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Achieving population dispersal through tailor-made community planning: an Israeli experiment in the Galilee region

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Abstract. Public programs for population dispersal are usually based on macro approaches to economic development in the target area. Such programs have failed to reach their goals in many countries, and, therefore, there is a demand for knowledge regarding alternative forms of intervention. In this paper an innovative micro approach is suggested, the principles of which are based on findings reported in the economic and sociological literature on individual migration decisions. This approach was implemented in the central Galilee region in Israel. In the early 1980s fifty-two small communities were established in the Galilee, each with a unique organizational, social, and economic structure suited to the specific requirements and expectations of its settlers. The plan succeeded in attracting the desired type of population (young, highly educated) to the region, and the newcomers viewed the new communities as their permanent homes. Based on this experience and on the analysis of relevant literature, a development strategy of tailor-made community planning is hereby recommended for future projects. It is especially appropriate in the context of developed countries with a slow to zero population growth and with spreading social norms of the postindustrial society.

Population dispersal by means of regional development has been the object of public policies in developed as well as developing countries (Fuchs and Demko, 1979). A United Nations survey identified only nineteen out of 158 countries that were not interested in changing their population distribution (UN, 1980). The motivation to encourage population dispersal to target regions is usually geopolitical and/or social in nature. Even though very few Western economists would consider area-targeted programs as leading to efficient resource allocation, such mechanisms have been established in many countries, usually in a form of government-supported projects of regional development, because of the high priority attached to noneconomic goals.

I am a sociologist and an urban planner, and was invited to join an evaluation study of a regional development program. From reading the relevant professional literature, I gathered that most programs of population dispersal through regional development were controlled by (macro) economists, who favored one of two alternative approaches: centralized and comprehensive regional planning or dependence on the market mechanism which may be 'lubricated' by means of subsidies, payroll tax rebates, and so on. The outcomes of both seem to disappoint their advocates, even though it is not always clear whether the dissatisfactory results should be attributed to incomplete implementation or to mistakes in the guiding philosophy. In any case, there is a demand for knowledge regarding alternative forms of intervention. In this paper I intend to suggest an alternative approach by pointing at findings in economic and social research regarding individual migration decisions and connecting them to the lessons learnt from an innovative experiment to disperse population in Israel. The recommended strategy suggests planning tailor-made communities in order to succeed in attracting specific desirable segments of the population to a target region. This strategy is especially appropriate in a context

of a developed postindustrial society, aimed at inhabiting an underpopulated area in spite of scarcity of people as a result of a slow to zero population growth.

Migration research and development planning
The success of a development program aimed at population dispersal is measured by the extent to which in-migration is increased and out-migration is decreased in the target region. Therefore, regional planners should take into account the findings of the rich scientific and professional literature on migration flows and their determinants.

Regional migration has traditionally been the domain of economists. They usually employ aggregate data of migration flows and use regression analysis to identify the explanatory variables. A well-known example is Lowry's (1966) study of migration, which was modified and tested by Rogers (1968). His basic assumption was that the labor force moved from areas of surplus labor to areas with labor shortage, and from low-wage to high-wage areas. Muth (1971) argued that the migration-employment relationship is not a unidirectional one, and that there was a mutually dependent relationship between employment growth and migration. In the 1970s and early 1980s several researchers (Bartel, 1979; Clark and Ballard, 1980; Fields, 1976; Greenwood, 1981) followed this line of analysis, debating the appropriateness of various labor market indicators, and discussing the results of a few regression analyses which contradicted what former models suggested. Clark (1986) reviewed this literature and summarized it by saying that people do not simply get up and leave their places of residence in response to a change in the labor market; additional variables play an important role in such a decision.

Such additional variables were sometimes used by economists in their regression analyses of aggregate data (Greenwood and Hunt, 1989; Porell, 1982). But those who intensively investigated non-work-place-related variables were sociologists, psychologists, and geographers, who concentrated on residential mobility and based their studies on the questioning of individual migrants and potential migrants. They found that individual and familial characteristics such as age, change of marital status, and socioeconomic status, were the main correlates of residential mobility (Butler et al, 1969; Clark, 1986; Goodman, 1978; Michelson, 1977; Sandefur and Scott, 1981). In addition, characteristics of the dwelling unit and the neighborhood, and the attitudes of the residents towards them, played an important role (Clark and Onaka, 1983; Enosh and Shaham, 1980; Rossi, 1980; Shefer and Primo, 1983; Varady, 1983). When considerations of accessibility were accounted for in studies of residential mobility, then accessibility to work place, shopping, school, family, and friends were all found to be far less significant as causes of moving than reasons relating to either the household characteristics or the housing quality (Butler et al, 1969; Goodman, 1978; Lansing and Mueller, 1967). This conclusion seems to be incompatible with a long tradition of economic research of family location (not relocation) in urban places, according to which the price that a household will pay for residential space will be a function of its distance from the work place (Alonso, 1964; Kain, 1975; Thrall, 1980). In order to explain the conflicting evidence, the notion of an indifferent zone—an area around the work place within which distance does not count when residential choice is being made—has been introduced (Clark, 1986; Getis, 1970). This notion seems to resolve the incompatibility of evidence regarding residential location, but it is usually not applicable to interregional mobility.

The introduction of a new concept that sheds light on seemingly contradictory evidence from different sources was also the aim of the first human capital model of migration, suggested by Sjaastad (1962). According to this theory, migration is an investment in human capital; the migrant has immediate costs, which he or she balances against expected benefits that he or she will enjoy during a period of time. Long-term expectations explain why people move even when no immediate return is expected from the migration. This idea is found in Todaro's (1976; 1989) model of rural-urban migration in developing countries; expectations for a better future attract migrants to the cities, in spite of high unemployment and many other problems in the urban areas.

In addition to monetary considerations such as the expected income stream over a life time (obviously higher for young people, and that is why they are more apt to migrate), noneconomic factors play important roles in the human capital model. Todaro (1976) and Clark (1986) mention psychic costs such as leaving friends and relatives, the expense of maintaining relationships with those left behind, and the loss of various specific assets related to the former place. Benefits encompass quality-of-life elements including mean temperature, days of sunshine (Cebula, 1979; Graves, 1980), and various public and social services.

Thus, the model of the human capital is based on both economic and social conclusions of former migration studies. It was developed by economists but is focused on the sociopsychological concept of expectations from the target area of migration. In this sense, it agrees with the sociopsychological analysis of Michelson (1982), who argues that expectations for the far future are an important component of present housing choice. It is also in line with the approach of Rossi, a prominent figure in the sociological inquiry of migration in the last forty years, who reached the conclusion that "the problem is not why families move, but why families choose to move to where they do" (Rossi and Shlay, 1982, page 25).

All too often, development planners base their assumptions and planning decisions on studies, according to which migration flows are determined by available employment opportunities. If they make use of the conclusions of behavioral scientists, and overcome the artificial separation between knowledge derived from research into residential mobility and into interregional migration, they will realize that what usually counts is not the actual work and salary, but expectations, including long-term ones. Moreover, expectations for appropriate employment are just one of many factors that influence migrants' selection of a target site, and often it is not the most influential factor. This is especially true for highly educated and/or skilled workers, who have good chances of finding employment wherever they choose to live. In order to attract such people to developing regions, the development strategy should suit not only their employment aspiration, but also a whole range of their expectations from life. This statement is based both on the literature survey and on the analysis of an empirical study of an Israeli regional development program in the Galilee mountains. In this paper I describe and examine the results of this program; I connect this analysis to the knowledge gathered from former studies to derive a conclusion regarding the usefulness of tailor-made community planning in regional development.

The program of new settlements in the Galilee
Since its establishment in 1948, the state of Israel has been struggling for its land and borders. A policy of population dispersal was announced by the first government as part of this struggle and as a carrier of social goals, such as accelerating immigrant absorption and preventing the maladies of urban density (Kellerman, 1987). Various programs, including the establishment of thirty new towns throughout the country, were implemented in Israel's first twenty years. Most of them were directed to the Negev, the large southern region of Israel which was sparsely

populated in the early years of the state, and to the Galilee, the northern region of the country in which a large Arab population lived. Arab citizens make up 17% of the Israeli population and live mostly in the north. The balance between Jewish and Arab populations has been about even in the northern region as a whole, but in the hilly part of the Galilee—the area studied here—about 75% are Arab.

Israeli planners have talked about the great potential of the Galilee region for years, but very little has been accomplished from the point of view of regional development during the 1960s and most of the 1970s. In the middle 1970s the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency for Israel prepared a new program for attracting a Jewish population to the Galilee mountains. In contrast to an old plan of the Ministry of Housing to enlarge and develop the existing towns, one or more of which were planned to serve as growth poles, the Agency's planners forcefully advocated the strategy of founding dispersed rural settlements on dispersed vacant public land. They succeeded in recruiting government support for their strategy by using the feeling of a threat to Jewish sovereignty in the Galilee, vis-à-vis the large Arab population in the region and this population's vicinity to the borders of the country (see figure 1)[1]. Hence, as in many other countries, the Israeli motivation to disperse the population and develop the Galilee region was basically geopolitical (the struggle over land between Jews and Arabs) and social (interregional equity), even though economic development and environmental impacts were also taken into consideration (Carmon et al, 1990).

The main motive of the initiators of the Galilee plan was geopolitical, but from the point of view of 97% of the new settlers, this motive was irrelevant.[2] They chose to live in the Galilee for personal reasons. Therefore, the findings of this research are discussed in the regular context of interregional migration movements.

Figure 1. The Hilly Galilee (hatched area) in the northern region of Israel.

[1] The influence of the new settlements program on the sensitive relationships between Arabs and Jews in the Galilee was not part of the study reported here. This influence was the subject of a PhD dissertation by Yiftachel (1992), under my instruction.

[2] Only 3% of the interviewees in the representative sample said that one of the main factors that attracted them to the new settlement was to prevent Arabs from seizing Jewish national land. To avoid misunderstandings, I would add that those who had such 'nationlistic' motives did not try to hide them; they rather tended to be proud of them.

In the decade of 1978–87 some fifty small new settlements (villages with an average of thirty-five families per settlement) were dispersed on mostly public land (for details regarding ownership of land see Carmon et al, 1990) in the central region of the Galilee[3] (see figure 2). The authorities took upon themselves the preparation of a general plan for each of them and the construction of infrastructure: roads, water, sewage, and electricity. A general store, a kindergarten, and a small social club were erected within each village. High-quality services of all kinds were usually available, either in the several new regional service centers or in the veteran towns and villages, at a distance of no more than a half an hour drive from most new villages. Potential settlers were offered a subsidized long-term loan, as part of a 'build your own home' program, as well as an opportunity to decide for themselves the rules of the game in the new communities. The idea was to attract people to the region by means of subsidizing a high quality of life in self-governed small communities in the beautiful green environment of the Galilee.

Simultaneously with the establishment of the new settlement, the government encouraged economic development in the Galilee through generous incentives. Seventy-three of the 280 industrial plants in the region of the Galilee were reported as part of the new settlements movement, 40% of them defined as 'high-tech'. About 60% of the new plants employed up to ten persons, and only three had more than fifty employees; in total, they provided some 1200 jobs, 60% of which were taken by residents of the new settlements. (For a description and an analysis of the economic impacts of the new settlements, see Carmon et al, 1990, chapter 5.) A considerable number of jobs in the public and community services were created with the establishment of the new villages and their local centers for social services. In addition, settlers could find work (or continue working) in the metropolitan area of Haifa, because most villages were less than an hour drive away from the city. This does not mean that the research area can be considered as part of the Haifa metropolitan area. Israel is a very small country (see figure 1), and the mental maps of its citizens are in accordance with its size. Living a half an hour drive (not in rush hours) from one's place of work is considered 'far', and a one hour drive is 'remote'.

In 1988 there were fifty-two new small rural communities in the central region of the Galilee. Twelve of them decided to be kibbutzim and another ten decided to be moshavim, two old Israeli forms of cooperative villages, which appeared here in an unprecedented form of mostly nonagriculture cooperative villages. The others were named community settlements, each with a different and unique organizational and socioeconomic structure. Most of them were organized as communal associations, legal bodies which were allowed to act as municipal authorities. The members of these communal associations—and each permanent adult settler is a member—are eligible and encouraged to take part in all the local decisions. These include not only regular municipal management, but also the rules by which to accept or reject potential new members and often their actual selection, diverse regulations regarding mutual guarantees for certain economic activities, very unique building codes, and frequently certain requirements for community involvement. Although in the past the organizational, economic, and social structure of new rural settlements in Israel was dictated by 'settlement authorities', the community settlements of the late

[3] The 'central region of the Galilee' is composed of the following six 'natural areas' (defined by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics for statistical purposes): the Eastern Upper Galilee, the Eastern Lower Galilee, Eilon, Yechi'am, the Western Lower Galilee, and the Nazareth Mountains.

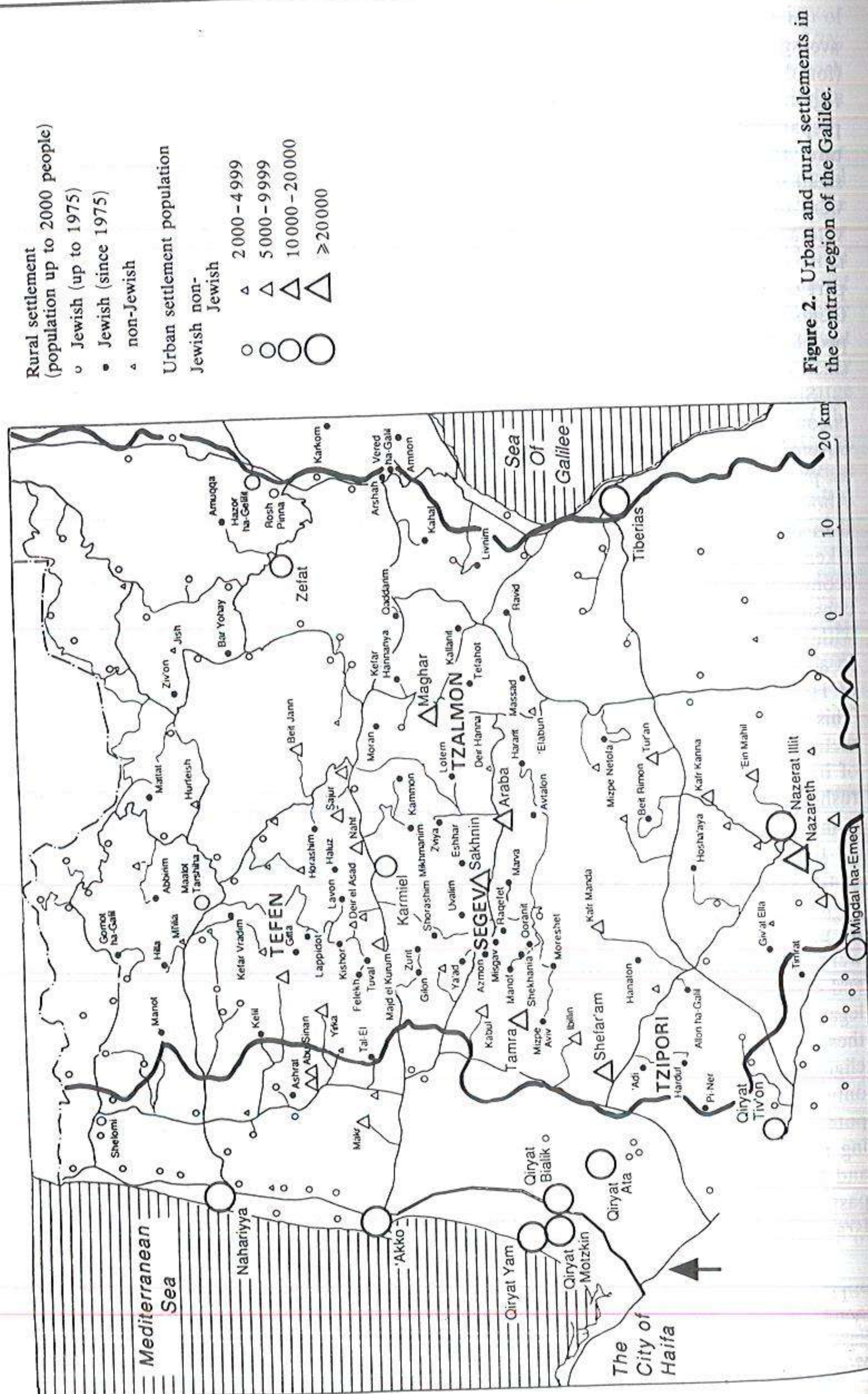

Figure 2. Urban and rural settlements in the central region of the Galilee.

1970s and the 1980s were allowed to go their own ways, and each small community developed its own unique code of regulations (Applebaum and Newman, 1989).

The way these codes were composed is especially interesting. The core group of settlers of every settlement-to-be formed at least a few months and sometimes a few years before the members came to live in the new place. The group developed its ideas regarding life in the new village through long deliberations among its members, and simultaneously negotiated its wish lists with the settlement authorities and the physical planners. Thus, the organizational, social, and economic plan of the new village, as well as its physical design, were adapted to suit the specific requirements of the core group. At the time it was not conceptualized this way, but as it happened, this process can be retrospectively described as tailor-made community planning.

The empirical research

Attracting residents to the Galilee has been a long-term goal of Israeli public policy. The research was set to test whether the program of new settlements in the Galilee (most of which were established in 1979-82) succeeded in attaining this goal, especially in attracting residents who could have a positive long-term impact on the area's future economic and social development. The goal of the research was to suggest an effective strategy to attract such migrants to the region.

Data for the research work was first sought in available documents, including planning documents, a fairly recent sociodemographic survey (The Jewish Agency, 1987), and a former study of the Mitzpim—the first alias of the small new villages (Sofer and Finkel, 1987). Later on, the researchers developed a questionnaire that contained questions regarding the settlers' demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, the factors that influenced their decision to come to live in their new place, their satisfaction with various aspects of life in it, and their intentions to either continue living there or leave it. Hence, unlike many migration studies that infer behavioral motivation from observed behavior, we had the advantage of questioning the relevant population regarding their motivations, expectations, present attitudes, and plans for the future.

A representative sample of settlers was selected for the settlers' survey; first, the research villages were selected, and then persons in each village were sampled. The twelve kibbutzim were excluded from the survey, because of their unique and relatively predetermined structure, and because, unlike all the other settlements, most of their members were single people rather than married couples. From the other forty new villages, eighteen were selected so that every geographical cluster in the region[4] and every type of village [that is, community settlements, industrial villages (a subtype of the first type), and moshavim] had a proportional representation. The interviewees in each place were selected by naming each fourth or fifth household in a list which was sorted by alphabetical order. Two hundred and twenty households were thus sampled in the eighteen locations (with a small list of reservists in each), and the research questionnaires—pretested and prepared for self-completion—were distributed to women and men, approximately half and half. The questionnaires were distributed to the homes of the sampled persons, and collected after a few days, by a local coordinator. Anonymity was carefully preserved by

[4] The forty nonkibbutzim settlements belonged to four geographical clusters and a group of nonclustered settlements. The Segev cluster had fifteen settlements, seven of which were included in the sample; the Tefen cluster had three, two of which were included; the Tzalmon cluster had nine, four of which were included; Tzipori had three, two of which were included; the nonclustered group had ten, four of which were included.

means of sealed double envelopes. 214 questionnaires out of the planned 220 were satisfactorily completed and collected in the summer of 1988.[5]

Findings

There were about 7000 residents in the fifty-two new villages in the Galilee in 1988, all of them Jews. They lived in 1800 households: about 1500 families and 300 singles (most of the singles were in the kibbutzim). The largest village had 124 households (Yuvalim) and the smallest had five (Kfar Chananya). On average, there were thirty-five households per village.

According to our survey (which did not include the kibbutzim), a typical settler in a new community in the Galilee was thirty to forty-four years old, married with two to three children, was educated beyond high school, and was employed as a professional or a manager. All the interviewees were of working age; 98% of the men and 77% of the women were employed. Although they lived in a rural area, only 4% were employed in agriculture, 32% in industry, 46% in social and public services (three quarters of them were women), and the other 18% in commerce and other services. Close to a quarter of those employed worked in their village, and another 25% in one of the other new villages, or in the industrial zones or the service centers that had been established for them. 38% worked in veteran towns and villages in the Galilee, and only 18% had to go to Haifa and its vicinity (the closest metropolitan area) to find employment. As table 1 shows, the people of the new communities are younger, better educated, much more fully employed, and have higher-status occupations with relatively good salaries, compared with the Jewish population in Israel at large and, especially, compared with other Jews in the northern region of the country which includes the Galilee.

All the interviewees were relatively recent settlers; two thirds had been living in the area for two to six years, whereas only 5% had lived there for ten years or more, and a similar small percentage up to one year. One third lived in a veteran rural or urban locality in the Galilee before they came to the new community, one third in

Table 1. Selected characteristics of the research population.

Characteristic	Research sample (1988)	Jews in northern region (1983)	Jews in Israel (1983)
Average size of household	4.6	3.5	3.2
Children age 0-14 (%)	50	34	30
Adults age 30-44 (%)	34	19	19
With over thirteen years of schooling (%)	80	19	23
Women in the work force (%)	74	na	38
Men in the work force (%)	93	na	63
Employed in upper white-collar occupations (%)	67	24	30
Living in over four rooms (%)	66	33	24
With at least one car per family (%)	92	39	46
Average monthly income per family (employees) (INS, indexed for 1988)	2250	1970	2130

na not available

[5] This high rate of response reflects the high personal involvement in community issues of the settlers, who were eager to help the research by completing the questionnaires that gave them an opportunity to express their motivations, satisfaction and dissatisfaction, expectations, and plans for the future. It also reflects the professional and devoted work of Tamar Farnik-Finkelstein, who coordinated the fieldwork.

the nearby metropolitan area of Haifa, and the others in further away urban centers, including 7% from abroad.

Two questions were asked regarding the settlers' motivations to select their new places of living. The first asked them to mark the two main reasons for coming to live in the new community. The reason that was most frequently chosen by the interviewees (by 54%) was the wish to live in the countryside (as opposed to living in the city). An ideological motive—the importance of being a pioneer in the developing region of the Galilee—was second, and the third was the liking of the quality of the physical environment in the Galilee. Other frequently selected reasons were the desire to have one's own house and the wish to live in a place where one could have an impact on the community life. 7% marked the wish to live in a communal type of village as one of their two important reasons, 3% selected the ability to find appropriate employment, and another 3% chose the national motive of preventing Arabs from seizing Jewish national land; the rest chose "other" reasons.

Almost all the settlers considerably improved their housing conditions when they came to live in the new villages. In their former places of residence most of them lived in more than reasonable conditions (only 5% said that deterioration of the quality of life drove them away), and over half of them owned the dwelling units they occupied. However, only 12% lived in single-family houses beforehand, whereas 75% lived in such a house in the new village and almost all the others were in temporary housing waiting for their permanent single-family house to be completed. According to their above stated motivations, only a few came to live in the new villages looking mainly for better housing; it seems that they believed that they could have it elsewhere. The way I read the above distribution of motivations is that they decided on settling in the Galilee and not elsewhere, because in addition to employment and good housing they hoped to find more abstract rewards of living in a type of community they like and to enjoy the feeling of pioneering.

A related question asked the interviewee how important each one of the listed factors was when he or she came to select a new place of residence. The answers presented in table 2, as the ones detailed beforehand, do not explain why the interviewed families moved, but why, once they had decided to move, they selected the places they did. The answers support what we have already discovered, that the main motivation of the researched population was not a search for better employment and/or better housing; these people looked for specific attributes of the residential environment, which they considered important for a high quality of life, physically and socially. Nearly all of them (99%) said that a beautiful and clean environment was important to them, and almost everybody (97%) answered that good relationships with neighbors were important. Similar high percentages were found for the importance of good company for the children and good educational services. When the interviewees were asked to select the one most important factor out of the fifteen suggested to them (ideological motivations were not included in the list), three quarters selected one of the first four in table 2, whereas the residual quarter of the votes was distributed among all the other factors. Only 7% considered appropriate employment as the most important factor, and other instrumental factors such as good housing and accessibility considerations were selected by no more than 2%.

According to our findings, the settlers in the new communities were not 'pushed' out of their old places, but were rather 'pulled' by what they expected to find in the new ones. They knew what they were after and seemed to have found it. As shown in table 3, most of them were satisfied with the quality of life in their new localities

and with specific aspects of it, even though there were a few aspects of life that many settlers would have liked to see improved, especially public transportation and local cultural life. When asked about the ideal size of their community, only 14% said they wished for up to fifty families, 40% wanted 51 - 100 families, and most of the rest selected 101 - 200 families as the desirable size. This means that they all wished to live in small communities, but not as small as they are right now; only four of the studied communities have more than fifty families.[6]

A stepwise multiple regression analysis was used to disclose the determinants of the settlers' general satisfaction with the quality of life in their locality (Farnik-Finkelstein, 1990). Sixty independent variables were included in the computer run: the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of each interviewed settler, objective descriptions (as reported by the interviewees), and subjective evaluations (as above) of the local living conditions in five spheres of life—the physical sphere (location, housing conditions, environmental quality), the personal sphere (feeling of relaxation, freedom in personal decisions, leisure-time activities), the social sphere (mutual help, friendly relationships with others within the locality, friendliness among children, participation in community activity), the economic sphere (employment, income), and the local services sphere (health, education, commercial services, public transportation, their service level and their accessibility). As shown in table 4, none of the variables that had a significant influence on the variability in satisfaction with the quality of life belonged to either the physical, the economic, or the services provision spheres. Two of them were sociodemographic characteristics (the level of education and time of residence in the locality), two were from the personal area (satisfaction with the feeling of relaxation that the settlers seemed to acquire in their new places of residence and with leisure-time activities in the locality), and the other four were related to social relationships and activities. There were small differences between women and men; in a separate regression analysis for women, it was found that satisfaction with the quality of the physical environment was added to the mainly social determinants of satisfaction with the quality of life, whereas the analysis of men alone added satisfaction with income and with the number of settlers in the locality to nearly the same group of social variables.

Another question that was carefully analyzed was whether the settlers see the new Galilee community as their permanent place of living. One indication of their serious intentions was that 70% of those who owned an apartment or a house in their former locality sold it in order to finance their new home. The distribution of the interviewee's answers to a direct question in this regard showed that 95% of them had made the new communities their home for life: 65% of the interviewees said that they intended to stay 'forever' and 30% 'for many years'; 4% answered 'for several years' and only 1% reported that they were about to leave. A stepwise multiple regression analysis (Farnik-Finkelstein, 1990) that used the same 60 independent variables and 'intention to continue living in the new community' as the dependent variable, found 'general satisfaction with the quality of life in the locality' to be the most significant factor. As was found in the previous analysis, satisfaction with the social life and the feeling of relaxation played an important role in their decision to stay. Other significant variables were the age of the children (that was negatively related to the dependent variable; that is, the younger the children the more likely their parents were to stay), the level of income and the level of satisfaction with the location of the community of residence.

Table 2. Importance of various factors in selecting a new place of residence.

Factor	Importance (%)					Most important (%)
	very	important	not so	not	total	total = 100
Beautiful and clean environment	78	21	1	0	100	24
Good relations with neighbors	67	30	3	0	100	23
Good company for the children	82	17	1	0	100	12
Good educational services	78	21	1	0	100	11
People like you	30	39	26	4	100	8
Appropriate employment	45	42	9	4	100	7
Living in a communal settlement	29	30	22	19	100	6
Having an impact on community life	28	52	16	4	100	3
Good housing	31	51	17	1	100	2
Nonviolent environment	52	37	9	2	100	1.5
Close by employment	29	47	20	3	100	1.5
Close by social services	43	43	13	1	100	1
Good health services	59	35	6	0	100	0.5
Opportunities for entertainment	12	47	38	3	100	0
Close by commercial services	15	39	36	11	100	0

Note: number in sample is 212.

Table 3. Percentage of the interviewees very satisfied or satisfied with selected aspects of life in the new community.

Aspect	%	Aspect	%
General quality of life	81	Social life of children	77
Physical environment	98	Security in traveling to the village	76
Kindergarten	93	Housing conditions	71
Elementary school	93	Economic condition of the community	67
Interpersonal relationships	88	Personal economic condition	58
Location of the village	87	Size of the community	50
Ability to influence local decisions	83	Cultural activity in the community	38
Social stability of the community	80	Public transportation	18

Table 4. The determinants of general satisfaction with the quality of life in the new community[a]: results of a multiple regression analysis.

Independent variables	β	F statistic
Satisfaction with the feeling of relaxation	0.54*	41.1
Appreciation of social stability	0.35*	27.5
Satisfaction with the children's social life	0.26*	11.3
Satisfaction with the leisure time activities	0.19*	6.5
Number of years in the locality	0.05*	5.7
Years at school of respondent	0.05*	4.0
Satisfaction with the social relationships	0.17**	3.1
Extent of social activity in locality	0.17**	2.8

Notes: $R^2 = 0.60$, $F = 17.6$, $n = 187$, $p \leqslant 0.001$, $^*p \leqslant 0.05$, $^{**}p \leqslant 0.10$.

[a] The dependent, as well as most of the independent, variables were ordinal, each constructed by the answers of the interviewees to one question, such as: 'very satisfied', 'satisfied', 'not so satisfied', and 'not satisfied at all' with a certain aspect of life.

[6] The analysis is presented in aggregate terms because hardly any interesting differences were found between settlements of different size or different distances from the metropolitan area of Haifa. Some differences were found between villages with different organizational structures: settlers in the community settlements were somewhat more satisfied with several aspects of life, and those in the moshavim less sure about the stability of their communities (Carmon et al, 1990), but these modest differences did not seem to warrant elaboration in this paper.

Interpretation
The program of new communities in the Galilee may be considered a success story from the point of view of attracting the target population. The numbers are indeed small: only 7000 inhabitants were found in the new communities in 1988. However, this number is comparable to the balance of net migration during a similar period of time (1978-86) to all the veteran Jewish urban areas in the Galilee (with the town of Carmiel in the lead). Moreover, when the interviewees were asked whether they would have migrated to one of the Galilee veteran towns had their new village not been erected and had they found a similar house in a similar price in the town, only 12% of them gave a positive answer. That means that most of the 7000 were a real net addition.

The main success, however, is not in the quantity but rather in the quality of this population. The goal was to attract people who can contribute to future economic and social development of the region. The developers included in this category young breadwinners, professionals, and other highly educated and skilled laborers. As shown above, these were the characteristics of the majority of the new settlers. Data was not collected on the impact of the new population on the region, but certain findings shed some light on it. An important indication to a positive impact is derived from the finding that in spite of living only an hour drive from the metropolitan area of Haifa, three quarters of the labor force of the representative sample were employed in the Galilee region. Another one was reported by the director of the largest cultural center in the Galilee town of Carmiel, who said that persons from the new villages frequently constitute over half of the audience in cultural events.

As reported, even though the interviewee's satisfaction with the quality of life in their villages was generally high, many of them expressed dissatisfaction with public transportation, insufficient cultural activity, the small number of families in the locality, and the personal economic situation. But when they were asked about their expectations for the future, almost all of them were optimistic, and said that they intended to live in their new places permanently.

These are remarkable achievements, especially vis-à-vis the tough competition in the market of migrants in Israel of the 1980s. In general, most cities, towns, and villages in the country wanted to grow, but it became increasingly difficult in view of the fact that the number of new immigrants to the state of Israel was very small at the time.[7] Thus, competition concentrated on the within-country mobile population, especially on the segment of young and educated potentially mobile population. The competitors were not only the development regions in the Negev and in the Galilee; even the city of Tel-Aviv complained about losing population and provided incentives to attract young and educated in-migrants. The other large cities of Israel—Jerusalem and Haifa—attempted to do the same, and so did other smaller communities. Israel of the 1980s (within its 1967 boarders) seemed to have enough land, water, and possibly even money, but not enough people to materialize all its wonderful development plans. In this tight market, how did the Galilee attract a group of the population which was in the highest demand?

[7] This was true throughout the 1980s. Starting in early 1990, the situation changed dramatically; ten to twenty thousand immigrants from the former USSR arrived at Israel each month during 1990-91. The impact of this immigration on the development of the Galilee at large and the new small communities in particular is out of the scope of the present study, which was aimed at studying questions of population dispersal under conditions of very slow population growth.

Based on the above findings, my answer is that the Galilee settlement program succeeded because it offered a unique product, well suited to the expectations of a target group of young families with professional breadwinners. It offered small communities, with special social and organizational structure and desirable physical environment and design, to people who looked for exactly these qualities. The program turned to a specific segment among the potentially mobile population of young and educated family heads. It did not compete with the metropolitan areas and the other places on the segments which were attracted by the advantages of a large city. Rather, it turned to the smaller, but nevertheless significant segment of those who cared for the special qualities which this program could provide, based on the relative advantages of the Galilee. Through an almost personal negotiation with the target clients, specific plans for each of the small communities were developed. Matching the expectations of a specific target group was the name of the game. The concept of expectations ties this process to the human capital model of migration that was introduced earlier.

Discussion and conclusions
Planners in the service of governments are frequently required to assist in changing the geographical distribution of the population in their country or city; that is, in influencing migration decisions of citizens. Migration studies have concluded that even though the decision to leave a place can hardly be influenced, planners in the public domain can have an impact on the choice of the target community of the migrants. In spite of that, the effectiveness of governmental programs aimed at achieving population dispersal is frequently evaluated as low to very low (De Jong, 1975; Fuchs and Demko, 1979).

Based on an analysis of the Israeli program in the Galilee region, a unique planning strategy is suggested for those who plan to continue attracting young educated persons to the Galilee, as well as to planners in other countries who wish to promote population dispersal under similar circumstances. 'Similar circumstances' in this context means working in a market with a tough competition between producers (planners of regions or cities), who are all interested in specific types of customers (in-migrants), who are intelligent and resourceful, and who have a wide range of choice. These customers are able to find work and shelter anywhere, but prefer to have them tailored exactly to their needs and preferences.

In such market and with this kind of desirable and scarce customers, the recommended strategy is composed of the following steps:
(1) Identify the relative advantages of the area to be developed;
(2) Detect the segment of population that is attracted by these advantages in the market of potentially mobile households with the required characteristics;
(3) Get to know this segment and specific groups within it, and pay special attention to their unique interpretation of a high quality of life;
(4) Plan small-scale projects—tailor-made communities—the social organization, the housing, and the services of which should be as suitable as possible to the needs and expectations of these specific groups, as defined by their interpretation of a high quality of life;
(5) Make the future users (or their representatives) active participants in the planning process, and thus create a sense of community, which is frequently sought by people in developed countries.[8]

[8] New evidence on this matter can be found in Leavitt's (forthcoming) book on the double dream, the dream of a combination of home and community life.

It should be noted that although the Israeli case involved attracting people to what is locally considered a peripheral 'developing' region, having a whole region or a remote area as part of the scene is not a necessary component of the required setting. The strategy may be applicable to an underdeveloped region not far from a metropolitan area, as well as to a deteriorating neighborhood within a city, provided that the project goal is to develop it by attracting a selected type of in-migrants.

Public subsidy was part of the strategy in the case of the Galilee, but it may not be a necessary part of the recommended planning approach. Similar subsidies, without the tailor-made planning, were offered in many other places in Israel, such as in its veteran development towns, but failed to attract the desirable settlers. Furthermore, a similar planning approach was privately organized in the same decade in four private new communities in the Galilee (which were not part of the reported study), and they seem to have succeeded at least as much as those supported by public subsidy, if not more. The private villages were indeed in the same general region, but in better locations, closer to the metropolitan area of Haifa. Hence, my conclusion is that public intervention and subsidy are required to change the situation in remote or otherwise disadvantaged areas, and that they are not sufficient; the addition of the tailor-made community planning is required in order to succeed.

Such an approach may not be unfamiliar to planners with background in the human sciences (psychology, sociology, and anthropology). It is in line, at least in part, with the concept of congruence, which calls for the usage of social research findings in planning houses and neighborhoods in accordance with people's needs and expectations, and for the creation of 'support systems for living' (Michelson, 1976; 1987). Rappoport (1977; 1985) has extensively analyzed the various aspects of congruence, but he—as well as most of the others in this field—has communicated with colleagues in the behavioral sciences and, to some extent, with architects, but usually not with urban and regional planners. The purpose of the current discussion is to draw the attention of planners to certain ideas in the wide literature on migration and environmental choice, and to present an alternative approach to area development with good chances of success if applied in an appropriate milieu.

Israel of the 1980s, a developed industrialized country with limited population growth, constituted such an appropriate milieu. In the case of the Galilee region, the planners could easily identify its relative advantage: beautiful mountain landscape with a clean and green environment, which is especially suitable for country houses. The 'natural' candidates to be attracted to the region were the young, highly educated people, who tended to join the 'rural renaissance' (Kipnis, 1989) which emerged in Israel of the 1970s and 1980s. But what the planners needed was an even more specific segment; not everyone who was seeking a dream house in a semirural area was a candidate to settle in the relatively remote and underdeveloped area of the Galilee. They had to find those young people who were looking for an opportunity to combine instrumental benefits with a feeling of a significant contribution to the society they were part of. These people were the pioneers of the affluent society of the 1980s, and they constituted a large portion of the settlers in the new villages in the Galilee (recall that the desire to feel as a pioneer in the developing region of the Galilee was second in the line in the list of the most important reasons which caused the interviewees to join the new community).

The added notion of pioneering seems to be crucial in this context. It differentiates the process that is hereby discussed from the conventional processes of suburbanization that have been known for many years in all the developed countries. In both cases we are talking about a selective migration of young and educated (usually) families looking for a better quality of life and a better environment. However, the typical suburbanite goes for the best house which he or she can afford, whereas our interviewees seem to be a special subgroup of people, who are looking not only for a good house for a price they can afford, but also for qualities beyond that. If they had not been searching for a special quality and had not been ready to pay for it (inconveniences of a new remote settlement, long journeys to the work place and to services) and risk something for it (at least the future price of their homes in the remote region), they would not have come to the Galilee. In some way they may remind us of the risk-oblivious young professionals who were the pioneers of the first stage of revitalization in central city neighborhoods; they entered them long before speculators discovered them, looking for architecturally distinct properties, and improved them through sweat equity (Clay, 1979; DeGiovanni, 1983). It seems that in order to start a new place-related process with uncertain results, be it regeneration of inner-city deteriorated areas or settlements beyond the edge of a metropolitan area, there should be a congruence between the existing or potential attributes of the place and the wishes and expectations of unique people. In some places this may happen spontaneously, but in others—as in the case of the Galilee—careful planning is needed to make this congruence happen.

The tailor-made planning process worked very well for the unique core groups of settlers. It brought about the establishment of fifty-two new villages in less than a decade, and in spite of the difficulties of life in them, the great majority of their members said that they saw them as their permanent homes. Towards the end of the research period there were signs that could be interpreted as a too far-reaching tailor-made process. The codes of regulations of the specific villages suited the first groups of settlers so well, and included such severe restrictions on the acceptance of new members, that the growth rate was reduced below the expectations of both planners and settlers. This development is certainly a problem of the present settlers, but may also be considered as a general social problem, because it strengthens residential segregation. This segregation is voluntary from the point of view of the settlers, but opinions differ as to the entitlement of citizens in a democratic country to combine restricted membership in a voluntary association, which may require a common decisionmaking in specific areas of life, with exclusive habitation of a certain community.

Another difficulty is related to considerations of social equity. The suggested strategy is not equity oriented; on the contrary, it advocates allocating public resources for the benefit of a strong segment of the society: young people with many years of schooling. One can argue that the new communities contribute to interregional equity by improving the averages of a less-developed region; in the long-run, benefits may trickle down to the less advantageous populations in the area. Unfortunately, the serious difficulties of disadvantaged persons and groups are usually acute problems of the present, and it may seem cynical to comfort them with promises for the far future. This is an unsolved built-in dilemma of the planning approach that is advocated by this paper.

Last but not least is the question of whether the suggested strategy may be applicable in other places around the world. Appropriate places may be found in developed industrialized societies with a low rate of in-migration and population growth. Low growth rates are appropriate, because where there is an excess of new households, planners would not bother to use the very fine tools of intervention of tailor-made planning. A high level of industrial development is part of the milieu, because what is offered hereby is in line with evolving trends of the postindustrial society. Among these, one may count movements from large to small organizations,

from standard mass-production to unique and tailor-made products, from institutional to self-help arrangements, and from representative democracy to direct participation. There is no room here to elaborate on these and other characteristics of the changing social order, but it is important to note that even though the number of citizens who think and behave in accordance with some or all of these trends is still small, it is expected to grow significantly in the future.

Planned intervention directed at attracting in-migrants into an underdeveloped area is a rare phenomenon in the USA. Indeed, John F Kennedy sponsored legislation that was known as the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 and established the Economic Development Administration (EDA) intended to channel federal funds to encourage the development of poor regions (Friedman and Bloch, 1990). But even the programs included in this framework (which was canceled in 1974) did not involve community planning or direct incentives to potential settlers. Although it is hard to imagine the application of the suggested strategy in US regional planning, it may have good chances as part of the efforts to revitalize urban neighborhoods. In the hot-demand center-city neighborhoods of the very big US cities such a fine planning scheme is not needed, but in medium-sized and smaller cities, which are eagerly waiting for the revitalization that does not seem to happen to them, tailor-made community planning can help in attracting desirable in-migrants.

Highly developed European countries, such as Britain and the Netherlands, may be appropriate environments for implementing the suggested strategy. They are postindustrial societies with low to zero population growth, a desire to develop and attract residents into certain areas, and a long tradition of planned intervention. Balchin (1990) analyzes the worsening of interregional disparities in Britain of the 1980s and discusses the search for new strategies aimed at reducing the imbalance. A recent book—*Selling the City*—contains relevant Dutch examples (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990). The authors advocate the use of marketing techniques in planning (Ashworth and Voogd, 1988; 1990); their working definition of 'city marketing' is "a process whereby urban activities are as closely as possible related to the demands of targeted customers" (1990, page 11), and hence, their recommended approach is very much in line with the one presented in this article.

In highly developed economies people do not have to consume only mass products. They can afford T-shirts made to their taste as well as their own special group's magazine or television station. The better-off among them, especially the young ones, are highly educated and skilled employees, who tend to look also for made-to-taste residential environments. These better-off groups are frequently the target of population dispersal programs; they are the persons and households whom we—the planners—want to attract to developing areas. If we recall that we cannot influence their decision to move but may have an impact on where they choose to migrate to, we would try—following what migration studies and the present research have taught us—to learn their special expectations from life and tailor our planning product accordingly. Tailor-made communities may be a highly preferred way of living in the postindustrial society.

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