf says, and adds, "I keep living in fear that it will all disappear" (quoted in Huss 2022a:14–15). We sneak into the site to photograph the building. This section focuses on such tactics of visual and spatial transgression, demonstrating the agency of IDPs to navigate, contextualise, and document processes of regeneration and gentrification as explicit in the continual erasure of Palestinian Yaffa.



**Figure 3:** Central features in Yusuf's tour, August 2019, 1.62 km, 2 hours 10 minutes, 34°C (source: author)

As we continue our walk, Yusuf points towards the existence of Jewish neo-oriental luxury enclaves surrounded by the shrinking Palestinian neighbourhoods and says, "Now we are beginning to feel the gentrification". At another stop (Stop 3 in Figure 3) he asks, "Have you heard of Old Jaffa Hostel? Everyone loves it, but there is a sad story here of identity blurring, since it used to be a Palestinian home" (quoted in Huss 2022a:14–15). As Yusuf explains, in Yaffa the gentrification has an added ethno-national dimension. Yusuf states that "the saddest is that you find that today's ownership, those who live here, are Jewish leftists—I am for coexistence, but this coexistence comes at the expense of a certain truth". During his tour, Abed Abu-Shehadeh, a third generation IDP and municipal

opposition member for the Yaffa Party further distinguishes between Jewish liberal gentrifiers, that are “the consequence of urban planning”, versus “the settlers [Grain-Tornani] who want to affect the urban planning systematically over a period of decades”. Abed also describes how until the 1980s, Yaffa was associated with poverty, crime, and prostitution, and Jews left if they could afford to. He adds that the Palestinian community was in a deep state of trauma, and many sought the use of alcohol and drugs, pointing to the spot where his uncle was found dead from an overdose. In the 1990s, a new urban plan designated Ajami for gentrification by a Jewish population—“they even used the words ‘rich Jews’”, Abed explains.

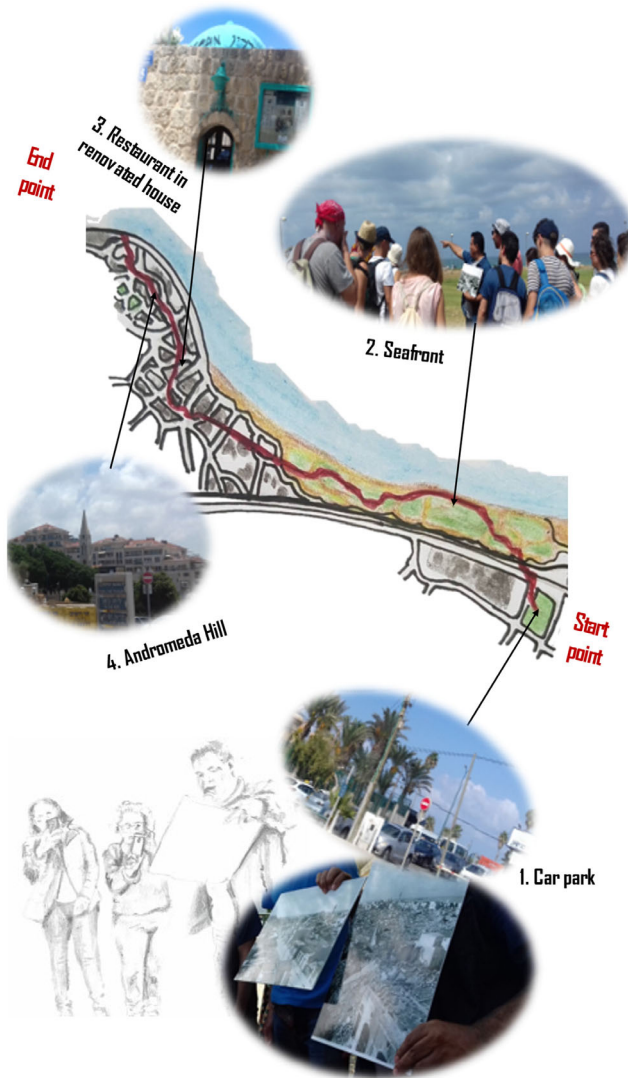
A tour participant asks: “What would you say to a young Jewish Israeli who wants to live in Jaffa?”. He answers: “Don’t romanticise us”, and explains that many Jewish gentrifiers who seek co-existence “come with an orientalist conception of what it means to live next to Arabs, and then they find out that living next to a poor community is challenging”. To exemplify, he describes a recent dispute over roosters, “who have always been a part of Jaffa”, which began when a Jewish resident complained in a communal Facebook group: “Why do the Arabs bring roosters into the city?” He states that “this post had hundreds of comments and then people brought a bunch of roosters and let them free into the city”. This for Abed illustrates how, “when we are ignored from urban planning and the way the city is built, the consequence is that there will be clashes between the old and new inhabitants”.

In a tour for a group of Israeli activists guided by Amna Asfour, a third generation IDP, educational activist, and law student, we visit one of the most striking sites of gentrification in the city—the Andromeda Hill gated community. It was built in 1995 as part of a deal between the Canadian Jewish entrepreneur Murray Goldman, Tel Aviv-Yaffo Municipality, and the landowners, the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Andromeda Hill’s style echoes a global oriental imagery of Yaffa, whilst simultaneously appearing new, expensive, and equipped with security measures to ensure its separation from the urban fabric (Monterescu and Fabian 2003).

Amna calls the security guard and asks to enter for passage, noting that Andromeda was built on public land. As we enter, she tells us that as a young girl she used to run around this hill, and that when the construction of Andromeda began, she knew that it was not meant for her—noting the “state of mind of the oppressed that sees invisible markers of borders”. She points our attention to the loud background noises of the nearby Arab Scout Movement. As she explains, the developers ultimately lost money on the project as its premise of exclusivity could not isolate it from the surrounding soundscape. This tactic of symbolic transgression, she later explains in an interview, seeks to “emotionally incorporate participants in activism”, since “we are all slaves of capitalism”, and whilst there is a “colonial aspect, the story of Andromeda is also very capitalistic”. The emotions, sensations, sounds, and smells that the space invokes are “the power of guided tours”, Amna concludes. Through this power, tour guides demonstrate the institutional and ethnic dimensions of gentrification as it impacts their daily lives. We also visit Andromeda Hill during a tour guided by Umar al-Ghubari, an IDP and

the Landscape and Space coordinator of the NGO Zochrot (which aims to promote recognition and accountability for *al-Nakba* among Jewish Israelis) (Stop 4 in Figure 4).

Umar says with pain that this gentrified project erased the Palestinian identity of Ajami, replacing its architecture with “a poor ugly imitation of the local style”. Umar also leads us to a Palestinian home in the Old City turned into a touristic “authentic” Israeli restaurant (Stop 3 in Figure 4). We also walk along Tel Aviv’s scenic southern seafront (Stop 2 in Figure 4). Umar explains that the seafront’s rocks were taken from the mountains of ruins of the destroyed Manshiya neighbourhood. The different modes of ruin appropriation that the tours highlight



**Figure 4:** Central features in Umar’s tour, August 2018, 2.85 km, 3 hours 18 minutes, 29°C (source: author)

involve mimicry common in the colonial arena, where the desire to create oriental landscape and architecture serves as a symbolic indigenisation of the settlers (Bhabha 1984). However, in the tours, visible ruins and invisible traces that are outlined by the words or gestures of the tour guides are transformed from mute witnesses to the past into contemporary artifacts that generate dialogue between past and present. As the following expands on, tour guides utilise them to stress the cumulative effects of a historical trauma of disposition as it relates to contemporary processes of urban displacement.

## Reviving the Palestinian Urbanity

During his tour, Yusuf notes that for IDPs in Yaffa, “the Absent Property Law created a sad situation that you could see your home but could not return” (quoted in Huss 2022a:14). He describes how after the war his entire family was forced to share his great uncle’s two-storey house with a Jewish family—having to co-inhabit their city and home with those who dispossessed them. Similarly, Abed describes how after the war an Israeli official visited his mother’s family home in Ajami to ask if she was the owner. He stresses that “she could have said ‘yes’, but she said ‘no, my brother is the owner’”; since her brother was in Jordan the house was declared absent property and Amidar seized it. A tour participant asks in disbelief: “So they just walked around your house and it was yours, but they took it?”. Abed summarises that today the house, “which is a castle”, is worth about 15 million shekels; in contrast, he explains, “we started with zero, there isn’t the capital that should or could help people”. As such, the tours demonstrate how the current economic disparities in the city reflect its settler-colonial legacy. The section focuses on the tours’ articulation of this circular dynamic between the urban past and present and frames the tours as a symbolic reclamation of the indigenous right to the city.

The tours both rely on and communicate spatial “native counterclaim” imprints that persist through time to resist the colonial re-writing of space (Wolfe 2006). For instance, Yusuf indicates an Arabic engraving of the original owner’s name on a house column left intact for its decorative qualities (Stop 4 in Figure 3). We also visit a building that now serves as the Israeli headquarters for the Church of Scientology, yet it originally housed the famous Alhambra Cinema (Stop 2 in Figure 3). Yusuf describes how celebrated Arab artists such as Umm Kulthum performed in the beautiful art deco building, designed by the Lebanese architect Elias Al-Mor in 1937. Ruins therefore act as “the claim about the state of a thing and a process affecting it” (Stoler 2008:195). Through them, tour guides resist the Israeli settler-colonial processes of de-urbanisation and enrich the Palestinian historiography to include the “urban repressed” (Hasan 2019). As Yusuf says towards the end of his tour, “Now, we have seen schools, we’ve seen cinemas, we’ve seen houses—but a few things are missing for it to be urban. And here it was, the Scottish hospital. There were hospitals, and there were schools” (Stop 5 in Figure 3). Similarly, Abed centres his tour around one boulevard, as an emblem of all the key elements of Yaffa’s urbanisation pre-1948, including infrastructure, trade, and culture. As he states, “what is important about this street is that it is the first

urban construction in the city". He further details that "this was the first street to be built with electricity and a sewage system", and that the first floors of the buildings in the boulevard were used for trade.

As we walk around the boulevard, Abed points our attention to beautiful buildings that testify to the rich cultural life of the city before 1948, including theatres, cinemas, banks, and postal services. Emphasising Yaffa's cosmopolitanism as another feature of its urbanity, he notes how the buildings display an array of urban architectural influences, ranging from Egypt to Syria and to the German Bauhaus style. Hence, in addition to marking and commenting on an institutionalised process of erasure, the tours also demonstrate that this process is incomplete and utilise spatial memory and imagination to resist it. For instance, during Umar's tour he points at a car park and invites us to imagine the space as it used to be—a school amid the bustling neighbourhood of Manshiya (Stop 1 in Figure 4). To assist the process of collective imagination, Umar hands out photographs of Manshiya before and immediately after the 1948 War. Participants photograph these visual elements, often including in their frames the site in its current condition, creating a collage that links past, present, erasure, and resistance. In the context of Yaffa's systematic re-writing, this cataloguing of spatial elements further holds a future-oriented role of archiving.

Indeed, settler colonialism is an endeavour to dominate both material space and immaterial time (Gallois 2013; Sanbar 2001). The use of the format of a tour that condenses time and space to convey a perception of place and historical narrative can therefore provide a useful strategy for resisting this colonial regulation. In terms of their impact on participants, the tours strengthen the political identity and vocabulary of Palestinians and alter Jewish Israelis' sense of place and historical perception. For instance, a Palestinian participant explains: "I joined in the tour, and I started to understand my identity more and build political knowledge, build in my head what I think and what my opinions are". Another one observes: "It's something you are not taught in school; it is also not spoken about in the street ... Yaffa or Haifa, these cities flourished before 1948". Meanwhile, a Jewish participant describes being moved by Abed "talking about the history of his family specifically in Jaffa as a way of zooming out from there to tell the bigger picture, but also integrating that within the present-day reality in Jaffa". Another Jewish Israeli participant stresses that "to feel and see the place" during tours is a more "meaningful" mode of "recognition".

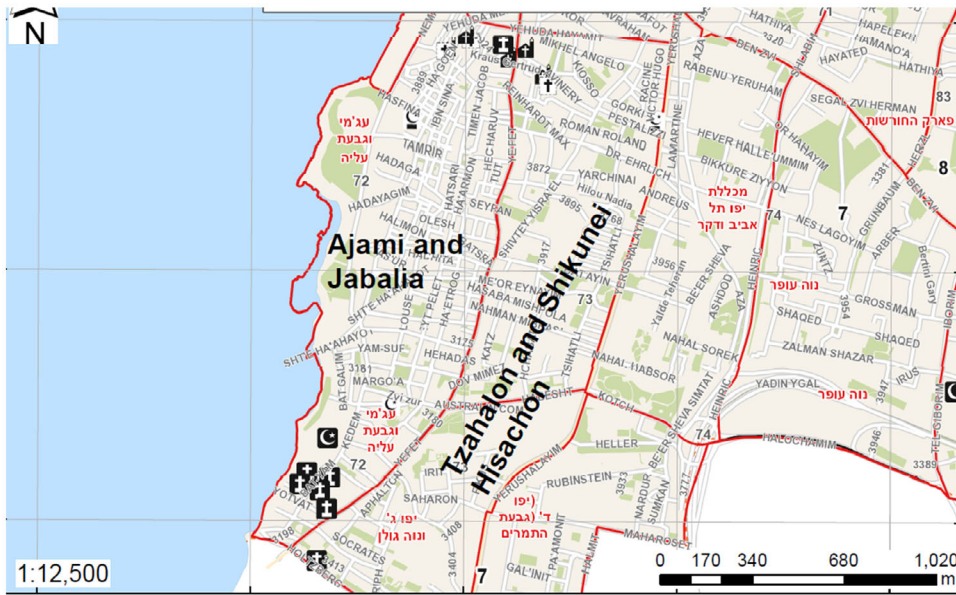
Walking tours are in fact widely used by NGOs, grassroots organisations, and individuals to revive the Palestinian spaces that Israel destroyed in 1948. They echo a Palestinian tradition of *awda* (return) trips—symbolic executions of their right of return that are well-documented in photography, art, literature, and cinema (Sa'di 2002). Walking tours are also extensively used to record and comment on the current Israeli violations of human rights in the West Bank, as exemplified in the celebrated book *Palestinian Walks*, by human rights lawyer Raja Shehadeh (2010), whose family fled Yaffa in 1948. Studies on political guided tours of "mixed cities" finds that the consumerist or touristic logics of guided tours can reinforce historical and contemporary discourses of segregation (Huss 2022b; Nathansohn 2019). In contrast, the tours examined in this article are facilitated

by Palestinian activists as part of their broader repertoire of activism to challenge such discourses. Rather than focusing merely on past or present injustices, they utilise urban infrastructure and remains to stress the relation between urban past and present and between settler colonialism and neoliberalism. Significantly, as the following expands on, these tours supplement a broader landscape of activism for the indigenous right to the city—symbolically and materially.

## Reclaiming Yaffa

As Yiftachel (2009:250) stresses, those forced into grey spaces use them “as bases for self-organisation, negotiation, and empowerment”. Accordingly, civic protest has erupted in recent years over the right to land, life, and memory in Yaffa. In 2020, Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality began construction work in Jaffa’s ancient Al-Isaaf Muslim cemetery, to replace it with a homeless shelter.<sup>5</sup> In response, for two months, the streets filled with protesters who utilised combative tactics such as throwing stones and blocking roads, alongside staging aesthetically captivating installations. These included placing a ladder outside the home of the Mayor of Tel Aviv, Ron Huldai, to help him “climb down” from his stubborn refusal to reach a settlement and holding prayers near the cemetery to symbolically reiterate its sacredness through activists’ performing bodies. As with the dead, so too with the living: in November 2021, Frida Najjar, a Palestinian single mother, moved her children into a tent after waiting four years for an apartment in public housing. Ten other single mothers joined her to create a protest camp, where demonstrations focused on the injustice of a severe housing crisis. Amna led a guided tour to contextualise the protest as part of a broader and crippling reality that she names “ethnic transfer”.

As evidence of the so-far successful ethno-gentrification, whilst in the year 2000 Palestinians accounted for 95% of the population of Ajami and Jabalia, by 2020 they constituted 71%.<sup>6</sup> Significantly, Ajami and Jabalia house most of the Palestinian communal infrastructure, including two mosques, three cemeteries (one Muslim and two Christian), and a community centre (Figure 5). The intersecting settler-colonial and neoliberal policies therefore operate to dispossess Palestinians of places of residence, but also of vital social infrastructure, lifeways, and—as the tours above demonstrate—of their urban identity and history. Since 2021, there has been an increase in the number of eviction orders issued against tenants in Yaffa, whilst Amidar has published several tenders for the sale of properties that are still inhabited (Ariav and Ziv 2022). According to data from Amidar, there are currently 1,020 absentee properties in Yaffa, and only 520 of their inhabitants are entitled to purchase them, whilst 434 eviction orders have been filed in the last seven years and 47 evictions carried out. Crucially, the value of these properties is determined by an appraiser’s assessment based on market value; in contrast, the discount offered to tenants by law is capped based on a consumer price index that disregards the increase in housing prices (Ariav and Ziv 2022). The discrepancy between property values and the discount is especially disproportionate in Yaffa.



**Figure 5:** Map of Palestinian cemeteries and religious institutions in Yaffa (source: author)

According to the *Madelan* real estate website, the prices in the north-centre of Yaffa have more than doubled between 2010 and 2022—in keeping with prices in the rest of Tel Aviv but far exceeding those in the rest of Israel. The current average house prices in these areas range between 1,667,689 to 3,465,000 new Israeli shekels, whilst the socio-economic index of 6 (out of 10), reflects the relatively affluent, predominantly Jewish demographics of the gentrified neighbourhoods. However, in Ajami and Jabalia, where most absentee properties are located, although the average house price is 3,524,150 NIS, whilst the socio-economic index is just 2—demonstrating the discrepancy between house prices and incomes in the area, and the difficulty for Palestinians buying absentee property at market rates. Moreover, Amir Bidran, Palestinian lawyer from Yaffa and municipal opposition member (We Are the City Party), stresses that tenants—all placed under Amider’s protected tendency as result of *al-Nakba*—are soon to be legally defined as “infiltrators” since protected tenants’ right to their property only extended to the second generation. If/when evicted, tenants will not be able to afford market rents in Ajami, currently around 10,000 NIS per month, compared to the Tel Aviv average of 9,000 NIS. The communal and individual uncertainty regarding when the authorities might decide to act and the simultaneous knowledge that their time in the city is temporary is another layer of the slow neo-settler-colonial violence.

A recent campaign under the slogan “from despair to hope” seeks to pressure the state and municipality to provide a substantial subsidy so that Palestinians under Amider’s temporary protected tenancy scheme can buy their homes. The campaign is led by Al-Rabita (Jaffa’s Arab Association) that was established in

1979 to foster communal restoration and fight home demolitions and evacuations in Jaffa, in collaboration with the Arab-Jewish association Kolna-Yaffa—founded by Palestinian activist Omar Siksek in the wake of the violent events in May 2021. Ever since, they assemble on Fridays in Toulouse Garden, Ajami, to call for a just solution to the housing problem in Jaffa. Deputy chair of Al-Rabita, Abed Satel, stressed during an interview that at this stage of their prolonged struggle, “the legal option does not exist, developers will not give us houses for free, and therefore the only option is a public struggle”. To mobilise support for the campaign, they launched a series of guided tours in April 2022, attended by over 300 people. The following month Al-Rabita hosted a conference attended by Jewish and Palestinian residents of Yaffa. One of the residents of Amidar facing deportation urged people to attend the weekly protest vigils on Fridays, stating that “the presence of people on the street with us is part of the battle”.

Amir further updated activists about a meeting held with Mayor Ron Huldai, who expressed his willingness to help solve the housing crisis in Yaffa, which he blames on the national government. An important debate emerged around the need to avoid expressing false gratitude for his support in resolving a problem that he himself helped create. This hints at the distinct challenge involved in resisting an “ethno-centric” planning regime that operates under the guise of a “free” and “democratic” open market—which nonetheless combines strict national spatial management and operates slowly and silently towards displacing Palestinians (Chiodelli 2018; Kemp and Margalit 2017; Yiftachel and Yacobi 2003). In his speech, Abed stressed that the demand for financial subsidy is just, since the State of Israel and Tel Aviv Municipality made huge profits from demolishing Palestinian homes and selling the land to private developers. He also spoke of 40 years of housing-related struggles, recalling how activists initiated a housing “intifada” in 1995 in which they occupied Amidar’s uninhabited priority—positioning this current moment of struggle within a richer history of resistance, imbuing it with symbolism and direction. As Palestinian activists Sami Abu Shehadeh and Paddy Shivita (2010:145) write, the prolonged housing struggle in Jaffa is driven by “the need for recognition of the Palestinian-Arabs of Yaffa as a group with a historic right to the land of the city and its assets”.<sup>7</sup> Whilst the outcome of this struggle is yet to be determined, these varied modes of resistance render prolonged and slow injustice visible, commemorate indigenous urbanity, and reclaim the city and its history.

## Conclusion

This article advances research on urban displacement beyond an unplanned consciousness of neoliberal economic trajectories and property regimes, to unpack how it correlates with ethno-national and settler-colonial policies (Ellis-Young 2022; Kent-Stoll 2020). Adopting a “south-eastern” perspective (Tzfadia and Yiftachel 2021; Yiftachel 2020), it mapped how new planning policies in Yaffa maintain long-existing cycles of poverty, marginalisation, and displacement that correspond with Israeli settler-colonial relations. Urban displacement was shown to deprive indigenous people of their homes, of vital social infrastructure, the right to be recognised in planning decisions or affect them, and of their urban

past and future. However, conducting a contrapuntal analysis of the city, the article has also traced spatial remains and elements that form a productive ground for activism, and demonstrated how collaborative walking methodologies help illuminate the enduring links between the past and present of the city and revive the erased urban geographies of Palestine. The tours examined in this article problematise the branding of Tel Aviv-Yafo as a model for “co-existence”, by tracing how urban regeneration, facilitated by the municipality and other national and private actors, fuels a continuous form of Palestinian heritage omission and ethnic expulsion. They further illustrate how coexistence is co-opted as a façade by settler-colonial gentrifiers who seek the Judaification of Yaffa; but also, by liberal gentrifiers who imbue it with orientalist misconceptions and distaste for the reality of local culture.

The article therefore develops an understanding of the interaction between politics and the built environment beyond elite-level politics to a focus on obscured subaltern agency. Aside from the power of states, municipalities, urban planners, and architects to abstract, control, and dominate the design and memory of cities, it has traced a robust subaltern urban politics that seeks to undermine these powers. This includes a range of tactics, from noticeable forms of protest to less visible community meetings, idiosyncratic gestures such as letting hundreds of roosters free in the city, and guided city tours. The latter provide a means for activists to enhance knowledge about the historical and geo-political context of their struggle, educate the broader public about their fight, and commemorate a subaltern history of resistance. Together, they demonstrate the importance of materiality and performativity to struggles over the right to the city. Moreover, the article argues that indigenous struggles differ from more commonly analysed urban struggles in the geo-temporal depth of their interpretation of the right to the city. Correlated with the conflicted local history and spatial context, the Palestinian struggle links the contemporary issues of housing and unfair allocation of resources for urban citizens with a slow and chronic settler-colonial violence.

Utilising walking to illuminate the enduring links between the past and present of the city, these tours articulate a demand for acknowledgement of a historic right to the city and a right to commemorate their urban heritage. The performative interactions during these tours, between protesters, tour guides, and audiences with ruins, remains, and houses were shown to challenge how people relate to the past and present of the city and create networks of activism and solidarity to alter its future. These spatial gestures add to a range of strategies “in and around cities” by which Palestinians reference pre-1948 urban life to establish an “indigenous urbanising” that predates and may outlive settler-colonial violence (Rouhana and Sabbagh-Khoury 2019). Finally, and towards the goal of producing knowledge that is better grounded in the voices and acts of agency of those who live through and defy displacement and/or settler-colonial violence, guided tours provide a rich theme and method of analysis—one that can be fruitfully deployed in future research and action as a collaborative mode for co-producing knowledge that creates a path to undermine hierarchies of knowledge. Walking also generates complex and dynamic temporal representations that are useful for those who seek to act in cities shaped by traumas of the past encroaching into the present.

Such representations are much needed for considering avenues for the political and reparational work in acute and chronic conditions of injustice.

## Acknowledgements

I extend my deep gratitude to Yusuf Asfour, Abed Abu-Shehadeh, Amna Asfour, Umar al-Ghubari, Amir Bidran, Omar Siksek, and Abed Satel for facilitating and supporting this research; I am grateful for their permission to use the transformative political education I experienced through their guided tours and activism initiatives as inspiration for this article. I am also thankful to Max Sternberg for his intellectual guidance and support, and grateful for the constructive feedback of Haim Yacobi and Karen E. Till. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers, and the editors of *Antipode*, especially Laura Barraclough, for their insightful comments on earlier drafts of this paper. A special thanks to Mohamad Salem for his Arabic translation.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> After outlining this politicised semantic distinction, the article uses the title “Yaffa”.

<sup>2</sup> See full report: [https://www.mevaker.gov.il/he/Reports/Report\\_336/5a484f4d-2b4d-42ca-8aef-bdc109d0bbf0/115-tel-aviv.pdf](https://www.mevaker.gov.il/he/Reports/Report_336/5a484f4d-2b4d-42ca-8aef-bdc109d0bbf0/115-tel-aviv.pdf) (last accessed 27 April 2023).

<sup>3</sup> See Ruling No.3516/14.

<sup>4</sup> See their website: <https://www.yafo.org.il/%d7%91%d7%99%d7%aa-%d7%9e%d7%93%d7%a8%d7%a9/> (last accessed 27 April 2023).

<sup>5</sup> Since 1948, Israel has destroyed hundreds of Muslim cemeteries across the country (Breger et al. 2013).

<sup>6</sup> According to municipal records, 17,553 Palestinians currently reside in Yaffa (mainly in Ajami, Jabalia, Tzahalon and Shikunei Hisachon neighbourhoods), amounting to 30% of its population and 4% of the city overall.

<sup>7</sup> Translated by the author.

## References

- Abu Hatoum N (2021) Decolonizing [in the] future: Scenes of Palestinian temporality. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 103(4):397–412
- Abu-Shehadeh S and Sheveita F (2010) Jaffa—The Bride of the Sea, the Sheep of Hersh. *Mita'am Journal* 22(1):135–148 [in Hebrew]
- Addie J P D and Fraser J C (2019) After gentrification: Social mix, settler colonialism, and cruel optimism in the transformation of neighbourhood space. *Antipode* 51(5):1369–1394
- Ahmad A N (2022) Infrastructure, development, and displacement in Pakistan's “Southern Punjab”. *Antipode* 54(5):1407–1428
- Alfasi N and Fabian R (2009) Preserving urban heritage: From Old Jaffa to modern Tel-Aviv. *Israel Studies* 14(3):137–156
- Amir M and Kotef H (2015) Limits of dissent, perils of activism: Spaces of resistance and the new security logic. *Antipode* 47(3):671–688
- Aoki J and Yoshimizu A (2015) Walking histories, un/making places: Walking tours as ethnography of place. *Space and Culture* 18(3):273–284
- Arcilla C A (2022) Disrupting gentrification: From barricades and housing occupations to an insurgent urban subaltern history in a Southern city. *Antipode* <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12827>
- Ariav O and Ziv N (2022) “A Wound That Does Not Heal: The Assets of the Development Authority in Mixed Cities—A Proposal for Settlement.” Israel Affordable Housing Center, Tel Aviv University [https://www.israhc.org/\\_files/ugd/976b1a\\_dfffe62c50ff430d8986e363012bc559.pdf](https://www.israhc.org/_files/ugd/976b1a_dfffe62c50ff430d8986e363012bc559.pdf) (last accessed 23 May) [in Hebrew]

- Avni N (2017) "So long, and thanks for all the fish?": Examining the built and cultural heritage of the Jaffa port redevelopment. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23(8):679–694
- Benvenisti M (2002) *Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land Since 1948*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Butler C (2012) *Henri Lefebvre: Spatial Politics, Everyday Life, and the Right to the City*. London: Routledge
- Bhabha H (1984) Of mimicry and man: The ambivalence of colonial discourse. *October* 28:125–133
- Blatman N and Sabbagh-Khoury A (2023) The presence of the absence: Indigenous Palestinian urbanism in Israel. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 47(1):119–128
- Blatman-Thomas N and Porter L (2019) Placing property: Theorizing the urban from settler colonial cities. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 43(1):30–45
- Blomley N K (2004) *Unsettling the City: Urban Land and the Politics of Property*. New York: Routledge
- Breger M J, Reiter Y and Hammer L (eds) (2013) *Sacred Space in Israel and Palestine: Religion and Politics*. New York: Routledge
- Chiodelli F (2018) *Shaping Jerusalem: Spatial Planning, Politics, and the Conflict*. New York: Routledge
- Clark E (2005) The order and simplicity of gentrification: A political challenge. In R Atkinson and G Bridge (eds) *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism* (pp 261–269). London: Routledge
- Coward M (2008) *Urbicide: The Politics of Urban Destruction*. New York: Routledge
- Davies T (2022) Slow violence and toxic geographies: "Out of sight" to whom? *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 40(2):409–427
- Ellis-Young M (2022) Gentrification as (settler) colonialism? Moving beyond metaphorical linkages. *Geography Compass* 16(1) <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12604>
- Fabian J (2014) *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Fullilove M T (2016) *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It*. New York: New Village Press
- Gallois W (2013) *A History of Violence in the Early Algerian Colony*. Cham: Springer
- Garmany J and Richmond M A (2020) Hygienisation, gentrification, and urban displacement in Brazil. *Antipode* 52(1):124–144
- Genç F (2021) Governing the contested city: Geographies of displacement in Diyarbakır, Turkey. *Antipode* 53(6):1682–1703
- Golan A (2009) War and postwar transformation of urban areas: The 1948 War and the incorporation of Jaffa into Tel Aviv. *Journal of Urban History* 35(7):1020–1036
- Griffiths M (2017) Hope in Hebron: The political affects of activism in a strangled city. *Antipode* 49(3):617–635
- Griffiths M and Repo J (2021) Women and checkpoints in Palestine. *Security Dialogue* 52(3):249–265
- Guez D (2015) *Pre-Israeli Orientalism: A Photographic Portrait*. Tel Aviv: Resling [in Hebrew]
- Hammami R (2019) Destabilizing mastery and the machine: Palestinian agency and gendered embodiment at Israeli military checkpoints. *Current Anthropology* 60(S19):S87–S97
- Hanafi S (2006) Spaciocide. In P Misselwitz, T Rieniets, Z Efrat, R Khamaisi and R Nasrallah (eds) *City of Collision: Jerusalem and the Principles of Conflict Urbanism* (pp 93–101). Basel: Birkhäuser
- Hasan M (2019) Palestine's absent cities: Gender, memoricide, and the silencing of urban Palestinian memory. *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies* 18(1):1–20
- Huss M (2019) Mapping the occupation: Performativity and the precarious Israeli identity. *Geopolitics* 24(3):756–770
- Huss M (2022a) Autotopographies of forced displacement: City walking tours as a path for political visibility. *Journal of Refugee Studies* <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feac055>

- Huss M (2022b) The transgressive art of walking: Entanglements of urban activism and tourism in South Tel Aviv. *Social and Cultural Geography* <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2022.2125559>
- Joronen M (2017) Spaces of waiting: Politics of precarious recognition in the occupied West Bank. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 35(6):994–1011
- Joronen M (2019) Negotiating colonial violence: Spaces of precarisation in Palestine. *Antipode* 51(3):838–857
- Joronen M and Griffiths M (2019) The affective politics of precarity: Home demolitions in occupied Palestine. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 37(3):561–576
- Joronen M, Tawil-Souri H, Amir M and Griffiths M (2021) Palestinian futures: Anticipation, imagination, embodiments. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 103(4):277–282
- Kedar A and Yiftachel O (2006) “Land Regime and Social Relations in Israel.” <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=906336> (last accessed 4 December 2022)
- Kemp A and Margalit T (2017) Resisting neoliberal skylines: Social mobilisations and entrepreneurial urban development in Tel Aviv. *International Development Policy / Revue internationale de politique de développement* 8:164–188
- Kent-Stoll P (2020) The racial and colonial dimensions of gentrification. *Sociology Compass* 14(12) <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12838>
- Lefebvre H (1996) *Writings on Cities* (eds and trans E Kofman and E Lebas). Oxford: Blackwell
- Leshem N (2016) *Life after Ruin: The Struggles over Israel’s Depopulated Arab Spaces*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- LeVine M (2005) *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine, 1880–1948*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- LeVine M (2007) Globalization, architecture, and town planning in a colonial city: The case of Jaffa and Tel Aviv. *Journal of World History* 18(2):171–198
- Lloyd D and Wolfe P (2016) Settler colonial logics and the neoliberal regime. *Settler Colonial Studies* 6(2):109–118
- Luke N and Kaika M (2019) Ripping the heart out of Ancoats: Collective action to defend infrastructures of social reproduction against gentrification. *Antipode* 51(2):579–600
- Macdonald S (2006) Mediating heritage: Tour guides at the former Nazi Party Rally Grounds, Nuremberg. *Tourist Studies* 6(2):119–138
- Maharawal M M (2021) Infrastructural activism: Google bus blockades, affective politics, and environmental gentrification in San Francisco. *Antipode* <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12744>
- Maoz A (2020) Welcome to the utopia of capital: Israel, the United Arab Emirates, and disaster capitalism. *Theory and Criticism* 53(1):181–195 [in Hebrew]
- Margalit T and Vertes E (2015) Planning allocations and the stubborn north–south divide in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. *Planning Theory and Practice* 16(2):226–247
- Meishar N (2017) Up/rooting: Breaching landscape architecture in the Jewish-Arab city. *AJS Review* 41(1):89–109
- Modlin E A, Alderman D H and Gentry G W (2011) Tour guides as creators of empathy: The role of affective inequality in marginalizing the enslaved at plantation house museums. *Tourist Studies* 11(1):3–19
- Monterescu D (2007) “The Palestinian Community in Jaffa: A Social and Planning Report.” Shatil—Mixed Cities Project <https://yaffastruggle.files.wordpress.com/2007/12/report-on-jaffa.pdf> (last accessed 23 May 2023) [in Hebrew]
- Monterescu D (2009) To buy or not to be: Trespassing the gated community. *Public Culture* 21(2):403–430
- Monterescu D (2015) *Jaffa Shared and Shattered: Contrived Coexistence in Israel/Palestine*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press
- Monterescu D and Fabian R (2003) “The golden cage”: Gentrification and globalization in the Givat Andromeda Project, Jaffa. *Theory and Criticism* 23(1):141–178
- Morris B (2004) *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Nathansohn R (2019) Purifying the description: Coexistence as discourse of separation in Haifa city tours. In D Hirsch (ed) *Encounters: History and Anthropology of the Israeli-Palestinian Space* (pp 430–459). Jerusalem: Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House [in Hebrew]
- Nixon R (2011) *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Pain R (2019) Chronic urban trauma: The slow violence of housing dispossession. *Urban Studies* 56(2):385–400
- Pappe I (2007) *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. New York: Simon and Schuster
- Peleg B (2021) Clashes between residents and police in Jaffa. *Haaretz* 18 April <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/law/2021-04-18/ty-article/0000017f-db2f-db22-a17f-ffb1ae20000> (last accessed 4 December 2022)
- Porter L and Yiftachel O (2019) Urbanizing settler-colonial studies: Introduction to the special issue. *Settler Colonial Studies* 9(2):177–186
- Purcell M (2003) Citizenship and the right to the global city: Reimagining the capitalist world order. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27(3):564–590
- Riva N (2019) Real estate is roiling in Jaffa. So are the residents. *Haaretz* 16 June <https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/architecture/2019-06-16/ty-article-magazine/.premium/0000017f-e9fc-dc91-a17f-fdfdc54b0000> (last accessed 23 May 2023) [in Hebrew]
- Roṭbard S (2015) *White City, Black City: Architecture and War in Tel Aviv and Jaffa*. Cambridge: MIT Press
- Rouhana N N and Sabbagh-Khoury A (2019) Memory and the return of history in a settler-colonial context: The case of the Palestinians in Israel. *Interventions* 21(4):527–550
- Sabbagh-Khoury A (2022) Tracing settler colonialism: A genealogy of a paradigm in the sociology of knowledge production in Israel. *Politics and Society* 50(1):44–83
- Sa'di A H (2002) Catastrophe, memory, and identity: Al-Nakbah as a component of Palestinian identity. *Israel Studies* 7(2):175–198
- Sa'di A H and Abu-Lughod L (2007) *Nakba: Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Sager T (2011) Neoliberal urban planning policies: A literature survey 1990–2010. *Progress in Planning* 76(4):147–199
- Said E W (1978) *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books
- Said E W (1994) *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Random House
- Sanbar E (2001) Out of place, out of time. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 16(1):87–94
- Shehadeh R (2010) *Palestinian Walks: Notes on a Vanishing Landscape*. London: Profile Books
- Shmaryahu-Yeshurun Y (2022) Rethorizing state-led gentrification and minority displacement in the Global South-East. *Cities* 130 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2022.103881>
- Shmaryahu-Yeshurun Y and Ben-Porat G (2021) For the benefit of all? State-led gentrification in a contested city. *Urban Studies* 58(13):2605–2622
- Simpson M and Bagelman J (2018) Decolonizing urban political ecologies: The production of nature in settler colonial cities. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 108(2):558–568
- Stabrowski F (2014) New-build gentrification and the everyday displacement of Polish immigrant tenants in Greenpoint, Brooklyn. *Antipode* 46(3):794–815
- Stoler A L (2008) Imperial debris: Reflections on ruins and ruination. *Cultural Anthropology* 23(2):191–219
- Tamari S (2008) *Mountain Against the Sea: Essays on Palestinian Society and Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Tomiak J (2017) Contesting the settler city: Indigenous self-determination, new urban reserves, and the neoliberalization of colonialism. *Antipode* 49(4):928–945
- Tzfadia E and Yacobi H (2011) *Rethinking Israeli Space: Periphery and Identity*. New York: Routledge
- Tzfadia E and Yiftachel O (2021) Rejection and displacement from the city: A southeastern view. *Theory and Criticism* 54(1):59–86

- Wallace A (2015) Gentrification interrupted in Salford, UK: From New Deal to “limbo-land” in a contemporary urban periphery. *Antipode* 47(2):517–538
- Wallerstein S (2009) “The Housing Crisis among the Palestinian Community in Jaffa: The End of the Era of Protected Tenants in the Properties of the Development Authority.” Bimkom—Planners for Planning Rights [in Hebrew]
- Wolfe P (2006) Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research* 8(4):387–409
- Yacobi H (2002) The architecture of ethnic logic: Exploring the meaning of the built environment in the “mixed” city of Lod, Israel. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 84(3/4):171–187
- Yacobi H (2009) *The Jewish-Arab City: Spatio-Politics in a Mixed Community*. New York: Routledge
- Yacobi H and Milner E (2022) Planning, land ownership, and settler colonialism in Israel/Palestine. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 51(2):43–56
- Yacobi H and Tzfadia E (2019) Neo-settler colonialism and the re-formation of territory: Privatization and nationalization in Israel. *Mediterranean Politics* 24(1):1–19
- Yiftachel O (2006) *Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press
- Yiftachel O (2009) Critical theory and “gray space”: Mobilization of the colonized. *City* 13(2/3):246–263
- Yiftachel O (2020) From displacement to displaceability. *City* 24(1/2):151–165
- Yiftachel O and Avni N (2019) “Privati-nation”: Privatization, nationalization, housing and gaps. *Planning* 16(1):225–247 [in Hebrew]
- Yiftachel O and Yacobi H (2003) Urban ethnocracy: Ethnicization and the production of space in an Israeli “mixed city”. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 21(6):673–693
- Ziv N (2007) Public housing in Jaffa as a gateway to ethnic separation. In E Rekhess (ed) *Together But Separately: Mixed Cities in Israel* (pp 95–102). Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University [in Hebrew]
- Zreik R (2007) Exit from the scene: Reflections on the public space of the Palestinians in Israel. In D Monterescu and D Rabinowitz (eds) *Mixed Towns, Trapped Communities: Historical Narratives, Spatial Dynamics, Gender Relations, and Cultural Encounters in Palestinian-Israeli Towns* (pp 201–214). Burlington: Ashgate