

BOOK REVIEWS

THE INDUSTRIAL GEOGRAPHY OF ISRAEL by Yehuda Gradus, Eran Razin and Shaul Krakover. London: Routledge, 1993.

One of the more active areas in geographical studies at the moment centers on industrial and regional development. A large number of geographers have been contributing, in both journals and books, to the ongoing debate about the national and global restructuring of industrial production, offering different reasons for the emergence and development of new industrial spaces. This important book appears at the right time, when restructuring of industrial production and ownership in Israel is entering a highly dynamic stage, and industrial plants continue to move out of the cores of the main metropolitan areas. Thus, it fills a gap. Scholars and students interested in the evolution of Israel's industrial geography and those who wish to apply the lessons to be learned from the Israeli experience to the prospects for other developing advanced economies, will greatly appreciate this book.

The book's aim is to present the historical development of industrial activities in Israel, to describe and explain the spatial pattern and entrepreneurial dynamics of industrial production, and to analyze the transformation of the industrial sector under changing economic conditions. All this is discussed in twenty chapters grouped into five sections. The first part provides the background to industrial development in Israel, and the role of industry in the national economy. Generally, the shifts in Israeli industrial geography are assessed in the light of local political and economic trends, and are seen as a result of changes in the world economy.

The second part deals with the evolution of Israel's industrial geography from the beginning of the twentieth century—the pre-statehood era—to the post-1967 period. The forces shaping the structure and spatial pattern of industrial production are discussed, and examples are given. The increased number of Jewish immigrants and inflow of capital during the British Mandate, were prime factors in the development of new industries, resulting in the evolution of an economic gap between Jewish and Arab industries, with the latter lagging behind the former. Jewish industry made a number of leaps forward, forming the core of the future Israeli industry. The most significant changes occurred between 1956 and 1967. During that intensive growth period, industrial dispersal became a major means of decreasing economic gaps between the established industrial centers and the development towns in peripheral areas.

The third part is the longest and most important, covering 100 pages and eight chapters. Here, the authors carefully analyze industrial activities, policies and spatial formation from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s, a period characterized by economic stagnation. During this period, the spatial unevenness of industrial employment, production and returns on investment emphasizes the stagnation of the industrial base in the periphery, especially in development towns. Moreover, the spatial distribution of head office location and growth industries reinforces the polarization processes, challenging the success of dispersal policies applied by the government at different periods. Consequently, the promotion of local entrepreneurship in the periphery may serve as a more successful lever for the introduction of growth industries and for sustainable industrial development.

The fourth part is devoted to rural industrialization in Israel. The *kibbutz*, which is a phenomenon unique to Israel, absorbed manufacturing as early as the 1930s. The take-off towards further industrialization was realized in the 1950s, and the drive to maturity was achieved during the 1970s, when most kibbutzim became industrialized and searched for export markets. However, while the characteristics and prospects of industrial production in the kibbutzim are well-covered in the book, the descriptions of the *moshav* rural settlement, the Arab village and the Arab urbanized settlement lack substance. The *moshav* lands are presently under increasing pressure generated by industrial and storage activities. This pressure leads to the penetration of industry to the *moshav*, facilitated by local entrepreneurship, or as a result of the ruralization of industries from neighboring urban centers. Arab industry is the most peripheral and least advanced of all industrial production in Israel. At the time the book went to press, not much had been written about it. However, the volume of research concerning industrial production in Arab settlements has since grown.

The last part focuses on the prospects of Israel's industry in the 1990s. The analysis takes into consideration the impact on spatial change of two major factors: the influx of immigrants from the former Soviet Union and the peace process in the Middle East. In retrospect, the scenarios proposed in this section may be realized sooner than expected, as peace treaties have been signed with the Palestinians and Jordan. Had the authors had a chance to rewrite this section, they most probably could have offered new scenarios.

In my opinion, a further emphasis on the restructuring approach concerning the Fordist and post-Fordist production era in Israel could have enhanced the analysis and reinforced the insights this book contributes to the understanding of Israeli industry in general, and Israeli industrial geography, in particular. Shifts in Israel's industrial geography could be better assessed with a further emphasis on the global change in regimes of capital accumulation and organization of production. Finally, the book's limited treatment of ethnic and gender issues leaves a gap to be filled. Ethnic issues are significantly geographic in scope and are related to the level and form of industrialization in development towns and in Arab settlements. In addition, women are employed mainly in standardized production and

are at the bottom of the wage scale. This critique, however, does not discount the distinctive merit of the book and its important contributions to the field.

In contrast to many other books concerned with industrial development, this book is about an emerging society during the process of nation building. By employing the triad of state, capital and labor throughout the book, the authors make it clear that the will of both people and government, and their entrepreneurial spirit, had a significant influence on the swift transformation and development of industrial production in Israel. The combined drive of the people and the state had its impact, economically and geographically, at any given time. This book makes a substantial statement on aspects of the geography of manufacturing in Israel, emphasizing four decades of changes, and it forms an up-to-date introduction to Israel's industrial geography. It will appeal to a wide readership and deserves to be widely consulted. I highly recommend it to readers interested in the development of industry in Israel, and to those who wish to compare Israel's specific development to similar processes in advanced developing economies.

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NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS AND THE WELFARE STATE

by Shlomo Hasson & David Ley. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

This book represents the authors' collaborative effort to analyze the intricate balance of social action that is shaped by macro-level policies and micro-level grass-roots organizational activities, and its impact on people. They do so by outlining a conceptual framework for analysis of these issues and by offering a typology of neighborhoods to illustrate them. They then report on the results of a comparative case study of four neighborhoods in Jerusalem and Vancouver, in which the above issues receive further elaboration.

Neighborhood or community organizations have been the focus of a large number of studies over the years, and they still fascinate scholars who see them depicting genuine grass-roots collective action. There are good reasons for this: for many centuries the geographic community has been the major framework that shaped people's social lives, giving them their identities and defining their social institutions. It is also within the framework of the geographic community that people organized for collective action, be it around religious issues, helping the needy or rebelling against the landowner. The debate about whether such organizations reflect local traditions or social class, will vary with the theoretical perspective, as the authors rightfully point out.

Thus, while community organizations are no newcomers to human social history, the idea of the Welfare State is. The book is about these organizations and their changing socio-political context. It begins in the pre-Welfare State era,