

## CHANGING HOUSING NORMS OF A DYNAMIC MINORITY POPULATION: THE URBANIZING ARAB VILLAGERS OF ISRAEL\*

Baruch A. Kipnis  
*University of Haifa, Israel*

*Submitted, September 1982, revised, December 1982*

*Changes in normative housing values of urbanizing Arab villagers in Israel were analysed with the objective of evaluating which of the evolving norms might be significant for planning the future of the Arab community. Four changes were revealed: a desire for greater residential privacy of the 'core family'; new attitudes toward the internal organization of the dwelling space; reduced levels of tolerance of overcrowding; and more tolerant views of apartment dwellings. The new norms are found to be more acceptable to people indicating modern life-styles. These changes relate more to the physical elements of the dwelling than to the well-being of the individual. The emergent norms have made a socio-cultural impact on spatial organization and on planning concepts, at both the micro- and the macro-levels of the urbanizing Arab settlement system.*

Social transformation is reflected in changing personal achievement values. These include attitudes to prominent residential patterns and normative housing standards, which mirror some of the emerging symbols of the new status structure. These values are particularly significant in a society undergoing dynamic changes, and stimulate the demand for new and renovated housing.

This paper examines and evaluates the impact of change on the normative housing values of Israel's urbanizing Arab village population, which has experienced intensive transformations since the early 1950's. Have these processes and the subsequent multidimensional demand for housing created new housing norms? Among the many changes that have occurred in the housing patterns of the urbanizing Arab villages, four seem to be significant for planning the future well-being of the urbanizing Arab rural community. These changes are integrated in the following four hypotheses:

1. The desire for greater residential privacy of the "core-family" unit is increasing. This residential mode is replacing the traditional multifamily household unit. Most families who still live in multi-family housing tend to be dissatisfied with their residential arrangement. Hence, the multifamily household may be considered, under certain circumstances, as a temporary solution.
2. Attitudes toward the internal organization of the dwelling space are changing. Notable changes are the increasing preference for many small rooms over one or two large rooms of the traditional home, and the view that housing facilities (a kitchen, a bathroom and a toilet) are integral parts of the modern dwelling. These attitudes are more common among those who indicate modern life styles.

3. There is a reduction in the levels of tolerance of residential overcrowding, measured in terms of the number of persons per room. Levels of tolerance of overcrowding are lower among people with a modern life style and higher for the poor and for those families who still maintain conservative views.
4. Despite the prevailing preferences for a single-family home, a more tolerant view is taken of apartment dwelling and government-built apartment housing. These views are more common among the young and those who maintain modern attitudes.

In addition, this paper evaluates the nature of the emerging housing norms in their cultural and spatial contexts, and examines their impact on the future spatial organization of the urbanizing Arab settlement system, at both the micro- (village) and macro- (the entire system) levels.

### THE URBANIZING ARAB VILLAGERS - A SOCIETY IN TRANSFORMATION

The urbanizing Arab villagers of Israel have experienced a multidimensional transformation since the early 1950's, which has exerted significant influences on their housing market. Notable changes have been the "demographic revolution" (Kipnis, 1976), a "latent urbanization" (Meir-Brodnitz, 1969) associated with socio-spatial modification (Bar-Gal and Soffer, 1976), and the fast switch from a traditional-conservative society to a modern one (Jacobsen, 1973; Schnell, 1980).

The 1980 Arab population of Israel was 640,000, of whom 115,000 were residents of East Jerusalem, annexed by Israel in 1967. Since 1948, the Israeli Arab population has increased 3.4 times, scoring a natural increase rate which is among the world's highest. In the late 1950's and early 1960's, during the peak period of the demographic revolution, the natural increase rates were over 4 percent. Even today the increase rates are significantly high among Moslems, the largest segment of Israeli Arabs.

The rapid increase has led to a latent urbanization, in which most of the added population, absorbed into the existing settlements, reveals almost negligible rates of intersettlement migration. Between 1961 and 1980, the number of Arab urban settlements increased from 8 to 35 out of 116, and the urban population grew from 26 to 65 percent. In 1980, nine settlements had more than 10,000 inhabitants, compared to only one in 1961. In the same year, four out of the nine urban settlements had more than 15,000 inhabitants and Nazareth, the largest Arab city in Israel, had more than 35,000.

Urbanization has also been accompanied by swift social transformation. Leading the process has been a rapid shift in employment and occupational structure, and a rapid increase in educational levels. During the 1970's the percentage employed in traditional agriculture decreased from 23 to 12 percent, while a significant growth in manufacturing, construction and services was noted. During the same decade, women's participation in the employment market increased at an annual rate of 6.5 percent, constituting 16 percent of the total labor force by 1980.

Structural shifts in employment are linked to increased levels of education. During the 1970's, the number of graduates of secondary schools grew from 13 to 29.5 percent of the adult population. The number of those with a higher education increased from 2.1 to 7.5 percent. One-third of those with a university education had

more than 16 years of schooling.

Finally, all these processes, combined with the improved security conditions in the rural regions of Israel, have led to an intensive sprawl of the built-up area (Schnell, 1980). The territory covered by the developed area in early 1980 was ten to twenty times larger than the old village core of the pre-statehood years. Similarly, the accelerating levels of urbanization have augmented the demand for commercial and other services, resulting in a creation of a linear center, extending from the old core toward the main entry of the village (Bar-Gal and Soffer, 1976).

## PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Evaluation of the normative housing standards of a distinct minority society in transformation should incorporate the human values of this particular group. However, very little has been done in this direction (Drakakis-Smith, 1981). The majority of housing programs initiated throughout the world have been generated by the quantitative assessment of existing housing conditions in terms of the physical quality of the dwelling and its component parts. Moreover, when such an assessment is applied to a distinct social or minority group, it usually reflects the prevailing standards of the majority. Salient among the few attempts to evaluate normative housing conditions of a distinct population are those of Pryor (1975) in Hong Kong, and of Onibokun (1971) in Ontario, Canada. While Pryor's work incorporates only measurable elements of the physical quality of the dwelling itself, Onibokun is concerned with the issue of "habitability" of the dwelling units, in reference to the prevailing system of values of the society involved. A more comprehensive view of the term "habitability" is offered by Fraser (1969), who, following Philips (1967) and Raven (1967), sees "habitability" as a state or a quality rather than an arbitrary standard. Habitability in Fraser's terms is influenced both by "intrinsic factors that comprise the habitation, and by extrinsic factors that influence its appraisal." These extrinsic factors, which are strongly influenced by the change processes of a society, are the crucial determinants of the changing normative housing values of that society.

## RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

A detailed study on housing conditions and people's attitudes toward housing norms, aid policy and programs, was conducted in three urbanizing Arab villages (Kipnis, 1978). The three villages and their 1980 population are: Taiybe - 16,300, Kfar Qasem - 7,100, and I'billin with 5,400. It incorporated survey samples of 900 households; 135 recent building permit applications submitted to one of the local village planning commissions, and 20 heads of families who had completed the building of a house or apartment during the late 1970's.

In order to examine the degree of change in housing norms and to define "normative tolerance thresholds", three tests were conducted:

1. A "value stretch" analysis, in which values of residential patterns are stretched along a range bordered at the top by an ideal or preference level of a value or a norm, and at the bottom by what could best be described as the minimal level of tolerance or acceptability of a given living condition (Della-Fave, 1974). A value stretch, therefore, is the gap between three absolute, measurable or conceptual values — preferences, expectations and tolerance — as defined for each

individual. Interviewees were asked: to note their preferences on a list of alternatives on a given issue; what they expected to have or to happen, relating to this issue, within a given period of time; and what their minimum requirement would be if their expectations did not materialize. The assumption is that intra-social and intra-cultural group variance is small between preferences, and that the variance increases between expectations and levels of tolerance. A life style profile of the population was formulated on the basis of a series of questions reflecting the interviewees' attitudes toward modern aspects of life that have developed in the village and the community. The upper class groups or those revealing modern life styles, were not prepared to compromise on a low tolerance level, i.e. displayed a narrow value stretch. Those with low-socio-economic status, on the contrary, showed a wide stretch. The various levels of tolerance, being class differentiated, might be employed in order to define normative threshold values for each subgroup in the community.

2. A "*satisfaction analysis*", in which internal elements of recently-built dwelling units are evaluated along a satisfaction-dissatisfaction continuum and in reference to the "life-style profile" of the interviewees, ranging from those who express "modern" attitudes to those who maintain the traditional "conservative" attitudes. This analysis is aimed at defining the variance between life-style groups for the level of satisfaction with dwelling conditions. Those who indicated dissatisfaction were then asked to describe the reasons for their attitude, on the basis of a pre-established list of housing and living pattern deficiencies.
3. A "*preference analysis*" of the various housing elements and living conditions of the respondents according to their "life-style profile". In this test the sampled population was asked to indicate its preferences given a list of dichotomic alternatives for housing conditions and living arrangements. Chi-squared values were calculated in order to define further the level of significance of the dissimilarity between ranged distributions of housing characteristics and attributes, and between dichotomic values at the two ends of the range of preferences.

To secure grass-roots legitimacy for the variables employed in the study, a pre-survey Program Planning Model (PPM) "nominal group" methodology was employed (Delbecq and Van de Ven, 1971). This methodology is usually designed to take advantage of the participation of the people involved in the planning process. In this particular case, the nominal group technique was employed in order to define the most meaningful attributes of housing in the Arab village, and to make sure that they are incorporated, in the way the Arabs view them, into the analysis. Three nominal groups of Arabs, each representing a different segment of Arab society, were interviewed. The groups were: a group of eight Arab students of both sexes; a group of eight males from the urbanized villages of Um El Fahem, population 19,300; and a female group from the village of Arrabe, with 9,000 inhabitants in 1980. The latter two groups were mixed in terms of age, education, occupation and socio-economic status. The participants were asked to define various situations related to housing and the social status of the urbanizing Arab community. For example, what are the characteristics of a deficient dwelling? What are the attributes of a poor Arab family? When all of the possible characteristics had been registered, the nominal groups were asked to rate each item according to its relative value. The voting scores of all

three groups indicated the most important and the least disputable variables to be incorporated in the analysis.

## CORE FAMILY PRIVACY

Extended households, in which more than one core family lives in a single dwelling unit, accounted for 13.5 percent of the households (Table 1). This implies that the prevailing norm in the Arab village of the late 1970's, was the one-family household. This is a significant change from the traditional housing pattern which existed during the 1950's and 1960's (Schnell, 1980). Over 90 percent of the families who still maintain this norm are immediate relatives (Table 1). Extended families, possessing some residential characteristics which differentiate them from single-family households, are mainly found in the "older core" and "inner ring" sections of the village. They tend to suffer from severe housing distress conditions, usually marked by internal density (overcrowding) and the absence of at least one housing facility, such as a kitchen, a bathroom or a toilet. Chi-squared values, calculated in order to evaluate the significance of the difference between the above residential patterns for a single-core family household and for an extended household, are large enough to enable us to reject the hypotheses of similarity between the two types of households with  $\alpha < 0.05$ .

Table 1: Characteristics of Extended Household

Number of families in a dwelling unit		Relationship between families of the extended household	
Number	%	Relationship	%
1	86.5	Parents and their married children	81.3
2	10.7	Core families of married brothers	9.4
3+	2.8	Non-relatives	9.3
Total	100.0	Total	100.0

Source: Field survey

Multi-family households — where in some cases more than four families live together in one dwelling unit, show high levels of dissatisfaction with their living conditions. The satisfaction analysis indicates that less than 20 percent of the extended family households are satisfied with their living conditions. Close to 50 percent of the families testified that they are absolutely dissatisfied. In single-family households, in comparison, 47 percent are satisfied and 33 percent absolutely dissatisfied with their housing conditions. The Chi-squared value, calculated for the results of the satisfaction analysis, is significantly high enough to allow rejection of the hypothesis of similarity between the satisfaction levels in the living norms of a single-family household compared with those of the extended household conditions. The calculated Chi-squared value is larger than the value for  $\alpha = 0.001$ .

The key issue is, however, whether the desire for family privacy will increase. As part of the value stretch analysis, the respondents were asked to indicate their preferences regarding housing arrangements, and to state their minimum requirements if their preferences are not realized. Close to 9 percent of the participants declared that they prefer the extended family arrangement, while nearly 16 percent would tolerate this disposition. In order to validate this test further, the

interviewees were asked if they would be prepared to live with their parents, in case the other solutions were not available. About 17 percent answered positively.

Despite the fact that the norm of single-family housing is dominant, the level of tolerance of the extended household is still high. This level of tolerance is higher than the existing levels of tolerance of multi-family residences. This implies that housing distress, which mainly affects young couples, makes this living arrangement acceptable, at least during the early stages of the family life cycle.

## INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DWELLING UNIT

The norm of the traditional Arab home, which consists of one or two large living quarters, with the cooking, bathing and toilet facilities located outside the dwelling, is changing. By the end of the 1970's, more than one-fifth of the dwellings had more than four rooms and in 62 percent, the cooking, bathing and toilet facilities were located inside the dwelling (Tables 2 and 3). However, despite these changing norms, more than 9 percent of the units still have only one room, and more than 13 percent of the units lack all three conveniences.

Table 2: Number of Rooms in the Dwelling Unit (Percentages)

Number of rooms	Dwelling units %	Core Families		
		Total %	Dissatisfied with their dwellings	
			% of total	% indicating number of rooms as a reason for dissatisfaction
1	9.1	13.1	84.0	89.9
2	31.5	32.4	73.3	87.2
3	38.5	37.4	46.7	73.1
4	14.2	11.7	36.5	68.4
5+	6.7	5.4	30.6	60.0
Total	100.0	100.0	57.9	81.4

Source: Field survey

The internal organization of the dwelling, in terms of the number of rooms, is highly correlated with the level of satisfaction. It should be noted that more than four-fifths of the core families with only one room indicated that they are dissatisfied with their living conditions. Close to 90 percent of the dissatisfied families pointed to the small number of rooms as their main complaint. The levels of dissatisfaction are significantly lower for families who live in dwelling units with 3 or more rooms.

Preferences with regard to the internal organization of the dwelling further emphasize the changing norms. Over 52 percent of the families indicated that they would prefer numerous small rooms to a few larger ones. These preferences are higher (59.2 percent) for people who indicate a modern life-style and significantly lower (39.6 percent) at the more conservative end of the life-style continuum. The Chi-squared values calculated for the results of the preference analysis indicate that the preferences of people with a modern life style are significantly different,  $\alpha < 0.05$ , from those belonging to the conservative group.

The lack of housing facilities (a kitchen, a bathroom and a toilet) also influences the level of dissatisfaction (Table 3). Among the three facilities, the most urgently

Table 3: Shortage of Housing Facilities (Percentages)

Housing facility	Not available as % of total	Available outside the D.U. as % of total	Dissatisfied with their dwelling unit	
			% of total D.U. which lack the facility	% indicating lack of facility as a reason for dissatisfaction
Kitchen	4.8	20.9	98.6	77.1
Toilet	3.9	17.0	89.0	78.3
Bathroom	12.5	7.0	86.9	88.1
Number of housing facilities lacking or located outside the dwelling (percentages)				
All 3 (kitchen, toilet, bathroom)			13.1	
Only 2			6.2	
Only 1			18.7	
None lacking			62.0	
Total			100.0	

Source: Field survey. D.U. — Dwelling Unit

needed is the kitchen. Over one-quarter of the families did not have proper kitchen facilities, and almost all of them testified that they are not satisfied with their housing situation. Similarly, 88 percent of those who lack bathroom facilities are dissatisfied and are unhappy with their living conditions. There is no doubt -- as in the case of the number of rooms -- that the anticipation of the interviewed population with regard to changing norms with respect to housing facilities is high.

How do these two norms relate to the economic potential of a family? Table 4 shows that among the dwelling units in distress, quite a few large ones lack housing facilities. Most of these dwellings were built during the 1970's. The families who built them decided to occupy them before completion and in so doing they agreed to use the traditional types of housing facilities. It is argued, however, that this situation is a compromise between the family's desire to have a modern home and its economic ability to realize this desire. Yet, since these houses were initially designed with facilities inside the dwelling, the present distress situation is likely to disappear, in most cases, in the near future.

## HOUSING DENSITY

Housing density, the number of persons per room, is one of the most severe forms of distress in the Arab village (Table 4). The relief of crowded living conditions is a major goal of the Israeli Ministry of Housing, as expressed in its Policies and Programs (Ministry of Housing, 1976), and it is also a common objective of housing agencies throughout the world (Drakakis-Smith, 1981). How do the Arabs of the urbanizing villages relate to this crucial normative value?

Satisfaction analysis shows that there is a positive relation between the levels of dissatisfaction with the dwelling and the number of persons per room (Table 5). The levels of dissatisfaction reach the 95 percent level when more than six people share one room. Similarly, the percentage of those who indicate internal density as the main reason for their negative attitudes toward their residence is very high. A

Table 4: Housing Distress in the Urbanizing Arab Village (Percentages)

Housing size profile <sup>1</sup>	Type of Housing Distress			
	Density & lack of housing facilities	Lack of housing facilities only	Density only	Total
Small dwelling units	69.0	41.0	49.4	50.7
Medium dwelling units	14.7	15.8	26.2	19.1
Large dwelling units	16.3	43.2	24.4	30.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% of total in Distress	24.9	41.6	33.5	100.0

Source: Field survey

1. Aggregated profile of number of rooms and floor space per dwelling unit.

density level of 3 people per room is revealed to be the point at which overcrowding becomes a crucial issue. Over 80 percent of the respondents who indicated that they are dissatisfied noted density as their reason.

Two tests were conducted in order to discover the changing norms regarding density: a value stretch analysis and an inquiry into openness to change. The value stretch analysis reveals high preferences for lower densities, but it still reflects the strong levels of tolerance for high density. It should be noted that more than one-third of the respondents tolerated a 4-plus density and that more than three-fourth are willing to live in a density of 3-plus! (Table 5). Chi-squared tests indicated that the distributions of densities in those columns of Table 5 which represent the present situation, the preferences, and tolerance toward internal density, (second, fifth, and sixth columns) differ significantly from each other with Chi-squared values larger than those for  $\alpha = 0.01$ .

Table 5: Housing Density (Percentages)

No. of persons per room	Present situation in %	Dissatisfied with their dwelling conditions		'Value Stretch'	
		% of total	% indicating density as the reason	Preferences	Tolerance
1	12.4	29.2	36.4	4.6	1.1
2	28.2	44.8	51.3	41.4	18.7
3	28.5	61.7	80.8	39.8	46.3
4	17.1	69.1	90.5	12.0	24.2
5	7.0	84.4	90.7	1.9	6.2
6+	6.8	94.9	96.2	0.3	3.5
Total	100.0	57.9	76.1	100.0	100.0

Source: Field survey

The openness-to-change test evaluated the degree of openness to the changing norms of internal density. The interviewees who ranked high on the life-style scale showed moderate levels of expectation for a density of 3 plus (Table 6). In contrast,

those at the traditional-conservative end of the scale showed relatively high levels of preference for the 3 plus density level. The surprising result is that both the modern and the conservative groups were prepared to tolerate high residential densities. This conclusion is further emphasized by the results of the Chi-squared tests. While the Chi-squared value for density preferences of the two groups is significantly high and rejects the hypothesis of similarity on the level of  $\alpha = 0.001$ , the Chi-squared value is significantly low in measuring the dissimilarity in tolerance of a density of 3 plus persons per room. This indicates that the two extreme groups, in terms of life-style, still maintain tolerant attitudes towards overcrowding, even in cases in which their expectations for lower densities do not materialize.

Table 6: Tolerance of and Preferences for Housing Density of 3+ Persons per Room by Life-Style (Percent of Total in the Group)

Life-style	Preference	Tolerance
Modern	34.1	74.0
Conservative	63.2	87.4
Average	53.2	78.7
Chi squared values	8.7 <sup>1</sup>	1.2

Source: Field survey.

<sup>1</sup> Significant at  $\alpha = 0.01$

In the late 1970's, despite the increasing levels of dissatisfaction due to overcrowding, the issue had not yet reached a crucial stage. It is difficult to determine whether this apathy is the result of the traditionally large size of the family (the average is close to 7 people per family), or the outcome of the slow process of modernization (when applied to the life style of the individual). Nevertheless, it is anticipated that the process of adopting lower levels of density is imminent for the dynamic urbanizing Arab population.

## TYPE OF HOUSING

The emerging norm of housing in the Arab village is the single family home. This is not only the preferred type but it is also a status symbol. Many of the interviewees even stated that the single family home is the minimum tolerable form of residence (Table 7). In the building permit applications survey, more than 65 percent of the applications concerned the single-family type of residence. The remaining 34.7 percent concerned apartment buildings. Since the Arab village is experiencing an intense population growth, and since land for housing construction is scarce (Geraisy et al., 1976; Kipnis, 1978), there is no alternative but to search for a different form of housing, such as apartment buildings, built privately or by government initiative.

Apartment buildings have already gained some acceptance in the Arab community (Bar-Gal and Soffer, 1976). The level of acceptance is high among those who ranked high on the life-style continuum (Table 7). More than one-fifth indicated that they would be willing to live in an apartment house, despite the fact that they would prefer a single-family home. The level of acceptance of this new form of residence is lower among those with a traditional life-style. The two groups significantly differ in their

Table 7: Preferences for and Tolerance of Single-Family Home and Apartment Housing by Life-Style (Percentage of Total in the Group)

Life style	Preference		Tolerance	
	Single family home	Apartment housing	Single family home	Apartment housing
Modern	80.5	4.9	58.5	21.1
Conservative	80.0	8.6	65.6	8.3
Average	77.3	6.3	63.3	10.6
Chi squared value	0.3	1.2	0.4	10.9 <sup>1</sup>

Source: Field survey. <sup>1</sup> Significant at  $\alpha = 0.01$

tolerance of apartment living, with Chi-squared values high enough to invalidate the similarity hypothesis.

Government apartment housing is a much more complicated issue. While the phenomenon of public apartment blocks is alien to the Arab village, it is dominant among the neighboring Jewish urban settlements. Arabs searching for a residence might find themselves in an ambivalent situation. On the one hand, an apartment structure is a symbol of the Jewish residential culture which is in conflict with their own, while on the other hand, government housing would be the answer for those who are in need of housing and would also be eligible for generous government aid.

The levels of acceptance of the government-built apartment, as a form of residence are strikingly high (Table 8). More than one-third of the respondents indicated that they would agree to explore the possibility of living in this form of dwelling. Those associated with the modern life-style group showed a higher propensity to accept this form of residence, more than 40 percent of them agreeing to try living in an apartment, compared to only 20.8 percent of the "conservatives".

Table 8: Openness to Government-Built Apartment Housing by Life-Style (Percentage of Total in the Group)

Life style Profile	Agree	Do not agree
Modern	40.2	53.3
Conservative	20.8	72.9
Average	34.8	57.6
Chi squared value	6.5 <sup>1</sup>	4.4 <sup>2</sup>

Source: Field survey. <sup>1</sup> Significant at  $\alpha = 0.02$  <sup>2</sup> Significant at  $\alpha = 0.05$

Acceptance of public housing is not entirely unqualified. The majority of those who agreed to examine their attitudes (89 percent) wanted the public housing project to be located in their own village. Close to one half stipulated that they would live in a public apartment building only if the other tenants were members of their own family. The two trends - the increasing tolerance toward apartment housing, and the high ratio of positive attitudes towards public housing appear promising. It is assumed that, besides its inherent potential for alleviating urgent housing problems, the apartment structure would play an important role in the normative revolution in living patterns in the urbanizing Arab villages.

## FINAL REMARKS

The urbanizing Arab community in Israel is experiencing dynamic changes in its housing norms and patterns. These changes relate more to the physical elements of the dwelling than to the elements which signify the well-being of the individual. There is no simple explanation for this phenomenon, but two assumptions might shed some light on the situation. More moderate norms related to the well-being of individual households are unattainable due to the increasing size of the family, associated with the "demographic revolution". Similarly, traditional norms related to personal life-styles, deeply rooted in the culture of family life, are more rigid and less easily changed than those related to status. The latter are associated with physical elements, and these, as determinants of social gain, are more likely to change.

Beyond the level of the individual house and family, the evolving norms may generate socio-cultural influence which could reshape the spatial organization of the urban Arab village and of the urban Arab settlement system at large. These changes would require the employment of new design forms and planning concepts.

On the village level, the emerging residential styles could lead to the renovation and renewal of the old traditional housing of the village core, and at the same time could accelerate residential sprawl into the peripheral areas. The long established extended family and "hamula" ties would then be weakened further. The early stages of this trend have been revealed by Schnell (1980) in Taiybe. Schnell claims that the continuous "hamula" (a social group with ties including and extending beyond the family territory) has not been maintained in the rapidly urbanizing village.

There is an inherent conflict between the cultural-spatial process just described, and the limited space available for housing construction. This space is further restricted by rough topography and valuable farm soils. The implication is that the preferred norm of a single-family home is neither possible nor desirable for the community, unless extensive farm land or government-owned areas are converted into residential areas. Neither alternative is feasible due to strict government policies.

Two other alternative courses of action should be considered in order to solve this conflict. If latent urbanization continues, and if the propensity of Arab urban villagers to migrate remains at the present negligible levels, the principal means of alleviating the increasingly acute housing situation would be the apartment structure, either privately or publicly built. If this is the case, then most master plans must be updated immediately. Planners should be urged to generate new design forms for the spatial organization of the urbanizing village, forms in which the renovated and renewed cores are integrated into a mixed-density and mixed-housing type texture, spread throughout the entire residential quarter.

The second alternative assumes a new urbanization strategy for the Arab urbanites, pending their willingness to alter their mobility patterns. The new strategy envisions the creation of new residential quarters adjacent to the Arab enclaves of the mixed Jewish-Arab cities (Schnell, 1978) and/or the establishment of a series of new towns on sites near major Arab-urban concentrations (Kipnis, 1976; 1978a). Both developments — the new towns and the new neighborhoods — would depend on the apartment structure as the leading form of habitation, if unit cost is maintained at acceptable market levels for prospective residents.

It is recognized that this study is only a pilot attempt to understand the impact of normative changes of a society in transformation. More research is needed to reveal how these changing norms might affect the future of the society at the levels of the individual family and of the Arab community of Israel at large. This research endeavor will not be an easy task, but the sooner it is initiated, the greater are the prospects of integrating the results into development policies and strategies which would enable the society to keep pace with the rapidly-emerging changes.

\* This paper is an extension of the study carried out by the author for the Ministry of Housing in 1978. It was conducted at the Scientific-Applied Research Company, University of Haifa, Israel. The author acknowledges the contribution of T. Gavrieli, I. Schnell and S. Smooha.

## REFERENCES

- Bar-Gal, Y. and Soffer, A. (1976). "Changes in Minority Villages in Israel." *Horizons in Geography*, 2 (Hebrew).
- Drakakis-Smith, D. (1981). *Urbanization, Housing and the Development Process*. London: Croom Helm.
- Delbecq, A.B. and Van de Ven, A.H. (1971). "A Group Process Model for Problem Identification and Program Planning." *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 7, 466-492.
- Della-Fave, L.R. (1974). "Success Values: Are They Universal or Class Differentiated?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 80, 153-169.
- Fraser, T.M. (1969). "Relative Habitability of Dwellings: A Conceptual View." *Ekistics*, 25, 15-18.
- Geraisy, S.F. et al. (1976). *Land-Use in the Arab Sector: Goal and Implementation*. Jerusalem: The Prime-Minister's Commission on Social Affairs, the Team on Arab Issues (Mimeo, Hebrew).
- Jacobsen, C. (1973). "Modernity in Traditional Villages." *Rural Sociology*, 38, 282-295.
- Kipnis, B.A. (1976). "Trends of the Minority Population in the Galilee and the Planning Implications." *City and Region*, 3, 54-68 (Hebrew).
- Kipnis, B.A. (1978). *Housing Aid Policy in the Arab Sector, A Pilot Study*. Haifa: Applied-Scientific Research Company, University of Haifa (Hebrew).
- Kipnis, B.A. (1978a). *Potential for Urban Housing Development Along the Hilly Terrain East of the Coastal Plain*. Haifa: Applied-Scientific Research Company, University of Haifa (Hebrew).
- Kipnis, B.A. and Schnell I. (1978). "Changes in the Distribution of Arabs in Mixed Jewish-Arab Cities in Israel." *Economic Geography*, 54, 167-180.
- Meir-Brodnitz, M. (1969). "Latent Urbanization in Arab Villages." *Environmental Planning Association Quarterly*, 8-9, 4-12 (Hebrew).
- Ministry of Housing (1976). *Impacts of the 1976 Government Budget on the Housing Problems of the Distressed Population*. Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- Onibokun, A.G. (1971). *A System for Evaluating the Relative Habitability of Public Housing Projects in South Western Ontario*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Waterloo, Ontario.

Philips, D.R.H. (1967). "Comfort in the Home." *Journal of the Royal Society of Health*, 87, 237-246.

Pryor, E.G. (1975). *An Assessment of the Need and Scope for Urban Renewal in Hong Kong*. Ph.D. Thesis, Hong Kong University.

Raven, J. (1967). "Sociological Evidence on Housing Space in the Home." *Architectural Review*, 142, 142-168.

Schnell, I. (1980). *Social Areas in an Urbanizing Settlement: Case Study Taiybe, Israel*. M. Sc. Thesis, The Technion, Haifa (Hebrew).