

6. ALTERNATIVE ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERNS

Urban systems are complicated, obscure phenomena whose planning should result in simple, clear and repeatable patterns. To obtain these features one models a system. But the model is an abstraction of real phenomena. A model enables us to simulate a system if it keeps intact the proper relation among its components.

6.1 THE SYSTEM

6.1.1 A CONCEPTUAL MODEL

An urban system is a self-organized phenomenon. It has a border which separates its internal environment from the outside environment, with the latter beyond its power to control. The border prevents certain crossings while permitting others, and this enables the system to maintain its specific inner environment to differ from that outside. The system's organs fit this specific inner environment. These organs generate products and provide services, among them the service of maintaining a stable internal environment. The system has a government to run the whole urban entity.

An urban system has its distinctive identity which makes it what it is. This identity is kept intact in a different and changing external environment, thanks to borders which prevent hostile agents from entering, and to its stable, unique internal environment.

6.1.2 JERUSALEM IS DIFFERENT

This conceptual model, could be a useful tool for an ordinary city, but in the case of Jerusalem we have to think one step further and ask "What identity?" Trying to answer this question opens a box of Pandora of additional questions. Is the identity Israeli or Palestinian or uniquely Jerusalem's or yet all of these? Can a city with more than one identity function -- and how? Also, what kind of urban system can contain several identities? In all this planning

effort the reader, or the user, has to keep in mind that, although we are planning an urban system with all the relations urban systems have, Jerusalem is different because it has more than one identity. The grassroots of Jerusalem's urban system -- its individual denizens -- possess an Israeli identity as well as a Palestinian because they are grouped into two different peoples, each group with its own distinctive identity. This does not render the problem insoluble, but some of the planning tools used in an ordinary city are inapplicable here. In the ordinary planning process the planner starts by searching for the identity of the city, defining city goals, delineating the local vision, and consulting its public. In planning for Jerusalem we will not be able to use tools which presume a city with one identity and must instead develop a set of tools that will enable us to plan an urban system in which different groups of people, each with its own identity, can live together and share the same urban system. Some clues are found in our case studies. In the case of Basel an individual who belongs to the metropolis may have more than one identity. It can be simultaneously French and Basilean. But such multiple identities are not subject to direct planning. They develop spontaneously in a conducive internal environment. This takes time to develop. We, the planners, can work to promote an internal environment which will facilitate such development.

6.1.3 COMPONENTS OF THE SYSTEM

An urban system is made up of sub systems, such as agents, borders, governments, and each of these has its own components. For example the agents can be quarters and villages, suburbs and satellite towns, cities, a metropolis, states and the private sector.

The agents may play many roles, but we see them as producers and providers of products and services. Urban borders may fill many roles but here we see them as a means for separating agents and permitting a selective crossing from one agent to another. Government can be a source of pride and a flag to be identify with, but here we see it as a means for governing each of the agents as well as the whole system.

6.1.4 RELATIONS AMONG THE COMPONENTS

Planning the system “from the bottom up,” up from its components, still leaves the planner of with the question of what makes constitutes components, or a system.

Our answer here is:

There is a pattern of relations between the various components of the system

The relations can be those of interaction, specialization, and power structure. Interaction among the agents is determined by their will and by the location and permeability of the borders between them. Specialization of the agents in providing services, is determined by the nature of the services the nature and the size of the agents, and also by the will to let the different communities attend to their own businesses. Power structure deals with the way the agents are governed by the ruling organs of each, whether a single executive, committee or assembly; and the way these are chosen, whether elected or nominated. In a city composed of groups with disparate identities, power can be monopolized by one group or shared by more than one, and this sharing is determined by the power structure of the whole urban system.

6.1.5 THE PRODUCTS AND SERVICES PROVIDED BY THE SYSTEM

An urban system provides various products and services. Some are for the use of individual citizens, as for example education and housing. Others, such as garbage, sewage collection, or transport, impact the system’s internal environment. These services, while used by individuals, also make up the internal environment used by the public in a community. They constitute the environment in the sense that, if unavailable, they would change most profoundly the city’s internal environment.

The difference between person-oriented and community-oriented services, is not clear cut. Education, though person oriented, can be seen as community-oriented in that a educated individuals improve the public environment.

6.1.6 AN ORGANIZATIONAL SET-UP FOR JERUSALEM

A same urban system may have different organizational setups, with some fitting its specific environment better than others. In Jerusalem the outstanding environmental feature is “a city of two peoples.” Add the feature that “most of the city’s citizens wish to live ordinary lives and to enjoy urban services of quality, preferably at low prices.” A third feature should be “the transition from a state of hostility to a state of peace”.

SPECIFICATIONS

These three major features of Jerusalem’s wished-for future environment guide the specifications of organization we plan for Jerusalem. They must be:

1. Feasible
2. Lessening frictions between the two peoples
3. Providing urban services of high quality
4. Efficient as an urban system
5. Fair in providing services
6. Autonomous for the city as against the states

This last requires explanation. Why autonomy? Our analysis of case studies leads to assume that there are fewer reasons for conflict among the citizens of Jerusalem than between Israel and Palestine. From this we infer that it will be easier to run Jerusalem as a city than as a part of two states. This is not the only assumption which we apply in the following planning experience but it is one of several alternative assumptions we hold in the background.

COHERENCE FEASIBILITY AND TRADE-OFFS

Ordinarily one cannot satisfy all of the above mentioned specifications. There are inherent trade offs in any urban system, so that satisfying successfully one specification will sacrifice one of the others. The following examples will give the reader or user a feeling of how the nature of services and that of the urban system, determines what is feasible and what are our system’s necessary trade-offs. One could plan two cities, one for each people, and assign for each

the role of running its own transport system. That might reduce friction, but would sacrifice the efficiency and quality of the transport service. On the other hand, should each of the two cities run its schools separately, friction would be reduced without a notable sacrifice in efficiency, indeed the overall quality of the service might improve.

Fairness may be understood in different ways, as for example that everybody should get the same service, or that everyone will get the service he paid for, or simply that each of the two populations will get the same service. Let us consider this last one as it applies transport. If each of the two populations were able to move everywhere freely that should increase the fairness but also the friction. If such service will be provided by one mass transport system it will increase the quality of the service, its fairness and its efficiency. But who will plan it, build it, run it? Who will finance it? The answers for these questions may lead to even greater friction. Maybe one system is not the solution, and two coordinated systems will do better. Consider then the possibility of two coordinated systems of mass transportation for Jerusalem. Are they technically feasible? Might not the private sector provide a single system of truly fair mass transportation? In it collection and distribution would be under the supervision of local authorities and the main lines under a metropolitan authority. In yet another version, the lines could be the responsibility of each of the parties with the rolling stock run by the private sector.

6.2 SEPARATION AND PERMEABILITY

Borders define a city's area, symbolizing its territory. They also have practical functions. Borders define the domain for place-related services (such as residence) and the domain subject to urban rules. Borders constitute a barrier, which separates between territories yet permits various types of crossing from one territory to the other. It is a selective barrier which can also exclude.

To reach the proper balance between separation and permeability we consider a variety of actual and potential borders. Such might be the state

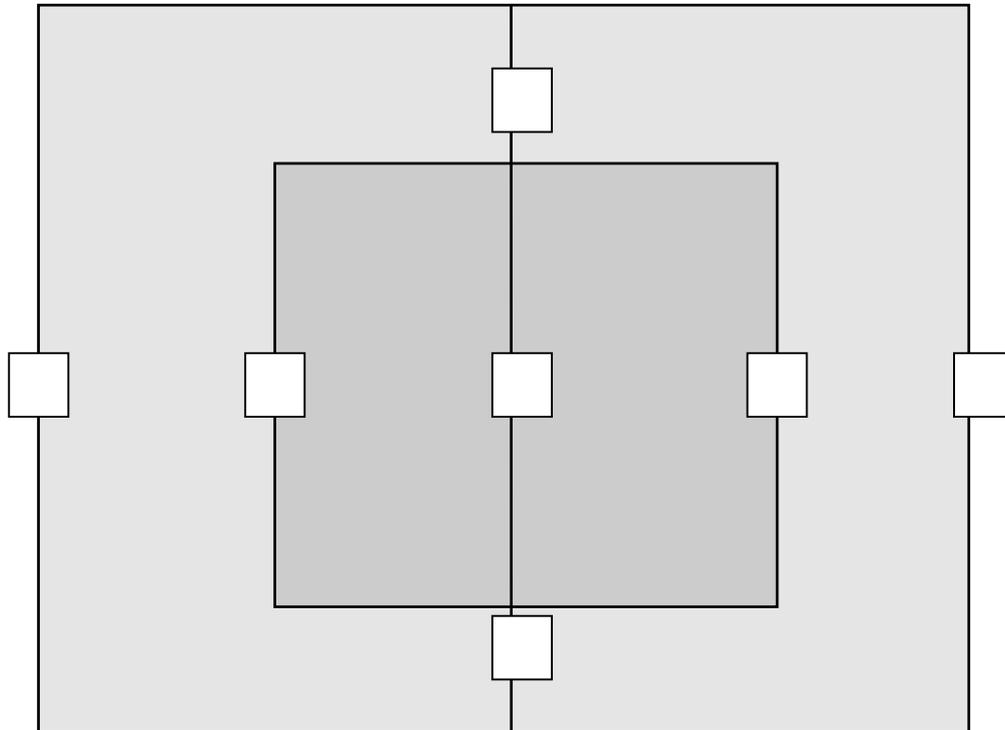
border between Israel and Palestine, the municipal border around Jerusalem's metropolitan area, borders between the two populations living within Jerusalem, borders around each of the villages, suburbs, satellite towns lying outside the city, and borders surrounding the city's several quarters.

6.2.1 FEASIBILITY OF A BORDER SYSTEM

When projecting alternative border patterns for Jerusalem planners should be on the lookout for proposals that are feasible and which fit Jerusalem's specific environment. The following analysis deals with the feasibility and fitness of a border pattern for Jerusalem, as a city of two peoples, located on the dividing line between two states, and where every individual resident belongs formally or mentally to one of these two states. The following analysis deals only with the barrier features of borders. It does not relate to other features of borders such as "the domain where certain urban rules are applied" or "the domain of place-related to services such as residence".

CHART 1

Permeability Scheme



Legend and Observations

The borders of Jerusalem and its surroundings comprise those to the east and the west -- 'E' and 'W';

A border between eastern and western Jerusalem -- 'S';

The border between Palestine and Israel -- 'A';

The borders between Palestine and the outside world -- 'P';

The borders between Israel and the world outside world -- 'I'.

The 'Weakest link': A border is as strong as its weakest link, and therefore there must be no variations in its permeability along all its length.

These "facts of life" lead us to the following conclusion about the feasibility of border patterns in Jerusalem and its environs.

The permeability of the border between the two states surrounding the City of Jerusalem and the permeability of the border between the two peoples living within the city should be the same. Otherwise it will become unworkable,

To put this in a different way, there are two feasible options of permeability for the borders in and around Jerusalem: Either the permeability of the borders inside the city will be the same as that of the borders between Israel and Palestine, or else the permeability of borders inside Jerusalem will have to be altered. Either way the permeability of the borders around the city will be the same as that between Israel and Palestine.

Note:

The permeability of the border between two territories can be different for each side. Things that are permitted to cross from territory A to territory B may differ from those permitted to cross from B to A.

6.2.2 DESIGNING ALTERNATIVE BORDER PATTERNS

A border system may include the borders around the metropolitan area, those around the city, the ones between the two populations within the city, as well as borders around quarters, suburbs and satellite towns. To design alternative border patterns one must specify the separation and permeability of each of these kinds of borders of the system as a whole. We therefore propose two separate planning tools to highlight border schemes and to create a table of border permeability. Our borders' scheme answers the question of "separation from whom?" It need not specify the location of borders on a map, but should rather describe a two-dimensional system in an abstract way. The scheme tells us which types of agents the borders separate. (See chart 2).

SEPARATION

At the end of this planning project, borders will be defined on a map featuring the appropriate scale. Part of the work of planning borders, the part needed for planning organization, can be dealt with in a schematic way. In what follows we shall present and apply "border schemes," a tool we have developed for this kind of planning. This enables planners to answer the question of what agents the borders separate.

Chart 2 presents in a schematic way both the agents and the borders between them. The chart's larger spots are suburbs and satellite towns around the city,

the smaller spots are villages and quarters within it. The blue color symbolizes one people, the green the other. Lines symbolize borders -- of the city or of two cities, or of quarters, villages, suburbs and towns or clusters thereof, and also the borders of the entire metropolis. Chart 2.0 serves a kind of empty form in which the user can draw his own version of a border-scheme while charts 2a, 2b,...2j present the various schemes produced by the team. Table 0 condenses the information presented in the several versions of chart 2.

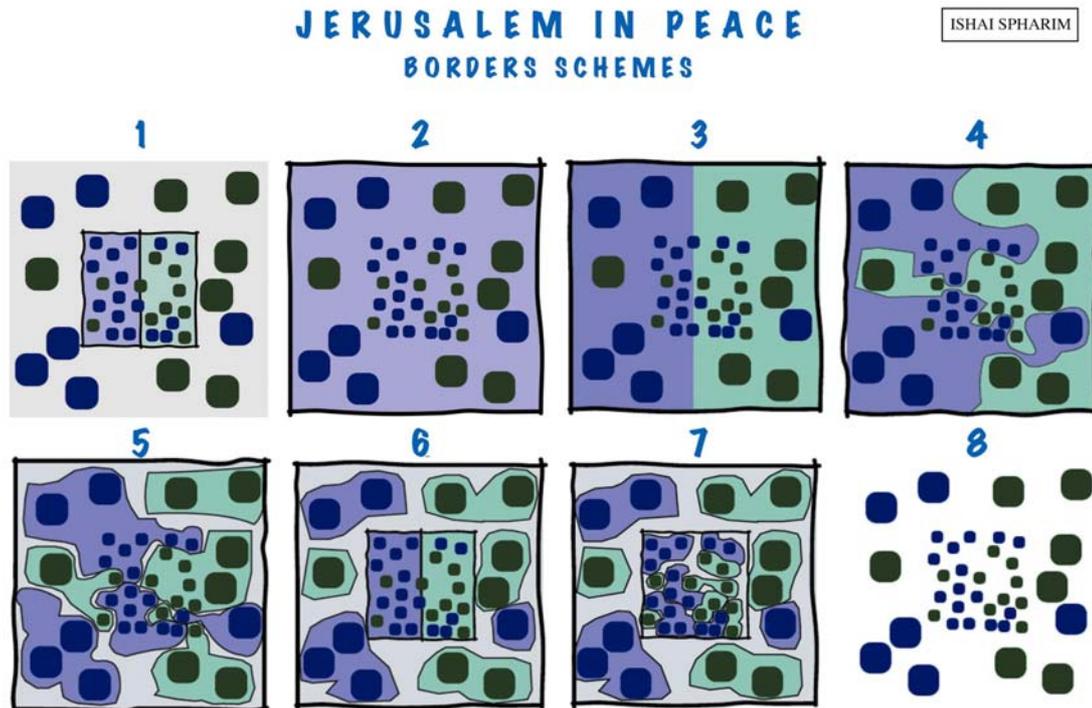


Table 0
Prototypes of border's schemes

Prototype	0A	0B	0C	0D
Schemes	2d, 2l	2f, 2h	2e	2g
Urban System	City	Metropolis	Metropolis	Metropolis
Border between the parts of the city/metropolis	✓		✓	✓
Border around the city / metropolis	✓	✓	✓	✓
Border around local communities		✓		✓

To be used in chapter 7 in assembling the CFCAs

Permeability of Borders

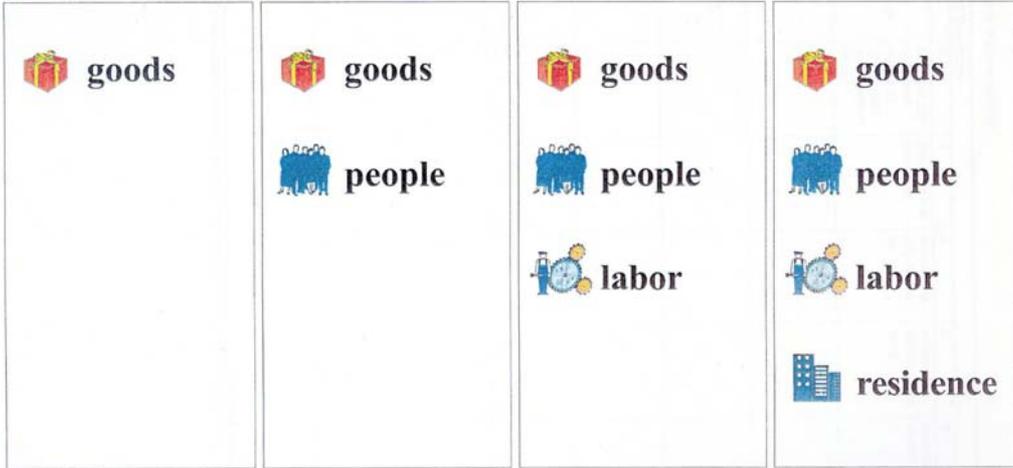


Table 1**Degrees of Permeability of the Borders**

	I1	I2	I3	I4	H1	P1	I5	P2	P3	P4
People	✓(C)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Goods	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	C	✓
Information	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓
Labor	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	C	C	C
Real estate	X	X	C	C	C	X	X	C	✓	✓
Capital	✓	✓	C	✓	✓	C	✓	✓	C	✓
Residence (Rent)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓
Tourism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Currency	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

✓ - Yes

C - with Control

X - No