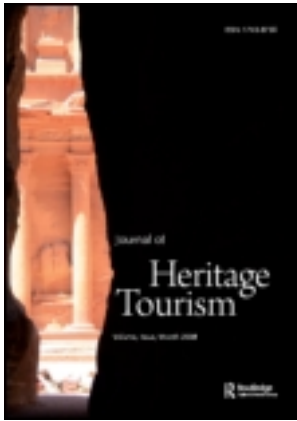


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Public involvement and tourism planning in a historic city: the case of the Old City of Jerusalem

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RESEARCH NOTE

Public involvement and tourism planning in a historic city: the case of the Old City of Jerusalem

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One of the most widely discussed parameters in the field of tourism management and development concerns the issue of the cooperation and involvement of the public in decision-making processes. In regions characterized by various types of conflicts, questions regarding tourism management and development and the role of the local populations in these processes are political and ethical issues of the highest degree for the society and culture of that location. The aim of this article is to present the tremendous political sensitivity regarding the status of the Old City of Jerusalem, since there is no consensus on its political status which is one of the major stumbling blocks to finding a solution to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The purpose of this article is not to propose a solution to the political conflict of which Jerusalem is part, but rather to argue for the central place that should be devoted to tourism in a future solution, and within that, to emphasize the involvement and cooperation of the public in the processes of tourism management and development and how in the case of Jerusalem it should be implemented in East Jerusalem and particularly in the Old City.

Keywords: public involvement; historical cities; peace; Jerusalem

Introduction

In the recent years, one of the most widely discussed parameters in the field of tourism management and development concerns the issue of the cooperation and involvement of the public in decision-making processes (Dredge, 2010; Hampton, 2005; Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2011; Mei, Arcodia, & Ruhanen, 2012). These are particularly complex in inhabited historical cities such as the Old City of Jerusalem which are fraught with economic, social, and political sensitivities (Bollens, 1998; Calame & Charlesworth, 2009; Meiron & Bar, 2009; Shachar & Shoval, 1999; Shoval & Cohen-Hattab, 2001). In regions characterized by various types of conflicts, questions regarding tourism management and development and the role of the local populations in these processes are political and ethical issues of the highest degree for the society and culture of that location (Bahaire & Elliott-White, 1999; Haley, Snaith, & Miller, 2005; Maitland, 2006; Snaith & Haley, 1999; Tweed & Sutherland, 2007). And, indeed, there is a tremendous political sensitivity regarding the Old City of Jerusalem, since the ultimate political status of the city has yet to be determined. This uncertainty is considered to be one of the major stumbling blocks to finding a solution to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Since the Six-Day War of 1967, Jerusalem's Old City has

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been under Israeli rule. The Palestinian residents of the eastern part of the city, including those of the Old City, do not recognize Israeli sovereignty over East Jerusalem and, therefore, do not participate in municipal elections. Although the Old City of Jerusalem appeared on the UNESCO list of sites in danger due to crowding and stressful conditions in 1982 (Lapidot, 2002), these conditions have improved greatly. Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem have much to gain by cooperating with tourism-related development and planning as hotel owners and as owners of businesses in the heart of areas tourists visit both in the Old City and in the area immediately surrounding it.

The purpose of this article is not to propose a solution to the political conflict of which Jerusalem is part, but rather to argue that tourism may very well play an important role in a future solution, and within that, to emphasize the involvement and cooperation of the public in the processes of tourism management and development in East Jerusalem and particularly in the Old City.¹

The Old City of Jerusalem is a leading tourism anchor in the state of Israel. The number of visits to the city by tourists, Israelis, and Jerusalem residents comes to about seven million a year and is constantly increasing (Pasternak, 2008). The physical infrastructure of the Old City, however, is inadequate for handling large numbers of visitors. In considerable parts of the Old City, there is high residential density and in other sections, during certain periods, there is a great deal of congestion in areas that tourists visit. In the recent years, the government of Israel through the Jerusalem Development Authority, the Municipality of Jerusalem, and the Antiquities Authority has initiated activities toward the renovation and preservation of the Old City of Jerusalem by promoting a sustainable process in an attempt to propose ways to limit the effect of conflicts on everyday life in the Old City. Some of these proposed solutions are based on the experience of public involvement in other historic cities.

Both the process involved in the planning and the resulting suggestions sought to examine ways to find a balance among three deeply intertwined areas that have been identified as central to the life of the city by using built heritage as a connecting thread among them.

The living city: There is a need to reinforce the Old City as a living, effervescent fabric in which over 35,000 people dwell, attend school, work, shop, and attend to their daily routines. *Reinforcement of institutions and public buildings:* Many of these represent the cultural, religious, and historical heritage of the three monotheistic religions.

Tourism: Management and development of tourism of all types and varieties including religious tourism (pilgrimage), heritage and cultural tourism, local as well as international tourism, and integration of tourism into the general urban fabric.

The tourism plan that crystallized is based on many studies conducted both in Israel and abroad concerning tourist–historic cities, on various plans concerning Jerusalem and the Old City in particular, including plans by the Ministry of Tourism (1993, 1996a, 1996b), the Jerusalem Municipality (2003, 2007a, 2007b), the Company for the Reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter (2002), and the Welfare Association (2003). The plan also reviewed official statistics on various topics related to tourism which were published by the Central Bureau of Statistics (Hoshen, 2010), as well as additional surveys carried out in the recent years that examined further aspects of the tourist facets of the city, such as surveys by the Dahaf Research Institute (1993a, 1993b), the Geocartography Institute (Dagani & Dagani, 2007, 2009), and the Jerusalem Transportation Master Plan (Kraus, 2008). To complete the picture, a survey of commercial activity (the Jerusalem Development Authority, 2008) was carried out within the framework of the proposed plan as well as a survey of visitors. In addition, interviews were held with those in responsible positions including site operators and guides.

The article is divided into three main parts: the first will present the guidelines for action found in the general research literature relevant to policies and practices in historic cities which enable them to function as modern tourist–historic cities. These principles concern the field of preservation, participation of the public, and accepted development patterns for tourist–historic cities. The second part focuses on a number of salient characteristics in the realm of tourism in the Old City of Jerusalem, including an analysis of supply and demand within the tourism system, with emphasis on an analysis of points of congestion as well as the effect of factors related to the tourism situation report on the Old City. In light of the current situation which makes Jerusalem a unique case requiring the application of particular principles of action, the third part focuses on recommended ways to manage tourism within the space of the Old City of Jerusalem, including reference to management of the demands, administration of space, and the involvement of the public in the various processes.

Theoretical background

In the recent years, many historic cities have been forced to cope with a reality of over-consumption of the local infrastructure supply at different types of heritage sites versus a growing demand for land uses, an increase in social conflict between local residents and visitors, and the dramatic environmental effects of tourism. These considerations have contributed to the adoption of a policy of sustainable development and to the use of the concept *sustainable tourism* in order to manage this new reality. It is clear that the current situation requires intervention, regulation, and joint management of the physical and social fabric (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Currently, the major emphasis given to tourism management is the link to society and culture, as well as the development of an awareness of local preservation. In contrast to the end of the nineteenth century, when the emphasis was on salvaging and preserving existing sites, we now speak in terms of Heritage Planning and Heritage Consumption (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000; Duncan, Robertson, & Guerrier, 1998; Shackley, 1998, 2001). Thus, for example, the case of the historic city Cambridge, England, illustrates how the tourist planning and management of the city operates both to protect the city and to direct the flow of tourists in order to find a point of equilibrium between increasing profits from tourism on the one hand, and coping with the problems tourism creates, on the other (Maitland, 2006). Planning and development policy will consider ways in which the effects of these changes in Cambridge and other cities can be applied to the case of Jerusalem.

A number of studies on directing tourism to various historic cities reveal that there is no single model for managing tourism to such cities (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000, p. 138). Yet, at the same time, different test cases inform us about similar patterns for policy on development and preservation of sites, about the involvement of the relevant ‘players’ in decision-making processes, such as the participation of the public, or about the degree of implementation of various development programs (Russo & van der Borg, 2000). Within this framework, one of the most widely discussed parameters in the recent years in the discourse on preservation and sustainability of tourism management concerns the issue of the participation of the public and the aspiration to decentralize the decision-making processes. Policies for sustainable tourism, especially in inhabited historic cities of social and urban sensitivities such as the Old City of Jerusalem, strive to focus on interdependence between representatives of the tourism industry, on the one hand, and representatives of the local community and groups concerned with the environment, on the other, in a cooperative effort to improve the quality of life of the local residents and to preserve the sources

of local heritage and culture. The vested interests of residents of the Old City in maintaining and improving their quality of life makes them valuable partners in the tourism planning process as has been demonstrated in other cities.

The current approach to urban planning and management stresses the need for the planning and management to be intersectoral, with the involvement of all interested players including local and national government, private businesses, groups of local residents and individuals who are most likely to be affected by the tourism development. At the same time, the major and very significant challenge is to involve the local residents in the planning processes in which various groups among the community with different needs come to an agreement *during* the development stage. There are many ways to engage all the players concerned with tourism development, including ongoing satisfaction surveys among residents and visitors, educational curricula that emphasize the importance of the tourism industry for local society, formation of advisory groups and professional committees to study and teach the topics that arise during the development process, ongoing public hearings on the results of research, public participation in the planning processes, and the reception of operative proposals to be carried out (Amit-Cohen, 2002; Caffyn & Lutz, 1999; Hampton, 2005; Reid, Heather, & George, 2004; Timothy, 1999).

Participation and involvement of the public in the management process from the stage of tourist planning, preservation, and even development is complicated in any event, but is made more difficult when the concerned site is part of political, national, cultural, or religious conflict. One of the most prominent examples of this tension is illustrated by events of the past decade in Nazareth in northern Israel. This city, of great importance to Christianity, contains a number of the holiest sites for Christians. Until the mid-twentieth century, most of the city's inhabitants were Christians, but for a number of decades now the majority are Muslims, and the Christians are an ever-decreasing minority. A few recent studies of Nazareth have looked into the tourism development in this city from the standpoint of the local population. In preparation for the Nazareth 2000 events, many decisions were made in the city which did not take into consideration the needs of the local population in planning and implanting programs. This led to the alienation of the local population from the events. The local population not only did not benefit economically from the events but felt their interests were harmed by the upheaval. The studies found that the religious identity of the population occupied and still holds a central place concerning the city's heritage and the directions of its tourism development. The recommendations of the different studies were for more participation of the different sectors in tourist planning, preservation, and development in order to attain optimal success in these areas (Cohen-Hattab & Shoval, 2007; Uriely, Israeli, & Reichel, 2002, 2003).

Another pattern of development discussed in the literature on involving local residents in tourism planning is found in the example of tourism development in Bruges, Belgium. The historic city of Bruges was declared the cultural center of Europe in 2002, and, as a result, a policy called 'the concentration model' in tourism development was applied which limited tourism to a distinct, designated area within the historic city, where the major historical-cultural attractions are found. Studies at the end of the 1990s which examined the responses of the residents of the inner tourist city and other parts of the historic city found great satisfaction both among residents living in the area of tourism development and those living near it, both of whom consider tourism as a potential source of economic prosperity which can improve the quality of life in those areas. In Bruges, a balance was reached between the two population groups within the historic city through a process that included

all of the residents of the city from the early stages of the planning and in which each group pointed out the advantages (and the disadvantages) from its vantage point in the tourist–historic city that was taking shape (Beerhaert & Desimpelaere, 2001; Russo, 2000). This serves as an important example for future development in the Old City of Jerusalem, where the involvement of diverse groups can benefit all of the residents of the Old City, who contribute to tourism development from the earliest stages of planning.

At a conference on the topic ‘Tourist Management in Heritage Cities’, an attempt was made to reach a number of generalizations and joint principles which would suggest strategies for managing tourism in historic cities and heritage sites with the emphasis on the place of the environment and the local resident: from an approach that sees the growth of tourism as a threat to preservation and heritage in general to an approach that views tourism development as a worthwhile strategy for the stabilization and preservation of heritage in a sustainable manner; from a top-down approach to managing tourism with similar tools for treating each case, to a realistic management bottom-up approach which provides proportional solutions for specific problems; from limited and sectoral planning to integral, broad sweeping planning; from rigid rules and planning instruments to a more relaxed approach for managing tourism that is based on giving economic incentives and the decentralizing authorities to the local level; from a policy of managing the demands to a more complex and thereby more balanced policy that puts the stress on managing supply and demand simultaneously, and while doing so, emphasizing a suitable environmental policy; from an approach that says ‘the government does everything’ to a policy that guides the government to local needs; from an approach of a limited, formal policy of decision-making to an approach by local government which opens the process to informal players (Russo & van der Borg, 2000).

Another example in the research literature of the ‘bottom-up’ approach used to direct sustainable tourism in a historic city can be found in the study of tourism development in the historic city of York, England. In this city, the tourism industry grew from about 1.5 million tourists in the mid-1970s to some 4 million in the 1990s and this increase has continued. The relatively recent increase in tourism to York makes it a good example for public involvement in tourism planning in Jerusalem. A partnership was established in the city between the local public and private sectors called the Tourism Strategy Forum in which emphasis was given to sustainable development and community involvement. In order to engage the inhabitants in the development planning and to respond to their needs, before restoration actions were taken in different part of the Old City, some 3000 residents participated in a survey regarding the selection of the final plan. There were consultations with organizations for the disabled, retirees, bicycle riders, and pedestrians before the final plan was authorized. As part of the program, ‘a weekend for the residents’ was offered once a year in which everyone residing in York was invited to enjoy the attractions and museums at no cost. The purpose of this initiative was to compensate residents for the inconvenience they experienced throughout the year as a result of the influx of tourists, as well as to interest them and educate them about the city’s heritage in order to make them active partners in encouraging tourism. And, indeed, the citizens of York identified deeply with their heritage and their city, to the point that they established the ‘Association of Volunteer Guides’, whose members lead trips throughout the city. These tours are very popular and attract tourists interested in meeting the ‘real’ people of York (Bahaire & Elliot-White, 1999; Meethan, 1996).

The case of York shows that the greater the involvement and participation of the local community in the tourism industry, the more likely it is that the development of this industry will match their needs and increase the chances for success. Development of tourism in a

manner congruent with the values of the local society contributes toward a positive attitude among the residents, and thus the value of the tourist experience for the visitor also increases (Orbaşlı, 2000; Page & Hall, 2003). Adoption of some of the principles of public involvement in Jerusalem would involve all segments of the population of the city who stand to benefit from increasing the number of tourists to the city without disturbance to residents.

The state of research

An examination of the state of research on the place of tourism in the Old City of Jerusalem in particular and in the life of Greater Jerusalem in general shows that the research yield is not especially great and the Old City as a separate research unit has almost been overlooked. An examination of the development of tourism in Jerusalem during the time of the British Mandate is particularly relevant because during this period (1917–1948), Jerusalem was a united city, and for the first time, the attraction of Jerusalem was not only as a religious city attracting religious pilgrimages from all three religions as it had been in previous periods, but as a city which attracted diverse tourists with interests in the cultural and historical aspects of the city as well. During the British Mandate period, an actual tourist revolution occurred in the city, one which, in many aspects, turned it also into a modern, sophisticated tourist center for that time, which put it on the map of international tourism for the first time (Cohen-Hattab, 2001, 2006). These changes foreshadowed current tourism developments in the city.

Another study was devoted to an examination of the development of hospitality services in Greater Jerusalem during the past 150 years, from the beginning of the process of emerging from the walls through today, but this work cannot tell us what happened in the field of hospitality services in the Old City itself (Shoval & Cohen-Hattab, 2001). Other research reviewed the patterns of tourists' spatial activity in Jerusalem. The pioneering study in this direction is that by Bowman on pilgrimage groups in the city. The conclusion of the study was that these groups that visited Jerusalem were distinctive in that they visited different sites at different times (Bowman, 1991). In his doctoral dissertation, Shoval focused on this direction of research and developed a theoretical and empirical approach to the topic of patterns of tourist spatial activity. In his studies, the tourists' religion was found to be of supreme importance and a central factor which explained the nature of the division in the needs of tourists in city space (Shoval, 2001; Shoval & Raveh, 2004). Another study identified different models of spatial activity by groups of tourists in Jerusalem based on national and religious differences and showed that the various national groups in Jerusalem have distinctly separate tourist spaces (Shachar & Shoval, 1999). An exception is a study on transportation in the Old City of Jerusalem, one of the few works to relate to the Old City as a separate research unit and to treat the question related to the issue of the development of tourism in it directly. The focus of the study was on the management of the accessibility to objectives with reference to infrastructures and means of transportation. The results showed that the problems of accessibility stem from a combination of several factors: an insufficient transportation infrastructure, environmental problems rooted in the harsh topography and urban density, operational tourism problems that derive from uncoordinated management of sites or of their limited carrying capacity and planning problems stemming from a lack of surveys and budget (Israeli & Mansfeld, 2003). The study concludes with a number of strategies for improving accessibility to the Old City several of which have been taken into consideration and will be presented in a discussion of the plan of action for tourism management.

Tourism in the Old City of Jerusalem – analysis of the current situation

Characteristics of the tourism supply – sites and arteries

An examination of the maps, guidebooks, and close familiarity with the area informs us that in the Old City of Jerusalem and its nearby environs, there are approximately 100 sites. In most cases, mainly within the walls of the Old City, there is congruence between the religious affiliations of the site and the geographic location of each one of the sites found within the boundaries of one of the four quarters of the Old City: Jewish sites in the Jewish Quarter, Muslim sites in the Muslim Quarter, Christian sites in the Christian Quarter, and Armenian sites in the Armenian Quarter. Similarly, there are sites without any definite religious ascription, such as archeological sites and museums inside and outside the walls, sites in the eastern part of the city, sites on the Mount of Olives, sites on Mount Zion, and in the City of David. The nearby sites outside the walls constitute, in many instances, part of the tour routes that include the sites within the walls. The marketplaces in the Old City are lively commercial areas, which serve the local residents as well as the various visitors, and are attractive additions to the historical and archeological heritage of the city.

An examination of cultural activity in the Old City, the festivals, performances, and different ways of life of local residents show us that the Old City is not only a unique architectural, historical, religious center, but also a focal point which includes gastronomic experiences reflecting local life and customs, traditions of dress and many other, varied areas of culture that have accompanied the city for many generations. Undoubtedly, a pivotal component in attracting a variety of visitors to the Old City is the plethora of different colors, aromas, liveliness, and religious rituals that greet the visitors entering its gates. The unique cultural mix of the Old City is very exciting and creates an unforgettable, unique experience for visitors. The tremendous range of oriental style shops, souvenir shops, stores offering colorful textiles, and the varieties of ethnic food all contribute to the attractiveness and uniqueness of the Old City of Jerusalem.

Numbers of visitors

Jerusalem serves as a leading target for most of the inbound tourism to Israel, especially since the Six-Day War which was the beginning of Israeli sovereignty over the eastern part of the city. Due to a lack of separate registration regarding characteristics of tourist requests for the Old City itself, the discussion below assumes that an overwhelming number of tourists, if not all the tourists coming to Jerusalem, visit the Old City, which constitutes a basic anchor for visits to the city. Estimates of the number of visitors to the Old City in 2007 show that 7,100,200 people visited according to the following division: tourists – 1,031,900 (14.5%), Israelis, Jews, and Arabs, from outside metropolitan Jerusalem; 3,462,400 (48.7%), residents of metropolitan Jerusalem, |Jews, and Arabs; 2,612,900 (36.7%) (Pasternak, 2008). These data show that the great majority of Old City visitors are residents of Israel from different ethnic groups in contrast to the relatively small number of tourists from elsewhere. A future estimate, based on the current rate of growth, yields that in 2015 close to 10,000,000 people will visit in the Old City; in 2020, 11,183,000; in 2025, 13,745, 800; and in 2030, 17,425,100 (Pasternak, 2008). These figures were the basis for recognizing the need for reorganization of management of the expected growth of future tourism.

Focal points of tourist congestion

Within the framework of the planning endeavor, a number of surveys and specific examinations were made at designated sites and arteries for the purpose of locating focal points of

tourism congestion and bottlenecks along the different arteries and at sites in the Old City.² The results showed that most of the heavy traffic on the main arteries in the Old City stemmed from movement of the local population and domestic tourism and not from foreign tourism. Similarly, no direct connection was found between the heavy traffic on the arteries and the traffic at the different tourist sites, apparently because the greater part of the traffic on the main arteries comes from the local population. Moreover, the source of the heavy traffic in the Old City comes from local events and religious holidays of Muslims, Jews, and Christians and not from foreign tourism, a fact that must be taken into consideration in developing future plans. The following examples are meant to illustrate both the uniqueness of each site and to suggest strategies that could be used in a variety of places to streamline visits of tourists and pilgrims.

Church of the Holy Sepulcher

The church is the most important site for Orthodox Christians, Armenians, and Catholics as well as other visitors who do not necessarily visit for religious reasons. Many groups of pilgrims who come to the Old City follow the route of the Via Dolorosa, which has 14 stations, the last 5 of which are located within the church itself – the final 1 being the Holy Sepulcher. There are two main locations of bottlenecks for visitors to the church: the first, at its entrance, which is used for both entering and exiting; and the second, the narrow entrance to the structure of the chapel of the Sepulcher (Edicule), which can only hold a few worshippers at a time resulting in a long line for those who wish to pray there.³ In the current situation, any increase in the number of visitors to the church necessitates finding solutions to the severe crowding that will result. In the tourist plans prepared in the recent years, there is reference to this issue and a number of solutions have been suggested (Kurtz, 1997, pp. 65–66), though not as yet implemented, and the problematic situation remains.

The area of the Haram al-Sharif/the Temple Mount and the Western Wall

The most important site for Muslim visitors to the Old City is Haram al-Sharif. This site is referred to by Jews as the Temple Mount, and it is the holiest site for Judaism. From the Middle Ages, the Western Wall of the Temple Mount became the main site for Jewish prayer in the Old City. Nearby, to the south, are the excavations of the Southern Wall (Davidson Center), which serve as an archeological attraction for a wide range of visitors. In the area of Haram al-Sharif congestion from Muslim worshippers is great especially on Muslim holidays such as Eid al-Fitr, the holy days following the month of the Ramadan fast. The same is true of the Western Wall, considered today the leading site in Israel as far as the number of visitors per year, with the greatest congestion during the Jewish holidays. In contrast to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, however, the open plaza at the foot of the Wall can accommodate a very large number of visitors. There is a special deployment by the Israel Police in the Old City and its immediate environs during the holiday seasons of the different religions. Recently, these activities include transportation management of the traffic to the Old City and within it, including closing the section within the walls to vehicular traffic.

The Jewish Quarter

This part of the Old City constitutes the major magnet for Jewish visitors as well as other visitors throughout the year and especially on holidays and the intermediate days of festival weeks. The main bottleneck within the boundaries of the quarter occurs along the commercial streets, mainly Tiferet Yisrael Street in the direction of the Rabbi Judah Halevi steps leading to

the Western Wall. In the recent years, there is an intense increase in traffic along this route. The planners of the reconstructed Jewish Quarter after 1967 decided to separate commercial activity from the residences of the local inhabitants, and for that purpose they designated the plaza of the Quarter and Tiferet Yisrael Street as areas for commercial tourism activity although the tourism planning for the Jewish Quarter at that time was directed mainly toward foreign tourism which was not as extensive as it is today (Kroyanker, 1988). The model of the city of Bruges demonstrates how such a model was successfully applied. Currently, however, the increase in activity of all visitors, including a large majority of Israelis, is detrimental to the conceptual basis of the original planning of the Quarter. Visits in high seasons – such as during Jewish holiday periods – as well by various groups of students and soldiers who have been visiting the Old City by the thousands in the recent years, all place a heavy burden on the existing infrastructure of the quarter.

The input of local residents in finding solutions, the nature of the site, the wishes and expectations of the visitors and the existing physical and economic possibilities, must be taken into consideration at each site. Crowding is not an unequivocal parameter and that response to it will not be the same for all those who come to a particular site. For pilgrims who come for religious motives to religious sites, it may be that crowding at the site will be a positive experience, for example, at the Western Wall plaza or the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, while for those who come to these sites for other than religious reasons, crowding at these sites may detract from the experience of their visit and make them feel very uncomfortable.

Transportation and access to site

The transportation system that surrounds and reaches the Old City is overburdened serving both the residents and the visitors. The 'Park and Ride' system is limited and operates only a few times throughout the year. Moreover, the grid of pathways between the walls is a historical system composed on the whole solely of pedestrian passageways, which greatly limits its expansion and adaptation to the growing needs and to the characteristics of modern tourism. The supply of parking for tourists within and near the walls does not match the demand. The total number of parking spaces in the parking lots and along the streets within the walls is 560 for buses and private cars. Closing the parking lots on the Sabbath [Saturday] increases the pressure even more on weekends and creates an insufferable situation for parking in the area (Israeli & Mansfeld, 2003; Kraus, 2008). Data from the latest surveys show the need for immediate solutions in light of the great use made of public transportation and private vehicles: it turns out that half the Jews come to the Old City in private cars, one-third come by public transportation, mainly by bus, and 17% come on foot. The residents of East Jerusalem mostly come on foot (59%). The Haredim (ultra-Orthodox Jews) reach the Old City mainly on buses (54%), while secular and traditional Jews come in private cars (Dagani & Dagani, 2007). From the recent surveys, we learn that also in the field of spatial management of the visitors within the areas of the Old City and its near environs, there is a great deal of room for improvement: it was found that the signage directing visitors to various sites is insufficient and not uniform and there is a need for a main information station or for area information centers.⁴

Population density in the Old City

There is one principle influential factor directly linked to tourism development in the Old City of Jerusalem. The city between the walls is also an important center which provides services to many of the city's residents, mainly Muslims, who do not live within its boundaries. The

extent of its influence, therefore, widely exceeds the narrow geographic boundaries of the area between the walls. Close to 10,000 pupils, boys and girls, members of the three religions, study in various educational institutions within the Old City and enter the Old City every day from all parts of Jerusalem. The difficult socio-economic situation created in the Old City in the recent years is exacerbated in particular by the building of the security fence around Jerusalem, which spurred the scope of migration of the Arab population to the Old City. There is a great demand for housing there despite the crowded living conditions in the Muslim Quarter, an area already in poor physical condition. Living conditions have gotten worse and economic and communal development have deteriorated including a decline in the amount of public space and in buildings or structures of interest to different visitors. The continuous growth of the population, mainly in the Muslim Quarter, can be attributed to a number of factors: a lack of alternative housing solutions in Jerusalem, relatively low prices for housing, and the desire of the population to live near the holy sites, particularly Haram al-Sharif/the Temple Mount. Data collected thus far attest that the physical condition of the Muslim Quarter is worse than in the other sections of the Old City and that municipal investment in the development of the infrastructures and their maintenance does not match the rate of growth and development in the quarter. One of the conclusions which can be drawn from this analysis is that the success or failure of tourism development in the Old City depends to a great extent on how the issue of population density is dealt with. With an eye on the positive, tourism can serve as a hoist for the improvement of the community's economic situation and make it possible to increase private and public investment in rehabilitation and preservation of the elements, the monuments, and the urban fabric that forge the atmosphere of the site.

In light of the information presented here on the current situation of tourism in the Old City of Jerusalem and the guidelines for action found in the general research literature on recommended strategies for modern tourist-historic cities, the following section of the article offers a number of steps for involving the public in the various processes of tourism management within the space of the Old City of Jerusalem including management of the needs, transportation, and mobility.

Tourism management – a plan of action

Consolidation of a plan for managing demand

A plan must be consolidated for managing demand that will focus on how the local population can be involved in policy planning regarding management of the sites, directing the flow of visitor traffic, providing accommodations and marketing. These all must be done from the overall perspective that the Old City which is part of the complex of Greater Jerusalem.

Supply

Local residents can contribute to the recommendations in examining possibilities for intervention in the operating hours of the various sites, in order to expand the time for visits, and to diffuse the pressure of visitors to these sites and along the main arteries. In addition, encouraging visits to less-known sites on the visitors' routes in the Old City and its nearby environs, such as the Rockefeller Museum, and to 'clusters' of sites close to the Old City such as the sites on the Mount of Olives has the potential of alleviating pressure during peak hours.

To be sure, it is recommended to adopt the principle of the ‘concentration model’ presented above and to continue to focus the main effort on existing tourist areas, but it is also worthwhile to consider a certain expansion of the borders of these areas and to include within them some parts of the Christian and, in particular, the Muslim Quarters. Tourism development projects that are suitable for these areas could potentially reduce the gaps in the level of physical development and the socio-economic status among the different quarters in the Old City.

Within the framework of supply management, it is recommended to establish a system that would update and provide information in real time about the current operating hours of sites and the expected waiting time to enter them. This could be provided both to tourists who have mobile phones and to travel agents and tour guides. Similarly, we could reexamine the feasibility of an approved, safe tourist route on the basis of a promenade on the rooftops of the Old City. This would provide an alternative to the overcrowding on the existing routes and look-out points, and would provide a convenient and interesting way to visit the market arteries through alternate routes.

Demand

As part of the effort that must be focused on the domain of tourism demand, it is imperative (or necessary) to make a distinction between manageable segments and those which are less amenable to management. It is important to differentiate between demands typical of tourists from abroad, which center on the desire for a historical and religious experience in the city, and the desire of Israelis many of whom would want to have more evening activities as well as attractions and activities for the whole family.

Another suggested development model is the monitoring and simulation approach on the basis of a depiction of the current situation, which leads to the distribution of the demands over time and space. The concept is ‘management of change’, operating a continuous ‘sensor’ that will identify the changes taking place and consolidate appropriate ways to respond, a concept which has been recommended in the case of the Old City of Jerusalem. A sensitivity test concerning the carrying capacity of sites and routes showed that in addition to the physical characteristics of the site, the data for the capacity of sites depend upon a variety of other factors such as an escort at the entrance to the site, prayer service times, who the visitors are, the weather, and more. The parameters that influence the sensitivity test of the carrying capacity of arteries might be dependent on the width of the street, the height of the sides, or exposure to the sky. The goal of the monitoring process is to create a system for decision-making and the implementation of decisions that will be dynamic and be flexible enough to meet the needs of current as well as changing circumstances. This will facilitate a suitable and fitting tourism system for the Old City and for its complex cultural and physical needs.

Marketing and information

Marketing efforts should be addressed to selected tourist populations and differential support systems with varying incentives for people with relatively high ability for outlays should be constructed. At the same time, marketing efforts should be directed toward low-season accommodation occupancy and emphasis should be given to holding events during these periods. This should be followed by the consolidation of designated business packages through a local think tank and an examination of their suitability to different types of visitor populations versus the various tourism marketers. The formulation of a recommended marketing image will be made following the suggestions of the experts. Promoting the issue

of information for the visitor would be carried out by establishing information counters for tourists and/or making use of roving hosts during peaks times and days. Similarly, it is anticipated that technological improvement in the tourism information system will provide ongoing updates on a user-friendly internet site which will become one of the cornerstones of the marketing and advertising system for the Old City of Jerusalem. This would function alongside an interface with advanced smart phones. Furthermore, suggestions have been made to consider tracking and monitoring tourism movements in the Old City in order to provide to visitors with expected waiting times at specific sites.

Accommodations

For those particular places in the Old City that were found to be appropriate for providing additional accommodation services, the obtaining of permits should be promoted for and expansion of this type of construction, suitable to the nature of the local building, encouraged. Incentives to encourage further development of accommodation services in the Old City, improvement of the existing inventory and expansion of current hotels, and improvement of the infrastructure in the area of the existing hotels should be carried out within the framework of the existing possibilities from an analysis of the space. Similarly, formulating a plan for establishing a program for renting apartments and rooms in the Old City for those interested in doing so, as in other historic cities around the world would be beneficial. This system would make use of the various types of available advertising and especially the internet, which as noted will play a vital role in tourism activity in the Old City. Moreover, opportunities should be expanded for spending time in the Old City in the evening by providing incentives to encourage entertainment programs on weekends in the hotels for tourists and the general public in locations that could be adapted for this.

A plan for transportation and spatial management

In light of the many problems that arose in the analysis of the current transportation situation, a number of the ideas which have appeared in the various transportation plans published in the recent years should be put into practice. In the sphere of motor transportation, the suggestion was to immediately limit the entry of private cars as a comprehensive, general answer among many other suggestions. As a part of this, it would be worthwhile to incorporate year-round the method instituted by the police on holidays and other peak periods which would limit entry of private cars to the Old City and change the traffic arrangements at the surrounding intersections. Encouragement should be given to the 'Park and Ride' solution and to the promotion of local solutions for additional parking and drop-off spaces around the Old City. It is recommended to immediately expedite maximize usage of the existing parking areas around the city and to allow them to be used the Sabbath, despite the protest of the ultra-Orthodox population of Jerusalem.

In the realm of pedestrian management in the Old City, and particularly in reference to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher: on the assumption that it is not possible to intervene in the religious arrangements customary in the church, it is recommended to encourage decentralizing the flow of tourists into the church by encouraging heritage tourism to visit there during unconventional hours. Similarly, it is proposed to extend the visiting hours of the Via Dolorosa by means of illuminating the route and to enable the passage of pilgrims at night. In view of the tremendous increase in visitors to the Jewish Quarter, especially the Tiferet Yisrael route, tourists in this area should be encouraged to use alternative arteries. This, of course, would be possible only after an in-depth examination that includes the Old City Administration and input from local residents.

Plan for the development of awareness of public involvement and participation

The main stage in the plan of action proffered for tourism development in the Old City of Jerusalem is the consolidation of a strategy for increasing the involvement and participation of the local population in the plans and development steps in the field of tourism. A few examples of that can be cited: an ongoing public hearing on planning processes and approval of recommendations for implementation; conducting continuous satisfaction surveys among visitors and residents, differentiating between local residents who earn their livelihood from tourism and those who do not directly benefit from tourism. Incentives could be provided to the latter. As part of finding solutions to these issues, it is recommended to encourage all the residents involved in tourist work in the city through the establishment of a 'Guides Association' from among the residents of the Old City who themselves would lead tours throughout the area. It is anticipated that these tours would attract many who are interested in meeting the 'real people of the Old City', while the latter, on their part, would then assume an active role in promoting tourism in the Old City. Similarly, it is recommended to promote an initiative for 'a weekend for the residents', in which all the residents of the Old City would enjoy the attractions and museums at no cost. The goal of this initiative is both to do something for the residents and to compensate them for the inconvenience caused to any of them by the tourism industry as well as to interest them in the city heritage, thereby encouraging them to become active partners in developing tourism.

It is further recommended to establish an educational association within which would operate advisory groups and professional committees both to study and to teach tourism-related topics that arise during the development process. The group that would come into being would strive to promote a curriculum for tourism studies in schools in the Old City and the adaptation of the various programs to the developing educational reality, and even the integration of educational institutions with architectural interests into the city's tourism system. The guiding purpose of the educational association should be to create a platform for the establishment of an international tourism school in the Old City that would be the flagship of involvement and participation of the population in the development and advancement of tourism, and which include academic studies of the tourism profession. Such a school would be one of the cornerstones in a future political solution in which the Old City of Jerusalem will be the city of peace and of international tourism. With this vision in mind, it is even recommended to stress the uniqueness of this city by means of founding an interfaith center in which the cultural, historical, and religious characteristics of Jerusalem would be presented. The place would be a museum and conference center within the context of the Old City's interfaith distinctiveness. A public committee with representation from the three religions will consolidate an educational program for the interfaith center, with the involvement of public interfaith and international associations in the project. At a later stage, the committee would turn to locating a site for the construction of the center. The recommendation is to develop and firmly establish the center and have it stress the uniqueness of Jerusalem as a holy city for three religions, a reality that makes the city more distinctive than any other historic-religious city. Emphasis should also be given by the proposed center to the integration between the physical clusters and the varied cultural-human aspects that compose the Old City of Jerusalem.

Summary and conclusion

An important factor in the future of tourism in Jerusalem is the involvement of both Jews and Palestinians, who reside in the Old City and in its immediate surroundings in future plans for the area. The examples of the involvement of local residents in the Jewish

Quarter in Israel and similar involvement of residents in Cambridge, Bruges, and York demonstrate the beneficial effects local involvement can have on tourism and on the economic and social lives of residents of historic cities. The lack of involvement, on the other hand, of local residents in Nazareth had detrimental effects economically, socially, and politically on tourism development in that city. It is likely that successful local involvement of Old City residents in planning will produce new models for such involvement that will be further adapted and modified in other cities. Furthermore, as elsewhere, improving the infrastructure (lighting, passageways, and transportation) and sponsoring cultural events of interest to tourists and residents alike would enhance the lives of those who live here and improve tourism conditions for visitors.

At the initiative of the Jerusalem Development Authority and the Tourist authority in the City of Jerusalem, a number of unique cultural events have been held in the Old City. One of them, known in Hebrew as *hamshushalyim* (long week-ends), opens the winter season in the city by making cultural events available free of charge to Jerusalem residents on week-ends during November and December from early evening until late at night. This program includes about 30 different museums and cultural venues. Visitors to the Old City watch street theatre with actors playing roles of historical personalities, attend musical events and visit open markets as well as coffee shops and restaurants. Activities such as these are among the important first steps in contributing to the development of a renewed tourism model.

New concepts in tourism for international visitors, as well for local residents will become particularly important in peacetime when the number of visitors expected in Jerusalem could rise substantially. Tours would possibly include visits both to Jerusalem and to other nearby Middle Eastern capitals. Tourism development and management would play a central role if this becomes a reality. It is, therefore, essentially to make sure that early measures are taken to foster ties between tourism and residents of the local communities with proper awareness and attention to the possibility of friction given the economic, cultural, and political variations in the city. These steps would enable Jerusalem to serve as a model of 'international peace tourism'. Tourism development taking place today must consider the needs of local communities and take positive steps to improve the local infrastructure and to renovate impoverished neighborhoods. A strong cultural tourism sector must be part of a flourishing socio-economic environment. In contrast, when the local environment is economically weak, residents are less able to contribute to the tourism infrastructure. Directing the growing profits to benefit the hosting society and implementing projects to benefit the local population can build the seeds of trust. The key to success of the program is well thought out integration of tourist activities in the municipal landscape socially and economically so that when the political conflict is resolved, the infrastructure will already be in place.

Tourism continues to flourish in Jerusalem and may very well be an important factor in deciding the final status of the city. Involvement of local residents in planning and developing approaches to tourism in the united city highlights common interests among all those involved and might ultimately be one of the bridges to a peaceful solution.

Notes

1. The author of this article served as an independent academic advisor to the *Program for the development of tourism in the Old City of Jerusalem* and was responsible for writing the chapters on tourism in the plans for the rejuvenation and preservation of the Old City of Jerusalem presented below. I wish to thank Prof. Mike Turner, the former Chairman of the Israel World Heritage

Committee of UNESCO and head of the planning team for the program, for his beneficial comments on the writing of the article. Everything stated in the article, however, is solely my responsibility.

2. During 20 sample days in 2009 including weekdays, Sabbaths, and festivals of the three religions, six field researchers surveyed the Old City and counted the number of visitors at various sites. They identified points of congestion by analyzing the major traffic arteries used by visitors in the Old City. The sample counted a total of 12,764 visitors, spread out in time and space in the area surveyed. Special emphasis was given to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to which six additional days were given during which visitors were counted both at the entrance to the church and in the chapel.
3. Ibid.
4. During February and March 2009, interviews were conducted with 15 tourist site managers (for pay) in the area of the Old City. The interviews included questions related to the general background of the site, the visitors who came to the site, the content, the marketing and publicity, signs and accessibility, problems and future plans. During 2010, a survey was posted on the internet site of 'the Association of Israeli Tour Guides' with the purpose getting answers to questions from the vantage point of tour guides about tourist conditions in the Old City of Jerusalem. Ninety-two questionnaires were completed. The questions asked, among others, were about which sites they selected, the preferred days, the routes usually taken within the Old City and the immediate surrounding area, and their willingness to visit sites during off hours.

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