JERUSALEM INSTITUTE FOR POLICY RESEARCH
מכון ירושלים למחקרי מדיניות
معهد القدس لبحث السياسات

SHARED SPACES IN CONTESTED CITIES

A Model for Analysis and Development

Marik Shtern, Nitzan Faibish

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Table of contents

Introduction: Shared Spaces – Why Now?

Over the recent decade, many Israeli cities have been undergoing demographic-spatial transformation. In the Palestinian-Arab and Jewish ultra-Orthodox societies, growing housing shortage in existing residential spaces, combined with increased socioeconomic mobility and the emergence of a new middle class, and growing integration in the general employment market, have led individuals, families and communities to relocate into localities traditionally characterized by a non-haredi Jewish population. At the same time, these processes increase the presence of members of the aforementioned societies in recreation and leisure spaces, in shopping malls, in higher education institutes, and in employment centers countrywide. Thus, the Israeli public space is becoming increasingly diverse, with the emergence of new intergroup spaces of encounter.

The entry of a new populations into hitherto demographically homogeneous spaces often leads to negative reactions, if not active resistance, by their long-established population, which fears losing their ownership, sense of belonging and security, in their familiar territory (Enos, 2014). At the same time, the recent decade in Israel has been characterized by growing social polarization between Jews and Palestinian-Arabs, and between secular and Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox Jews, expressed in radicalized discourse in social and mainstream media, as well as among public officials on both the local and national levels. This combination of spatial desegregation and social polarization produces volatile spaces of encounters liable to be ignited in periods of security or social tensions (Shtern, 2021).

However, the integration of minority populations, entailing as it does a multiplicity of shared spaces of encounter, also has a positive potential, which is highly important for the fabric of Israeli society. First, spatial desegregation and the emergence out of homogeneous enclaves improve the higher education and employment options of groups of lower socioeconomic status, often improving their socioeconomic mobility (Massey & Denton, 1993). Second, under certain conditions (presented in greater detail in the following chapters), the intergroup encounter holds a significant potential for building cross-cultural bridges, for mutual recognition, for stereotype reduction, and even for the lowering of fear distrust levels between the groups. Finally, spatial desegregation is a given, irreversible fact in Israel, a process expected to intensify in the future.

Thus, to minimize the negative implications of such an encounter, an infrastructure of knowledge, policies and applicable tools needs to be created in the physical, cultural and community spheres, in order to turn circumstantial spaces of encounter into shared spaces that produce positive encounters, or at least into safe and inclusive spaces for all groups using them. The present document proposes a working method for characterizing and analyzing spaces of circumstantial intergroup encounters, in order to identify their strengths and weaknesses as shared spaces, and accordingly to offer physical, community and urban design interventions to improve their performance in this regard. Our point of departure is that an urban space that brings various populations together may, under some conditions, serve as a platform for improving relations between them; in turn, it assumes that improving the relations, reducing tensions and fears and building trust among various groups will all contribute to the inhabitants' quality of life and to the city's socioeconomic functions.

This document includes three chapters. The first presents the theoretical background for the study of spaces of encounter in contested cities. The second proposes a model of analysis and action for the development of shared spaces. Finally, the third illustrates the application of this model in two case studies in Jerusalem: Alrov Mamilla Avenue, and Liberty Bell Park.

The present document is part of a multiannual by the Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research, together with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, on developing shared spaces in Jerusalem and other Israeli cities. The project includes several studies on Jewish-Arab interrelations in Jerusalem, in the areas of employment (Shtern, 2015; Shtern & Asmar, 2017); healthcare (Shemer & Shtern, 2018); and public parks and spaces along the East-West Jerusalem seam (Shared Spaces Series, 2019). Other studies have dealt with the diverse fabric of secular, Orthodox, and ultra-Orthodox Jews in neighborhoods in Jerusalem (Bigman, 2021), and the impact of COVID-19 on the relations between the various groups in the city (Shtern & Weiser, 2021). The project also included five workshops for developing shared spaces for community workers, neighborhood planners, and municipality directors.

We are grateful to architect Dana Ghazi for her participation in developing the analytic and operational model and implementing it in a director series for municipal workers (which took place in Liberty Bell Park in June 2022), and to Dr. Sarit Ben Simhon-Peleg and Ehud Prawer for their illuminating comments.

Chapter 1: Intergroup Encounters in Contested Cities: Theoretical Background

Since the dawn of history, cities have been the site of gatherings, encounters and sometimes conflicts between different populations and communities. The city has always been an essentially heterogeneous and diverse location – a place were members of different religions, cultures and classes meet and share a living fabric. However, another key characteristic of cities both past and present is precisely the tendency to entail segregation based on class, religious and cultural groups (Nightingale, 2012). The tension between diversity on the one hand and segregation on the other is not coincidental. American sociologist Louis Wirth (1938) has described it well: when people move from the village to the modern city, i.e., from the monotonous and homogeneous rural lifestyle to the dynamic and intensive urban one – they experience a shock that makes them want to find shelter in the safe and familiar, creating a tendency to live in a residential environment associated with their ethnoreligious and cultural identity. According to Wirth, this can explain the creation of the famous American migrant neighborhood in cities such as New York and Boston – Little Italy, Chinatown, and their likes. Thus, communities' tendency to maintain separation in urban space is natural and understandable. On the other hand, German sociologist Georg Simmel (2012) reminds us that the modern city is also where individuals may gain their anonymity, break free of the shackles of traditional community identity and obtain personal freedom and choice. Thus, they may choose to live in a diverse neighborhood and enjoy a social life that is not restricted to the culture and customs of any given community.

We may conclude by saying that urban life inheres a tension between the attraction to "safety" and the natural desire for freedom and free choice; between the individual and community identity; and between intergroup and outgroup identities. People who choose to move to the city often do it because they want to enjoy anonymity and free choice, but often also balance that motivation with a residential neighborhood of their own kind.

In contested societies, where groups vie for land, resources and recognition, communities under conditions of economic and political inferiority tend to separate themselves in space and to enable the formation of safe territories, to preserve their culture, and even to create independent economic enclaves (Peach, 1996). In Israel, this is primarily demonstrated by the segregated living quarters of Palestinian-Arab or Jewish ultra-Orthodox communities. Obviously, national or municipal policies may also actively encourage such segregation by creating or maintaining separation in residences and municipal services and systems, including the education system, cultural and community institutes, and sometimes also transportation hubs and commercial areas (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003).

Institutional segregation of populations engaged in violent conflict represents a quick and effective solution for reducing violence and creating a status-quo that may prevent further deterioration. However, the separation between population groups also comes with a sociopolitical price, and its long-term implications are usually negative. When communities live apart, without daily contact, this reduces options for mitigating mutual fear, forming relations of trust and proposing reconciliation and coexistence. In addition, in contested cities, separating the various urban uses into two or three different communities affects economic efficiency, limits the potential consumer market, and slows down growth (Bollens, 2000).

Finally, the most negative aspect of segregation is inequality. When the contest between two communities is not symmetrical in terms of economic and political status, spatial separation minimizes the economic mobility of the relatively weaker community, reduces living conditions and quality in its residential neighborhood, and intensifies intergroup inequality – thereby adding fuel to the fire (Massey & Denton, 2000).

The Contact Hypothesis

Following WW2 and with the growing recognition of civil rights and equality as the bases for a flourishing democracy, social studies have begun addressing conflict resolution and reconciliation in torn societies. Many researchers began examining ways to reduce hostility and discrimination experienced by multiple minorities in Western countries. Perhaps the best known wassocial psychologist Gordon Allport (1957), who proposed the contact hypothesis. According to Allport, the encounter between majority and minority groups may reduce fears, change stereotypes and build trust. Changes in individuals' negative perception of the outgroup can occur given four conditions for the encounter:

1. Equal status for the groups, without any of them dominating the others.
2. Collaboration in achieving shared goals – the meeting participants would cooperate in order to attain joint objectives (as in a mixed athletic team), rather than engage in intergroup competition.
3. Institutional, legal or cultural support – the intergroup encounter must be backed by the explicit support of authorities and social institute.
4. Interpersonal interaction – the meeting must include an aspect of informal, intimate and personal interactions between group members.

Since the 1960s, Allport's contact hypothesis has been corroborated in multiple field and laboratory studies (Pettigrew et al., 2011), and it serves as a model for structured interventions within societies in conflict, as in educational programs or mediated intergroup dialogue groups, in order to improve group relations and promote peace and reconciliation (Maoz, 2011). On the other hand, the theory has also been criticized for the basic difficulty of creating the "ideal" conditions it requires for the encounter (Forbes, 2004). Moreover, it has been argued that in ethnopolitical conflicts, group rivalry is based not only on emotional and psychological dimensions, but exists against the background of significant sociopolitical processes that dictate the negative attitudes; under such conditions, intensified contact might produce negative outcomes (McKewon & Dixon, 2017).

The Geography of the Encounter

The contact hypothesis have also served as a conceptual basis for the research field of geographies of encounter. This field conceptualizes and analyzed daily, circumstantial and spontaneous encounters between ethnically or racially diverse groups in the millennial multicultural city (Wilson, 2017). Leading social geographers have argued in favor of the daily encounter. In their view, assuming the urban inhabitants maintain basic behavioral and courtesy rules in the public domain, whether on the bus or in the city square, contacts between majority and minority groups may be translated into mutual recognition and respect, and even into the construction of a shared urban identity (Amin, 2002; Wildon, 2011).

Others have criticized these views. According to Gill Valentine (2008), this represents a romantization of social relations that are in fact politically charged and explosive. Spatial

mixture of diverse groups does not necessarily indicate significant relations between the groups – sometimes the very opposite is true: When access to resources is unequal, physical closeness between ethnic groups can cause people to avoid intergroup mixing and can strengthen the boundaries of the social group. Thus, in fact, the political conditions that define the relations between groups overcome the benefits of the individual intergroup encounters. Another perspective is proposed by James Laurence (2014), who argues that intergroup encounters have confirmatory effects, so that they usually reinforce previous attitudes, whether positive or negative, towards other ethnic groups.

To conclude, whereas the multicultural city produces an unprecedented frequency of intergroup encounters, the question remains: To what extent and under what conditions do these encounters carry the potential of improving intergroup relations?

What Makes an Urban Space Successful?

Another way to analyze urban intergroup encounters is to focus on the function and quality of the space that entails it. We suggest that encounters that take place in good and vital public urban spaces will be more positive than in neglected and marginalized spaces.

To define a successful urban space, we propose relying on the neo-urbanism approach propounded by mythological urbanity researcher Jane Jacobs (1961). According to Jacobs, as opposed to the modern planning approach, which highlights zoning (the separation of residential, occupational, commercial and open space areas) and population dispersion as key principles, a successful urban space is dynamic and dense, affording diverse uses, mixing residence, commerce and leisure, active throughout the day, and encourages walking. According to her, safety on the city streets will only increase by making them attractive for diverse groups, from both within and outside the city. Public space becomes safe thanks to the presence of a local community of inhabitants and business owners that take ownership and responsibility for it, and thanks to the constant presence of locals and strangers throughout the day.

Another approach to the physical functioning of urban space that is relevant to the present discussion is "broken windows" theory (Kelling & Wilson, 1982). According to this theory, physical neglect of public space leads to violence and criminal activity. Thus for example, if a window is broken in a certain neighborhood and nobody fixed it, this will lead to further physical deterioration (garbage on the streets, graffiti on the walls), leading in turn

to criminal activity and a threat to the community's routine. In other words, a neglected space indicates to negative social elements that they are desirable, and that nobody would prevent them from being active there. Their theory has been subjected to poignant social criticism for having been used in the following decades as the conceptual basis for policingurban space and zero tolerance for minor offenses, while targeting minority groups and people from the margins of society as a threat to the city's performance. Nevertheless, we seek to borrow its conclusions regarding the importance of physical maintenance of public space for creating a residential environment that reflects investment and attention by the community and municipality as an essential condition for a sense of security in urban spaces.

Recent years have seen a significant expansion in the research on designing urban public spaces (Carmone et al., 2008). One of the leading researchers in the area, Vikas Mehta (2014), proposed five key dimensions for evaluating a public space as "successful":

1. *Inclusiveness* – Access and free use by different groups.
2. *Meaningfulness* – Infrastructure enabling valuable community activity.
3. *Safety* – The space users' sense of safety, the safety measures onsite, and the safety of the place's physical infrastructure.
4. *Comfort* – The sense of physical and environment comfort of site users.
5. *Pleasurability* – The degree of pleasure experienced by the users of the natural and constructed elements onsite.

Metha's (2014) index for a successful urban space combines physical, emotional and social elements, and sheds light on the importance of appropriate architectural and environmental design as well as its beneficial impact on creating a lively and successful public space.

Adapting the discussion of urban space to the reality of cities engaged in ethnonational conflicts requires particular sensitivity to the fear of violence and the accentuated sense of territoriality experienced by the inhabitants of such cities. Therefore, *in the model proposed below, we emphasize striking a careful balance between sense of security and sense of belonging for all users of spaces of encounter*. These elements are affected by urban design, but also by other factors such as community engagement, municipal management, and diverse representation of identities and activities for the various communities.

Intergroup relations in Israeli Cities

Two of the deepest rifts in Israeli society are the national-religious rift between Jews and Palestinian-Arabs and the cultural rift between secular, Orthodox, and ultra-Orthodox Jews (Herman et al., 2022). These rifts largely dictate the residential dispersal of the Israeli population. Most rural communities in the country are homogenous in terms of their national or religious identity (Krebs, 2010), but Israeli cities are gradually becoming more heterogeneous in both these terms. Among Palestinian-Arabs and ultra-Orthodox Jews, demographic growth and overcrowding, as well as planning and construction barriers (in the former case), together with a growing middle class and general Westernization of lifestyles all lead to growing migration to new "mixed" cities such as Carmiel in the north and Beersheba in the south. Thus, in addition to the traditional "mixed" cities of Jerusalem, Haifa, Lod (Lydd), Ramle, and Jaffa – tripartite diverse spaces are currently emerging in Israel, where the growing presence of the new communities transforms the city landscape and socioeconomic functions. Often, the new inhabitants cause opposition and confrontational struggles (expressed also in the municipal elections) on the part of the established inhabitants who fear of losing the sense of belonging, control and security in their city. Growing conflicts between different communities are liable to affect the city's image, lead to emigration by middle-upper-class populations and affect everyone's routine. At worst, they may lead to widespread violence, as in the spring of 2021.These changes emphasize the need for local-level policymakers to draw up urban policies and plans to improve the relations between the different groups – at the education systems,[1]in community and social programs, and as highlighted herein – in the physical planning area as well.

These developments should be viewed in the context of structural processes that are reshaping living habits and urban landscapes in Israel in recent decades, above all neoliberalism. Since the 1990s, upon the Israeli economy's transition to a free market economy (Harvey, 2007), dramatic changes have occurred in both municipal governance and the urban built landscape. On the municipal level, city management is transitioning into models of inter-city competition, financial restructuring and service outsourcing. On the built environment level, the process includes significant reduction of public residential construction and the move to residential regimes based on class separation – such as upscale gated neighborhoods. Moreover, the city is undergoing an urban renewal process fueled by private capital and consumption, with retail commerce moving from the main

[1] In Israel the public education system is segregated along ethnoreligious lines, with four types of schools: secular Jewish, modern-Orthodox Jewish, ultra-Orthodox Jewish and Arab.

street to the urban and suburban mall, based mainly on national and international retail chains. Finally, the living habits of the middle class have transformed unrecognizably under the influence of the globalized consumer culture, which redefines residential values, aspirations and preferences among all Israeli populations (Shtern, 2021).

These changes have a huge impact on intergroup relations in the Israeli City. Whereas in the past, Palestinians and Jews, secular and religious, used to meet mainly in the public city square, today they usually meet in malls and urban consumption complexes, such as Jerusalem's First Station Hub. Moreover, minority groups that used to be marginal to Israeli economy are now considered a key market for the business sector, as both consumers and service providers – also increasing their presence in the general physical and virtual space.

Importantly, however, Israel's transition to a market economy has also deepened socioeconomic gaps between and within groups, so that next to the growing Jewish ultra-Orthodox and Palestinian-Arab middle classes, most members of these societies have remained behind, experienced living conditions that expose them more than ever to crime and national-religious radicalization. Note also that although, and perhaps because Israeli space has become more heterogeneous in daily life, on the sociopolitical levels the rifts have only deepened, as keenly felt in the public discourse (Hate Report, 2022). In an era of exclusionary and populist politics in both the right and left, public discourse only highlights the boundaries between groups in Israel, intensified ideological gaps and creates tribal political camps that seem ever more difficult to bridge. In a sense, Israel is experiencing a cultural war between various identity groups, which is intensified by both the political system and social media. Naturally, these processes make the circumstantial intergroup encounter ever more charged, unstable, and given to negative interpretations. These circumstances further support the need for a policy that will bring the communities together in various lived spaces, with emphasis on contested cities.

In conclusion, encounters between different groups in the heterogeneous city are a given. Can such encounters improve inhabitants' mutual attitudes, or would they radicalize them? This question has remained open, making it difficult for policymakers to propose clear policies encouraging positive encounters among individuals from different groups in urban publicspace. On the one hand, the literature indicates that positive interactions between individuals may improve intergroup relations by reducing outgroup prejudices (Mousa, 2020; Ron & Maoz, 2013), even in cases of intractable conflicts (Faibish, 2023a, 2023b; Weiss, 2021). On the other hand, it has been found that such encounters can exacerbate

feelings of threat and fear, thereby reinforcing prejudices and negative perceptions of the outgroup (Enos, 2014).

In the next chapter, we offer a model for analyzing spaces of intergroup encounter. As stated in the Introduction, the model provides tools for characterization and analysis of urban spaces of encounter as a basis for formulating a policy designed to upgrade the encounters in circumstantial spaces and turn them into part of a broader infrastructure for coexistence by different groups in Israeli society. Note that the approach to this model should be flexible – we propose treating the model as a framework allowing readers to apply their local knowledge to the target population, with consideration for its unique social conditions.

Chapter 2: Creating Shared Spaces – An Analytical Model

The objective of the model for characterizing and analyzing shared spaces in Jerusalem is to provide policymakers, local authority staff and civil society activists with tools to examine the elements that affect the nature of the shared space and the nature of the encounters taking place within it. Characterization and analysis are essential prior to developing solutions and interventions on the ground.

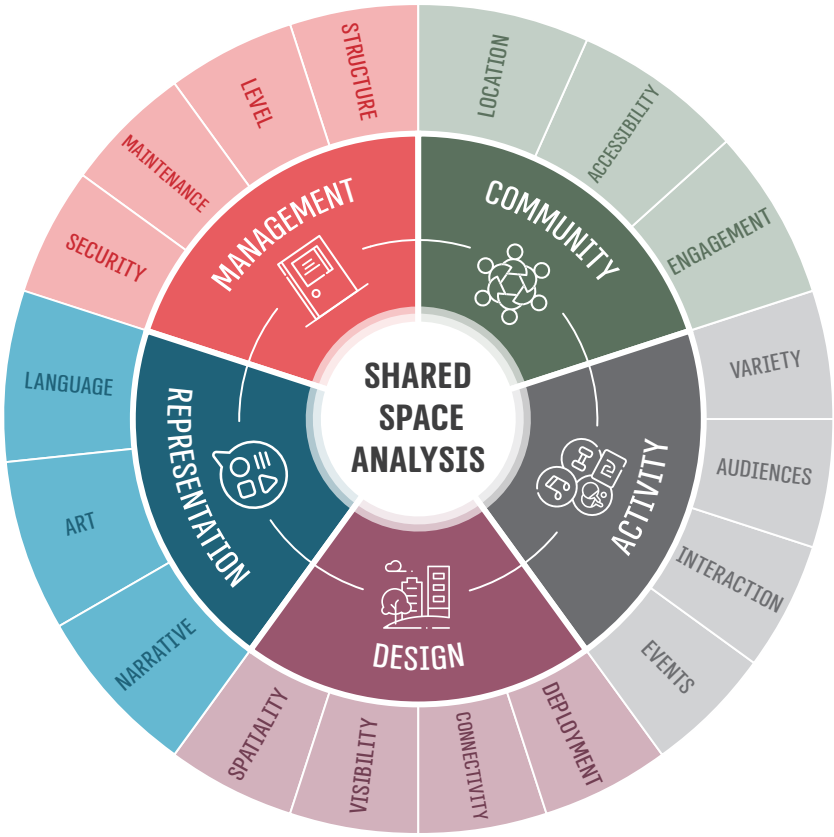
We have examined the model elements based on a combination of the contact hypotheses and theories related to the safety and vitality of urban space presented in the previous chapter. As mentioned, Allport (1957) found that encounters between two contested groups can generate a positive process of trust building and reduction of hostility and fear, given the following conditions: equal status, collaboration for shared goals, institutional support, and interpersonal interaction. Considering that the circumstantial encounter is by definition unplanned and that it usually does not provide all those conditions, the model refers to Allport's conditions as potential objectives for which we need to aspire. In addition, we also address the urban functionality of the space of encounter – its vitality and function. If, for example, the place is located in areas associated with criminal activity, if it is neglected and used as a no-man's land at the edge of normative social activities, these negative characteristics will also project on the patterns of the encounters occurring within it and on its public image. In other words, understanding the nature of the encounter, analyzing it and proposing solutions for improving it, require attention to its overall urban functions, even in non-group contexts.

Finally, the basic assumption of this document is that *a positive space of encounter in a contested city is where members of different communities experience a high sense of belonging and security*. When visitors feel that the site and the activity it affords meet their needs and identity, and at the same time feel at ease and relaxed next to member of other groups, this produces an encounter that is at least neutral, and does not reproduce or exacerbate the external conflict situation. Moreover, such an encounter may serve as

a platform for activities and events of a positive nature, able to transform prejudices and minimize intergroup fears.

Given the above, we propose testing the sense of belonging and security of the visitors in the space of encounter based on five aspects that shape its nature: (1) Community, (2) Activity, (3) Design, (4) Representation, and (5) Management.

Image 1: The Analytical Model



Community

One of the major characteristics of contested societies is the tendency for segregation in residential areas and daily activities. In cities inhabited by communities engaged in an ongoing conflict, there is keen sensitivity to the territorial identity of places in the city, and almost every site and neighborhood are exclusively identified with a certain community. Consequently, seamlines between homogenous areas or areas serving several communities simultaneously (usually employment, commercial and leisure areas) are the main spaces of encounter in heterogeneous or contested cities (Gaffikin & Morrisey, 2011).

Accordingly, characterizing the community aspect of spaces of encounter requires primarily a geosocial analysis that defines the site's territorial identity in terms of its location on the city's social maps and according to the accessibility of members of the various communities to it (on foot, in public transportation, or in private transportation). Thus, if we wish to create an encounter that makes everyone feel they belong, we must look for a location whose socio-spatial community identity is diverse and whose cross-community accessibility is maximal. If the location is in a neighborhood or area identified with a certain community, this factor may be balanced by increased accessibility by the other communities. Finally, note that some spaces are located within a relatively homogeneous space, and nevertheless function as all-city sites.

The community aspect applies beyond the territory's identity and boundaries: communities can use space either passively or actively. When space consumption is individual (for example, a family spending time in a park or an individual consumer shopping in the mall), community usage is passive. However, communities can also actively and collectively appropriate the space, develop it and turn it into a hub for social activities (for example, a community vegetable garden), and also demand that the municipality maintain and preserve it. Community involvement is an important mechanism in enlivening and developing urban fabrics. In the case of space of intergroup encounter, community involvement can increase its attractivity, but also reinforce its social boundaries and assign it more distinctly to a given community. On the other hand, when the space borders on the territories of several communities, a network of cross-community involvement may be created, whereby several communities join together in an explicit move to appropriate, develop, and operate the space (for example, collaboration by neighboring Jewish and Palestinian communities to develop a shared park). Such community involvement can significantly enhance local encounters and form a basis for a shared cross-community fabric (Gobser, 2002).

Table 1: Community Indicators

Community	
Location	Is the space located in a homogeneous community area / in a cross-community area (seamline) / in an all-city area?
Accessibility	How accessible is the space to each of the communities, on foot and public or private transportation?
Engagement	Are the local communities active or passive regarding the space?

Activity

The content of the activity taking place in the encounter site is essential for characterizing the type of population that frequents the place, for understanding the patterns of the actual encounter, and for analyzing the power relations between them. The content is based on the statutory land usage (residence, employment, green area, etc.), but can also include additional activities. A public park for example is intended for leisure and sports activities, and as such is used by adolescents, young families and sports enthusiasts. It can also include activity-generating facilities such as playground equipment, fitness facilities, an event stage, a café or a restaurant. In most cases, entering the park is free of charge, and as such it is suitable for members of all classes. The more diverse the profile of space users, the more intensive its use throughout the daytime hours, and the greater the users' sense of security (Gobster, 2002). On the other hand, focusing on a uniform cross-section of the population, such as a certain age group or social class, may make it easier to produce a platform for shared activities around a joint identity, such as young families or people engaged in the same sports.

Eventually, in most circumstantial spaces of encounter, members of different communities spend time together in the same place, but do not interact at all, or do so only on a formal basis (such as a conversation between a vendor and a consumer). In institutional spaces of encounter, such as a workplace or school, the interaction is deeper and more prolonged (Shtern &Asmar, 2017). The model assumes that the deeper and more prolonged the interaction, the greater the potential for a positive encounter. It is therefore highly important to provide cultural activities in space, such as theatrical or musical performances, or activities for children. In Israel, in most cases, the language and contents of such activities are designated for a single community (for example, Hannukah plays in Hebrew).

However, it is possible to offer various events for the benefit of diverse communities (for example, an Arabic musical performance), and a positive, cross-community experience can even be provided, using both languages, addressing contents related to coexistence, and facilitating spectator interactions.

Table 2: Activity Indicators

Activity	
Variety	Is the space designated for particularist or multicultural activities? Does it feature activity-generating facilities?
Audiences	Who are the target audiences? Is it suitable for a narrow or broad segment of the population?
Interaction	Do members of different communities interact in the space? If they do, what is the level of interaction – superficial and formal, or deep and prolonged?
Events	Do cultural and leisure events take place in the space? If they do, are they intended for a particular communityor to a diverse audience?

Design

The physical characteristics of spaces of encounter, expressed in urban design, naturally have a significant effect on the way they are experienced by the city-zens, particularly in terms of the pleasure and security they feel there. Urban design has a key role in creating sense of place, i.e., defining the identity and nature of the site using a variety of architectural and design languages and approaches (Mehta, 2014). For example, if we walk in a narrow lane in a dark park surrounded on both sides by bushes we cannot see through, our sense of security will be undermined. Conversely, if at the same time we march on a broad lawn, at the center of a well-lit park, with an open field of vision, our sense of security will be increased. Spaces of encounter between groups in conflict (particularly violent conflict) can easily make certain people fearful. Therefore, landscape and architectural design intended to improve the sense of security are significant in creating a welcoming space of encounter.

Another design aspect that affects the sense of security is the degree to which the space in question is connected to its environment. A site surrounded by a fence with only one exit at the edge is liable to make one feel uncomfortably "imprisoned". A space that is open to its immediate surroundings, with several entrances and exists on all sides enables better access for various communities while at the same time improving the sense of security in its different parts. Similarly, broad and dispersed deployment of the various activity hubs (such as playground or fitness facilities), as opposed to concentrating them in a single section, can also disperse human movement more broadly, without leaving empty "pockets" behind.

Table 3: Design Indicators

Design	
Spatiality	Is the site dense or spacious? Narrow or broad?
Visibility	Is the site well-lit or dark? Visible or hidden?
Connectivity	Is the site open to its environment, with several entrances or exits, or is it disconnected and "fortified"?
Deployment	Are the various activity areas broadly deployed, or are they concentrated in a single place?

Representation

Representation encompasses all verbal and visual signs that define and highlight the space's group identity. Characterizing representation starts with the site's name and narrative – the place's story and the way it is mediated for the visitors (Shtern, 2010). Independence Park, for example, is the official name of urban parks in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, referring to the national history of the State of Israel, and thus defining the park as a Zionist-Israeli space. In most cases, we have neither the will nor the political desire to change the names of existing sites, but we can embed additional narratives in space (in texts or artwork) and thus enrich the existing information on the site's history and meaning so that it also accommodates the identities of other groups.

Another major representational aspect is the linguistic landscape, meaning the Languages used in the content, information and direction signs onsite. The exclusive use of Hebrew

in signs in public spaces affects the cultural accessibility of the site, and the sense of belonging and orientation of populations whose native language is not Hebrew. Conversely, multilingual texts, shown in equal size and position on the various signs, can make for an increased sense of belonging by diverse groups (Agmon-Snir & Shemer, 2016).

Sense of beonging is also a byproduct of nonverbal, visual elements, such as statues and art installations that adorn streets and parks and represent the culture and identity of a single community or of several communities, or even a universal culture and identity that is external to the local ones. Architectural style also has a visual language representative of a distinct identity. For example, the postmodernist and globalist design that characterizes hi-tech work environments, or decorating shopping malls with Middle-Eastern elements such as arches, domes, and arabesques, can affect the sense of belonging and orientation of the groups inhabiting and visiting those places (Ghanbari, 2019).

Table 4: Representation Indicators

Representation	
Language	What languages are used in the content, information and direction sites?
Art	Do the artworks in place represent culture and identity associated with a single group, several groups, or universal values?
Narrative	What is the history of the place and how is it mediated for visitors? Is the narrative highlighted relevant to a single community, to several communities, or to universal narratives?

Management

The circumstantial encounter between adversarial groups can easily lead to complex situations, negative feelings, staring, and even verbal and physical confrontations. In extreme cases, violent clashes between rival communities can even tarnish the space's image and keep normative populations away. Therefore, the fifth element in our analytic model addresses the management of space. Shopping malls are an example for major spaces in Israel where encounters are usually calm and positive, able to produce a shared civil-cultural identity among consumers of various communities, however temporary and superficial (Shtern, 2010). One of the reasons for the relatively effective functioning of malls as spaces of encounter is their strict and centralized management as private sites.

Conversely, open public spaces in Israel are usually managed at most at the basic level of physical maintenance, without any integrative management of cultural and community activity, and as such they can easily deteriorate and become encounter sites identified with fear and confrontation. Therefore, a shared and positive space of encounter requires ongoing management, with emphasis on intervention in the intergroup dynamics that emerges onsite.

The first question related to managing the space of encounter is the nature of the managing organization – is it a public (municipal) agency, a private for-profit company, a civil society organization, or a combination of some of these options. This entity is characterized in terms of its desire and organizational flexibility to produce a positive space. As a rule, we may assume that in Israel, under conditions of a divisive political climate, many local authorities may avoid taking active steps to create intergroup spaces of encounter, unless with collaboration with the private sector or civil society organizations, that can act as outsourcers for addressing these sensitive issues.

In Israel, spaces of encounter particularly Jewish-Arab ones, may be characterized by a low sense of security, particularly at times of interethnic conflicts and tensions. Therefore, the issue of security and the organization responsible for it is critical for their ongoing functions. Basically, the Israel Police is responsible for security in public space. However, this is a very partial solution in the context of the complex encounter between antagonist groups, some of which have very low trust in the police. Moreover, policing is an ad-hoc solution usually provided after the fact and requires constant presence on the ground (and even creating a sense of regimentation of space), and is therefore impracticable due to high costs. However, spaces can also be secured in different methods. Private security companies, for example, can serve as a constant presence in space, and be coached in interacting with minority populations. Security can also be provided by the community itself, through volunteer groups and parent patrols, that can remain in the field and provide monitoring and supervision, thereby preventing negative events from taking place and providing an immediate, moderate, and local solution to emerging issues.

Finally, in-depth and strict management of the space can serve as a basis for ongoing activities that ensure continuous presence of visitors, enhance the sense of security and diversify the visiting public. In other words, beyond basic physical management, managing the space of encounter requires addressing the cultural, community, and cross-community dimensions. Active management of the space can also initiate or enable inter-community activity (bilingual if necessary). Moreover, if intergroup confrontation occurs, active

management can provide an immediate response by community workers or mediators (Carmona et al., 2008).

Table 5: Management Indicators

Management	
Structure	What management structure is implemented? Public / private / civil / combined?
Security	Who is responsible for securing the space? The military / police / security company / community volunteers?
Maintenance	Is the space maintained or neglected? Is the infrastructure old or new?
Level	What is the level of management? Physical / cultural / community / inter-community?

Applying the Model: Emphases and Caveats

The analytic model describes above offers a framework for a municipal policy. To apply it optimally, however, and to adapt it to the different local political climate in each municipality, neighborhood and site, its elements and their implementation must be adjusted using the following four considerations: power relations, the possible good, flexibility, and focus.

Power relations between the various groups are a key issue in analyzing the space of encounter. In contested cities, the dominant group (even if it is not the majority) has greater political and economic freedom of choice with regard to the spaces of its daily presence. For that group, entering the area or neighborhood of a minority group is a question of decision and choice. Conversely, the minority or subaltern group often has no choice but to arrive at spaces identified with the majority or dominant group to consume municipal services, work, shop, and spend its leisure time. In Jerusalem, for example, about half of the Palestinian inhabitants of the eastern part of the city are employed in its western part and in other Jewish areas, whereas the rate of Jews employed in Palestinian neighborhoods is a mere 2% (Shtern & Asmar, 2017). Hence, most spaces of encounter are located at the margins of or deep within spaces identified with the majority group – resulting in a different sense of belonging and attitudes to the encounter for each group.

Analyzing the patterns of encounter in a given space therefore requires attention to the power relations and structural conditions that shape the encounter ab initio.

The possible good. Allport's contact hypothesis is applicable mainly in preplanned encounters, as in dialogue groups or mutual acquaintance meetings between students. Its applicability in the context of circumstantial, daily encounters that are not planned and not managed under controlled conditions is uncertain. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that the theory is irrelevant to circumstantial meetings. In encounters of this kind, we may rely on Allport's basic principles as a compass – optimal goals we should aspire to. Meaning, if one or more of Allport's conditions fail to materialize – for example, there is no equal status or cooperation – we can do our best to create these conditions, however partially or temporarily.

Flexibility. We recommend maintaining a flexible and modular conceptual and operational framework, to provide suitable solutions for any space of encounter based on its political and social conditions. For example, it is not necessary for a positive space to include interpersonal interaction or proactive steps designed to promote conceptual or ideological change. Including these elements depends on the policy of the agency in charge in each location. It may be that in certain sites the goal would be to create conditions for a mutual, safe and pleasant presence, without any proactive interactions. When a certain space suffers from the image of negative encounters that keeps certain groups away, the vary transition from a negative encounter to safe and shared presence will be a welcome change. Moreover, we must consider the fact that initiatives designed to bring together different communities can also cause some people to keep their distance for ideological reasons, due to their concerns with the politicization this involves.

Focus. Ultimately,we seek to create diverse and inclusive urban spaces for the entire population – for all ages, social classes and sectors. However, when planning for positive intergroup encounters in a specific site, it is possible to emphasize a certain cross-sector as the main target audience – for example, young families or sports enthusiasts. Obviously, dedicating a certain space to a certain sector does not means denying access to anyone wishing to enjoy the site, but putting emphasis on particular physical and cultural facilities . Reducing the target audiences is important since multipurpose and multi-age-group spaces of encounter with no particular focus could lead to social polarization, in a way that would make it difficult to create conditions suitable for all groups. For example, emphasis on activities and design for the needs middle-class Palestinian-Arab and Jewish families can provide a shared cultural basis for enhancing the quality of the encounter. In

diverse or contested cities, where there are several spaces of encounter – some can be designed for the entire population, and others for distinct cross-groups.

To conclude, the model for analyzing the space of encounter is an initial and necessary stage prior to policymaking and intervening on the ground. Subject to the emphases and caveats detailed above, it offers a platform for urban intervention for policymakers, civil society organizations and members of the community interested in acting for coexistence and strengthening the social fabric of heterogeneous cities in Israel. In the following chapter, we demonstrate its application to two case studies in Jerusalem – the Alrov Mamilla Mall, and Liberty Bell Park.

Chapter 3: Two Case Studies in Jerusalem

This chapter presents two case studies of spaces of encounter between Jews and Palestinians in Jerusalem: one is a mall located on the East-West Jerusalem seamline, and the other is a public park in West Jerusalem. The analysis combines the five elements of the model, classified according to the strengths and weaknesses of each element with reference to the place's performance as a shared space. After analyzing the case studies, we offer recommendations for intervention on the physical and community levels as derived from the conclusions. The examples are brought in a generalized and brief manner, and do not necessarily reflect the full complexity of encounter patterns in every site. They are designed to demonstrate the use of the model for readers seeking to apply it elsewhere.

Alrov Mamilla Avenue

The Alrov Mamilla complex was opened to the public in 2007, at the initiative of Israeli real-estate tycoon Alfred Akirov, chair of the Alrov company that manages the commercial activities in the complex. Prior to 1948, the area on which the complex was built was an Arab residential neighborhood and a heterogeneous, Arab-Jewish commercial area. Today, the avenue is a complex of mixed commercial, residential and tourist uses. Its main axis is an open-air mall along the public Mamilla Street, which offers local and international brands. At the western end of the complex is the high-end Mamilla Hotel, and a level of residential units stretches above the store level. The complex differs from other malls in Jerusalem in several senses: it is located near the Old City, on the seamline between East and West Jerusalem; its target audience is wealthy, particularly tourists and tenants of the high-end residential complexes in central Jerusalem; it combines a public street with private ownership – Mamilla Street, a frequently used pedestrian route between central Jerusalem and the Old City; and finally, unlike other malls in the city, there is are no security checks at the entrances to the commercial avenue, since this is an open public street.

Given the site's unique location at the center of town and next to the Old City, it is highly popular among Palestinian consumers from East Jerusalem. Moreover, Palestinians represent not only a major share of the shoppers, but also of the complex employees. In addition, given the strong presence of tourists and other foreigners in the area, the Palestinian-Jewish dichotomy is blended within a broader human mix (Shtern, 2010).

Figures 1-2: The Mammilla Pedestrian Mall

Photo: Dr. Avishai Teicher, Wikimedia Commons

Photo: Edmund Gall, Wikimedia Commons

Table 6: Test Case Analysis – Alrov Mamilla Avenue

Element	Indicator	Characterization	Comments	Recommendations
Community	**Location**	Inter-communal	♦ The complex is located in a transitional area, on the East-West seam ♦ Commercial complex under Jewish-Israeli ownership & management	Add locally owned Palestinian and Jewish businesses
	Accessibility	Multi-communal	Public transport to the complex, particularly the Light Rail, connects to diverse communities	
	Engagement	None	The complex is owned by a private Israeli company; there is no community activity	Engage local community centers in onsite cultural activities
Activity	**Diversity**	Varied uses	Uses include consumption, employment, residence & leisure	
	Audiences	Broad cross-section of the population	♦ The populations frequenting the complex include Jewish and Palestinian consumers, employees and passers-by, as well as many tourists ♦ Low-class & marginalized populations are excluded	
	Interaction	Diverse patterns	♦ Passive encounters among customers ♦ Formal customer-employee encounters ♦ Close encounters among employees	
	Events	None		Initiate cultural activities for all sectors

Element	Indicator	Characterization	Comments	Recommendations
Design	**Spatiality**	Dense	♦ Lack of seating places along the avenue (except for the amphitheater) ♦ Long and often congested avenue, designed to maximize the commercial potential ♦ Mostly shaded and convenient for walking	Add seats along the avenue to improve the visiting experience and create contact interfaces
	Visibility	Medium	A relatively narrow and long street	
	Connectivity	Accessible and open	Multiple entrances & exits	
	Deployment	Dispersed	Wide deployment of stores along the entire avenue	
Representation	**Narrative**	Uni-communal, hybrid & universal	♦ Orientalist-Jerusalemite design language (Jerusalemite stones, arches, and arabesques) ♦ The placename, Alrov, is the name of a Jewish-Israeli real-estate company. Conversely, the name Mamilla is relatedto the place's Islamic history (Mamilla Cemetery). However, the history of the place as a heterogeneous neighborhood is absent ♦ Many of the brands have English names, making for an international atmosphere	Add textual & visual reference to the place's history as a shared commercial space until 1948
	Language	Uni-communal / universal	Most of the local signage is in two languages only – Hebrew & English	Add Arabic to the signs at the entrances to and along the avenue
	Art	Uni-communal	The site presents sculptures by Jewish-Israeli artists only	Add works by Arab artists

Element	Indicator	Characterization	Comments	Recommendations
Management	**Structure**	Private company	The management company is Jewish-Israel, and operates the complex in its own image	Train the security staff & shop employees to work with diverse audiences & handle complex intergroup interactions
	Level	Physical & economic	In the past, the complex used to host cultural events in Hebrew	Add cultural & community management addressing the complex's diversity
	Maintenance	Tidy & well-maintained		
	Security	Private		

The foregoing analysis of the Alrov Mamilla complex according to the model indicates that it is a relatively neutral space, yet under explicit Israeli-Jewish ownership and management. The main recommendations for changing the complex (considering the structural limitations due to its nature as a privately owned consumer space) have to do with the lack of activities addressing all audiences and the absent representation of Arabic and the complex's shared history. Encounter patterns may be enhanced and deepened by initiating shared and bilingual cultural events, training employees in cultural competence and instructing managers on how to deal with a diverse workforce.

Liberty Bell Park

Liberty Bell is a public park in Jerusalem, built in 1976 in homage to the US bicentennial celebrations. The park was built in an area called Umriyah, named after an Islamic school that used to operate there during the British mandate period (the old structureis today part of the Jerusalem High School for the Arts), prior to Israeli statehood. The park includes a variety of leisure and sports facilities, including basketball courts, a skatepark, fitness facilities and a children's playground. It also features outdoor sculptures, a lawn with picnic tables, and a Train Theater – a repertory puppet theater. Liberty Bell Park is located near Talbiya neighborhood in West Jerusalem, but at a relatively short distance from the Old City and the Palestinian A-Tur neighborhood. Many of the park visitors today arrive from East Jerusalem for leisure and play. Directly to the south of the park are the Jerusalem High School for the Arts and Inbal Hotel. To the east, it borders on a gas station.

In the past, following several incidents of verbal and sexual abuse (Livne, 2009; Rubin, 2016), the place gained a negative image, and Jewish visitors rarely frequented or passed through it. Consequently, the municipality cut down many of the bushes blocking the visibility into the park from the adjacent road. The local skatepark is known as a meeting place of Jewish and Palestinian youth. In 2021, a new complex of the Train Theater was opened in the south of the park, occasionally offering open activities to park visitors.

Figure 3: Liberty Bell

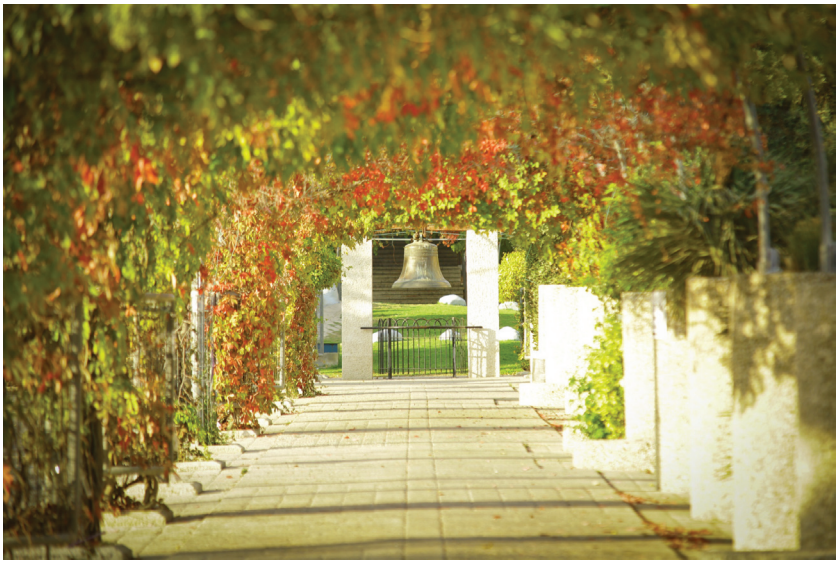


Photo: Aviv Nave

Figure 4: The Skatepark

Photo: Hagai Agmon-Snir, Wikimedia Commons

Table 7: Test Case Analysis – Liberty Bell Park

Element	Indicator	Characterization	Comments	Recommendations
Community	**Location**	Homogenous-communal / Inter-communal	The complex is located in West Jerusalem, but not far from the seamline and the Palestinian Abu-Tor neighborhood	
	Accessibility	Multi-communal	♦ At a walking distance from Jewish neighborhoods (the German Colony & Talbiya), and the Palestinian Abu-Tor neighborhood ♦ Adjacent to a major public transportation route (Hebron Road)	
	Engagement	Passive	♦ Jewish-Israeli space, under the responsibility of the City Parks Community Administration ♦ The municipality & administration initiate activities onsite, but there is no sense of an active community	♦ Strengthen the local community council's engagement with the park routine (perhaps together with the Abu-Tor Silwan community council) ♦ Organize residents from the nearby area for greater engagement with the park ♦ Increase the engagement of the nearby art school and theater with the park

Element	Indicator	Characterization	Comments	Recommendations
Activity	**Diversity**	Medium	Sports, play and leisure facilities; puppet theater	Build a café to serve as an activity hub during the day. A good café will also attract new populations to the park
	Audiences	Broad cross-section of the population	Jewish and Palestinian families & exercisers frequent the place; it also attracts at-risk youth from East Jerusalem	
	Interaction	Passive encounters	Few interactions between Arab & Jewish families. More intense interactions among the skaters	Initiate regular bilingual activities as a basis for interaction
	Events	Communal & inter-communal	The Train Theater offers cultural activities, mainly in Hebrew. Occasionally, the municipality initiates sprots & leisure activities that are suitable for both Arabs & Jews.	Create a regular & consistent schedule of communal & inter-communal activities
Design	**Spatiality**	Dense	The leisure area is relatively narrow	Remove stone elements & fences dividing the complex into disjointed segments
	Visibility	Partial	Multiple stone elements reduce visibility	
	Connectivity	Low	The park is fenced & can only be accessed from its two remote edges	Remove the perimeter fence & open additional passages to David Remez Street
	Deployment	Broad	Most of the facilities are located at the southern part of the complex, but there are activity hubs in the northern part as well	Disperse the facilities more widely, with emphasis on the northern part
Representation	**Narrative**	Universal	The name "Bell" conveys a universal image	
	Language	Multi-communal	Most signs are in Hebrew, English, & Arabic	Add Arabic to the signs at the entrances to and along the avenue
	Art	Universal	Outdoor dragon sculpture, metal bell	

Element	Indicator	Characterization	Comments	Recommendations
Management	**Structure**	Public		Create a community organization for running the park
	Level	Physical & cultural	The municipality occasionally olds sports & culture events	♦ Hold regular bilingual family events ♦ Station a municipal Youth Promotion Unit post
	Maintenance	Neglected	Large sections of the park are undermaintained / disused	
	Security	Police		Organize volunteer & parent patrols

The foregoing analysis indicates that Liberty Bell Park is a space of encounter with huge potential, but one that is currently identified mainly as an adversarial space (particularly among youth), and hence suffers from a negative image. The park's main weakness has to do with its management – there is no distinct agency that manages the park's ongoing activities and is responsible for addressing delinquent and violent events. Moreover, to improve the visitors' sense of security, the park's physical infrastructure needs to be renewed, and it has to be redesigned as a more open space, with a larger number of entrances and exists. Conversely, the sports and leisure activities in the park offer a good infrastructure for creating contents that also facilitate interactions and positive encounters between families, children, and youth.

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The analysis of the case studies illustrates the use of the model of spaces of encounter through the division into five elements and the examination of each according to the various indicators. It may be that in addition to the indicators presented in the model, it would be possible to identify additional indicators for every element. As mentioned, the model is designed to serve as a basis for thought and action. Combined with localized knowledge and considering the political and social conditions in each city, the model provides an important point of departure for an overall plan for improving the performance of spaces of encounter in diverse cities, and for reinforcing their visitors' sense of security and belonging.

Conclusion

Creating coexistence in Israel is a task carried out in a multifaceted space and under particularly challenging conditions. The continuation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, internal Jewish tensions related to the religion-and-state nexus and other internal Israeli structural inequalities, the polarized political climate, and above all, the narrow physical space wherein we all live – all turn the task into an exceptional challenge, particularly given the lack of knowledge and relevant examples from elsewhere in the world, and the oppositions of many in Israeli society to the very principle of coexistence. Accordingly, we are required to formulate methods and policy tools in a process of trial and error, and focus on flexible and localized solutions.

Whether one is interested in a shared society or not, shared space is already here. We encounter the Other every day – at work, in the mall or on the beach, and this reality becomes more and more concrete as the yeas pass. Therefore, developing positive, safe and inclusive shared spaces is not a luxury, but a necessity. It is essential for our quality of life, for our sense of belonging, for our ability to sustain a normal and well-functioning social fabric.

In this document, we presented a model for analysis and policy-oriented action in mixed spaces in the contested city, in order to offer municipal policymakers concrete tools to analyze and characterized spaces of intergroup encounter. The model presented includes five elements, each with clear indicators for analyzing and characterizing the space of encounter, but also enabling flexibility and adjustment to the location and target population. As mentioned in the introduction, our point of departure is that the urban space not only enables different populations to meet, but may, under certain conditions, serve as a platform for improving their relations. Improved relations, reduced tensions and fears and trust building among various groups contribute to the quality of life of all those living in the city, and to its socioeconomic performance, and for building peace. Accordingly, analyzing and characterizing the space of encounter is essential for formulating a policy directed at creating a multicultural andinclusive climate, which facilitates positive interactions between individuals from various identity groups.

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Creating coexistence in Israel is a task carried out in a multifaceted space and under particularly challenging conditions. The continuation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, internal Jewish tensions related to the religion-and-state nexus and other internal Israeli rifts, structural inequalities, the polarized political climate, and above all, the narrow physical space wherein we all live – all turn the task into an exceptional challenge.
This document presents a model for analysis and spatial characterization of spaces of encounter in heterogeneous cities. The model enables to identify the advantages and disadvantages of a given space of encounter, accordingly informing physical, communal and managerial interventions to improve its performance and turn it into a safe and inclusive space – a shared space.
The document was written in collaboration with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. It is designated for local decision makers, leaders of organizations active in heterogeneous spaces, architects and city planners, as well as community and civil society activists.
This document comprises three parts. The first presents the theoretical background for researching the spaces of encounters in heterogeneous cities. The second offers a model of analysis and action for developing shared spaces. The third part illustrates the model's application in two test cases in Jerusalem: Alrov Mamilla Mall and Liberty Bell Park.

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