

THE FABRICATION OF ISRAEL

About the usurpation and destruction of Palestine through Zionist spatial planning

A UNIQUE PLANNING ISSUE

Kassem Egbaria

4. The Impact of Israeli Urban Policies on the Development of Indigenous Bedouin Community in the Negev Area – the Unrecognised Villages

Conclusion from last part:

.... With regard to housing conditions in Tayibe/Israel, analysis indicated that issues of overcrowding (houses per dunam), highly dense residence (number of people per room) and unauthorised houses phenomenon in the city are even more severe in light of the statistics. This means that there appears to be no alternative for Tayibe's citizens to extricate themselves from severe housing and land shortage, but to build their houses either without compliance with planning regulations inside the legal (approved) residential zones or outside permitted residential zones in their own agricultural land (that is adjacent to the legal residential zones). The consequences of such understandable and known behaviour (by residents) are too great and the uncertainties too high for such actions. Demolition is the most feasible action perpetuated by planning authorities. Demolition of unauthorised, of 'illegal', of informal houses is clearly not the solution especially for the poor and landless. Demolition only serves to reduce the supply of housing and raise rents.

The provision of housing and dwelling units in the city lags behind demand, and housing conditions continue to worsen as a result of vigorous latent demographic revolution, formal and informal discriminative social and economic and political conditions and ethnic affiliation. These factors have created a multidimensional demand for housing. New generations will come, new children will be born and new young couples will get married. All will enter the housing market and look for a decent shelter, competing with each other in: a shrinkage land market, inhospitable and not transparent planning regulations, high prices of building materials, low and discriminative government residential aids and loans, high daily-fees of manpower, relatively low construction skills of households, diminishing traditional financial resources – especially among the weaker families. It is clear that these aspects are the key issues for housing provision in Tayibe.

The high level of housing issues and shortage can be explained by the lack of governmental attention and lack of empirical studies in dealing with housing developments in Israeli Palestinian localities. Accordingly, policies implemented in Tayibe and other Israeli Palestinian localities widened the gaps between supply and demands... Necessary are: Improving economic conditions of housing development, Provision of land and land configuration, Provision of transparent building regulations.

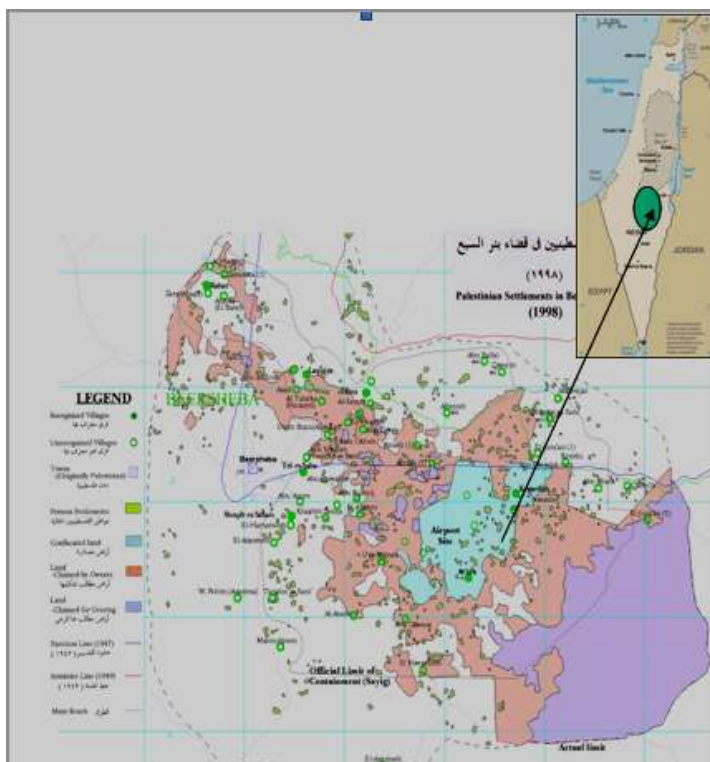
III

Kassem Egbaria

4. The Impact of Israeli Urban Policies on the Development of Indigenous Bedouin Community in the Negev Area – the Unrecognised Villages

The Negev (Al-Naqab in Arabic) region constitutes about two-thirds of the land of the state of Israel (about 13,310 km²), however it hosts less than 9% of its 7.4 million populations (CBS, 2009). Prior to the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, indigenous Palestinian Bedouins community constituted the vast majority of the population of the Negev numbering about 80,000-90,000 people, and spreading over nearly 10,000-12,000 km². After the declaration of the Israeli State, only about 13,000-15,000 Bedouins were left there, and the others were expelled or left to neighbouring countries such as Jordan and Egypt. Furthermore, most (about 98%) of the land that was used and owned by the Bedouin community has been expropriated by the Israeli government and transferred to the state for the establishment of new Jewish urban and rural areas. This has been implemented through a policy of confining the Bedouin community to a tight geographical area of approximately 1,000 square kilometers, in the eastern less fertile part of the Negev-Naqab, which was called the "Sayag" area (for distribution of locations, see Map 1) in the early 1950s after ethnic cleansing in 1948 (Yiftachel 2006: 193 pp, OHCHR 2009).

Map 1 Bedouin Locations and Confiscated Land in the Negev



Source: Egbaria

The main argument of this study is that the present Israeli planning system has failed to provide a decent house that includes all basic services and provides certainty and sustainability. The main objective of this paper is to examine the phenomenon of unrecognised and 'illegal' residential areas and the factors that brought it about, and to suggest relevant recommendations and guidelines for policy makers to improve

the residential environment in these areas with the principle of sustainability, equality and certainty.

The main goal of this paper is to present the consequences of the Israeli urban planning policies derived from geo-political visions and demographic obsession via examining major urban concepts in the unrecognised villages. Concepts such as land in the Negev, demographic shifts, socio-economic aspects, infrastructure network and 'illegal' settlements will be studied. The analysis of these concepts was based on analysing the Israeli national and district plans. In addition, data was collected from reports of governmental departments such as the Israeli Land Authority, the Ministry of Interior and the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS). The results indicated that households of 'illegal' houses in unrecognised Palestinian villages in Israel know that they are intentionally violating building laws via building houses in their agricultural lands without permits since this community lacks appropriate urban and residential frameworks to resolve their needs.

It has been found that planning policy especially in the Negev has originated from geo-political perspectives of the state, that is to judaise the space through owning and controlling the land as well as establishing new Jewish villages and cities for new Jewish immigrants who come from abroad. Undoubtedly, the phenomenon of this unrecognised indigenous Palestinian ethnic minority group in has witnessed some progress in some aspects of urban life since the establishment of the state in 1948. Nevertheless, this large segment of population is ranked in the lowest rung of the socio-economic ladder, and suffers from pervasive institutional discriminative policies and unfair distribution of the national resources. The phenomenon of unrecognised ('illegal') Bedouin villages in the Negev, which are not included in any Israeli national strategic plan is a reflection of unfair, poor and inappropriate urban planning system imposed by Israeli governments on the Palestinian areas in Israel (see III 2).

4.1 The Confiscation and Marginalising of the Bedouin People

At the end of the 90s about 110.000 Bedouin population in the Negev were recorded, of them 57.000, half of total were still scattered in non urban areas and villages. These days and according to CBS (2009), the total Bedouin population in the Negev region is about 190,000 inhabitants, constituting about 25% of the entire population. OHCHR estimates for 2007 were 45%, nearly half of this community lives in seven planned permanent Bedouin townships, which were established with the intention of concentrating this community in a limited and crowded urban area (see table 1). While the other half, around 55%, mostly Bedouins who still own land, has remained in what became approximately 45 unrecognised (scattered settlements and population) villages that lack water, electricity, sewage treatment, or garbage collection services. These villages are marginalised and are not officially recognised by the state despite the fact that most of them were established before establishing of the state of Israel.

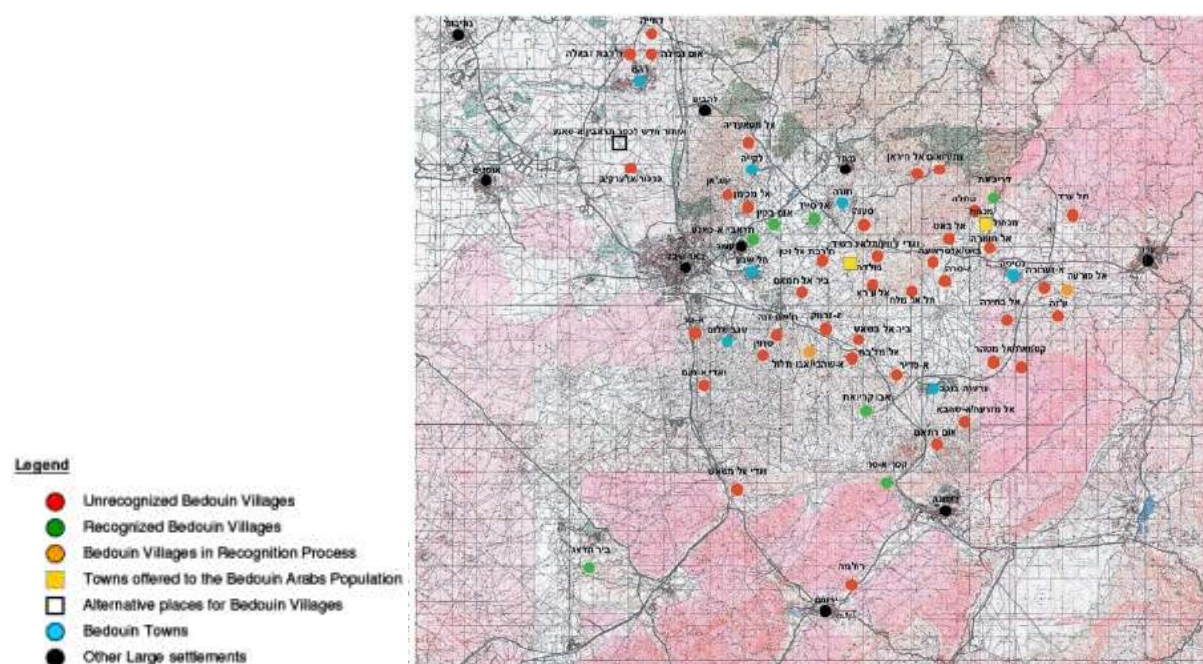
The land on which these localities exist became classified as agricultural land according to Planning and Building Law of 1965, and thus under this law, all buildings erected are rendered 'illegal' structures. (status of Bedouin villages see map 2)

Table 1 The Bedouin Urban Population in the Negev (2007)

Urban Bedouin locality with local council	No. of population	Area of jurisdiction in dunam *
Rahat	42.223	2.155
Tel Al Saba/ Tel Sheva	14.038	3.049
Ar'ara al-el Naqab/ Aro'er	12.995	0.922
Qsief/ Keseifa	10.749	0.785
Houra/ Hura	10.579	1.592
Laqieh/ Lakiya	8.955	1.563
Shqueb al-Salam/ Segev Shalom	6.792	1.135
Total	106.331	11.201

Source: OHCHR 2009: p. 8 *10 dunam = 1ha

Map 2: The Status of Bedouin-Arab Villages in the Negev-Naqab 2007



Source: BIMKOM Planners for Planning Rights and The Arab Center for Alternative Planning 2009

Housing in the unrecognised villages is an arrangement of light (such as tents and metal shacks with corrugated zinc roofs) and hard (such as cement concrete blocks and reinforced concrete) structures. Residents of these houses are not allowed to repair their properties. Furthermore, most of these houses are subjected to demolition orders. (see images 1,2, 3)

Image 1 'Illegal' Bedouin Village



Source: assergev.com 2000

Image 2 Demolished House near Ber Sheba



Source: nickpritzow.com 2006

Image 3 Bedouin tent facing demolition in the village Khirbet As Samra



Source: OCHA 2009: 15

In order to achieve the goal of judaising the space, a plan to remove the Negev Bedouins in the unrecognised villages from their historic land has been indulged into what the Israeli government calls the "Six-Year Sharon Plan". This plan aims at depriving the Bedouin residents of their land as well as concentrating them into the existing seven Bedouin towns and seven new towns of the same character (HRA, 2003). Bedouin community views this plan as an effort to disconnect it from its land for the favour of establishing new Jewish space, and simultaneously disrupting and destroying their economic base that depends on agriculture and grazing activities.

4.2 The Bedouin Community in Israel: An Invisible Community

The Bedouin community (Sunni Muslims and they consider themselves also Palestinians) in Israel, who comprises about 13% (about 190,000) of the Palestinian citizens in Israel, is divided into two main groups: About 45,000 living in the Galilee in the north, while approximately 145,000 living in the Negev Desert Region. **The Palestinian Bedouin community in the Negev** constitutes about one quarter of the region's entire population. As mentioned earlier, the Bedouins residing in the Negev has witnessed a steep decline in the number of population (from about 96 tribes to 11 tribes) in comparison between the periods prior to the establishment of the State of Israel (ICBS, 1996-2001). This declination was due to the expulsion of about 65,000-

75,000 Bedouins from their residences to Jordan and Egypt (the Gaza Strip and the Sinai).

Before the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the Bedouin in the Negev (about 90%) earned their living from agriculture raising livestock (HRA, 2004). It is argued that successive Israeli governments since 1948 have been implementing policies (such as restricting access to land and water and constraints on livestock farming outside their privately owned land on surrounding state lands) to prevent the Bedouins from maintaining their ties to the land by making their traditional lifestyle unworkable. The Committee for the Protection of the Environment, especially the 'green patrols', did their most disturbing the flocks and herds of the Bedouins, arguing for nature protection against overgrazing and etc. The policy of transferring and concentrating the Bedouins from all parts of the Negev to the north-eastern side has deprived tribes of their land and concentrated them on lands not their own, under harsh and increasingly crowded conditions. The rest of the land (about 85%), was declared off limits, designated as blocs of military zones and conservation parks as well as development areas for the Jewish community.

The outcome of these policies and other ones was the Bedouins' suffer from a significantly lower socio-economic status than that of Israel's other citizens. In a way of comparison with Jewish counterparts in the same region, data obtained from CBS (2000) indicates that the family salary income of the Bedouins in their localities is less than half that of the average family in the Jewish city of Beer Sheva. According to CBS (2000), the average income in the city of Beer Sheva is lower than the Israeli average. Add to that the fact that the average household size in the Bedouin community is roughly double that of Beer Sheva, and the family salary per person (per capita earned income) declines to under 25% of that of Beer Sheva and perhaps as low as 20% of the Israeli average (Lithwick 2000). This inequality is also indicated by ranking between the local Bedouin and Jewish towns in the Negev (see table 2)

Table 2 Socio-econ. Distress of Local Bedouin and Jewish Towns in the Negev

Locality		Ranking
Bedouin Towns	Qsiefah/ Kseifeh	1
	Rahat	2
	Tel al Saba/Tel-Sheva	3
	Shqueb al-Salam / Segev Shalom	4
	Ar'ara al- Naqab Arara	5
	Houra/ Hura	7
	Laqieh/ Lakiya	8
Jewish Towns	Be'er Sheva	115
	Dimona	82
	Arad	119
	Meitar	201
	Lehavim	205
	Omer	209

Source: CBS 2002, data 2000

It is important to mention that the Bedouin population in Negev has increased about tenfold since the establishment of the State in 1948. This increase was due to a high natural growth – about 5% –, which does not run parallel to the general population (including Bedouins) growth in Israel, which is about 1.5%. It is estimated that by the year 2020, the Bedouin population in the Negev will reach to about 300,000 residents. The high natural population growth among the Bedouins in the Negev in Israel is related to traditional social values regarding size of family and/or tribe as a political advantage and social power. At the same time, the Israeli government follows a disproportionately restrictive policy on issuing building permits to Palestinian citizens, on the contrary more building demolition orders against Palestinian Bedouins built structures is increasingly released.

4.3 Development of Patterns

The lifestyle of the Palestinian Bedouin community in the Negev was characterised by semi-nomadic and rural patterns. Originally the Bedouins' economy was based on raising sheep, goat and camel herding. During the British Mandate that extended from 1923 -1948, Bedouins of the Negev also started to cultivate some of the land that is adjacent to water resources such as wadis and valleys (Kressel et al, 1991). During this period, about 20 Jewish agricultural communities (Moshavim and Kibbutzim) were established. These communities hosted about 6,000 Jewish residents (ICBS, 1996-2001). Their establishment stemmed from ideological and geo-political considerations. After 1948, the Israeli government intensified the establishment of new urban areas in this region in the pretext of re-distributing the Jewish population from congested central regions to sparsely peripheral areas such as the Negev Desert, as well as for establishing a national presence and sovereignty over the land of the Negev. For this reason, in 1950s and 1960s, the government established seven new Jewish development towns such as Arad, Yeroham and Sderot. The initial growth of these settlements was sustained by the voluntary location of new Jewish immigrants and direct government investment in their economy (Portnov and Safriel, 2003).

At the same time, the Israeli Government pursued a policy that aimed to establish a small number of recognised urban Bedouin towns within which to concentrate the Bedouins under a plan called Ayur Habdawim (the sedenterisation of the Bedouins). Therefore, in the late 1960s, the first permanent urban settlement for the Negev Bedouins –'Tel Sheva' - was established. To prevent further dispersal and to further land confiscation from the indigenous people of the Negev and to concentrate them in an enclosure, the Israeli government during the 1970 -1980 decided to establish new six permanent and planned Bedouin towns that include 'Rahat', 'Kseife', 'Aro'er', 'Lakiya', 'Segev-shalom' and 'Hura'. The policy of sedentarisation and concentration is still pursued by the government. It is important to mention that for the next 25 years the government and planning divisions are planning to expand the urban areas for these seven localities to absorb and concentrate the rest of the Bedouin population who live in unrecognised and 'illegal' settlements located outside these towns (Meir, 1988; Porat, 2000).

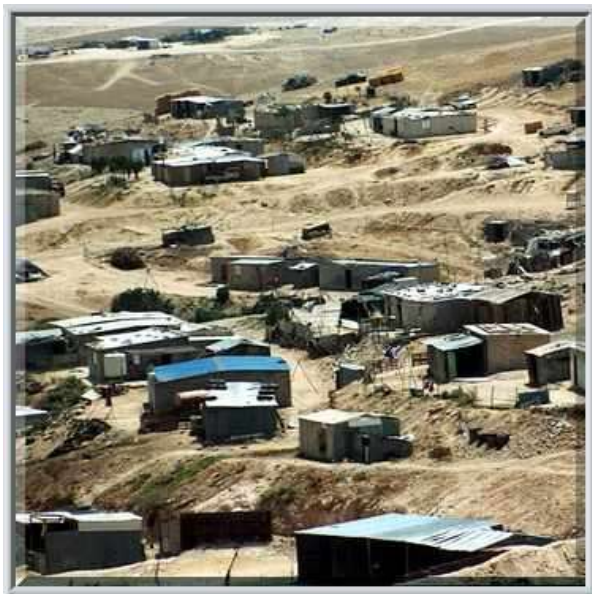
It is argued that the approach that attempts to urbanise and sedentarise the Bedouins in these seven localities was not properly studied and planned. The existing plans and conditions for those settlements are not in harmony with the wishes or aspiration of the residents. The small highly dense urban areas offered in these towns failed to satisfy the large Bedouin families. Analysis indicates that planning concepts implemented in these towns stems from ideological and geo-

physical behaviour of the state that is “minimum space of land for maximum number of Palestinian Arabs”. This has meant that these towns stood in conflict with the daily needs of the Bedouin community. Restrictions on the use of land and financial support, as well as insufficient infrastructure forced the Bedouin community in the Negev to react to solve their housing problems. As a result half of the Bedouins who live in the unrecognised villages in the Negev refused to move to the existing seven townships. Indeed, this has resulted in many housing problems. One of these problems is that residents have no choice to meet their shelter needs but to build 'illegal' buildings that have created disorganised urban patterns.

4.4 The Phenomenon of 'Unrecognised Villages'

The term of 'unrecognised villages' applies principally to those communities that existed before the establishment of the State of Israel, but have never been incorporated into designated planning provisions and so for planning and permit purposes remain unrecognised. This means that these villages (which range in size from 500 to 5000 inhabitants) lack master plans for development, and without such plans, no building permits are granted for any type of construction. These villages are perceived and seen under the Law of Planning and Building (1965) as 'illegal', scattered structures and potentially subjected to demolition. According to this law, the lands on which these villages were built were classified in the law as “agricultural,” a planning category where no residences or other structures are permitted. Currently, there are over 22,000 'illegal' and unapproved houses (Including hard and light structures) in the unrecognised villages in the Negev. (see image 3) Analysis indicates that the number of people living in unrecognised villages will rise to about 200,000 inhabitants by the year 2020. Most of these villages are dispersed in the Seyag region and lack land registration documents.

Image 4 'Illegal Bedouin Village' north east of Beer Sheba



Source: assergev.com 2000

A report published by the Association of Forty (2002) indicates that in 1998, the Israeli planning authorities demolished about 370 of these houses. Approximately 1,700 cases are currently being prosecuted in court. These figures do not include those houses demolished by the owners themselves. Furthermore, such villages are not recognised as a socio-political entity and thus they lack local authorities and

representative local government. According to Article 157A of the 1965 Building and Planning Law, any unlicensed building is prohibited from being connecting to basic infrastructure such as running water, electricity or telephone networks, and road system. Furthermore, observation indicates that no high schools and no vocational secondary schools have been built in any of these villages, and only 10 of these villages have health clinics. Consequently higher education remains a substantial problem - other than in the north no such Arabic speaking institutions exist. This prohibition gave statutory grounds to deny services to the residents. It is important to mention that many of these villages exist next to recognised Jewish settlements with a complete provision of services and many of those were the former villages of the 1948 displaced villagers now 'unrecognised' (International Crisis Group ICG, 2004).

The issue of unrecognised Palestinians villages in the Negev can be seen as the product of unfair and discriminatory planning policy, which in essence is a result of Zionist ideology that encourages the establishment of new Jewish settlements throughout Israel and the judaisation of the crowded Palestinian regions (see III 1,2). Planning policy towards the Bedouins in the Negev in particular and the Palestinian Society in Israel in general, however, was quite the opposite: concentration in order to reduce the areas which are inhabited by Palestinians. It can be emphasised that over the years, the Israeli government has initiated some planning versions for the problem of the Palestinian unrecognised villages, but Palestinian Bedouin residents refused these plans because they oppose and contradict their rationale on the one hand and do not consider their needs on the other. These plans aimed to intensify the means of pressure on the Bedouin community to force them leave their houses and land to the so called concentration towns for the Bedouins.

4.4.1 Planning Scenarios: Preventing Further Dispersal

In order to implement the idea of judaisation of the crowded Palestinian regions, Israeli planning authorities established several official committees (such as the committee of Kubarsky in 1976 and Markovitz committee in 1985) under the pretext of examining the case of unrecognised Palestinian villages throughout the state to solve this problem. The general findings extracted from these two committees can be concluded that most of the 'illegal' and unauthorised buildings in the Palestinian locations including the buildings in the Negev are actually temporary structures, whose continued existence is permitted in mandatory outline plans. This has meant that these two committees recommended putting most of 'illegal' houses in the Palestinian location into a framework of "grey" areas and consequently they are not entitled to any services. In the same reports, it was also recommended that part of 'illegal' houses should be demolished, and the other part that is near to an existing recognised Palestinian location should be incorporated into the juridical area of adjacent Jewish settlement. To prevent further disperse of the Bedouin community on their land, in 2000, the ministerial Sub-Committee on Bedouin Affairs sought to initiate a comprehensive sub-regional plan that would have recognised 16-18 villages, based on a scheme drawn up in consultation with (and accepted by) the Regional Council for the Villages, a Negev-based advocacy group. However, this plan was not approved, and instead, the government adopted a new plan called a 'Six-Year Sharon Plan' for the Bedouins. This Plan aims to concentrate the remaining rural Bedouins into the existing seven towns and seven new towns of the same character.

The regional Council of the Unrecognised Villages (RCUV), which was established in 1988 from many local committees representing the Bedouin community, has initiated

a number of planning alternatives for the recognition of unrecognised villages in the Negev. The alternative proposals prepared by RCUV promote the establishment of new, optimally sited rural villages that are essentially service centres. The goal of these plans is to enable the Bedouins to remain on the land they claim. As a result of this struggle, recognition of eight unrecognised villages - Kassar Alsar, Moladah, Makhol, Darijat, Abu Qrenat, Um Batin, Bir Hadaj, and Tarabin - and the creation of the official Abu Basma regional council are two partial victories claimed by the Regional Council of the Unrecognised Villages. To date, this recognition has had little impact on the provision of basic services. On the other hand, the government's intention is to transfer the inhabitants of the remaining 38 villages into the seven recognised towns mentioned previously. (The Association of the Forty, 2006)

Many of the residents of the unrecognised villages believe that there is no hope for improvement and development. An article published by Ha'aretz Newspaper (edition, of 10 February, 2004) indicates that "a number of young Bedouin have resorted to crime...the Bedouin localities have become breeding grounds for drug abuse and crime, and they suffer from social and economic retardation". This indicates that institutional formal planning policies have neglected basic steps to improve living conditions in the unrecognised villages in the Negev. Contrary to development, plans initiated by the government such as Sharon and Six-Year's Plans propose an arrangement for land issue through counter-claims of ownership by the government, demolition of houses, removal of squatters, and recognition of small number of unrecognised villages. In this respect, Ha'aretz Newspaper published (22, September, 2003) that the former Minister of Agriculture & Rural Development Haim Oron, described these plans as "a declaration of war against the Bedouin community".

In July of 2007 the government appointed another commission for 'Regulation of the Bedouin Settlements in the Negev' headed by a retired Judge named Goldberg. The commission out of many different institutions personalities held more than 20 public meetings; however representatives of the unrecognized villages were not included in the commission. In December 2008 the Goldberg Commission presented its recommendations to the Ministry of Housing, comprising an amount of compensation, arrangements for alternative land allotment, civil enforcement, suggestions for legislation and the schedule for carrying out the arrangement. They were discussed in 2009, but so far they haven't been approved. OCHCR concluded: "Despite its recognition of several villages and its recommendation to increase the level of compensation, the Goldberg Commission report does not resolve the issue of most unrecognized Bedouin-Arab villages. Since its recommendations depend on restrictions imposed by the Be'er-Sheva 'Metropolis Plan', only a handful of new villages will be recognized, if any. Hence the eviction of the Bedouin population will persist, and the policy of concentration in towns will continue as before" (OCHCR 2009, p. 22).

4.4.2 Negligence of Urban Elements in the Unrecognised Villages

The Israeli approach towards the existing seven recognised urban Bedouin localities provides an indication of the current situation in the unrecognised villages in all spheres such as economic, social, cultural and educational. In this respect Abu-Saad and Lithwick (2000: 11) indicate that "Israel's approach has ensured that the Bedouin urban experience would be a failure. It created an impoverished, undereducated, unemployed, hostile community, which has rapidly become alienated from the State and majority population". There is no doubt that the situation in the unrecognised

villages is much worse. Ten of thousands of Bedouin citizens live in sub-standard conditions without enjoying proper and suitable services or local governments (Meir, 1999). The houses in these settlements are threatened with destruction, prevented from development and extension. This means that the level and quality of modern urban elements continues to be far inferior to those provided to the adjacent Jewish settlements.

Thus, the consequences of these policies on unrecognised villages can be summarised as follows (Yassin 2006, Abu-Saad 2003, RCUV 2004):

Shrinkage of Land

Support by ideological thirst for land and legislating of over thirty laws of land expropriation, such as 'Absentees' (Palestinian Refugees), Property Law and Emergency Defence Law, the Israeli government has expropriated most of the Bedouin land. Of the approximately 10,000-12,000 km² (10-12 million dunam), today the Bedouin community holds in total about 0.24 km² (240,000 dunam). It is important to note that the residents of the unrecognised villages, which comprise about 14.2% of the entire Negev's population, sit on 1.3% of the land of the Negev. Land confiscation and disparity in the allocation of state land are the most serious source of conflict between Palestinian citizens and the state since the Palestinians in Israel are barred from purchasing or leasing land in roughly 80% of the state.

Absence of Economic Base

Statistics about the existing seven recognised urban localities reveal that 6 of them are ranked in the lowest socio-economic status of any group of Israeli citizens. Similarly, the highest rate of unemployment is consistently among the Bedouin (Ittihad, edition December, 2002). In addition, a research published by Ben-Gurion University of the Negev (Abu-Saad and Lithwick, 2000) indicates that about 71% of the Bedouin community in the Negev region suffers from hunger. These figures are indicators about the socio-economic situation in the unrecognised localities. Analysis indicates that the Israeli government have been adhering a policy of disrupting and destroying the traditional economy of these localities. This has resulted in forcing the workforce of these villages to find work outside their localities. As a result, as the situation is these days, it is estimated that more than 90% of the workforce in these localities depends on labour wages. Few of them are employed in modern industrial plants, none is employed in the high tech sector, and the majority works in blue-collar jobs.

Restrictive Planning Regulation and Housing Development

Analysis of national and regional (districts) plans indicates that the unrecognised villages are de-legalised by the enforcement of Planning and Building Law of 1965. This law enacts as a mechanism to prevent the development of the Arab citizens in Israel in general and the unrecognised villages in particular. Currently, there are some plans in the Negev that aim to establish military zones, industrial areas, conservation areas and airports. Some of these plans ignore the existence of these villages and part of these development projects will be located over the existing unrecognised villages intending to transfer this segment of population into permanent townships. The key tool used by the Israeli planning authorities for these villages is demolition policy. Moreover, planning offices maintain a policy of checking-up the inhabitants to prevent repairs or additions of new construction through aerial photographs and visits.

Absence of Infrastructure Networks

Field observations show that most of these villages lack basic infrastructure networks such as running water, electricity, proper education and health services, and access to roads. Some villages have no electricity at all, and some run private generators that provide sufficient electricity for lighting only, while very few are connected to national electricity network. With respect to road network, observation of many villages indicates that none of these localities are connected to the main road network. Internal local roads are not well developed; cars go through puddles of sewage, and over dangerous slopes. In contrary, some of these villages have fences placed around them for preventing their inhabitants from having access to their traditional land.

Conclusion

This section provided some major concerns about the current urban conditions of the Bedouins in the Negev in general and in the unrecognised villages in particular. This community is the most disadvantaged among all ethnic groups in Israel in terms of urban and rural aspects such as housing development, settlement expansion, employment, level of infrastructure and services in their communities. The provocation against the Bedouins in the Negev and their image as spontaneous and unrecognised settlements on state land encouraged planning authorities to establish new Jewish settlements in order to preserve the country's land for Jews only. It can be argued that these localities have been caught in a geo-political trap built and set by the Israeli institutions. The geo-political project that calls for Jewish State for Jews only bears inherent discrimination towards the non-Jewish population. These parameters constitute obstacles to the creation of a status that would allow the Palestinian population to enjoy full citizenship in Israel and to become fully integrated in the Israeli society. The unfair and unjust planning policies prevent improvement of the urban situation of the Palestinian Bedouin citizens in their localities.

Based on the analysis of the current urban situation, it can be concluded that the problem is complex and not easy to be solved in a way to grant the Bedouins civil right that they deserve as citizens. However the author believes that a framework that is constituted upon understanding the concepts of ethnicity, citizenship and nationalism would be the first step of solving not only the problem of Bedouins, but also the entire Palestinian population in Israel. The second step would be to understand the relationship between Bedouins and land because it is the major element that ties and anchors their lives. The third step is to convince the Bedouin community that the state does not treat them as a threat, but the state sees them as equal counterparts to the Jewish community. These steps can be achieved via:

- Giving recognition to the existing unrecognised Bedouin localities that are not yet recognised, and provide all basic urban services and public amenities.
- Ending the policy of relocating the Bedouins from their unrecognised localities into existing and new townships as well as the demolition of houses built without building permits.
- Starting to put development (master/outline) plans – for both urban and agricultural activities - and ensuring the representation of the Bedouin

community within the decision making bodies of the municipal borders to which they belong.

- Distributing the national resources (land, social facilities) of the state according to the urban needs of the beneficiaries, and forbidding all bodies in charge of managing state land to use discriminative policies based on ethnicity, religion or nationalism to give the right to free choice of place of residence to all citizens inside the state.

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III

Final comment

The year of 1948, the foundation of the Jewish State of Israel in new frontlines did not set an end to usurpation of the Palestinian land - it was but a starting point for more and more expropriation and expulsion. After all - with British and finally international support - the Zionist leaders succeeded in having a state in Palestine and even a larger area than the UN had proposed to them.

The state was founded on a dangerous Jewish nationalism, a racist ideology which backed a fateful ethnic cleansing of the Non Jewish Palestinians and expulsion of half of the indigenous people.

However, more than 150.000 Palestinians remained in the country, at that time still forming one quarter of all inhabitants. The usurpation of Palestine was not complete in terms of property and ownership; and finally in terms of land use it was not even Jewish: the majority of the Jewish immigrants concentrated living in the cities of the coast. Consequently, the Zionist leadership pulled out all steps useful for judaising the land: extreme expropriation by laws and regulations; systematic Jewish immigration and distribution of Jewish people; imposing all kinds of restrictions and discrimination to the Palestinians. Spatial planning played a crucial role. Beside a framework of expropriation and annexation instruments national, regional, district and local plans became essential tools for judaising and colonising the land of the Palestinians in a very short time.

In fact Palestine in borders of 1948 has become Jewish; this part of Palestine by force changed its face to the unrecognisable. New cities and villages in European style are dominant at the coast, the emptied Palestinian villages and small cities like Yaffa (Jafa) or Taberia (Tiberias) are turned into Jewish, and some of them like Safad are hosting extreme orthodox Jews obliterating Palestinian memory as far as possible. The Palestinians, treated as the 'Arab Sector' and despite massive Jewish immigration, still forming nearly one quarter of the people were and are still under extreme pressure in terms of land property, land use, infrastructure and housing. They do not benefit from Israeli planning system; on the contrary, they are victims of the regulations. Their land was grabbed 'by law', they miss infrastructure supply, financing of housing and their needs are neglected. In general they are discriminated against and in a threatened position: hundreds of thousands Bedouins lost their basic living condition, hundreds of thousands homes are condemned 'illegal' and therefore to demolish.

Looking back on 60 years of planning under Zionism and Jewish nationalism the most important steps killing the Palestinian existence in Israel to the utmost were done in the first decade with the implementation of the national plan for the distribution of Jewish immigrants, the program of 30 new cities and the immediate expropriation of the so called absentees, the Palestinian refugees. The Palestinian land property shrank from 93-94 percent in 1948 to less than 3 percent of the total to date. Today expropriation does not stop, some instruments are different. Planning for the Jewish sector, roads, new colonies, cities and villages on the one hand and refuse of such plans for the Palestinians on the other hand lead to the desired effects of reducing Palestinian existence and basics for development. Hence Palestinians are suffering from lack of land and infrastructure and overcrowding, and they miss

economic opportunities. They have become a marginal minority in terms of political power, economic importance and social influence. Israel is the Jewish State.

So far the 'dream' of the fathers of the Zionist project has been fulfilled and the architects and planners of the Jewish State might have been satisfied. However this Israel was not the land that Lord Balfour had promised to realise and what the Zionist movement had envisioned under the British Mandate. Still about 22 percent are missing and in them strategic parts of Palestine: East Jerusalem, the Jordan Valley and the West Bank with the most important water resources as well as Gaza, rich in agriculture and a bridge to Africa.

Consequently, to grab the remaining areas of Palestine and cleanse those from Palestinian presence as far as possible came into view when the State of Israel had reached stability and international (western) recognition. The war of 1967 and the occupation of the West Bank including East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip was the initial step for further colonization; military aggression again became an initiative tool for conquering remaining parts of Palestine. Exploiting the natural and land resources and shifting the country into a new geographic and demographic reality was the logic follow up of Zionist architecture and planning.

The following section will investigate how Zionist ideology and strategic planning, was implemented within the new frontiers – also war might become a regular tool within further colonization.