URBAN HOTEL DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS IN THE FACE OF POLITICAL SHIFTS

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Abstract: This paper discusses changes in the spatial pattern of tourism accommodation in Jerusalem in the past 150 years. This is done with particular reference to urban development and political shifts during this period and in respect to various theoretical models relating to the location of hotels in urban areas. The time frame of the paper is divided into four chronological periods according to the main geopolitical changes in the city: the end of the Ottoman period; the period of the British Mandate; the city divided between Israel and Jordan; and the city unified under Israeli sovereignty. **Keywords:** spatial patterns, hotels, Jerusalem. © 2001 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

Résumé: Modelès de développement pour les hôtels urbains face aux changements politiques. Cet article discute des changements dans la distribution spatiale des logements touristiques à Jérusalem entre les années 1850–2000. On étudie ces changements surtout dans les contextes du développement urbain et des retournements politiques de ces années, en faisant mention des différents modèles théoriques qui sont liés à la distribution des hôtels en zone urbaine. On a divisé le contexte temporel en quatre périodes chronologiques, suivant les principaux changements géopolitiques de la ville: la fin de l'empire ottoman, la période du mandat britannique, la division de la ville entre Israël et le Jourdain et l'unification de la ville sous la souveraineté israélienne. **Mots-clés:** distribution spatiale, hôtels, Jérusalem. © 2001 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

INTRODUCTION

The transfer of the Holy Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem by King David and particularly the construction of the Temple by his son King Solomon, turned Jerusalem into a religious center and the focus of Jewish pilgrimages as early as 3,000 years ago. This trend continued and was even reinforced during the Second Temple Period (the second half of the second millennium BC), reaching a peak in the first century. It was as part of this widespread practice that Jesus and his disciples made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem one Passover, and the result of the events of this famous journey turned Jerusalem into one

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of Christianity's holiest sites, if not the holiest of them all. Jerusalem has since remained a focus for Christian pilgrims to this very day. Six hundred years later, Islam adopted Jerusalem as one of its holiest places, attributing several religious traditions to the city, such as Mohammed's night voyage and the site of his ascent to heaven. Due to the sanctity of the city for the three monotheistic religions, pilgrims have always been an important factor throughout the city's history. As a result, so are those elements which are infrastructure-supportive, such as accommodation, food, currency conversion, souvenirs, tour guides, and the like.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the changes in the spatial pattern of accommodation services in Jerusalem, which have influenced its urban design from the end of the Ottoman period up to the present time. This examination will be made with reference to the urban development and political changes that occurred in the city's status throughout the period under discussion. Despite Jerusalem's universal importance and in view of the central role played by tourism and pilgrimages in its history, this is the first time that changes in the distribution of accommodation services in the city have been examined.

The initial signs of modern-secular tourism flourished in Europe in the 16th century in the form of the Grand Tour (Towner 1985), which began to reach Jerusalem during the 19th century (Ben-Arieh 1984). This was the result of several processes such as the weakening of the Ottoman Empire, which served to expose Palestine to various European powers who were searching for a foothold in the Middle East and in the Holy Land, coupled with improvements in the means of transport to and within the country (Maoz 1975; Kushner 1986; Owen 1982). The direct outcome of the appearance of the modern-secular tourism was that support services also began to appear, with hotels, restaurants and cafes in the European style and standard, branches of travel agencies, and organized tourism.

From the mid-19th century and up to the present time Jerusalem has undergone numerous political changes. Turkish–Ottoman rule gave way to British rule (1917), followed by Jordanian and Israeli rule (the city was divided in 1948) to be united under Israeli rule from 1967 onwards. The numerous political changes brought various government authorities and agencies to the city. At each and every stage they represented one of the three monotheistic religions for which the city is holy. These changes left their mark on the spatial organization of tourism within the city in general and on related services in particular.

Several dates could mark the beginning of modern tourism in Jerusalem. The first organized tourist group was brought to Jerusalem by Thomas Cook in 1869. Or, in the the early 1880s, with the first hotel opened outside the city walls. This paper selects to examine the development of tourism accommodation in the city in the mid-1800s, some 20 years prior to the arrival of the Thomas Cook tour. This is due to two occurrences which happened at that time. One was the appearance of privately owned hotels within the Old City, located mainly adjacent

to the city gates, and the other was the initial development of large scale accommodation services outside the its walls, with the Russians being the first to engage in this activity. From the mid-1850s the Russians began to construct the large compound, later called the "Russian Compound," where three large hostels for Russian pilgrims were established (Figure 1).

The time span of this paper is divided into four main periods, according to the main geopolitical changes in the city and the region. Each and every period is also characterized by a different development stage concerning the type of accommodation and its distribution in the urban space. The four periods are 1850–1917 (end of the Ottoman period); 1917–1948 (the British Mandate Period); 1948–1967 (the city divided between Israel and Jordan); and 1967–2000 (The city unified under Israeli sovereignty).

SPATIAL HOTEL PATTERNS IN JERUSALEM

Hotels are the most prominent and representative expression of tourism. This is due to their physical prominence in the landscape and possibly being the sole urban component almost totally unique to
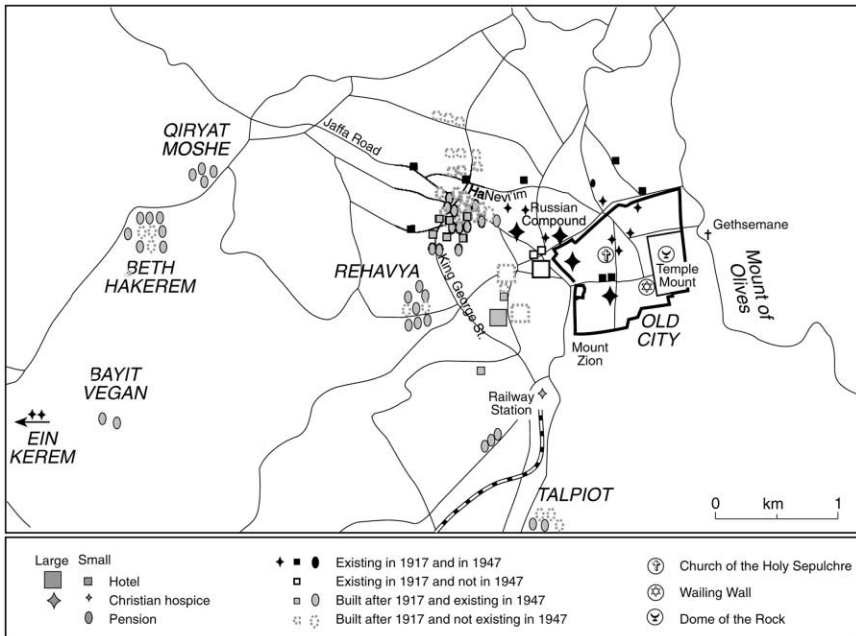

Figure 1. Spatial Distribution of Tourist Accommodation in Jerusalem, 1917–1947

tourism. Nevertheless, the research in this field, as in urban tourism in general, has been relatively neglected in comparison to other urban functions such as housing, commerce, offices, and the like.

Empirical research into the spatial structure of accommodation services has been carried out in various locations, including Madrid, Spain (Gutiérrez 1977), Christchurch, New Zealand (Pearce 1981), Toronto, Canada (Wall, Dudycha and Hutchinson 1985), Vienna, Austria (Hofmayer 1986), Tel Aviv, Israel (Arbel and Pizam 1977), and London, United Kingdom (Page and Sinclair 1989). It is not surprising that all these studies point to the tendency of accommodation to concentrate in the city center, which is usually the location of the historical core and most of the attractions.

Ritter's (1986) study of the distribution of hotels in Nuremberg, Germany, proposed a model for the development of tourism centers in the urban area. This was based upon an analysis of the distribution of hotels in the city from the beginning of the 19th century. In his view, their location is linked to the dominant form of transportion technology of their eras. Before the appearance of railways, hotels were concentrated along the waterfronts (in cities situated on river banks, lake, and sea shores); hotels in inland cities were built in the center or close to the city gates. After the introduction of the railroads, hotels tended to be concentrated close to the train station. The automobile era led to a decline in the importance of hotel districts close to railroad stations and to the construction of large hotels on the outskirts of the city, in close proximity to the "ring road" and the access routes leading from the outskirts to the city center. However, in his research Ritter ignored the type of hotels which had come into existence close to the major international airports as a result of increased passenger traffic.

Ashworth (1989) proposed a model for medium-sized Western European cities similar to Ritter's from the perspective of the location of the various hotel concentrations. The difference between the two models is that former identifies additional concentrations of accommodation services around the city and uses a larger number of factors to explain their development over time. In his model, Ashworth identifies six key concentrations of hotels created by factors other than those relating to transport, such as access, land values, environmental convenience, historical continuity, and (more recently) land-use policy. But both of these models failed to examine the relative weight of each concentration compared to the total number of hotel rooms in the city, although some of the concentrations proposed by Ashworth are characterized by particular categories of hotel, such as concentration by standard of hotels.

Yokeno (1968) favored a circular model of land use based on economic rents (based on the agricultural land-use model proposed by others). In this model, the hotel district is situated in the heart of the city as tourists are prepared to pay a high price for access to the center. Contrary to these findings, research carried out by Arbel and Pizam (1977) into the Tel Aviv metropolitan area found that tourists are wil-

ling to forego price for access and stay on outskirts if hotels are cheaper and have efficient transport to the center.

Study Methods

The main research tool used in this paper was the creation of two sets of maps describing the distribution of the tourism accommodation in each of the four periods. The maps enable the analysis of the dynamic changes in the location and in the character of the accommodation in Jerusalem in the past 150 years. The sources of data used to create the maps were varied but diminished back in time. For the later periods, official lists issued by Israel's Ministry of Tourism and data collected during fieldwork were the main sources. With regard to the earlier periods, a variety of sources were used, such as old telephone directories, guidebooks, and books written by travelers who visited the Holy Land. Thus, the task of preparing maps for the earlier periods was significantly harder than those for the later ones, especially for the end of the Ottoman empire and the British Mandate era.

This paper separates the components of the urban tourism product according to the three key schemes proposed by Jansen-Verbeke (1985): primary elements (the attractions which draw tourists to the city), secondary elements (the commercial tourism services used by those visiting the city), and conditional elements (the infrastructures which enable the visit to the city).

The End of the Ottoman Period

Up to the middle of the 19th century, transport to and from Jerusalem was either on foot or animal backs. From the mid-1850s, changes are evident in the means of transport. Steamboat visits to Jaffa Port led to an increase in the numbers of people arriving there causing travel to Jerusalem to grow. From the early 1870s, wagons and coaches began to use the main Jaffa–Jerusalem route. On the orders of the Sultan of Turkey, work began in 1867 to pave a road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Once this project was completed, coaches used for passenger transport also traveled this route. The road underwent numerous repairs and by the end of the 1880s the road had been considerably improved (Ben-Arieh 1984). The 1892 railroad linking Jaffa and Jerusalem resulted in an increasing number of pilgrim and tourist arrivals (Glass and Kark 1991).

The development of the means of transport to and from Jerusalem toward the end of the Ottoman period led to a significant increase in the number of pilgrims, tourists, and immigrants who came to visit the city, as a result of which the city expanded considerably. The growth and expansion of the city led to the need to develop an internal road network and urban transport system. The first to be paved was the Jaffa Road (Figure 1), and others rapidly followed (Ben-Arieh 1984).

Changes in the location of accommodation services in the city began to take place in the second half of the 19th century. Most arrivals to Jerusalem in this period were, as already noted, pilgrims (mainly
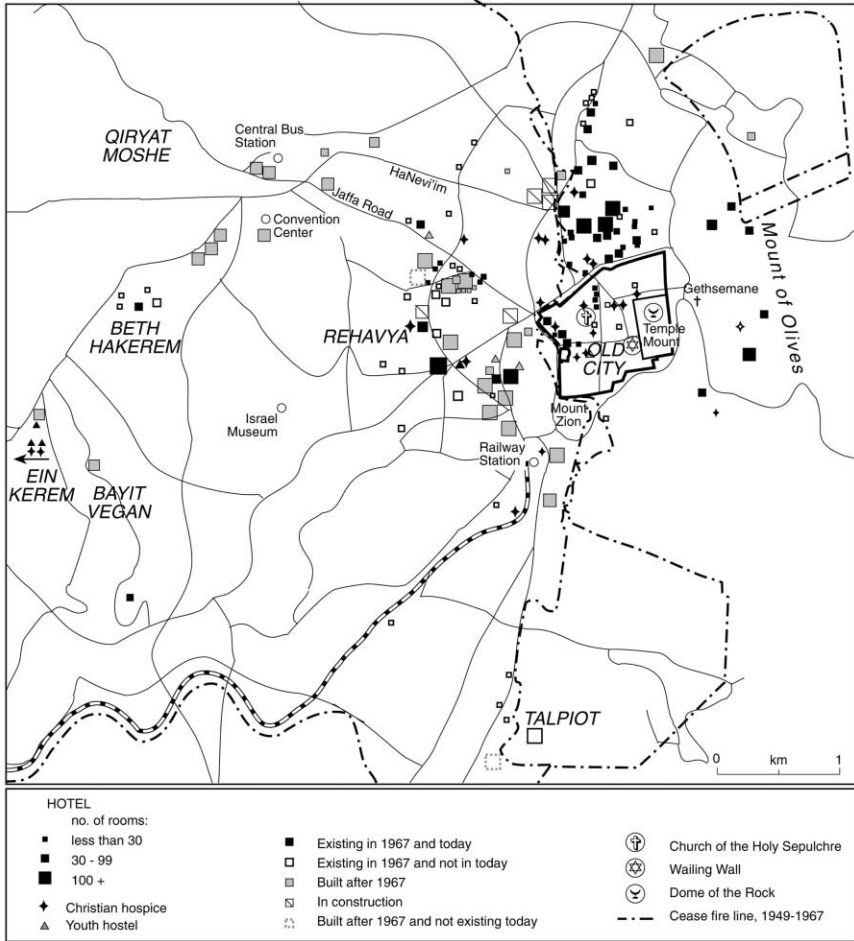
Figure 2. Spatial Distribution of Tourist Accommodation in Jerusalem, 1967–1999

Christian) who usually lodged in the monasteries and public buildings belonging to their religious denominations. Several hospices were added to these, built within the confines of the Old City in the first half of the 19th century and designed to absorb the ever increasing numbers of arrivals. In the 1840s the Franciscan order built the Casa Nova Hospice in the Christian Quarter and from the mid-1850s the Russians began the construction of their large "Russian Compound" outside the city walls.

The Baedeker guide from 1876 provides details of 21 Greek Orthodox monasteries in the Old City and the accommodation possibilities they offered. The various hospices, which operated in conjunction with

the Western churches and consulates, were renowned for their simplicity and low prices, without paying any particular attention to the standard of service. In addition to the monasteries and hospices which served the pilgrims, other modern services were gradually supplemented, including accommodation services and modern hotels.

Several hotels were established within the Old City, mainly in close proximity to the Jaffa and Damascus gates. One of the first of these was the Mediterranean Hotel, established in the 1850s beside the Jaffa Gate (Gibson and Chapman 1995). The hotels were distinct from the accommodation provided by the monasteries and hospices. These were, first and foremost, privately owned with their prices much higher, along with their service standards.

The number of tourists, and particularly Christian pilgrims, grew from one year to the next throughout the 19th century and up to the end of the Ottoman period. According to some estimates, the number in the mid-19th century was several thousand each year, whereas other estimates place the numbers in some seasons as high as 10,000 or even 20,000. A noticeable increase in the numbers of tourists to the city was recorded as of the 1870s, with the appearance of the first organized tours of the city. During the first half of the 19th century, most pilgrims were Greek Orthodox and Armenians, whereas in the second half this situation began to change and grow, particularly with respect to the number of Russian and Catholic pilgrims. The former disappeared completely after the Russian Revolution and the end of the First World War (Ben-Arieh 1984).

Following the many developments which affected tourism in Jerusalem toward the end of the 19th century, demand for modern, European-standard hotels grew; and these were built primarily outside the city walls. During the 1880s, the first modern, Jewish hotel (belonging to the Kaminitz family) appeared in the city. This was a part of the first hotel chain in the region which also ran hotels in Hebron, Jaffa, and Jericho (Ben-Arieh 1984). Another landmark was the construction of the Hotel Fast in the 1890s. Featuring 100 guest rooms, it was considered to be a "five-star" hotel designed to meet the requirements of demanding European tourists who were not prepared to settle for the basic services offered by the Christian hospices. Many technological innovations were fitted in the building. The rooms included bathrooms en-suite, hot and cold running water, central heating, and electricity (Kroyanker 1985).

Toward the end of Ottoman period, most accommodation services in Jerusalem were still concentrated in the monasteries and hospices within the Old City walls. Their location makes them fit Ashworth's type A (traditional market/city locations) model. This period also marks the first exit of accommodation services to outside the city walls, to the west and northwest, along major roads, which were also the directions in which the Jewish neighborhoods outside the Old City walls began to develop. The location of these accommodations fits Ashworth's type C (main access road locations). An interesting geographical–historical question is why, during and after the Ottoman period, a concentration of accommodation facilities failed to develop in the

vicinity of the railroad station, which is the location of Ashworth's type B (railway approach road location).

In contrast to the intensive accommodation development in the Jewish sector, in the Muslim–Arab areas north of the city walls, new accommodation services scarcely expanded up to the end of the Ottoman period. The reason for this may well lie in the nature of the Muslim foray outside the walls of the city, which was mainly individual and lacked a commercial–economic base. Most of the economic activity in this sector was concentrated within the city walls (Kark and Landman 1980).

The British Mandate Period

The British Mandate which came into effect in Palestine and Jerusalem following the First World War led to an increase in tourism activity. The British considered Palestine to be crucial to the military and geopolitical structure of the British Empire, and as part of its defense and economic policy. They invested considerably in developing the transportation and communications infrastructure in the country. These developments facilitated both internal connectivity and external ties, including networking the country with railroads and linking it with neighboring countries as well as paving numerous roads, leading to the introduction of the first automobiles (Gross 1982). In particular, seaports and airports were developed and the first civilian airfield was opened in the mid-1930s near the city of Lod (Air Force History Branch 1988). During the 30 years of British rule, Palestine underwent processes of economic growth and modernization, which created conditions that facilitated the accelerated development of modern tourism.

Due to Jerusalem's religious and historical significance, the British took upon themselves a special role regarding all aspects of preserving the built heritage and the way in which the city was to be developed in the future. A short while after Palestine was conquered, the British declared Jerusalem to be the capital of the country (*Eretz Israel*), and this had a direct impact on its development. The British also prepared, for the first time, a masterplan for Jerusalem. In part, this was designed to preserve the city's special character, attend to the directions in which it was to develop, and protect it for the future. The British activity in the city included the restoration of historical sites, planting public parks, and improving transport in and to the city, as well as linking it to the international railroad system (Biger 1994; Shapiro 1973).

Figures on travel to Palestine between the mid-1920s and the mid-1940s show that the first period there were more than 52,000 tourist arrivals whereas in the mid-1930s, for the first time, the number was over 100,000 (Gurevich 1947). The outbreak of the Second World War resulted in a drastic decline in the volume of tourism to the country, although from 1940 and up to the end of the war there was a sharp increase in the number of tourists arrivals, which peaked in 1945 to more than 150,000. In fact, much of this wave was "military tourism",

with Allied forces passing through during the war, causing tourism services to flourish and thrive.

The considerable increase in the number of tourists during the Mandate period led to changes in the city's accommodation services, focusing chiefly on expansion, greater variety, and more extensive spatial distribution. During this period, outside the city walls, three new accommodation types could be identified. The first was several large hotels, each with more than a hundred rooms, which introduced the city to an international style and standard previously unknown in the annals of its accommodation services. The second type was intermediate hotels, most of which contained several dozen rooms. The third was the development of *pensions*, most of which contained a few rooms.

Two large hotels were constructed in the city during this period: The Palace Hotel and the King David Hotel. The former was built in the late 1920s at the initiative of the Arab High Committee. Its construction was intended as a response to the spate of Jewish building around the city and to also cater to wealthy Arab tourists from Middle Eastern countries. The hotel was opened in 1929 but the Arab High Committee was incapable of operating and maintaining it. Consequently it was leased to George Bersky, one of the largest Jewish hoteliers in Palestine at that time. The Palace Hotel had 140 rooms, 45 of them with en-suite facilities, a restaurant, a bar, three elevators, and central heating. It finally closed down in the mid-1930s and was then used by the British government for offices. Presently it is used for the same purpose by Israel's Ministry of Industry and Trade, although plans do exist for reconverting it into a hotel (Picker and Kroyanker 1995).

The King David Hotel was established by the Mosseri family, a Jewish family of Egyptian origin. This family controlled The Egyptian Hotel Company Ltd, which had a chain of five-star hotels in Egypt, including the Sheppard and Continental Savoy in Cairo and the Mena-House in Giza, beside the pyramids. In 1929 the company established the Palestine Hotels Company and initiated the development of the King David Hotel, which opened its doors in January 1931. From the outset, it was considered the most prestigious hotel in the city, hosting royalty, statesmen, Zionist and Arab leaders, movie stars, writers, and artists (Kroyanker 1985; Semberg 1993).

The second type of accommodation service to develop in Jerusalem, outside the city walls, during the British Mandate period was intermediate properties with an average of several dozen rooms. These hotels were mainly situated in the city's central business district, on the triangle formed by the Jaffa Road, Ben Yehuda, and King George streets (Figure 1). The appearance of these hotels signified the migration of Jerusalem's Central Business District out of the city walls in a westerly direction along the Jaffa Road. These properties, catering to both domestic and international tourists, were located in the tourist-historic city (Ashworth's type E).

The third type of accommodation developed in Jerusalem during the Mandate period was family owned *pensions*. Primarily established

in the new Jewish neighborhoods, such as Rehavia, Beit Hakerem, or Talpiot (Figure 1), these *pensions* were noted for being situated in the outlying districts of the city, with particular emphasis placed on the green, open public, and private areas in these neighborhoods (Biger 1994). Situated in "nice locations" (type D), they usually provided several rooms for rent. Compared with the type of tourism associated with various hotels (which was largely incoming tourism, mainly arriving to visit the city's famous sites and remaining for relatively short periods), guests of the *pensions* were mainly local tourists who came for rest and relaxation purposes and normally stayed for longer periods.

As in the previous period, there is little evidence of accommodation development in the eastern, mainly Muslim quarters of the city (Matson 1946). It is noteworthy that the Palace Hotel—which was considered to be the jewel in the crown of Arab–Muslim accommodation services in the city during this period—was also built in the western section of the city. Similar evidence of lack of activity in the accommodation sector is found in other Muslim concentration areas at that time. This could probably be explained by sociological and cultural factors, but so far this issue has not been the focus for academic research.

The Divided City Period

Following the war of 1948, Jerusalem was divided into two sections, with the eastern sector controlled by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the western sector remained in the hands of the newly established State of Israel. The city's main attractions, or the principal components of the urban tourism product, remained in east Jerusalem under Jordanian control. These included Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Via Dolorosa, Gethsemene, the Mount of Olives, the Temple Mount, the City of David, the Western Wall, and more. Israel was left only with Mount Zion. While the primary attractions were on the Jordanian side, most of the secondary components, especially hotels, remained on the Israeli side. As already mentioned, the tourism services during the Mandate period were developed principally in the commercial districts and Jewish neighborhoods (Figure 2).

During the years 1948–1967, the status of west Jerusalem as a center of tourism declined. Most tourists to Israel during that period stayed for an average of eight days, five of which were in Tel Aviv. In general, a day-trip was made to Jerusalem where the tourists were able to view the Old City only from afar and see the Temple Mount from Mount Zion (Cohen 1987:162). While most of the tourists in west Jerusalem were American Jews who came to Israel in an effort to visit and feel part of the founding of the new state, arrivals to east Jerusalem were mainly Christian pilgrims from Western Europe. Movement between the two sectors of the city was severely restricted due to the difficulties involved in crossing the border. According to the agreement between Israel and Jordan, movements were in one direction only—from Jordan to Israel with the exception of a few religious leaders and UN personnel. Those wishing to cross the border had to hold two passports

(one for use by the Israeli and the other for the Jordanian authorities) and had to stay in Jordan for at least 56 hours prior to crossing over. Due to these difficulties, west Jerusalem gained little from tourism developed in the eastern sector in this period. In 1966, only 328,000 tourists visited Israel, compared with half a million who went to Jordan (Cohen 1987:162). The main destination for most of the latter was east Jerusalem.

This situation led to two different processes of tourism development on either side of the divided city. On the Jordanian side, a wave of hotel construction resulted in some 2,000 hotel rooms built to accommodate the tourists visiting the key sites (mainly European pilgrims coming to the Christian holy sites). Significantly, in the preceding period, with the exception of the Christian hospices in the western districts of the city, there was not even one hotel in this part of the city, with the exception of the American Colony Hotel which was not Arab-owned.

On the Israeli side, there was intensive construction of buildings and sites intended to serve the functional and symbolic purposes of the newly established state. While not built with tourism in mind, they rapidly became west Jerusalem's primary attractions. These include the tomb of Binyamin Zeev Herzl, the founder of the Zionist movement, the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial, and the military cemetery. On this side of the city, this period is considered to be one of relative depression regarding the development of new hotels, mainly because of an already existing hotel room supply. In other words, as a result of the 1948 war and the geographical separation of the primary and secondary tourism components of Jerusalem, each city side was attempting to supplement what it had been deprived of following the division.

A situation similar to that in Jerusalem took place in Berlin after the city was divided in the wake of the Second World War. Burtenshaw, Bateman and Ashworth show the changes that occurred in the spatial distribution of hotels in Berlin following its division. Most of the established hotels situated close to railroad stations were relocated due to the fact that the border between the two city parts was in close proximity to them (1981:161–180). Unlike Jerusalem, some of the primary tourism components in West Berlin were destroyed during the war and were not initially rehabilitated (this project has been undertaken at great cost in recent years along the former border), while the rest remained in East Berlin.

The leisure and vacation component developed in Jerusalem during the Mandate period in Jerusalem's suburbs (such as Beit Hakerem, Rehavia, and Talpiot) continued to exist. But there was a decline in this segment of the tourism market, which was reflected in a reduction in the number of family *pensions* in these neighborhoods. This recession could well have been the result of the difficult economic situation in Israel during the state's first years as well as the development of other tourism leisure-oriented destinations such as Netanya, Naharia, and Tiberias. Another significant process from the spatial perspective and with regard to the formation of the city skyline is the

Table 1. Tourism to Jerusalem 1970–1995[a]

Year	Number of Tourists to Israel[b]	Number of Tourists to Jerusalem[b]
1970	441	352
1975	620	496
1980	1,176	940
1985	1,436	1,148
1990	1,342	1,073
1995	2,530	2,024

[a] Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (1997), Midgam (1996).
[b] In thousands.

renewed construction of several large hotels, with 100 or more rooms. In east Jerusalem the Intercontinental Hotel should be noted, atop the Mount of Olives with almost 200 rooms and in west Jerusalem the Kings Hotel built not far from the King David Hotel (Figure 2).

The City Under Israeli Sovereignty

Following the Six Day War (June 1967), Jerusalem was united and this rapidly brought in its wake far-reaching changes in the distribution of hotels in the western part of the city. For 30 years, almost no new hotels were built in east Jerusalem and the number of rooms had even declined. Israel, which won the war, aspired to translate its victory into economic profit, and a wave of new hotel construction began in west Jerusalem which has continued up to the present time, paralleled by an increase in the number of tourists (Table 1). During this period, the number of hotel rooms grew from 1,500 to 6,000 (Table 2). New hotel concentrations were formed, at the entrance to the city as well as along the former border, and the existing concentrations in the city center have been reinforced.

The construction of large hotels after 1967 resulted in several hotels leaving their mark on the city's skyline, including the Hilton (now the Holiday Inn Crowne Plaza), the King Solomon, and the Sheraton Plaza. This aroused the objection of architects and the general public alike, which ultimately resulted in the plans for several hotels (such as the Hyatt and the Laromme) being modified and the plans for the initial format of other hotels being canceled.

The small *pensions* established during the Mandate period in the Jewish suburbs, which had begun to suffer a decline during the preceding period, started to close down in quick succession. This was the result of a number of changes which took place in terms of demand. Further development of additional destinations for local tourism (such as Eilat), preference by Israeli tourists for large, five-star hotels, and

Table 2. Hotels and Hotel Rooms in Jerusalem (1958–1995)[a]

Year	Total		East Jerusalem		West Jerusalem	
	Rooms	Hotels	Rooms	Hotels	Rooms	Hotels
1958	–	–	na	na	853	23
1966	–	–	na	na	1,155	22
1969	3,184	52	1,751	32	1,433	20
1971	3,479	53	1,730	31	1,749	22
1975	5,546	61	2,346	37	3,200	24
1985	7,326	70	2,205	39	5,121	31
1990	7,196	63	2,017	32	5,179	31
1995	7,688	63	1,976	31	5,712	32

[a] Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (1997).

transportation improvements which allow Israelis spend a day-trip in Jerusalem, have all reduced the number of hotel occupancies in the city. Moreover, these were usually family establishments and in many cases the second generation lacked the will to continue with the family business and thus many were closed.

Various efforts have been made to rehabilitate border areas which had suffered from serious physical neglect when the city was divided. Since the unification of the city a large number of projects have been carried out in order to improve the situation. Significantly, almost all efforts have been connected with tourism. More recently, after years of planning, two large projects are now nearing completion along the former border, the most prominent of which is the construction of the Mamilla Project. This mixed-use development based on the "Baltimore Model" (Jauhiainen 1995) includes luxury apartments, a commercial center, and some 800 hotel rooms managed by the Hilton corporation (Safdie 1988). Another major tourism project along the removed border is the construction of three hotels, with 1,500 rooms close to the Mandelbaum Gate, the checkpoint through which tourists crossed when Jerusalem was divided. The widespread use of tourism for revitalization purposes is not surprising, as this industry has been extensively used as a lever for regenerating city centers in the last quarter of the 20th century (Law 1992; Owen 1990; Robertson 1995). These large hotels, which are part of urban regeneration schemes on the fringes of the Central Business District relate to Ashworth's type E.

At present, European tourists, particularly Christian pilgrims, more than any other type, tend to favor cheaper rooms located in the eastern part of the city (Table 3). By contrast, tourists from North America, the majority of them Jewish, tend to reside in the more expensive hotels in the western part of the city.

In addition to the hotels, new properties have also gained popularity

Table 3. Person-Nights in West and East Jerusalem (1995)[a]

Area	Other Countries[b]	Europe[b]	America[b]	Total[b]
Jerusalem	520.4	1242.2	1113.1	2875.7
West	448	786.1	1009.8	2243.9
East	72.4	456.1	103.3	631.8

[a] Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (1997).
[b] In thousands.

during this period. These are developed in order to serve younger tourists, commonly known as "backpackers" (Cohen 1973; Loker-Murphy and Pearce 1995; Riley 1988). These properties are rather small, possessing only a few rooms and several dozen beds at most, and they attempt to meet a demand which gained popularity during the 1970s. Jerusalem now has three key concentrations of hostels (Figure 2): the Jaffa Gate area, the Nablus Gate area, and the near the Central Business District. It is worth noting that this accommodation sector is small relative to those of European cities, probably due to the existence of the numerous Christian hospices in the city which also provide reasonable accommodation for backpackers. The latter, which are the oldest form of accommodation in Jerusalem, continue to operate in the current period too. In 1994, 25 Christian hospices operated in Jerusalem, ten in west Jerusalem and the rest in the eastern part. Overall these provide 1,482 beds with 988 located in the east and 484 in the west (Central Bureau of Statistics 1997; Ministry of Tourism 1996).

Towards the end of this fourth period of the paper, the process whereby accommodation services were moving out of the central city to the fringes of the metropolitan area had increased and is expected to continue doing so in the future. These hotels could be characterized as F type according to Ashworth's model.

CONCLUSION

The accommodation sector in Jerusalem underwent far-reaching changes in terms of both the location and type that evolved during the 150 year period. This transformation is directly in line with the model proposed by Ashworth (1989) regarding the development of accommodation services in medium sized tourist-historic cities. However, in the case of Jerusalem, there are several more possibilities for explanation of the changes related to the accommodation sector. Ashworth used factors such as technological advances in transportation, access, land values, environmental convenience, historical continuity,

and land use policies as possible explanations for changes in the location of accommodation. In the case of Jerusalem, there are additional factors, such as the political upheavals that occurred in Jerusalem and in the Land of Israel during the examined period, and the social and cultural differences between the two largest population groups in the city: Jews and Muslims.

During the four periods of this study, the city changed hands from the rule of the Ottoman Empire to that of the British Empire. This change in control was not expressed merely by the fact that dominance over the city passed from Islamic rule to Christian rule, but also by the fact that the British restored to Jerusalem its standing as the capital city. Ultimately, following the termination of the British mandate and the War of Independence in 1948 (that erupted as a result of the city being divided in two between the newly formed State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan), the western part of the city became the capital of the State of Israel in 1949. This division led to a situation whereby most of the tourist sites remained in the eastern part of the city under Jordanian rule, while most of the accommodation services remained in the western part of the city under Israeli rule. This led to a parallel process of adaptation on both sides of the urban frontier: New tourist sites began being created in the western part of the city, while the eastern part experienced an accelerated construction of hotels. This process came to a halt during the Six Day War (1967), in the wake of which the city was united under Israeli rule, as it remains to this day.

The Israeli dominance over the city brought about the appearance of another process, involving the rapid development of the hotel sector in the western part of the city, while granting various investment incentives to Israeli entrepreneurs. In parallel, the different authorities began developing tourism sites in the eastern part of the city, with an emphasis being placed on the development of those with an Israeli and Jewish orientation, so as to amplify the Israeli nature of the part that was annexed to the western city. A new trend of touristic development has been observed in the last decade, consisting primarily of the establishment of hotels on the urban frontier line, that suffered from physical and social neglect during the years that the city was divided.

Although Jerusalem is a truly unique city in the world in both religious and symbolic terms, this still does not serve to transform the case analyzed in this paper into a singular case possessing no conceptual relevance beyond itself. Like Jerusalem, there are numerous cities (including Berlin, Nicosia, and Belfast) that have undergone similar processes of changes in domination and even of the physical partitioning of the city. Even more cities worldwide are characterized by a prominent internal urban division according to ethnic origin. It follows that, to the network of explanations pursuant to the Ashworth Model, the implementation of which was attempted in the case of Jerusalem, should also be added the ethnic and political components. These are central in the explanation of the changes in the development of the

accommodation sector, primarily in the case of cities which are div-
ided, whether politically or ethnically. ▪

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