

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

Chapter 7

Population and Society

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

7.1 Population Targets and Forecasts

Report No. 2 presented a population forecast that was based on the figures of the Population Census of 1995. That forecast was itself a continuation of the demographic analyses and population forecasts that were prepared in the context of the strategic master Plan, during the second half of the 1990s. At stage D of the planning team's work plan, a new population forecast was prepared based on data updated at the end of 2000 whose key points are listed below. For an understanding of the planning significance of these population forecasts, it is important to highlight the City's characteristics underlying both the forecasts and the targets that were determined by policymakers:

The City's Characteristics

The religious, cultural, and socioeconomic diversity of Jerusalem's population - this diversity underlies the extremely varied demographic patterns within different sectors of population. It follows that instead of dealing with the demographic developments in the city at once, one would need to separately address both the implemented and forecasted developments in each part of the city's areas that are distinguished by the presence of primarily one sector of the population or another. The results for the city of Jerusalem as a whole are derived from the summary of the separate results of each one of its parts. The forecast is actually built on the estimation of demographic trends in 70 different areas in the city, of which 56 has Jewish majority and 14 Arab majority.

The dependence of demographic variables on other variables - demographic variables reflect other processes, first and foremost, developments in the political-security field, the socio-economic field, and in the field of cultural values, along with the functioning of systems of government and planning in charge of these fields, in national and the local levels. Size and composition of the population (the natural growth, geographic mobility - migration, and also, on a secondary level, changes in the religious-national identity) have their own momentum that emanates from within themselves; however they may constitute a reaction to stimuli from the quality of life, including security and safety, employment and housing, quality of the environment, and the quality of governance. The political stability-security of the state of Israel in general and of the city of Jerusalem in particular, is most critical in this regard, and apparently is also contingent upon the framework of the developments in the conflict in our area.

Jerusalem's connection with the metropolitan space - the mutual relations between "center" and "periphery" in metropolitan Jerusalem, both influence the process of planning decisions and is influenced by them. We contend that we should not deal with the center and the periphery of the metropolitan area separately. Although in the past most of the planning works focused only on one of the geographic fields, either the city or its environment, in the present forecast an effort is being made to integrate the two by comparative criteria.

Boundaries of the city - the forecasts deal with the city borders as they are. Future changes in the borders of the city can impact the demographic balance in case of an

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

addition of other local authorities, or of other non-built up areas to the city's municipal precincts, or a decrease in the land within the city's municipal boundaries.

Continuation of trends – the forecasts are essentially based on the assumption of continuation of demographic trends, with respect to natural growth and geographic mobility that were predicted in the different sectors of the population of Jerusalem in the course of recent years, including the years between 1995 and 2001, which is why these forecasts do not necessarily constitute a projection of the processes that will actually transpire in the city by virtue of the aforementioned reasons.

Population forecast and the building capacity of residential areas -the population forecast was prepared without referring to the building capacity in residential areas. However, in parallel, the construction capacity question was examined along with the required changes in the density and thickening of the existing neighborhoods as well as the establishment of new neighborhoods.

In view of all of the above, you would have to deal with the population forecasts as a tool for creating a broad framework for the range of possible developments within the planning time scope. The forecast was prepared to supply the planning team with a yardstick for measuring the reasonability and feasibility of the basic assumptions underpinning the master plan. In this regard, it is worth examining the degree of the probability of realizing the two objectives that the planning team set out to achieve at the onset of the work.

Policy Objectives

Population target of 950,000 residents - the population target is derived from demographic forecasts that were displayed in the strategic master plan and was selected after examining the population forecasts in varying outcomes. The chosen population target is to be compatible with the optimal future picture of the city and the condition of life within it as envisioned by the forefathers of the city. The new forecasts that we prepared ourselves point to the feasibility of this objective.

Demographic Balance "according to state decisions" - this target, as presented by the municipality and adopted in government proceedings on the matter, demands the safeguarding of a ratio of 70% Jews compared to 30% Arabs. The population forecast, similar also to forecasts that were prepared on other occasions, point to the impracticality of this objective within the foreseeable future and to the fact that the demographics trends which have been in place since the end of the 1960's will distance Jerusalem further away from the established target. Since the mid 1990's, Jerusalem has not had the 30% - 70% ratio and this ratio has consistently been violated. The total population in Jerusalem had grown since 1967 and through 2002 by 154%, from 267,800 residents to 680,400 residents. However, the Jewish population grew by about 133% (i.e. more than 2 times), from 196,800 residents to 458,600 residents, whereas the Arab population grew by about 212%, from 71,000 residents to 221,800 (i.e. more than 3 times), and this in spite of the big wave of Jewish immigration during the 1990's. It should be noted that the figures for

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

the Jewish population include also newcomers who are not listed as Jews in the resident's registrar.

In recent years there were signs of recession in the rhythm of population increase in Jerusalem, mainly on the Jewish side. In order to detect the foreseeable development trajectories of the population of Jerusalem, we prepared 6 population estimates that are based on different assumptions with regard to the balances of migration into and out of Jerusalem, and to the continuation or cutback in existing levels of fertility. Summary of the outcomes appear in Table No. 1:

Table No.1 - Population: Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem 2000, 2020

Population groups	2000	2020					
		Without migration, fixed productivity	Without migration, decreasing productivity	With migration, fixed productivity	With migration decreasing productivity	Changing migration trends which are harmful to the Jews	Changing migration trends which are harmful to the Jews decrease in productivity
Total (000)	657.8	1,069.9	1,020.9	1,003.9	958.9	933.9	892.0
% Jews	68.8	65.3	65.4	61.0	61.2	59.6	59.8
% Arabs	31.2	34.7	34.6	39.0	38.8	40.4	40.2

One can suppose with high levels of reasonability that if the demographic trends of recent years continue without being significantly altered, the situation in 2020 will be that about 60% of the total population will reside in the Jewish areas and about 40% in the Arab areas.

It is important to also discern the distribution of the population increase as projected in the forecast through 2020, based on the same assumptions:

Table No. 2 - Population Addition: Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem 2000-2020

Population groups	Population of 2000	Additional population between 200-2020					
		Without migration, fixed productivity	Without migration, decreasing productivity	With migration, fixed productivity	With migration decreasing productivity	Changing migration trends which are harmful to the Jews	Changing migration trends which are harmful to the Jews decrease in productivity
Total (000)	657.8	412.1	363.1	346.1	301.1	276.1	234.2
% Jews	68.8	59.6	59.3	46.2	44.5	37.6	34.6
% Arabs	31.2	40.4	40.7	53.8	55.4	62.4	65.4

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

The projected population increase between 2000 and 2020 approaches 40% in the Jewish sector and about 60% in the Arab sector. These figures have important implications for the magnitude and dispersal of building for residence as well as for the planning of services for the different sectors of the population. Indeed, due to variations in the average size of households and age structure characteristic of each sector of the population, the demands for each type of activity or service will not necessarily match the breakdowns presented in the table.

For an additional exposition of the trends in recent years and the significance of the assumptions underpinning the different forecasts, table No. 3 presents the figures delineating the annual average population increase pertaining to the different sectors in Jerusalem:

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

Table No. 3 - Annual Average Population Increase : Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem

Average annual population growth	Total	Jewish areas	Arab areas	% of Jewish areas
Population growth 1967-2002				
1967-2002	11,790	7,490	4,310	63.4
2002-2000	11,450	4,900	6,550	42.0
Average annual population growth as forecasted by the outline 2000-2020				
Without migration, fixed productivity	20,600	12,280	8,320	59.0
Without migration decreased productivity	18,160	10,770	7,390	59.3
With migration, fixed productivity	17,310	8,000	9,310	46.2
With migration, decreasing productivity	15,060	6,720	8,340	44.6
Rigorous migration, fixed productivity	13,910	2,720	11,090	37.6
Rigorous migration, decreasing productivity	11,710	2,950	8,760	34.6
Average annual population growth according to District Outline Plan assumption 1/30, base 850,000- 2002-2002	9,420	5,080	4,340	53.9
Average annual population growth according to the assumption of 30%/70%, base 950,000- 2002-2020	14,990	11,460	3,510	76.5

Between 1967 and 2002, Jerusalem's population grew in an annual average pace of almost 12,000 residents, of which 63% in the Jewish sector. In more recent years, the total population growth was similar to that of the perennial average increase but we must take notice of two important qualities featured in that average:

- A. The additions in the population emanate from a population which in the meantime grew enormously, and therefore reflect growth rates that are consistently declining.
- B. Over the past two years, the share of the Jewish sector in the total population growth was merely 43%.

Table No. 3 presents population growth figures derived from other planning assumptions:

- A. According to the preferred substitute of District Outline plan No.1 Amendment No. 30, in order to obtain the 850,000 target, on basis of the situation in 2002, a significant recession in the present pace of demographic growth is necessary and about 54% of which must emanate from the Jewish sector.
- B. According to the 30% -70% thesis, in order to reach the 950,000 population target

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

and the specified division between the sectors, using the 2002 situation as base, a significant acceleration in the present pace of demographic growth is necessary, and about 76% of which must emanate from the Jewish sector.

These suppositions seem highly, if not extremely, incompatible with existing trends.

The above discussion leads to the following conclusion: **the demographic trends forecasted with the different outcomes for 2020, will be fundamentally influenced by the constellation of forces at play, political, economic, social, and cultural, as they have transpired and been actually articulated in recent years. For these outcomes or even severer ones to not materialize, some far reaching changes are needed in the way we deal with the central variables that impact immigration balances and the fertility gaps which ultimately shape the demographic balance. These variables include a number of issues of personal security, employment, housing, education, quality of the environment, cultural life and society, municipal services etc.. Given the special status of Jerusalem, the power to influence the variables belongs primarily in the hands of the government of Israel.**

7.2 Policy Objectives in Population and Society

From an examination of social policy in the city of Jerusalem relevant to the preparation of the new master plan for the city, a number of central challenges emerge of which the effort to address would constitute chief policy objectives in the field of social policy:

1. Maintaining a Jewish majority in the city of Jerusalem while attending to the needs of the Arab minority that resides in the city.
2. Planning consideration for the spatial dissimilation of national and cultural groups in the city over the years.
3. Creation of harmony in the socio- economic composition of the population while maintaining a reasonable part of the affluent population in the city.
4. Creation of generational harmony within the city's population so as to prevent over-aging resulting from the intensified emigration of young population.

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

7.2.1 Maintaining a Jewish Majority in the City while Attending to the Needs of the Arab Minority

In Jerusalem the Arab population is growing increasingly larger relative to the Jewish population due to the accelerated emigration of Jewish population out onto the suburbs and due to the high birthrates characterizing the Arab population (See section 7.1 above). A continuation in the relative increase of the Arab population in Jerusalem threatens to reduce the future ratio of the Jewish population. The outline plan maintains that a substantial Jewish majority in Jerusalem be secured, within suitable responsiveness to the housing and service needs of the Arab population, particularly in view of the considerable gap in the standards of housing, in the level of infrastructures, and in the availability and quality of services and the supply of the present employment opportunities between the Jewish and Arab neighborhoods.

Means for Securing a Jewish Majority in the City

In order to preserve the Jewish majority in city one would have to reduce the number of Jewish residents leaving the city and attract Jewish residents from other parts of the country. That's why one would have to plan an adequate supply of housing in the neighborhoods that are inhabited by Jews. This objective could be achieved by means of condensing existing neighborhoods as well as by the establishment of new high density neighborhoods. However, it would not suffice to create a supply of dwelling units inside the city; you would also have to supply quantity and quality of employment places and services.

- **The thickening and densification of old Jewish neighborhoods.** This measure was intended to curtail the emigration of Jewish residents from the city. The old neighborhoods provide great accessibility to the existing services (proximity to friends and to family members) and people find themselves quite attached to these places after many years of residence, particularly among the youth. A limited supply of housing relative to the potential demand had in the past caused the exodus of young population out of the city and onto other neighborhoods. This exodus and the subsequent aging of the population led to the corrosion of old neighborhoods. Nowadays, as the image of the old neighborhoods in the inner city has improved among the established population, a renewed interest has emerged also among many whose families' past draws them to these neighborhoods. The augmentation of the dwellings supply in the old neighborhoods by means of a series of planning steps will enable a large number of households to realize the current potential demand for dwellings within them.

The rise of the supply relative to the demand will allow narrowing the gap in current housing prices between the old neighborhoods and the new neighborhoods in the outskirts of the city and outside it. However, the condensation and overloading of old neighborhoods is likely at times to conflict with considerations for conservation of the historical character of the construction in certain neighborhoods in a city as Jerusalem, hence the need for considerable sensitivity when coming to realize such

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

plans. The experience in this field during recent decades demonstrates that it is possible to bring about a sizable increase in the congestion of old residential neighborhoods within maximum protection of historical-architectural merits (See Chapter 6).

- **Building of new Jewish neighborhoods:** this building strategy has served as a central planning tool for realizing the objective of guaranteeing a Jewish majority in Jerusalem. That's why open areas primarily in the remote margins of the city were converted into building areas, as in the case of Gilo and Talpiot-East in the South and Givat-Zeev and Ramot-Alon in the North. The planned building of new neighborhoods in the west will satisfy the demand for housing within the Jewish population in Jerusalem in the future. But this will not adequately provide for the potential demand for dwellings inside the city also if existing neighborhoods were to be extended all the way to their open margins, all this in consideration of the availability of open areas throughout the city (On the overloading of existing neighborhoods, see chapter 2 above).
- **Building reasonably-priced dwellings throughout the Jewish neighborhoods in the city.** The high price of housing inside the city of Jerusalem is one of the important factors that prompt residents to relocate into suburban settlements where housing is available at considerably lower prices than those in the housing market inside the city (On this, see chapter 8). In order to reach reasonable housing prices inside Jerusalem that can somehow compete with the housing prices of suburban settlements one would have to significantly augment the city's stock of planned housing units.
- **Securing the quality and quantity of employment opportunities and services.** In order to both entice new residents from the center of the country to relocate to Jerusalem and retain the residents presently living in it, you would have to guarantee suitable level and compatible quality work places and facilities. The center of the country is the largest and most concentrated area of Jewish population in the state of Israel and as such it constitutes the largest Jewish population reservoir. It is also the area most directly affected by employment opportunities and services in the country. If a resident of the center wishes to move to Jerusalem, one would have to present her/him with a competitive supply of employment opportunities and services (See chapters 8 and 9).
- **Providing a different urban experience:** it is hard for Jerusalem to compete with cities in the center of the country, especially Tel Aviv, in terms of abundance of employment opportunities and services. On the other hand, a city as historical and multicultural as Jerusalem can provide its residents with dimensions of quality-of-life that don't exist at the same level in the cities of the country's center. Therefore, in every significant planning step, one would have to consider the implications for the degree of distinctive attractiveness of Jerusalem as a city that offers something that Tel Aviv cannot possibly supply, in addition to all the other things it needs to offer as one can find them in Tel Aviv and without which the city of Jerusalem would be less attractive. In this regard it is very important to conserve the city's historical

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

places and encourage the activity of its educational and cultural institutions. For the ultra-orthodox religious sectors of the Jewish population in the city, the places of worship and teaching relevant to the Jewish religion are of paramount importance. Jerusalem in this respect is an exceptional city for these sectors. And indeed, a good part of those who have come to reside within its boundaries during the past few decades are from this sector. In the past, when the Hebrew University was the chief academic institution in the country, Jerusalem was the University city of Israel. Many of those who came to study at the university ended up settling in it after the completion of their studies. As there is higher education in a number of cities and areas throughout Israel nowadays, Jerusalem needs to be converted into a center of numerous higher educational institutions as already happened in the field of Yeshivas. Studies are conducted by and large at a young age. This is the age when people enjoy easy mobility. Students and Yeshiva disciples go long distances in order to learn in the institution they are interested in. There is a high probability that upon the completion of their studies, former students will find their niche in the city where they study. Therefore institutions of learning across the entire range of sectors of the population in Jerusalem must be encouraged. (See chapter 9 - Higher Education).

Intervention measures to guarantee a suitable supply of dwellings for the Arab population

The Arab population suffers from an acute housing shortage. During recent decades only few new neighborhoods were built for this population that has high birthrates. In spite of the housing shortage, there is an immigration of Palestinian-Arab population into the city. The housing shortage is a planning challenge to which the master plan is required to attend as much as possible. Along with this challenge, it would be necessary to firmly enforce the prohibition of illegal building, a phenomenon that is widespread within the Arab sector in the city. We should emphasize that the intervention in the housing system of the Arab population is by no means simple at all in essence, due to both the national conflict and the planning annals of many of the neighborhoods in which this population dwells as well as the traditional or pre-modern patterns marking a considerable part of the population (On the problems of housing in the Arab sector, see section 4.5).

- **Thickening and densification of the rustic neighborhoods within the bounds of the city:** a sizable part of the range of Arab population dwellings within the city's boundaries is rural in origin, particularly in the southeast part of the city, and this is the byproduct of the annexation of a number of Arab villages into the city's municipal purview. The planning infrastructure in these rustic life style neighborhoods is wanting, but still we must find ways to lean on it in an effort to augment housing capacity within the neighborhoods themselves or in their immediate surroundings so as to enable the residents to find housing close to the social-familial areas that mark traditional society in rustic life style neighborhoods. However, in spite of the planning chaos, these neighborhoods hold a grand promise for a considerable housing potential as a function of density augmentation. This augmentation is to a great extent contingent to the rehabilitation of infrastructures or the development of new infrastructures in the neighborhoods. (The plan

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

recommends the densification of the neighborhoods by means of significant expansion of building rights and of number of allowable floors for construction in the framework of approved existing plans.

- **Thickening and densification of existing urban neighborhoods:** a considerable part of the Arab urban neighborhoods were set up with low to medium density and this due to the emphasis that this population had placed on familial dwellings in the past – for extended or nuclear families. Since the unification of the city in 1967, no significant change in the rules of planning has transpired in these neighborhoods although some construction crowding did occur. The Arab population living in the urban neighborhoods of Jerusalem shows an enormous demand for residential units inside those neighborhoods. Every measure that can facilitate the increasing of density is bound to help addressing this enormous demand.
- **Creation of new neighborhoods that are particularly suitable for an wealthy population.** For Arab wealthy households there is not much of a supply of modern and spacious housing that is compatible with the consumption patterns in this population. And indeed, in contrast with the options at the disposal of Jewish wealthy families, it is impossible for them to find compatible housing outside the boundaries of Jerusalem unless they decide to cancel their status as residents of the city and citizens of the state.
- **Revitalization of the Arab population's residential neighborhoods in the Old City:** in recent decades, we witness a departure of wealthy Moslem population from the Moslem quarter and Christian population from the Christian quarter. Both of these quarters, notably the Moslem quarter, emerged as neighborhoods for the destitute or aged population. Continuous rehabilitation works are necessary in these two quarters, to improve the quality of housing for the residents and enable these quarters to properly function as part of the city's tourism array. In the detailed plan under preparation you may see a first step in that direction. It should be stressed that the Old City is the single area in Jerusalem where the planning team allows reducing the volume of the total population in order to raise the housing standards of the residents presently living in it.

One has to act to rehabilitate and/or move the refugee camps Shuafat and Qalandia. This can only be actuated by receiving state budgets and/or international resources.

7.2.2 Planning Consideration for the Separation Arrangement of National and Cultural Groups

Within the boundaries of the City of Jerusalem, there was and still is a process of spatial separation between the various population groups of inhabitants. Concurrently with the spatial separation in housing, there is also a separation in the commercial areas that these different population groups use. This is essentially a voluntary separation that manifests the desire of each of the population groups to establish a residential and commercial

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

space governed by the social-cultural norms that are exclusive to it.

The Jewish population of Jerusalem lives primarily in the western areas of the city and the entire Arab population (with the exception of Beit Safafa) lives in the eastern part of the city. This spatial pattern is a byproduct of the geographic evolution of the city since the digression from the city wall and was sharpened in the aftermath of the War of Independence and the division of the city. This pattern provided the basis for an Israeli policy of establishing Jewish neighborhoods in the eastern part of the city in order to conceal the spatial polarization and replace it with mosaics of Jewish & Arab neighborhoods.

The majority of the ultra orthodox population resides in neighborhoods of their own, primarily within the continuum of the ultra-orthodox neighborhoods in the nearby north as well as the north western part of the city. The ultra orthodox population's tendency to segregate itself is an ancient phenomenon in the Jewish neighborhoods of Jerusalem. The spatial over-concentration of the ultra orthodox population also serves to facilitate the supply of services characteristic of this population to its members. Over the past decade, when the process of formation of the continuum of ultra orthodox neighborhoods in the north of Jerusalem could no longer meet the needs of the ultra orthodox population, an abrupt leap of this population to neighborhoods beyond the ultra orthodox continuum began. The establishment of these new ultra orthodox neighborhoods opened a doorway for the preparation of a planning format that is a priori compatible with the needs of the ultra-orthodox population.

Within the Arab population there is a certain degree of spatial separation between Moslems and Christians. Therefore there is a justification to consider this trend when planning the housing and public-institution spaces of the different religious communities. The same goes for the Christian community that constitutes a very small minority.

In such a multicultural city as Jerusalem, there are many advantages to the spatial separation of population groups. Each group gets a cultural space of its own within which it can live by its own rules. By the same token, this separation reduces the foci of potential friction between the groups. Therefore there is justification to maintain a planning policy that is attentive to the spatial separation of the national and cultural groups of Jerusalem's population.

Means of intervention

- **Planning of new residential spaces for all the cultural and national groups in the city:** this plan should apply to the existing spatial arrangement of each of the groups. In this sense, new Jewish neighborhoods will be planned in continuation with the existing Jewish neighborhoods; Arab neighborhoods will be constructed in continuation with the existing neighborhoods of this national group. Also within the Jewish population there is reason to adopt this guiding principle and to determine, in a planning fashion, planning zones that are designated for residential areas for

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

orthodox population versus non- orthodox populations, respectively. The Jewish religious population of the city will be able to choose between these two cultural types of Jewish neighborhoods. By the same token there is room to consider the planning of residential zones designated for that the religious population that requests to dwell in segregated neighborhoods of its own as had been customary in Israeli cities in the past.

The availability of housing in a cultural group's type of neighborhoods will have its implications for reducing the phenomenon of the infiltration of a group of one population to the residential space of another population group. The matter is primarily aimed at the ultra orthodox population, which due to its demographic growth has penetrated into non-orthodox neighborhoods. During recent decades, with the expansion of the phenomenon of new ultra-orthodox neighborhoods, the process of the penetration of orthodox population to the neighborhoods that are not orthodox diminished. It is expected that the establishment of new neighborhoods for the Arab population will prevent the penetration in the future of Arab families to the Jewish neighborhoods adjacent to Arab neighborhoods, a process which unfolded during the recent decades in other cities in Israel (Nazerat Illit, Haifa, Ramleh, Lod and Acre).

- **Avoidance of insertion of public and cultural institutions** of one cultural or national group onto the dwelling sites of another group. This violation creates many tensions and leads to cultural conflicts.
- **Creating possibilities for encounters between the different groups in the public urban space.** As every national or cultural group would dwell in its own residential zone, members of all the groups can create contacts and interactions among themselves in the broader urban institutions and areas and in the main commercial centers of the city. The big centers of commerce in the city, both in the city center and in other areas (Menhat, Talpiot) play an important role as an arena of encounter between the different groups. Site planning for the public institutions (the centers of life and activity) continues this trend of attending to the needs of the different populations.

7.2.3 Creation of a Socio-economic Balanced Population Composition

Many of those leaving Jerusalem and heading for the suburban settlements are of the wealthy population. They loved the ground-level villa building style in the suburban settlements in recent decades. The result has been a reduction in the size of the wealthy population in the city and a rise in the proportion of the less wealthy population, a dynamic that has manifested itself in indicators reflecting the economic standards of the

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

population in the city and in the destitution that characterizes the population of the city. This culminated in a growing curtailment in the pool of skilled and entrepreneurial manpower in the city, an increase in that part of the population that live off the public fund and the welfare services, and an increasingly reduced per Capita tax base at the disposal of the local authority. It is of utmost importance therefore to secure through the outline plan a contraction in the magnitudes of the move of wealthy households from the city onto the suburbs. In addition, it is important to lure wealthy households into the city. This is what many cities that are located in the centers of metropolitan areas do; they wish to stop the exit of the wealthy population onto the suburbs that is apparent nowadays. This policy relies on the demand of certain sections of the wealthy population to live in the center of metropolitan areas. In Jerusalem you must adopt a propitious policy both encouraging the wealthy population to continue to reside in the city and attracting wealthy populations, to immigrate into it from other settlements, adjacent and remote, alike.

Measures to increase the wealthy population in the city

- **Adjusting the rules of physical planning:** this in order to encourage the establishment of forms of dwellings on demand by a wealthy population and make it possible. Three forms of dwellings prove to be attractive to the wealthy population. The first consists of dwelling in residential buildings of six up to eight apartments typical also of the wealthy neighborhoods of the city. This was the prevalent form among the wealthy population over the years and it draws on the form that was common in many of the cities of Europe. The second form of dwelling consists of spacious apartments in highrise buildings, characterized by modern quality housing as well as by on-site, building-based services. This form appeals to a very wealthy population or elderly households. The third form of dwelling is that of ground-level villas or condos attached to "open built-up area" (porches or roof gardens). In recent years, this form became popular within the wealthy population in Israel as in the case of other western countries, and it is at the core of the process of suburbanization. The dilemma for a city as big as Jerusalem is how to supply this form of dwelling in the context of limited supply of space, which becomes all the more limited the more the city's population grows, (and even the per Capita housing level improves, income goes up and along with it grows the level of consumption of residential grounds). In this specific situation, the supply of dwellings with ground land will exceedingly drop in the face of the process of condensation of construction proposed by the plan. And despite the above it is possible still to avail ground-level dwellings or "open built-up area" within the city's boundaries if only to keep the affluent population in it. Several types of areas in the city can play this role:

A. The veteran neighborhoods that were built with low density and have substantially been earmarked for conservation;

B. The outskirts of neighborhoods that are bordering the open areas, as part of the effort to enlarge the supply of built up areas (overloading of existent neighborhoods);

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

C. The new neighborhoods in the western part of the city. It would be possible to create an assortment of the abovementioned three forms of dwelling within attentiveness to ground level construction. In the city's outskirts, Jerusalem can actually compete with the suburban settlements for very population preferring to live in ground-level dwellings. Jerusalem can also increase its competitiveness by expanding its municipal bounds which would increase its capacity to supply ground-level dwellings within its own boundaries and thereby keep the wealthy population within its bounds.

- **Development of neighborhood-level infrastructures and urban facilities.** In order to realize the potential appeal of old and new neighborhoods to wealthy families it would be necessary to undertake an extensive infrastructures and urban facilities development within those neighborhoods. When deciding to live in one place or another within the metropolitan area, wealthy households consider the overall dwelling package, quality of housing and level of infrastructure and services. It follows, that in order to compete with the new suburbs in the vicinity of Jerusalem for the wealthy population it would be necessary to create a supply of neighborhoods that are infrastructure-and-urban services intensive.
- **Provision of economic subsidies for renovation of dwellings in old neighborhoods:** economic subsidies for renovation of old apartments are usually granted when people request to renovate or upgrade neighborhoods of disadvantaged population. The neighborhoods renovation project is to a great extent based on the provision of incentives for the renovation of housing. But it also makes sense to apply this means of intervention to neighborhoods that are likely to attract a wealthy population. The experience in many of the western cities shows that fiscal means of intervention in dwellings-renovation activities in old neighborhoods has brought about the regeneration of these neighborhoods and settlement of affluent households.
- **Infill and densification of affluent old neighborhoods:** many affluent neighborhoods in the inner city were built in the past with relatively low density given that they constitute the edge of the city neighborhoods of the time. In these neighborhoods which serve as a magnet for the affluent population, a population aging has transpired. The principle of densification of existent neighborhoods through intensification of the characteristic pattern (from four floors up to six floors) and expansion of building rights in the neighborhoods is one of the main principles of this plan.
- **Encouragement of the construction of new apartment buildings with spacious luxurious units in the inner city** in locations with maximum access to businesses and fun places: during recent decades a process of constructing high-rise buildings for the wealthy population had begun. The encouragement of this trend was a byproduct of the definition of search zones for high building in the residential neighborhoods (see chapter 4, above).

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

- **The expansion of the built-up area inside the city in places that will attract wealthy population:** parts of the wealthy population would be interested in living close to open areas. The extension, where it is possible and worthwhile, of the built-up area into the open expanse is likely to keep the wealthy population within the bounds of the city, especially if these dwellings are built with considerable spatial privacy and attachment to ground land.

7.2.4 Balancing the Age Composition of the City's Population in Order to Prevent Excessive Aging

Most of those who leave Jerusalem and head towards suburban settlements are young households, and this is for a number of reasons including the abundance of dwelling supplies in the suburbs, the relatively low housing prices, and the responsiveness of young households to the new norm of ground-level dwellings. As a result of this young population exodus, an increase in the relative size of the elderly population has transpired and this process has a number of implications:

- The elderly population does not participate as fully in the economic life of the city as does the young population, and with time this can influence the prosperity level of the city's economy.
- The elderly population requires a great amount of services relevant to its distinctive needs. The addition of a not fairly wealthy elderly population is bound to impose a social burden on the city's fund for services.
- It will lead to reducing the demand for existing public buildings presently serving young population, especially in the educational system and to sometimes irreversibly converting their use into other types of services.
Hence the importance of doing every thing possible to narrow down the scope of this process and to perhaps even reverse it altogether by means of actively convincing young population to live in Jerusalem.
Moreover, we need to recognize, still, that as a central city in a metropolitan area undergoing processes of suburbanization, Jerusalem will continue to be a city in which the elderly component of the population is relatively large. This fact obliges us to plan the supply of housing and the public services with regard to the needs of the elderly population residing in the city.

Measures to increase the young component of the city's population

It would be necessary to increase the supply of dwellings that meet the needs and economic aptitude of young households by securing a supply of relatively small dwellings in the inner neighborhoods of the city or by new construction of apartments in new neighborhoods where housing prices (derivatives of land values) are relatively low

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

in comparison with inner neighborhoods. In all those neighborhoods it would be necessary to adopt a planning approach that seeks to secure that portion of (price and size) compatible apartments to lure young families within the array of dwelling units in the neighborhood. This would also guarantee at all times the required balance in the generational composition of the population of each and every neighborhood that is necessary to avoid excessive aging of the population along the way. It has been shown that neighborhoods which were built with standard size apartments had evolved over twenty years or longer to centers of elderly population. This phenomenon has serious implications for the systems of services: services allocated for children and youth lose their own "customers" who had aged and left for other places whereas facilities that were specifically designed for elderly were unable to handle the new load or had never existed in those neighborhoods which when established barely had any elderly households. Hence the necessity to adopt a planning policy that establishes a high volume threshold for all new apartments throughout the city, as attempted in such cities as Kfar Saba or Netanya, but with attentiveness to geographic variability. It is not really feasible to establish a high volume threshold even in the exterior and remote neighborhoods, but rather require an adequate variation that allows to prevent generational homogeneity of household heads when populating – which will eventually detriment the neighborhood over the years. It should be stressed, that in addition to securing a supply of dwellings compatible with the needs and economic vigor of young households, it would be equally necessary to secure sources of suitable employment (see a chapter 8 for details).

- **Securing small size apartments in the old neighborhoods:** the supply of small apartments in the city center is of utmost importance to address the housing demand among the young – new couples and especially single men and women as well as single parent households – that tend to live in the inner neighborhoods of big cities. Jerusalem has reached that state where the inner neighborhoods of the city become an important residential arena for the young population. Securing the availability of tiny apartments in the inner neighborhoods of the city close to the city center for a young populace seeking to live close to the city center constitutes an important planning objective. The presence of a young population close to the city center can amply contribute to the resuscitation of the city center and in so doing also encourage those living in remote neighborhoods within and outside the city to use its services. It is possible to realize the objective of luring young population to the old neighborhoods by encouraging new construction with a sizable proportion of small apartments particularly in high-rise buildings in places where their establishment is allowed as well as by the splitting of existent apartments. The splitting of a big apartment into a number of tiny apartments is a widespread phenomenon arising from the great demand for small apartments in the inner neighborhoods of the city, especially the city center itself. To this, you would have to add the role of the institutions of higher education in the city, the Hebrew University being a forerunner. There are some obvious grounds for encouraging institutions of higher education to become involved in the preparation of a supply of dorms for their own students aptly in the inner neighborhoods, close to the city center. This will amount to providing as well for the needs and wishes of young populations seeking

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

access to the range of facilities featured in the city center, along with contributing to the vitality of the center.

It is worth emphasizing that there is no necessary association between the apartment size and socio-economic status, which is often perceived as inevitable in planning circles which in turn calls for the establishment of a high size threshold as 120 square meters and above. In big cities where a young but economically prosperous population is located in parts of the inner neighborhoods, sizable portion of the households of this population lives in small apartments located in prestigious buildings. Therefore a supply of buildings with small apartments located in prestigious areas that will appeal to the wealthy young population or those reaching this parameter should be provided in Jerusalem.

- **Provisions for enlargement of existing dwelling units:** one of the principal reasons for the move of households to suburban settlements has to do with the increase in the number of children which requires enlargement of housing units. This phenomenon is especially prevalent amongst young families starting off in little apartments and after a few years, as they give birth to children, the need to expand their dwelling units. When deciding in this regard, their spatial field of choice can also extend across the city. However, if the expansion of their existing dwelling units is made possible, the probability of those families leaving the city diminishes. That is why one must allow for the enlargement of existent units along with adjusting the conditions of infrastructure and urban design which might arise from it in some of the city's neighborhoods.

Measures to improve the welfare of the elderly:

- **Securing a supply of small apartments suitable for an aged population.** A substantial part of the elderly, notably in the wealthy neighborhoods is living in huge apartments where they raised their children who matured and left the house. This phenomenon has particular significance in those old neighborhoods of the city where the proportion of the aged population is relatively high.
- **Encouragement and allotment of lands for protected housing for the elderly:** The phenomenon of protected housing, in all of its forms, has become increasingly prevalent amongst the aged. In view of the importance of accessibility to the centers of commerce and services for the this population, it makes sense to create a planning supply of places for protected housing nearby or even inside the centers of commerce and services as recently transpire in North America.
- **Spatial planning of facilities for the elderly:** in view of the limited mobility of the elderly, it is necessary to consider the positioning of facilities designed to serve this population within their own residential centers.
- **Adjusting the public space for the elderly and handicapped.** In recent years the public space is becoming adjusted to the use of people with physical mobility handicaps. The outline plan should be applied in order to make the city more

LOCAL OUTLINE PLAN JERUSALEM 2000

accessible for people with handicaps.