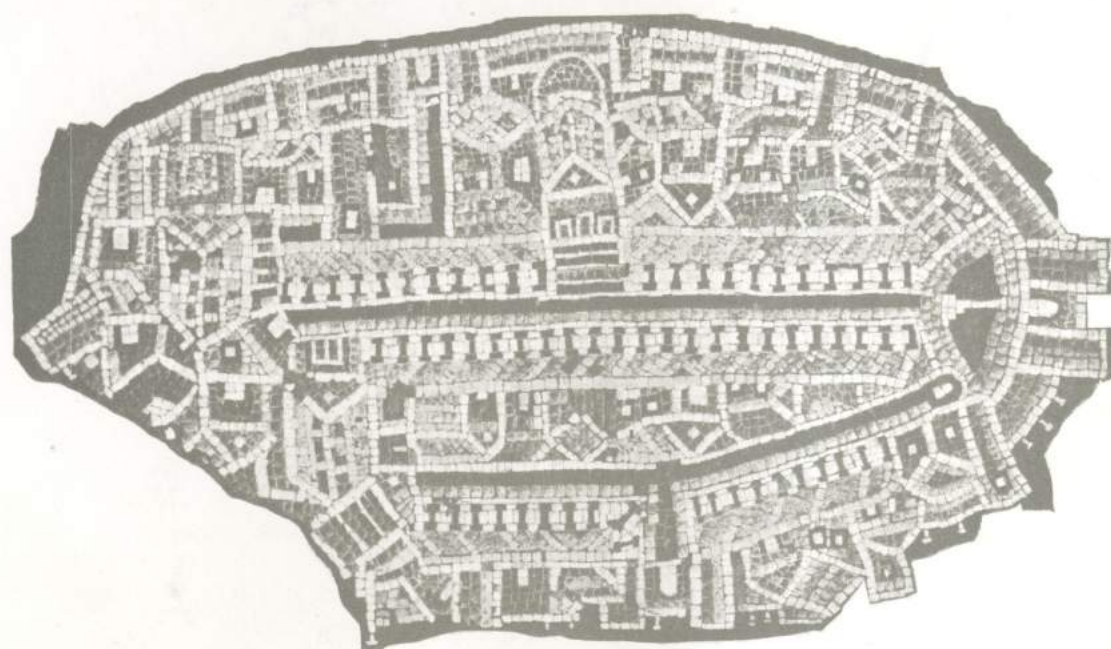


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THE CITY IN THE ZIONIST IDEOLOGY

ERIK COHEN



THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

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INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

The Jerusalem Urban Studies series will present original works on urban and regional subjects to readers in Israel and abroad. Most of the contributions will deal with specific Israeli problems; however, the series will also include general theoretical and methodological studies.

The series will present monographs on a variety of subjects such as urban sociology, urban economics, urban geography, urban administration and regional science. The series will report primarily on work done at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, but will also include studies by members of other scientific institutions in Israel.

The publications in the series will not appear at fixed intervals; we intend to publish two or three monographs a year.

We hope that the series will help to spread information and knowledge on urban and regional problems among scholars and planners.

JUNE 1970.

P R E F A C E

The first draft of this essay has been written while I was Visiting Lecturer at the Dept. of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester, in 1965. The final draft was completed at the beginning of 1968. The possible implications of the Six Day War for the attitude of Zionism toward the city were thus not yet taken into account.

Numerous persons read earlier drafts of this paper; special thanks are due to Dr. Michael Aronoff, Arch. Jaakov Ben Sira, Miss Yona Ginzberg, Prof. Max Gluckman, Dr. Israel Kolat, Mr. Robert W. Marans, Dr. Emmanuel Marx, Dr. Arie Shachar and Mr. Robert B. Zaehner for their useful comments.

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1. Introduction

This paper analyzes the socio-historical roots of the problems which Israel encountered in the attempt to establish a large number of

new urban settlements in its 'development' areas. Jewish settlement in Israel was always closely connected with some image of future society, which the pioneering efforts should help to realize. Many sociological

analyses of Israeli society² and of the various new social forms to which it gave birth, such as the Kibbutz³ and the Moshav⁴, indeed take as their

point of departure such images or ideological conceptions. Their analysis

is usually couched in terms of the tensions and adaptations which are aroused by the confrontation between the ideology and social reality.⁵

1 The first draft of this paper was written while I was Visiting Lecturer

at the Dept. of Sociology and Social Anthropology, University of Manchester. Thanks are due to Prof. M. Gluckman for his kind assistance.

2 See: S.N. Eisenstadt - *Israeli Society*, Basic Books, New York, 1967.

3 See e.g.: M.E. Spiro - *Kibbutz - Venture in Utopia*, New York, 1963

4 See: A. Weingrod - *The Reluctant Pioneers, Village Development in Israel*, Cornell Univ. Press, Ithaca N.Y., 1966.

See also: Sh. Z. Abramov - *Moshav Ovdim - the History of a Social Idea*, *Amot*, Aug.-Sept. 1963 pp. 7 - 20 (in Hebrew).

5 An excellent example of such an analysis is Y. Talmon's 'The Family in a Revolutionary Movement - The Case of the Kibbutz in Israel', in:

M.F. Nimkoff - *Comparative Family Systems*, Boston, 1965, pp. 259-296.

See also the author's: *Progress and Communality: Value Dilemmas in the Collective Movement*, *Intern. Rev. of Community Development*, No. 15-16, 1966, pp. 3-18.

However, ideology is not "equally spread" over the picture of

social reality. Though ideology might be considered as "... a system of ideas which is oriented to the evaluative integration of the collectivity, by interpretation of the empirical nature of the collectivity and of the situation in which it is placed ...".¹ not everything in social life and the situation of the collectivity is equally emphasized by the ideology. Indeed, it seems that the very selection of those aspects of society which ought to be emphasized vs. those which might be neglected by the ideology is in itself one of the fundamental determinants of any ideological interpretation of the collectivity.

In the vast sociological literature on ideology,² emphasis was

given mostly to its positive side: to what it asserts, stresses, distorts, etc. Much less emphasis has been given to those areas of social life which were neglected by the ideology, in an otherwise highly ideological situation. The major question here would be, what are the social consequences of ideological neglect? What social developments take place in those areas of the society which were not emphasized by the ideology. It is mainly to these problems that the present paper addresses itself; and the city in Zionist ideology is an excellent subject on which to study such problems.

2. The Disregard for the City in Pioneering Zionism

There seem to be few areas which were as thoroughly disregarded by Zionist ideology as the city. Zionism is a highly programmatic and to a large extent pragmatic ideology: its main aim has been the establishment of a Jewish society and ultimately, state in Palestine; it strove to forge the cultural and material tools for the realisation of this aim. In this process emphasis was necessarily given to the "rejuvenation" and restructuring of the Jewish society of the Diaspora: return to the soil, reversal of the occu-

- 1 T. Parsons: The Social System, Glencoe, 1951, p. 349.
- 2 I use ideology here in its broadest sense, including Mannheim's utopia; see: K. Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, New York, 1936; for an analysis of the various trends in the interpretation of ideology see: C. Geertz, Ideology as a Cultural System, in D. E. Apter (ed.), Ideology and Discontent, Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.

paternal pyramid of the Jews (broadening the 'basis' of laborers and especially, peasants, narrowing the 'top' of business, professional and other tertiary occupations). This theme became particularly prominent after the spectacular rise of the "Chalutzic" or pioneering socialist forces in the Zionist movement, after the First World War.

The fathers of the Zionist ideology, even Herzl himself, were not opposed to the establishment and development of Jewish cities in Palestine. However, pioneering Zionism showed indifference and sometimes even outright hostility towards the city. Since this ideology dominated the Palestinian scene after the First World War, and its proponents were chiefly responsible for the way urban settlement developed in Israel after the establishment of the State, I shall confine myself in this essay mainly to this variant of Zionism.

Pioneering Zionism has been characterized by a strong "pastoral" or agricultural bias, stemming mainly from the belief that the country will be conquered through the conquest of the soil, and society rejuvenated by creating a healthy peasantry. Hanke said in 1923: "[It is self-evident] that the national existence of a nation in a country depends upon the question whether it is successful in the cultivation of its soil. The city orients itself by the country. . . . If we are forced to decide between the amount of work to be devoted to the city and the countryside, we must always bear in our consciousness that the decision falls in the countryside and the city follows the country".¹

The same spirit is expressed in the words of Bergman: "... the Jewish spirit sought to be rooted in the land. The village was given the task of materializing this taking root. And from the village this spirit was supposed to spread out and influence the city".²

1 Stenogr. Prot. der Verhandlungen des XIII Zionisten Kongresses von 6 bis 18 August 1923, in Karlsruhe, p. 105; Translated by the author.

2 Bergman: *The Jewish Village in Eretz Israel* 1946, as quoted in: B. D. Weinryb: *The Impact of Urbanisation in Israel, Middle East Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1957, p. 29.

1 See the author's paper: "Progress and Communality", op. cit.

One of the principal problems of the leaders of the colonizing effort was to prevent the highly urbanized Jews of the Diaspora to flock anew into the cities upon their arrival in Palestine. It was intent to create a counter-weight to the attraction of the city.

The main-stream of Zionist effort was thus directed toward the establishment of a series of agricultural communities, the best known among them the Kibbutz - collective agricultural settlement - and the Moshav - cooperative agricultural settlement. These, and particularly the former, soon became famous for its daring social innovation and its ability to take root and prosper under adverse conditions.

It is important to note in this connection that this agricultural emphasis in Zionist ideology, despite its "pastoral" overtones, has never been romantic or atavistic: strong emphasis was put on progress and modernity¹ and enormous efforts spent on efficiency, innovations and the ability of the Jewish agriculture to compete in the market. The Jewish peasant in Palestine soon became the most progressive peasant in the Middle East.

Owing to the almost exclusive concern with agricultural development, the rural sector was given all the attention and means which were at the disposal of Jewish national institutions. No comparable effort has been made to develop the urban sector. In fact, the tendency of the Zionist leaders, and particularly of the leaders of the pioneering socialist movements, which dominated the Jewish community in Palestine, was to disregard the city completely. The ongoing process of urbanisation and the emergence of urban problems escaped their attention. In all probability they saw in these processes remnants of the old ways of life which would have to be overcome in due time, but not dealt with on their own terms. During the whole period between the two World Wars and almost up to the establishment of the State, there was no pronouncement by a leading Zionist upon urban policy or upon the urban image of the future. To their minds, the future lay with the new, revolutionary forms of agricultural settlements, not with the towns.

3 See: A. Etzioni, *Agrarianism in Israel's Party System*, *Canadian J. of Econ. and Pol. Sc.*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 1957, pp. 365-75.

2 On this particular feature of the urban situation, see: Y. Talmon-Garber, *La Urbanization en Israel*, *Revista Mexicana de Sociologia*, Vo. 20, 1958, pp. 725-32.

1 A. Tartakover: *City and Village in Eretz-Israel*, *Kama*, 1948, p. 134 (in Hebrew), translated by the author.

A negative orientation toward the town and urbanisation in general has been a common feature of most utopistic and socialist movements of recent times. In the whole voluminous literature of "social utopias" there is hardly a positive reference made to the city, which was mostly considered the source of all social evils and of the disintegration of the "healthy" rural communities of a happy pre-industrial period. Even Marxist ideology which

Such was the situation during the whole period of the British Mandate; it continued, though in an attenuated form, into the period of Statehood.

The village not only dominated the city on the nation-wide level, but also on the regional level - in the sense that regional cities were functionally dependent upon the surrounding villages, whereas the latter were more or less independent of the regional urban center.

Many leaders of the pioneering Zionist movement in Palestine were members of collective and cooperative settlements - their influence on political matters was and remains highly disproportionate to their numerical strength.³

The village dominated the city throughout a long period, not only ideologically², but also politically.

In the words of one of the interpreters of Zionism: "... the city (in Palestine) accepts the ideological supremacy of the village, which is characterised by its peculiar social and economic organisation, preserves the spontaneity of relationships between one human being and the other, and serves as the fountainhead of biological and political renovation; the village does not succumb to the rules of development - and finally, destruction - which are characteristic of the modern city".¹

This was the period when the village ruled supreme over the town.

I Sh. Lavi: *The Large Kvutza*, in Sh. Gadon (ed.), *Paths of the Kvutza and the Kibbutz*, Tel Aviv, 1958 pp. 351-356 (In Hebrew). See *Supra*, p. 23-25

"Hamashbir".

of the mammoth processing and marketing cooperatives, "Tnuvah" and buying and marketing institutions, which resulted ultimately in the development ingenious substitutes for trade and services, such as large-scale cooperative the importance of these tertiary functions; moreover they evolved a number of Jewish agriculture in Palestine, did not impress upon the minds of the pioneers the initially very low level of technological and economic development of the actual economic situation which was prevalent in Palestine at the time: approach. But, objectively, this disregard has been made possible through sary to turn the Jewish occupational pyramid upside-down epitomises this common Jewish occupations. The famous phrase of Borochov, that it is necessary against Jewish life in the Diaspora, where trade and services were the most variety of reasons: subjectively, the pioneers and their leaders were reacting of the most vital economic sphere of modern society can be accounted for by a taken into consideration in the blueprint of the future society. This disregard the city-trade and services - were almost totally discounted and were not combine agriculture and industry in a rural setting. The tertiary functions of famous proposal for the "Large Kibbutz" by Shlomo Lavi¹, which would economic functions - particularly industry - into the village - as in the of the future society. Attempts were made to introduce and integrate urban sive society solely on a rural basis. Cities had no place in the blueprints far-reaching attempt has been made here to establish a modern and progressive society in Palestine is in this respect in a unique situation: a serious and where about 300 new towns were founded since the Revolution. Jewish town and village was never seriously attempted not even in the Soviet Union, city never led to far-reaching consequences. The Marxist synthesis of basis. Therefore, their lack of concern for or even hostility towards the Utopistic ideals had only seldom been realized on a nationwide rural antithesis in the communist future.

was far from a "pastoral" bias strove to achieve a synthesis of the urban-

The almost total disregard for the city in Zionist ideology squared uncomfortably with the actual state of things: the towns always comprised the great majority of the Jewish population of Palestine; the rural sector never encompassed more than a mere 30% of the Jews, and even of these only about half actually worked in agriculture.¹ Moreover, the towns grew rapidly during the period between the two World Wars, and though the cities were despised by the colonists as "residues from a Diasporic way of life", they nevertheless provided the pioneers with some important services. The provision of such services was thus not an acute problem of the future and had therefore not attracted the attention of the ideologues.

Moreover, no real danger existed that these urban functions would be discontinued in the near future. In fact, in spite of the enormous efforts of the colonizing institutions, the relative weight of the rural population started to decline in the second part of the British Mandate: from a peak of 29% Jewish rural inhabitants in 1941, the percentage declined to about 26% in 1945; this trend continued into the period of the State: in 1950 less than 20% of the Jewish population lived in villages. In the sixties this number gradually declined to about 18%.

The high hopes of the Zionist leaders to establish a predominantly agricultural society in Eretz Israel thus gradually receded into wishful thinking. This feeling was aptly expressed by E. Brutzkus, in a discussion in 1944:

"In the beginning they thought [the Zionist leaders] that the agricultural colonization should embrace the majority of the Jewish community in Eretz-Israel. Later they restricted themselves to half of this community. And even at the last Congress [of the Zionist Movement] the late Dr. Ruppin who was the main representative of the colonizing ideology, stated that at least a third of the community should live on agriculture."² However, the

1 See Appendix A.

2 A. Brutzkus: On the Question of the Urban Settlement, *Journal of the Assoc. of Engineers and Architects in Eretz Israel*, No. 5, 1944, p. 13 (In Hebrew) (translated by the author).

author continues, the experts have agreed that no more than 20% of the Jewish population will be able to live on agriculture. And the actual number at the time, [1944] of those actually engaged in agriculture was about 15%.¹

Thus a discrepancy emerged between the ideological orientation of the leaders of the Zionist movement and the actual development in the country. A paradoxical situation was created, in which a small minority of the population held the limelight of the Palestinian stage and gained all the attention of the settlement effort, whereas the majority of the urban dwellers, were considered to be marginal to the mainstream of the Zionist effort and only a fraction of the attention and material resources devoted to agriculture was channelled towards them.

The essentially negative attitude of the leaders of pioneering Zionism towards the city resulted in a deep chasm created between rural and urban development. In the following section we shall outline the main characteristics of urban development in Palestine prior to the establishment of the State. Our presentation will show the extent to which the haphazard, and unguided development of the Jewish urban settlement, lacking in any originality in the development of urban forms, contrasted to the highly planned and original rural development. However, the discrepancy between rural and urban development did not pass unnoticed by the leaders. It posed a problem which both ideologues and later planners attempted to tackle. The first attempts in this direction made during the period of the Mandate, were feeble and mostly unrealistic. However, this very characteristic lends them some intrinsic interest for our purposes; we shall deal with them in Section (4). The urban problems became particularly acute when, during the period of Statehood the towns grew in number, size and functional importance even as a means for the realization of pioneering aims. Thus, as awareness

¹ Ibid: p. 13

The number of people actually engaged in agriculture is considerably smaller than the total number of inhabitants of villages, since part of these work in secondary or tertiary occupations.

to the problem grew, more serious attempts were made to accommodate the city within the framework of the pioneering Zionist ideology. The slow process through which the city became gradually, if not wholly, legitimized as a form of pioneering, and the social problems caused by this rather belated concern with the city will be the subject of the concluding sections of this paper.

3. The Development of Urban Settlement in the Pre-State Period

In the period immediately preceding the emergence of the Zionist movement in the second half of the 19th century, the Jews of Palestine were living in a few ancient towns, primarily in Jerusalem, Safed and Tiberias. The first group of "settlers" who founded the Jewish agricultural settlement of Petah Tikwa, actually departed from Jerusalem in 1878.¹ With the

strengthening of the Zionist movement, a whole series of similar small-holders agricultural settlements, called Moshavot, were founded. But it seems that in this early period - in which socialist pioneering ideals did not yet dominate Palestinian Zionism - no exception was taken to the town or to urban living. However, no new towns were founded during the whole early period of Zionism. This fact seems to be mainly due to the absence of any practical possibility for such an undertaking, as well as to the relative ease with which those of the Jewish immigrants who wished to do so, could settle in the existing cities, like Jerusalem, Jaffa or Haifa.

Only at the beginning of this century has the first attempt been made to create a new, independent, Jewish urban settlement: The establishment of a Jewish quarter near Jaffa, for the provision of comfortable and sanitary dwellings for the shopowners and other rather well to do Jews working in Jaffa. It was established in 1909 and at the outset called "Ahuzat Bait", and only later christened Tel-Aviv. "Ahuzat Bait" was to be a "Garden City"

1 For a sociological analysis of the development of Petah Tikwa, see: D. Weintraub, M. Lissak, Y. Atzmon: Moshawa, Kibbutz, Moshaw, London, 1969.

suburb of Jaffa¹, probably not unlike the "German colonies" established previously in Jerusalem and Haifa².

There are several important points to be made in connection with the foundation of Tel-Aviv: As mentioned, the settlement has not been planned and founded as a new town - but only as a new urban quarter of the old-established town of Jaffa and became an independent town only twelve years later (1921). This process set the pattern for several new cities which developed in a similar way in later periods.

However, Tel-Aviv is unique in one respect: when it was founded hope was expressed that it might become a metropolis of the future. A. A. Weiss, the most active and imaginative among the founders of "Ahuzat Bait" wrote at the time: "In the same way in which New York symbolizes the main entrance gate to America. . . will our town in due time, be the New York of Eretz-Israel".³ M. Dizingoff, for many years mayor of Tel-Aviv, also had visions of the future grandeur of the budding city. But only few leading Zionists expressed enthusiastic endorsement for the foundation and development of big new cities in the country.

The establishment of Tel-Aviv has been supported by leading personalities in the Jewish national institutions concerned with the colonization of the country. The founders demanded financial support from the Jewish National Fund, and were heartily endorsed by Dr. A. Ruppin, one of the chief architects of the Jewish colonizing enterprise and later head of the Palestinian Bureau of the Jewish Agency, through which colonization was implemented. Ruppin wrote in 1907: "I attach extraordinary importance

1 The Garden City idea seems to have had considerable influence on early attempts at urban planning of Jews in Palestine. For the original formulation of the idea see: E. Howard: Garden Cities of To-Morrow, Faber & Faber, London, 1966 (originally published in 1898).

2 I am indebted for this idea to Dr. I. Kolat.

3 From a prospect of the year 1904 on the establishment of Ahuzat Bait, cited in: A. A. Weiss, The Beginnings of Tel-Aviv, Tel Aviv, 1957, p. 17. (in Hebrew; translated by the author).

to the establishment of a Jewish urban quarter in both Jaffa and Jerusalem... It seems to me that I am not exaggerating if I assert that the establishment of an improved Jewish quarter is the best way to achieve economic dominance of the Jews in Jaffa".¹

This is a remarkable letter, as the Jewish national institutions

were not ordinarily concerned with urban settlement, and did not found new towns up to the establishment of Kiriat Gat, nearly half a century

later.

The establishment of Tel-Aviv was the crowning, as well as closing episode of the early phase of the Zionist colonizing effort. Tel-Aviv was

founded at a time when the agricultural pioneering emphasis had not yet gained upper hand in Palestinian Zionism. At this period the colonizing

effort has been general and indiscriminating, supporting every kind of

enterprise, rural as well as urban; though, owing to prevailing conditions, the primary effort had to be concentrated in agriculture.

This attitude changed radically with the gradual ascendance of the

socialist-pioneering movements on the Palestinian scene in the period after the First World War and up to the establishment of the State.² The funds of

the national institutions, in this period, were almost exclusively devoted to

agricultural colonization, and practically nothing was done for urban development. This is the phase of the most extreme "agricultural dominance" in

Zionist thinking, when many of the collective and cooperative villages were

established.

However, this does not mean that the cities remained stagnant in

this period. On the contrary, there was an immense growth of urban settlements, especially in the thirties, under the impact of the immigration of the German Jewry. These immigrants differed from those in previous periods.

1 A. Ruppin: *The Foundation of Tel Aviv*, in: J. Aricha (ed.), *Tel-Aviv*, 1959, p. 38 (in Hebrew, translated by the author).

2 On the general history of this period, see e.g., A. Bein: *Return to the Soil*, Youth & Hechalutz Dept. Zionist Org., Jerusalem, 1952.

I See, e.g., N. Anderson, The Urban Community, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1960, pp. 212 ff.

Most of them have not been young, eager and ideologically prepared for life in a new and harsh country; this was largely a mass-immigration of refugees, only a small part of whom were either willing or capable of pioneering. These immigrants were thus drawn to the cities. However, the disregard of the city as a framework for the absorption of immigrants led to serious troubles in their development.

Urban growth proceeded in an unplanned, haphazard manner. Almost nothing was done to streamline urban development and to integrate urban growth into the general framework of the colonizing effort.

Little attention had been paid to the functional problems of the burgeoning urban centers, particularly the large cities, like Tel-Aviv. Many of the urban problems which later beset Israel have their roots in this period. Even more serious was the almost total lack of an urbanistic approach, of any attempt to formulate an urban image or to define the place of the city in the Jewish society of the future. Whereas the specific quality of rural life in the new settlements was enormously emphasised and endlessly discussed, nobody bothered about the quality of urban life; this was expected to remain as it was before, in the Diaspora, a transplantation of an old way of life into a new setting. As urban settlement did not cause a revolution in people's lives, it was considered to be marginal to the effort of national renewal, a residual form of settlement of no intrinsic value. This attitude served both to debase urban life and to inculcate urban dwellers with a feeling of shame and even guilt for not realizing the agricultural ideals; this positive and creative approach to the problems of urban living.

This attitude provided the background for the gradual estrangement and rising hostility between town and countryside. A certain amount of strain between rural and urban life is found in many societies. But in Palestine this antagonism became ideologically tainted, the two sectors of

society growing apart and distrustful each other - the Kibbutzim in particu-

lar were outright hostile towards the city. This hostility was the cause

of impediment to the growth of at least one urban settlement - Afula, in the

Yizreel Valley, which will be discussed at some detail in the following.

It was, undoubtedly, a discouragement to any attempt to create other new

urban settlements in agriculturally settled areas. Even much later, when

the State of Israel already existed and a series of new towns had been estab-

lished in its various regions, they were largely disregarded by the surrounding

villages and excluded from the economic and social life of their region.¹

This divergence of city and countryside did not escape the Zionist

leaders. One of the leaders of Palestinian Zionism, Abraham Harzfeld,

pointed out, in a speech at the 19th Zionist Congress in 1935 that at present

there are "two Palestines", that of the cities, such as Tel-Aviv, which is

in a deteriorated state, and that of the agricultural colonies.² However,

these leaders did themselves little to remedy the situation and to interpret

the town within the framework of the pioneering effort.

One of the most important consequences of the disregard of the

city by the dominant pioneering movement in Palestinian Zionism, was that

in the whole period of the Mandate virtually no new towns and cities have

been founded. The case of Afula, mentioned earlier, might be considered

an exception to this generalization - but it is an exception that proves the

rule: it had been originally conceived on a grand scale - but failed. As this

case is instructive for an understanding of the period of the Mandate we shall

discuss it at some length. The beginnings of Afula are described by the

former head of its local council in the following manner: "(Middle-class

Jews who came in the Fourth Aliya) desired to continue here in their former

occupation, trade and crafts, in the framework of Jewish life in a new urban

1 See the author's paper on: "The Development Towns and Their Region" (in prep.).

2 A. Harzfeld - Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des XIX.

Zionisten-kongresses und der vierten Tagung des Councils der Jewish

Agency für Palestina, Luzern, 20 August bis 6 September 1935, pp. 782-3.

- 1 Y. Barzilai (Head of Local Council): Introduction, in: The City of Yezreel-Afula, 25th Anniversary, 1925-1950, Local Council, Afula (n.d.), (in Hebrew).
- 2 ibid., p. 5.
- 3 A. Doudai, Regional Planning in Israel, Study Group on Problems of Individual and Group Settlement, April 25 - May 10, 1956, p. 5.
- 4 ibid., p. 5.
- 5 Z. Vilani, Afula, The City of Yizreel, Local Council, Afula, 1960, p. 45 (in Hebrew).

settlement. The founders of Afula had before their eyes the example of Tel-Aviv, and they intended to build the second (new Jewish) city in Eretz-Israel, in the Yizre'el Valley".¹ However: "The enterprise did not succeed. The objective conditions of the place were difficult and the agricultural surround-ings were not overly sympathetic".² The last point was more strongly put by the planner A. Doudai: "The majority of the villages (round Afula) were cooperative and collective villages... self-sufficient and ideologically dis-approving of town life. They did not provide the necessary rural hinterland for the consolidation of Afula".³ Actually, the villages were opposed to the establishment of the town and boycotted it. Their attitude was seconded "In those days the idea was not enough appreciated that mass immigration can only take root through the development of a heterogeneous national economy and that though agriculture is the basis for the colonization of the land, the city is the means for the increase of the population and the provision of employ-ment for the masses. Therefore, Afula did not attain monetary or moral support from the colonizing institutions, when its situation was most catas-trophic and when, due to lack of water, only a few could turn to agriculture".⁴ The large-scale plans for the new city failed dismally. They were never even remotely put to realization. The town faltered and became an indescript, mixed rural-urban settlement, which reached less than 3000 inhabitants in 1948, 23 years after its establishment.⁵ It did not attain city status until the present day. The only attempt to establish a Jewish city between the two World Wars has thus proved a complete failure.

- 1 For further detail, see: Weintraub, Lissak and Atzmon, op. cit.
- 2 On the process of gradual urbanization of the Moshavoth, see: M. Harel and D. Nir, *Geography of Eretz Israel*, Am Oved, Tel-Aviv, 1960, Ch. 3, (Urbanization of the Sharon), (in Hebrew).

of the conurbation of Tel-Aviv.

situated on the road from Tel-Aviv to Haifa. The other two cities are part

vided by the cities of Natanya, Ramat-Gan and Bnei Brak. Nathanya is

ment. The most outstanding examples of such rapid urbanization are pro-

started on the route of rapid urbanization a short time after their establish-

them had a mixed rural and urban economy right from the beginning; others

much quicker process of urbanization than the older Moshavoth. Some of

which were established between the Wars. Several of these exemplify a

have been established before the First World War. But there are a few

(2) Accelerated urbanization of newer Moshavoth: Most Moshavoth

are nowadays middle-sized towns.

2

other Moshavoth, such as Rishon Le'Zion, Hedera and Rechovot, all of which

over 73000. Similar secular processes of urbanization took place in several

1938 - sixty years after foundation.¹ At the end of 1967 it had a population of

structure and physical appearance changed and it was proclaimed a city in

tioned it has been established in 1878. As it slowly grew, its occupational

city of Petah Tikva, which has also been the first Moshava: as already men-

of urbanization. The best known example of this type of urbanization is the

tion of a pattern which is commonly found in Western countries during periods

agricultural settlements, but with growth they underwent gradual urbaniza-

19th and the beginning of the 20th century. They were originally purely

Holder Villages: The Moshavoth were mainly established at the end of the

(1) Secular urbanization of old-established Moshavoth, (Small-

dynamics of growth:

main types of such settlements could be distinguished by type of origin and

manner. These varied in their origin and pattern of development. Three

Mandate, several urban settlements nevertheless developed in an unplanned

Though no other planned new cities were attempted during the

movement.

they seem to have resembled the Moshavot rather closely and are even referred to by this term, particularly in the literature of the workers' through in the early stages of their development, and in actual fact City suburbs of Tel-Aviv. However, this conception was not carried conceived by groups of middle-class, "bourgeois" settlers as Garden 2 These two settlements have not been ordinary Moshavot. They were

1 On the beginning of Nathanya, see: The Digger of the Well, on the 25th Anniversary of Nathanya; The Progressive Party, Nathanya, 1953 (in Hebrew).

Moshavot preserved their agricultural characteristics - almost all of them found in villages in various Western countries. As a matter of fact very few of settlement in Palestine, its land-ownership pattern being similar to that type - Moshavot, which were the oldest and the least "revolutionary" form that all the villages which became urbanized were of the same settlement Before turning to our next category it is important to reiterate

Brak 64, 700.

Tel-Aviv. Ramat-Gan had in 1967 a population of about 106,800 and Bnei- whole area and are today large towns within the metropolitan complex of ments were virtually overrun by the process of urbanization which swept the two Moshavot the vicinity to Tel-Aviv played a decisive role - these settle- after their foundation they became urban settlements. In the case of these suburban Moshavot, Ramat Gan in 1921, Bnei Brak in 1925². However very soon been experienced by Ramat-Gan in 1921, Bnei-Brak. Both were founded as A similar, perhaps even more rapid process of urbanization has

State: in 1967 it had a population of nearly 58,000.¹ urban characteristics. It attained urban status after the establishment of the sea-resort. It very quickly lost the outward signs of rural origin and developed World War the pace of industrialization quickened. It also became a favoured other, the settlers soon switched to urban occupations. During the Second such as poor soil on the one hand and favourable location for industry on the ginally, to base their village on agriculture but for a variety of reasons, generation youngsters from old-established Moshavot. They intended, ori- Nathanya has been founded as a Moshava in 1929 by a group of second-

are at present urban or semi-urban settlements; the pace of their urbanization quickened after the establishment of the State.

The Moshavoth were the main source of origin of the middle-sized, older cities of Israel; nine out of eleven such cities had originally

been Moshavoth.

None of the other types of agricultural settlements, Moshavim or Kibbutzim, underwent such extreme processes of urbanization; neither are any of them likely to develop an urban structure in the foreseeable future, though some degree of urbanization of their way of life is quite common. It seems that this difference is mainly due to the much stronger ideological commitment to agriculture and to the socialist way of life in the Kibbutzim and Moshavim, as well as the relatively later date of establishment of most of these settlements.

It can thus be concluded that rapid urban development took place only in the more "bourgeois" sectors of agriculture; no new towns originated in the socialist sector of Jewish colonization in Palestine.

(3) Development of Satellite Towns from Housing Estates;

A wholly different path of urban development has been the gradual emergence of satellite towns from housing estates outside already established large cities. Tel-Aviv was the first of these towns: though, as already mentioned, some of its founders had dreams of *grandeur* for its future, it was at the beginning merely a suburb of Jaffa. However, Tel-Aviv grew rapidly and gained independent municipal status already in 1921. The pace of its growth quickened even more with the large scale immigration of German Jewry after 1933. At this time the foundations were laid for the future development of the Tel-Aviv metropolitan area.

A series of new housing estates have in turn been established in the surroundings of the urban core of Tel-Aviv and Jaffa. These were

1 On the progressive intrusion of the urban way of life into the Kibbutz, see: B. D. Weinryb: The Impact of Urbanization in Israel; *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1957, pp. 23-36.

- 1 Sh. Pachter, On the Way of Our Urban Settlement, Tel-Aviv, 1938, (in Hebrew).
- 2 On the development of such a housing estate and the problems of unification between several neighbouring estates, see: G. Kressel, Shchumat Borochov, Giva'tayim, 1961, part. Ch. 8, (in Hebrew).

mostly developed by a variety of associations and organizations affiliated with the various sectors of the Jewish community in Palestine. In the twenties, when such associations were first founded, they were small and informal: associations of workers trying to escape the "exploitation" of urban land-owners, who demanded what was considered as exorbitant prices for flats; associations of middle class families, who wanted to move out of the city into the comforts of a garden suburb; religious groups intent on building an urban quarter in which they could keep the precepts of the Jewish religion without disturbance. Later, bigger and more formal organizations took part in the establishment of housing projects: Housing companies, the General Federation of Labour and its sub-organizations, political movements, and similar organizations.

In spite of their variety, most of these associations and organizations had one trait in common: their efforts were intended to solve a specific problem of the group they served, but has not been couched in broader ideological terms. None of them had far-reaching plans of urban development or attempted to found a new town. Only the Workers' Estates, which will be discussed later on, were a partial exception to this rule.

Some of the housing estates were constructed within the confines of existing cities or Moshavot, like the already mentioned settlements of Ramat-Gan and Bnei Brak. Others led, for a considerable period of time, an independent existence, unattached to any municipal framework. However, as they expanded and the distance between neighboring estates narrowed, several of them encountered similar problems which they could not solve without some degree of cooperation. United action, in turn, led to steadier arrangements, until several estates were amalgamated to form a new municipal unit.² The exact pattern of amalgamation would often be determined by the

affiliation of the association which established the estates with the various sectors of Jewish society. A case in point is the separate emergence of the near-by cities of Giva'tayim and Ramat-Gan: Giva'tayim was constituted of a series of workers suburbs and attempted to preserve its working-class character long afterwards. Ramat-Gan, formed round the nucleus of a Moshava, attracted the more "bourgeois" estates around it. Ideological considerations have even overcome geographical proximity: within the municipal area of Ramat-Gan there are a few enclaves of workers' neighborhoods under the jurisdiction of the municipality of Giva'tayim.¹

However, unification did not do away with the differences between the individual estates and for a long time after unification the town remained a conglomeration of distinct neighbourhoods. A recent survey of Giva'tayim, conducted in 1966 within the framework of the preparation of the Master Plan for the city, expressly states this point: "The inhabitants of the neighbourhoods (which constitute the city) had a divergent view on the style of life and the direction of development of their places of living.

These differences can be observed in the development of the city. Even today, after Giva'tayim was consolidated into a city, it is still possible to recognize the mosaic of neighbourhoods."²

1 Similar enclaves can be found in the municipal divisions of the agricultural area of Israel into district councils: due to ideological as well as practical considerations, the authorities strove to constitute, as much as possible, homogeneous district councils, i. e., composed of settlements of a similar type (Moshavim only or Kibbutzim only) and affiliated to the same ideological movement. Where there was some outlying settlement or small group of settlements of one type in an area settled mostly by settlements of another type the former would be attached to a neighbouring district council, where settlements of a kindred type predominate. See: map of regional councils in Atlas of Settlements in Israel, Population and Housing Census 1961, Publ. No. 14, State of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem 1963.

2 Master Plan for Giva'tayim - 1966, Report No. 1 (in Hebrew - mimeo.) p. 33 (translated by the author).

(in Hebrew).

1 From: Report for 1938 of the Council of Kiriat Avoda and its Directorate

From our short outline of urban development in Jewish Palestine before the establishment of the State, the main weaknesses of the urban structure can be deduced. The main problem seems to be the contrast between the fast pace of urban growth and the lack of concern with or planning of such developments due to their ideological disregard.

has yet attained such status.

status after the establishment of the State, while none of the suburbs of Haifa areas, that most of the satellite towns around Tel-Aviv attained full-city-tics up to the present time. It is typical of the difference between the two developed into full-fledged towns, they preserved their suburban characteristics - Motzkin, Kiryat Yam, Kiriat Hayim etc. Though these townships were settlements have been founded - called Krayot or "townships", e.g., Kiriat scale in the much smaller metropolitan area of Haifa, though here too suburban the period of the Mandate. There were no similar developments on the same the metropolitan area of Tel-Aviv, which grew extraordinarily quickly during The development of satellite towns is a process characteristic of

in 1936.

with rapid expansion it quickly lost its religious character. It was incorporated When it was founded in 1925 it was conceived as a religious settlement, but Similarly, Bat-Yam also grew out of a series of housing estates.

estates in the region, some of which were developed by private interests. council was the wish to avoid haphazard and planless growth of the various by the authorities in 1940. The chief reason for the establishment of a local places, to establish a local municipal council... This has been granted of the Histadrut in the Holon sector decided, after bitter experiences in other 'thirties. After the plan was put into effect... the responsible institutions of the whole area of workers housing estates was conceived in the later during the 'twenties and 'thirties'. A general plan for the development housing estates, which were established independently from one another, loped in a similar manner: Holon is an agglomeration of six workers' Holon and Bat-Yam, two other satellite towns of Tel-Aviv, deve-

2 N. Stein, *The Social Planning of the Urban Sector*, *Journal of the Israeli Association of Town Planners*, No. 1, 1951, p. 14 (in Hebrew, translated by the author).

1 Sh. Pachter, op. cit., p. 4 (translated by the author).

Urbanization in Palestine, due to the influx of immigrants was fairly rapid. Except for the slowly urbanizing older Moshavoth, almost all of the settlements which evolved an urban form during the period were at most twenty years old; this is a relatively low age as urbanization of non-urban forms goes. The population of the new urban settlements which developed during the Mandate was considerable when the State was established in 1947; these settlements alone had probably a larger population than all the Kibbutzim and Moshavim taken together. However, their growth passed mostly unnoticed by the general public and the national institutions. As we have seen, their development had been sporadic; not a single successful new town was consciously established; and the development of those towns which grew by themselves, was mostly influenced by short range factors, such as the need to provide shelter for immigrant urban labour, short-range economic booms in the wake of which there was a sharp rise in building activity etc.; long-range considerations of urban outlay and image did hardly exist.

The problems caused by these developments were realized by a few thoughtful people who concerned themselves with urban planning. One of the critics of the urban situation in Palestine complained in the late thirties that "the process of urban construction is in a state of lack of system, constructive guidance and civic instruction".¹ But, in spite of complaints and severity of the urban situation no effective solutions were proposed or put into action. The situation was aptly summarized by an urban planner shortly after the establishment of the State:

"In contrast with . . . socialist pioneering (in the villages) our towns developed, both physically and socially, in a routine and random way characteristic of all the towns in the world. This way of development did not correspond to the ideals of the Zionist movement. Here are rooted the many drawbacks which afflict our towns."² And he continues: "The Zionist ideology,

2 E. Brutzkus, On the Question of Urban Settlement, J. of the Assoc. of Eng. and Arch. in Eretz Israel, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1944, p. 13 (in Hebrew).

1 *Ibid* p. 14.

with its slogan 'back to the land' is to a certain degree responsible for this contrast between the urban and the rural sector. It negated, in fact, the city for a long period of time and only under the pressure of inevitable developments began to pay the city half-hearted attention."¹

A similar concern with the unwelcome results of this negligence of urban problems on part of the national institutions was expressed in 1944 by E. Brutzkus, later one of the chief planners of urban development in the State of Israel. He wrote at the time: "... the institutions did not consider themselves responsible for urban settlement; and so it came to pass that this settlement has been abandoned to the play of unrestrained forces. Here the system of *laissez faire laissez aller* was dominant.... In particular the institutions never considered the basic question of urban size and of the geographical distribution of the non-agricultural population. They were not interested in regional planning and urban planning... One may perhaps say that such developments (in the urban sphere) were natural. But not everything which develops in a natural way is good and healthy... I don't think the way our urban settlement went has brought forth the best and healthiest results."²

Their attention concentrated elsewhere, the persons responsible for the settlement of the country were not interested in the implications of the rapid process of urbanization which has, in the Central Plain, started already in the 'thirties, and accelerated in the 'forties. Their attitude was mainly negative - to prevent the city from encroaching upon the agricultural land. It was constantly reiterated that the pace of growth of the cities should be slowed down, but only few concrete proposals emerged to deal with those problems which the cities had to deal with: over-concentration of population, lack of urban image, congestion, inadequately planned services, etc. In this period of rapid urbanization, shortly before the establishment of the State, all those urban problems which plague the state of Israel, up to the present, are rooted.

It is obvious that the massive influx of immigrants immediately after the State was established would inevitably create some of these problems; but their scope would probably have been greatly reduced had urban settlement, during the period of the Mandate, enjoyed but a fraction of the attention given to agriculture.

4. Early Approaches to the Urban Problems

As we have seen in the preceding discussion, many thoughtful persons indicated their dismay on the manner of urban development in Palestine. This criticism raises the question as to what should be done with the cities and their functions in a society which bases itself primarily on agriculture? How could the cities, or at least their functions, be integrated within the framework of pioneering Zionism? Not many were the constructive answers to these problems. However, a few attempts to come to grips with them were nevertheless made. These attempts essayed to integrate the city or at least urban functions with the broader aims of pioneering Zionism. Not all of them were sophisticated and almost none were successful - but the analysis of these attempts will give us an idea about the intellectual background of the large scale, centrally directed urban development which took place a short time after the establishment of the State.

The various ideas which were proposed ranged from an attempt to transfer urban functions to rural settlements, to attempts to establish urban neighbourhoods with rural characteristics and finally, to establish new towns on similar formal principles on which agricultural colonization had been based. Sh. Lavi's proposal of the "Large Kibbutz", which had been mentioned before in another context, corresponds to the first type of ideas: the transference of urban functions to the collective villages. He proposed that in the "Large Kibbutz", in which about 3000 members would live, agriculture and industry be combined. The settlement would thus unite some of the basic economic functions of town and village, and become a hybrid type of settlement,

something between a rural and urban community, but tending more to the former than to the latter.

This conception was embraced by one of the Kibbutz movements -

Hakibutz Hameuchad. In the words of one of the commentators on the urban-rural problem in the Zionist ideology: "The absolute [concentration] on agricultural production gives place to a new socio-economic conception, which

attempts to unite, within the framework of the village, agriculture, handicraft and industry; this [tendency] is expressed principally in the activities of

Hakibutz Hameuchad. According to this social conception, the solution of

industrial problems will not be found in the city, where it encounters high

costs of production, but through a fusion with agriculture in the Jewish village.

This would make possible a reduction in costs of production through the

maximal employment of the labour force in the economy, during all the

months of the year, and through the reduction of the costs of living for the

agricultural worker".¹ In accordance with the generally pragmatic approach

of Hakibutz Hameuchad - the most matter-of-fact among the federations of

Kibbutzim² - this statement of aims is couched in practical terms. Emphasis

is given to economic considerations. However, this emphasis should not

cause us to overlook its ideological importance; the achievement of an optimal

use of resources enables the Kibbutz to compete in the market and thus to

strengthen its economic position, which, in turn is one of the chief means for

the realization of the aims of pioneering Zionism.

The implications of this idea were, basically, that the villages would

in due time become independent of the cities, by supplying for themselves those

urban functions without which they cannot exist. The superfluity of the cities

would thus by itself check their development, and they would gradually fade

away. Though there were some in the Kibbutz movement who really believed

that future Jewish society in Palestine will be based solely on collectives, it

should not be concluded that Lavi had in mind the abolition of cities. His prob-

1 A Tartakower, *op. cit.*, p. 129

2 See M. Braslavsky, Hakibutz Hameuchad, in: Y. Messinger (ed.), Kvutza, Moshav, Kibbutz, Hechalutz Pamphlets, New York, 1952.

learn was how to prevent the Kibbutz, then in its very beginnings, from faltering, and not how to stop the growth of the cities.

The implication for the city of Lavi's proposals were essentially

negative. Other, more positive approaches to the urban problem were pro-

posed by those who were concerned with the gradual growing asunder of towns

and villages or with the dismal state into which the cities sunk; several new and

far-reaching proposals and conceptions for the improvement of the urban situa-

tion had been made.

These various proposals to deal with the urban problem had one

characteristic in common: all of them were influenced by the high esteem

given to the Zionist agricultural enterprise and exhibited a "rural bias",

which was manifested in various ways. Such a "rural bias con-

tinued to characterize the approach to the planning of new towns even after the

establishment of the State, as we shall see in the following section.

The approach which has been ideologically closest to that of Lavi,

but takes a somewhat different path was the idea of the "urban Kibbutz",

The continued existence of non-collective, urban settlements side by side

with collectivized agriculture bothered some members of the Kibbutz and

particularly those of Hakibbutz Hameuchad. In the thirties, the idea of the

"urban Kibbutz" was born¹ - the radical transformation of urban life on col-

lectivistic lines through the establishment of Kibbutzim within the framework

of urban settlements. It is important to note that no new collective urban

settlements were proposed - but the introduction of communal life into the

already existing cities.

The idea to bring collective life into the city was born already in

the twenties, when the "Working Brigades" have been started. The first

attempt to establish an urban Kibbutz failed. After this initial failure another

group had been formed in "Shchunat Borochov"², a workers' housing estate,

"... with the aim to establish an urban Kibbutz, near-to the city. This was

1 See Sh. Galvetz: The Urban Kibbutz, Tel-Aviv, 1940, (in Hebrew).

2 See Kressel, op. cit.

an unusual aim, to the mind of the settlement institutions, and initially it encountered opposition from the functionaries responsible for settlement...¹ This particular group later established the Kvutza Gihl-Yam, near Herzlia in the metropolitan area of Tel-Aviv. Several other urban kibbutzim were established during the period of the Mandate, but none of these proved successful.

The most important attempt to establish an urban Kibbutz was made in the late thirties and early forties when the Kibbutz Efi'el was founded near Tel-Aviv.

The establishment of Efi'el was a step further in the direction already taken by Kibbutz Yagur², in the vicinity of Haifa, which was established on the lines proposed in the conception of the Large Kibbutz. Members of Yagur, were sent to Haifa to work as hired laborers, but the Kibbutz itself was located in rural surroundings. The bold innovation of establishing Kibbutz Efi'el in an urban environment was undertaken because of the "... growing psychological and ethical differences, as well as differences in the extent of pioneering between the town and the village (i.e., Kibbutz)... The Kibbutz cannot remain apathetic towards this occurrences. It is forced ... to draw nearer to the urban worker, to enter the city, to strike roots there."³ It was pointed out that this necessity to bring the Kibbutz into the city has been ever more strongly felt since those early days when the workers were still migrating between town and countryside and did not yet have a fixed abode.⁴ In other words, the necessity for radical action, the

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- 1 From the Report of the Standing Committee to the Third Convention of the Histadrut, 1927, quoted in: Y. Uitzki (ed.), : At Labor and in Strive, Workers' Council of Ramat Gan and Giv'atayim, 1955, p. 27 (in Hebrew, translated by the author).
 - 2 See: The Book of Yagur, Hakibutz Hameuchad, Tel-Aviv, 1965 (in Hebrew).
 - 3 Galvetz, p. 8
 - 4 ibid., p. 9

needed to "communalize" the city rose in importance as the differentiation

between city and countryside increased.

However, the bold attempt did not succeed. The urban Kibbutz of

Etlal was shortlived. It never developed those intensive and all-embracing

patterns of social life which are characteristic of the rural Kibbutzim. The

proximity of the city of Tel-Aviv proved a disruptive influence. The over-

lapping of the various institutional spheres of Kibbutz life, characteristic of

the rural Kibbutz, could not be realized under urban conditions. Work, the

most important of these spheres, was differently organized than in the rural

Kibbutz, owing to the urban, non-agricultural character of the work branches.

The segregation of the Kibbutz community from the rest of urban society was

not preserved. It is also questionable in how far this enterprise was whole-

heartedly supported by the settlement institutions and the Histadrut. As a

result of all these problems, Etlal eventually disintegrated. Thus the most

radical-attempt at a transformation of urban life, proved a failure. City and

village continued to develop on divergent lines.

A somewhat less revolutionary attempt to introduce new social forms

into the city were "Workers' housing estates" ("Shchunot Ovdim"). These

were cooperative enterprises established by the Histadrut with the aim to

provide adequate and hygienic housing for urban workers. However, the idea

was not confined to this materialistic end - these estates were also intended

to help the settlers undergo a "complete transformation of values"¹ by

changing the environment in which they lived. Indeed, some of the settlements

were intended to develop many of the characteristics of the Kibbutz. They

were the only type of urban settlement which benefited from some "... social

planning, owing to the [efforts of] the central cooperative institutions which

were established by the Histadrut in its endeavor [to create] a renewed

society".² The original conception of the Shchunat O'vdim was also

influenced by the Garden City concept.³

1 Kiri'at Avoda: Report on the year 1937, p. 1 (in Hebrew). Kiri'at Avoda
is one of the outstanding examples of this type of settlement.

2 N. Stein, op. cit., p. 14

3. A. Granowsky: Soil and Colonization, Merkaz Hechalutz Ha'olami,
Jerusalem, 1929, p. 144, (in Hebrew).

One of the earliest and most interesting of these workers' housing

estates has been Kiriat Hayim (Arlozorov) near Haifa. Here, as in other such estates, houses were provided with plots, to enable the settlers to engage in agriculture. The intention of the founders was not only to provide the settlers with housing, but also to "... create, on a cooperative basis... industry, handicrafts and agriculture, and to organize the cooperative buying of articles for consumption and the cooperative selling of the settlers' products".¹ The settlers were obliged to work their plot of land by themselves or with the help of their families² they were thus prevented from using hired labor. The were forbidden to open a shop in their houses.³ Government by general assembly, resembling that in the Kibbutz, was introduced.⁴

Shchunat Borochoy, mentioned above, another workers' housing estate, was conceived on similar lines.⁵ The residents were also expected to work plots of land attached to their houses. However, the plans for Shchunat Borochoy were even more far-reaching: "The workers' estate desired to initiate the establishment of a Kvutza [small Kibbutz] which would be located within the estate. This Kvutza would raise vegetables, fruit, chicken, bees, would keep a plant-nursery and a fruit-garden. The intention had been that the Kvutza and the estate create a mutual bond for the supply and demand of necessary provision."⁶

The explicit ideology of the founders of this housing estate was to fuse the urban-industrial and the agricultural ways of life: "The estate was an important attempt in the thought of the ideologists of the [workers'] movement to fuse an urban workers' settlement, ... with agricultural work..."⁷

1 From the contract between the housing cooperative and the settler, in: Kiriat Hayim (Arlozorov), Haifa, 1933, p. 4 (in Hebrew).

2 *Ibid.*, p. 5

3 *Ibid.*, p. 6

4 *Ibid.*, p. 6

5 See Kressel, *op. cit.*

6 Uitzki, *op. cit.*, p. 17

7 *Ibid.*, p. 17

I Sh. Ben-Tzvi in "Kuntzas" quoted from Uitzki, *op. cit.*, 1924, p. 22.

However, the colonizing institutions, intent as they were to develop rural settlements, had little understanding for such innovations: "Our estate was always considered to be the step-child of the national institutions. For a long period of time they could not digest this kind of settlement and were unable to define into which type [i.e., of the established and recognized type of settlements] it belongs. The fusion which is neither town nor village was not well understood by the functionaries."¹

The two workers' housing estates which we discussed were the most outstanding instances of a whole series of similar enterprises, some of which were moulded on these examples. Here we dealt only with the ideological approach which was characteristic of the founders of these estates. In actual fact, they were not fully able to realize their ideals. As a form of settlement the workers' estates never reached anything approaching the rigorously ideological ordering of life characteristic of the Kibbutz. This inability again demonstrates the difficulties involved in any attempt to establish ideologically oriented forms of social life in an urban context.

The pervading "agricultural orientation" in the conceptions of both workers' estates, should be noted. It is characteristic of all the approaches to urban social problems before and even for a time after the establishment of the State. Even if the founders of the estates had been perfectly aware of the fact that they were founding an urban suburb they emphasized that it should include agriculture, and that the urban laborer should do at least some agricultural work. The workers' housing estates were ideologically the most articulated attempt in urban settlement; though even they have not enjoyed the full-hearted support of the institutions, notwithstanding their agricultural overtones.

At the close of the period of the Mandate, several private persons and groups started to examine the urban question and to propose new ideas on future urban development.

A curious proposal in this respect came from a doctor from Gedera, a Moshava south of Tel-Aviv, A. Ben-Gefen. This person did not have any formal position within the colonizing institutions and was probably not taken seriously by them. However, though his ideas passed unnoticed at the time, and seem quaint today, they are of some importance as early indicators of future trends in thinking on new urban developments.

Ben-Gefen proposed a town for 50000 inhabitants, 20000 of them breadwinners. He was thus striving towards what should under the circumstances be considered a big town. However, he was also intent to enable this town to perform pioneering tasks: "The role and the plan for this town - and particularly its economic structure - are [intended to provide] independence; it is balanced so as to achieve independent standing and independent existence. Owing to this, the town can be established and built on any place in the country where air, land and water are available." ¹ Ben-Gefen was of the opinion that such big towns, established at politically important sites, would be a better means of colonization than the little agricultural villages had

been.

Ben-Gefen put great emphasis on the internal balance of the town, ² which would enable it to be self-contained to the point that it could be established anywhere - because it would gain independence from its environment. In the "balanced" town "The settlers and the investments . . . will be planned and selected"; ³ "The distribution of places of work - rationation(sic) - is adapted and limited, to achieve a balance between production and consumption of the settlers in the town; it is also strictly adapted to the external market; ⁴ finally: "In the town sources of employment and existence will be created in a pluricultural economy - up to the boundary of its rational

1 A. Ben-Gefen: Towns and Employment, Gedera, 1946, p. 3 (in Hebrew) (Translated by the author).

2 He even wrote a book called: "The Balanced Town", after the establishment of the State (in Hebrew), 1951.

3 "Towns and Employment", p. 4

4 Ibid., p. 4

capacities." ¹ There is a necessity for "... rationation in the reconstruction of the town - which is a heterogeneous society [the members of which]

'will live from one another', " ²

The obscure language of Ben-Gefen hides some of the ideas which were later applied to the planning of new towns in Israel - though these were probably developed quite independently of Ben-Gefen. For our purposes it is important to point out the influence of the rural ideology on Ben-Gefen's ideas. Though the rural bias is here not so readily recognizable, it is clear that his basic concepts own their origin to the ideas underlying agricultural settlement: according to the concept of the "multicultural economy" ³ ("Meshek Me'urav"), the individual agricultural settlement is so planned, that it provides continuous employment to all the members of the settlement throughout the year, balances agricultural risks, provides a great deal of necessities of life for the settlers, and enables the establishment of agricultural colonies wherever needed - as long as some minimal conditions of land and climate are satisfied. The settlement so conceived could thus be used as a more or less self-contained unit of colonization. Ben-Gefen accepted the formal assumptions of this agricultural model, and transposed them into his concept of the planned, balanced and pluricultural town, which can also, like the agricultural colony, be established almost anywhere in the country.

Ben-Gefen's is, maybe, the most naive and bizarre of the early attempts to accommodate the city to pioneering Zionism.

Later approaches, though more sophisticated, were nevertheless akin in spirit to some of Ben-Gefen's ideas. Of these later approaches the most serious and most fateful for the future physical image of the country, developed, in the late 'thirties and early 'forties in a small circle of plan-

1 *ibid.*, p. 4

2 *ibid.*, p. 5

3 See: Y. Eliazari: *The Improved Multicultural Economy*, Institute for Agriculture and Natural Science, Tel Aviv, 1925; and also R. Weitz, *Our Way in Agriculture and Colonization*, Am Oved, Tel Aviv, 1959, pp. 195 - 201. (Both in Hebrew).

ners and architects, the best known of whom is probably E. Brutzkus.

For the first time in the history of Jewish settlement in Palestine serious thought was devoted to over-all physical planning of the country,¹ and to its regional and urban development.² The ideas developed by this groups provided the basis for the formulation of the ideology and aims of physical planning and for the foundation of a series of new towns immediately after the establishment of the State. Therefore, it seems more appropriate to discuss these ideas in our next section.

1 E. Brutzkus: Aims and Possibilities of National Planning, *Habinyan*, No. 3, 1938, (In Hebrew).

2 See e.g.: "Anonymous": Towards the Improvement of Our Colonization, through the Rural-Urban Centre, B'chor, A Contemporary Compendium, 1941, Tel-Aviv (in Hebrew); See also:

Y. Shifman: Urban Development: the Size of the Town, *J. of the Assoc. of Engineers and Architects in Eretz Israel*, No. 5, 1944, pp. 8-13, (in Hebrew); E. Brutzkus: On the Problem of Our Urban Colonization, *J. of the Assoc. of Eng. and Arch. in Eretz Israel*, No. 5, 1944, pp. 14-14 (in Hebrew).
E. Brutzkus: *Physical Planning in Israel*, Jerusalem, 1964, (mimeo). pp. 17-18.

(5) Ideological Approaches to the Establishment of New Towns

in the Period of the State.

Whereas during the whole period of the Yishuv, since the foundation of Tel-Aviv before the First World War until the establishment of the State,

practically no new towns were established in Jewish Palestine, the period of statehood is characterized by hectic activity in this sphere: in the first 15

years of statehood about 30 new towns have been founded; several other urban

settlements were settled by Jewish immigrants after they had been abandoned by the Arabs²; in addition new urban satellites were created. In recent

years, particularly, more energy and resources were devoted to the establish-

ment of new towns than to agricultural colonization - though the latter managed to hold the spotlight for many years and is still, at least nominally, given

ideological priority.

The colonizing institutions did not decide to turn their efforts to

urban development out of their own free choice; this decision was forced upon

them by the circumstances of immigration and settlement which emerged after the establishment of the State. On the one hand, there was an enormous and

unprecedented influx of new and often utterly destitute immigrants; on the

other hand, land and water resources became ever more scarce. It became

quickly apparent that agriculture will not be able to absorb but a fraction of

the immigration. However, the rest could not be left to itself and had to be

assisted by governmental and public institutions in order to be absorbed in the

towns and cities. The new towns were largely a response to the need to

disperse these settlers throughout the country and to prevent their concentra-

tion in the coastal plain.

However, the rise in importance of planned urban absorption of im-

migrants was not accompanied by a change in outlook from a rural to an urban

1 Generally known as "development towns" (a 'yarot pituach).

2 For a general description of these towns, see: E. Spiegel, *Neue Staedte/ New Towns in Israel*, Stuttgart & Bern, 1966.

colonizing or pioneering ideology. The cherished ideals of pioneering

Zionism were not given up - to the contrary, they were actually introduced into urban planning. The "infiltration" of rural conceptions into urban

planning and the subtle changes which the planning conceptions underwent, with time, are some of the most interesting aspects in the process of urban development during the period of Statehood.

Urban settlement did not become an ideological goal in itself, and therefore no new and revolutionary image was proposed for the new towns. This fact was recognized even in an official publication of the Ministry of Housing, which at a later date assumed responsibility for new urban development: "With the establishment of the State and the intensified development of agriculture, the time arrived for urban settlement. It was obvious that in various parts of the country the principal and broadest possibilities for development depend upon the establishment of new urban settlements.

The inertia in thinking continued to work only in the direction of agricultural settlements, and in fact even until today there are no public or social factor or factors which develop a social ideology for urban settlement; this settlement is carried out only through administrative activities."¹

After the State had been established the sudden need to plan the future physical development of a whole country, seized upon the imagination of the planners. Whereas before, individual settlements were planned and established in various parts of the country, now a comprehensive plan was developed, which envisaged the establishment of tens of new urban centers in the future. The first outline of this plan was prepared already in 1950² - two years after the establishment of the State. This points out the urgency

1 Survey of Activities of the Ministry of Housing for Fiscal Year 1961/2 and Explanatory Remarks to the Budget Proposal for 1962/3, p. 39 (mimeo) (in Hebrew, translated by the author). The survey goes on to propose some elements of such an ideology, see *supra* p. 47.

2 See: A. Sharon: Physical Planning in Israel, Tel-Aviv, 1951 (in Hebrew).

with which overall planning was now approached - an urgency intensified by the necessity to disperse and settle the mass of new immigrants who came into the country in the period of 1948-51.

The practical and theoretical bases of this new planning effort were rather meagre. It is true, as E. Brutzkus points out, that the planning ideology developed by the circle of planners shortly before the establishment of the State, "... permitted the newly created Planning Department to initiate the first step towards a policy for the dispersal of the population, against both - the spontaneous trends and the "conventional wisdom" of the majority of the public opinion".¹ However, the protagonists of the new planning ideology were mainly a small group of professionals, and not the official ideological leaders of the country. The slogan, "dispersal of the population" never gained the same ideological urgency and importance as, for example, the slogan of "Mizug Galuyot" ("Integration of the Diasporas"); but it was nevertheless accepted as public policy. Moreover, the ideas which the planners proposed were rudimentary and were never before tested in actual practice. The planners found themselves thus on virgin ground - not only in the sense that they dealt with the development of utterly new towns and even whole new regions; but also in the more significant sense that they had no body of well-developed and tested ideas at their disposal which could guide a rational policy of physical planning. This fact is also conceded by Brutzkus: "It is characteristic" he says "that, in contrast to the considerable experience gained during the British Mandate in the foundation of agricultural settlements, the experience in the foundation of urban settlements is very small, restricted and seemingly rather random by nature."²

1 E. Brutzkus: *Physical Planning*, op.cit., p. 18.

2 E. Brutzkus: *The Foundation of New Urban Centres*, J. of the Israeli Assoc. for Urban Planning, No. 1, 1952, p. 5, (in Hebrew; translated by the author).

Following the path on which the circle of planners departed before the establishment of the state, the planners responsible for physical planning availed themselves of models of settlement patterns which had been developed for other countries. The model most acceptable to them was the familiar idea of "hierarchy of settlements", according to which the number of settlements of a certain size varies conversely with size: the bigger the size, the smaller the number of settlements of this type; and the smaller the size, the larger the number of settlements of the type. This model, found to be satisfactory for the analysis of the existing settlement patterns of some old-established agricultural areas of Western Europe, was accepted by the planners as a normative model for the future development of urban settlement in Israel. ¹ It was found that, due to the conditions of colonization prevailing during the period of the Mandate, only the polar points of the hierarchy of settlements were developed in Israel: the three big cities, i.e., Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem, on the one hand, and a great number of small, self-sufficient, agricultural communities on the other. The middle levels of the hierarchy were not well-developed: there were few middle-sized and small towns. In the words of one of the outstanding planners of urban and regional settlement in the period of the State: "... the division of the country into separate urbanized and rural belts became even more pronounced with the rapid increase of population [after the establishment of the State].

The few underdeveloped country towns were unable to "mediate" between the big city and the village. . . . There were at least "two Israels" in the country; the one represented by over-centralization in three big towns and their environs, the other represented by extreme trends of social, institutional and even economic decentralization in small villages striving for self-sufficiency.

1 For the model of a hierarchy of settlements and the underlying theory of central places, see: W. Christaller, *Central Places in Southern Germany*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966.

We have pointed out here only those aspects of the theory which have influenced most the thinking of the early planners in Israel. For a full bibliography of its many ramifications see: B.J.L. Berry & A. Pred: *Central Place Studies; A Bibliography of Theory and Applications*, Regional Science Research Inst., Philadelphia, 1965.

- 1 A. Glickson, as quoted by A. Doudai in: Regional Planning in Israel, Study Group on Problems of Individual and Group Settlement, April 25 - May 10, 1956, n.a. (mimeo.) p. 3.
- 2 *ibid.*, p. 3
- 3 See: A. Sharon: *Physical Planning*... op. cit., pp. 8-10
Also: E. Brutzkus: *Physical Planning in Israel*, pp. 19-21; the expected future sizes of the centers were taken mainly from the latter publication.
See also: E. Spiegel, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

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- (A) The village unit: about 500 persons, which is the "Basic agricultural cell";
 - (B) Rural centers: a population of several hundreds, where the regional agricultural services will be concentrated; each of these would serve 4-6 of the surrounding villages;
 - (C) Urban-Rural Centres, with a population of 6-12000, which would serve an area of several tens of villages;
 - (D) Medium-Sized Towns, with a population of 15-60000, which would serve as centers of whole districts; the inhabited areas of the country were divided into 24 districts; each of these was to have a medium-sized town as its center;
 - (E) Big Towns of a population of over 100,000 which will serve as national centers.

groups:

The national plan divided the settlements by size into five main groups:

The planners thus decided to establish the missing middle links of the hierarchy. Their principal idea has been that it is necessary to create such centers artificially and to encourage the villages in the area to use these newly established towns as regional service-centers.

The national plan divided the settlements by size into five main groups:

own small urban centers in their rural districts."²

the central offices of their organizations, and did not feel a need for their farmers came into contact with the big, overcentralized city, mainly through concentration and the villages . . . For their needs the well-organized small regional urban centers, the intermediaries between the large urban the necessary rural hinterland for the establishment and consolidation of self-sufficient, and ideologically disapproving of city life, did not provide

viously quoted planner: "The collective and co-operative villages being

ciency".¹ Furthermore, in the words of one of the colleagues of the pre-

It should be remembered that the transition from agricultural to urban colonization was largely imposed upon the institutions by force of circumstance; it was not a voluntary transition. Urban settlement was still considered second-best, a recourse unwillingly taken by lack of opportunities for large scale agricultural settlement. Thus the idea was conceived to make the new urban centers as similar to agricultural settlements as possible. Ideas for a future hybrid rural-urban settlement have already

swayed over the planners. rooted in the "agricultural bias" of the settlement ideology which still held upon the establishment of urban-rural centers lies somewhat deeper: it is However, the more important reason for this peculiar insistence

nation-wide scale.

it to Israel's conditions or to experiment with it before it is applied on a "hierarchy of settlements" in too formalistic a way and did not try to adapt

in the lack of experience of the planners, who approached the idea of a urban half-rural type of settlement? Undoubtedly, part of the answer lies What were the reasons for such a strong emphasis upon a half-

and most problematic link in the structure of urban settlement in Israel.

created in a short period of time - and these promptly became the weakest unviable and dated. However, a whole series of such sub-centers was the traditional small trading towns of Western Europe seemed to many critics thousand inhabitants and a limited number of service functions, which resemble has been a controversial idea. These small sub-regional centers with a few From its very inception, the establishment of rural-urban centers

gical emphasis.

characteristically, the smaller, urban-rural centers, gained more ideological - actually, it provided the back-bone of the whole structure. However, service center for the newly defined regions was obviously the more important - Of those two, the medium-sized D-center, which was to serve as a urban types, C and D, because of their great potential to absorb new immigrants. The planners devoted most of their energies to the development of the two The "missing links" of the hierarchy were, of course, types B-D.

- 1 See e.g., the article by "Anonymous", *op. cit.*
- 2 E. Brutzkus: *The Foundation of New Urban Centers*, J. of the Israeli Assoc. for Urban Planning, 1, 1952, p. 5 (in Hebrew, translated by the author).
- 3 See on this point: D. Zaslavski: *Immigrant Housing in Israel*, Building, Planning and Development, 5710-5713, Am Oved, Tel-Aviv, 1954, p. 107 (in Hebrew).

been proposed before the establishment of the State, by some of the fore-runners of the planners of large-scale urban settlements.¹ Though the urban-rural centers were essentially urban settlements, care was taken that they should enjoy all the advantages of rural life. In a paper written a short while after the inception of the national plan, E. Brutzkus, the main protagonist of the urban-rural centers, wrote: "Only the small [urban-rural center] could be made to contain a great number of small agricultural holdings, auxiliary agricultural holdings and vegetable gardens which would reduce the living costs of the industrial worker."²

The urban-rural centers were planned in a manner which corresponded to their basically hybrid conception: their population had to be small, and set amidst agricultural surroundings. They were planned for a very low population density, and were thus dispersed on a relatively large area. The houses were small and low, usually one story buildings, often inhabited only by two families. Outwardly, these settlements resembled big villages rather than towns.

To many of the houses were attached small plots of land, where the inhabitants were expected to grow vegetables and fruit for their own consumption and thus provide for themselves part of the necessary foodstuffs. The cultivation of vegetables and fruit has not been considered a mere pastime, but an integral part of the town's economy. The settlers were expected to work as agricultural laborers in the surrounding well-established villages; however, it was supposed that many of the settlers would be only temporary or seasonal laborers. Therefore, the attached plots of land should provide them with employment in slack seasons.³ Thus, the settlers

of the new towns were expected to be part-time agriculturists, living in towns. Furthermore, even some of the future medium sized towns (type D) were conceived along similar lines; even they were planned in a dispersed way and part of their population was expected to work in the surrounding villages as agricultural laborers. However, the medium sized towns were not expected to resemble villages to the same extent as the urban-rural centers were; moreover, when ideas changed at a later period, attempts to endow them with essentially urban features were made earlier than in the smaller towns.

The conception of the urban-rural center came under sharp fire by some critics of national physical planning who considered them to be artificial and unnecessary products of inept planning; so A. Doudai comments: "Another urban settlement proposed is a 'small town of semi-rural character with a population of 3-8000' (E. Brutzkus) without a definition of its particular functions. In my opinion, these small towns have no *raison d'être*. These are the type of small towns in Europe which either grow or die out, for they are not sufficiently strong to maintain services which could be an attraction to the rural hinterland".¹ And he continues: "It is my conviction that we are making a very serious mistake by developing too many small urban centers. . . . I am sure that it would have been much more constructive to pay more attention and concentration to fewer, but to the main, regional centers."² Similar points were raised by the architect Y. Ben-Sira, formerly the Municipal Engineer of Tel-Aviv, and one of the boldest critics of the whole governmental approach to national planning and the establishment of new towns: "... the rural center and the urban-rural center make me wonder. They seem to me to be artificial and unsuitable for the dimensions of our country, for the character of our agriculture and for its social polarization. . . . The traditional Jewish attitude and the Cholutzic theory of agriculture are also both opposed to this small-townish form of urban life, the time for which has

passed."³

1 Doudai, *op. cit.*, p. 7

2 *ibid.*, p. 8

3 Y. Ben-Sira: On the Problem of Physical Planning, *Molad*, 10, 1952/3, p. 137 (in Hebrew; translated by the author).

- 1 By the Commission on the Dispersal of the Population.
- 2 In his objections to the conclusions of the above mentioned Commission.
- 3 See above, the discussion of Afula.

The lack of integration between the new towns and the surrounding countryside did not pass unnoticed by the planners, but they were unable to do much to improve the situation as they were hard pressed to deal with the

get rid of it.

hired labor from the towns their federations started a resolute campaign to never wholly acquiesced to this situation and soon after they started to employ which was anxious to provide the settlers with employment. The settlements labor, and agreed to do so only after some prodding by the government, even that, since they are ideologically opposed to the employment of hired settlements consented to employ in their economy. They at first refused to do pools of seasonal agricultural labor, which the cooperative and collective maintained a foreign body in agricultural surroundings and at best served as of their regions, and were far from becoming regional centers. They re-immigrant towns could provide. Actually, the towns did not become part not much use for the very elementary and low-quality services that such hostile towards the introduction of urban centers into their regions³ and had These settlements were mostly neutrally disposed and often even outright of predominantly veteran and well-established Kibbutzim and Moshavim. within the region; they were merely placed, rather mechanically, amidst ters. However, no adequate steps were taken to insure their integration towns were intended respectively as regional and sub-regional service cen- As mentioned before, the medium sized towns and the small

larger new towns.²

continued to defend his concept, in face of the general trend in planning towards of inhabitants in all existing towns to 10000 as soon as possible,¹ E. Brutzkus long time, and though it has later been proposed to raise the minimal number The discussion on the adequacy of his type of town continued for a

urgent problems of providing shelter, employment and essential services to a large population of immigrants in many new towns. This effort took up their energies for a long period during which a more sophisticated approach has been feasible. Furthermore, at this early stage the institutions were often forced to alter plans and improvise under the force of circumstances. Therefore, the original physical plan for Israel was only partly realized, though its main immediate objectives - as far as the establishment of a series of new urban settlements at pre-determined locations is concerned - were achieved.

A new phase in thinking on new urban development set in in the middle fifties; characteristically, it began with the change in agricultural policy and planning. The great rush of mass immigration was over by then and the colonizing institutions initiated new methods and plans for agricultural expansion. These plans featured two novel characteristics: first, they were based principally on extensive agriculture - the highly mechanized large-scale planting of mainly industrial crops, - instead of the intensive, multi-cultural approach to agriculture characteristic of the preceding period. And second, these plans were conceived on a region-wide basis and were not restricted to individual, self-sufficient settlements as had been the custom before.

These changes in the approach to agricultural organization were closely connected with broader economic and political changes which took place since the establishment of the State and partly resulted from them: the agricultural market was saturated with vegetables and the high quality dairy and poultry products which formed the backbone of the economy of the old-established settlements. New agricultural settlements had thus to be based on a new line of products - particularly, extensively grown field crops; the planting of such crops is profitable only on large plots of land. These plots were now available through the opening of virgin lands in the Northern Negev and other areas, where ownership of land was now unified in the hand of the governmental Land Administration. Before the establishment of the State, with land held randomly by Arabs and Jews, such large scale developments

were impossible in most regions of the country. The new crops thus necessitated regional agricultural development, and the unification of land-ownership made such development possible.¹

The new approach, in its turn, changed the structure of the individual settlement. Since the establishment of the State, the Moshav became the predominant instrument for the settlement of new immigrants, as it was found more suitable than the Kibbutz for the absorption of large numbers of unprepared and mostly unsophisticated settlers. It was found that the individual Moshav could not harbor all the complicated and expensive equipment and services necessary for the new type of highly mechanized agriculture used for the growing of field-crops. Furthermore, it became necessary to process such bulky industrial crops as cotton and sugar beet close to the area in which they were grown, as it is not economical to transport them to far-off, large urban centers. A regional center, which would provide the specialized industrial, technical and social services to the whole region, thus became a prerequisite for the successful development of the agricultural settlements in the region. The necessity for such centers has been even increased by the fact that the regions designed for this new kind of agricultural development were situated in out-lying areas of the country, far away from the large urban centers in the northern part of the country, to which most of the older agricultural settlements were oriented. A genuine need for regional centers thus existed in this area; the regional towns established in response to that need were thus not just the result of merely administrative decisions based on a mechanical application of the logic of a "hierarchy of settlements" to artificially construed regions. In the words of Brutzkus: "If in the first period after the establishment of the State the new centers were established 'from above' through [the establishment of] immigrant housing estates without any connection with the agricultural 'hinterland', today the 'growing from below' [of urban settlements], organically integrated in the strongest way with

¹ On regional development in general, see: Regional Development in Israel, [Report of] The Israel Delegation to the O.E.C.D. Seminar on Regional Development, 1964.

the surrounding agricultural region, is imperative. This is particularly the case with the centers of the lower order.¹

This new approach demanded a new and more fully developed

conception of the regional town. This was most clearly stated by R. Weitz, then director of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency:

"Every agricultural region . . . will necessitate the establishment

or an urban and industrial center within its boundaries. . . . All the settlements . . . within the region will . . . constitute a unit and will be inter-related, owing

to economic necessity, through common plants and industrial establishments, which process their products. In this manner a complete agricultural

region will be created, all the components units of which will be permanently connected with the urban center; this center will develop concomitantly with

its surrounding agricultural region and will become a 'field town' [e. g. a regional service town].²

It is important to stress Weitz' s point, that the "field town"

will grow parallelly with the agricultural development of the region as a

whole, and will not be "planted" into an already existing, well-developed

region in the manner in which the earlier towns have been created.

According to Weitz's conception, the "field-town" will provide not

only a series of agricultural services and industries, but also "... other

types of services which will serve the agricultural farms, such as garages,

workshops, shops, financial institutions, educational and cultural institu-

tions, institutions for youth entertainment, governmental offices, etc. Owing

to the fact that the settlers will bring their products into this center, it will

become possible for them to buy these whatever they need and to get the

majority of services which are at present available only in the large cities."³

3 Weitz, op. cit. pp. 282-3.

(in Hebrew, translated by the author).

2 R. Weitz: Our Way in Agriculture and Colonization, Tel-Aviv, 1959, p. 282,

(in Hebrew, translated by the author).

Planning, J. of the Assoc. of Eng. and Arch., Vol. 14, No. 3, 1955/6, p. 8

1 E. Brutzkus: The New Towns in the Framework of the National and Local

The concept of the regional service center, as developed by Weitz, was much more detailed and sophisticated than all the other concepts of new towns which were previously developed by other planners. However, it is important to emphasize that the point of departure of Weitz's concepts are still the needs and demands of the agricultural settlements. The conception of the town is based on the demands for agricultural and other services, caused by the new developments in agricultural planning. The town thus still remains functionally subservient to agriculture. It does not yet become a form of pioneering settlement wholly in its own right. However, it gains in stature and importance, because it is organically bound up with agriculture, and thus enjoys some of the official prestige and legitimization which was previously allotted only to agricultural settlements.

The new type of town was conceived to contribute to the closure of the gap between town and countryside:

"In the 'field-town' the farmer and the worker will meet daily.

A certain partnership of these two in the ownership of the industrial establishments will assure the success of the whole enterprise. . . It is within

the power of the 'field-town' to contribute to the solution of some problems which, in spite of all their importance and urgency, still remain unsolved - like the absorption of immigrants, dispersal of the population, the creation of new jobs for the absorption of technical and intellectual personnel, the reduction of the cultural and educational gap between the town and the village, and so on."¹

The first, and up till now fullest attempt to put this new conception of the region and the regional town into practice was started in 1954 in the Lachish area, in the northern Negev.² The regional center of this

1 *Ibid.*, p. 283

2 On the Lachish region see: A. Glickson, *Two Case Studies of Rural Planning and Development in Israel*, State of Israel Ministry of Housing, 1964, p. 22 ff.

area, Kiriat Gat,¹ was established concomitantly with the majority of the agricultural settlements in the region. Characteristically, it was not established by a governmental agency or some other public body concerned with urban development, but by the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, which is normally engaged in agricultural development. This organizational arrangement is a clear concomitant of the ideological subordination of the "regional town" to agricultural development.

Kiriat Gat advanced at a much quicker pace than the other new towns which were established earlier. Its classification in the national plan was accordingly upgraded from "urban-rural" (C-center) to "middle-sized town" (D-center).²

However, the number of new, comprehensively developed regions is very limited: only the Lachish region has been developed in full accordance with this conception; another region of the same type is planned for in the yet sparsely settled Bsor area. The few other regions which were planned on similar principles, such as Ta'anachim, were much smaller and did not necessitate the establishment of a wholly new town; near-by towns, already established at a previous stage, could fulfill the function of regional centers for these areas.

The main reason for the scarcity of such newly developed, comprehensive planned agricultural regions, is the scarcity of arable land and particularly of water for irrigation. Therefore, prospects for additional large-scale agricultural developments in the future are limited. However, large tracts of the country and particularly of the Negev are not yet settled; at the present state of agrotechnical knowledge most of the uninhabited areas

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- 1 On Kiriat Gat see: Spiegel, *op. cit.* p. 120 ff; E. Cohen, L. Shamgar and Y. Levi, Final Report - Project on Absorption of Immigrants in a Development Town, Dept. of Sociology, Hebrew Univ. Jerusalem, 1962 (mimeo. - in Hebrew).
 - 2 See E. Brutzkus, *Physical Planning in Israel*, *op. cit.* p. 47.

1 On this new type of pioneering see: D. Gavron, *The New Pioneer*, New Outlook, Vol. 6, No. 7, 1963, pp. 33-37.

cannot be developed agriculturally. In order to push the colonizing effort into these areas new ways of regional development had to be invented. The main trend of colonization thus shifted gradually from the development of new agricultural settlements to the development of the mineral and other natural resources of these uninhabited areas. At the early stages only temporary camps for prospectors and miners were established in these regions. However, as the exploitation of the natural resources of a region became more intensive, new urban centers had to be established to provide shelter and services for the workers as well as sites for the industry based on the products of the region. The establishment of such towns, again, had an impact of its own on regional development. Several towns, such as Mitzpe Ramon and Dimona were established on these lines. The final stage in this new type of development was reached with the comprehensive planning of a new mining region, on lines similar to those on which agricultural regions had been comprehensively planned at an earlier stage. The region chosen for such development was the region of Arad, which focused on the new town by the same name.

The new economic basis of the region changed not only the function but also the social standing of its urban center. The regional town in a mining and industrial region devoid of agricultural settlements and far-removed from older centers, is without question the sole focal point of the region and the only bearer of the pioneering effort in it. Now at last, the town attained its full status in official ideology: it was no longer considered merely as an auxiliary of agriculture, a necessary means to an important end - but it became an end in itself. The town has finally become the main instrument through which the pioneering effort is being carried out - equal in function to the Kibbutz and the Moshav which had been such important instruments of pioneering in previous periods. The town has thus finally attained full status as a legitimate type of pioneering settlement.

The gradual change in the over-all social status of the town is closely connected with the appearance of some new ideas relating to the desired social structure and image of the urban community. Earlier no "social ideology" has been developed for the new towns. Nothing resembling in any way the social utopias of the collective or even cooperative movements has been proposed. Now, the first signs of a more comprehensive approach to the quality of life and the social structure of the new towns became perceptible. The first traces of a social policy appeared in the planning of Kiriat Gat;

the chief innovation here has been the idea to create in the town a nucleus of old-timers, who should provide the social backbone of the town and serve as leaders and examples for the absorption of the new immigrants into Israeli society. The social planning of Arad has been more comprehensive and went further than that of any other new town. Here the planners attempted to establish a nucleus of carefully selected old-timers even before any new immigrants were brought into the town. This group should provide the town with a degree of cohesiveness lacking in most other new towns, as well as mark it from the start as an Israeli town and not as an immigrant settlement resembling the other new towns.

The idea to establish a nucleus of settlers in every new town now became the official policy of the Ministry of Housing, which is nominally responsible for the construction of new towns.¹ In order to facilitate

integration between the old-timers and the immigrants in Arad, the latter were also carefully selected in the early steps of the town's development; only those immigrants who were considered to be able to be absorbed quickly both economically and socially were accepted. In sharp contradiction to other new towns, the population of Arad at its early stages, had thus a pronounced elitist character, resembling a young Kibbutz or Moshav.

¹ See: Survey of Activities of Ministry of Housing, op. cit., particularly pp. 39-40.

The planners also attempted to endow Arad with other special characteristics: the urban outlay was different than in other new towns and a new type of buildings, the so called "patio-houses" was designed, in order to endow the town with an individual image of its own and to adapt dwellings to the harsh and sunny climate of the Judean desert. However, for budgetary reasons, this part of the plan was not carried out and Arad does not differ much in its urban image from other new towns.

A short time after the town was founded several cooperatives were established through the initiative of the settlers. These were actively supported by the town's management, but no attempt was made to establish a "cooperative town". Indeed, though the settlers looked upon themselves and were considered to be pioneers, this was a new kind of pioneering, with strong individualistic overtones and with none of the socialist ideology which accompanied agricultural pioneering. Arad was thus closest of all new towns in Israel to become a genuinely new type of settlement, paralleling the original creations in social renewal developed in previous periods in Jewish agriculture. However, in the case of Arad innovation did not go as far as it went in agriculture: no new utopian or revolutionary outlook supported the planning approach or motivated the settlers. And when the town encountered practical difficulties, and the pace of its development was slowed down, many of the ideas which informed the early stage of its growth were abandoned, and the town lost much of what distinguished it from the rest of the new towns in Israel.

With Arad, urban development in Israel reached a new stage. The image of the new town has finally gained some definite features, at least in the planners' minds, though these are not revolutionary in nature and also not always fully realized in practice. However, this development indicates that the institutions now recognized the new town as intrinsically important, and as a legitimate means for the realization of the ideals of pioneering Zionism. Whereas previously all attention was given to the chosen agricultural sector on which all the hopes for the future were pinned, and the rest

of the country - the enormous majority of people living in urban environments - were disregarded, now finally both town and village were recognized as of equal importance and therefore worthy of equal attention on part of the institutions. With the acquisition of legitimate pioneering status the new town also acquired a new social image, which the institutions now at least professed to realize.

Another important consequence of the ideological legitimization of the town as an instrument of pioneering was the abandonment of the attempt to make the town resemble the village as much as possible. Taller buildings and higher densities were introduced into the new urban settlements. Large centers, some of strikingly modern design, were planned for the newest of the towns. Projected future sizes of the new towns were considerably increased - Arad, for example, was planned from the outset for a population of 70,000. Doubtlessly this change of mind was brought forth by the dire experience the institutions had with the smaller village-like towns, where grave functional difficulties emerged and the population resented the lack of modern urban amenities and the absence of an "urban atmosphere". However, such a change in approach could not be brought forth without the reduction or even removal of the odium which in the classical pioneering ideology surrounded the city. The rural bias in urban planning, the remnant of the pioneering influence, was finally overcome.

Some of the official ideologies now even attempted to transpose some of the socialist ideals of Israeli agriculture into the urban setting. Most prominent among these attempts was the proposal to create a "cooperative urban settlement" on lines similar to the agricultural cooperatives. Writing on this proposal, one of the ideologues pointed out explicitly the connection between the fact that new pioneering tasks are transferred to urban settlements and the necessity to develop the image of these settlements in accordance with ideological precepts: "The establishment of urban concentrations was forced upon us not only because the new immigrants and part of the younger generation desire urban life, but also because of the necessity - economic,

2 *ibid.*, p. 9.

1 A. Malkin: *Cooperative Urban Settlement, Ovnayim*, Vol. 5, 1964, p. 8, (in Hebrew, translated by the author).

The change in the ideological status of the town also called forth a change in attitude of other public and governmental bodies towards it. Most interesting in this respect is the establishment of "Industrial Nachal" units in the Israeli army. Nachal - the Pioneering Fighting Youth - is a branch of the regular Army which was up till recently stationed solely in agricultural settlements, particularly in border villages in which they worked as agricultural laborers. It also established a few agricultural settlements of its own in far-off regions. Now the idea was proposed to set-up a few Nachal

An attempt has been made to realize the ideas expressed in this proposal through the establishment of a new, cooperative town in the Southern Negev, near the existing new town of Mitzpe Ramon. This proposal gained at the time the whole-hearted support of the Ministry of Defence and of some other institutions. A group of settlers was organized and plans for the town were drawn-up. However, the attempt was eventually not carried out as the group of prospective settlers abandoned the idea and disbanded. In spite of the change in ideological approach, practical difficulties in fact prevented the realization of any far-going innovations in new urban settlement in Israel.

intertwined."²
social framework where the social and the economic forms are organically associations which will create: "... in the sphere of urban settlement a of a series of cooperative industrial enterprises, communal services and socialist social conception."¹ He goes on to propose the establishment problem is how we shall form them (at least in part) in accordance with a the Galilee). This urban settlements will be established anyway, and the ments as possible in the vacant areas of the country (in the Negev and in cultural and defensive in nature - to establish as large and as dense settle-

units in the new towns where they would work in the local industrial establishments. There could be no better indication of the change of mind which took place in relation to the town than this inclusion of urban settlements into the scope of Nachal's activities. But, as in the various cases of innovation cited previously, the impact of this change has also not been revolutionary and its practical effect is for the time being rather limited.

6. Conclusions.

The image of the future Jewish society in Palestine, as envisaged by leaders of pioneering Zionism is perhaps the only example of a social

conception which purports to build a modern society on a solely agricultural basis. During a prolonged period of time, the city had no function in this conception and consequently its position within the future society was unclear. Some particularly utopistic minds even hoped that it would disappear altogether. Though it performed important functions for the agricultural

sector of society during the period of the Mandate, and though it became an important instrument for the absorption of immigrants, especially after the state of Israel had been established, the city was not accorded its due status by the official ideology until the late 'fifties and the early 'sixties, when most

of the country was already colonized and very few towns were still to be founded. As a matter of fact, almost all except a handful of the Jewish towns in Israel

passed through their formative period at a time when living in towns, even in the new urban settlements in outlying regions, did not endow the settlers

with any of the high prestige accorded the agricultural settlers in the same region. During the earliest periods the urban settler was even looked down

upon and despised by the pioneers and their leaders. Even the gradual acceptance and legitimization of the city as an instrument of pioneering effort took

its point of departure from agriculture; only very late in the process did the city attain a legitimate status in its own right in the official ideology.

How did this disregard of the city affect urban development in

particular and Israeli society in general? Some of the concrete consequences

1 It is interesting to note in this connection that for a long period after the State of Israel was established those idealistic pioneering immigrants who came from Western European countries to a Kibbutz, but left it, often returned to their country of origin rather than settle in a city.

the lot of the cities.

"agricultural predominance" on that scene did not help the improvement of element of urban-rural conflict into the political scene. The prolonged "leftist" agriculture and "rightist" cities (part. Tel-Aviv) introduced an on "capitalistic" lines. The subsequent political division between relatively escaped the influence of the socialist movements and developed, on the main tablish a modern society without cities and towns, these settlements mostly helped the realization of its aims. As it turned out to be impossible to es- ideology of pioneering Zionism the neglect of the city impeded rather than There should be no doubt, that from the very point of view of the

surroundings, where life was not radically different from that in the Diaspora.

living in agriculture was forced to settle in one of the big cities or their to the villages - an immigrant who could not adopt himself to cooperative different and often conflicting directions. Pioneering was strictly restricted and highly erratic way. As a result town and countryside developed in quite which developed into urban settlements during the period did so in a sporadic out the period no new towns have been established, and those settlements equally vigorous urban development, as we have seen in Section (3). Through- lage has not been accompanied, during the period of the Mandate, with an otherwise planned society. The growth and development of the Jewish vil- it caused between the development of the urban and the rural sectors in an the ideological attitude towards the city is to be found in the imbalance which The structurally most important and most general consequence of

situation.

Here we shall restrict ourselves to the more general implications of the of the neglect of the city were already presented in course of our argument.

The prolonged neglect of the city exacted a high price, both in general functional terms and in terms of attainment of pioneering goals, when it has been decided, after the establishment of the State, to create a whole series of new towns in the outlying parts of the country. The planners were ill-prepared for such an enterprise and lacked the necessary experience to carry it through effectively. Their blunders caused inefficient planning, and faulty decisions as to location of towns and their future sizes; the already well-established agricultural villages would not accept the newcomers into their regions and so regional integration between town and countryside was impeded and has actually not been achieved up to the present day. The settlement structure of Israel continues to suffer from the imbalance introduced early into Jewish settlement by the neglect of the city, though some of the most severe consequences of this imbalance have since been partially removed.

Another result of the disregard of the city has been the neglect of functional urban problems of every kind; physical, social or economic. The city was left to its own devices and grew under the influence of hazardous factors, such as pressure of immigrants who could not or would not be absorbed on the land, economic opportunities, availability of land for new development etc. In themselves, there is nothing unusual in such factors: they are the determining influences of urban growth throughout the modern and modernizing world; however, Israel is a rapidly developing, planned and largely centralized society. In such a setting, the exclusion of a major sector of society from planning and control was bound to raise problems of a magnitude and severity which would not be found in a society developing at a more leisurely pace, or in a generally unplanned manner.

The main cities, particularly Tel-Aviv and the surrounding conurbation, spread out in all direction without any clear guidance. In spite of their growth, the cities lacked an over-all urban image, were mostly composed of unattractive monotonous stretches of housing estates (Shikunim) the establishment of which started already between the two world wars and continued at an enormous pace after the establishment of the State. Slum areas developed in the hearts of the cities and in their suburbs - both

through the deterioration of low grade buildings and through the emergence of whole neighborhoods of squatters living in self-built huts and other temporary buildings on usurped land.

In accordance with their general ideological outlook, the response of the leaders of the pioneering effort during the Mandate to these urban developments has been mainly "a policy of containment". Their main effort has been devoted towards limiting urban growth both numerically and geographically. They were much less concerned with what happens within the city than they were with the danger that urban growth will drain off the resources needed for agricultural development. As the town did not gain any ideological importance until a very late stage, many of the urban problems went unnoticed and were allowed to grow into enormous proportions before they gained the attention of those responsible for the country's development. The voice of a few urban engineers and planners who tried to divert attention to these problems fell on deaf ears. The monstrosities of urban congestion, slums, traffic jams and a variety of other problems plaguing Tel-Aviv were mainly created during the latter part of the Mandate and the early years of Israel. As attempts to stop or slow down the growth of the metropolitan area of Tel-Aviv mainly failed and no serious attempts were made to cope with the metropolitan expansion, these problems were allowed to grow until it became too late. As yet, no master-plan for the city of Tel-Aviv exists; and it is doubtful whether the plan now under consideration will be able to solve or alleviate those problems. And on the horizon glows the problem of planning for the whole metropolitan region, encompassing tens of settlement and about one million inhabitants. At the present the whole concept of metropolitan planning is not yet even properly understood by the responsible authorities.

The disregard for urban problems has been particularly severely felt in the so-called immigrant town, i.e., towns composed mainly of new immigrants but established in areas of mature settlements, inhabited mostly by veterans (and not in newly developed regions like the development towns).

These towns, like Or Yehuda off Tel-Aviv, or Rechasim off Haifa, were not the result of conscious planning, but the result of gradual transformation of immigrant camps into permanent settlements. The planners intended, originally, to disperse these camps and transfer their inhabitants into newly developing areas; however, they did not succeed in that aim. So the people remained where they found themselves at the moment of arrival in Israel; but their settlements did neither fulfil any meaningful national function within the metropolitan areas, nor did they realize any social ideals. The immigrant towns thus became marginal settlements whom nobody cared about particularly, weak points in otherwise burgeoning surroundings, economically underdeveloped and disintegrating socially. They were isolated from the surrounding veteran settlements and left to themselves. However, their problems passed almost unnoticed, as those concerned with social planning concentrated their efforts in agricultural development and later in the development of new urban settlements in newly developed regions. The immigrants' towns thus constituted islands of destitution amidst relative plenty.

The lack of ideological concern with urban settlement had also serious effects on the planning and construction of the new towns which were established in development areas. A great deal of planning went into these towns which were mostly established from scratch. However, much of this planning was ill-founded. Whereas in the agricultural sector valuable experience accumulated during the years of agricultural planning and experimenting, no such body of experience existed in the area of urban planning when the state of Israel was established. As a result, some of the decisions affecting the future shape of the new towns were taken wholly arbitrarily - as e.g., the determination of their ultimate size. Others were based on foreign models, inappropriate for Israeli conditions; however, when the inadequacy of these models was recognized, it was already too late. The most famous

I For a case study of such a town, see E. Cohen & Y. Katan: A Small Community in a Metropolitan Region; A Community Study of Or Yehuda in the Area of Tel-Aviv, Dept. of Sociology, Hebrew Univ. Jerusalem, 1966. (In Hebrew).

case in point is the establishment of a hierarchy of settlements, based on the model derived from Christaller's Theory of Central Places. As mentioned, the large number of small urban centers, established in accordance with this model, proved unviable under Israeli conditions.

The agricultural bias of the dominant ideology actually aggravated the problems of new urban development. First, this bias caused an undue emphasis upon the small urban settlement and an aversion against planning big new centers; thus, as a result, the decision to create many small, village-like urban centers, instead of a small number of large towns, was partly based on ideological considerations. Secondly, the agricultural bias of the ideology led the planners to endow their town with village-like characteristics - low densities, great dispersion, plots of land attached to dwelling units - and thus deny the new towns even the small extent of urban excitement and turmoil of which their small size would make them capable of. Many of the more advanced among the settlers, used to urban living from abroad, could not get accustomed to the monotony of living in these new towns and left for the larger centers. Only lately, under the impact of the change in evaluation of the city was this approach changed and the most recent new towns endowed with distinct urban features, whereas efforts are made to raise the densities in the centers of the older towns.

Another effect of the attitude of the dominant strain of Zionism towards urban settlement was the serious impediment of the development of a central planning authority for urban settlements. As a matter of fact, during the whole period of almost 20 years, in which new urban centers have been established in Israel, no institutional structure has been developed which would bear the ultimate, comprehensive authority for urban development. The responsibility remained dispersed among several, often feuding institutions, preventing concerted and efficient planning and execution of plans. Each one of the many participating institutions tried to implement in the towns its own, particular approach and ideas, based on its specific interests on the Israeli political scene. Urban development was subjugated

The low social status which was accorded the urban dweller created further difficulties for urban development, particularly of the new towns. To settle even in an outlying new urban settlement did not, for a long time, bear any of the prestige which attached to settlement in border villages. As a result, the youth of the country, which up to the middle

in an organized way. developed, in which the struggle between these interests can be carried out sphere, but in this sphere an elaborate institutional structure has been developed here a case in point: there are many conflicting interests in the agricultural disorganized struggle in an open field had led to. Again, agriculture is would lead to much more coherent results in urban development, than the different interests within the framework of well defined institutional norms sphere of urban development. However, a political struggle among different strong institutional structure which would be nominally in charge of the whole would be permeated by sectional-political interests even if there existed a It is, of course, conceivable that the sphere of urban development

settlements. the development of the region tend to disregard the already established further development have been established, while ever new schemes for this process of "superimposition", where several small towns, waiting for by different sponsors. The region of the Galilee is a good example of and then forgotten, while new ones are being established in their vicinity The result is a series of new towns only half completed

were also abandoned when yet another institution took charge. as new ones were proposed by another institution; these plans, in turn, "superimposed" upon each other: the original plans had been abandoned the political scene. Plans for the development of a region were often partly executed, and promises unfulfilled through the impact of changes on clear and lasting direction, whereas long-range plans often remained but As a result, the development of the towns has often been erratic, lacking a tional structure, each of which is attached to one or another political party. to the political struggle among the various sectors of the formal institu-

'fifties still streamed into the Kibbutzim, disregarded the new towns completely. Consequently, the new towns were almost exclusively settled by new immigrants, who were forced to live in them owing to their economic circumstances. Those of the immigrants who could afford it usually left the new towns, leaving behind the most backward and difficult to absorb settlers. The social and economic development of the new towns was, therefore, slowed down and they remained isolated from the mainstream of Israeli society. Only in the 'sixties, with the rise in esteem of the towns, due to the change in their function and their legitimization as an instrument of pioneering settlement, did the status of the inhabitant of a new town improve; this change, in addition to some new economic incentives, caused an unprecedented attraction of veteran youth to the newest of the towns - a form of "new pioneering", unknown in the past. However, this attraction was rather short-lived and declined again after even those towns did not grow according to the plans and did not satisfy the settlers' expectations.

Our primary emphasis until now has been on the negative consequences, or dysfunctions, which the disregard for the city in the pioneering Zionist ideology had for the balanced development of Israeli society and even for the realization of the very aims of this ideology. However, from a broader sociological point of view, this lack of ideological orientation towards the city fulfilled also a few positive, though unintended functions for the development of society. These were chiefly the result of the relative openness and elasticity of urban structure which resulted from the lack of any clear ideological conception of what the city should look like. Though the pioneering ideology has not been particularly rigid and dogmatic in its conceptions of the future society, it nevertheless created a frame of mind, limited by socialist and collective ideals, which left relatively little leeway for economic and social experimentation. Many areas of life, such as the development of industry, trade and services, higher and technical education and others, were left outside the scope of interest and endeavor of the rural pioneers. The urban dweller, left to his own devices and less burdened by ideology, was able to develop initiative in exactly

those fields which the collective and cooperative communities neglected. Thus, considerable areas of the Israeli institutional structure were in fact developed in urban environments, and particularly in the big cities, though the official leadership would not, for a long time, recognize the importance of these functions of the city for the over-all development of Israeli society. It is characteristic for the situation which developed in Israel that, when in the late 'fifties and 'sixties the Kibbutzim started to recognize the importance of the changes wrought in society by activities and institutions located in the cities, they started an energetic attempt to cope with them by introducing industry into their villages, by professionalizing their occupational structure and by sending their members to schools of higher learning. Nowadays the collectives are themselves oriented towards the big city, though they might still dominate the new towns which were planted in their midst. In conclusion, let us sum up the basic dynamics of the process which we followed in this paper: The disregard for the city was rooted in the early period of the pioneering movement, when both, the emphasis on the rejuvenation of the nation and the practical exigencies of the situation in Palestine, made the city ideologically and functionally unimportant. The functional importance rose with time and became gradually higher than that of the rural settlement. However, ideological recognition was late in coming and a "legitimation lag" was created between the city's functional importance and its status in official ideology. The existence of the lag gradually created pressures, particularly after the establishment of the State, towards the legitimation of the city as a form of pioneering effort. In the course of this paper we followed the various stages which the city underwent in this process: from total exclusion from national plans, before the establishment of the State, it was at first reluctantly accepted as an essential, though unwanted, means for the settlement and absorption of immigrants at the period of mass immigration immediately after the establishment of the State. Afterwards, it gained further recognition when it became an auxiliary to regional agricultural development, and finally,

when regions unsuitable for agriculture had to be colonized, the city became, in its own right, a legitimate means of pioneering colonization. However, it attained full status rather late - when most of the country was already settled. Most towns were established during the period when the city was dis-regarded or only partly legitimized and the long-range consequences of this "legitimation lag" will therefore continue to trouble Israeli society for a long time to come.

3. Data of the Central Bureau of Statistics (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem) 1955 (in Hebrew)
4. The Economic Development of the Middle East, 1941-1951 (Jerusalem) 1952 (in Hebrew)
5. Data of the Central Bureau of Statistics (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem) 1955 (in Hebrew)

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APPENDIX A: JEWISH POPULATION IN PALESTINE AND ISRAEL BY TYPE OF SETTLEMENT (PERCENTAGES)

Year	Rural	Urban
1918	21	79
1922	18	82
1927	20	80
1931	24	76
1936	24	76
1941	29	71
1945	26	74
1949	17.4	82.6
1952	23.2	76.8
1957	18.3	81.7
1961	15.4	84.6
1967	11.4	88.6

1 A. Bein: History of Zionist Settlement in Eretz-Israel, Massada, Jerusalem, 1953, p. 429 (in Hebrew)

2 The Economic Yearbook of the Hishuv, 1947, Hawaad Haleumi, (Jerusalem), p. 535. (in Hebrew).

3 Data of the Central Bureau of Statistics (in Hebrew)

