Through the Egged© Bus Window:
The Legacy of Arieh Sharon's Vision of the Israeli New Towns

by

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When he had finished, Alice would say, "When I grow up, I too will go to faraway places, and when I grow old, I too will live beside the sea."

"That is all very well, little Alice," said her grandfather, "but there is a third thing you must do…You must do something to make the world more beautiful."

"All right," said Alice. But she did not know yet what that could be.

Barbara Cooney. *Miss Rumphius*

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ABSTRACT

In 1951, the National Planning Department and head planner Arieh Sharon published Israel's first national plan, Physical Planning in Israel (Tikhnun fisi be-Yisraʾel). This research examines the legacy of the plan and its New Towns, which served as a method to depolarize the Jewish settlement pattern, absorb new immigrants, and secure the national borders. Despite its non-statutory status, the plan was widely implemented and had a lasting impact on the social and built landscape. I conduct a content analysis based on Fairclough's (1992) Critical Discourse Analysis and Ryan's (2011) Visual Theory of Plan Interpretation. I contextualize the plan's proposals, socioeconomic preconditions, and political ideology with National Planning Department propaganda and three original New Towns' contemporary plans. The New Towns constitute Israel's modern, built legacy as a manifestation of Socialist Zionist ideology and the Labour party's hegemony at statehood; yet, their fate remains to be determined in Israel's contemporary planning system.

Key Words: *New Towns, Israel, Legacy, Urban Planning and Design, Arieh Sharon, Physical Planning in Israel, Tikhnun fisi be-Yisraʾel*

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

At Israel's independence on May 14th, 1948, the government controlled 92% of the territory and 80% of the Jewish population resided along the Mediterranean coast and in the large cities (Efrat, 1994; Spiegel, 1967). Under Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's direction, master planner Arieh Sharon and the National Planning Department authored *Physical Planning in Israel* (1951). Sharon and many of his contemporaries studied modern planning theory in Europe. The British Garden City movement and Central Place Theory were particularly influential amongst young, Israeli architects and planners (Brutzkus, 1975). Commonly referred to as the 'Sharon Plan,' the first national plan of Israel proposed a population dispersal policy to settle the incoming wave of immigrants, prioritize the hinterland's agricultural and industrial development, and secure the largely uninhabited national borders (Berler, 1970; Spiegel, 1967). The Labour government and affiliated party organizations funded the non-statutory national plan (Brutzkus, 1975). *Physical Planning in Israel's* primary proposal, the New Town, was replicated in over 30 locations, reviving historical centres, replacing former Arab towns, and settling new territory (Shadar & Oxman, 2003). The New Town typology reflected Socialist Zionist ideals and asserted Israeli sovereignty throughout the national territory (Troen, 2003).

Israel's current national planning agenda reflects a fundamental shift in the country's political and social orientation. The modern State of Israel was established under a Labour hegemony whose Socialist Zionist ideology prioritized collectivism and agrarian life (Troen, 2003). The Labour party's loss in the 1977 national elections initiated the decline of the country's ideological orientation and the development of a fragmented, neo-liberal body politic (Hershkowitz, 2010). In the past 20 years, Israel has experienced the second major wave of immigration since statehood. To accommodate over 700,000 immigrants from the former USSR,

the government replaced *Physical Planning in Israel* with two new national plans. Contemporary Israeli planning promotes the development of a high-tech economy, deemphasizes the Israeli periphery's geostrategic importance based on recent Arab peace agreements, and prioritizes land preservation due to natural resource scarcity. Furthermore, the new national plans have overturned *Physical Planning in Israel*'s population dispersal to New Towns with policy for metropolitan concentration surrounded by green borders. The shift towards urban growth illustrates the country's new focus on the global market and individual choice (Shachar, 1998). As Israel's contemporary landscape continues to change in accordance with national planning principles, Arieh Sharon's New Towns manifest the country's modern origins.

Section 1.1: Research Aim & Questions

The overarching research aim of my thesis is: **To critically analyze the social, political, and ideological underpinnings of the first Israeli national plan and its primary proposal, the New Town, and to explore its legacy in contemporary Israel.** In order to understand the values imbued in the Israeli New Town form at its inception and its legacy in Israel's contemporary landscape, I conduct a discourse analysis of the textual and visual components of *Physical Planning in Israel*. I then contextualize *Physical Planning in Israel*'s political and ideological expression based on the National Planning Department's 1950s political propaganda and three contemporary, local outline plans of Bet Shean (1992), Afula (2004), and Safed (2013). I have divided the first part of my research aim into three sub-questions, which I answer using a mixed methods approach comprised of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992; 2003) and a Visual Theory of Plan Interpretation (Ryan, 2011). Critical Discourse Analysis is a textual analysis methodology, which examines text on three discursive planes – as a piece of text, an

occurrence of discursive practice, and an instance of social action (Fairclough, 1992). Ryan's (2011) Visual Theory of Plan Interpretation is an adaptation of Panofsky's *Studies in Iconology* (1939) art critique method for plans. A Visual Theory of Plan Interpretation considers plan's factual, contextual, and temporal meaning, with particular emphasis on the plan's visual presentation (Ryan, 2011). The critical plan interpretation method comprises an analytical reading of three strata – factual, contextual, and historic practice (Chapter 2 describes CDA and a Visual Theory of Plan Interpretation in depth, as well as the methodology and analytical framework for this thesis). As such, I centre each reading on the questions in the following order:

Question 1. What is *Physical Planning in Israel*'s textual and visual structure? Specifically, how is the New Town form presented?

Question 2. How does *Physical Planning in Israel* represent its planning genre and Israel's contemporaneous socioeconomic context?

Question 3. What is *Physical Planning in Israel*'s political force and ideological value? How are these values documented in historic and contemporary planning material?

Based on the results of the critical plan interpretation of *Physical Planning in Israel,* analysis of auxiliary Israeli planning documentation, and review of secondary academic sources, I respond to the second part of my research aim and discuss the New Towns as a manifestation of Israel's modern, built legacy.

Section 1.2: Chapter Outline

After the presentation of the research aims and questions, as well as a brief introduction to the subject, I now outline the content of each Chapter. Chapter Two (Methodological Framework) presents an overview of two theories I used to construct my methodology and the

analytical framework for this thesis. In addition, I describe the data source and access to material. In Chapter Three, I present the context for *Physical Planning in Israel* and its master planner, Arieh Sharon. Chapter Four consists of conclusions from the factual reading of the plan in response to the first research sub-question.

In Chapter Five, I discuss the findings from the contextual reading and my conclusions to question two. Then, in Chapter Six, I complete the historic practice reading and answer the last sub-question of my research query. Chapter Seven presents my primary findings from the three results chapters based on contextual evidence from secondary sources in Chapter Three. I conclude Chapter Seven with final remarks on the modern legacy of Arieh Sharon's New Towns.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In this Chapter, I outline the analytical framework of my study and the methods used to investigate the Israeli New Town form. Planning is an interdisciplinary subject and its primary resource – the plan – communicates information through complementary media. In order to analyze the different meanings of both the written and visual plan components, I combine a Critical Discourse analysis of the text and an art history approach to visual plan interpretation. Section 2.1 presents Critical Discourse Analysis for social science research (Fairclough, 1992; 2003). Section 2.2 concerns Ryan's (2011) adaptation of Panofsky's *Studies in Iconology* (1939) for plans, which henceforth I refer to as the Visual Theory of Plan Interpretation (Ryan, 2011). In Section 2.3, I explain the congruence of the two methods' theoretical underpinnings and structures, and present my analytical framework. Section 2.4 presents the data and Section 2.5 considers certain issues arising from the chosen method of data collection.

Section 2.1: Critical Discourse Analysis for Social Science Research

Norman Fairclough (1992; 2003) is credited with adapting the linguistics research method – Discourse Analysis – for social science research. Fairclough's (1992) approach to discourse analysis is "based upon the assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language" (p. 2). In a vast literature review, Fairclough (1992) identifies the lack of a comprehensive research method to investigate text and evaluate its meaning on multiple levels. Despite the centrality of text-based material in much of social science research, Fairclough (1992) determines that there is little documentation of text analysis due to the assumption that the material's meaning can be derived without rigorous language

analysis. He argues that text in its varied forms, including policy documents and community records, is a rich source of meaning and impetus for social change, despite scholars' tendency to place emphasis on the text as a finished product and diminish the power dynamics that contribute to its production (Fairclough, 1992).

Fairclough (1992) proposes a social-theoretical interpretation of text method based on three analytical planes, asserting that "any discursive 'event' (i.e. any instance of discourse) is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice" (p. 4). At the text level, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) entails analyzing language structure and meaning with a focus on four linked themes – vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. CDA's second stage, discursive practice, or the processes of text production, goes beyond factual text analysis as it considers text as the realization of genres or the discursive element of social practices (Maccallum & Hopkins, 2011). Genres are identifiable because professional fields use language in distinct ways. As Maccallum and Hopkins (2011) add, "This means that texts of a particular genre, such as the 'strategic metropolitan plan,' share identifiable characteristics related to the social work that they do: they show common structures, modes of expression and argument, and systematic links with other texts" (p. 487). Discursive practice includes the choice of one discourse over another and the manner in which discourses are amalgamated (Fairclough, 1992).

In order to analyze the social factor of text production, distribution, and consumption, the second plane comprises direct analysis of the "force of 'utterances'" visible in various speech types such as promises and rejections, "the 'coherence' of texts," and "the 'intertextuality' of text," or the implicit or explicit relationship between different texts (Fairclough, 1992, p. 5). Thus, the analysis of discursive practice focuses on the text's tone, internal structure, and

reference to other discursive events. Fairclough (1992) emphasizes the importance of discursive practice because social change is directly addressed through its double meaning. The text production and consumption processes function as a dialectic in that they are simultaneously constrained by the creators' resources, norms, and conventions as well as by the nature of the social practice itself, which dictates how and which resources are exploited for the final product.

Together, the seven analytical topics in the text and discursive practice stages establish a framework in which to evaluate the text's factual meaning, production, and interpretation; the third plane of CDA, social practice, relates the institutional and organizational conditions that produce the discursive event as well as the constructive impact of the discourse. Social practice comprehends the text in terms of ideology and power. Ideology is present in the orders of discourse that form past events and establish criteria for contemporaneous ones, and is also imbued in the events (texts) as they shape their respective structures. The text's author(s) and institutional structure express ideology based on their power or hegemony in political and economic domains. Fairclough (1992) asserts, "An order of discourse can be seen as the discursive facet of the contradictory and unstable equilibrium which constitutes a hegemony, and the articulation and rearticulation of orders of discourse is correspondingly one stake in the hegemonic struggle" (p. 93). Beyond the text's factual and contextual meaning, the discursive event expresses the authority of the author(s) in its social application.

Section 2.2: Visual Theory of Plan Interpretation

Although the field of planning produces multiple resources for intervention such as policy documents and public meeting records, as Ryan (2011) articulates, "In whatever form they may be issued, plans continue to constitute the major printed currency of the planning

profession, perhaps because the public continues to see plans as meaningful expression of future intentions for a place" (p. 309). Scholars have published literature on the evaluation and implementation of the profession's eponymous tool, yet guides to reading plans are considered either "too obvious or too unimportant to require explicit discussion" (Ryan, 2011, p. 309). Similar to Fairclough's (1992; 2003) discovery of text analysis in the social sciences, Ryan (2011) argues that planning studies frequently focus on the primary source and overlook the method in which it is analyzed. Through a careful delineation of plan reading, Ryan (2011) guides professionals and researchers alike in the method of their craft in order to improve plan interpretation and analysis of plans' other purposes.

Ryan (2011) summarizes planning theory since the 1990s as a trend towards understanding planning as a discursive enterprise, which requires coherent communication between various parties. However judging plans exclusively in communicative terms reduces the plan itself to little more than a discursive tool (Ryan, 2011). A plan's richness lies in the concepts it presents in a visual and textual format to transform the physical environment; thus, it must be analyzed for its factual value, as well as the social and economic structure within which it is situated, and the political force of its ideological values. Ryan's Visual Theory of Plan Interpretation methodology is a three-part analysis of the plan as an ideological, cultural, and historical artefact (Hu, 2013). Ryan adapts Panofsky's (1939) *Studies in Iconology* art interpretation for plans, choosing to base the factual reading on the plan's imagery. Panofsky's interpretation describes art in three strata. In artistic terms, Panofsky calls these primary or "natural subject" meanings, secondary or "conventional subject" matter, and intrinsic or "content" meanings (as cited in Ryan, 2011, p. 312).

For Panofsky, the first meaning is factual or expresses the image's "plain sense" to elucidate the distinct forms, objects, and events, and the manner in which they appear (Ryan, 2011, p. 312). Panofsky classifies the first stratum as pre-iconographical motifs in that there is no expression of deeper meaning. For plans, Ryan (2011) writes, "The plain sense of a spatial plan is represented by a set of analyses or studies of a neighborhood, city, or region. These studies include both raw data and interpretations of this data. A plan then conveys future intentions for the subject area based on these interpretations, and details the actions, scope, cost, and methods by which both the analyses and intentions were derived" (p. 314). Although not every component of the plan should be understood as fact, plans propose factual meaning. As the reader, one accepts the plan's information, whether or not is its factually true, as what it professes to be (Ryan, 2011).

Panofsky's second meaning is conventional or particular to the society and period in which the event occurred. Ryan (2011) summarizes, "These secondary readings are 'iconographical in the narrower sense of the word' (p. 6) since particular meanings of the painting (although not all) are revealed" (p. 312). The reader interprets meaning of the recognizable motifs (*images)* and their combination (*stories* or *allegories*) based on a contextual understanding of the artistic genre and the historical significance of motifs. Ryan adapts the conventional stratum for plans:

> A plan has additional meanings that require different types of knowledge to be perceived and interpreted. All plans are influenced by political, social, economic, and physical contexts, although this influence is seldom spelled out explicitly. A plan reflects these interrelated contexts just as it potentially influences them. Understanding a plan's many contexts, and applying this knowledge to our understanding of the content of a plan, reveals the plan's contextual meaning. (Ryan, 2011, p. 314)

The contextual meaning of a plan can be explicit or implicit; however, in either case, plans need to be understood in the greater socio-political context of their production (Ryan, 2011).

According to Panofsky, the third meaning is intrinsic or indicative of the primary figure's personal philosophy, which can be understood as a body of observations and should be interpreted with regards to his or her class, nationality, intellectual persuasion, and historic period. According to Ryan (2011), "Applying this additional knowledge to the painting permits a tertiary, or intrinsic, reading, clarifying the painting's meaning further" (p. 314). Thus, plan interpretation's third stratum is a temporal reading. Ryan (2011) adds, "Although some meanings may be apparent to a contemporary reader, additional meanings may only be discerned in the context of the history of a city's plans, the history of a city, the life of the plan's author, or the history of the society that produced the plan" (p. 313). Historic distance is required to conduct the third temporal reading as the reader benefits from a perspective mitigated by time, as well as the outlook of his or her contemporaries. Although conducting a temporal reading on a contemporaneous plan poses an obvious challenge, Maccallum and Hopkins (2011) and Hu (2013) demonstrate that Ryan's third analytical stratum can be achieved through a cross-analysis of plans from different eras. While the reader does not benefit from the historic perspective in terms of the current plan, they gain insight to the plan's contemporary ideology and political actors based through the comparison with a plan from another period.

Section 2.3: Combined Methods & Analytical Framework

After a presentation of Fairclough's (1992; 2003) Critical Discourse Analysis and Ryan's (2011) Visual Theory of Plan Interpretation, I now present the way in which I combined these theories to establish a critical plan interpretation method based on three strata of meaning. The

critical plan interpretation method is founded on the congruence of the two preceding methodologies, and on plans' dual medium. Based on Busch et al.'s (2005) methodology, I conducted an initial reading of the text to familiarize myself with its structure, proposals, and themes. I then coded the plans based on my three research questions, highlighting factual data in red, contextual information in blue, and ideological planning themes in green.

As the levels of critical plan interpretation are not mutually exclusive, I encountered instances in my coding where *Physical Planning in Israel*'s content was appropriate for multiple readings. I used my specific research questions and consulted Fairclough (1992) and Ryan's (2011) frameworks to negotiate methodological challenges (Section 2.1 and 2.2, respectively). In many cases, a single concept had factual, contextual, and ideological value. For example, *Physical Planning in Israel*'s methodology is relevant to all three questions. I coded the factual statements on surveying (red), situated the broad terminology and lack of details in the modern planning context (blue), and considered the planners' strong, yet opaque assertions as a demonstration of the state's authority to act on behalf of the collective good based Socialist Zionist ideology (green).

Furthermore, I paid particular attention to repeated phrases and common epithets in the plan's varied sections. I read the original Hebrew source with its English translation, recording places in the text where the translated copy leaves out or alters the original plan's meaning. For the visual data, I similarly distinguished elements that pertained to *Physical Planning in Israel*'s primary factual, contextual, and ideological meaning. Lastly, I reviewed political propaganda from the National Planning Department and contemporary, local outline plans for their expression and reinterpretation of *Physical Planning in Israel*'s ideological planning themes, respectively.

The first analytical level deals with the content of the plan's textual and visual components. CDA's first stage calls for analysis of language structure and meaning in consideration of the text's vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. In Ryan's (2011) analysis, the plain sense reading identifies the plan's presentation, structure, proposals, as well as the proposal's financial and methodological details. In critical plan interpretation, I present *Physical Planning in Israel*'s textual and visual structure, and primary proposal – the New Town. In the factual reading, I answer the following research questions:

1. *What is Physical Planning in Israel's textual and visual structure? Specifically, how is the New Town form presented?*

I begin with a presentation of the planning document. I analyze *Physical Planning in Israel*'s visual plans for the spatial hierarchy, integrated networks, and the New Towns' general land zone scheme. I also present the plan's methodology and structure.

The second analytical stage for critical plan interpretation considers the plan as a genre in a specific social and economic context. CDA's discursive practice level analyzes the text's production, distribution, and consumption based upon the proposal's force, internal coherence, and relationship to other texts and greater context. Ryan (2011) asserts that the secondary, contextual reading, has a similarly dual nature in that the plan reflects interrelated social, economic and physical contexts, while it also intends to influence them through practical proposals. In the contextual reading, I answer the following question:

2. *How does Physical Planning in Israel represent its planning genre and Israel's contemporaneous socioeconomic context?*

I use secondary literature to situate *Physical Planning in Israel* within the planning genre. I also elucidate the plan's reference to other planning periods and the national socioeconomic climate based on contextual evidence.

In the third analytical stage of critical plan interpretation, I study the plans as an instance of social practice (Fairclough, 1992), in which the governing institution employs political force to express ideology. Fairclough (1992) states that CDA's third level relates the institutional and organizational conditions that produce the text and the constructive impact of the discourse. As Ryan (2011) asserts, the temporal reading situates the plans in their historical context and reveals the plan and government's intrinsic ideology. Ideology comprises a system of theories and ideals, which frequently serves as the basis for political action and processes. In the case of *Physical Planning in Israel* and throughout this thesis, I use ideology to refer to the Socialist Zionist foundation of the Labour government during the development and implementation of Israel's first national plan. In the historic practice reading, I answer the third question:

3. *What is Physical Planning in Israel's political force and ideological value? How are these values documented in historic and contemporary planning material?*

In this stage, I look at the plans on a longitudinal plane (Ryan, 2011). I rely on National Planning Department propaganda and secondary sources to elucidate the political planning structure and authority, which produced *Physical Planning in Israel*. I then analyze the ideological expression and planning values in *Physical Planning in Israel*, the Planning Department propaganda, and contemporary, local outline plans.

I employ the critical plan interpretation's factual, contextual, and historic practice readings to present Israel's first national plan and the New Town proposal in this thesis. Based on the analytical framework, I provide evidence of the centrality of the New Town proposal in

the plan's visual and textual components (Question 1), socioeconomic context (Question 2), and political structure and ideological expression (Question 3). I conclude with a discussion of the legacy of Arieh Sharon's New Towns as modern Israeli heritage based on the findings from the context and results chapters.

Section 2.4: Data

The data for this thesis consists of plans from two periods, as well as political propaganda from the National Planning Department. The first plan is called תכנון פיסי בישראל (*Tikhnun fisi be-Yisra'el*) and is an 80-page, bound hardcover book. The text is in Hebrew and the book includes 50 plates of photographs and maps. Arieh Sharon authored the plan, which includes a 31-page, abridged English copy on semi-translucent paper, titled *Physical Planning in Israel*. The Israeli Government Printing Press (Madpis Ha-Medinah) and Survey of Israel Press printed the hardcover book in 1951 in Jerusalem, Israel. The Survey of Israel was in charge of the basic maps and offset printing, and Kfar Monash Printing Press printed the English supplement. The photos, which only appear in the hardcover book, are from the Government Public Information Office, Kalter, Kluger, Prior. Blocks – United Zincographies Limited. The plan, as well as the English supplement, comprises nine chapters: Outline of National Plan, National Planning, Village Planning, Land and Landscape, The New Towns, Haifa Regional Plan, Jerusalem Outline Scheme, Tel Aviv Regional Plan, and Layout and Architecture. My research will consider the entire plan, however I will focus on the fifth chapter – The New Towns.

For the contemporary period, I review local outline plans (תוכנית מתאר מקומית) of Bet Shean, Afula, and Safed. The Bet Shean plan (#6995/ג) dates from 1992 and was published under the name of architect and urban planner, Arieh Rachmimov, and the Bet Shean municipal

planning office. The plan is 105 pages, inclusive of the cover and table of contents. A single map supplements the written proposal. The Afula plan (#12567/ג) dates from 2004 and was published under the architects' names, Ami Shinar and Amir Mann, and the Afula municipal planning office. The plan is 25 pages long and has a map supplement. Lastly, the Safed plan (#12617/ג) was made public in 2013 and its publisher is the Safed municipal planning office. The plan is 75 pages long and has two map supplements – one current and one recommended.

The National Planning Department propaganda consists of town planning panels presented at the first Town-Planning Exhibition at the Tel Aviv Museum on May 2nd, 1950. Arieh Sharon and the Planning Department created 12 panels in the Bauhaus style on town planning policies. These panels are in black-and-white, with a combination of graphics, photographs, and illustrations. The panels have banners with planning ideology slogans (Aloni, 2011; Sharon, 1976).

Physical Planning in Israel was printed in limited numbers and is now housed in archives and rare book libraries. I consulted the plan at the Canadian Centre of Architecture (CCA) Archive, Columbia University's Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, and McGill University's Rare Books & Special Collections Library. I accessed digital copies of *Physical Planning in Israel*'s images, the English supplement, and National Planning Department propaganda on the Arieh Sharon archive website: http://www.ariehsharon.org/. The contemporary, local outline plans are published online on Israel's Ministry of the Interior website. The plans are accessible to the general public; however, certain online files are missing sections of the visual plans.

Section 2.5: Limitations in Data Collection and Access

In this section, I delineate certain challenges I faced while accessing the plans. As mentioned in Section 2.4, *Physical Planning in Israel* is delicate and is predominantly stored in architecture archives. I reviewed the plan in multiple locations due to the length of my project, limited access hours at the various archives, and its use in a concurrent exhibition. The online Arieh Sharon archive proved very helpful in supplementing the book resource. Although there were over 30 New Towns built in Israel, *Physical Planning in Israel* only identifies the first thirteen to be built. To conduct a cross-analysis of the first national plan of Israel with contemporary urban plans, I required local outline plans produced in the 1990s or later due to national-scale restructuring during the Russian immigration (see Section 1.1). Out of the thirteen cities cited in *Physical Planning in Israel*, only three of the locations have produced current, municipal-scale plans due to bureaucratic and funding difficulties, which determined my choice of Bet Shean, Afula, and Safed for the contemporary contextualization.

CHAPTER 3: CONTEXT

In Chapter 3, I discuss three bodies of literature, which serve as the contextual foundation for my analysis of *Physical Planning in Israel* and the New Town proposal. I review influential planning trends at the turn of the 20th century, Socialist Zionism in Israel and in the life of Arieh Sharon, and Israeli planning from the pre-statehood period through the 21st century.

Section 3.1: Planning Theory at the Turn of the 20th Century

The turn of the 20th century was a fruitful period for urban design, producing a plethora of architectural orders, international design movements, and urban planning theories. In Western Europe, mass industrialization drove rural inhabitants towards major cities in search of work. European industrial capitals quickly became congested and overrun with poverty, disease, and slum living quarters (Hall, 1988). Cities came to simultaneously epitomize the ills of the modern period and the stage for design innovation. The discussion below focuses on three planning theories and the individuals behind them, which greatly influenced Sharon and the National Planning Department's conception of the New Town: The Garden City movement, Central Place Theory, and regional planning.

Green Communities – From Garden Cities to New Towns

Ebenezer Howard's 1898 pamphlet *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Reform* established the Garden City theory and the ideals for the British New Towns (Troen, 2003). The Garden City was one of the most significant trends in urban development in the 20th century (Hall, 1988). Hall (1988) argues that many academics have misunderstood Ebenezer Howard and the primary tenets of his Garden City concept. He asserts, "Most mistakenly of all, they see him as a physical planner, ignoring the fact that his garden cities were merely the vehicles for a progressive

reconstruction of capitalist society into an infinity of co-operative commonwealths" (Hall, 1988, p. 87). The Garden City was a mixture of contemporaneous theories. Howard depicted human settlement patterns as two magnets of country and town life. He proposed a third option, which married town and country to establish a new civilization (Howard, 1985). The Town-Country solution intended to incorporate the socioeconomic opportunity of Victorian cities, but leave the slums behind. The new settlement embraced the green milieu of the country, while evading agricultural depression and high unemployment rates (Hall, 1988).

Howard's design solution was to place the Garden City sufficiently far from the metropolis to economize on depressed agricultural land prices and limit the population to approximately 30,000 residents for the prevention of slum conditions. He proposed a green belt as an urban growth boundary and the natural setting for town-country life and urban institutions. According to Howard (1985), once the Garden City had reached its population limit, another one would be built nearby to eventually form an agglomeration of cities connected by mass transit. Howard termed this urban theory the Social City. Hall (1988) argues that the Social City was the true form of Howard's Garden City concept.

In the sketch of the concept, placed at the bottom of the third magnet, Town-Country, are the words freedom and cooperation (Howard, 1985). Hall (1988) asserts that Howard was particularly interested in garden cities' social conditions, promulgating a strong welfare system managed by local government. After Howard's Garden City almost failed due investors' fear that land prices would not augment sufficiently to pay off the towns' original mortgages, British designers, Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, reinterpreted his social ideology as an architectural form (Hall, 1988). They proposed a town, in which a green belt separated industry and living quarters, cottages encircled a green courtyard, and the village green connected to other

natural elements via pedestrian walks. Hall (1988) states that the architectural team wanted to create a place of "reposefulness," where "the visitor, arriving in whatever psychological state, immediately receives a quite extraordinary impression of calm, of an informal but natural order of things, which is all-pervasive" (pp. 99–100). Later on, Unwin diverged from Howard's original concept in his support of garden satellite towns, which were not economically self-sufficient.

The Garden City concept spread and experimental cities were built throughout Europe and America in the 1920s and 1930s.[i] After World War II, Labour Minister Lewis Silkin charged the Town and Country Planning Association to plan New Towns for 20,000-60,000 residents each. The New Towns Act of 1946 ordered the construction of thirteen New Towns in Britain, which would predominantly be built by public corporations. For Hall (1988), the New Towns Act promoted a planning idiom devoid of the social ideology of Howard's Garden City. He writes, "Top-down planning triumphed over bottom-up; Britain would have the shell of Howard's garden-city without the substance" (Hall, 1988, p. 133). The British New Towns have served as the precedent for population dispersal and urban development policies in countries all over the world (Hall, 1988).

The Town and its Hinterland – Central Place Theory and Regional Planning

Walter Christaller developed a geographic theory based on the relationship between human settlement and their regions (King, 1984). King (1984) argues that the basis for Christaller's Central Place Theory was the functional interdependence between a town and its hinterland. Central places concentrate goods and services. The settlement's range of services determines the size of its regional area and average distance to other settlements (Shachar, 1971).

In turn, the settlements fit into a hierarchal structure based on their size, number, and order of functions. Christaller illustrated this theory with a hexagonal framework, which demonstrated the ideal distance between locations in the hierarchy (King, 1984).

Although Christaller's theory was based on a number of assumptions such as a homogenous geography and rational consumers, the theory was employed in many regional planning schemes. King (1984) states, "The reference to central place theory in such planning endeavours typically had implied an acceptance of the idea that a well-developed, hierarchical central place system is in some sense an efficient arrangement that is likely to have a positive or beneficial effect upon the economic development of the region in question" (p. 72). Thus, many countries adopted a diluted interpretation of Central Place Theory in the form of a urban hierarchy to develop a systematic settlement pattern and integrated economic network throughout the hinterland (Brutzkus, 1975).

Regional planning derived from Central Place Theory. Sir Patrick Geddes developed the concept of regional planning as a solution to the rapid pace of urbanization throughout Europe and the Americas in the early 20th century. In the French geographic tradition, Geddes asserted that the truest concept of a region was entity distinct from the metropolis. Geddes demonstrated the regional planning theory with a Valley section, which illustrated all human occupations from the greatest height down to sea level in any region (as discussed in Hall, 1988). At the region centre was the Valley in the Town.

Geddes also advanced planning methodology. He emphasized the importance of planners' initial survey of the natural region to identify human interaction with the landscape. Like Howard, Geddes argued that planners needed to bring the countryside to burdened city workers. Hall (1988) argues that Lewis Mumford played a crucial role in the diffusion of

regional planning in that he rendered Geddes' writings comprehensible and developed regional planning as a transnational trend. Hall (1988) quotes Mumford, "For if regional planning provides the framework, the garden city provides the 'civic objective': 'not as a temporary haven of refuge but as a permanent seat of life and culture, urban in its advantages, permanently rural in its situation,'" (p. 153).

Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Greater London Plan of 1944 is the premier historic example of regional planning and garden cities. The British wartime government commissioned Abercrombie to combat urban spill-over in London's blighted east and southeast regions (Hall, 1998). In London, the plan proposed a road system lined with greenery as the structuring element around neighbourhood units, while he inversed the scheme for the New Towns that would act as "islands of urban development" in a sea of green (Hall, 1988, p. 171). The plan limited London's expansion by means of a 10 mile-wide green belt, while construction of New Towns, the Garden City under their new name, and expansion of existing towns would occur at least 20 miles from London's centre. The New Town system was intended to house and provide employment for over 1 million residents.

Section 3.2: Socialist Zionism and Pioneer Arieh Sharon

Zionism, the Jewish national movement, developed in political and intellectual circles in Europe at the end of the 19th century. Inspired by Western European nationalist movements, young Jews sought auto-emancipation and the establishment of a Jewish national homeland. Troen (2003) writes,

> This 'ingathering of the exiles,' whether one believes it is the fulfilment of Divine promise or a necessary pragmatic response of Jews to persecution in the lands where they sojourned, has signified an unprecedented opportunity and challenge. An ancient people-long dispersed,

> linguistically and culturally diverse, usually marginalised and restricted in occupation and residence-Jews set out toward the end of the nineteenth century to reconstitute themselves as a modern and sovereign nation living in their own land. (p. 1)

In 1897, Theodor Herzl established the World Zionist Organization (WZO) as an international platform for Zionism, setting the stage for modern Jewish settlement and planning of the Palestinian territory (Troen, 2003). While Religious Zionists believed that returning to the Land of Israel would fulfil the biblical promise of Ingathering of Exiles, Socialist Zionists emphasized a collectivist society where Jews from varied backgrounds would live and work the land together. Despite variations in Zionist ideology, the visionaries shared the common aspiration of founding a Jewish state and concluding the nation's 2000-year exile in the Diaspora.

Eastern and Central European Jews moved to Palestine in a series of immigration waves (*aliyot*). Most settled in the three major cities of the period, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, while members of Socialist Zionist youth movements established collective agricultural settlements (*kibbutzim* and *moshavim*) in the hinterland (Efrat, 1994; Troen, 2003). These pioneers had a particularly strong attachment to the land, believing that agricultural cultivation and settlement were the basis for realizing the Zionist dream (Shadar & Oxman, 2003). In contrast to their European ancestors, who had historically been prohibited from land ownership and cultivation, the early Socialist Zionist embodied a new kind of Jew. They shared living quarters, property, and work responsibilities, and sought to build Israel from the ground up (Troen, 2003).

The first master planner of Israel, Arieh Sharon, was one of the early pioneers. He was born in Jaroslaw, Poland on May 28th, 1900 and joined the Zionist youth movement Hashomer Hatzair (The Young Guard) at age twelve. He asserts, "Our overall aim was to transform ourselves, the children of the Jewish bourgeoisie, devoted to commerce and the professions, into

productive farmers and workers returning home to Zion" (Sharon, 1976, p. 6). The youth movement's participants wanted to change Palestine from a swamp into an agriculturally productive land and to create an egalitarian society through their own toil and labour.

In a series of political changes, Hashomer Hatzair's dream became possible. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 established the right for a Jewish national home in Palestine under the British Mandate, while the Russian Revolution, the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and Polish independence all helped concretize Hashomer Hatzair's commitment to self-determination in the historic homeland. In 1920, Sharon and a group of seventeen other men and women from Hashomer Hatzair immigrated to Palestine and established kibbutz Gan Shmuel in the hinterland between Haifa and Tel Aviv. The pioneers worked and lived together. Sharon (1976) describes the kibbutz's communal philosophy: "Despite the expansion of the kibbutz, we were very careful before we accepted any new candidates as members. Our ideal was to retain the intimacy and close personal ties of a family. Everyone had to share the same human, social and ideological values" (p. 6).

At Gan Shmuel, Sharon constructed the new living quarters and agricultural buildings. By 1926, Sharon felt that despite his first-hand building experience, he lacked rigorous architectural training. In his autobiography, Sharon states that he wanted to understand the socio-architectural basis for town planning. Between 1926-1929, Sharon studied in Dessau, Germany at the Bauhaus design school, whose collaborative work and living environment resonated with him in part due to his experience on kibbutz. After the mandatory first year course, Sharon studied architecture under Hannes Meyer who propagated a functionalist approach to building and emphasized the socioeconomic foundation of design. In 1929, Sharon left Bauhaus to supervise Meyer's Berlin office and his major project – the Trade Union School of Berlin

(Sharon, 1976). On site, Sharon came in contact with many of the design elements that would later appear in the Israeli New Town, including segregated land zoning, functionalist buildings, and harmonious planning between buildings and nature.

With the rise of Nazism in Germany, many of the Bauhaus Masters, including Meyer, sought personal and artistic refuge in Russia. While Meyer encouraged his mentee to join him in Moscow, Sharon, along with many other Jewish architects fleeing Hitler, went to Palestine and modeled Tel Aviv in accordance with Bauhaus functionalist aesthetic (Troen, 2003). Sharon (1976) was deeply influenced by his time in Europe and wanted to design the State of Israel according to modern planning theory, as he writes, "[…] Emotionally I felt that I had to return, if not to kibbutz life, at least to Palestine, to bring there the message of contemporary trends in architecture and planning" (p. 31).

Section 3.3: Transformation of Modern Planning Practice in Israel

In Israel, planning is of fundamental importance as fulfilment of national aspirations. Israeli planners are community builders under public mandate to build better, healthier, and more equitable living environment for the current and future population. Forester et al. (2001) state, "In a country whose raison d'etre was the return of a people to its ancestral land, planning has been as important as it has been difficult, receiving a prominence in the national ethos with little parallel in the rest of the world" (p. 3). Baron de Rothschild and other European philanthropists funded the first pioneers' land purchase and settlement, but were soon succeeded by the Jewish National Fund (*Keren Kayemeth*) and the Jewish Agency (the WZO's Palestine branch). The latter was a quasi-governmental organization responsible for raising funds and support amongst

Diaspora Jews, as well as administering economic and social services in the *Yishuv* (the Jewish community in Palestine) (Troen, 2003).

Under the auspices of the League of Nations, the British gained control of Palestine in 1922. During the Mandate Period, the British limited Jewish immigration and land purchase due to growing tension between local Jewish and Arab populations (Troen, 2003). The British attempted to control settlement development with the British Mandate Town Planning Act of 1936; yet, prominent *Yishuv* members disregarded British authority and began national planning discussions by the early 1940s (Troen, 2003). In 1943, David Ben-Gurion's Planning Committee and Association of Engineers and Architects of Palestine (AEAP) created a development proposal, which featured a New Town scheme. The planners were particularly drawn to post-WW II British planning such as Sir Patrick Abercrombie's *Greater London Plan* (1944) due to its attention to security measures; Abercrombie visited Israel multiple times and advised Sharon personally before the submission of *Physical Planning in Israel* (Troen, 2003).

The *Yishuv* set the stage for the modern State of Israel as most of its government, social services, and planning officials assumed parallel positions at statehood (Evans, 2007). The leading political party, Mapai (the forerunner of the modern Labour Party), facilitated this transition, maintaining a hegemony in the multi-party system and allocation of social services by means of the Jewish Federation of Labour (*Histadrut*) (Brutzkus, 1975; Troen, 2003). On May 14th, 1948, Israel declared its statehood and all building was stalled while the entire population mobilized for the War of Independence against the encroaching Arab armies. As Sharon (1976) explains, the new nation's main weapon against its border enemies was "the spirit of no alternative" (p. 78). The temporary coalition cabinet made only provisional decisions for the country's hinterland; however, later in the year, the Minister of Works and Housing asked Arieh

Sharon to assemble Israel's National Planning Department. Sharon put together a team of over 170 architects, planners, engineers, and socio-economists, and held the position of Head of the National Planning Department until 1953 (Sharon, 1976).

In 1949, the Israeli Parliament (*Knesset*) formed the new Israeli government. The Chairman of the Jewish Agency, David Ben-Gurion, became Israel's first Prime Minister and the National Planning Department came under the Prime Minister Office's direct supervision (Sharon, 1976; Troen, 2003). The Prime Minister charged Sharon to design a national plan for the development of Israel's townships and hinterland (Efrat, 1994). As with other rational comprehensive plans, *Physical Planning in Israel* made provisions for the State's current and future population, townships, industry, transportation, and natural resources (Hershkowitz, 2010; Sharon, 1952). Sharon and the National Planning Department looked to European planning theory to address Israel's demographic and commercial concentration, settle an influx of new immigrants, and secure the national borders (Brutzkus, 1975; Spiegel, 1967). The first New Towns to break ground were predominantly constructed on the sites of existing settlements from Israel's biblical period or ones that had been abandoned by Palestinian Arabs during the War of Independence (Efrat, 1994).

The Labour government mobilized vast public resources and funds to construct the New Towns throughout the country. New Town planning broke from tradition and manifested modernist European ideals; the architects and planners envisioned towns devoid of the congestion and disorder of industrialized cities, imbued with a mission to serve as regional centres for the agricultural communities (Efrat, 2004; Hershkowitz, 2010). The New Town neighbourhoods were also the chosen method for integration of new immigrants in the Israeli

social fabric, many of whom had been housed in temporary camps (*mabarot*) before public housing was built (Forester et al., 2001; Spiegel, 1967).

In 1966, the Ministry of the Interior overturned the British Mandate Town Planning Act for a new Israeli Planning and Building Law, which required a building licence for all construction based on the Local Planning and Building Commission. The new law systematized land use activities in a hierarchical planning framework, comprised of national, district, and local planning councils and corresponding plans. Forester et al. (2001) describe the development of Israel's planning system: "A highly centralized decision-making system emerged from the formative years of the country, and because governance in Israel has been characterized by top-down decision making, at least until recently, planning and land management have generally been centralized, hierarchical, and statutory" (pp. 7–8). Israel's centralized planning system was the result of socialist governance and impoverished immigrants' dependency on state resources in the country's early years (Forester et al., 2001).

Israeli New Town construction was also highly dependent on immigration, peaking in the 1960s and tapering off by the 1980s. In 1977, the Labour party lost control of the government to the conservative Likud party for the first time since the *Yishuv* period (Troen, 2003). Israel's economic policy became more private market-oriented, while state intervention and development authority began to diminish in the 1980s due to domestic and international forces (Forester et al., 2001). After the fall of the USSR, Israel experienced a second mass immigration that increased the population by 10% and prompted the production of two new national plans, TAMA 31 in 1991 and TAMA 35 in 2005, to replace *Physical Planning in Israel*. Immigrants from the former Soviet Union received government stipends during the absorption period, but were not required to live in state-funded housing in periphery New Towns like their predecessors (Evans, 2007).

Many of the immigrants chose to live in private market housing in large cities, following the privatization trend in para-governmental institutions and throughout the country (Forester et al., 2001).

TAMA 31 and 35 are disjointed-incremental plans whose metropolitan-concentrated spatial layout advances neo-liberal economic policy, high-tech industry development, and natural resource conservation (Hershkowitz, 2010). Contemporary Israeli planning demonstrates a higher level of civic involvement at the national level, which has in turn increased planning complexity. Israeli municipalities have gained agency in the national system with the development of local planning councils; however, bureaucratic procedure impedes plan realization to the point where few of the original New Towns have produced statutory, local outline plans since the 1970s. Widespread economic, social, and political changes have begun to affect municipal policies; yet, local outline plans must still conform to district and national-level planning agendas. As Forester et al. (2001) write, "In addition, the changing political context of Israel has afforded municipalities greater latitude in setting policy. Since the 1980s, when the central government showed significant weaknesses in handling the financial and social affairs of the country, local government has become 'an increasingly active, entrepreneurial and independent public institution'" (p. 11).

Along with the rise of global market policies and local government, the expanding influence of non-profit organizations has also begun to weaken Israel's centralized planning system. In 2008, the Society for Preservation of Israeli Heritage Sites became a registered non-for-profit organization to advocate for the conservation of post-1700 Israeli heritage sites. Prior to the organization's establishment, national heritage preservation policy comprehended biblical and Hellenistic ruins in Israel (Shimur, 2013). While the SPIHS's charter states a commitment to

initiating parliamentary preservation legislation and increasing awareness for urban heritage amongst professional planners and architects, the society has just begun to consider 20th century forms. At this point, Israel does not have national-scale preservation policies for built forms from the statehood period (Shimur, 2013).

In the decade following the New Towns' construction, researchers reviewed the urban system's level of success (Spiegel, 1966; Berler, 1970; Ash, 1974). Many scholars found that the New Towns faced social and economic difficulties due to insufficient industrial development and a largely untrained immigrant population (Altman & Rosenbaum, 1973; Ash, 1974; Sharon, 1976), while others argued that the settlements were successful in distributing Israel's highly polarized population at statehood and settling the largely uninhabited northern and southern zones (Brutzkus, 1975; Shachar, 1971). In the 1980s, many of the New Towns were targeted for social and urban renewal in Israel's Project Renewal (Alexander, Alterman, & Law-Yone, 1983). Contemporary researchers have generally focused on quantitative analysis of the Israeli New Towns' physical transformation (Aravot & Militanu, 2000), change in Israeli planning practice and ideology (Hershkowitz, 2010; Shachar; 1998), or a single city's urban morphology (Shadar & Oxman, 2003). Since statehood, Israeli urbanism has altered fundamentally due to changes in the government's political orientation, economic restructuring, and a weakening of Israel's ideological foundation. This thesis explores the Israeli New Town as presented in *Physical Planning in Israel* as an expression of Israel's modern history in the contemporary landscape.

CHAPTER 4: FACTUAL READING

In Chapter 4, I present the results of the factual reading of *Physical Planning in Israel*. The factual reading pertains to the primary level of visual and textual data. I begin with a presentation of the plan, and follow with a discussion on its structure. I identify the plan's primary objectives and their location with regards to the plan in its entirety. I conclude with a discussion on the plan's referential mention of methodology and the structure, setting, and functional form of the New Towns.

Section 4.1: Presentation of Plan

Physical Planning in Israel is consistent in design and comprehensive in planning scope. The first national plan of Israel is a hardcover bound book, 80-pages long. The front and back covers are lightly textured beige fabric. The plan title in large, brown block letters –תכנון פיסי בישראל – is centred on the front cover and surrounded by varied topographic lines of the same shade. Some versions of the plan include an English translation of the Hebrew title (*Physical Planning in Israel*) on the back cover. The plan itself is printed on high-quality paper, with extensive maps in a pastel watercolour palette. The first page of the plan is blank except for the publication information, which is listed in small, Hebrew typeface at the bottom of the page. The title page comprises the title in Hebrew with the author's name, Arieh Sharon, listed just below. On the following dedication page, Sharon mentions the names of each planning department head and team who were integral in the plan research and realization. He concludes the dedication by asserting that although the textual and graphic work was completed in 1951, the scale and conditions of planning have changed slightly during the printing period.

Section 4.2: Plan Textual and Visual Structure

In *Physical Planning in Israel*, the New Towns are central to the plan's physical structure and policies. The table of contents outlines the plan's nine chapters and situates the New Towns as missing link in the country's urban hierarchy. Sharon proposes a veritable promenade through Israel's current settlements and natural environment for plan readers. Chapter 1 Outline of National Plan establishes the basis for the planning document and its main principles. The chapter presents the primary objective of population distribution throughout the country and the five supportive branches of planning – directed agriculture, location of industry, communications network, parks, afforestation and landscape preservation, and the New Towns. Sharon briefly orients the readers on the premise and proposals for the first four branches of planning, while the final section – the New Towns – is addressed in more depth. The subsection on the five forms of human settlement in the urban hierarchy establishes the New Towns place within the settlement program. The urban hierarchy is presented from its smallest unit, the village, to its largest agglomeration. In turn, the final subsection on the nation's four geographic zones thematically concludes the chapter as planning at its largest scale.

Physical Planning in Israel's eight body chapters follow the pre-established order, beginning with National Planning (Chapter 2) and then addressing the urban hierarchy in the subsequent chapter sequence – Village Planning (Chapter 3), The New Towns (Chapter 5), the regional plans of Haifa (Chapter 6), Jerusalem (Chapter 7), and Tel Aviv (Chapter 8). In Chapter 3, the plan begins in earnest with details of the first four planning branches, following a description of the planning policy under the British Mandate government. The national planning scope is mirrored in *Physical Planning in Israel's* maps, which display topics ranging from a water and hydraulic energy program, current and proposed population densities, and

transportation networks on the same base map. In these pages, the policy and implementation program is described in a small, black block print text on the interior column adjacent to a basic, physical map. The maps indicate important towns in Hebrew characters, demonstrating their Israeli origin. Each has an overlay in accordance with a specific national-scale policy in a subdued palette. The chapter elucidates the centralized planning through the visual consistency of 12 consecutive maps and concludes with a national-scale insert map that integrates the previous visual information. As if to intimate the need for extensive planning in the contemporaneous state, the national plan's underlay is a black-and-white outline of the country with only the skeletal urban hierarchy indicated.

The urban hierarchy structures the order and visual content of the proceeding chapters, with the New Towns presented as the missing link in Israel's development. Chapter 3 Village Planning offers a series of current, rural settlements – *kibbutzim*, *moshavim*, and rural centres – as a representation of the existing first tier of the hierarchy in the country. The visual presentation remains consistent with each settlement illustrated by a black-and-white half-page photograph and a small corresponding outline map, with distinct land zoning in a pastel palette. Before Sharon presents the New Towns, the reader experiences a visual montage of the country in the form of Chapter 4 Land and Landscape. This chapter sets the scene for the forthcoming one through black-and-white photography of Israel's varied climates and landscape. The photography annex is set on glossy white paper in contrast to the main plan's semi-translucent base. Chapter 5 The New Towns proposes a series of New Towns to be built throughout the country in outline and detail plans as the missing second, third, and fourth tier in the urban hierarchy. *Physical Planning in Israel* concludes with regional plans for pre-existing large towns in order of importance with Chapter 6 Haifa, Chapter 7 Jerusalem, and Chapter 8 Tel Aviv,

which is authored by regional planner Y. Perlstein. The final chapter of the plan comprises another photograph annex, Chapter 9 Layout and Architecture, which illustrates architecture and settlement under construction in the same manner as Chapter 4.

Section 4.3: Plan Methodology

The content analysis of *Physical Planning in Israel* elucidates that plan methodology is only mentioned referentially, while financial and technical processes are completely left out. In his introduction of the industry and settlement planning branches, Sharon refers to extensive survey of the land's human and natural conditions as the basis for dispersal policies. He concludes that settlement is highly concentrated in the large cities. Sharon also mentions research and review of the country's physical and economic data for the establishment of the master plan. *Physical Planning in Israel* indicates study of the country's physical geography, in particular soil conditions, climate, and water, in substantiation of the proposed size of the rural population; a survey and review of the land's botanical and zoological qualities is implemented for the placement of the national park system. In all cases, the plan makes no mention of the funding for the survey and data collection, nor methodological specifications. Thus, the methodology has expository, not demonstrative value.

However, the sparse information on methodology is partially bolstered through visual documentation. *Physical Planning in Israel* has a large-scale national inset map, two-page regional maps spreads, as well as a variety of small maps of settlement types, parks, villages, and cities. Plans are presented in outline and detail form, and Sharon illustrates the new government building in Eilat with an architectural drawing. The plan contains demographic data tables on planning regions, land zoning, and professional occupations, and schema for population

dispersal, green zones, and transportation. The photography annexes also help illustrate the way in which the research was conducted and the plan assembled. A photograph from the Arieh Sharon archive captures the National Planning Department, Sharon (with the camera), and Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion in the process of surveying (Figure 1.1).

Section 4.4: The New Towns

Visual Structure

The New Town Chapter of *Physical Planning in Israel* commences with a black-and-white outline map of the country according to the 1949 Armistice Lines – excluding the West Bank and Gaza – with the thirteen original New Towns (Figure 1.2). The New Towns are dispersed throughout the map, with particular density in the north and at strategic locations along Israel's borders. Sharon illustrates the New Towns through a combination of outline and detail plans, as well as land use and occupation tables. The outline maps illustrate the urban design and land zoning. Sharon and the Planning Department use base maps from the British Mandate government, as well as originals from the new Israeli state. The outline maps of Eilat, Khalsa (Kiryat Shmonah), and the Akko region, including Nahariah, Oshrat, and Akko Illit, are on new maps that have no topographical or geographic designations. Most of the New Town outline maps, including Safed, Afula, Tiberius, Nahariyah – Oshrat, Hedera, Ramleh, Hartuv – Bet Shemesh, Migdal Gad, and Beersheba, are on British base maps, which designate Arabic and Hebrew place names in the Roman alphabet (Figure 1.3 & Figure 1.4). The political base maps have topographic lines and basic measurements, while the outline plans are overlaid in a pastel watercolour palette. Bet Shean – Murassas is the only outline plan on an Israeli base map with place names in the Hebrew alphabet (Figure 1.5).

The New Town form comprises amorphous-shaped units for varied land uses, connected by means of an organic road network (white). Neighbourhood residential units (yellow) surround a commercial and civic centre (light brown), which frequently includes the existing built environment (brown) at statehood. In the larger New Towns, the neighbourhood units have a small civic and commercial core (light brown) as well as a larger, municipal centre. Industry (purple) is always distinct from the neighbourhood units and is frequently connected to a regional rail line (black dashed line), as well as existing (brown) and new (white) roads. The industrial centre is almost always located to the east of the New Town, potentially to avoid unpleasant fumes in the living quarters.[ii] The residential, commercial, and industrial zones are nested in green parcels. Sharon refers to this area as green wedges and forest areas (green). *Physical Planning in Israel* also illustrates agriculture zone (light green) and smallholder units (yellow with green stripes) as a healthy green belt around each built area.

The outline plans' amorphous residential and commercial quarters, separated land zoning, organic road network, on a lush, green backdrop form the Israeli New Town typology. However, the Planning Department does illustrate regional variation, especially in terms of local industry. For example, the Bet-Shean – Murassas plan indicates the location of the fishponds, which provide vital employment needs to this day (Figure 1.5), while the large Mediterranean coast city located just north of the Gaza strip, Migdal Gad (present day Ashkelon), has a strongly articulated agricultural belt between the commercial centre and residential units (Figure 1.6). Although the New Town typology is the most pronounced in the outline plans, similar land zoning designation and urban layout is visible in the kibbutz planning and large city development.

The detail plans illustrate new neighbourhoods, proposed or under construction, in each of the New Towns. The plans have lightly shaded topographic lines and physical features, such as the coastline, but no measurements. Neighbourhoods typically have higher density housing – three and four-storey apartment blocks (brown squares with parallel lines) – in the centre, surrounded by lower density residences – one-and two-storey (brown-edged squares). Commercial (purple) and established government buildings (brown squares with dots) are centrally located, while public buildings (dark brown) are situated at various poles. Each building is positioned on a generously proportioned lot and connected by a wide road, which forms residential loops and cul-de-sacs in the neighbourhood's periphery (Figure 1.7).

The New Town plans propose a new urban form, completely subsuming previous human settlement in the area. In *Physical Planning in Israel*, the Ottoman block structure and British military grid is delineated in a dark brown watercolour in Afula, Hadera, Beersheba, Tiberias, Safed, and Migdal (Figure 1.3, Figure 1.4, Figure 1.6); yet, illustration of the new order in Sharon's signature watercolour palette quite literally washes over the existing urban fabric. In addition, the detail plans highlight new neighbourhood units, which are built apart from the earlier inhabited area. In the case of Bet-Shean – Murassas, Afula, Hadera, and Migdal Gad, Sharon proposes a new satellite city located at a distance from the earlier settlement, while the other New Towns' new units extend significantly past the original planning area (Figure 1.8, Figure 1.9).

New Towns' Textual Structure, Setting, and Functional Form

In *Physical Planning in Israel*, Sharon asserts, "The structure of new cities is determined by their division into neighbourhood units. This differs from the more conservative town

planning methods still followed in the older cities of Europe and also in this country, which are built in endless monotonous gridirons of buildings, streets and residential quarters"[iii] (p. 7). The Hebrew text draws an even stronger comparison with the living conditions in European cities, stating that the cities' monotony has no end and changes residents' lives for the worse. Sharon's plan for the New Towns comprises all societal needs – residential, public, commercial, and industrial spaces. Residential areas provide housing for varied social and family structures. The size of the unit is determined by school capacity, the optimal size for commercial space, and street length within the neighbourhood.

According to *Physical Planning in Israel*, the neighbourhoods will vary in size from 6,000-10,000 inhabitants based on local topography, character and town area. Sharon adds, "In the New Towns a number of neighbourhood units will be located around the urban centre, which be of a distinctive architectural and urban character" (p. 7). The commercial and civic centre will house the town's main institutions, including businesses, shops, social and public institutions, and adjacent parks and recreation grounds. Sharon asserts that each New Town's industrial zone will be linked to the national transportation scheme and will be located at a distance from the rest of the town by means of "a broad green strip" (p. 7).

Sharon's conception of the New Town comprises self-sufficient neighbourhood units within an integrated urban system and national hierarchy. Sharon states, "The basic idea of the new method is that the city should be divided into a number of neighbourhood units each of which will constitute an independent entity satisfying the requirements of its residents in the most effective fashion" (p. 7). Sharon intends to realize this self-sufficiency in the New Town's design, and particularly in the road system. He writes, "The aim is to prevent any unnecessary dangerous traffic within the limits of these neighbourhoods, to permit access by foot to vital

services on the part of residents (at distances not exceeding 750 metres) and to provide footpaths for school children" (p. 7). The neighbourhoods are functionally organized to provide necessary services to residents and clustered together to form a city with commercial and industrial zones in close proximity.

In this Chapter, the factual reading results illustrate that the Israeli New Town is the key element of *Physical Planning in Israel*'s textual and visual form, and population dispersal policy. In Fairclough's (1992) CDA, the primary level considers the textual cohesion and structure; Ryan (2011) specifies that for plans a factual reading includes analysis of the plan's visual structure and primary policies. *Physical Planning in Israel*'s chapter is organized according to the urban hierarchy, from smallest to largest unit. In the plan's roadmap (Chapter 1 Outline of National Plan) and its ensemble, the New Towns are central to the textual structure. As the results of Section 4.2 demonstrate, Sharon briefly touches on the other four branches of planning in introductory chapter, yet goes into far more depth concerning the New Towns. Furthermore, I demonstrate that the plan's visual structure similarly mimics the urban hierarchy. The photograph exhibition in Chapter 4 Land and Landscape sets the scene for the forthcoming chapter – Chapter 5 The New Towns, stressing its centrality.

In Section 4.3, I show that methodology is discussed referentially throughout *Physical Planning*, yet the plan offers few explanations. I conclude that the methodology has expository, not demonstrative value. Section 4.4 presents the New Towns' visual structure, as well as textual structure, setting, and functional form. The factual reading results show the Israeli New Towns have a distinct and consistent form comprised of low-density, inward-facing neighbourhoods connected with winding road networks and surrounded by vast green space, which Sharon illustrates with a watercolour wash over predominantly Mandate period base maps. The detail

neighbourhood plans centralize residential density and intersperse social infrastructure and green elements throughout the unit. Sharon explains that the New Towns will be comprised of neighbourhood units, which contrast European grid trends and support social life. Each New Town is planned with an industrial zone, separated from the residential areas by a green barrier. Although Sharon claims that neighbourhood units will vary based on local conditions, the New Town watercolour outline plans impress upon the reader their uniform design and centrality for Israeli planning at statehood.

CHAPTER 5: CONTEXTUAL READING

In Chapter 5, I begin with a discussion of *Physical Planning in Israel*'s textual structure and visual form as an indicator of its genre, or how *Physical Planning in Israel* relates to other master plans of the period. I then discuss the results of my contextual content analysis. I focus on instances of intertextuality of this text, or references to other texts and planning documents in *Physical Planning in Israel*, and its portrayal of the contemporaneous socioeconomic conditions and planning theory.

Section 5.1: Genre

According to Fairclough (1992), genre typifies a text's form and structure. In the case of *Physical Planning in Israel*, the plan is a product of its modern time and planning period. Ryan (2011) identifies a number of key markers for mid-20th century plans. In his review of the Comprehensive City Plan for Dubuque, Ryan (2011) categorizes the physical plan based on its material quality, extensive and varied visual aids, and inset maps. Similarly, *Physical Planning in Israel* uses high quality paper to set off the watercolour maps and photographs. *Physical Planning in Israel* has illustrations, schemas, plans, and architectural drawings, as well as inset photographs and maps. In the Dubuque plan, Ryan (2011) demonstrates the significance of the plan's cover: "This decision-to reveal one of the plan's primary concepts on its cover-conveys Nolen's confidence in the drama of the plan's ideas and a desire to convey the scale of the changes being proposed. The plan thus communicates an important message before it is even opened" (pp. 313–315). The aesthetic qualities of *Physical Planning in Israel*'s cover suggest that Israel at statehood is a *tabula rasa.* The plan is covered in a beige fabric and illustrated with brown topographic lines symbolic of the barren land primed for planning.

Israel's first national plan also exemplifies modern planning text and structure. Similar to the Dubuque plan, *Physical Planning in Israel*'s proposals are easy to understand because of the wealth and expressive nature of the visual data. Ryan (2011) asserts that his case study allots little space in the plan to methodology. The author refers to "survey" and "diagnosis" as the methodological basis for the plan's proposals, just as Sharon references extensive physical and social survey to support New Town location and population dispersal, however otherwise these terms are "left unexplained" (Ryan, 2011, p. 315). Furthermore, the proposals' timelines remain vague in both instances. In the Dubuque plan, a timeframe is completely excluded, while in *Physical Planning in Israel*, Sharon regularly mentions "Stage One of Development," yet never elucidates the stage's endpoint (p. 9). Ryan (2011) discusses the author's voice with regards to the Dubuque plan's methodology: "This conveys a sense of the author's confidence and expertise, but also hints at a methodological secrecy that is at odds with the plan's welcoming cover" (p. 315). In this regard, *Physical Planning in Israel* is consistent in its message. *Physical Planning in Israel* visual and textual information is rich, yet opaque in terms of the plan's pragmatic funding, implementation, and political structure.

Section 5.2: Intertextuality

Along with genre, CDA's second tier comprises references to other texts (intertextuality) and the tone in which it discusses policies and outcomes ("force of utterance") (Fairclough, 1992, p. 5). Plans typically refer to other planning documents as well as to historical texts and case examples. Below, I synthesize the results of my coding for intertextuality in *Physical Planning in Israel*. The Israeli national plan is reflective of its historic period in that it does not

directly refer to other planning documents, but instead establishes itself based on a narrative of the previous planning era and global case studies (Ryan, 2011).

Planning During the British Mandate

Physical Planning in Israel's intertextuality comprises a narrative of British Mandate period planning and references to international planning cases. Although the master plan includes outline plans at the village, town, city, and national scale, *Physical Planning in Israel* never makes explicit reference to other official plans within the planning structure. Furthermore, Sharon and the National Planning Department take a critical tone when describing planning under the British Mandate government and use case examples to primarily demonstrate bad planning practice.

Physical Planning in Israel describes planning during the British Mandate as the cause of problems in the contemporary settlement pattern. Sharon begins the narrative with a summary of British Mandate planning policies. He writes that the Mandate government forbade widespread settlement in the Palestinian territory, which became more restrictive in the 1930s and 1940s when Jewish settlements experienced "political disturbances" (p. 10). *Physical Planning in Israel* cites the White Paper for its limitations on agricultural settlement, causing the Jewish population to centralize in the large cities of Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tel Aviv, as well as their satellites. Sharon asserts that by the end of the Mandate period, 82% of Jews lived in the cities, while only 18% of the community lived in villages and small agrarian communities in the valleys.

Sharon clearly implicates the Mandate Government as the cause of Israel's congested, large metropolises: "This state of affairs was the outcome of inadequate planning in which the

Jewish population had been forced to acquiesce thanks to political and economic conditions current under the Mandate" (p. 10). Furthermore, he argues that Israel's large cities cannot serve their function within the urban hierarchy due to Mandate policy. Sharon blames the Mandate government for the large cities' various ills, including rapid development, land speculation, increased exploitation of built environment, narrow streets, pervasive use of the gridiron. He argues that Mandate town planning was limited to maintenance of built areas' boundaries, drafting regulations for the built zone, and improvement of existing roads.

The content analysis demonstrates that along with Sharon's primary concern for uneven population density is the problem of polarized commercial and industrial development. According to *Physical Planning in Israel*, under the Mandate government, Tel Aviv came to epitomize over-concentrated development due to the lack of a regional plan. To Sharon, the Mandate government's "regrettable" planning resulted in misplaced industry, land speculation, patchwork commercial and agricultural development, and a general "lack of vision or initiative on the part of local authorities as far as preparation of a suitable plan was concerned" (p. 28). Sharon asserts, "By far the greater part of mass immigration flowed to the larger towns and particularly to Tel Aviv and its satellites, the population of which, in May 1948, constituted 43% of the total Jewish population of the country. The economic realities did not encourage this process of excessive concentration of inhabitants along the coastal strip" (p. 10). Rather, Sharon concludes that the Mandate's restrictive policies caused industry to locate near Jewish settlements and thus also concentrate along the coast. *Physical Planning in Israel*'s extensive critique of British Mandate planning serves as the basis of Sharon's proposal to rectify the town planning scheme.

Global Case Examples

Physical Planning in Israel's second instance of intertextuality consists of references to international case examples. Sharon employs Australia and South America as examples of bad colonial planning, where most of the population inhabits the coast and lives off the vast hinterland. He equates Israel's Mandate period settlement with that of other colonial countries: "It is worth noting that under the Mandate the character of settlement in this country, excluding the organised agricultural communities, resembled that of colonial territories" (pg. 4), yet argues that Israel resembles Western and Central European countries economically, physically, and socially. In these countries, 55-75% of the population lives in well-dispersed small- and medium-sized towns.

Sharon employs basic analysis to substantiate *Physical Planning in Israel*'s major resettlement objective for the hinterland and in the New Town system. He presents Tel Aviv's population in proportion with the rest of the country and compares the percentage to other capitals and their hinterlands; for example, Greater Tel Aviv comprises 43% of the total population, which is proportionally more than both London and Vienna. According to Sharon, large cities are unhealthy living environments: "The first symptoms of these diseases, i.e. costly services, disrupted communications, high cost of living and overcrowding in home and streets, all reducing the standard of public health and hygiene, are already apparent in the large towns of Israel" (pg. 4). Based on these arguments and discussion of small towns' resiliency in the face of economic crises, Sharon employs international case studies to establish that small- and medium-sized towns are the most economically and socially stable development plan.

Section 5.3: Contemporaneous Socioeconomic Conditions

Physical Planning in Israel's two cases of intertextuality help to establish the new state's most pressing social and economic burdens. Sharon introduces *Physical Planning in Israel* and the New Town proposal in the local context. He argues that Australia and the Americas developed vast tracks of virgin soil without a comprehensive plan, causing soil erosion, flooding, and other detrimental natural effects. In addition, these countries are now overwhelmed with dense urbanization along the coasts and empty, interior hinterlands, which remain predominantly undeveloped. According to Sharon, Israel cannot afford to make the same mistakes as larger countries due to its limited human and natural resources.

With regards to mass immigration, Sharon states that Israel requires an effective and precise national-scale plan: "To attempt the development of a small state like Israel, without some such national master plan would simply mean court failure" (p. 3). Before statehood, the Yishuv comprised 655,000 people, yet the population has doubled in the last three years. These new immigrants, and the ones who will eventually follow them, offer great cultural and social diversity to the society. Sharon prides Israel for forging a unified and complete society amongst people of varied backgrounds and cultures in just one generation. He argues that Israel, in comparison with other countries, is in an ideal position for mass population and industrial dispersal because it has not been significantly developed. Furthermore, he expresses confidence in the national economy's political and social providence: "The first stage of national development is based on the assumption that the national economy can ensure a fair standard of living, while maintaining a balance between agriculture, industry, the trades and services" (p. 5) Thus, Sharon proposes a dispersal policy that will allow the Israeli government to direct

immigrants and industry to the hinterland to better ensure the national economy, security, and the planning system itself.

The New Towns are the solution for the gap in Israel's contemporaneous urban hierarchy, as well as the means to realize *Physical Planning in Israel*'s main objective of population and industry dispersal. Sharon explains that a survey was conducted of existing settlement in Israel. The survey team established a 5-tier urban hierarchy of settlements of varied size, social, and economic characteristics. Village units are planned for a population of approximately 500 people, rural centres of 2,000 inhabitants, rural-urban centres of 6,000-12,000 residents, medium towns of 40,000-60,000 people, and large towns of 100,000 inhabitants. Sharon describes the incomplete urban hierarchy in the text and with a freestanding table, asserting that at statehood only the first and fifth settlement type existed and there was a strong need to "fill the gap" (p. 7).

Sharon clarifies that the term New Town includes older settlements, such as Safed and Afula, which had limited populations at the state's establishment. He adds that these communities could not develop the regions on their own, so the government has provided them with a development plan and aid. The New Towns' site, size, and function in the urban hierarchy are determined by physical and economic data from the surrounding area. Sharon intends the new settlements to serve as economic and cultural centres to ensure social continuity. He proposes situating the New Towns on elevated ground with a verdant landscape and enjoyable climate, "which favour productivity and the social stability of its population" (p. 7). Sharon intends to locate industry in close proximity to the New Towns to provide sufficient employment for the newly distributed population and redirect economic activity from the large cities to Israel's hinterland. Sharon concludes that cheap land for building, a labour base, and connection to the national transport system will encourage industrialization.

Section 5.4: Internal and External Balance

In *Physical Planning in Israel*, regional planning theory is expressed in two forms: internal and external balance. Internal balance within each settlement, no matter what the size, reflects the influence of Meyer and Geddes. One of the most common iterations within *Physical Planning in Israel* is a location's social, economic, and cultural balance. Each settlement, no matter how big or small, must have an equilibrium of social, economic, and administrative services. The contextual content analysis demonstrates the practically rote nature of this assertion. Sharon illustrates this theme in New Towns as balanced and varied services, in *kibbutzim* and *moshavim* with agricultural and community services, and in rural-urban centres with flourishing industrial areas as well as regional cultural institutions and attractive residential zones.

In terms of the New Towns, internal balance drives Sharon's proposal of new residential zones' satellite location. For example, Sharon (1951) asserts,

> In spite of favourable conditions, Afula never developed as expected on account of its unsuitable location on low-lying agricultural land, as well as the multiple ownership of the municipal area which prevented concentrated or planned building. The purpose of planning is to develop the present town as a commercial and industrial nucleus, while new residential areas have been planned on the slopes of Mount Moreh (150-300 metres high), which have a favourable climate. (p. 19)

Locating residential quarters on adjacent heights provides a more attractive living location for Israeli workers and also liberates low-lying agricultural land for economic output. Sharon regularly refers to this balance as "healthy." The term implies that the balanced system is more than a manifestation of European urban sociology; it has ideological value within the new Israeli government and society.

The urban system's external balance is a quintessential manifestation of Christaller's Central Place Theory. According to Sharon, each sized settlement has a role in the system and a relationship with the hinterland: "The regions mapped out as geographical and economic units may be expected to evolve into complete and well-balanced social and economic entities, deriving benefit from the mutual relations between the urban centres and their hinterland" (pp. 4–5). Kibbutzim have an agricultural and small industry base, while rural centres serve as larger industrial agglomerations and establish economic balance for the surrounding kibbutzim. As the third tier in the urban hierarchy, rural-urban centres provide regional services for a dozen or more villages. Medium towns, Sharon asserts, are based on the optimal-sized urban centres in small Western European countries and England. Sharon proposes organic and effective town planning, which will establish a healthy economy, cheap municipal services, and social and cultural activities. Lastly, the large cities are a primary source commercial and economic growth for the country. Despite Sharon's bias against large cities due to their uncontrolled growth during the Mandate period, he asserts their importance in the overall balance of the urban hierarchy.

Central Place Theory also dictates that the settlements serve as central market places and their location is vital for the transfer of goods and services (King, 1984). In *Physical Planning in Israel*, Sharon proposes urban centres in each of the 24-planning region to serve the commercial, industrial, and social needs of the hinterland: "Each planning region will contain an urban centre serving its rural hinterland as a nodal point for communications, as a seat of regional trade and industry, and as the centre of cultural and social life of the regions. In subsequent stages of development the regions will serve as complete and balanced units fostering interrelationship between the agricultural hinterland and the urban centres" (p. 11). Smaller cities will act as a central market place and natural setting for agricultural production. In contrast, large cities will

be located in areas with great economic, industrial, and commercial wealth, and will be planned as transportation hubs.

In this Chapter, the results of the contextual reading illustrate that *Physical Planning In Israel* is indicative of the modern planning genre. As Maccallum and Hopkins (2011) distinguish in CDA's second tier, discursive practice, plans indicate their genre based on common textual structure within a given field. Ryan (2011) adds that planning documents convey crucial information through visual mediums. In Section 5.1, I demonstrate that *Physical Planning in Israel*'s visual structure exemplifies modern planning based on its reliance on visual data to convey policies. In particular, the plan's beige cover illustrated with brown topographic lines intimates that Israel at statehood is a *tabula rasa* or barren land primed for planning. *Physical Planning in Israel*'s textual structure and vague methodology exemplify the genre, in which the master planner indicates expertise with consistent reference to "survey" and "diagnosis" (Ryan, 2011, p. 315), however never indicates methodology's funding or implementation details.

In Section 5.2, I present *Physical Planning in Israel*'s instances of intertextuality and tone with regards to other planning periods. Although Sharon never references other plans explicitly, he discusses the consequences of British Mandate planning and compares Israel's current conditions to international case studies. Sharon's critical tone in the two cases of intertextuality set the stage for his proposal to drastically alter Israel's highly concentrated human and industrial settlement pattern (Section 5.3). In Section 5.4, the content analysis results show that Sharon intends to establish internal and external balance with a strict urban hierarchy in order to resolve Israel's current socioeconomic problems. Thus, *Physical Planning in Israel* represents modern planning in both its visual and textual structure, and relies on modern planning trends to alter the settlement pattern from the past planning era.

CHAPTER 6: HISTORIC PRACTIC READING

In Chapter 6, I describe the planning practice and political structure of *Physical Planning in Israel*. I demonstrate the National Planning Department's publicity techniques with a discussion on the 1950 Town-Planning Exhibition and the Department's propaganda panels. Next, I present the results of my historic practice content analysis of *Physical Planning in Israel* as three overarching themes of land, people, and time. At the end of the Chapter, I discuss contemporary, local outline plans of former New Towns' planning values with regards to *Physical Planning in Israel.*

Section 6.1: Planning Practice & Political Structure

Hall (1988) writes in his fundamental work on 20th century urbanism and planning, "Much if not most of what happened – for good or for ill – to the world's cities, in the years since World War Two, can be traced back to the ideas of a few visionaries who lived and wrote long ago, often almost ignored and largely rejected by their contemporaries" (p. 1). In the case of Arieh Sharon and the National Planning Department of Israel at statehood, the former is true. However, unlike his intellectual influences such as Howard, Abercrombie, Geddes, and Meyer, Sharon was a modern visionary whose plans to fundamentally alter Israel's physical and social landscape did not remain on paper. Israel's contemporaneous planning structure and political insecurity prompted the widespread implementation of non-statutory *Physical Planning in Israel* (Hershkowitz, 2010; Troen, 2003).

Sharon assembled a team of over 100 planners and social scientists in the formation of National Planning Department in 1948, yet *Physical Planning in Israel* bears evidence of the complicated nature of this collaboration. As the head of the Department, Sharon was granted

unprecedented authority under the direct jurisdiction of the Prime Minister's Office. Sharon (1976) speaks appreciatively of the Planning Department's collaborative work, writing, "Our team was full of dash, imagination and enthusiasm. There was a fighting mood, we were determined to overcome vested interests, local ambitions and short-range emergency targets" (p. 78). While the dedication page refers to many architects and planners, as well as their departments, Sharon's name is the only one to appear on the plan's cover. The document format illustrates Sharon's mastery and expertise (Ryan, 2011).

In a telling exchange with the National Minister of Finance, Sharon (1976) illustrates piecemeal plan implementation due to the Israel's contemporaneous political conditions:

> The Minister of Finance, Eliezer Kaplan, a very able economist, was our most severe critic. He said bluntly: 'Even if you were the world's best architects, it is not your job but the Government's to decide on the location, size and ultimate goals of the New Towns.' I replied: 'These are only proposals – it is up to you, the Government, to study them, to consider them and then to make the decisions.' He laughed, and said: 'You know very well that the Government will never have the time and patience, especially with the war going on, to concentrate on these matters. Once the plans are drawn, the development, if any, will follow your suggestions.' He was right. (p. 79)

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion supported the plan's proposal for population dispersal and printed the density targets in the official Government Yearbook of 1950 policy program, despite politicians' disagreement on the proposal. In his autobiography, Sharon defends his decision to construct the New Towns, asserting that *Physical Planning in Israel*'s master plans for existing township and New Towns in the Galilee and Negev were general. Furthermore, he adds that the National Planning Department strongly encouraged mayors to adapt the plans based on local conditions (Sharon, 1976).

Hall (1988) writes on 20th century planners' vision, "The vision of these anarchist pioneers was not merely of an alternative built form, but of an alternative society" (p. 3). In Israel at statehood, Sharon had the authority to envision a new country and the support of a distracted government to implement this vision. The government structure of the period was turbulent. In his five years as head of the National Planning Department (1948-1953), Sharon was accountable to five different ministers with varied political affiliations. After the 1952 elections, the Planning Department was split in half. Sharon postulates that political bargaining during coalition building caused the division, with the national half of the department placed under the Prime Minister's jurisdiction and the regulative half under the Ministry of the Interior. Although the senior staff disregarded the decision, the division foreshadowed the demise of first National Planning Department: "Despite King Solomon's judgment no newborn child thrives, when cut into two" (Sharon, 1976, p. 80). Sharon (1976) describes his five years as Head of the Planning Department as a period of "Sturm und Drang," or great passion and drive (p. 81). However, eventually the difficulty of working in such unstable bureaucratic conditions and national austerity caused most of the Planning Department architects to resign.

Section 6.2: Town-Planning Exhibition at Tel Aviv Art Museum

Sharon and Planning Department employed numerous channels to convince the public of their national planning program, including articles, lectures, and press conferences. The apex of the publicity campaign was the Town-Planning Exhibition at the Tel Aviv Art Museum May 2nd, 1950 whose aim was to make the public more "town-planning-minded" (Sharon, 1976, p. 80). At the exhibition, Sharon presented panel versions of the national plan, regional plans, as well as specialty maps on the five planning branches and population dispersal. Sharon was a deft

publicist and believed in the political and ideological power of visual material. In his autobiography, Sharon (1976) quotes a conversation he had with Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, "Ben Gurion, when asked how he liked the exhibition, said: 'Those are the most beautiful colours I have seen in my life,' referring to the English watercolours of the new town plans" (p. 79). Indeed, the pastel watercolour palette conveyed Sharon's vision for the transformation of Israel's dusty hinterland into verdant New Towns.

Sharon's political agenda was most strongly articulated in the town planning panels. The master planner illustrated the National Planning Department's main objectives and values with Bauhaus graphics (Aloni, 2011).[iv] Sharon (1976) discusses the panels' content and audience as follows:

> In addition, a few instructive, partly humorous panels presented the most burning subjects and problems of planning, such as traffic jams, noise, pollution, and over-crowding. We indicated ways of solving such problems by clever and architecturally comprehensive planning. Sooner or later everyone came to see the exhibition – civil servants, the 'intelligentsia', technicians, workers, soldiers, and, of course, the politicians from all different parties. (p. 79)

The panels instructed the varied echelons of Israeli society on the ills of urban congestion and sprawl, emphasizing the need for comprehensive planning of the new country.

The 12 available panels express *Physical Planning in Israel*'s ideological values, such as effective planning for a well-balanced society and self-sufficient neighbourhood units, based on image contrast between current and proposed social conditions. Panel A illustrates Sharon's desire to indoctrinate the public in town planning theory (Figure 1.10). The panel shows two adjacent maps of Israel in 1948, one that has 80% of the population concentrated on the coast under the header "Laissez-faire" while the other shows a more even dispersal throughout the hinterland, which is simply labelled "Planning." Panel B demonstrates the convenience of New

Town neighbourhood design. In the panel's top half a queue wraps around a small city block underneath a banner, stating, "Typical Picture in the City…Always on line!", which contrasts an image of an organic, neighbourhood unit on bottom with interspersed time counts and the slogan: "In small cities the roads are short and they lead to essential services in the planned neighbourhood." Sharon's panel on childhood is particularly effective in its contrast between the current and proposed conditions (Figure 1.11). Panel C shows a mother leading multiple children along a green-lined, winding path with a banner, stating, "Public gardens are the respite in cities and promote the growth of a healthy generation." Below, children play games against a crumbling wall, which Sharon encapsulates with the slogan: "Without public parks, children play in the dust of the street" (Figure 1.12). Sharon demonstrates a mastery of political propaganda for the emission of the National Planning Department's ideological agenda.

Section 6.3: *Physical Planning in Israel*'s Ideological Themes

Sharon begins *Physical Planning in Israel* with a clear assertion of the plan's overarching themes. The plan states, "Three factors impose a unique character of planning in Israel. They are: land, people, time" (p. 3). Each factor comprises various ideological beliefs and is implemented through planning policy. Furthermore, Sharon's use of language and reference to planning under the British Mandate and in other countries identifies the political power imbued in this non-statutory plan to his audience.

Land – Green, Limited Resources, Preservation

In my content analysis, I found three ideological values relevant to Arieh Sharon's land theme. The first value is the establishment of a green and verdant land in Israel. The objective of

the first and fourth planning branches of Physical Planning in Israel, directed agriculture and parks, afforestation and landscape preservation, respectively, is to create a green network. As Sharon visualizes agricultural land as the natural setting for town life, stating, "The agricultural overall plan including afforestation, extended to all parts of the country, makes a natural green background for the location of the various types of towns, industrial areas, and communication centres" (p. 5). The Hebrew text stresses that the land's arability as well as its pleasant qualities. In addition, Sharon insists upon a national and regional park system: "They are included within the system of national parks, which will serve as the lungs of the entire country" (p. 6). The new policy contrasts with the dense planning during the Mandate period, described as "depriving the cities of open spaces and public gardens" (p. 9). The national parks serve as a recreational respite for urban residents. These policies demonstrate Sharon and the Planning Department's ideological assertion that integrated green space is the basis for healthy urbanity. *Physical Planning in Israel* emphasizes this ideology in text through a reiteration of healthy boundaries, green wedges and lungs, and green belts around the three major cities and within each neighbourhood unit, no matter how large or small. *Physical Planning in Israel*'s maps, particularly those of the New Towns, demonstrate this value with a strong green border between varied land uses.

Sharon's assertion of the country's scarce arable land and limited natural resources challenge the intense greening policy. In the preliminary discussion of the country's physical geography, Sharon describes the varied flora and fauna as a rich mosaic. He alludes to Garden of Eden imagery, which has particular importance in the realization of the Zionist vision. However, aside from this reference, *Physical Planning in Israel* insists upon the great scarcity of agricultural land. The concern manifests as two positive policies. Firstly, Sharon intends to

relocate previously established settlements to adjacent heights. He argues that the Mandate government did not regulate settlement on arable land. Thus, Sharon justifies the creation of satellite towns as long-term economic and social planning, which will free fertile land for agriculture and generate new housing with scenic views. The second policy establishes urban growth boundaries with green belts around human settlements.

The final value of *Physical Planning in Israel*'s land theme illustrates the preservation of natural and historic sites. Sharon's preservation of the natural and human landscape policies demonstrate his value of the country's heritage. Sharon demonstrates that preservation is integral, but secondary to greening policies, as natural conservation is always referenced as development alternative for land without agricultural value. Sharon enumerates nature conservation in the New Towns, large cities, and national park network in conjunction with tourism development. The preservation policies also encompass historical sites in the Land of Israel, both Jewish and not. Sharon values historic and religious sites as the basis of a new tourism industry in Israel, and antiquities are integrated throughout the national park system. *Physical Planning in Israel* illustrates that Israel is rich in landmarks from the Greek and Roman period, as well as cult pilgrimages sites for the Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Druze, and Bahai communities in the national scale plan for preservation of antiquities.

People – Public Good, Security Threats, Enterprising Population

I found three ideological values consistent with Sharon's second theme of people. *Physical Planning in Israel* begins with a statement of planning for the public good: "The Ingathering of Exiles will consolidate and achieve unity only if afforded a background of physical, social and economic conditions that are both adequate and encouraging. It is therefore

essential that this second, social factor, should play a basic part in our planning policy" (p. 3). The Ingathering of Exiles is a biblical term referring to Israel as a homeland for Jews around the world and a primary national tenet (Troen, 2003). Despite his assertion, Sharon expresses concern for the policy's success due to the challenges of community building amongst diverse citizens. Sharon refers regularly to settlement populations and civic centres, yet the rest of the plan is devoid of reference to the Israeli public. Thus, the unique quality of Sharon's initial statement demonstrates that planning for the public good is integral, yet abstract, in *Physical Planning in Israel*.

Underlying *Physical Planning in Israel*'s primary objective of population dispersal is concern for the new country's security. Sharon demonstrates the second theme of national security with regards to an active plan for industrial redistribution in the various planning regions. The relocation of people and infrastructure is "imperative from the national and defense standpoints, and can be fulfilled only by a daring and consistent planning and development policy" (p. 5). Furthermore, Sharon states, "In the absence of such a policy the masses of the population will apathetically follow the line of least resistance, so that large stretches of the country will be left void of population and of human enterprise" (p. 5). This statement demonstrates the nuance of *Physical Planning in Israel*'s value of planning for the public good. Although Sharon desires to create a cohesive social environment, he lacks confidence in the general public's behaviour and decision-making capabilities. Thus, Sharon founds the objective of securing the national borders on proactive social engineering for the public's benefit.

Sharon's conception of people continues to evolve in the third ideological theme concerning the new nation's industriousness and desire for economic self-sufficiency. On multiple counts, Sharon stresses the population's ability to produce sufficient food and exports

for national economic stability. In the section on directed agriculture, Sharon elucidates that the rural population will be able to provide 75% of the nation's food needs, in particular produce and dairy. Furthermore, Sharon expects citizens to ensure the economic stability of their settlements. He begins with a discussion of self-sufficiency of large kibbutzim, "which have achieved a high degree of economic maturity thanks to their own initiative" (p. 7), as well as that of the rural-urban centres. On the larger scale, the zoning policy for the master plan will benefit from the "enterprising population in the country" (p. 9). Sharon illustrates the need for economic self-sufficiency in the new country and expects citizens to be integral in this process. Thus, the people theme encompasses Sharon's expectation that planners are the authority on social well-being and security policies, while citizens themselves are responsible for the economic stability of the society.

Time – Planning Urgency, Efficacy, Ease

Physical Planning in Israel final theme is time, which I found to encompass Sharon's ideological value of planning efficiency and ease. Although timing is integral in all planning and policy implementation, it is paramount at Israeli independence (Troen, 2003). Upon Israel's declaration of statehood, the new government simultaneously mobilizes the country for war and overturns the Mandate government's restrictive immigration policies. Israel receives over 1 million immigrants in its first years, many of whom are Mizrahi Jews fleeing persecution in their Arab host countries (Troen, 2003). In *Physical Planning in Israel*'s introduction, Sharon illustrates the incongruence between the country's urgent infrastructural needs and his desire for thorough planning practice. Sharon argues that the master plan's success is dependent on careful study and survey of national economic and social conditions, arguing that hasty decisions are the

cause of bad planning: “Immigrant and transit camps, housing estates and settlements, all planned and built in haste will remain as social and economic blots on the landscape and may be succeeded by even worse blemishes later on” (p. 4).

Time, and in this case the lack thereof, is both the impetus for planning and the cause of substandard implementation. Sharon predicts that compromises will have to be made in the plan’s realization. The strain of time is particularly visible in the case of rural urban centres. In the English supplement, Sharon writes, “Rural urban centres should be established at once, as there are areas comprising dozens of villages, some of them well-developed, requiring regional services and man-power for building and development” (p. 8). However, the Hebrew text tells a different story. In the original document, Sharon admits that there are already dozens of established villages and rural centres, which do not have access to regional services. The towns lack construction workers and materials to adequately develop. He predicts the towns’ commercial and civic centres will expand slowly and that they will be reliant on adjacent towns’ agricultural output for longer than expected. Sharon elucidates that the towns’ manufacturing cores will not be fully functioning for at least five years, consequently overburdening the agricultural soil reserves.

Sharon links national development and comprehensive planning: “The intensive and all-embracing development of this country calls for effective and comprehensive planning” (p. 3). In the Jerusalem Regional Plan, he argues that town planning is the most honest representation of a city’s social, economic, and political character. For Sharon, efficient planning is comprehensive, yet flexible. In his view, demographic and economic conditions are subject to change and planning must augment accordingly. However, according to Sharon, the plan’s vision and jurisdiction remain constant: “These will not affect the Plan itself, its starting point, or those

fundamental principles which combine to give it a complete form. Development activities are beginning to follow these basic planning principles, which can provide the state authorities with consistent approach enabling the master plan to become a comprehensive and decisive blueprint for Israel" (p. 10).

In spite of the country's limited timeframe and need for planning compromise, Sharon remains adamant concerning the ease of policy implementation. Sharon intends to locate the incoming wave of immigrants in new cities and agricultural settlements, to avoid disrupting the social, and economic stability of Israel's pioneer generation. He describes the implementation of this dispersal policy as a "relatively, simple task" (p. 4). Sharon reiterates this sentiment with regards to increasing Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tel Aviv's population by 60-75% during the first phase of development, which includes redirecting local residents to satellite towns around the major cities. Sharon's expression of implementation ease is further emphasized due to a lack of details in the policies themselves. Sharon neither develops how or when this distribution will occur, nor where the residents will be housed before all of the towns are built. Thus, *Physical Planning in Israel* impresses upon the reader Sharon and the National Planning Departments' will to implement a comprehensive plan easily, despite time and resource constraints. Sharon maintains the ideological belief that the authority of the master plan and its planner will succeed in the face of all pragmatic challenges.

Section 6.4: Bet Shean, Afula, and Safed Local Outline Plans' Planning Themes

The local outline plans of Bet Shean, Afula, and Safed iterate and challenge *Physical Planning in Israel*'s ideological principles in contemporaneous planning policies. The Bet Shean outline plan was published in 1992 for a proposed population of 23,000 inhabitants, Afula's plan

was produced in 2004 for 100,000 people, and Safed's plan was ratified in 2013 for a projected 80,000 residents. Each plan reflects the work of the municipality's local municipal council, Israel Land Authority, Ministry of the Interior, and Ministry of Housing and Construction.

The outline plans maintain Sharon's vision of creating green environments for urban residents' health and comfort. The Bet Shean outline plan begins with Rabbi Shimon Ben Lachish's famous quotation: "If the Garden of Eden is in the Land of Israel, it is Bet Shean and its environs." Bet Shean proposes transforming the city's hot and dry climate with greening policies. The planners state that the green walks and tree-lined streets will improve residents and visitors' comfort in the built environment. The Afula plan proposes a green grid composed of pedestrian trails, neighbourhood parks, and squares for the improvement of residents' quality of life throughout the city. The green network is crowned with a large urban park, which will serve as the primary meeting place for the community. The planning team posit that the green grid will act as the basis for the Afula's character as a green community city.

Both the Bet Shean and Safed maps emphasize historical preservation for tourism development. The Bet Shean plan proposes the further integration of the Roman amphitheatre and archaeological site in the city's urban fabric. The proposals encompass preservation of natural and historic sites, including ancient buildings, the old city wall, and the Harod River. The planning team argues for the development of a new tourist centre with extensive hospitality services. The Bet Shean archaeological sites are situated alongside the national park, for a comprehensive recreational program. In Safed, the planning team focuses on the development of the historic, urban core. As a traditional centre of Jewish mysticism, Kabbalah, Safed's old city has religious, cultural, and artistic characteristics. The planning team looks to develop Safed's

tourist potential, using Carcassonne, Toledo, and Bath as precedents. The tourism policies include new hotel zones in the city's northern region.

The local outline plans of Bet Shean, Afula, and Safed express *Physical Planning in Israel*'s ideological values of green environments, healthy communities, and historical preservation. The contemporary plans also engage the Arieh Sharon's New Town planning form. In Bet Shean, the planning team asserts that the plan's primary objectives are to populate the city's residential layers and integrate the archaeological sites within the urban fabric. The Afula and Safed plans' implicate the satellite neighbourhood units built at the state's inception. The contemporary Afula planning team introduce the plan as follows: "This local outline plan symbolizes a new beginning, completely contradicting the plan of Afula from the 1950s, when it was established as a separated city with sparse dispersal in a large area." The plan's primary objective is to reconnect Afula and Afula Illit, which were envisioned in *Physical Planning in Israel*'s new town outline plans (Figure 1.4). The Afula local outline plan proposes new residential quarters and an extensive urban road network, which will create a unified city out of two distinct parts (Figure 1.13). The Safed plan engages Sharon's satellite neighbourhoods in terms of the divergent development pattern of the municipal core and its adjacent units in the southern hills. The Safed planners are challenged with the need to develop the historic core within limited boundaries in conjunction with the revitalization and densification of the 1950s neighbourhoods. The planning team proposes an urban road network with adjacent green recreation zones to connect the city fabric (Figure 1.14). The Safed planners intend to revitalize the new neighbourhoods with tourism services and hotels for the historic core.

In this Chapter, the results of the historic practice reading demonstrate the ideology and politics of *Physical Planning in Israel's* three primary themes: land and site preservation, an

industrious nation, and limited time. *Physical Planning in Israel* develops the Socialist Zionist themes as healthy, green living environments in the Promised Land, an enterprising nation of Jews from around the world (Ingathering of Exiles), and the state's authority to make decisions for the collective good in the face of existential danger (Section 6.3). As Fairclough (1992) discusses, CDA's third tier of social discourse establishes that ideology and politics shape text, whose production and application manifest political power (Fairclough, 1992). Under Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's direct jurisdiction and in accordance with the Labour government's ideological foundation, Sharon and the National Planning Department comprehensively applied *Physical Planning In Israel* to the Israeli landscape.

In Section 6.2, I demonstrate that Sharon (1976) employed propaganda panels based on Bauhaus design principles to sway public opinion and make Israel citizens more "town-planning-minded" (p. 80). Based on Ryan's (2011) temporal reading, the review of Bet Shean, Safed, and Afula's contemporary, local outline plans offers historical perspective to *Physical Planning in Israel*'s political structure and ideological assertions. In Section 6.4, I demonstrate that the local outline plans' policies indirectly contest the New Town satellite form and low density neighbourhoods, yet maintain *Physical Planning in Israel*'s green environs and preservation of historic sites for tourism policies in compliance with contemporary Israeli planning trends.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

Section 7.1: The Modern Legacy of *Physical Planning in Israel* and the New Towns

Physical Planning in Israel's is modern in form, objectives, and design theory; the Israeli New Towns manifest Socialist Zionist ideals and Labour government politics at statehood. The New Towns are the key element of *Physical Planning in Israel*'s textual and visual structure; Sharon establishes the New Towns as the solution to the gap in the urban hierarchy and orders the first national plan in Israel accordingly. The New Towns serve as the means to realize *Physical Planning in Israel*'s primary proposal for population dispersal and to rectify the concentrated human and industrial settlement pattern from the British Mandate era. In *Physical Planning in Israel*, Sharon uses a pastel watercolour palette to illustrate the new form and wash over the previous built landscape. In application, the New Town typology varied slightly based on location and construction period, the towns' distinctive form – low-density, inward-facing neighbourhoods connected with winding road networks and surrounded by vast green space – created a recognizable image throughout the country (Aravot & Militanu, 2000; Shadar & Oxman, 2003). The original New Town outline plans demonstrate the extent of the master planner's vision and the authority of the Labour government at statehood.

Renowned architectural critic, Bruno Zevi, begins his introduction to Arieh Sharon's autobiography, *Kibbutz + Bauhaus: An Architect's Way in a New Land*, with a telling question: "Sharon as a man, as a pioneer and citizen, as an artist: could one risk separating such aspects or levels of a single, overflowing personality?" (as cited in Sharon, 1976, p. 6). As Zevi elucidates, Sharon was a man of varied qualities and allegiances. He began his building career as a pioneer, constructing a kibbutz in the Palestinian hinterland with fellow members of his Socialist Zionist youth movement. He studied modern European design theory at the Bauhaus and learned Garden

City and New Town design through professional interaction with one of Britain's master planners of the period, Sir Patrick Abercrombie. Despite his enthusiasm for modern design and planning, Sharon maintained his allegiance to Israel throughout his time in Europe. *Physical Planning in Israel* and the Israeli New Towns reflect the amalgamation of Sharon's experiences as a Socialist Zionist pioneer and a modern, European-trained designer.

Sharon was a visionary, yet the Labour government's political and social hegemony from the *Yishuv* period through statehood engendered *Physical Planning in Israel*'s implementation. The Labour government was founded on Socialist Zionist ideology, which *Physical Planning in Israel* expresses in its primary themes. Sharon and the National Planning Department interpreted land and site preservation and limited time as Israel's main planning obstacles of the period; they proposed a population dispersal program, which would employ the industrious nation comprised of old and new immigrants, to develop the country's hinterland. *Physical Planning in Israel* reflects the Socialist Zionist dream of Israel: a country built by Jews around the world, deeply connected to the land and committed to the collective good. Sharon's new urban form and hierarchy manifested the Labour government's ideology as self-sufficient communities surrounded by green environs at the neighbourhood, town, region, and national scale. As Brutzkus (1975) writes, "In the eyes of the adherents of this new approach a 'regional' town, well integrated within the rural surroundings, conformed well to the basic aspiration of Zionism to make Jewish settlement in the country as deep 'rooted' as possible" (p. 304).

Israel's planning structure has begun to change due to a fundamental shift in the country's social, economic, and political orientation. Israel's Socialist Zionist ideology diminished at the fall of the Labour hegemony in the 1970s, while neo-liberal economic reforms in the 1980s and a second mass immigration in the 1990s led to the replacement of *Physical*

Planning in Israel with new national plans. The national plans emphasize metropolitan growth and strict urban boundaries due to land scarcity in contrast to *Physical Planning in Israel*'s New Town proposal. In Israel's hierarchical, statutory planning system, the national plan policies manifest at the regional and local level, despite the increased agency of local municipalities (Forester et al., 2001). The review of contemporary outline plans in this thesis demonstrates that the former New Towns continue to grapple with the original form and its values set out by *Physical Planning in Israel*. In particular, the plans struggle with the neighbourhood units' low density and satellite form. However, in conjunction with *Physical Planning in Israel* and current national plans, they support green living environments and preservation of historic sites for tourism. The contemporary plans do not consider preservation of the original New Town structure as modern Israeli heritage, thus the fate of the New Town form remains to be determined.

Section 7.2: Conclusion

Physical Planning in Israel was the blueprint for the modern state of Israel. Arieh Sharon and the National Planning Department proposed mass population distribution to resolve Israel's highly concentrated settlement pattern and secure the national borders. Based upon an amalgamation of modern planning theory and Socialist Zionist ideology, Sharon designed a new urban typology and system that had a lasting impact in Israel. In this thesis, I demonstrate that *Physical Planning in Israel* and its primary proposal – the Israeli New Towns – express Israel's modern history, political structure, and physical form. As Israel moves farther from its foundation, the Israeli New Towns manifest the physical legacy of the state's modern period in the contemporary landscape.

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ANNEX A: FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Photograph of Sharon (with Camera), National Planning Department, and Prime Minister Ben-Gurion Surveying the Land, Source: Sharon Archive

Figure 1.2: Black-and-White Outline of the New Town Locations, Source: Physical Planning in Israel (1951)

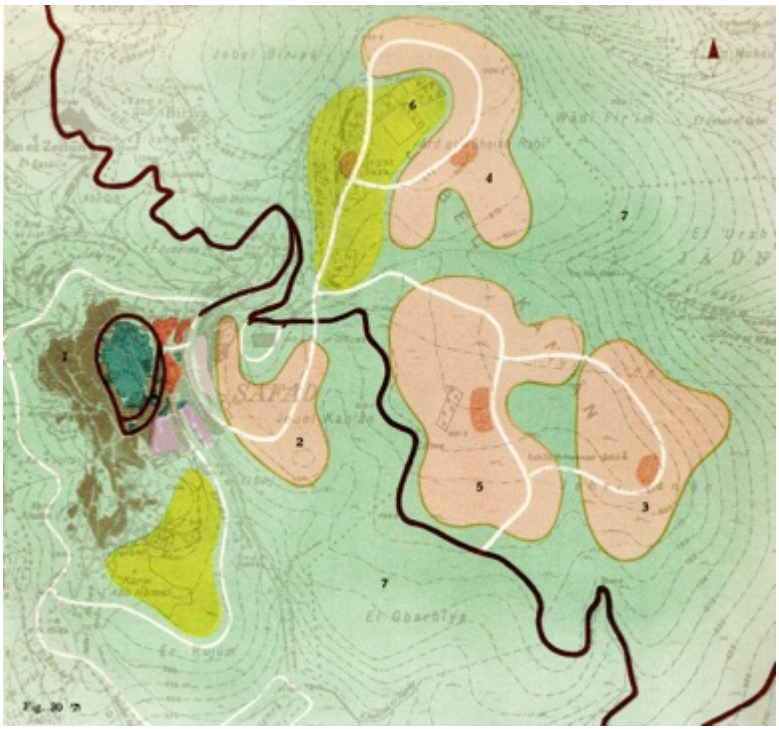

Figure 1.3: Outline Map of Safed, Source: Physical Planning in Israel (1951)

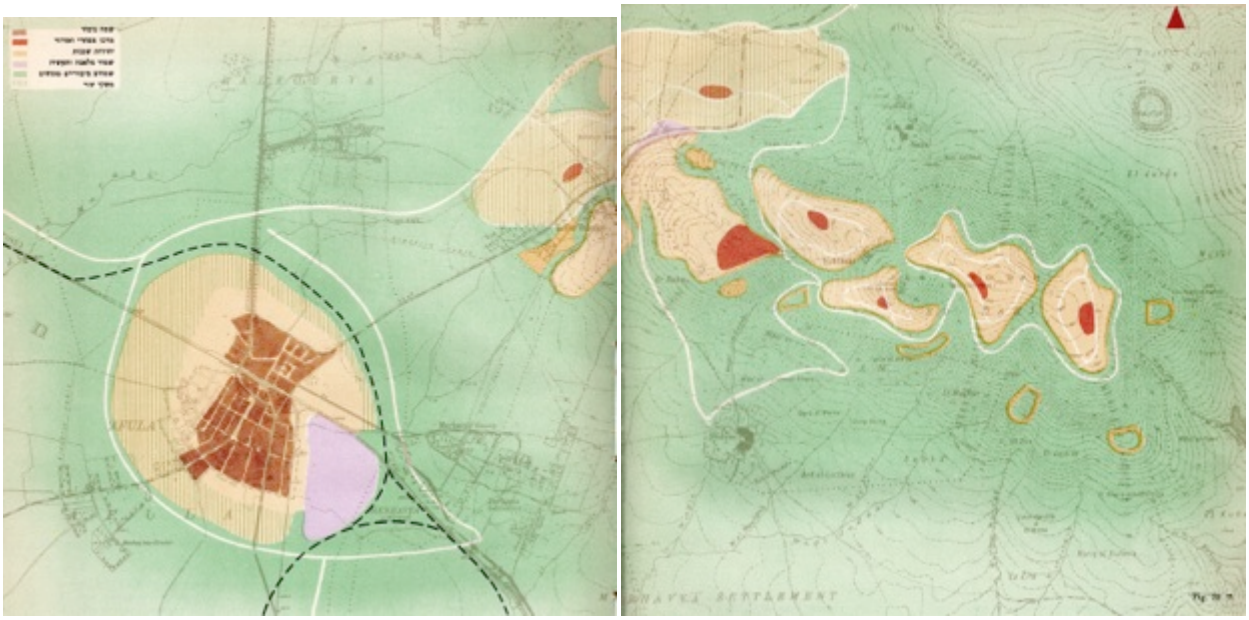

Figure 1.4: Outline Map of Afula and Afula Illit, Source: Physical Planning in Israel (1951)

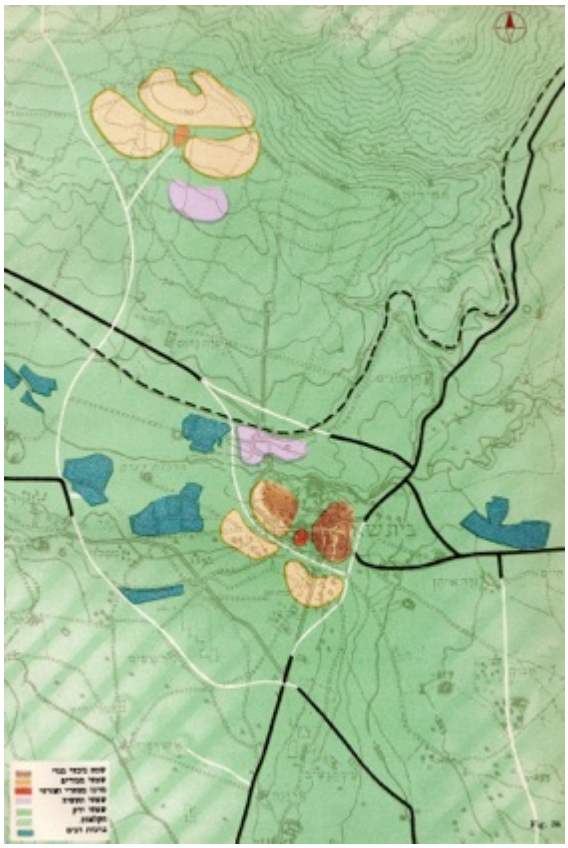

Figure 1.5: Outline Map of Bet Shean – Murassas, Source: Physical Planning in Israel (1951)

Figure 1.6: Outline Map of Migdal Gad (Ashkelon), Source: Physical Planning in Israel (1951)

Figure 1.7: Detail Plan of Safed's New Neighbourhood Unit, Source: Physical Planning in Israel (1951)

Figure 1.8: Detail Plan of Bet Shean-Murassas' New Neighbourhood Unit, Source: Physical Planning in Israel (1951)

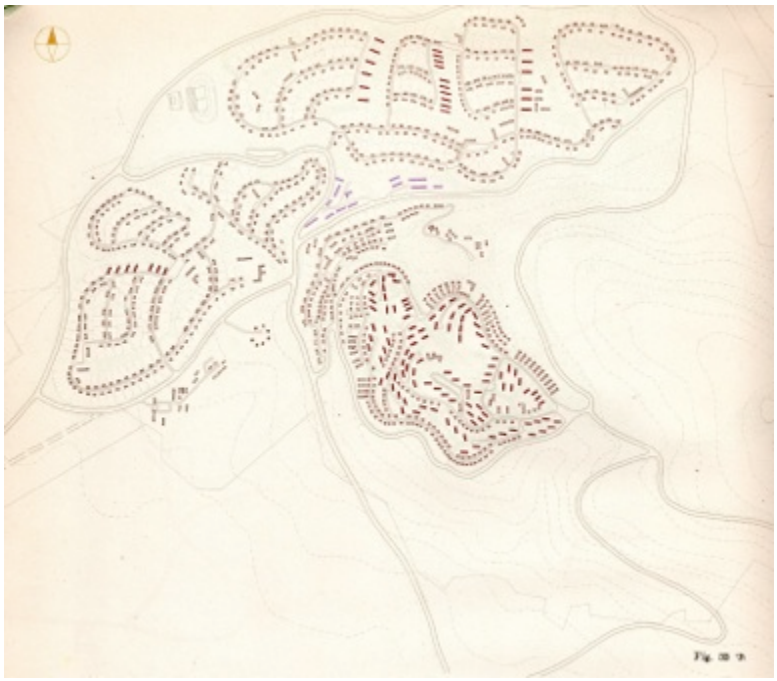

Figure 1.9: Detail Plan of Afula Illit's New Neighbourhood Unit, Source: Physical Planning in Israel (1951)

Figure 1.10: Panel A – A Need For Population Dispersal, Source: Sharon Archive

Figure 1.11: Panel B – Waiting On Line, Source: Sharon Archive

Figure 1.12: Panel C – Green Space for Healthy Living, Source: Sharon Archive

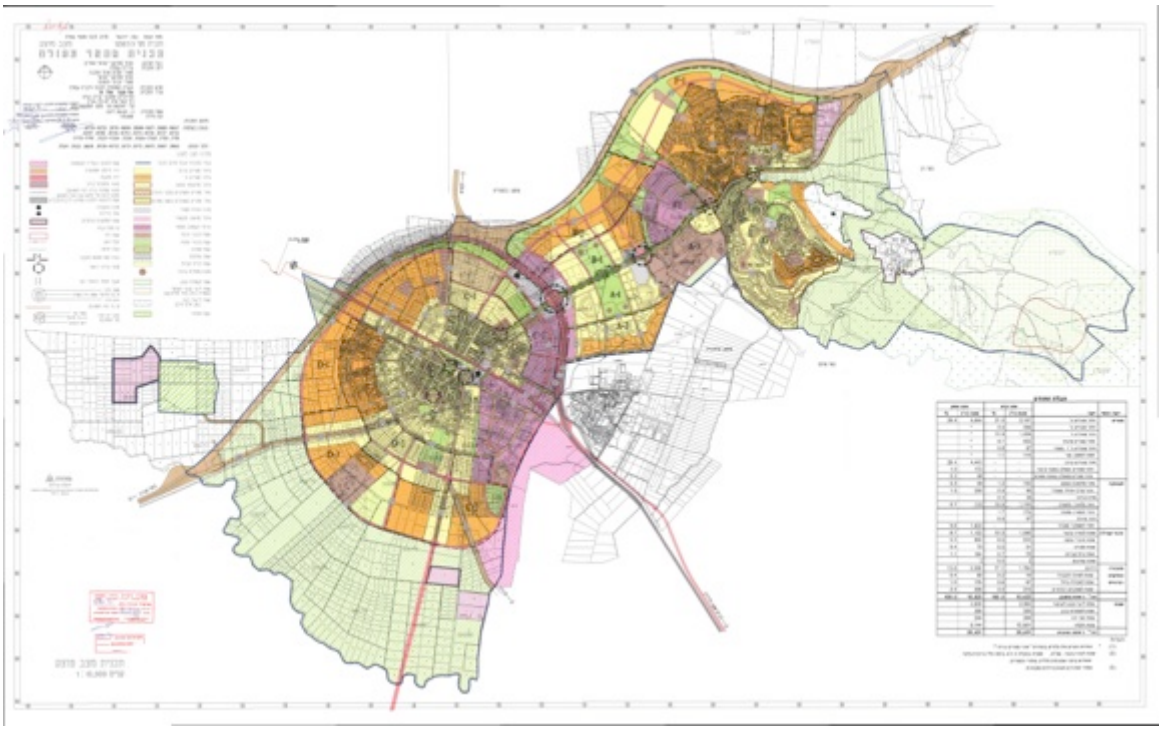

Figure 1.13: Local Outline Plan of Afula (2004), Source: Ministry of the Interior of Israel

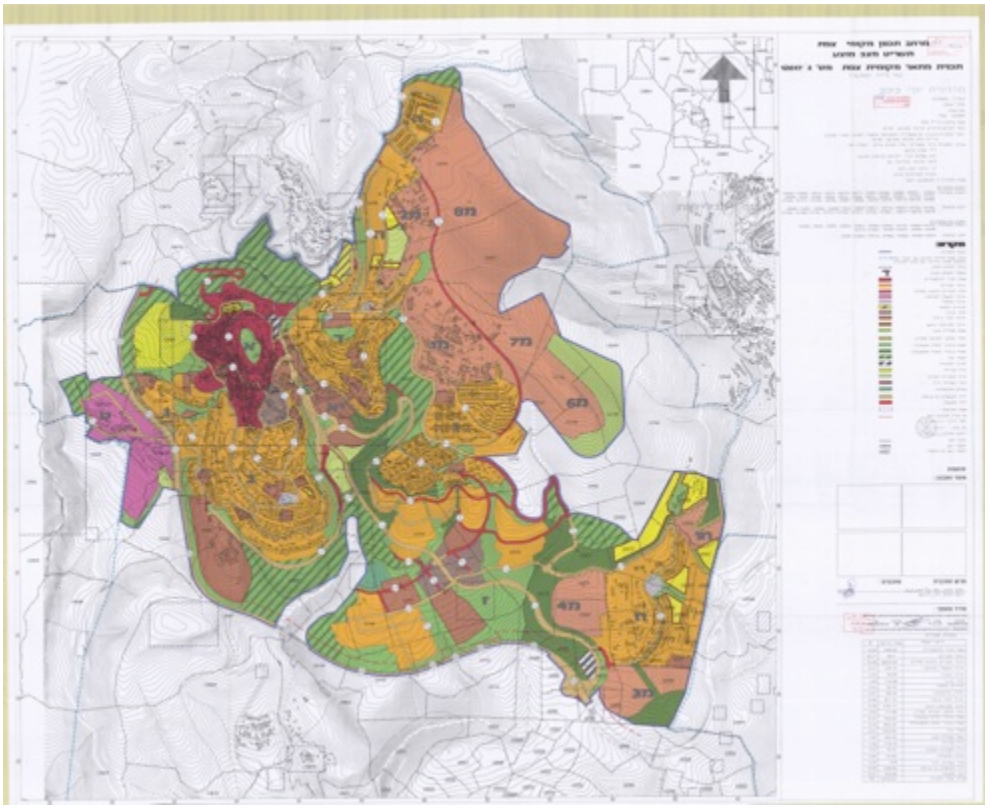

Figure 1.14: Local Outline Plan of Safed (2013), Source: Ministry of the Interior of Israel

[i] Hall (1988) discusses garden cities in Germany, "For May, a well-planned residential environment could complement the pursuit of efficiency in the workplaces, and – to quote May again – 'the uniform box-shapes of the roof gardens symbolize the idea of collective living in a uniform style, like the similarly shaped honeycombs of the beehive, symbolizing the uniform living conditions of their inhabitants'" (Hall, 1988, pp. 118–119). Arieh Sharon also had great admiration for the collective nature and design of beehives (Sharon, 1976).

[ii] In the plan, Sharon discusses the location of the industrial zone "in respect of prevailing winds" (Sharon, 1951, p. 7).

[iii] All direct citations from *Physical Planning in Israel* refer to the English supplement.

[iv] Sharon went so far as to design the exhibition invitation in Bauhaus' distinct typography – even spacing between each character for a solid block of text on a white background. To view the invitation: www.ariehsharon.org