

## Differences in Migratory Spatial Patterns in Israel's National Periphery: Theoretical Ramifications

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*This paper examines temporal changes in patterns of migration in two regions comprising the national periphery of Israel: the Galilee, in the north, and the Negev, in the south. A comparative analysis of the literature dealing with migration in peripheral regions provides the theoretical framework. The empirical results for Israel indicate that migration in peripheral regions is not uniform, with differences noted between the Galilee and the Negev. These findings contrast with the uniformity attributed to similar migration patterns in other peripheral regions, and this, therefore, raises substantial questions with respect to the accepted explanations of such processes.*

From theoretical and empirical studies (Shefer and Steinwartz, 1990; Tabuchi, 1988; Simon, 1986; Brown and Lawson, 1989; Stuart and Gregory, 1977; Swindel, 1979), there is a general consensus that the greater the polarization of the spatial distribution of economic development, the better defined, geographically, is the associated migration. Population moves to regions displaying high income, high education, and more diversified job-opportunity characteristics. Such migration is differential—demographically, socially and economically. Thus, it weakens the regions of origin, which are usually peripheral regions, and cumulatively, it contributes to the destination regions, which are usually core regions. The geographic results are expressed mainly by changes in the spatial distribution of manpower, both quantitatively and qualitatively; that is, geographical changes in "human capital" (Brown and Lawson, 1989). Such changes greatly influence the developmental capacity of a given region. Regional inequality in economic development increases, especially in those countries which are characterized by a well-defined core-periphery structure.

Notwithstanding, recent studies on developed and developing countries have shown how the spatial balance of migration within the core-periphery context changes over time. Vining and Palone (1982) note the decline in the positive migratory balance in the core regions of Western countries, while the negative migratory balance in the peripheries of the same countries has become less negative. Their overall conclusion is

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that "in the developed world at least, the century-long migration toward the high-density core regions is over" (p. 339). In terms of migratory balance, this implies a converging spatial process in developed countries.

Vining and Palone show a completely different spatial pattern in developing countries, wherein the positive migratory balance in the core has remained stable, while in some countries it has become increasingly positive. The opposite is true of the peripheries of these countries, where the negative migratory balance has either remained stable or become more negative. In the terms of migratory balance, this implies a diverging spatial pattern.

According to Cochrane and Vining Jr. (1988) the 1980s constituted a turning point in the migratory spatial patterns of developed countries. These patterns are different to those described in the Vining and Palone studies. Their research shows that in most western countries of the 80s, the migratory balance of the core regions became more positive, while the balance of the peripheries became more negative. These changes result from increased migration from the periphery to the core. Signs of a strengthening core and spatial concentration can also be found in such Non-Western countries as Korea and Taiwan. Cochrane and Vining Jr. concluded that the 1980s produced a decline in "counter-urbanization", or "rural renaissance", and a renewal of the urbanization process, as defined by Fielding (1982): a direct link between migratory balance and settlement size. The spatial pattern of migratory balance in the 1980s thus changed direction from convergence to divergence.

Mera (1988) analyses spatial processes in Japan of the 80s and identifies a process of renewed concentration among populations in the central metropolises. He interprets the trends identified by Cochrane and Vining as "cyclical movements in migration", but does not agree with this definition. According to Mera: "Metropolitanization is not a unidirectional growth path as it used to be thought (Vining and Palone = G.L.), nor is it a life cycle of mere growth and decline (Cochrane and Vining Jr. = G.L.). It is more likely to occur as a result of growth and decline" (p. 270). Mera notes that this conclusion is more suited to developed countries. He gives three reasons for the changes in the migratory patterns of Japan:

- a) Spatial distribution of public investment.
- b) The concentration of information-processing activities.
- c) Liberalization of the financial sector.

The last change brought about the rapid growth of banks and private commercial companies which tended to be established in metropolitan centers. Berry (1988) examines the data relating to the long-run (long-wave evidence) in an attempt to identify changes in migration patterns over time. His analysis of the trends in real GNP and the wholesale price index between 1760 and 1980 in the United States point to the existence of national cycles. In his opinion, Vining and Palone's conclusions are suspect since they only examine the short-term effect. Berry's research supports Mera's approach concerning the existence of spatial cycles in migration (between the periphery and the core).

Frey (1988) examines migratory patterns in developed countries as described by Vining and Palone, concentrating on the explanations of these patterns offered by the

authors (diseconomies of core region agglomerations and the increasing competitive advantage of less dense peripheral region locations). Frey's contribution lies in his grouping the reasons for the deconcentration processes (migration from the periphery to the core) during the 1970s into three categories: period explanation, deconcentration explanation, and regional restructuring explanation—as well as his forecasts for the future. Frey foresees the decline of migration from the core to the periphery and an increasing migration in the opposite direction.

Berry criticizes scholars who attempt to identify changes in migratory patterns by examining short-term trends while ignoring the long-term effect. In other words he criticizes them for ignoring the *time dimension*. Alternately, Champion (1988) criticizes the same researchers for ignoring the *space dimension*—that is to say, researchers who examine changes in the migratory patterns of core and peripheral regions (Vining and Palone, Chochrane and Vining, Jr.), while assuming their regional boundaries to be *static over time*. While processes of counter urbanization occur within a region ("intra-regional scale") in geographical terms, migration from core to peripheral regions, and the reverse, reflect regional restructuring and should be examined on the interregional level ("macroregional scale").

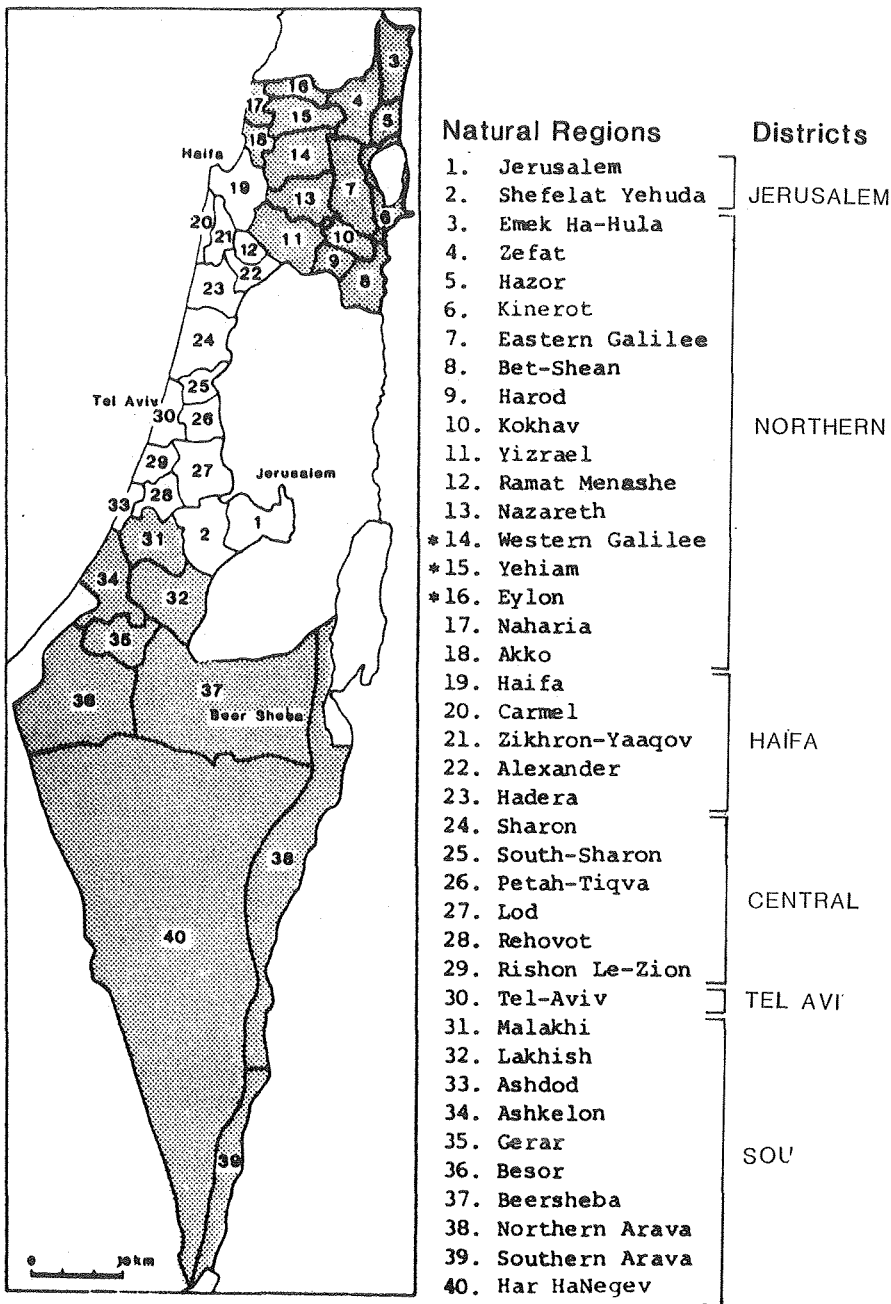
All the above studies discuss the *quantitative*, rather than the *qualitative* aspects of spatial migration. The series of studies published by Brown and his colleagues, in which the social and economic characteristics of the migrants are analyzed, are an important contribution to this latter field (Brown and Goetz, 1987; Brown and Lawson, 1989; Brown, England and Goetz, 1989). The study on Venezuela (Brown and Lawson, 1989) reveals signs of population dispersion to the peripheries in qualitative as well as quantitative terms from the early 1970s. This process changes the quality of human capital in the peripheries. Brown and Lawson argue that this is of significance because: "polarization reversal has been examined largely in terms of aggregates such as population distribution or net migration balances and not in terms of the human resources shift involved" (p. 183).

## CORE-PERIPHERY STRUCTURE IN ISRAEL

The purpose of the present study is to examine internal migration in Israel within the spatial economic framework of a national periphery structure during the years 1961-1987. The above-mentioned approaches and their critiques provide a necessary framework for examining trends in Israel, where the *spatial policy* of strengthening peripheral areas is considered to be of foremost importance, for a variety of geopolitical, security and economic reasons. The geographic division of Israel into a core-periphery structure actually reflects the various inter-regional differences in level of development (for a broader discussion on this division see: Lipshitz, 1986b).

The core regions of Israel comprise the regions of the large cities (Tel-Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa). The country's national periphery comprises the Galilee (northern national periphery) and the Negev (southern national periphery). Between these two

Figure 1: Natural regions in Israel and the study regions.



\* Western Galilee = Western Lower Galilee  
 Yehiam+Eylon= Western Upper Galilee

extremes, the following regions are ranged in descending order according to their level of development: the Tel-Aviv periphery, the Beer-Sheva region (a secondary core region) and the inter-core regions (that is, the regions situated between Tel-Aviv and Haifa, between Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem), and the regions of Ashdod and Ashkelon, south of Tel-Aviv (see Figure 1). The geographical basis for the division shown in Figure 1 are the forty "natural regions" of Israel. These are statistical regions according to which the Central Bureau for Statistics publishes economic, social and demographic data.

It should be noted that until 1948, most of the Jewish population of Israel was concentrated in the core regions. This geographic concentration was the main factor which led successive governments of Israel—for security, economic and geopolitical objectives—to develop the geographical periphery of the country, through the policy of population dispersal. This development policy was implemented through the establishment of some 30 new development towns and approximate 200 rural villages for new immigrants, mainly in the northern and southern parts of the country (Shachar 1971). Most of these new settlements were founded during the 1950s and early 1960s.

The redistribution of the population relied mainly on the waves of immigration during the 1950s, arriving mostly from North African and Asian countries. In the years between 1948 and 1960, some 965,000 new immigrants arrived in Israel, more than doubling the country's population. The fact that most of the new immigrants lacked personal capital precluded them from determining their own place of domicile, and thus facilitated the official goal of population dispersal.

Although the redistribution of the population in Israel has been partially successful (Shachar, 1971; Reichman, 1973; Kipnis, 1984), the geographical periphery of the country has nevertheless become the socio-economic periphery (Lipshitz, 1986a). To a great extent, this has dictated the character of the industries to be founded in these regions. During this period, the existence of a large new population comprised the primary factor determining industrial location (Reichman, 1973). During the 1950s, government activities focused on development of large industrial enterprises, such as the copper mines at Timna (in the remote Negev near Eilat), the expansion of the phosphates plant at Oron in the heart of the Negev, as well as the development of large textile plants in the Galilee. Textile plants are large employers of manpower and require a minimal amount of highly-skilled labor, and were thus considered to be suitable for the population of the national periphery (Gradus and Krakover, 1977).

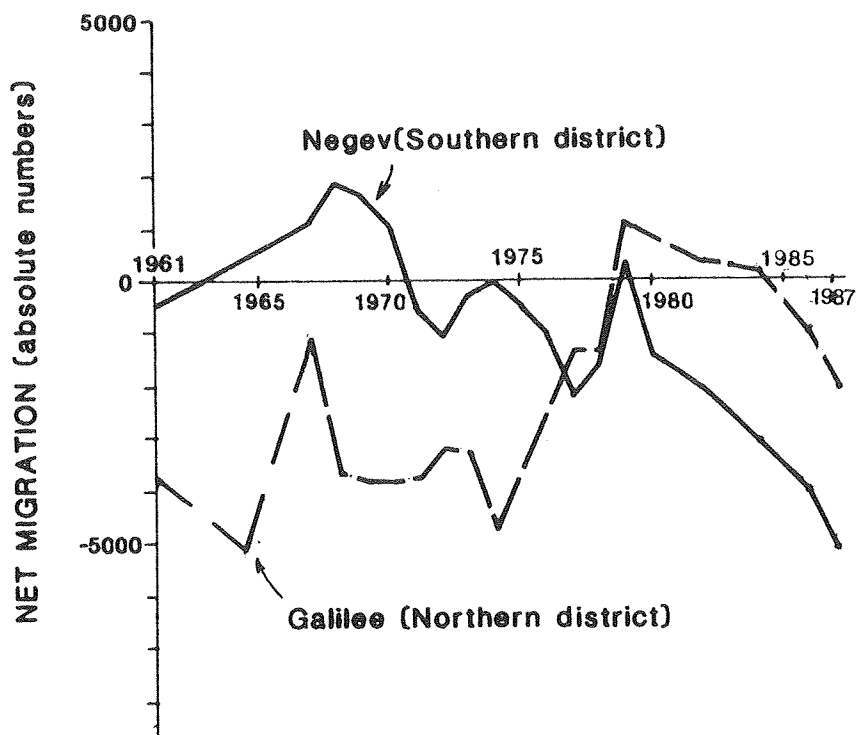
## TRENDS OF NET MIGRATION IN ISRAEL'S NATIONAL PERIPHERY

Figure 2 shows that the levels of net migration in the two peripheral regions (Negev and Galilee) were negative through most of the period under study. However, whereas the net migration in the Negev changed, through time, from positive to negative, that of the Galilee became less negative and, in the early 1980s, even became positive. The positive net migration in the Galilee continued for a short period, while since 1985, it

has turned negative again. The positive trends indicated in the whole of the Galilee until 1985, characterize each of its sub-regions. The net migration in each of the sub-regions of the Galilee became less negative in time while in some of them it turned positive (Lipshitz, 1986a).

The trends in the Negev are more complex. Lipshitz (1988) indicates that combinations of four trends resulted in the net migration of the Negev turning from positive to negative. The first and most important trend is the dramatic decline in the net migration of the Beer-Sheva region since the early 1980s. The second trend is the stability of the negative net migration of such sub-regions as Gerar and Besor throughout the period under study. The third trend is the decline of the net migration of the Har HaNegev sub-region and its turning negative in 1970. The fourth trend is the decline in the positive net migration of the Southern Arava (Eilat) region, beginning in 1971.

Figure 2: Net migration in the national peripheries of Israel, 1961-1987.



Of all the regions of the national periphery of Israel, the Beer-Sheva region in the south and the Lower Western Galilee region in the north have undergone the most obvious changes in their net migration (Lipshitz 1988). Data analysis reveals that the changes in net migration of these two sub-regions has been the major influence on the net migration pattern of the Galilee and the Negev. These changes are a clear result of

the spatial policy operated by the government. At the beginning of the 1960s, considerable national resources were diverted to the development of Beer-Sheva. The construction of apartments and their sale at subsidized prices, construction of industrial plants, loans at preferred conditions to private investors, the construction of a hospital and a university were undertaken to ensure the economic and demographic development of Beer-Sheva. This policy resulted in a positive outcome, and Beer-Sheva became one of the most attractive regions for internal migration, as well as new immigrants. In the mid-1960s, the net migration of the Beer-Sheva region vis-à-vis each of the other regions of the country was positive (Shachar and Lipshitz, 1980). In other words, more persons migrated to Beer-Sheva than migrated out of Beer-Sheva than from each of the other regions of the country.

In the 1970s, the massive government investment which characterized the 1960s decreased, and Beer-Sheva embarked upon a "period of independence," while its dependence upon government assistance declined. But from the viewpoint of net migration, reflecting the relative attraction of the region, Beer-Sheva did not meet the challenge of independence, with more persons subsequently leaving the region than arriving therein.

No serious study has been carried out concerning the role of industrial employment structure in the Beer-Sheva and Har HaNegev regions in influencing the change in net migration from positive to negative. From the few studies which have related to this subject, albeit indirectly (Gradus & Krakover, 1977), it appears that the large plants in the Negev did not play a significant role in attracting younger and skilled migrants to the region. The low level of diversification of plants and the low wages paid to workers, encouraged many of the region's population to migrate to the core regions of the country.

Many national resources were also diverted to the Lower Western Galilee during the early 1960s, mainly for the establishment of the new town of Carmiel. Residents of Haifa and Galilee were attracted to this new town, and its net migration was positive (Lipshitz, 1986a). However, there is no doubt that the obvious long-term positive changes in the net migration of Lower Western Galilee should be attributed to the official policy adopted by the government beginning in the mid-1970s, aimed at increasing the Jewish population of the Galilee region. The government opted for means different to those undertaken during the 1950s and 1960s which, they argued, were not suited to planning in the 1980s. The construction of popular housing and its sale, even cheaply, no longer comprised an attractive feature, certainly not to families occupying a high socio-economic status (Sofer and Finkel, 1988). In order to cater to this population group, the government decided to establish "community settlements", the size of each community varying between 20 to 150 families (Newman and Applebaum, 1989).

In these settlements, each family has its own detached house with garden, while in almost all the settlements, the basic services such as kindergartens and health clinics are provided by the government. Since 1975, some 50 such community settlements have been established, consisting altogether of 2,500 families. The method of their establishment differs from one settlement to the next. In some, the housing units are constructed by government agencies, while in others, the land is sold by the govern-

ment to the inhabitants cheaply and the houses are then built by the inhabitants themselves. In the latter, government participation is evident only in the granting of loans on easy terms. This settlement project changed the migratory balance from negative to positive in both the Lower and Upper Western Galilee, affecting the migratory balance in the Galilee as a whole until 1985. From this date on, the migratory balance of the entire Galilee again changed from positive to negative.

An additional sub-region which has a unique migration pattern is the Southern Arava (Eilat). The specific locational characteristics, three of which are noted below, made this southern region attractive to migrants. It is the only region of all those in the national periphery—whether in the north or in the south—in which net migration has remained positive throughout the period under study. The main characteristics of this sub-region can be summed up as follows: It lies at the greatest distance from the center of the country; the socio-economic level of the population is amongst the highest in the country, whether urban or rural; the southern part of the region (the town of Eilat) lies on the Gulf of Eilat, known for its beauty, while fascinating desert landscape is to be found throughout the region.

At present, there is no single enterprise employing a major portion of the Eilat workforce. In the past, the Timna Copper mines employed some 35 percent of the city's laborforce. The collapse of that enterprise due to a drop in world copper prices, seriously harmed the economy of the city, resulting in a decline in net migration. This was compensated by growth in the tourist industry. Today, a great majority of the population is employed in small-to-medium enterprises, including hotels and other tourist-related industries, a factor that has contributed to the region's economic stability.

## THE DESTINATION OF MIGRANTS LEAVING GALILEE AND NEGEV

Between 70 and 80 percent of all those leaving the Galilee and Negev peripheries migrated to Israel's metropolitan regions. Calculations indicate that in the 1960s the Tel-Aviv region was the most preferred among those leaving the national periphery. In 1965, some 25 percent of all those leaving the Galilee and some 30 percent of all those leaving the Negev migrated to the Tel-Aviv region. From the beginning of the 1970s, several changes occurred, several of which are set forth below:

1. Of those leaving each of the Galilee sub-regions, the rate of migration to Tel-Aviv declined and that to Haifa increased. This shift was especially significant in the regions adjacent to Haifa, such as Nazareth and Western Galilee; and less so in the regions more distant from Haifa, such as Emek HaHula.
2. The decrease in the rate of migration to the Tel-Aviv region also characterizes the Negev sub-regions. While we have seen that this decline in the Galilee is accompanied by an increase in the rate of migration to the nearby metropolis of Haifa, it would appear that in the Negev this decrease is accompanied by an increase in the rate of migration to the Central District (i.e., the Tel-Aviv periphery). Migrants



mostly find employment in the Tel-Aviv Core, and housing in the Tel-Aviv Periphery (Shachar and Lipshitz, 1980).

3. Migration from the national periphery to the Jerusalem region has also undergone change. Until the early 1970s, some five percent of all those leaving each of the study regions chose the Jerusalem region as their destination, since when the rate has increased by some 3-5 percent. This change characterizes migration from each of the other regions of the country to Jerusalem (Lipshitz, 1987), and it is related to the large-scale government investments in Jerusalem in both employment and housing immediately following the 1967 war. This was intended to boost the economic basis of Jerusalem and to increase the city's Jewish population.
4. Over a period of time, the relative rate of migration to Beer-Sheva only increased from the nearby Besor and Har HaNegev sub-regions. In absolute terms, this has not improved the net migration of the Beer-Sheva sub-region. In 1980, for instance, some 100 and 450 persons migrated from the Besor and Har HaNegev sub-regions, respectively, to Beer-Sheva, while in the same year some 900 persons left the Beer-Sheva region for the Central District, and a similar number to the Tel-Aviv region. Thus, Beer-Sheva acts as a regional core with respect to its own periphery, while at the same time, it behaves as a peripheral point of outmigration with relation to the national core regions.

It is of interest to note that the increase in the rate of migration from the Besor and Har HaNegev sub-regions to Beer-Sheva did not characterize migration from the Southern Arava periphery. Our data show that of all those leaving the Southern Arava, the rate of migration to Beer-Sheva decreases and to the Central District increases. There are three factors underlying this pattern:

- a) In this case the short distances did not have a decisive influence. The distance from the Southern Arava to Beer-Sheva is 250 km, and to the Central District, 350 km. It can be assumed that the differences are insignificant in terms of the migrant who, if moving a long distance anyway, will opt for a more attractive core area.
- b) The high socio-economic level of the population of the Southern Arava sub-region opens before them possibilities of finding housing and employment in the Central District.
- c) Eilat has the highest rate of immigration and outmigration of all the towns in the country. Many immigrants coming to Eilat intend to establish themselves financially in this region before returning several years later to their region of origin. Since many of the migrants to Eilat come from the Tel-Aviv region and the Central District, many of them also return to those same places.

## CONCLUSION: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this study show that the changes over time in the migratory balance of Israel's northern periphery have differed from those of the southern periphery. Until 1985, the migratory balance of the Galilee moved from negative to positive while the reverse trend was observed in the Negev. This finding has theoretical and methodological significance. Studies mentioned in the first part of this paper deal with national peripheries as a *single unit*. In addition, changes in the migratory balance over time were considered to be *uni-directional* (although the precise direction could change). Our research shows that if we divide national peripheries into *sub-units* (when justified, as in the case of Israel) it is possible that changes in the migratory balance could be in *opposite directions*.

From 1985 onwards, the migratory balance of the Galilee has been negative; this has been true of the Negev migratory balance since the 1970s. Does this attest to the end of the process of deconcentration between the Haifa area and the Galilee? Could this be a sign of accelerated growth in the core regions of Israel at the expense of the periphery—in Frey's terminology, "the re-emergence of urban agglomeration?" It is possible that we will have to wait a few years before fully answering this question since, as Berry claims, the *long-run* is required in order to identify changes in trends. The term long-run is, of course, *relative*. It varies between cultures, countries and regions within countries.

This study has shown that changes in the migratory balance of the Galilee are due principally to changes in the sub-regions of the Galilee closest to the Haifa metropolitan area. The rate of migration from the Haifa area to these sub-regions has been increasing over time, while the majority continue to work in Haifa (Lipshitz, 1987; Lipshitz, 1988; Newman and Applebaum, 1989). This phenomena is similar to a process of counter-urbanization—*intraregional migration*. The change in the migratory balance of the Negev from positive to negative is due mainly to the lack of migration from the Tel-Aviv metropolitan area to the Negev and increasing migration in the opposite direction. This phenomena resembles *interregional migration* between the periphery and the core. This overall finding (differentiation between peripheries) supports the approach of Champion who claims that some of the changes in the migratory balance of peripheral regions are a result of counter-urbanization processes. These changes should be researched in the intraregional context, while other changes should be examined in an interregional framework.

Our research provides an empirical base for an additional hypothesis within Berry's approach. This hypothesis states that migratory patterns in national peripheral regions are not only a function of *national economic cycles* but are also a function of *regional economic cycles*. The Galilee's migratory pattern is influenced by economic changes in Haifa which have not yet appeared in the Negev. Thus, while migration in the Negev is from the periphery of Beer-Sheva to Beer-Sheva itself, and from the Negev as a whole

to Tel-Aviv and the Central District, the Galilee benefits from the deconcentration of residence and employment occurring in the Haifa region.

It is possible that the spread effect from the Haifa region towards certain areas in the Galilee, a phenomena not yet occurring in the Beer-Sheva, area is explained by the *size* of the focal city within the national peripheries (Haifa in the Galilee and Beer-Sheva in the Negev). This would support the Richardson (1980) approach, which claims that the strength of the spread effect is a function of the size of the growth pole.

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