Recent Changes in the Settlement Geography of Israel with Special Reference to Planning Experiences

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Abstract

The paper outlines the settlement pattern resulting from Jewish immigration into Palestine before and immediately after the establishment of the state of Israel. It treats the goals and methods of national planning, which has thoroughly influenced the distribution of population during the last decade. Recent developments in the big cities, the plains, the mountains, and the South are discussed in some detail. In particular, the planning of new settlement regions is dealt with.

1. History up to 1948

When modern Jewish immigration into Palestine started in the last quarter of the 19'th century, a few Bedouin tribes lived in the southern half of the country (the Negev desert), while the more humid northern half was inhabited by sedentary Arabs in the interior mountain regions. During some centuries, a small Jewish population had existed in mixed Arab-Jewish mountain towns. But the coastal plain to the West, the Jordan valley to the East, and the Yizreel plain which connects them had been covered by malaria-infected swamps through centuries of neglect. Only in these plains, it was possible for the immigrants to purchase land (fig. 1).

After a number of immigration waves during the first half of the 20'th century, there were 650.000 Jews in Palestine at the beginning of 1948.

Most of the plains had been settled and reclaimed, for it was part of the ideology of the zionist immigrants to cultivate the land. The agricultural settlement was either the general, individual village (moshava, pl. moshavot), the co-operative village (moshav, pl. moshavim), or the collective village (kibbuts, pl. kibbutsim).

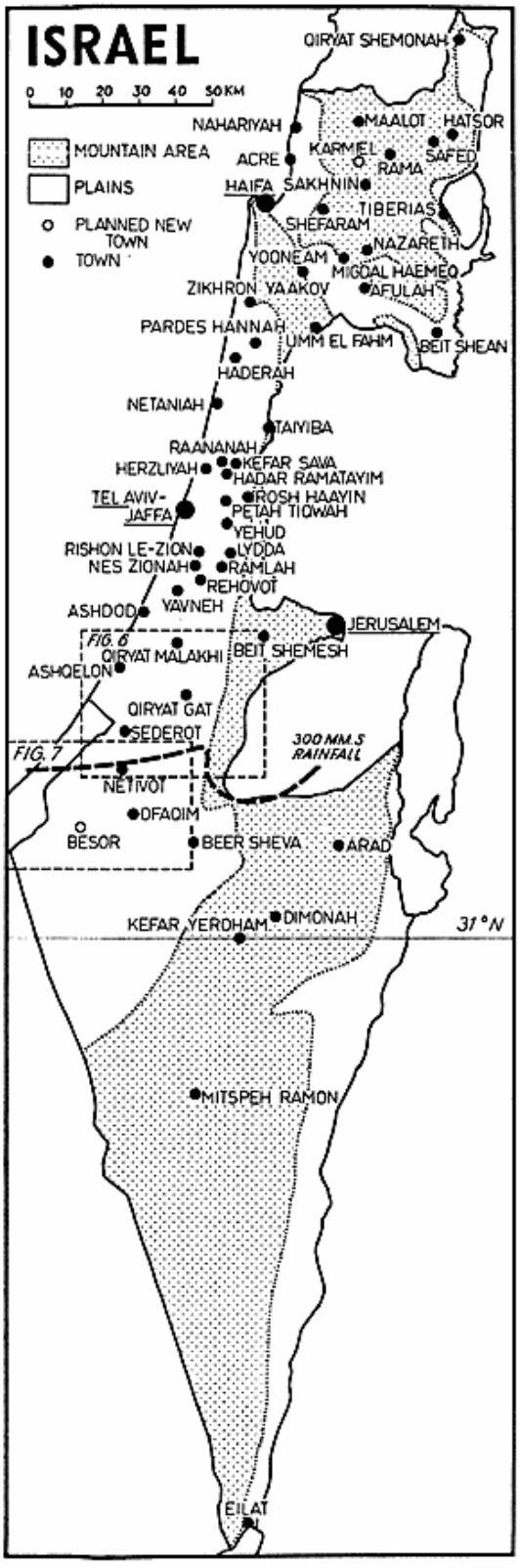

Fig. 1.

In most regions, the kibbuts became the predominating form of rural settlement. This led to important consequences for the whole settlement pattern. It was difficult to keep up frequent contacts with a service-town. However, as the kibbuts village forms one single economic unit, a good many service activities can be organized within its own framework (other services are supplied by the headquarters of the kibbuts movements). Thus the kibbuts does not need any central place in its neighbourhood. — The existence of private service establishments is also contrary to the socialist kibbuts ideology. (It must be remembered that most of the members had lived from service activities in small towns in Central and Eastern Europe, where many had considered themselves parasites on the agriculture).

In the kibbuts regions only a single Jewish town was founded (Afulah), and the villages of its hinterland did not trade in it.

Only a minor part of the Jewish immigrants wanted to be agricultural pioneers, however. The majority preferred to remain town dwellers. Some settled in the old

mountain towns, particularly in Jerusalem. But many more settled in the two big cities of the coastal plain: Haifa, where the only modern port of Palestine was constructed; and Tel Aviv, founded in 1909 as a Jewish suburb of the old Arab town of Jaffa. An ever increasing part of the Jewish population, and almost all central Jewish institutions were concentrated in Tel Aviv, perhaps because it was the only large city in Palestine which was purely Jewish. In 1946, 41 % of the Jewish population lived in Tel Aviv-Jaffa (suburbs included), 15 % in Haifa (suburbs incl.), and 16 % in Jerusalem, but only 6 % in kibbutsim and 5 % in moshavim.

2. The first years of Israel

In 1948, the British mandatory rule ceased, and Palestine was divided into an Arab part and a Jewish part, which took the name of Israel. The new state was consolidated after an Arab-Jewish war, during which most of the Arabs in Israel fled.

Jewish immigration had been restricted during the last years of the British mandate, but the new state at once opened its frontiers for Jews from all over the world. It was almost inundated by an unexpected wave of immigration. During the years 1948—51, the number of Jewish inhabitants grew to 1.400.000. Most of the new immigrants were refugees rather than zionist pioneers. Some were survivors from the Nazi concentration camps; most came from the Middle East or North Africa, their educational level was low, their social structure unchanged through centuries. What changes took place in the settlement geography of Israel during these confused years? Where were the many immigrants placed?

Their absorption was a housing problem as well as an employment problem. It was important that they could be employed without public investments. As additional employment in agriculture required investments in irrigation etc., the countryside had a much smaller absorptive capacity than the towns.

As regards housing, the authorities had no other choice than placing the new immigrants in the existing buildings. Many were placed in the Jewish settlements, others in abandoned Arab houses in the big cities of Jaffa, Haifa, and Jerusalem, as well as in a number of smaller towns in the coastal plain. (The Arab farmers' houses were often of such a low quality that they had to be left out of consideration. In Galilee, the Arab population had remained).

Soon, however, the existing buildings were not sufficient, and the immigrants had to be placed in camps. The first ones had a

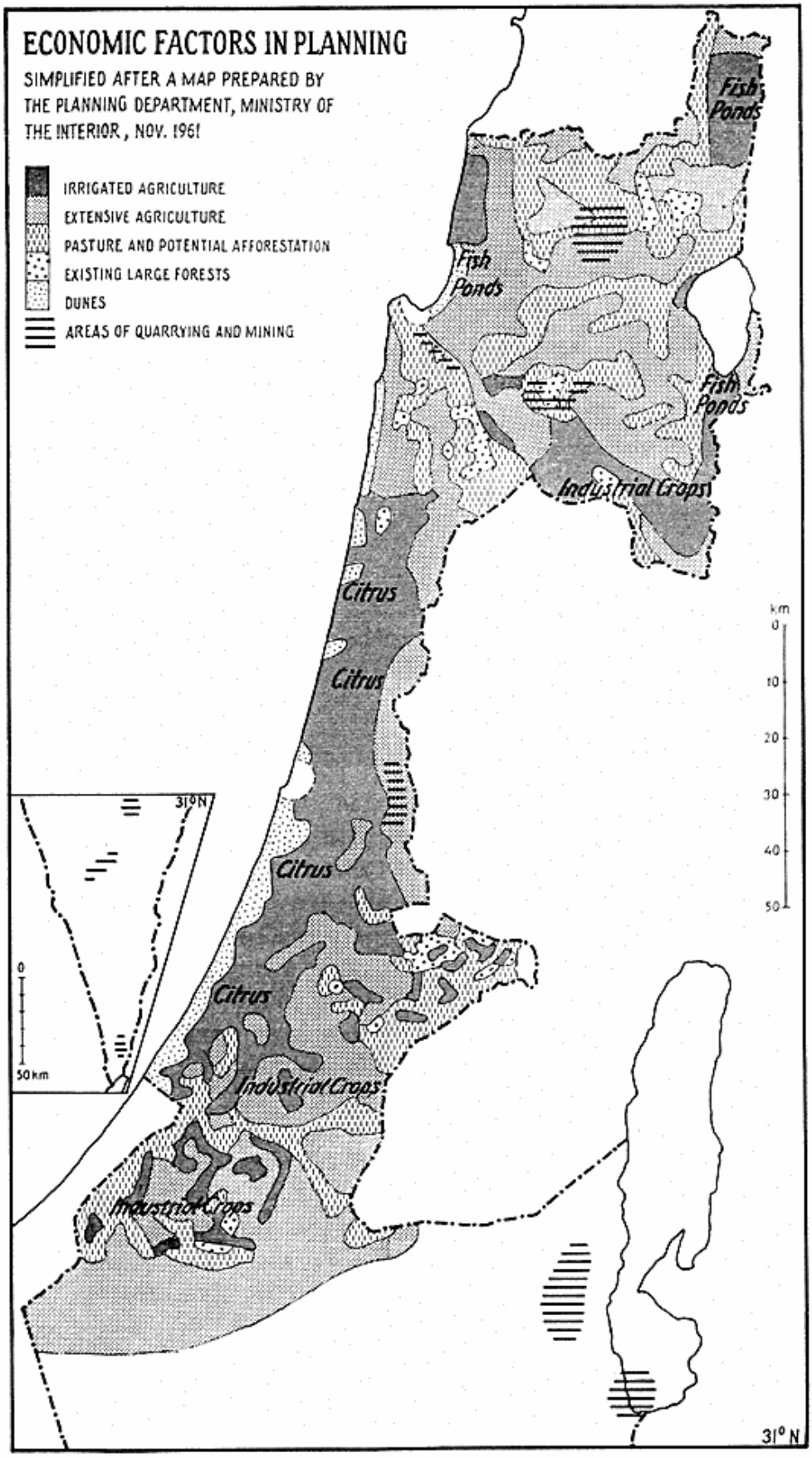
ECONOMIC FACTORS IN PLANNING
SIMPLIFIED AFTER A MAP PREPARED BY THE PLANNING DEPARTMENT, MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR, NOV. 1961
IRRIGATED AGRICULTURE
EXTENSIVE AGRICULTURE
PASTURE AND POTENTIAL AFFORESTATION
EXISTING LARGE FORESTS
DUNES
AREAS OF QUARRYING AND MINING
Fish Ponds
Fish Ponds
Fish Ponds
Industrial Crops
Citrus
Citrus
Citrus
Citrus
Industrial Crops
Industrial Crops
km
0
10
20
30
40
50
31°N
0
50 km
31°N

Fig. 2.

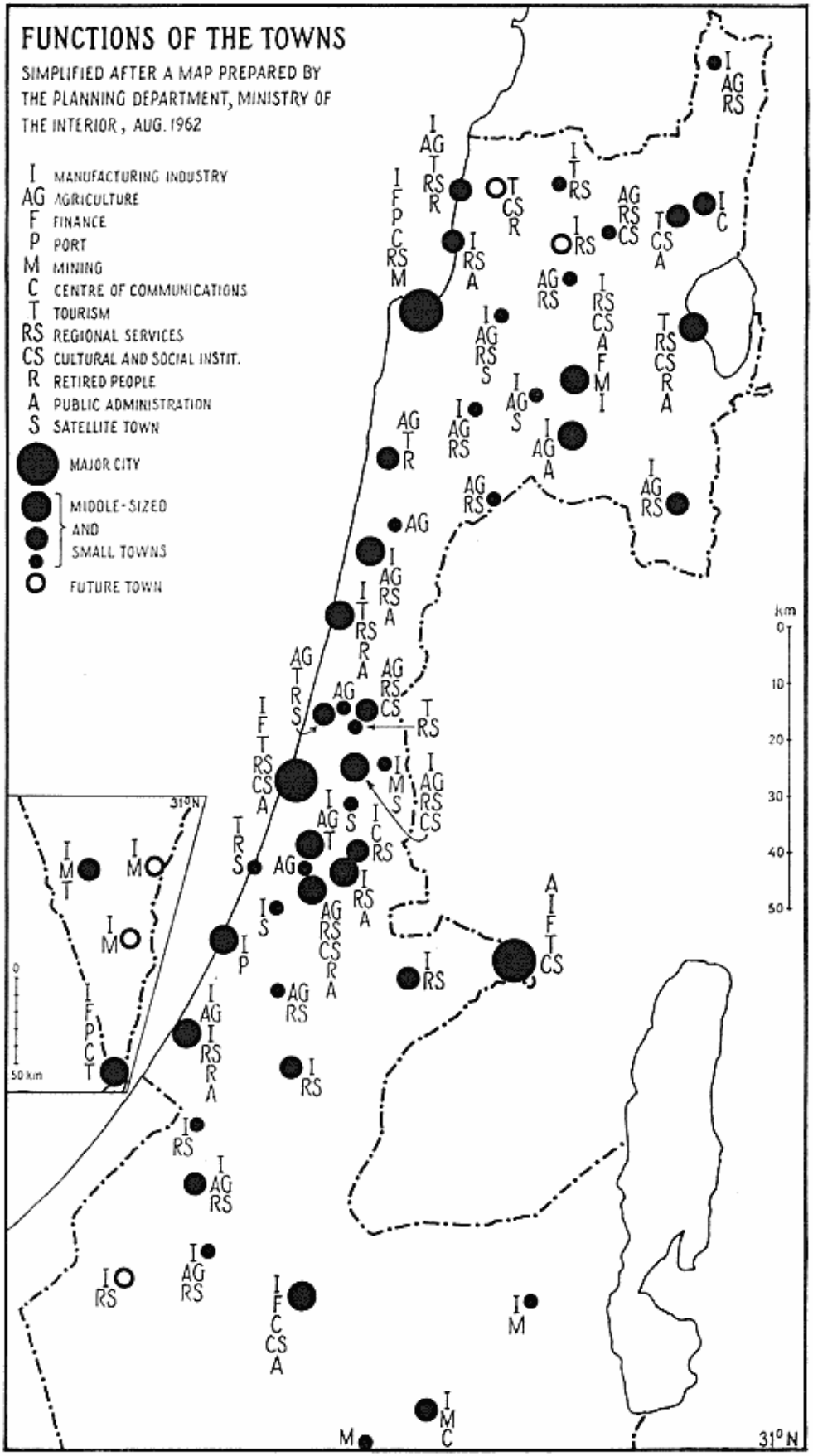
FUNCTIONS OF THE TOWNS
SIMPLIFIED AFTER A MAP PREPARED BY THE PLANNING DEPARTMENT, MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR, AUG. 1962
I MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY
AG AGRICULTURE
F FINANCE
P PORT
M MINING
C CENTRE OF COMMUNICATIONS
T TOURISM
RS REGIONAL SERVICES
CS CULTURAL AND SOCIAL INSTIT.
R RETIRED PEOPLE
A PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
S SATELLITE TOWN
MAJOR CITY
MIDDLE-SIZED AND SMALL TOWNS
FUTURE TOWN
km
0
10
20
30
40
50
31°N
50 km

Fig. 3.

makeshift character, and most of them were placed in the coastal plain, near the immigration port of Haifa. Only after a couple of years, it was possible to construct more permanent settlements and to locate them according to a national plan.

It may be concluded that during these years, which were decisive because of the enormous changes of population, the previous distribution of Jewish population was accentuated rather than altered. Only minor shifts took place, as regards the share of the total Jewish population that lived in each district. The share of the big cities decreased a bit to the benefit of the rest of the coastal plain (particularly the previously Arab towns increased their shares). At the end of 1951, Tel Aviv had grown to 470.000 inhabitants (suburbs included), Haifa to 200.000 (suburbs incl.), and Jerusalem (the Israeli part) to 140.000; together they had 51 % of the total population of Israel.

3. National planning

Very soon after the establishment of the state, physical planning on the national level had been commenced. During the first years, it had not been possible to wait for thorough studies, it had been necessary to act from day to day. Yet, the planners had worked out a planning policy and the main components of a national plan, which had been approved by the political authorities. After a couple of years, the settlement geography of Israel was influenced by the national plan.

Considerations of security were decisive for the choice of planning policy. The 1949 armistice had left Israel with very long frontiers through uninhabited regions; they could easily be crossed by infiltrations and agressors from the surrounding enemy states. Within the frontiers, certain regions had a purely Arab population. The basic goal of the planning policy must be to spread Jews into all parts of the state, to diminish the high degree of concentration in the big cities and in the coastal plain. As experience has shown, the existence of a Jewish population in a region is also a political argument in case of international negotiations.

Apart from the strategic necessity of a decentralization policy in the special situation of Israel, the prevailing planning theory was that in general big cities are not desirable, both for economic and social reasons.

As already stated, it was part of the zionist ideology that the Jews in Palestine should live from agriculture. It has been main-

tained as government policy to promote agriculture as much as possible, and it is attempted to avoid urban growth on agricultural land. However, the planners at once understood that in modern Israel only a minor part of the population could be farmers. The larger part of the decentralization from big cities would have to be led to middle-sized towns in the various reigons. Furthermore, such a network of towns would be desirable for agriculture's own sake, for former town-dwellers could only be expected to form a rooted rural population in Israel if they could maintain an urban standard of living, i. e. having access to urban services not too far away. Each region was to be independent of the big cities, regarding as many institutions as possible.

In many respects, the means to realize the plans are in Israel the same as in most West European countries. But there is one important exception: The government has assumed the responsibility of providing housing and employment to each immigrant who cannot get this by his own means (and most of the post-war immigrants have none). Therefore, the government has a big programme of house-building, which is located according to its national planning policy. Of course, some of the immigrants leave their first residence in Israel after some time; but many remain. The establishment of new farms is undertaken by public authorities, as well.

The national planning methods used in Israel differ a good deal from those that have been discussed in Denmark. In principle, planning is comprehensive, all factors are taken into consideration and are mutually harmonized. However, the plan for the distribution of population has a certain central position. Partly because the planning policy — as adopted by the political authorities — is a plan for the distribution of population, and partly because the distribution of house-building is such an important means to realize the whole plan.

On fig. 4, the main components are shown of the revised edition of the plan for the distribution of population. The plan indicates the number of inhabitants in each region and in each town, at a certain total population (not at a certain date, as it depends on the rhythm of immigration when this total number of inhabitants will be reached). The rural population is planned as large as the resources of water and of cultivable land allow. A hierarchy of small and middle-sized towns is planned, many of which must be new towns. The growth of the big cities is restricted as much as possible.

Obviously, the number of inhabitants cannot be planned without

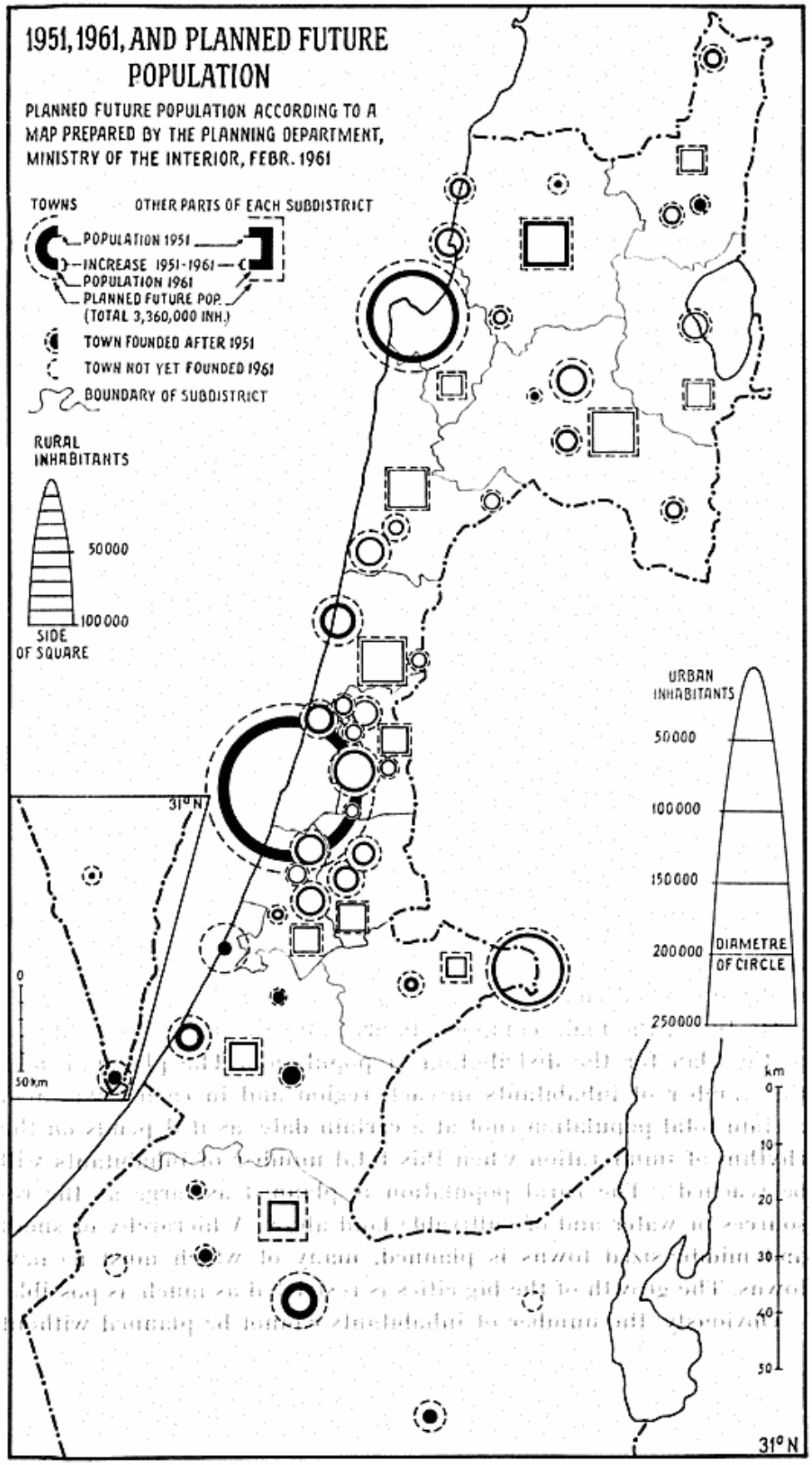
1951, 1961, AND PLANNED FUTURE POPULATION
PLANNED FUTURE POPULATION ACCORDING TO A MAP PREPARED BY THE PLANNING DEPARTMENT, MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR, FEBR. 1961
TOWNS
OTHER PARTS OF EACH SUBDISTRICT
POPULATION 1951
INCREASE 1951-1961
POPULATION 1961
PLANNED FUTURE POP. (TOTAL 3,360,000 INH.)
TOWN FOUNDED AFTER 1951
TOWN NOT YET FOUNDED 1961
BOUNDARY OF SUBDISTRICT
RURAL INHABITANTS
50000
100000
SIDE OF SQUARE
URBAN INHABITANTS
50000
100000
150000
200000
250000
DIAMETRE OF CIRCLE
31° N
0
50 km
km
0
10
20
30
40
50
31° N

Fig. 4.

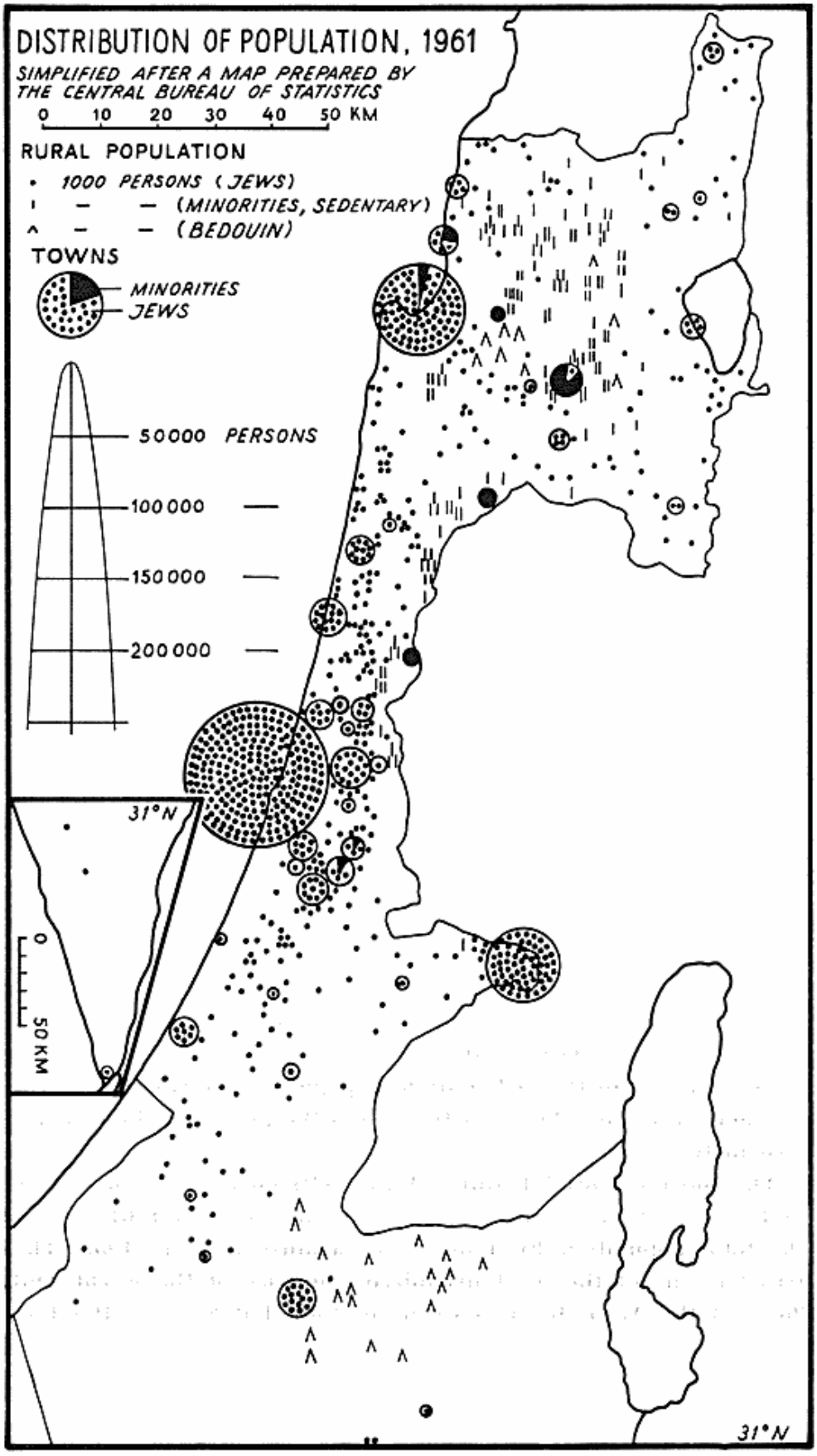
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, 1961
SIMPLIFIED AFTER A MAP PREPARED BY THE CENTRAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS
0 10 20 30 40 50 KM
RURAL POPULATION
• 1000 PERSONS (JEWS)
| — — (MINORITIES, SEDENTARY)
^ — — (BEDOUIN)
TOWNS
MINORITIES
JEWS
50000 PERSONS
100000
150000
200000
31°N
0
50 KM
31°N

Fig. 5.

considering their economic base, in each region and town. The plan for the distribution of population implies plans for the distribution of economic activities, which are shown on fig. 2 and fig. 3. Special attention has been given to the urban functions: Not only the most important one, but the complete range of desired functions is shown for each town.

As private enterprise in Israel has a free choice of location, the economic plan has no official value. In the beginning, the only way to realize it was through government investments in industries (a considerable part of which is public-owned), in the traffic system, etc. A number of economic and other advantages are granted to people who are willing to take jobs in public enterprises in certain regions. Since 1955, it has been possible to induce private enterprise to locate at certain places by means of cheap loans and tax exemptions. The base for this policy is a division of the country into zones of different priorities.

The plans for the distribution of population and ecomonic activities form the backbone of the national plan; they influence other factors more than they themselves are influenced by them. While in many countries the traffic system is in the focus of public discussion, it is interesting to notice that the transport plan is not in itself considered a key plan in Israel. Another factor of secondary (but increasing) importance is the plan for national parks and facilities for tourism. The planning of the utilization of water resources should be stressed, as the possibilities of irrigation are decisive for the development of agriculture in each region.

4. Recent trends

Since 1952 the Jewish immigration has continued, but at a much slower pace. At the census of May 1961 there were 1.930.000 Jewish inhabitants. The Arab population of Israel has a very high natural increase and has thus been able to grow at the same rate as the Jewish one (250.000 in 1961).

The changes in the distribution of population during these years of stabilization are shown in fig. 4, and the present settlement pattern in fig. 5.

The most essential feature of the settlement geography is the high and ever increasing degree of urbanization. In 1961 78 % of the total population lived in towns, against 71 % in 1955. Thus Israel is one of the most urbanized countries of the world. Only 26 % of the Arabs lived in towns in 1961, but 85 % of the Jews.

The high degree of urbanization is an expression of the economic resources of Israel; but also of the fact that the Jews, who in the diaspora were compelled to town life, feel the attraction of the town.

The 3 big cities have grown considerably, but their share of the total population has remained unchanged, namely the half. The increase of the degree of urbanization is due to the rapid growth of small and middle-sized towns. About 15 new towns have been founded (satellite towns excluded).

The rural settlement structure has changed, too. As already mentioned, the new immigrants had another social and ideological background than the pioneers. The kibbuts way of life would mean a violent break with their previous social habits. For the political authorities, there has been no question of founding moshavot, so most new villages were organized as moshavim. In 1961, 6 % of the Jewish population of Israel lived in moshavim, and only 4 % in kibbutsim. However, the kibbuts members form the elite of Israel in any respect and keep a great influence in the life of the nation. As a kibbuts is a well-trained team, too, the new kibbutsim are generally placed along the fronties and wherever a pioneer effort is needed (see figures 6 and 7).

5. The big cities

Tel Aviv is more and more dominating as the metropolis of Israel, the main commercial centre, the centre of light manufacturing industries, and — as a consequence of the 1949 frontiers — the most important traffic centre. With its contiguous suburbs, Tel Aviv had 670.000 inhabitants in 1961 (31 % of the total population against 30 % in 1951). Furthermore, at a distance of 10—20 km.s from its centre there is a series of middle-sized towns which economically are getting more and more closely connected with Tel Aviv (although they still have a certain independence, like the towns of Roskilde and Hillerød just outside Copenhagen). Most of these towns are urbanized Jewish villages of moshava-type (e. g. Petah Tiqwah), others are old Arab towns (Ramlah and Lydda). If these towns are included, the Tel Aviv region has an urban population of 930.000.

The Tel Aviv region has most of the rather sparse fine orange-growing soils of Israel, but the urban expansion threatens to absorb them. It is now planned to lead the building activity to the broad zone of sterile dunes along the Mediterranean coast.

Haifa is the main port of Israel, and a centre of heavy industries.

It is also a regional centre for the North of the country. With its suburbs and satellite settlements, it had 260.000 inhabitants in 1961, 12 % of the total population against 13 % in 1951.

Jerusalem on the Judean plateau is the third big city of Israel; but it has had a considerably weaker growth than the cities of the coastal plain. In 1949, it was divided into an Arab and a Jewish part, the latter only being connected with the rest of Israel by a narrow "corridor". From a strategic point of view, the Israeli part of Jerusalem is very vulnerable. It is cut off from its hinterland and, having no manufacturing industries, its economic situation is precarious. Its main functions are spiritual (the Hebrew university, religious institutions). The government has tried to reinforce the city by making it the capital of the state and transferring the government offices to it. In 1961, the Israeli part of Jerusalem had 165.000 inhabitants, 8 % of the total population against 9 % in 1951.

6. The plains

As most of the plains were already cultivated by Jewish farmers, the agriculture of these regions could not sustain any greatly increased number of people. However, a good many immigrants were placed in a network of middle-sized towns, which was developed according to the national plan. Existing towns were expanded, and a few new towns were founded (Qiryat Shemonah, Migdal Haemeq).

As already mentioned, the kibbuts neither wanted nor needed a service-town in its neighbourhood. To-day, the kibbuts is generally well-to-do and has a very high educational level. The small or middle-sized town, inhabited by new immigrants, is economically, culturally, and socially backward, however. In these kibbuts-regions, the towns have not been able to perform the normal urban functions of being centres of their regions. The relation between the towns and the hinterlands might be called inverted.

The Huleh valley in the extreme north-east of Israel is a typical region of older kibbuts settlements. Founded there in 1949, the new town of Qiryat Shemonah (1961: 12.000 inhabitants) is an example of the immigrant town. It still has a very weak economic base (drainage works, which were the main source of employment, have been completed). In order to help it, the kibbutsim of the region decided to employ the town-dwellers, although it is against the ideology of the kibbuts to employ hired labour. As a result,

beside being socially inferior, the immigrants became economically dependent on the kibbutsim that were their employers. Improvements in the condition of Qiryat Shemonah are only possible on the base of manufacturing industries, and through a regional commission the kibbutsim now aid at the industrialization of the town.

In some of the older towns of the plains, town planning has increased the isolation of the new immigrants (e.g. in Afulah and Tiberias). In order to save agricultural land, and in order to place the new residential quarters in a cooler summer climate, they have been constructed on mountain slopes above and several km.s from the old quarters and the town centres. From a functional and sociologic point of view, this separation has proved unfortunate, as the economic activities and the social meeting-points are tied to the plain, where the traffic lines cross.

Altogether, the growth rate of the population of the plains has been somewhat lower than the national average (some frontier regions with high development priorities in the national plan form exceptions). In 1961, the plains had about 430.000 inhabitants, or 20 % of the total population (the big cities as well as the plains south of the latitude of Jerusalem excluded).

7. The mountains

In the mountains of Galilee and in the Carmel region, most of the Arab population had remained in their villages and towns (fig. 4). During the British mandate, the rapid population growth and the improved security conditions caused the villages to expand or even explode. While these tendencies continue, Israel has added another feature to the settlement geography: A Jewish population is to be implanted, and as the agricultural land is Arab-owned, this can only be done in new towns (Maalot, Karmiel, a new Jewish quarter in the important Arab town of Nazareth).

Certain parts of Galilee, the Jerusalem corridor, and the Judean foothills to the west of the corridor had been abandoned by the Arab farmers. In these regions, new Jewish villages were founded. However, while the Jewish farmers had been able to use modern agricultural methods in the plains, it proved to be very difficult to mechanize mountain farming. Expensive terraces and irrigation systems have been constructed, but it seems hard to make agriculture so profitable that a decent standard of living is ensured for the farmers.

Most new villages are moshavim. The size of a moshav is limited

to 50—100 farms, partly to keep distance from each farm to its most remote fields reasonable, partly to ensure the social coherence of the village. For the integration of the new immigrants, it has proved essential that the village is populated by families arriving from the same home country.

In a moshav, the family farm is the economic unit, and service must be bought from outside. When the Judean mountains and foothills were settled, in the early years of Israel, the most elementary service functions (school, co-operative store) were placed in each moshav. Furthermore, in the western part of the corridor, Beit Shemesh was founded as a new service town. In this moshav-region, where both town and countryside are populated by new immigrants, the town fulfils its purpose.

In 1961, the mountain regions in the North of Israel had 190.000 inhabitants, of which 50.000 were Jews. Jerusalem excluded, the Judean mountains and foothills had 25.000 inhabitants. Altogether, 10 % of the total population.

8. The South

At the end of the war, there was almost no population in Israel south of the parallel of Jerusalem, except for the Bedouin tribes. The development of the South got the highest possible priority.

Where the mean annual rainfall is above 300 mm.s (see fig. 1), un-irrigated agriculture is still possible; but it cannot sustain a big farming population, if a reasonable standard of living is required. In this area, from which the Arab farmers had fled, only small quantities of water for irrigation could be gained from local sources. Therefore, except for a few border kibbutsim, it was not resettled until a pipe-line had been constructed to it from the river Yarkon (at Tel Aviv), in the middle of the 50'ies.

It was now possible to make a comprehensive plan for the settlement pattern of a whole region, the Lakhish region (fig. 6). Regional planning has many advantages. The network of roads, water pipelines, and electricity cables can be kept at a minimum. Efficient use can be made of the instructors who are to teach the new immigrants agriculture. And within the regional framework, a better solution was found for the provision of services to the moshavim.

Experience had shown that a single moshav was too small as a basis for most service functions; services were generally both expensive and defective. In the Lakhish region, only a small shop, a synagogue, and a kindergarten were placed in the moshav. But

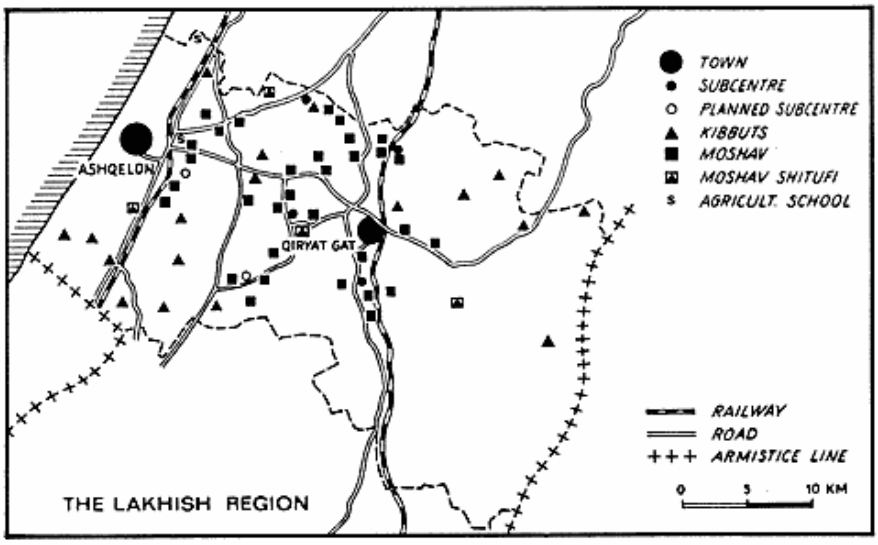

Fig. 6. The Lakhish Region.

for every 4 or 5 villages a rural service-centre was planned, intended to supply its group of villages with services such as: primary school, clinic, co-operative store, cinema, library, sports-grounds, tractor station etc. At the rural centre, these service functions will have a sufficient population basis. A recent trend is to attract small industries to the rural centres, which would get only 100—150 inhabitants themselves, otherwise. (If the service functions were not placed in one of the villages, it was partly to avoid preferring one village to the others, partly to keep the social homogeneity of each settlement).

As a superior service-centre of the Lakhish region, the new town of Qiryat Gat was built. At Qiryat Gat, a number of more specialized services were placed, e.g. secondary school and administration. The crops of the Lakhish agricultural hinterland are processed in its cotton gins, spinning and weaving mills, sugar factory, vegetable conserves plant, groundnut grading plant, etc. Showing that service towns may succeed well in a moshav region, the development of Qiryat Gat has already surpassed the original plans, which foresaw a town of 10.000 inhabitants. It has attracted some manufacturing industries without any connection to the hinterland, and its population has reached 14.000.

It is more questionable whether the small rural centres operate in a satisfactory way. Actually, it seems that the distance from the village to the centre is often too great. It may be as much as 5 km.s, and in a hot summer day, this is quite a walk. By private car

(which still is a rare thing) or by bus, one may as well go straight to Qiryat Gat.

This problem was taken into account at the planning of another, much smaller region which was settled at the same time, viz. the Taanakh region in the Yizreel plain. It was supposed that in modern, mechanized agriculture, the distance to the fields is less important for the farmer and his family than the distance to the service centre. Therefore, the moshavim were placed very near to the rural centre, in groups of 3. In this system, the rural centres seem to work better.

In Taanakh, the 3 moshavim in one group are inhabited by immigrants coming from 3 different countries. It is hoped that, in the course of a generation, the inhabitants will integrate, and the 3 moshavim and their centre will merge into one big village.

In the beginning of 1964, a water pipeline has been completed from Lake Genezareth to the northern part of the proper desert, south of the 300 mm.s line.

This region, west of Beer-Sheva, is called the Besor region. Its settlement pattern is being planned just now. It will be large enough to sustain a new town as its superior centre. As regards the supply of elementary services to the agricultural population, the planners are in favour of working along the Taanakh lines. However, it does not seem necessary to keep the traditional size of the moshavim. As well as the distance argument, it seems possible to leave the sociological argument for keeping the villages small out of consideration, as in the oriental countries only few Jews are left who might go to Israel and be difficult to integrate. According to the preliminary plan for the first part of the Besor region (fig. 7), the villages will from their very start consist of about 300 farms, as well as all the elementary services, and there may be some small manufacturing industries.

When the Besor region has been reclaimed, all water resources that can be allocated to agriculture will have been applied; and it will not be possible to extend farming in the Negev desert further, until a cheap method of desalinization of sea water has been invented. However, there are only limited areas of good soil left, too (most of them in the Beer-Sheva region). Most of the Negev desert is stony or rocky, and only in a few places where cultivable soil and springs or ground water is found, kibbutsim have been founded.

Necessarily, most of the population increase in southern Israel must be settled in towns. The abandoned Arab towns in this part

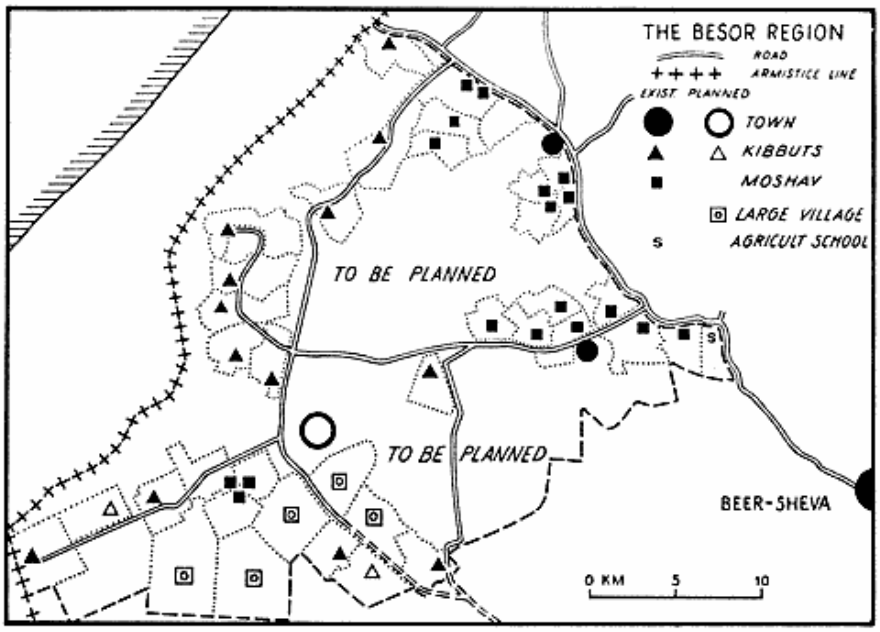

Fig. 7. The Besor Region.

of country have been resettled, and 12 new towns have been founded (see fig. 4). Most of the new towns have remained small, however, and experience has shown that it is difficult to work up their economic base. It would have been wiser to found a smaller number of towns that might have obtained a considerable size sooner. According to the revised plans, only a few more new towns will be founded.

As already pointed out, only a few of the South Israel towns will have an agricultural hinterland. Generally, other economic bases must be found (fig. 2). Mining will be important in some cases, but the mineral deposits of the Negev are not abundant. The most important ones are phosphates (at various places) and the Dead Sea potash and bromine salts which are evaporated at Sodom. As the climate at the Dead Sea, situated 400 m.s below sea level, is infernal, most of the workers do not live there, but are brought each day from Beer-Sheva, Dimonah, and the recently founded Arad. Just for climatic reasons, Arad and several other new towns in the Negev are situated at the highest possible altitudes.

Some towns are getting considerable transport functions. Eilat was founded as the Red Sea port of Israel, the base of the important connections to Asiatic and African countries. On the desert road to Eilat, Mitspeh Ramon and other settlements serve the long distance traffic. At Ashdod, the second large Mediterranean port of

Israel is under construction. It is to serve the South of Israel and will be a main traffic centre. In spite of the hardly hospitable coast, this site was preferred to Tel Aviv, as roads and railways to the hinterland can better be constructed here than in the crowded metropolitan region. (Although Tel Aviv is a city on the sea, it has never become an important port).

As everywhere in the country, manufacturing industries are stressed more and more as the main economic base of middle-sized towns. Specialized industries with no particular locational demands may well be placed in the Negev, and such industries are supposed to supply most of the exports of Israel in future (e.g. diamond cutting). Furthermore, raw material oriented industries such as chemical industries may be important.

The greatest success among the towns of southern Israel is Beer-Sheva, which quickly is developing into a regional capital and has passed the 50.000 mark already (fig. 8).

As regards town planning, several changes have taken place during these years of zealous town building in southern Israel. When some years after the establishment of the state, the government could afford to build real houses, the semi-detached house with a small garden became the most widespread type. The employment situation was difficult, but in the garden, each family could grow the most important vegetables and keep a few chickens. The town planners were influenced by British garden-city ideas, and the towns were planned in neighbourhood-units, separated by green belts (see fig. 8). However, the scarce water resources could not be used for irrigating gardens or parks. So in many cases, the individual houses and quarters became separated by bits of desert, the extensive towns often lacked coherence.

Later on, the apartment house became the general type. To-day the tendency is even towards a further concentration. Experimentally, complex houses are being constructed like systems of matchboxes, the streets being narrow pedestrians' lanes with a maximum of shade. These principles are very similar to the structure of the traditional Middle East towns (e.g. the old city of Jerusalem) and certainly represent an adaptation to the Middle East climate.

In the early years of the state, the functional structure of the town had not been sufficiently studied. In Beer-Sheva the original centre of the tiny old town is still busy with life and trade, while nobody comes to the new main centre of the large modern quarters. In the new towns which are planned to-day, the future main centre will be the first thing to be built.

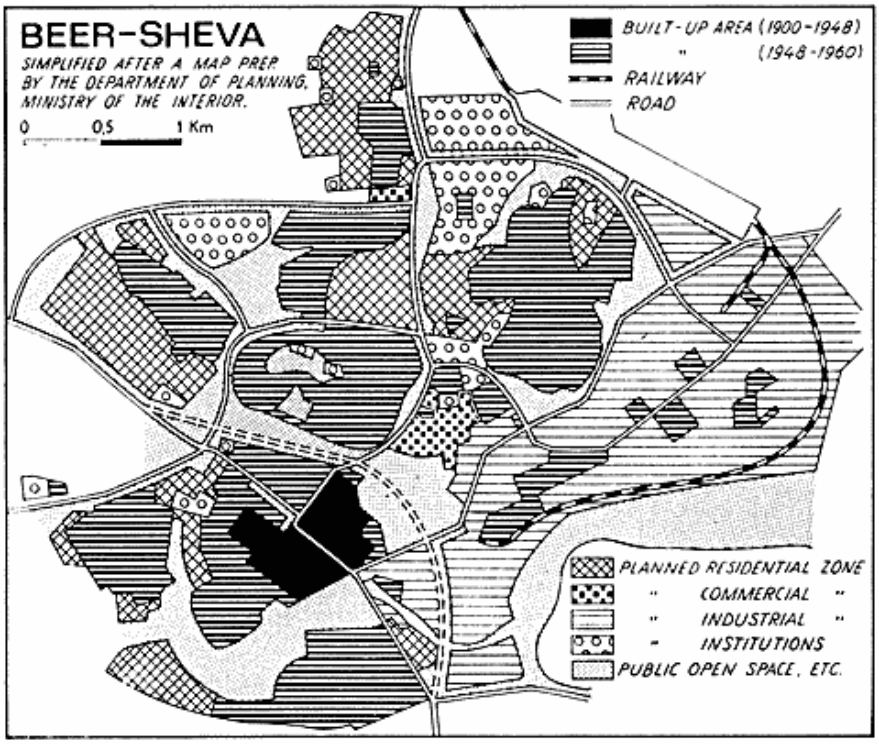

Fig. 8. Plan of Beer-Sheva.

The Negev Bedouin are getting more and more sedentary, moving from tents into all sorts of huts (these still being put up in the traditional loose camps). This is due to the transition from a nomadic animal breeding economy to employment at construction works or in manufacturing industries as their main source of income.

Maybe the Negev has not become so densely populated as some statesmen hoped. Still, the targets of the national plan as regards the development of the South are being approached. In 1961, the South had 175.000 inhabitants, 8 % of the total population against 4 % in 1951.

9. Conclusion

During the last decade, the development of the settlement pattern of Israel has been thoroughly influenced by planning on the national, regional, and local level. To an ever increasing degree, coherence and integration has become the main theme of physical planning. The planning of regions without any pre-existing settlements has been a particularly interesting experience.

The results achieved by Israeli planning have attracted the attention of the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and caused these nations to turn to Israel for advice in this field as well as in several others.

RESUMÉ

Da den moderne jødiske indvandring i Palæstina begyndte i 2. halvdel af 1800-tallet, kunne jord kun erhverves på de forsumpede sletter langs Middelhavskysten, i Jordan-gravsænkningen m. v. Disse sletter opdyrkedes da af jødiske landbrugere, der overvejende bosatte sig i kollektive landsbyer (kibbutser), som var ret selvforsynende med service. Oplandsbyer kom til at mangle i det jødiske bebyggelsesmønster. Men de fleste indvandrere slog sig ned i storbyerne Tel Aviv, Haifa og Jerusalem, der tilsammen rummede 72 % af de 650.000 jøder, da staten Israel oprettedes i 1948.

De fleste arabere flygtede ud af Israel, som til gengæld overvældedes af en kolossal indvandring, der i årene 1948–51 bragte det jødiske befolkningstal op på 1.400.000. De nye indvandrere anbragtes i den eksisterende jødiske boligmasse, i forladte arabiske huse og i provisoriske lejre. I det væsentlige akcentueredes den hidtidige geografiske befolkningsfordeling.

En landsplanlægning iværksattes straks efter statens oprettelse, men kunne først blive effektiv efter nogle års forløb. Planlægningens målsætning var strategisk bestemt: Jøder måtte spredes ud i alle dele af landet, både i den ubeboede ørken mod syd og i det arabisk befolkede Galilæa mod nord. Da landbrugets udvidelsesmuligheder var begrænsede, måtte decentraliseringen især ske til et net af mellemstore byer. Det er af stor betydning for planernes virkeliggørelse, at boligbyggeri for ny indvandrere er en statsopgave. Planen for befolkningsfordelingen (fig. 4) følges op af erhvervsplaner (fig. 2 og 3). De søges realiseret dels gennem det offentliges oprettelse af landbrug og investeringer i industri, dels gennem begunstigelser for private virksomheder i udviklings-landsdelene.

Efter 1952 er den jødiske indvandring fortsat, men i langt mere behersket tempo. Samtidigt øges det arabiske folketal gennem et stort fødselsoverskud. I 1961 var der 1.930.000 jøder og 250.000 arabere, hvis fordeling fremgår af fig. 2. Karakteristisk for jøderne er den meget høje urbaniseringsgrad. De mellemstore byers andel af totalbefolkningen øges stadigt, mens de 3 storbyers andel ligger konstant på 50 %.

Tel Aviv (670.000 indb.) bliver landets mere og mere dominerende centrum; nær den ligger et antal byer, der bringer regionens samlede bybefolkning op på 930.000. Haifa (260.000) er havneby og sværindustriby. Den israelske del af Jerusalem (165.000), landets hovedstad, hæmmes af sin isolerede og strategisk udsatte beliggenhed.

Sletterne (uden for storbyerne) har kun fået en mindre del af befolkningstilvæksten. Landbruget har ikke kunnet udvides meget. En del ny indvandrere er anbragt i mindre byer. Men da kibbutsbefolkningen (af europæisk oprindelse) var byboerne (ny indvandrere fra Mellemøsten og Nordafrika) økonomisk og kulturelt overlegen, har byernes oplandsfunktioner ikke kunnet udvikles.

I Galilæas bjergegne, med arabiske landsbyer, søges jødiske byer anbragt. I andre bjergegne (især »Jerusalem-korridoren«) var araberne flygtet, og en jødisk landbrugsbefolkning har kunnet anbringes. Dominerende blev den kooperative landsby (moshav) med individuelle brug,

hvis servicebehov har dannet grundlag for en vellykket udvikling af oplandsbyer.

Det sydlige Israel, i 1949 kun beboet af nogle få beduiner, har absorberet en betydelig folkemængde. I den semi-aride overgangszone med god jord har landbruget kunnet udvikles ved hjælp af vandtilførsler nordfra. En hel region er blevet udbygget efter en samlet plan med landsbyer, små lokale servicecentrer og oplandsbyer (Lakhish, fig. 6). I Besor-regionen (fig. 7) planlægges det at samle brugene i meget store landsbyer med egne serviceinstitutioner. Da ressourcerne af vand og dyrkbar jord er meget begrænsede, må det meste af befolkningstilvæksten bosættes i byer (12 ny byer er grundlagt i denne landsdel). Deres erhvervsbasis vil være oplandsservice, minedrift og transport, men først og fremmest industri. Syd-Israels hovedby, Beer-Sheva, er i kraftig vækst og har passeret 50.000 indb. (fig. 8). Under det storstilede bybyggeri har man høstet mange byplanmæssige erfaringer og nærmer sig nu en meget koncentreret byform, der i princippet ligner traditionelle mellemøstlige byer.

Det sidste årtis bebyggelsesudvikling i Israel er i overvejende grad bestemt af planlægningen, som har tiltrukket sig afrikanske, asiatiske og latinamerikanske landes opmærksomhed.

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