

Perceiving Ethnic Space: Israeli Arabs' Cognition of the Central Galilee

Izhak Schnell

Tel-Aviv University and Beit Berl College*

The regional awareness of the Israeli Arab population in the valley of Sakhnin stresses the division of space along ethnic lines. Most of the interviewers identified a clear distinction between Arab and Jewish regions in Israel. There was a vital sense of belonging (insideness) attached to the Arab regions, in total contrast to the way in which Jewish spaces were perceived (outsideness).

Research concerned with the individual experience of space has highlighted a wide range of reflections regarding the social group's structure of spatial awareness, ethnic relations and planning implications for the well-being of these social groups (Saarinen, 1976).

The purpose of this article is to investigate the structure of regional awareness in the experience of Israeli Arabs. The Arab population in Israel may be viewed as a highly segregated group in physical space, but highly dependent on the Jewish core in activity spaces, particularly in the job market. The Arabs are concentrated in a few peripheral regions, but more than half of the Arab workforce commutes to the nation's core. This may influence the structure of their perception of space. In an attempt to analyze the structure of Arab regional awareness, one sub-region—considered to be typical of Arab general overall patterns—was studied in depth.

This analysis deals with four key questions:

1. How do the Israeli Arabs perceive space in general, and their own region in particular, within the context of the national socio-spatial system?
 2. How are their ties to their home territory expressed?
 3. How do the Israeli Arabs relate to neighboring Jewish regions?
 4. Is it possible to arrive at a better understanding of Arab-Jewish relations through an understanding of their respective senses of space and place?
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* Department of Geography, Tel-Aviv University, Ramat Aviv, Israel.

THE STRUCTURE OF "LIVED SPACE"

In order to deal with these questions, it is first necessary to define a coherent concept of the structure of "lived space." Since the 1970s, there has been a growing concern as to the ways in which social groups give meaning to space in everyday life ("lived space"). It has been assumed that a group's intersubjective structure of spatial awareness may be understood as part of its general life world—as it has been structured through daily experiences (Schutz, 1971; Ley, 1981). In this sense, lived space is conceived as consisting of the structural aspects of the interrelations between the way humans are open to the world and the outer world as it is presented to the experiencers. Lived space, then, is made up of the symbolic meanings that individuals and groups attach to objects that are existentially meaningful for them (Inde, 1979; Gale and Golledge, 1983).

Lived space includes both horizontal and vertical structures (Norberg-Schultz, 1971). The horizontal structure includes three basic elements (Bollnow, 1967): 1) districts of particular significance defined by individual or group concerns and interests; 2) paths which serve as the structural axes of spatial connections and interrelations. These axes reflect the intensities of intentions and experiences in space and connect significant districts to one set of spaces; 3) nodes are centers of spatial significance and meaning to the everyday existence of individuals and groups. The combination of nodes, districts and paths constitute the horizontal structure of any spatial relations. These sets of elements may be experienced in an "orientation system" in which a set of nodes are interconnected in terms of direction and distance within a common continuous field (Downs and Stea, 1977). Space may also be experienced as a "territorial system" in which sets of bounded districts are identified as being related to individuals or groups in terms of property (Hagget, 1965), emotional attachment (Altman, 1975), or control (Sack, 1983).

The vertical structure of space is hierarchical in such a way that people may identify different spatial units from the home to vicinity, city, region, nation, and world (Saarinen, 1976). Qualitatively, four distinct levels may be distinguished, each of them presenting larger scales (Saarinen, 1976), weaker levels of humanization (Relph, 1976) and less intensive forms of social support (Rowles, 1982). The first level is that of personal space, which refers to the bubble of intimacy around the self (Sommer, 1969; Hall, 1966). The second is the places which act as significant centers of meaning and attachment in everyday individual and group practices. These places include home, neighborhood, workplace, community centers, etc. (Relph, 1976). The third level relates to habitats as the environmental background of human actions and reflections in their everyday habitualities. Habitats consist of core areas and ranges of everyday practices (Porteous, 1977). Finally, there

are regions which include larger spaces, beyond our daily activity space, where our sense of regional and national identities is structured.

An analysis of the territorial awareness of social groups includes the cognitive process of identification of meaningful territorial units. The emotional process of identification with these different units may be classified in terms of different levels of "insideness" and "outsideness" (Relph, 1976). A distinction between different types of insideness and outsideness is offered by Relph (1976), but there is still a need to define an empirically valid scale of insideness and outsideness which can be measured on a continuum.

The scale that was tested in this research includes three levels of the sense of outsideness and three levels of the sense of insideness (which were ranked according to the emotional vitality of the respondents sense of place). The extreme levels in each pole relate directly to a person's self-identity. At one pole, a person or group may experience a sense of at-homeness, in which the place is highly personalized to the degree that it becomes an extension of the self. Therefore, the sense of at-homeness in a place means that a strong sense of territoriality is experienced and that the person or the group anchors the development of their own identity in the practices of their home territory (see also Cooper, 1974). At the other pole, a person or a group may feel a sense of alienation which may result in self-estrangement and in a strong sense of separation between the self and the place (Mills, 1951).

The other two levels of insideness and outsideness were expressed in the degree of vitality in a person's or group's sense of place (Schnell, 1984). Vital insideness may be expressed as a sense of comfort, warmth, at-easiness, and vividness (Seamon, 1979), while vital outsideness may be expressed as a sense of "strangeness" (Schutz, 1971).

The third level of insideness and outsideness may be defined in terms of mental experience (Schnell, 1984). Space is experienced in a rationalized form and as a neutral context for events and items. In the case of mental insideness, a group or person may know his place and may be able to function easily therein, but lack vitality of attachment to the place. In the case of mental outsideness, a group or a person does not know the place well, but still feels confident enough to navigate and function there, without developing a sense of frustration and strangeness.

In the following study, the territorial structure of space was analyzed, emphasizing the structure of the identification of relevant and the hierarchical structures of territoriality in the case of Israeli Arabs residing in the Sakhnin region.

METHODOLOGY

The analysis was based on interviews with small groups of Israeli Arabs, in addition to an extensive closed questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered to two hundred inhabitants in the five settlements that were defined as the study area, the Sakhnin settlement system (Schnell, 1986). In each settlement, representatives of two percent of the households were interviewed, of which approximately 40 percent were male heads of household, another 40 percent married women, and the remainder younger members of the household over the age of 18. In addition, for the purpose of comparison, another 50 questionnaires were administered to inhabitants of ten neighboring Jewish settlements, also representing two percent of the Jewish population in that area.

Since there was a risk of distortion in the sample due to the political sensitivity of the issues under investigation, both Arab and Jewish interviewers were chosen. A total of nine interviewers participated in the research, five of them were Jewish and the rest Arabs. An interpersonal reliability test showed that there were no significant differences in answers to key questions between Arab and Jewish interviewees, with a reliability level of at least 0.04.

In the first section of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to recall the names of all settlements constituting the area perceived by them to be their home region. Initially interviews were carried out in the key settlement of Sakhnin. From there the interviews proceeded to any neighboring settlements that were mentioned by at least 50 percent of the respondents. This procedure enabled definition of the perceived boundaries of the home region. In addition, the respondents were asked to recall the name and the approximate boundaries of the larger region in which their home area was located, as well as to give the names of other major regions in the country of the same scale.

In the second section of the questionnaire, the patterns of identification with four ethnically significant territories were investigated: 1. Home region; 2. Other Arab regions; 3. The Jewish core; 4. Jewish settlements in respondents vicinity.

The respondents were asked to identify themselves by choosing one of the ten statements from which the insideness-outsideness scale was constructed (Figure 1). The responses to these statements were analyzed along a Gutman Scale. The scalability of this scale was validated with a coefficient of 0.6, when the statements "The place belongs or does not belong to us" were excluded from the analysis.

Figure 1: The insideness/outsideness scale.

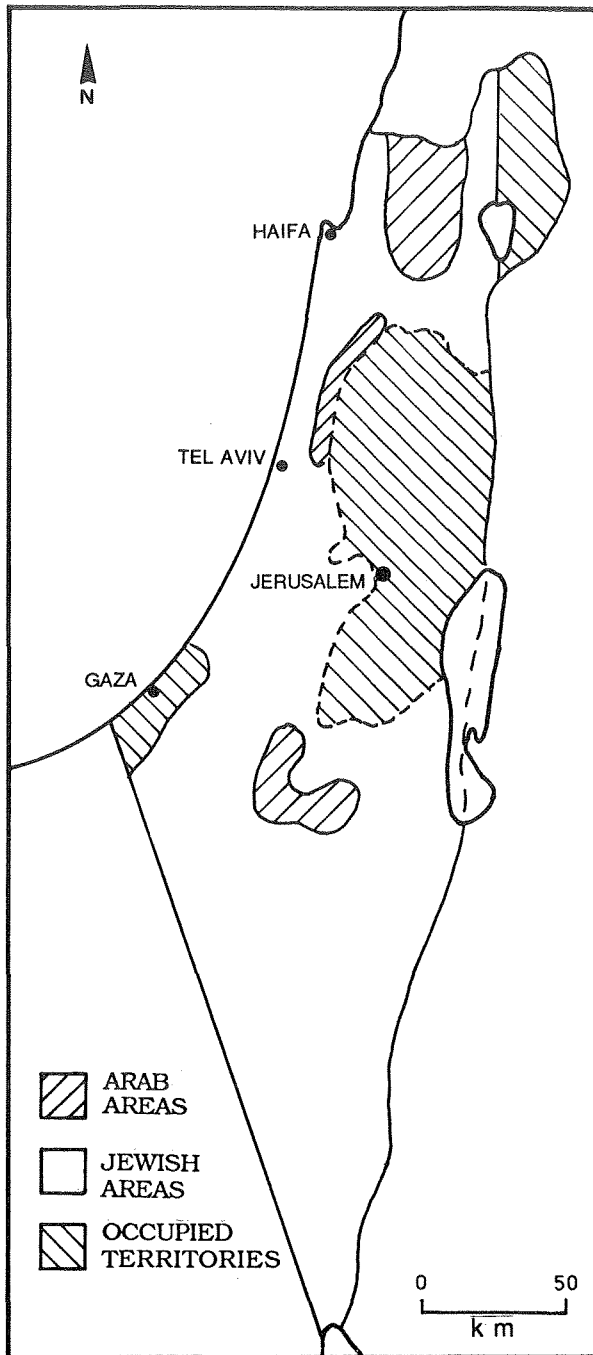
INSIDENESS	
— At Homeness	1. The place is part of me and I am part of the place.
	2. I know I can always trust people here.
— Vital Insideness	3. I feel an intimate attachment to the place.
— Mental Outsideness	4. I know the place well, feel comfortable in it, but do not feel any special attachment to it.
— Mental Outsideness	5. I do not know the place well, but I still feel comfortable in it.
— Vital Outsideness	6. I feel like a stranger in the place.
	7. I feel distrust towards the people in the place.
— Alienation	8. My identity is offended in the place
OUTSIDENESS	
	9.* The place belongs to us.
	10.* The place does not belong to us.

* Note: These sentences were not included in the scale because many Arabs related to property that had belonged to them prior to 1948 with a high degree of insideness, in contrast to a high degree of outsideness in terms of the other statements.

THE ARAB SECTOR IN ISRAEL

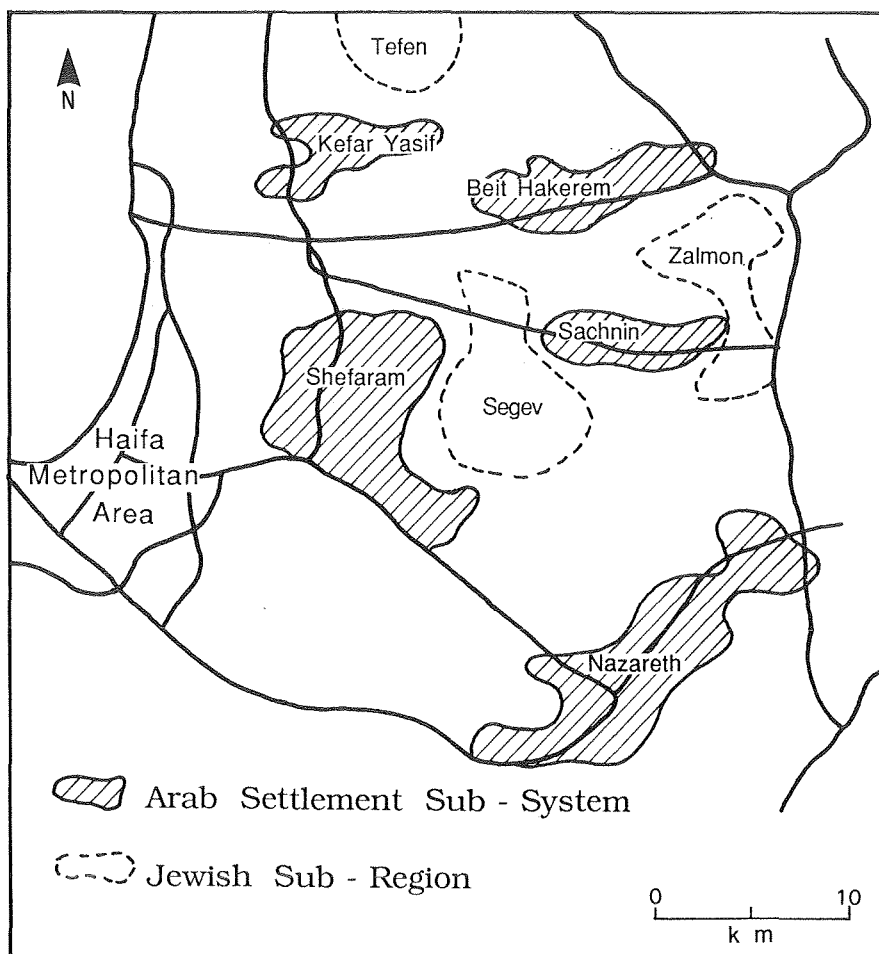
Approximately 18 percent (800,000) of the Israeli population is Arab (excluding the occupied territories). Located in three distinctly segregated regions, some 80 percent of the Israeli Arab population live in villages and small urban settlements. The largest Arab concentration can be found in the mountainous district of the Galilee. The Galilee, containing roughly 47 percent of the Israeli Arab population, consists of five subregional Arab settlement systems (Shmueli & Schnell, 1980; Schnell, 1986). Other Arab settlement areas are located in the "Triangle" region (on the fringe of the coastal plain)—containing approximately 10 percent of the total population, while about 8 percent are concentrated in the Bedouin settlements in the Beer-Sheva valley (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Arab areas in Israel.



A settlement system is defined as including at least three settlements located in a continuous (non-broken) field, connected by at least one road system and containing a minimum of 30,000 inhabitants. The largest system, Nazareth, contained approximately 105,000 people in 1988, and the city itself has become the central place and urban focus for the five Arab subregions throughout the Galilee (Fig. 3).

Figure 3: Arab settlement systems in the Galilee.



From an economic perspective, the Arab sector is highly dependent on the Jewish core. Approximately 60 percent of the workforce in the study area commute to the core areas located in the coastal plain, finding employment mainly as skilled, blue-collar workers in construction, industry and services

(Shmueli et al., 1985; Schnell, 1986). About 30 percent of the workforce is employed by municipal and other local services and businesses in their own settlements. The rest are small entrepreneurs, mainly subcontractors for Jewish businesses.

The Sakhnin settlement system consists of five small towns, containing 45,000 inhabitants, located along one road that connects them in an almost continuous built-up area. This group of settlements is located in the central part of the Arab region in the Galilee. Since 1977, some 20 small Jewish settlements (containing a few dozens families each) have been established along the fringes of the Sakhnin Valley. The purpose of these latter settlements is political in that they have been founded in an attempt to strengthen Jewish sovereignty in the mountain region and to act as a buffer between the five Arab settlement systems, thus preventing their evolving into a continuous belt of Arab settlements.

The five settlements of the Sakhnin subregion provided the core of the study area. However, it was also important to investigate the extent to which people in the wider area perceive neighboring Jewish settlements and/or neighboring Arab settlements, as constituting part of their territorial base in the region.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Arab residents of the Sakhnin Valley perceived a hierarchical system of socio-spatial units, starting from their nuclear family home, extending through their extended family or group of families, and reaching the neighborhood which is associated with the lineage, their home settlement, home region, and Arab regions throughout Israel, the State and the nation. The boundaries of their perceived home region were defined in terms of three concentric rings. The core of the region was made up of three settlements in the center of the Sakhnin Valley: Sakhnin, Arabe and Dir-Hana. These three settlements contain 30,000 inhabitants, half of whom live in Sakhnin itself. Over 85 percent of the respondents mentioned these three settlements as constituting their home base. Most of the respondents related to their home area as being the center of Arab national identity in Israel (Soffer, 1983). Of the remaining respondents, most only mentioned their own settlement and did not recognize any regional home base beyond their home settlement.

The second ring was made up of two additional settlements, Merar and Ilabun, containing approximately 16,000 inhabitants. These settlements were included in the perceived home region of about 50 percent of the respondents. As a result, the survey was extended to include the residents of these settlements in defining the perceived boundaries of their home region.

The third ring consisted of three settlements which were mentioned by over 30 percent of the respondents. Two of these settlements, Ba'ana and Rame, constitute part of the neighboring Arab settlement system of Beit Hakerem. The third settlement, Kaukab, lies on the fringe of the Sakhnin Valley area. The mentioning of the three settlements to the east can be interpreted in two ways. On one hand, it may mean that these three settlements should no longer be considered as part of the perceived home region of the Sakhnin settlement system. On the other hand, there appears to be a growing awareness of the geographically continuous Arab settlement space, including neighboring settlement systems. This last point is reinforced when noting that only 8 percent of the respondents mentioned any neighboring Jewish settlements, while only 15 percent of the respondents included neighboring Druze settlements (and most of these respondents were themselves Druze living in Merar). In this context it should be stressed that most respondents showed that they know and even visit Jewish and Druze neighboring settlements, but they still refused to mention them as part of their home region. We can conclude, therefore, that the Arab residents of the Sakhnin Valley perceive themselves as living in a coherent and exclusively-defined Arab home region that excludes all neighboring Jewish settlements. This home region is part of a wider Arab space which includes neighboring Arab settlement systems.

A point of special interest was the difference of opinion amongst the various sub-groups within the Israeli Arab population. Forty two percent of the respondents from the Christian settlement, Ilabun, tended to mention their own settlement as the only one in their home region. This is relative to only 12 percent among the Moslems in the area. The Druze inhabitants of Merar had a tendency to prefer other, more distant, Druze settlements over the neighboring Arab settlements. However, because of their small number in the sample, no valid conclusions can be drawn.

The relative importance of the region as a territorial reference point for Arab identity may be compared to other socio-spatial reference groups, most notably the perception of Jewish residents of neighboring settlements. It is assumed that within traditional society, identification with kinship socio-spatial units is a key factor, while national identity becomes increasingly important as groups undergo modernization (Lerner, 1958; Eisenstadt, 1978). It is further hypothesized that as a segregated minority, the regional unit (within which the Arab inhabitants form a majority) will take on increasing importance for the process of modernization. The exclusion of Jewish settlements from the definition of home region supports this claim.

In order to test the relative importance of the region in a configuration of socio-spatial identities, the respondents were asked to express the relative importance of each of the relevant units. Figure 4 reveals that the region is defined as a relevant socio-spatial unit on the part of 80 percent of the

inhabitants (Fig. 4), while 40 percent of the respondents perceive their region as constituting an important socio-spatial unit (Table 1). However, the region is still perceived to be less important than kinship socio-spatial reference groups on the one hand, and national identity on the other. Comparisons between Arab and Jewish inhabitants point to the more traditional attitudes of the former, with attachment to kinship units playing a more central role in their lives. However, Arabs have also established a national identity that is as strong as the Jewish national attachment. The region can thus be seen as constituting a mediating border between local and national identities. Regional awareness is weaker than that amongst the Jewish respondents, but it must be recalled that the Jewish settlements are organized within a regional municipal and administrative framework, while Arab settlements mostly operate as separate, independent, local municipalities.

Figure 4: The relative importance of socio-spatial perceived units.

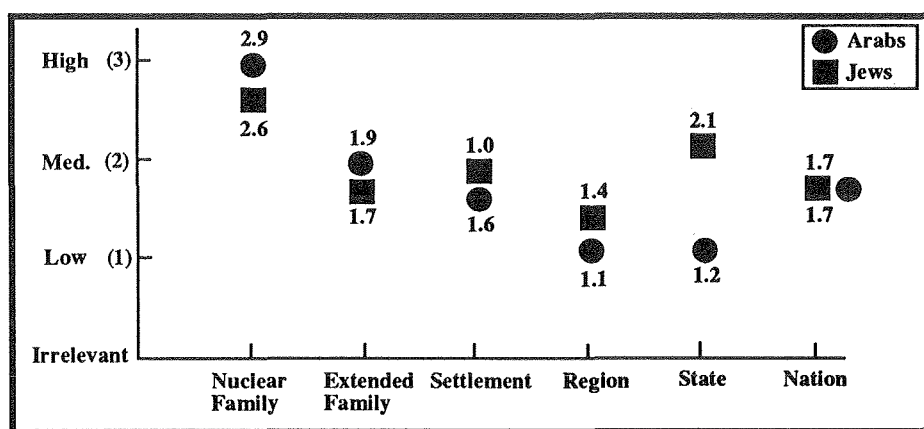


Table 1: The relevance of regional identity.

LEVEL	THE SECTOR			
	Arab		Jewish	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Very important	22	11	3	6
Important	64	32	27	54
Relatively important	70	35	11	22
Irrelevant	44	22	9	18
TOTAL	200	100	50	100

Source: Field research.

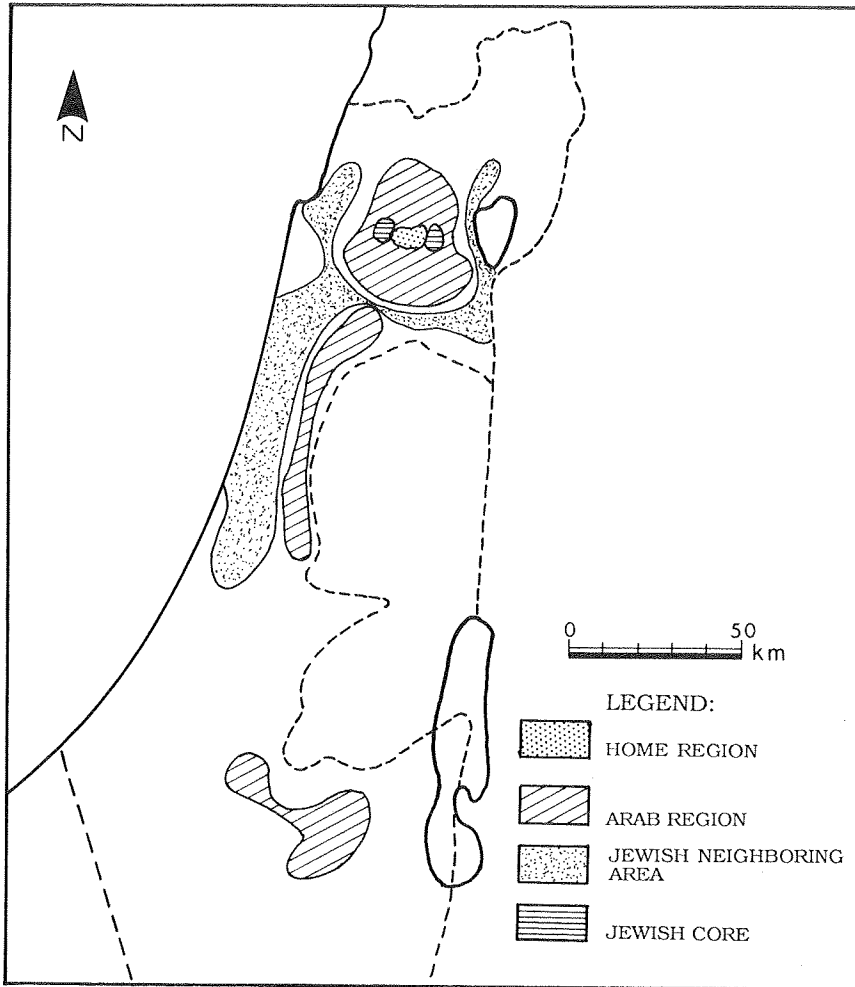
In answering the question "in what larger region is your home region located," the residents of the Sakhnin region saw themselves as living within the Arab Galilee. They tended to describe the town of Nazareth as the regional urban center. According to the open description, the Arab Galilee includes the five Arab settlement systems (see Fig. 3) and the continuous territories lying between them. Within this larger region, Israeli Arabs constitute some 80 percent of the total population. The small Jewish villages, most of them founded after 1977, are perceived as an intrusion into their home territory.

At an even higher regional level, the Galilee as a whole—in which Israeli Arabs still form a majority—is perceived as a mixed region. The Galilee is a functional region, with the towns of Nazareth, Acre and Tiberias constituting the central places, and in which approximately 20 percent of the respondents' shopping and leisure activities take place. These activities account for some 85 percent of the activities which take place outside the home settlement. A smaller group of respondents, approximately 35 percent, perceive the Arab Galilee as constituting part of the Haifa metropolitan region. They are most likely expressing their economic ties to the Haifa Bay area as the major employment and commuting center in northern Israel (Schnell, 1987). By comparison, nearly 70 percent of the Jewish respondents perceived themselves as being part of the Haifa metropolitan region, while only 18 percent gave Tiberias as their center. Only 14 percent of the Jewish respondents defined their larger region as the Galilee, while almost none of them identified the Galilee as being Arab; this, despite the fact that the Jewish settlements are all located within Arab dominant sub-regions.

Beyond the Galilee itself, most of the respondents recognized the existence of an Arab region in Israel, consisting of the Arab Galilee, the Triangle, the Arab enclaves in mixed cities and, to a limited extent, the Bedouin enclave in the Beer-Sheva Valley (Fig. 5). Outside this Arab sector, two more regional units were identified as having special relevance to the Arabs' experience. The first of these are the Segev and Tzalmom sub-regions located in close proximity to the Sakhnin Valley and within which many Jewish settlements have been founded during the past decade. The second is the Israeli core area which employs more than half of the workforce from the Sakhnin region.

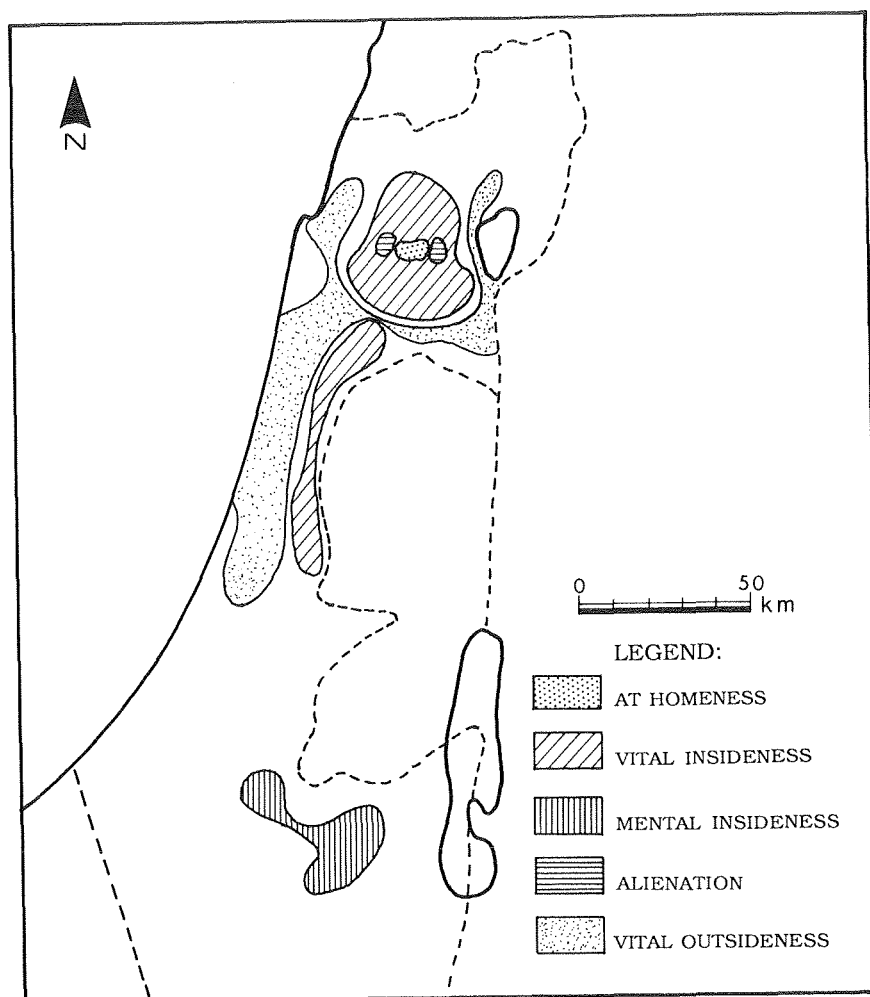
The level of the sense of insideness and/or outsideness has also been measured in terms of identification with the four major ethnically-defined territorial units. A summary of the findings appears in Table 2, while Figure 6 shows the spatial pattern of the participants' identification with their perceived territorial units.

Figure 5: The recognition of territorial units in space.



In all areas, the level of insideness or outsideness was the same for at least 50 percent of the respondents. This high degree of correlation suggests that the emotional structure of territorial belonging is highly institutionalized within Arab society. The home region is experienced by a very strong sense of at-homeness. In the open interviews, the respondents mentioned that they felt more secure in the area, free from the sense of being strangers and victims of anti-Arab attitudes. In their home region they feel more involved and in control of their own situation and status. They feel that the environment represents their habits, tasks and cultural identity. The housing

Figure 6: The belonging to territorial units in space.



style, religious centers, way of dress, as well as their close relations with their neighbors, are factors that evoke meaning, warmth and identity.

Beyond the home territory, the most distinctive finding is that most of Israeli space is experienced in terms of vital emotions. Arab spaces are experienced in terms of vital insideness, while Jewish spaces are experienced in terms of vital outsideness. The sense of mental insideness or outsideness is almost totally absent from the Arab spatial experience (see Fig. 6). In this sense, the Arab spatial experience differs from the model of "profane men" (Eliade, 1959) or cosmopolitan men (Weber, 1964). Eliade argues that pro-

Table 2: Arabs' sense of belonging to regional territories (%).

<i>Sense of belonging</i>		<i>Sakhnin Valley</i>	<i>Arab Galilee, Arab Israel</i>	<i>Segev-Tzalmmon</i>	<i>Jewish core</i>
INSIDENESS	At-homeness	90	18		
	Vital insideness	10	60		
	Mental insideness		22		12
OUTSIDENESS	Mental outsidersness			15	12
	vital outsidersness			35	54
	alientation			50	22
TOTAL		100	100	100	100

Source: Field research.

fane men act in an endless and homogeneous space that is perceived as a mental and objective container. Buttimer (1980) emphasizes that cosmopolitan men present a large orbit of daily activities and only loosely perceive boundaries among home areas, ranges and spaces beyond ranges. In this sense, the Arab experience of identity with places presents an intermediate model. In terms of action space, Arabs display high mobility levels. More than 50 percent of them commute to the Israeli core for work, while many shop and undertake leisure activities in the Jewish core (Schnell 1987). Thus, Arab workers are less sensitive than Jewish workers to the friction of distance, and they display a wide range in terms of their action space. Notwithstanding, Arabs continue to feel as vital outsiders in much of their daily action space, experiencing a clear-cut and emotionally-vital boundary between their home base and Jewish space, within which they feel strangers.

These findings suggest a more complex model of interrelationships among a persons' action space, cognitive space and attachment to places other than those assumed in behavioral models (Krupat, 1985). The Arab residents of the Sakhnin Valley live in a peripheral region (Schnell, 1986) which is dependent on the Jewish core that is experienced as external to their sense of belonging. Arabs, therefore, continue to feel as outsiders there, despite the fact that they are highly familiar with these places.

Of particular interest is the strong sense of alienation that is experienced by the Arabs towards the new Jewish settlements in the Sakhnin Valley region (see Table 2). The commonly held feeling, according to the open interviews, is that these new settlements are indicative of an outside controller, limiting their freedom and emphasizing their relative deprivation in material well-being. They see these new settlements as aimed at limiting their own territorial control. It would appear that while Jews perceive the territorial dimension of the Israeli Arab as being tied up with the question of

private Arab land ownership, the Arabs, for their part, tend to perceive and delimit their territorial boundaries in terms of the Arab majority. All of the lands, including those publicly owned, are perceived as being part of their territory, provided that the majority of the region's population are Arabs. Lands that were owned by Arabs and have since been expropriated by the state are also perceived of as belonging to the Arab territory. These different, somewhat conflicting, perceptions of territoriality have resulted in increased tension and conflict among Arabs and Jews, as well as in a stronger sense of alienation and antagonism whenever the Arab's sense of territoriality is violated.

In an attempt to understand the roots of the sense of insideness displayed by the Arab in the Sakhnin Valley, as well as the residents of the neighboring Jewish settlements, three elements need to be emphasized: 1. Roots in the place; 2. A sense of belonging to, and affection for, the land; 3. A sense of belonging and affection to the community (Table 3). The roots in the place are maintained by continuous residence over the generations. All their ancestors are buried in the same place and have left their marks on the local landscape through housing construction and the planting of trees. In this sense, Arabs emphasize their orientation to the past as the source of their identity. This rootedness (that stems from the past) is strengthened through the imprints that their ancestors have left in the landscape. Buildings and plantations solidly remain in the landscape even when external powers conquer their territory or when local inhabitants are forced to migrate elsewhere.

Table 3: Reasons for sense of insideness, Sakhnin Valley (%).

<i>Average importance</i>		<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>General orientation</i>
<i>Jews</i>	<i>Arabs</i>		
0.6	2.5	roots	past
0.5	2.4	land/soil	orientation
1.7	1.9	community	habitualization
1.7	1.3	convenience	
0.7	0.7	difficult to adapt elsewhere	
1.3	0.6	cultural & social services	quality of life
1.8	0.9	landscape	
1.3	0.9	employment	SES
1.5	0.8	future utopia	ideology

3 = very important

2 = important

1 = relatively important

0 = irrelevant

Arabs roots in territory display a completely different pattern to those of the Jewish settlers. Jews are attached to the area because they are used to living in the place or because they feel that they have attained a high standard of living in their new urban residence. For some, Zionist ideological motivations, which brought them there in the first place, are the most important factors. The difference between Arab and Jewish motivations to stay in the territory is highly significant. The Arabs' attachment to place is not dependent on external or social factors. Rather, they have a feeling of attachment to the land itself and to the landscape that symbolizes their territoriality, even when they do not exercise political control over their territory. The Jews' structure of attachment to the territory is more dependent on employment opportunities, quality of social services and communal feelings, all of which could also be attained in alternative locations. Given changed socio-political circumstances, these locations may well be substituted for others. Thus Arabs are much less liable to migration and tend to remain on the land as a means of demonstrating and reinforcing their territorial identity and political aspirations.

CONCLUSIONS

The regional awareness of the Israeli Arabs in the Sakhnin Valley has been analyzed in terms of a hierarchical territorial system. Space has been identified as a system of ethnically-defined territories. The national territory is perceived as being divided into an Arab and a Jewish unit. The hierarchical system of Arab space starts with family territory and includes three regional units: 1. The home region of the Sakhnin Valley; 2. The Arab Galilee; 3. The Arab regions of the Galilee, the Triangle and the Beer-Sheva Valley. In contrast, Jewish territories are divided into the Jewish core in the coastal plain and the new Jewish settlements that have penetrated into the Arab territories.

In terms of identification with space, the vitality of the Arabs' spatial experience is highly significant. Despite the high spatial mobility within the Arab sector, their sense of boundaries is nevertheless strongly developed. The experience of crossing emotionally significant territories—while commuting to work in the Jewish core—becomes a central feature of their existence in Israel. It reinforces their sense of deprivation and secondary status relative to the Jewish space, as compared to their sense of at-homeness and territoriality in their home base. These feelings may influence the Arab identification with the Israeli state, causing them to emphasize their separate Arab identity and aspirations to achieve greater autonomy.

This pattern of territorial awareness also influences Arab migration patterns. Outmigration is extremely low and most frequently is directed toward

neighboring Jewish places in response to housing shortages within their own home settlements. In Nazareth, for example, approximately 300 Arab families have moved from Arab Nazareth to Jewish Upper Nazareth (Heffer, 1989).

Arabs feel themselves rooted in their territories, with a strong attachment to the land and their Arab culturally-constituted landscapes. They are crystallizing into an integrated and cohesive agglomeration that is becoming an important stronghold in the formation of Arab space in Israel. As a consequence, any penetration of Jewish settlements into their territory is rejected on two grounds. First, such settlements symbolize external control. Second, the difference in levels of service provision between these new small Jewish settlements and the larger, older, Arab settlements serve to bring material inequalities into even clearer focus.

These findings have far-reaching implications. Planning policy should recognize and consider the Arabs' sense of territoriality within the Arab sub regional settlement systems. They should be treated as comprising a single, integrated, settlement network and should be planned as growth poles for Arab sector development, in general. To decrease friction between the two populations, more employment opportunities need to be developed within the Arab home territories. However, those considering national and state political aspects will probably be aware of the "risk" of encouraging continuous Arab development in those parts of the country where the current sense of ethnic territorial attachment may develop into political action towards autonomy and separation.

Thus it is likely that more Jewish settlements will be established between the major Arab settlement system as a means of changing the demographic balance between Jews and Arabs and of providing a buffer which will inhibit further development.

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