

المجلس الإقليمي للقرى غير المعترف بها في النقب
המועצה האזורית לכפרים הבלתי מוכרים בנגב
The Regional Council for the Unrecognized Villages in the Negev-RCUV



במקום מתכננים למען זכויות תכנון (ע"ר)
بمكوم مخططون من أجل حقوق التخطيط
Planners for Planning Rights BIMKOM

Alternative Master Plan for the Unrecognized Bedouin Villages in the Negev

Abridged version
2012



المجلس الإقليمي للقرى غير المعترف بها في النقب
המועצה האזורית לכפרים הבלתי מוכרים בנגב
The Regional Council for the Unrecognized Villages in the Negev-RCUV



במקום
بمكوم
מתכננים למען זכויות תכנון (ע"ר)
مخططون من أجل حقوق التخطيط
Planners for Planning Rights BIMKOM

Alternative Master Plan for the Unrecognized Bedouin Villages in the Negev

Abridged version 2012

Planning Team:

Oren Yiftachel, Nili Baruch, Said Abu Sammur, Nava Sheer, Ronen Ben Arie



Community planning seminars for women



This project was funded by the European Union.
All content is the responsibility of Bimkom and the RCUV
and does not reflect the views of the European Union

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	5
1. Introduction	8
1.1 Program Goals and Objectives	9
2. The Bedouin Villages in the Negev: Background	11
3. Planning for the Bedouin Villages: Towards 2030	13
3.1 Planning Vision and Outline	13
3.2 Meta-Principles in Planning, and Planning Alternatives	13
3.3 Types of Bedouin Villages and their Municipal Options	18
3.4 The Bedouin Village: Planning and Development Background	23
3.5 The Bedouin Villages: Processes of Recognition, Planning and Regulation	26
3.6 The Proposed Plan as an Alternative to the Authorities' Plans	30
3.7 Proper Planning for the Bedouin Village: Models	32
4. Economic Development of the Bedouin Villages	35
 Tables, figures and maps:	
Table 1. Recommended Solutions for the Unrecognized Villages	19
Table 2. Effects of the Beersheba Metropolitan Plan on the Villages	31
Figure 3a. The Bedouin in the Negev: Social-Familial and Tribal Structure	23
Figure 3b. Archetype of a Bedouin Village– Spatial Structure	25
Figure 3c. The Unrecognized Bedouin Villages: Processes of Recognition and regulation	27
Figure 3d. The Bedouin Village: Theoretical Planning Outline – Residential Area	33
Map 1. Location of villages of the Government's Beersheba Metropolitan Plan	37
Map 2. Expected transfer of communities based on government plans	38
Map 3. Rural-Agricultural Village: Current layout, future layout and design scheme	39
Map 4. Residential Village: Current layout, future layout and design scheme	40
Map 5. Rural Neighborhood: Current layout, future layout and design scheme	41
Map 6. Shepherdng Village/Family Farm: Current layout, future layout and design scheme	42
Map 7. Regional Strategy: Integration of villages into metropolitan area	43

Alternative Master Plan for the Unrecognized Bedouin Villages in the Negev

Executive Summary

The Regional Council for the Unrecognized Villages (RCUV) and Bimkom – Planners for Planning Rights, in collaboration with Sidreh – the Bedouin Arab Women’s Organization of the Negev, have formulated a Master Plan for the unrecognized Bedouin villages in the Negev. Contrary to government plans, the Master Plan shows that it is possible, desirable and necessary to recognize all of the unrecognized Bedouin villages. The Bedouin are not “squatters.” They have lived in the region for many generations, and as citizens of the State, they are entitled to equal rights. This must include full respect for their planning and development rights, which should not be conditioned on the complex and lengthy procedure of resolving land ownership issues.

The full document of the Alternative Master Plan comprises six chapters spanning some 350 pages. It includes historical, land-use and planning background, analysis of trends, problems and opportunities, and five expert reports, as well as concrete recommendations regarding planning for the unrecognized villages.

The first five chapters describe the history of Bedouin settlement in the Negev, the state of the villages today, policy analysis, residents’ attitudes, and professional reports, reflecting a variety of angles relevant to planning and development for the Bedouin communities. These chapters describe the hardship and neglect that have been the fate of the villages’ residents since the founding of the State, and constitute a basis for the formulation of guidelines for their recognition and development.

Building on the above information and analysis, chapter six of the Plan presents a detailed professional outline for the recognition, planning and development of all Bedouin villages in the Negev, formulated together with the communities. This Plan also presents a basis for sustainable development of the entire Beersheba area, while upholding the principles of equality, recognition and human rights. The Plan strives to ensure a future of respect for the villages – home to some 108,000 Bedouin – which are currently concentrations of deprivation.

The Master Plan proposes a range of professional, feasible means for recognizing and developing all 46 Bedouin villages. Of these, 35 villages are still unrecognized, and they comprise the heart of this Plan. The population of all the Bedouin villages (recognized and unrecognized) in the Plan’s target year, 2030, will total some 235,000 people, out of an overall anticipated population of 440,000 Bedouin in the Beersheba area (including those in the Bedouin townships).

The Bedouin villages consist of communities that have developed over the course of many years of shared living. The population in each of the villages included in the Plan is significantly

larger than the minimum size of a locality, according to the criteria of the Israeli planning system. It should be noted that over the years, many Jewish localities have been established in the Negev, including dozens of single-family farms, whose population is much smaller than that in the existing Bedouin villages.

As the Plan attests, there are no genuine professional considerations that negate recognition of all the Bedouin villages. The Plan employs an egalitarian approach, incorporating the planning standards used in the rest of the Israeli rural sector as a basis for the plan developed for each village.

The Plan proposes a process for recognizing the Bedouin villages, in situ, with provision of infrastructure and services on a par with Jewish rural localities or villages. Due to the Bedouin's strong historical attachment to their land and in order to ensure sustainable development, the Plan's recognition of the villages in their present location is preferable to the government's current approach, which is based on the transfer of tens of thousands of people. The Plan will also save significant public resources which would be expended for the enforcement of Bedouin relocation and will prevent escalation of the conflict between the State and the Bedouin.

The Master Plan offers planning solutions from three perspectives: regional, local and administrative. At the regional level, it offers municipal recognition for each village, either through annexation to a neighboring municipality, the creation of clusters of villages, or as an independent village in the framework of a regional council. It recommends allocation of land to the Bedouin villages, in the same way that land is allocated in the Jewish rural sector. According to the Plan, the villages will be grouped into regional councils thus establishing a municipal system, including the provision of services and infrastructure. The Master Plan also outlines a strategy for regional economic development along three geographical axes: North, East and South, along which public transportation lines, employment zones and public institutions will be integrated.

At the local level, the Plan seeks to recognize the Bedouin village as a distinct type of locality that will be recognized and codified by the Israeli planning system, in a manner similar to a moshav or kibbutz. Such recognition will integrate both the historical and the planning logic of the Bedouin village. To this end, the Plan outlines, for the first time, a model for the development of the Bedouin village. This model is based on: (i) attachment forged between communities and their living space; (ii) on the system of traditional land inheritance in which the land is divided between tribes and extended families; and (iii) on the location and function of the open spaces, roads and public institutions in these villages.

The Master Plan illustrates how the villages can be developed according to density and zoning criteria, as is accepted in national Israeli plans, with adjustments according to Bedouin spatial norms. The result is planning that employs, as a starting point, the existing development patterns, yet seeks to densify development in the future. This is needed in order to meet the minimum population size required for the provision of public services. The model addresses the possibility of extending the village neighborhoods, as well as of providing services to distant

clusters of families. The Plan also outlines the desired development structure of roads, public institutions and open spaces in the villages.

At the administrative level, the Plan recommends the establishment of a special government planning branch, a “Committee for the Planning of Bedouin Villages,” that will accelerate the process of recognition and planning for the villages. It is proposed that this Committee be established under the auspices of the District Planning and Building Committee, with a significant representation of village residents, professional experts, academics and representatives of government ministries.

The Plan proposes a planning process of eight main stages, leading from the present situation of neglect and marginality to full recognition, development and prosperity for the villages, based on respect of the Bedouin’s rights. This will eventually benefit all residents of the region, Bedouin and Jews alike.

1. Introduction

The Alternative Master Plan presented in this document is based on an in-depth and multi-dimensional analysis of the Bedouin situation, their development trends, and desirable prospects for the future¹. The Plan grapples with the issue which today constitutes one of the most formidable social, environmental and planning challenges in Israel. After over sixty years of neglect, the problem is plainly visible and even glaring: tens of thousands of Israeli citizens live in terrible conditions, lacking basic services including electricity, water and roads, without any local government, or recognition of their community or their villages, and without the ability to obtain building permits for their homes. This harsh daily reality faced by some 100,000 people is a direct result of government policies that have abandoned and marginalized an entire group within Israeli society, while violating their basic human and civil rights on an ongoing basis. If the issue is not immediately addressed, and if no fundamental improvement in the living conditions of the residents of the unrecognized villages is made, the situation will exacerbate and pose a real danger to the entire society of the northern Negev.

The Master Plan aims to offer solutions to these hardships. The Plan's underlying assumption is that a **fair and agreed upon solution, achieved in collaboration with the residents, is possible and within reach**. The solution will be based on accepted professional norms, as well as on principles of **recognition, equality and justice**, which will also begin to close the vast gaps between the Bedouin and other populations in this area.

The non-recognition of the villages is intimately connected with the land issue. This is not merely a legal issue of ownership and property; it is also a matter of Bedouin culture and social order, which have fundamental importance to spatial planning. The patterns of land ownership and related social structure underlie the planning solutions that the Master Plan proposes. The Plan offers a fair and practical approach to the issue, which is not conditioned on formal land settlements.

The Plan seeks to present a different and comprehensive approach to planning, which will lead to a process of recognition of the social and spatial arrangements that have already existed for many years in the Bedouin villages. At the same time, it upholds proper principles of spatial planning. The Plan takes, as a starting point, recognition of the legitimate status of the villages and their continued existence in their historical locations, based on planning considerations that ensure their sustainable future. The Plan's underlying principle is that the villages ought to be legally recognized in their historical locations, and planned to facilitate their development, while striving to avoid communal upheaval and displacement.

The main approach of the Master Plan is to base planning on Bedouin social, cultural and spatial norms, and on the aspirations, needs and visions of the Bedouin communities living there. The local history and the years of work on the topic of the unrecognized villages carried

¹ The plan's target year is 2030.

out by the RCUV and Bimkom, in collaboration with the Arab women's organization Sidra - all attest that the Bedouin villages do fulfill all basic criteria to be considered legitimate localities in Israel. Our mission is to navigate the development of Bedouin space in the desired direction for communities and society in the Negev at large.

The Alternative Master Plan, formulated in light of the above approach, is based on a variety of professional methods, including:

- ◆ Expert analysis of the existing social, gender, economic and legal aspects of life in the villages and their future effects on key planning areas.
- ◆ Professional analysis of the geographic, climatic, economic and demographic aspects of the unrecognized villages;
- ◆ Land-use analysis on the basis of up-to-date aerial photographs;
- ◆ Preparation of a comprehensive database, based on a first-of-its kind survey of the villages;
- ◆ Regional and village -based workshops;
- ◆ In-depth understanding of the field, based on site visits, in all areas of the Plan, including dozens of meetings, discussions and consultations with residents of the villages;
- ◆ Selection of a number of representative villages for a more detailed illustration of concepts for the design of rural Bedouin space, incorporating consideration of inter-tribal, inter-generational and gender relations, as well as the question of future building and development.

1.1 Program Goals and Objectives

Over Arching Aim:

To provide a planning solution for the recognition of all of the existing Bedouin villages, their proper integration into the Beersheba metropolitan area, and provision of infrastructure that will enable sustainable development of the area, as well as implementation of the principles of equality, recognition and justice.

Goals:

- ◆ Establishing village and community infrastructure for a multicultural metropolitan area, based on recognition of all the existing Bedouin villages;
- ◆ Planning of the Bedouin villages, according to their traditional land system, and not conditioned on imposed legal land settlements.
- ◆ Recognition of the Bedouin village and its spatial logic, as a distinct type, based on historical, and social considerations;

- ◆ Establishment of a database and comprehensive analysis of the processes affecting the villages;
- ◆ Advancing regional resource allocation along principles of distributive justice;

Objectives:

- ◆ Designing infrastructure for diverse types of Bedouin localities – rural, agricultural and suburban – in order to ensure a range of spatial options for long- and short-term development;
- ◆ Advancement of plans for recognition and development for all villages, as amendments to existing District and Metropolitan plans for the northern Negev;
- ◆ Provision of full civil and municipal services to the various populations, based on their needs and traditions;
- ◆ Provision of infrastructure to connect villages to roads and transportation networks, to enable suitable access to resource centers in the metropolitan area;
- ◆ Provision of equitable services and opportunities for women in the villages;
- ◆ Striking a proper balance between the goals of the Bedouin villages for development and recognition, and environmental conservation and sustainability;
- ◆ Preservation of open, natural and cultivated land for agriculture, leisure, development of tourism and conservation of the local flora and fauna;
- ◆ Consolidation of mechanisms to repair the long years of neglect and damage to the Bedouin population, through affirmative action in a range of fields;
- ◆ Provision of proper planning and governing mechanisms for villages that gain recognition.

2. The Bedouin Villages in the Negev: Background

The Master Plan's geographic area extends east, south and north of Beersheba, between Rahat in the northwest, Arad and Dimona in the east, and the Yerucham area in the south, along the Beersheba–Arad Valley and between highways 40, 31, 25 and 80. This space is part of the metropolitan area of Beersheba, with the exception of the village of Abdah, and other dwelling compounds of Bedouin families living in the Mitzpeh Ramon area.

The forty-six Bedouin villages are divided into two main types: (a) Historical villages, which are located on ancestral lands and which predate the establishment of the State in 1948. Their population comprises between 70-75% of all of the residents of the villages; (b) Villages of internally displaced residents who were transferred to their current location by the State during the forced concentration of the Bedouin in the area known as the “siyyag” region² between 1951 and 1966. They comprise approximately one quarter of all the residents of the villages.

In preparing the Master Plan, we used the accepted estimate that some 55% of all of the Bedouin residents of the Negev live today in some kind of unrecognized setting, including the unrecognized villages, villages undergoing a process of recognition and regulation, and smaller clusters of families located between the villages or in the jurisdiction area of Bedouin villages or townships. According to the figures used in preparing the Master Plan, the population of the Bedouin villages, both recognized and unrecognized, numbers some 108,000 residents, and in the target year of 2030, this number will reach approximately 235,000, most of them in the unrecognized villages.

As is well known, one of the main impediments to planning and development of the villages is the longstanding conflict regarding land ownership. There are varied reasons for the land problem, the most prominent of which is the State's refusal to recognize historical Bedouin land ownership. The State has claimed that the lands concerned are State property. There is no dispute that the lands held or claimed by the Bedouin today were in their possession for generations before 1948, according to the traditional land system prevalent at the time, which granted rights to tribes and families. The Bedouin bequeathed, divided and sold lands in the Beersheba area, under the auspices of the Ottoman Empire and the British Mandate. In this context, it is important to note that from a legal standpoint, according to Ottoman law and British land regulations, continuous agricultural cultivation of land grants ownership to the cultivator. Nevertheless, the State of Israel classified these lands as wastelands belonging to the State, and in so doing, dispossessed their traditional owners, most of whom nevertheless continued to hold on to and cultivate the land. At the same time, in the early 1970s, the State of Israel allowed Bedouin to submit ownership claims, although the processing of these claims was subsequently frozen - this in contrast to other areas in Israel, such as the Galilee, where traditional Arab land ownership was commonly recognized. After years of inaction, in recent years the conflict over land has escalated, with the State launching a series of “counter claims” in an effort to channel the land claims to the courts. Between 2005 and 2010, some five hundred counter claims were submitted by the government. One hundred and ninety of them reached court arbitration, and

2 Siyyag: lit. "fence", referring to a restricted zone in the northern Negev.

in all of the cases, the State won. In over one half of the cases, the Bedouin claimants were not present at court deliberations, and the decisions were rendered in their absence. In most of the other claims, the Bedouin represented themselves or had low-budget legal representation, and therefore were unable to contend with the legal system of the State Attorney's Office. These rulings have received no legitimacy among the Bedouin communities, which continues to operate according to their traditional land laws.

The Master Plan is a planning – and not a legal – document. It therefore provides an in-depth description of the Bedouin land-system structure and its history, as a basis for appropriate planning of the villages while taking into account the local culture and tradition.

From an historical point of view, already during the Ottoman Period, most of the Bedouin had adopted a semi-nomadic lifestyle, which integrated permanent residence, cultivation of agricultural lands and shepherding. They preserved various characteristics of nomadic life, combined with development of villages and expanding agricultural activity. The Bedouin tribes established living areas for themselves, with each tribe's area including grazing areas, cultivated areas and residential areas. An individual family's lands within the tribal area were passed from generation to generation, leading to increasing and extensive division of the original plots among family members. In addition, certain public lands remained undivided. At the same time, a system of land ownership developed within the Bedouin population, which constitutes the basis of the spatial-communal layout of Bedouin villages to this day.

An understanding of these developments is essential for professional planning of the villages which properly takes into consideration the local culture and tradition. Over the last hundred years, the Bedouin villages have developed within the tribal areas. These villages reflect the pattern of communal division of land, and they continue to develop according to their traditional land system to this day. The land and planning laws during the periods of the Ottoman and British governments enabled construction within the area of the villages and, therefore, the status of those buildings was legal until the foundation of the State of Israel. It should also be stated that the names of most of the villages already appeared in British maps in the 1930s.

The land and planning rights of the Bedouin in the Negev also derive from their status as an indigenous population, as defined in international declarations and conventions, as well as in publications of various UN committees. They are to be considered as a population that was subjected to the rule of modern States after generations of self-rule. A common approach to indigenous peoples in democratic countries is that of transitional justice. According to these norms, the public policy system can set unique regulations for indigenous groups in order to preserve their rights and possessions in a case of transition between types of regime. In these communities, land is central to all realms of community life, and therefore, attachment to the land is very deep³. The Master Plan views the principles of the recognition of indigenous peoples and transitional justice as a necessary basis to be considered when planning the future of the Bedouin population of the Negev, as specified in the Plan itself.

3 Land is the most central axis along which the struggle of indigenous peoples plays out. This is due to its supreme importance to these populations and to the expulsions they have faced around the world.

3. Planning for the Bedouin Villages: Towards 2030

3.1 Planning Vision and Outline

This section presents the Master Plan at the strategic-regional level, providing guidelines and principles for the planning of Bedouin villages. With a few exceptions, the Plan does not address a local level of detail for each and every village. This will have to be prepared individually, with the full cooperation of the relevant communities in the formulation of local and detailed outline plans. The Master Plan forms the framework for regional planning, including its theoretical basis, within the context of which every village can design, in detail, its future planning. The document is mostly devoted to the 35 villages that have not yet been recognized and planned. Nonetheless, all 46 villages together constitute the rural-agricultural Bedouin village area and therefore, the Plan refers to the future planning of all the villages.

3.2 Meta-Principles in Planning, and Planning Alternatives

The goal of the planning principles below is to present a sustainable and viable solution for regulating the planning of all of the Bedouin villages in the Negev, based on the rights and changing needs of the populations in the villages, alongside existing planning tools. The principles seek to uphold the civil, social, cultural, political and ownership rights of the Bedouin population, and establish the spatial conditions required to ensure the well-being of the population and improvement in their standard of living. The Alternative Master Plan provides a planning infrastructure which is adapted to the ongoing social and spatial changes taking place in the community.

The planning principles of the Master Plan seek to address the large gap between the planning policy currently in practice vis-à-vis the Bedouin, and the logic of the local regulatory system within the Bedouin villages. Years of experience show that when this gap is not taken into account, immense difficulties arise in the implementation of the plans; the attempt to implement such plans usually gives rise to social-spatial conflicts in the Bedouin community, both internally and externally.

The planning principles in the Master Plan therefore offer directions and options for reducing this gap, by expanding the planning language and concepts, in order to take into consideration the spatial, social and economic rules underlying the Bedouin villages. In our opinion, it is indeed possible to adopt these principles, since they do not contradict the professional principles of the planning system in Israel, and in some cases, are even parallel to planning practices employed in Israel's rural sector.

Below are proposed planning principles regarding two complementary foci: (a) the overall region; (b) the local-internal level of the specific village. Both in the regional and local contexts, a variety of key needs relating to the future of the area were examined, such as residential

patterns, transportation networks, allocations for public needs, and addressing employment needs. These principles will constitute the professional basis for the recognition of Bedouin villages and for the preparation of outline plans that will enable construction and development therein.

(I) Protection of human rights, civil and gender equality, distributive justice, and affirmative action as planning guidelines for the Bedouin villages

The planning we propose for the Bedouin villages is meant to advance human rights, equality, and historical and distributive justice, to ensure that the rights of residents to a home, community, culture and dignified life will be upheld. Based on this principle, criteria are proposed for the equitable allocation of land resources for planning and development. Residents with no land or little land in the villages will receive a fair allocation, whereby State lands will be allocated for the development of the villages in a manner similar to that in the Jewish sector. At the same time, affirmative action will be applied to the Bedouin villages in order to reduce the large gaps in the allocation of resources and basic services such as education, transportation, water and development grants.

(II) Recognition of the existing Bedouin villages in their current locations according to professional criteria

All 35 Bedouin villages that have not yet been recognized will obtain formal recognition, since they, together with those 11 villages that have already been recognized, conform to the standards determined by the State authorities for defining a place as a locality.

In Israel, it is the government that determines the establishment of localities, through the planning authorities and development organizations at its disposal. To this end, there are a number of formal definitions for a locality. For example, the Central Bureau of Statistics stipulates that a locality is a place that is permanently populated, inhabited by at least forty adults, is self-administrated, not located within the municipal boundaries of another locality, and whose establishment has been approved by the planning institutions.⁴

The fact that all the villages included in the present Master Plan fulfill the criteria of the Central Bureau of Statistics (other than approval by the planning institutions), as well as those mentioned in the National Outline Plan 35⁵, enhances the planning vision whereby the villages should remain in their current locations, to the extent possible.

4 The Central Bureau of Statistics, <http://www1.cbs.gov.il/ishuvim/ishuv2005/intro2005.pdf>.

5 There is a reference to the question of what defines a locality in Israel's National Outline Plan 35. This plan distinguishes between three types of localities: (a) an existing locality is any local authority or local committee which, according to a valid plan, is intended for at least fifty residential units, and does not belong to another locality; (b) a rural locality is a locality that in 1995 numbered less than 2,000 residents and did not belong at the time to another locality or to another local authority. (c) a new locality is a place intended for residence that does not belong to an existing locality, but with no requisite population size.

Following is an analysis of the Bedouin villages according to aspects which are central to the village character and its planning: size of the village/its community, attachment of the residents to the place, community structure and social cohesion of its residents, physical layout of the village.

Size of the village or community: Today, there are 46 Bedouin villages in the Negev, varying widely in population size from 500 to 6,000 individuals.

Residents' attachment to the land: The 46 Bedouin villages in the Negev have existed on their present sites some for decades and some for hundreds of years. The attachment of the residents to their land is indisputable.

Community structure and social cohesion of the residents: The unrecognized Bedouin villages are localities characterized by a consolidated communal-social structure and a unique local identity which is based mainly on division by family. The structure of the villages constitutes an organized and consolidated spatial community system, which developed over generations of living together in a particular place. In addition, each village has a local committee that advances the needs of the village on behalf of the residents as a whole. The villages hence fulfill the condition of self-administration, as stipulated in the definitions of the Central Bureau of Statistics.

Physical layout of the village: In the Bedouin villages, there is a clear order regarding how various land uses are distributed. Although over the years the villages have developed independently, in the absence of governmental planning guidance, they function as localities in every aspect. They have a clear and agreed upon division between residential areas, centers for the benefit of the entire community, which include public and commercial buildings, and agricultural areas, all of which are connected by an internal road network. All of these establish a full spatial system with a functional structure comparable to that of any locality.

(III) Collaboration with communities to determine the future and design of their spatial habitat

A central principle of proper planning in general, and of this Master Plan in particular, is the use of plans as a tool for improving the living conditions and well-being of communities. Therefore, much emphasis has been placed on the participation of the communities in the formulation of the Plan. This was carried out through a series of workshops, meetings and conferences, and ongoing dialogue throughout. There is a direct connection between the degree of community participation and the prospects for the plan's implementation. Therefore, the needs and wishes of the Bedouin communities provided the basis for the planning process of the Master Plan, together with the professional dimensions added by the planning team. This aspect was particularly prominent in topics such as the nature of future development in a village, the essence of social and spatial ties, and the place of the village within the regional fabric. The community aspirations were counter-balanced by other planning needs in the vicinity of the villages.

(IV) Integration of the Bedouin villages into the civic, financial and infrastructure systems of the Beersheba metropolitan area.

The Master Plan outlines directions for regional development over the next two decades. It seeks to synchronize, to the extent possible, the existing plans in the area, and adjust them to the process of village recognition. The Master Plan strives, where possible, to base itself on reciprocal relationships and ties that already exist in the area, in order to enhance the efficiency of the provision of services and regional opportunities, such as educational institutions, health and social services, as well as employment and commercial centers.

(V) Recognition of the Bedouin village as a distinct type of settlement, with a logic, order and set of rules

The Bedouin village is a distinct type of locality whose planning must take into consideration its internal logic, just like other unique types of localities, such as the kibbutz, moshav or communal locality. In the Bedouin village, as in the case of the kibbutz or the moshav, the principles of social organization, central values, and social agreements structure the physical space and delineate the spatial layout and its development. Thus the local “planning language” is the basis of the Plan.

(VI) Taking the traditional Bedouin land system into account

According to our approach, which endorses collaborative planning and recognition of the local culture, traditional patterns of land ownership are a decisive factor in the planning of the villages. Traditional land ownership determined the location of the villages and the nature of their development. The planning which we propose for the villages will respect the extensive land system developed by the Bedouin over hundreds of years. Likewise, the planning will identify villages where the allocation of State land is necessary for continued development and for the reduction of gaps in society. In the overwhelming majority of cases, there is no practical or planning obstacle to adapting the Israeli land system to the Bedouin system. An integration of the traditional system into current planning will also increase the plan’s efficacy and the ability of the government to implement and enforce its rules. Current plans which do not take Bedouin culture into account, are generally un-implementable.

The interface between the land system and the planning system will be based on a new concept: “planning compounds,” which define each extended family’s land. Planning for the villages must be based on the division into compounds, and the needs of each extended family (for housing, and where possible for agriculture and employment) should be provided within the family’s compound. We propose that the planning compounds, that is, the lands claimed by all the families within the village, be considered collectively as the village lands. These will also include additional allocations of State land. As a key part of the village recognition process, the Plan recommends that all parties shall agree that all of the compounds will remain in use by the families and the villages that possess them today. We hold that it is possible and reasonable

to grant planning rights to the Bedouin, without conditioning this on legal land settlements for residents who have land ownership claims.

(VII) Maintaining the Bedouin lifestyle in its varied forms, while preserving the historical landscape and cultural heritage

The physical layout of the villages clearly reflects the Bedouin lifestyle, historical landscape and cultural heritage. The Master Plan recognizes this basic structure of the Bedouin village: it respects the separation between the dwelling areas of the various families, while in other realms of life, such as employment, commerce and education, there is no such separation. The planning approach that we adopt is hence based on the existing situation, as a starting point, and views the current layout of the villages as an important planning component. The Plan recommends recognition of all existing residential areas and defines spaces for future development, based on the land ownership structure and on the social-functional structure of the community.

(VIII) Establishing spatial conditions for accelerated economic development and reduced economic gaps in the region

The economic basis of the villages is the starting point for planning its spatial needs in the present and in the future. The unemployment rate and number of village residents receiving welfare are high. In light of these data, the Plan seeks to create conditions for new and innovative employment, based on smooth transition from a livestock/agriculture-based society, to one that is modern and urbanized, with an emphasis on encouraging mobility. According to the Plan, the mobility of residents between villages will increase, as well as between villages and centers of employment, education and commerce, such as Beersheba, Rahat, Dimona and Arad. This will require integration of the villages into the transportation system of the metropolitan area. The development strategy will strive to establish a proper balance between local development of small businesses, and higher level development in employment areas and transportation, common to Jews and Bedouin alike. This will increase growth in the Jewish localities as well.

(IX) Conservation of open spaces, and natural and environmental resources

The Master Plan seeks to integrate development needs in the Bedouin villages with the conservation of open spaces and natural and environmental resources, at the level of both local and regional planning. Planning and development trends of the villages until 2030 will be directed at concentrating future building in the family compounds; at preferring development that is contiguous with existing built-up areas; and at keeping broad land reserves for agricultural and open lands as “buffer zones” between residential areas. Small groups of residents living on their own lands, which are sustainable from a spatial, agricultural and social point of view, should be recognized as “family farms”. Such family farms will inherently integrate the open environment, in a similar way to the Jewish single family farms established in the Negev over the past decade.

3.3 Types of Bedouin Villages and their Municipal Options

Planning Outline

In the Alternative Master Plan, we emphasize three main features in the planning of the Bedouin villages in the Negev:

1. Residential areas and their related uses, namely, backyard farming area to produce basic provisions for the family, a system of roads, etc.
2. Public buildings for health, education and welfare services.
3. Employment, industry, commercial activity and agriculture.

These three main features constitute essential recommended “layers” in the proposed Master Plan. They will be assessed vis-à-vis the existing needs as well as the development needs of the villages until the target year of 2030, at two basic levels: the village and the region.

Framework for Planning Solutions

These recommendations set forth policy directions rather than specific solutions. All the solutions will be subject, of course, to further consultation and final agreement of the communities affected. The recommendations focus on the desired nature of the village and on the administrative arrangements as two main dimensions that will ensure efficient development:

i. The village type: This will be determined through an analysis of the existing development trends in the Bedouin village in question, following a detailed evaluation of its characteristics, based on spatial data and development potential.

The Plan distinguishes between several main types of villages:

- **Shepherding village:** a small village, low density, with many grazing and agricultural areas;
- **Family farm:** small, separate clusters, located on land owned by the residents, whose lifestyle is agricultural (similar to existing single family farms in the Negev);
- **Rural-agricultural village:** rural density, combination of residential neighborhood development with continued cultivation of agricultural areas;

ii. Community village: rural density and construction, agricultural lands at the margins of the village, far from urban centers;

Rural neighborhood: rural and suburban construction density, agricultural lands – mostly at the neighborhood margins; near to a suburban or urban locality.

Desired administrative arrangements for advancing recognition of villages and their development: these arrangements reflect the size of the village to determine service needs

and provision; reciprocal relations between adjacent villages likely to support one another through shared use of public services, employment, etc. The administrative solution for each village will be determined following an examination of the residents' preferences. There are three main types of municipal solutions:

- Independent village: full recognition of the village, including granting the status of a local council to the village, or its inclusion in a regional council;
- Part of a village-cluster: joining a locality comprised of a number of small autonomous villages; this village-cluster will be part of a regional council;
- Joining an existing town as a neighborhood: recognition of the village, in situ, as part of an existing urban council, by expanding the latter's jurisdictional boundary. The nature of the neighborhood (rural, community, suburban) will be determined in the planning process.

Table 1
Recommended Solutions for the Unrecognized Villages

Name of village	Historical classification	Present municipal location	Population ⁶	Planning recommendations	
				Desired type of planned village	Administrative solution
Dchiya	Village of displaced persons	Bnei Shimon Regional Council	1,512	agricultural/rural village	A village in the North Rahat Cluster
Um Namila	Village on its historical lands	Bnei Shimon Regional Council	4,752	community/rural village	A village in the North Rahat Cluster community north of Rahat
Khirbet Zabala	Historical village (on its land)	Bnei Shimon Regional Council; Rahat Municipality	1,512	community/rural village	Village in the Rahat cluster or a neighborhood in its municipal boundary.
El Arakiv/ Karkur	Historical village	Bnei Shimon Regional Council	4,968	agricultural village	A village in the Arakiv/Karkur Cluster Community
El Masadiya	Village on its historical lands	Bnei Shimon Regional Council	1,188	agricultural/rural village	A non-contiguous neighborhood annexed to Lakiya
Awej'an	Village on its historical lands; Minority of displaced persons	Beersheba municipality; Bnei Shimon regional council	6,480	agricultural/rural /community village	independent village/a cluster village together with El Michiman cluster/ a neighborhood in Lakiya
Khirbat El Watten	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	6,912	agricultural/rural/ community village	Independent village

6 Population size projections are based on results of a computerized model, and should be treated as estimations only. Source: Data processed from the survey of villages.

Name of village	Historical classification	Present municipal location	Population ⁶	Planning recommendations	
				Desired type of planned village	Administrative solution
Atir/Um El Chiran	Village of displaced persons	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority; Meitar	3,672	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village
Al A'ra	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	6,480	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village
A Sare	Village on its historical lands; Includes some displaced residents	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	2,160	agricultural /rural/ community village	Independent village/ part of a cluster village
Baat El Saraya	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	1,728	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village/ part of a cluster village
El Baat	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	3,024	agricultural/rural /community village	Part of the Makhul (Mar'it) cluster (Abu Basma)
El Chumra	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	3,672	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village
El Bichira	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	4,752	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village
Zarura	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	6,696	rural village	Independent village
Aza	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority; Arad municipality	1,404	rural village	Cluster village
Tel Arad	Village of displaced persons	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	3,672	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village /part of a cluster village
El Mazrah	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	1,404	agricultural/rural /community village	Cluster village
Um Ritam	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	3,024	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village
Bir El Chamam	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority; Bnei Shimon Regional Council	5,616	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village /part of a cluster village

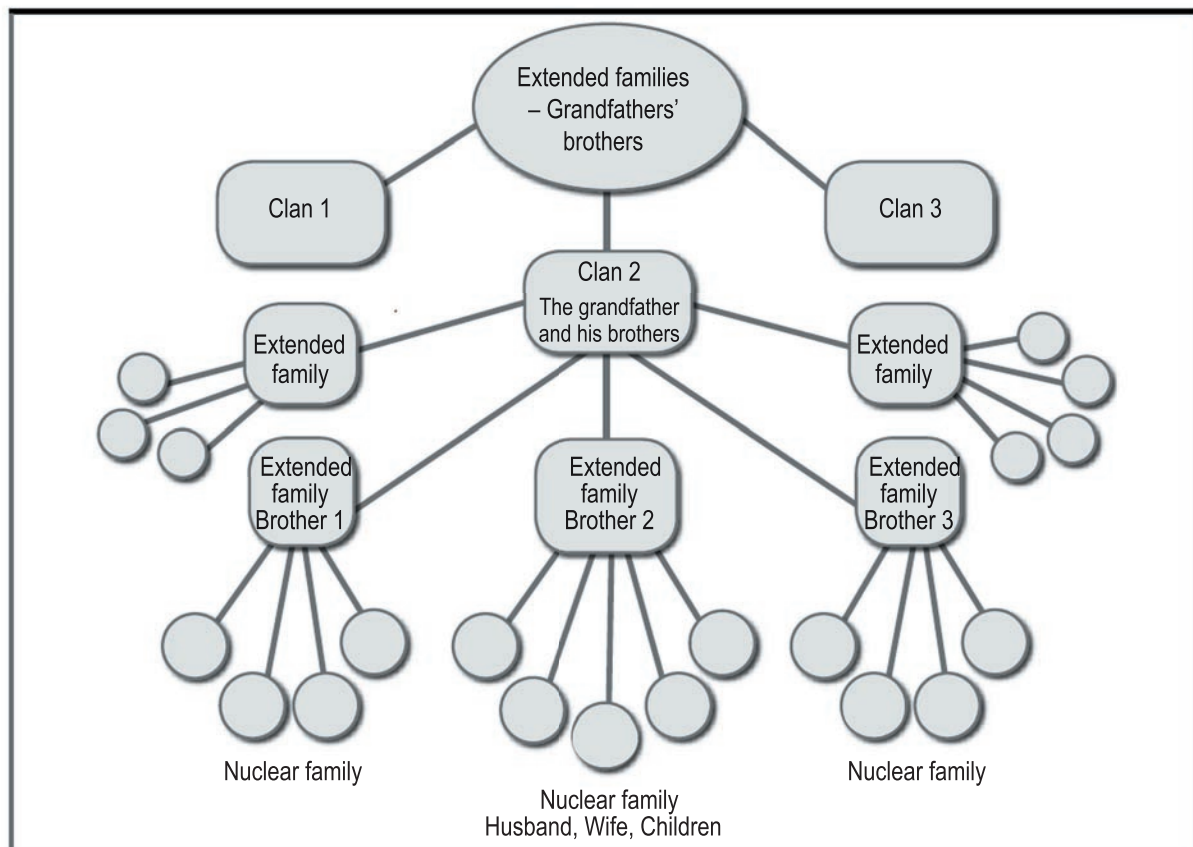
Name of village	Historical classification	Present municipal location	Population ⁶	Planning recommendations	
				Desired type of planned village	Administrative solution
Bir El Mashash	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	5,400	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village /Part of a cluster village
Chashem Zana	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority; Bnei Shimon Regional Council	5,400	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village /Part of a cluster village
Sawawin	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	3,456	agricultural village	Independent village /part of a cluster village
El Sadir	Village on its historical lands; some of the residents are displaced	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	1,080	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village /Part of a cluster village
A Ser	Village of displaced persons	Beersheba municipality	5,832	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village
Wadi El Naam	Village of displaced persons	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	14,040	community village	Independent village
Wadi El Mashash	Village on its historical lands with groups of displaced persons	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	2,592	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village /Part of a cluster village
Abdah	Village on its historical lands with groups of displaced persons	Ramat HaNegev Regional Council	3,240	Shepherding/rural village	Cluster village
Um Tna'an	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority; Abu Basma Regional Council	10,800	agricultural/rural /community village	Independent village
East El Grin	Village of displaced persons laced persons	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority	1,200	Community or agricultural village	Independent village/ /cluster village

Recognized villages or Villages in process of recognition					
Name of village	Historical classification	Present municipal location	Population ⁶	Planning recommendations	
				Desired type of planned village	Administrative solution
Daraj'at	Village on its historical lands	Abu Basma Regional Council	2,592	Rural and community village	Recognized as an independent village
A'Shababi/ Abu Talul	Village on its historical lands with groups of displaced persons	Abu Basma Regional Council	10,800	Rural and community village	Recognized as part of a cluster village (Abu Basma)
Kaser A-Ser	Historical village (on its lands (with groups of displaced persons))	Abu Basma Regional Council	9,720	Rural and community village	Recognized as an independent community (Abu Basma)
Bir Hadaj	Village of displaced persons	Ramat HaNegev Regional Council; Abu Basma Regional Council	12,960	agricultural /rural /community village	Recognized as an independent community (Abu Basma)
Tarabin	Village of displaced persons	Abu Basma Regional Council	300	Rural and community village	Recognized as an independent community (Abu Basma)
Kochle	Village on its historical lands	Abu Basma Regional Council	1,512	Agricultural farm	Recognized as part of Makhul cluster
West El Grin (El Saed)	Village on its historical lands	Abu Basma Regional Council	4,300	Rural and community village	Recognized as an independent community (Abu Basma)
Wadi Gwen (Molada)	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority; Abu Basma Regional Council	10,800	Rural and community village	Recognized as an independent community (Abu Basma)
Abu Krinat	Village on its historical lands	Lands not under the jurisdiction of a municipal authority; Abu Basma Regional Council	5,000	Rural and agricultural village	Recognized as an independent community (Abu Basma)

3.4 The Bedouin Village: Planning and Development

The locations in which the Bedouin settled were determined mainly by a traditional division of the space: the Negev was divided into clusters of a number of tribes, sub-tribes and clans. The clan, as the largest family unit, is the central organizing social unit in Bedouin society. The clan is part of a tribe up to the fifth generation, comprising in most cases hundreds or thousands of members. Historically, the Bedouin settlement corresponds, with great precision, to the land division between clans, whereby the families divided and established new clusters through sub-division into extended families. Units of extended families include the father, his sons and their nuclear families. The smallest unit – the nuclear family - continues to exist in physical proximity and close contact with the extended family. Illustration 3a represents the family-tribal structure of Bedouin society, which, over the generations, was divided spatially in rural Bedouin society, as it is today.

Figure 3a
The Bedouin in the Negev: Social-Familial and Tribal Structure



Sub-tribes, clans and new extended families are created every few generations, following population increase, thus generating new residential clusters. Traditionally, these small clusters were initially comprised mainly of tents. At the turn of the century, mud homes were added, and later, stone houses. Usually, the stone houses belonged to the heads of the sub-tribes, or to residents who had become wealthy. These stone houses became the center of tent clusters that eventually turned into today's villages.

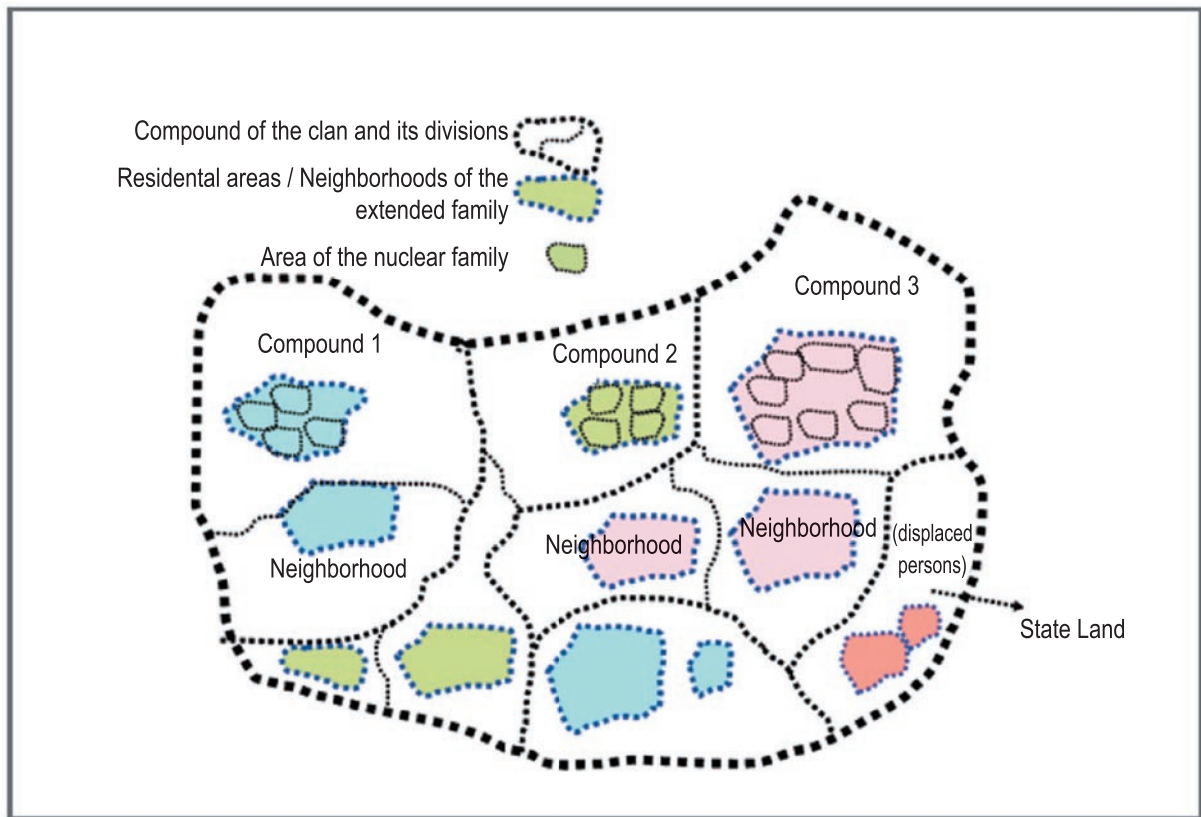
In this context, the process of spatial division is relatively simple: the family patriarch divides his compound among his sons, usually equally. The daughters, on marriage, move to other living areas – usually nearby, since marriages usually occur between cousins or members of neighboring tribes. The sons and their nuclear families live relatively close to their father, in order to leave as much land as possible for agriculture and grazing. After several generations, the same logic forms residential clusters of cousins and their children, relatively close to one another. These clusters comprise the Bedouin village of the twentieth century. The residential clusters are essentially “neighborhoods” of the unrecognized villages that exist in the Negev.

Over the past hundred years, the Bedouin land market became established and commercialized, leading to lively sales and purchasing activity. As a result, many Bedouin tribes purchased lands in a number of locations in the northern Negev, and in some cases settled on them, greatly increasing the number of villages. In addition, in the twentieth century, landless populations began purchasing lands, often settling on them, leading to an even greater increase in the number of villages, residential clusters and localities. This came to halt with the 1948 War, during which most of the Bedouin villages were destroyed, and their residents forced to flee and live as refugees mainly in Gaza, the West Bank and Jordan.

Most of the unrecognized villages are Bedouin villages that survived the 1948 War, and are located mainly east and south of Beersheba. Communities of displaced persons, who were left within the boundaries of the State of Israel, were evacuated to this area, where they developed a variety of village types, and later, townships. All of the existing villages continue the traditional multi-generational method of bequeathing and dividing land, as well as the custom of living in more or less adjacent clusters, according to the traditional ownership system.

Figure 3b displays the typical structure of the Bedouin village, and illustrates how the social system described above assumes a spatial pattern that is ubiquitous in the unrecognized villages.

Figure 3b.
Archetype of a Bedouin Village— Spatial Structure



The basis for understanding the Bedouin village relies on the interaction of two main units:

1. The basic social planning unit is, as mentioned, the clan, comprising a number of extended families, among which there is familial or other connection of social, functional or planning significance, as described in Figure 3a, above.
2. The basic spatial planning unit is the land/family-based compound that the clan inherited from its ancestors. As previously described, according to tradition, this compound is divided between its inheritors into sub-compounds, which become residential areas. The residential area of an extended family is in turn divided into residential areas of the nuclear families of the sons. To this day, construction in the residential area is carried out by the families with no formal parcellation into plots, as is the accepted practice in other localities in Israel (such as kibbutzim), yet, the inheritors are well aware of the boundaries of their land inheritance.

In addition, there are a number of main groups whose land situation is different, and they constitute a substantial minority in the villages: (a) landless persons within the village boundaries who occupy State lands; (b) families that occupy land in agreement with other

families following land exchanges/purchase/social ties, or via agreements with the State; (c) families that purchased lands during the past hundred years (and did not receive them as a family inheritance), whose land holdings are usually small. In most cases, residents in these categories live at the margins of the village and lack adequate land and housing. Proper future planning will also address the land needs of all these groups in a fair manner.

3.5 The Bedouin Villages: Processes of Recognition, Planning and Regulation

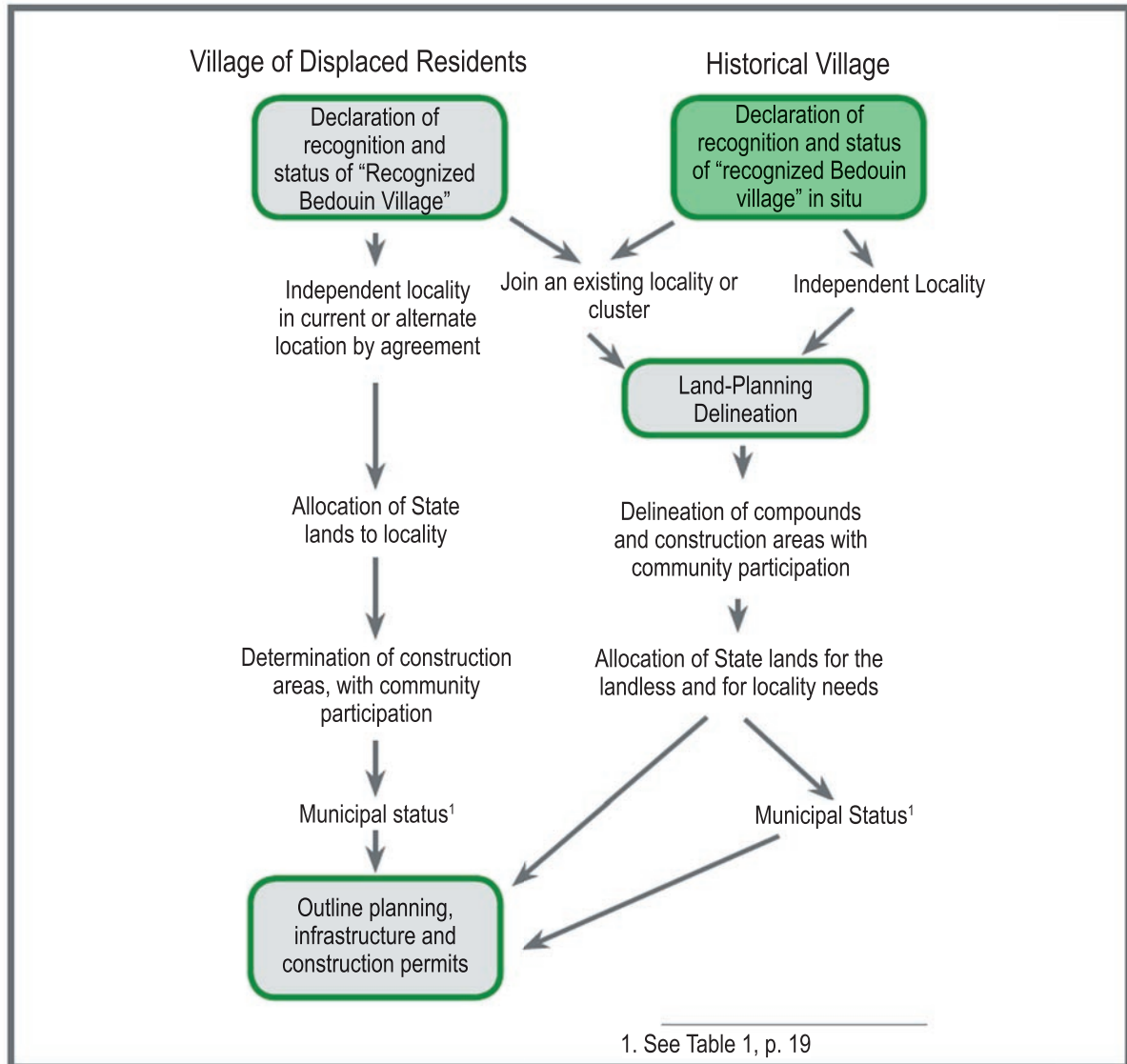
The appropriate planning solution for the unrecognized Bedouin villages does not comprise merely the formulation of spatial, social or economic principles. It also includes: (i) formulation of suitable legal-planning recognition processes; (ii) the integration of planning the villages with the existing land ownership patterns; (iii) formulation of regional and local planning processes; and (iv) transfer of enforcement powers to the local authorities that will be established in the area.

We recommend that the recognition and planning process be based on a number of main stages, detailed in figures 3c and 3d. Figure 3c presents the process pertaining to the three types of unrecognized villages: historical village; village of displaced persons; neighborhood within a township. Approximately thirty of the unrecognized villages are historical villages, and therefore, our attention will be mostly devoted to planning solutions for this type of locality. At the same time, the rights and needs of residents of the villages of displaced persons and unrecognized neighborhoods within Bedouin townships, which need to receive a full and suitable answer in the framework of the metropolitan planning, will also be emphasized. Figure 3d maps out the desirable institutional structure for carrying out the outline planning of the Bedouin villages.

We propose that the planning process for the unrecognized villages proceed according to the general outline set forth below. This outline, of course, will be subject to changes according to the local circumstances of each village.

Figure 3c

The Unrecognized Bedouin Villages: Processes of Recognition and regulation



Appointment of a Planning Committee for the Bedouin villages as a special authority, under the auspices of the District Committee for Planning and Building – Southern Region, and relevant government agencies: The committee's composition will include appropriate representation of the local population, of government authorities, and of independent experts on planning in the Bedouin sector, with a preference for residents of the South. The Committee is intended to be temporary, operating until a solution for each of the unrecognized villages is formulated. The Committee will operate relatively quickly (yet with full involvement of community residents), in order to consolidate the map of Negev villages and to launch the process of outline planning.

Following are the stages for recognition and planning of the villages:

- 1. Declaration of recognition for the Bedouin villages appearing** in Figure 3c: These villages will be defined as having a status of “**Bedouin Village Undergoing Recognition**” and will be marked appropriately on the Regional Beersheba Metropolitan Outline Plan. This status will apply for the intermediate period, during which the planning of the village will be formalized. During this intermediate stage:
 - A freeze will be declared on demolitions of homes constructed without a permit until preparation of the outline plan for the village has been concluded, and until all the existing construction in the villages has received the status of “temporary approval.”
 - The village will be connected to basic infrastructure, including water, electricity, public transportation, and the paving of main roads.
 - An accelerated planning process will be launched, including involvement of community representatives in the village, men and women alike.
- 2. Determining the village status:** In the framework of the recognition process, the future status of the village – independent village, part of a cluster of villages or annexation to an existing locality – will be determined in full cooperation with the residents and the surrounding localities.
- 3. Land-planning demarcation:** Based on an understanding of the Bedouin village structure described above, the compounds of the various families will be demarcated, with the agreement of the residents and their neighbors (based on land claims). The family compounds will be the basic spatial unit for purposes of planning - their demarcation will be for planning purposes, not legal status of the land. The planning process does not intend to resolve the land ownership claims vis-à-vis the State, which will likely continue for many years. Rather, it aims to sketch out planning compounds acceptable to residents of the village, in order to accelerate the planning and development process, independent of land settlement.
- 4. Demarcation of village lands:** This will include all the planning compounds, with the addition of: (a) public lands according to the traditional approach (for example, grazing lands, areas for wells, roads, etc); (b) State lands to be allocated according to the needs of landless residents, or for public institutions and infrastructure. All these lands will constitute the area of the village outline plan. It will be subject to the village municipal institutions, according to the municipal status it receives.
- 5. Demarcation of residential areas:** The areas slated for development over the next twenty years will be determined based on three factors:
 - The division into family compounds;
 - The social-familial structure;
 - Existing residential clusters, with the addition of land needs for the landless.

The residential clusters within the family compounds will enable approved construction without parcellation of individual plots – in line, of course, with the principles of local planning, as detailed in this Plan. In the development of new residential areas, parcellation may be carried out, as needed. The areas outside the development area will be marked as open spaces, agricultural lands, commercial areas, or areas allocated for public buildings or infrastructure.

6. **Land allocation:** As part of the demarcation of the compounds and development areas, a process of State land allocation will take place in order to complement insufficiencies. The development areas will not be marked until it is clear and agreed upon that every family in the village, including those who are landless, has a residential solution for the next two decades. This process can also be realized via land exchanges (within the village or with other areas), and via the allocation of construction areas for the landless and for public institutions in the village. It should be recalled that most of those who are landless reached this situation due to forced transfer from their historical lands. It is therefore the State's responsibility to find fair land solutions for them on an equitable basis. In addition, in light of the enormous areas of State land in the Negev, ample and relatively simple possibilities exist for finding a solution to this important issue.
7. **Awarding municipal status:** After reaching agreements regarding the planning components mentioned above, the village will be awarded municipal status as an independent local authority, as an area annexed to another municipal authority, or as part of a regional council. Elections for municipal leadership will take place in the village. After a certain period for consolidating the relevant municipal institutions, responsibility for local planning and its enforcement will be granted to these institutions.
8. **Approval and implementation of plans:** After fulfilling the above stages, the municipal authority responsible for the village will advance outline and detailed plans for the village. Based on these plans, it will be possible to approve building permits for additions to existing houses or new structures, under the auspices of the local committees. At the same time, a process of regulating and registering existing buildings will take place, in order to connect them to infrastructure, to the extent possible, and to establish a basis for property tax and for the residents' accessibility to public institutions and services.
9. **Connection to infrastructure:** While the outline plans are being concluded, public and commercial centers, as well as service and public institution will be established, and the final infrastructure – including water, electricity and roads – will be accessible to the residences in the village.

3.6 The Proposed Plan as an Alternative to the Authorities' Plans

To conclude, we would like to examine the Alternative Master Plan in comparison with the State plans in effect today, beginning with the regional outline plan for the Beersheba metropolitan area which was approved by the National Council for Planning and Building in 2012 (Map 1, p. 37). The proposed Master Plan, we believe, offers a viable alternative, from a theoretical, professional and practical standpoint, to current State plans.

3.6.1 The Revised Beersheba Metropolitan Area Plan

The approved regional plan for the Beersheba metropolitan area relates to the overwhelming majority of the Bedouin villages. This process began with a compromise overseen by the High Court of Justice (HCJ), in which the State institutions promised that:

The plan will address – as its main matter – formulation of a proposal for solving the problem of Bedouin settlement in the area. The planners [...] will meet with representatives of the residents and together they will examine proposals [...] including the plan of the Regional Council of Unrecognized Villages.

In addition, it was declared that the plan would constitute

a crucial step in solving the problem of Bedouin settlement [...] The existing situation will constitute the basis for planning solutions [...] Formalizing Bedouin settlement will lean more in the direction of possible recognition of a substantial portion of the settlements in their present location and in enabling permanent construction adjacent to the temporary construction [...].

Despite these declarations, the original Beersheba Metropolitan Plan deposited for public review in 2006 recommended recognition of only two villages (al-Fur'a and Abu Tlul) of the 37 then-unrecognized villages. This recommendation aroused a wave of bitterness. Following this, dozens of planning objections to the plan were submitted. After the hearing process of the objections, the government nominated rapporteur, Talma Dochan, recommended far-reaching changes in that plan, but only a few of these were accepted by the National Council for Planning and Building, in August 2010. Essentially, the plan for the Beersheba metropolitan area, as eventually approved, reneged on the rapporteur's recommendations, according to which recognition was to be given to a number of villages. The Beersheba Metropolitan Plan merely defined a geographical space ("Integrated rural-agricultural landscape", which contains some unrecognized villages, and in which rural-type Bedouin localities will be allowed), without any commitment to recognition, and thus the planning solutions for the villages remained vague.

The Beersheba Metropolitan Plan contains significant problems, mainly related to the forced transfer of villages and communities, and concentrating them into a limited space. Table 2 presents the scope of the transfers recommended by the plan, which will encompass over forty thousand people. The table implies that there is a possibility (albeit uncertain) for recognizing eleven villages in their present location (since they are in the area zoned "Integrated mixed

rural-agricultural landscape”). The remaining 24 villages will be fully or partially relocated to other villages or to townships. In other words, the amended Beersheba Metropolitan Plan seeks to transfer, fully or partially, 24 Bedouin villages, which in 2010 included 43,000 residents. We believe that this part of the plan is unreasonable, unethical and impossible to implement.

Table 2
Effects of the Beersheba Metropolitan Plan on the Villages

Population Size in 2010*	Status in the Beersheba Metropolitan Plan	Name of Village
Approx. 25,000	Possibility (unclear and uncertain) of recognition in current location – the Integrated Rural-Agricultural Landscape	El A'ra, El Chumra, Bir El-Chamam, Bir El-Mashash, Zarnuck, Zarura, Rachme, Um Othnan, Dchiya, Um Namila, Khirbet Zabala
Approx. 17,000	Transfer of entire village, each to a different place.	A Sare, El Mazrah, Katamat, Aza, El Madbach, Wadi El-Mashash, Wadi Naam, A Ser, Sawe
Approx. 11,000	Relocation of part of the village to The Integrated Rural-Agricultural Landscape area, while the other part remains in place (uncertain).	Baat El Saraya Um Ratam, El Baat, Tel El-Malach, Khirbet El Watten, Chasham Zana
Approx. 11,000	Evacuation of the entire village and its transfer to a Bedouin township.	El Masadiya, El Michiman, Awej'an, Tawil Abu Jarawal, Abu Sulav, El Bichira, Atir/Um El Chiran, Tel Arad
Approx 4,000	Evacuation of the entire village with no stated solution.	El Arakiv/Karkur, El Grin (El Ukbi), Sawawin

As a matter of principle, we oppose forced transfer of families and villages, which violates basic rights, and negates the rights of indigenous populations. The essential principles of urban and regional planning necessitate the recognition of communities that existed prior to the planning. Forced transfer of communities stands in utter contradiction to the basic logic of urban and regional planning, which aims at improving the life of communities and protecting their property. Upholding these principles, in proper balance with the public good, would enable regulation and development of the villages in their historical locations. Such recognition would thus avoid the crises and conflicts inherent in the problematic process of uprooting villages.

3.6.2 The Prawer-Begin Plan

In January 2009, the Israeli government approved the Goldberg Committee report, with recommendations for the planning and legal regulation of the Bedouin villages and lands in the Negev. The government appointed a team for implementing the report, headed by Ehud Prawer,

* Source: Data from survey of villages 7 The models of the localities are only theoretical, and do not represent specific localities.

head of the Planning Policy Branch in the Prime Minister's Office. In 2011 the government approved the Prawer Report and in 2013, the Begin Plan. These plans, constitute a serious regression from the progress towards recognition that had been taking place in planning policy since the 1990s. The Prawer-Begin ignores the Goldberg Committee Report's recommendations "to recognize the villages to the extent possible," while completely omitting any mention of the names of the villages.

The Prawer-Begin Plan recommends a multi-stage procedure of concentrating Bedouin settlement into a very limited number of townships or recognized villages. The procedure includes legislation that denies Bedouin ownership of most of their lands, while conditioning receipt of planning rights on a land-compromise with the State. A bill to this effect for the regulating of Bedouin settlements in the Negev is currently advanced in the Knesset. The Prawer-Begin Plan stipulates that most of the Bedouin are to be transferred or annexed to existing townships and villages, and that a new administrative procedure under the direct control of the Implementation Team in the Prime Minister's Office is to be instituted, in which, to the best of our knowledge, the Bedouin have no representation. Map 2 (p. 38) displays the main spatial changes resulting from the Prawer Report, in combination with the Beersheba Metropolitan. There is no assurance of recognition even of the villages located in the Integrated Rural-Agricultural Landscape which is designated for Bedouin villages. The Prawer-Begin plan endangers the prospects of any sustainable future of the entire Negev Bedouin population.

3.7 Proper Planning for the Bedouin Village: Models

Based on the planning principles presented in the preceding chapters, we propose a theoretical planning blueprint which will be in line with the internal logic of the typical Bedouin village, as previously described. The blueprint is based on the norms identified in most of the villages, namely, on the division of land according to compounds of extended families and clans, in which residential, agricultural and public areas are developed and are joined to one another by a hierarchical road system (Fig. 3d).

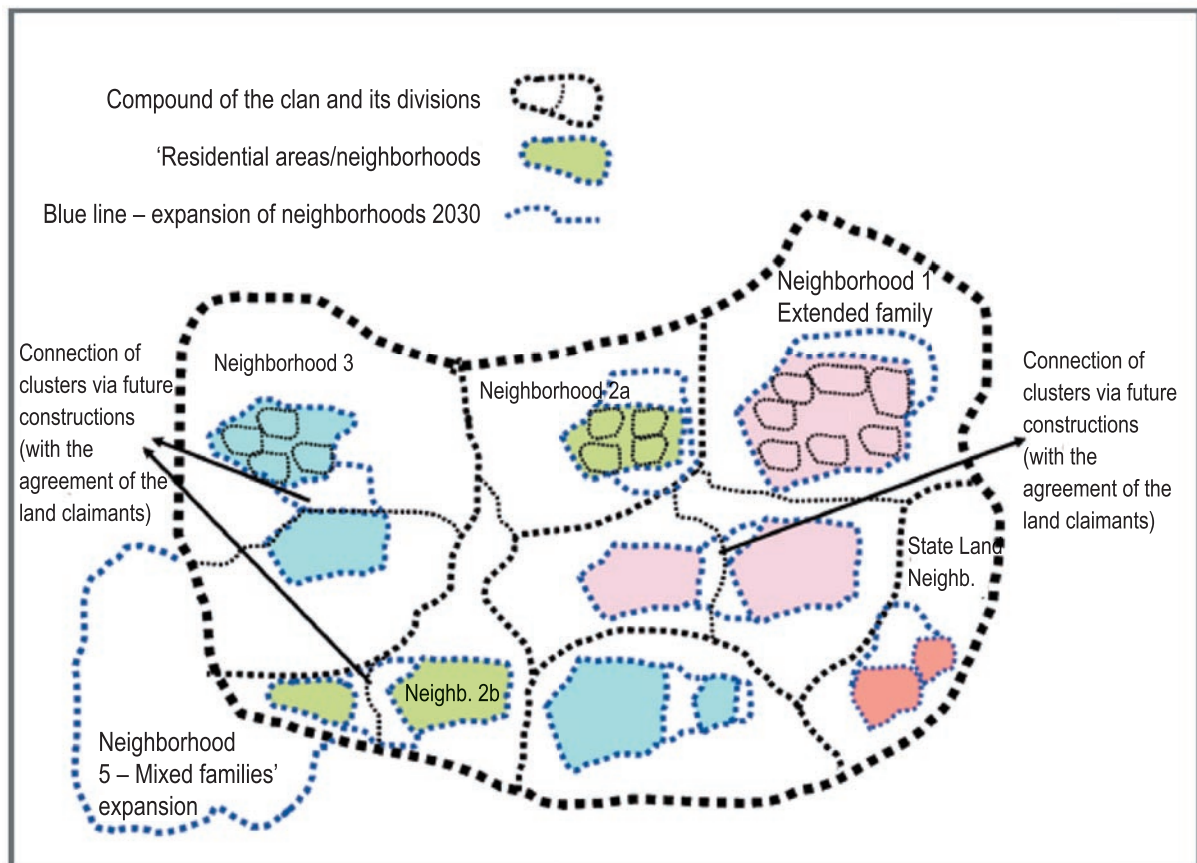
Following, then, is a general blueprint for development of a typical Bedouin village, which proposes options for building within the residential area in a manner that maintains contiguity and densification of the building area, while preserving open spaces. In addition, the blueprint seeks to provide a solution to the future residential needs of the communities in the villages, by placing new residential neighborhoods within the planning compounds of the village.

In addition to the general outline, we sought to propose more specific models, based on different types of Bedouin villages, stemming from the general model. Following are a number of models that we developed for four different types of Bedouin localities which were prominent in our field work:⁷ (a) rural-agricultural village (most common); (b) residential village; (c) rural neighborhood; (d) shepherding village or family farms. The proposed planning models are

⁷ The models of the localities are only theoretical, and do not represent specific localities.

based on the typical spatial-social structure for these types of localities, as understood through analysis of the existing situation and layout of the villages, taking into consideration future regulation and development. Each village, obviously, has its own local circumstances which shape the planning.

Figure 3d
The Bedouin Village: Theoretical Planning Outline – Residential Area



3.7.1 Rural-agricultural village

Usually, the rural-agricultural village corresponds to the structure of the historical village (Map 3, p. 39). As a rule, these villages possess lands that were passed by inheritance from previous generations, according to the traditional ownership system: in most cases, residents claim ownership of the lands on which the village resides. The outline proposed for the village also includes residential clusters on State land, for those who do not own land. According to the development model of the rural-agricultural village, the residential and related areas of the extended family are located within the family compound of the clan. According to the development directions proposed for the village, the agricultural areas will be integrated into the residential areas; neighborhood service facilities will also be integrated in residential areas while larger service facilities will be provided in a regional service center.

3.7.2 Residential village

In most cases, the model of the residential village corresponds to the village of internally displaced persons (Map 4, p. 40). It is generally populated by small community clusters that were transferred by the State to their present villages. Usually, these communities reside on State lands, and less commonly, on limited lands purchased from other Bedouin. In spatial-social terms, the development model of the residential community is based on the extended family and its living spaces, as a basic unit. In these villages, there is a certain flexibility in the relationship to the family territory. For the sake of clarity, the residential structures and the compounds of the various families that populate the village were marked in different colors. These villages will have separate residential neighborhoods, with rural density and construction, open spaces between neighborhoods, as well as agricultural areas for family use and larger agricultural areas outside the residential area, at the village outskirts.

3.7.3 Rural neighborhood

The model of the rural neighborhood corresponds to the model of the rural-agricultural village and the historical village (Map 5, p.41). Its uniqueness lies in its close proximity to a recognized locality, and in its limited land reserves. Its proximity to a recognized locality affects, to some extent, the village construction density – which is mostly higher in the areas near the towns – as well as the public service usage, namely some reliance on service facilities in the recognized locality. In such rural neighborhoods, residential clusters generally correspond to the local land ownership claims. In addition, this model also includes residential clusters on State land for those who do not own land. In the future, as the neighborhood develops and gets nearer to the adjacent locality, its density will increase.

3.7.4 Shepherding villages and family farms

The last type that we identified includes small shepherding villages and family farms (Map 6, p.42). The shepherding village is small and remote. The family farms are small, discrete plots located on land owned by their inhabitants, who lead an agricultural lifestyle. In the future, the layout of the village will enable continued shepherding. It will include small residential clusters of low density and large grazing and agricultural areas. Small service facilities will be offered on the farms, and larger service facilities will be provided in regional centers and adjacent settlements.

4. Economic Development of the Bedouin Villages

The guiding principles underlying the Master Plan aim to integrate the Bedouin villages in the Beersheba Metropolitan area and advance improvement of the communities living conditions. An important tool for achieving this goal is economic development.

The Bedouin villages currently suffer from lack of any economic infrastructure, very little industrial and business activity, as well as from high unemployment rates. In order to change this situation, there is a need to create a range of options for new occupations, and much greater mobility within each village, among the villages and between villages and employment centers.

Back-yard agriculture provides for the most basic and immediate needs of Bedouin families in the villages. However, in view of the economic potential inherent in agriculture, the Master Plan seeks to also enable income from larger scale agriculture. The Plan therefore designates agricultural zones for the villages. A number of government planning documents indeed state that the Beersheba area will continue to be based on agriculture (in addition to industry), as a leading economic field. This will require, however, government allocations of land and water to the Bedouin villages, just as these are allocated to other agricultural settlements in the Negev.

The Master Plan also seeks to expand employment options for Bedouin residents, on a local and regional level.

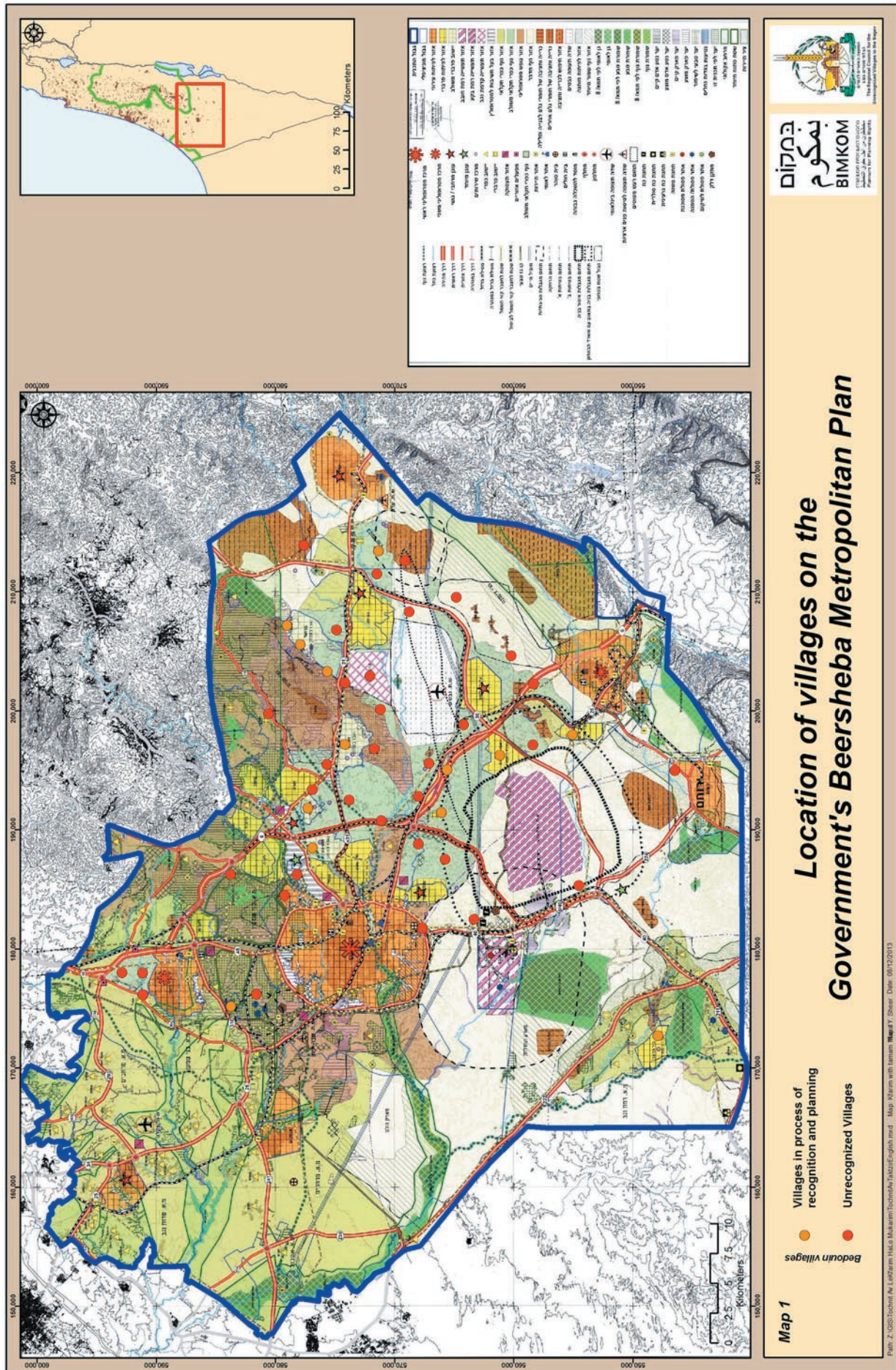
- **At the neighborhood level**, economic activity may be located between residential or other areas. Such activity may include groceries, hospitality and catering as well as traditional women's occupations, like weaving and embroidery.
- **At the village level**, activity may include small shops, offices, restaurants, or private clinics. They will be located in the village center and/or along inner roads. Economic activity involving customers from outside the village, such as markets or tourist centers, should be located on the outskirts of the village.
- **At the regional level**, joint economic enterprises of a number of Jewish and Bedouin villages are proposed, which may include businesses as well as services, such as shopping centers, restaurants, hospitality areas, galleries, pharmacies, medical clinics, business services and more. They will be located in special centers on major inter-urban roads, such as between Beersheba and Rahat; between the Shoket junction and Arad, where there are Jewish and Bedouin localities; and along the Beersheba-Dimona artery. In addition to the three new centers already proposed by the government, we suggest the development of a further three centers, along with public transportation hubs (Map 7, p.43).

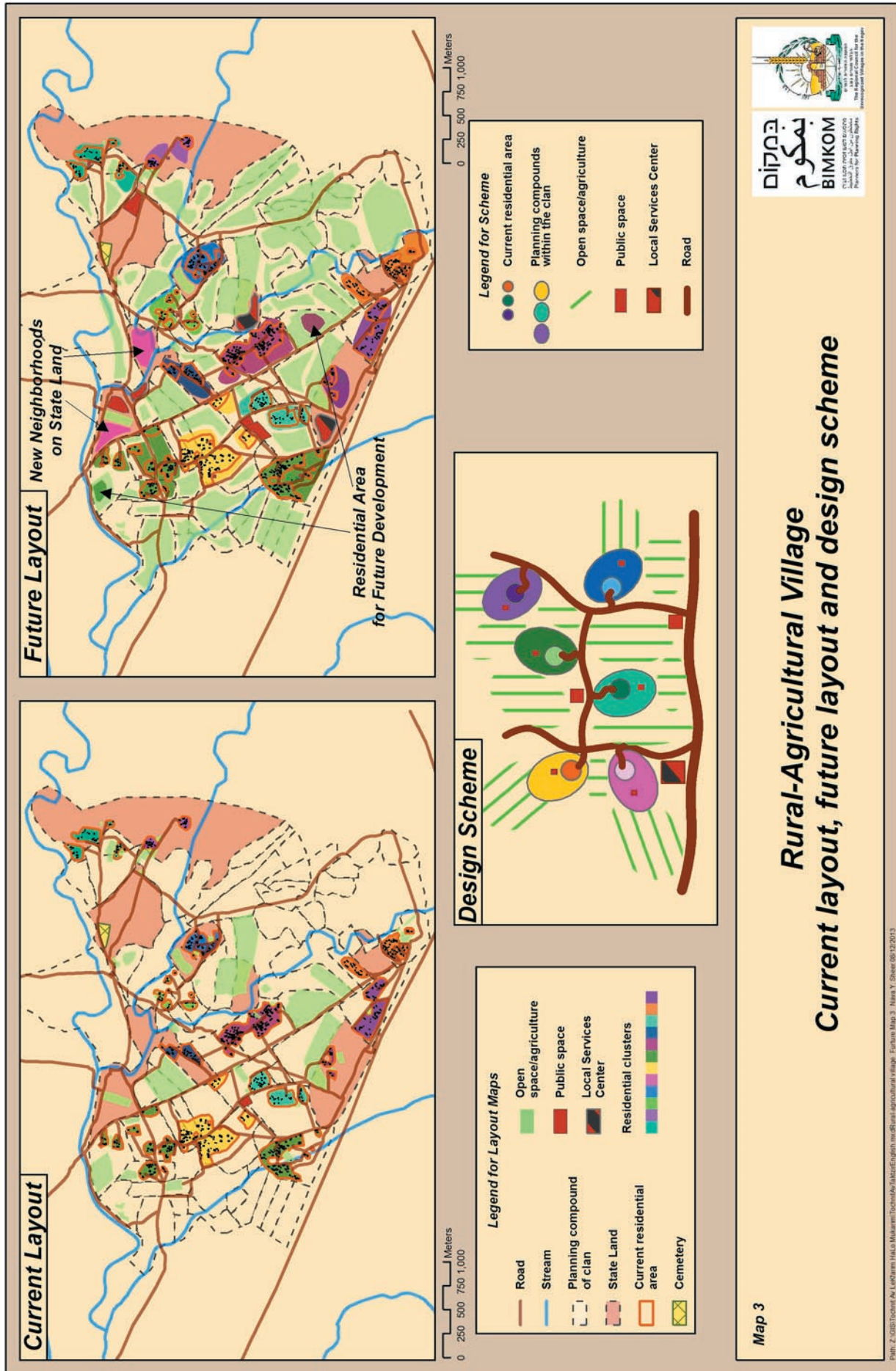
In the area lying between these three arteries, where most Bedouin villages are located, the Plan designates agricultural zones for villages of a rural-agricultural nature. Other villages of a communal-suburban nature in this area will have easy accessibility to these arteries, where other employment options will be available.

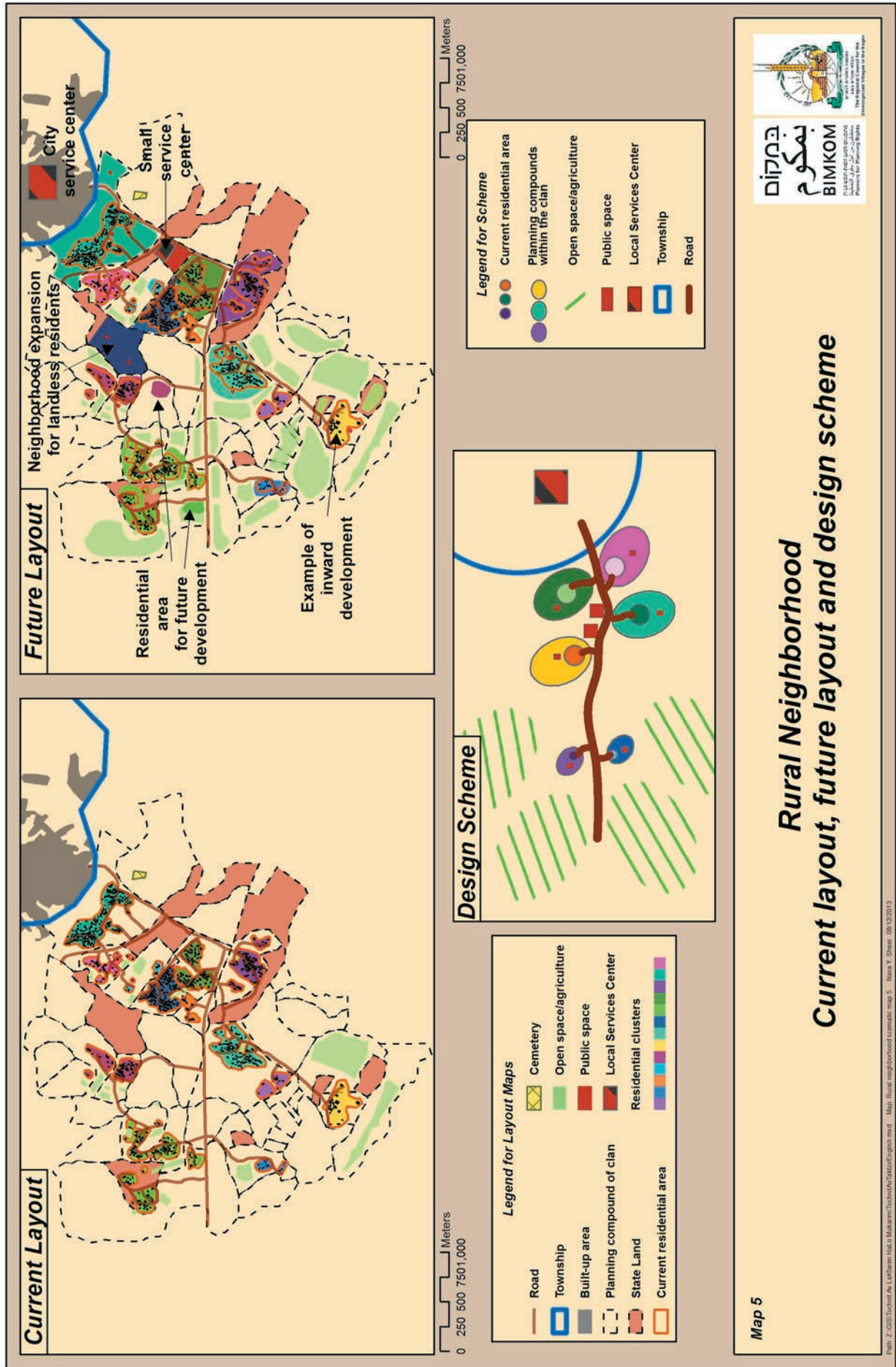
The Master Plan proposes other potential sources of income to ensure the viability of the villages and their local authorities: (1) taxes generated from the proposed joint employment zones; (2) municipal taxes generated from existing and planned major projects, such as mining and quarrying sites, industry, military facilities and camps, and waste treatment sites. At present such taxes are not divided fairly between the various local authorities in the area, such that the Bedouin are not receiving any of the tax income from these projects.

Obviously, the planning tool in and of itself cannot ensure economic development of the villages and opportunity for their residents. To that end, a comprehensive economic development plan is required, as well as massive government investment for infrastructure and incentives for entrepreneurs. Professional training and guidance for small businesses are also needed.

According to the Master Plan, a major component required for the economic development of the Bedouin villages and their integration in the region is better transportation systems adapted to their needs and to the spatial spread of the communities.







The Council for the Unrecognized Villages, *Bimkom* – *Planners for Planning Rights* and ***Sidreh*** – the organization of Arab Bedouin women in the Negev, prepared a Master Plan for the unrecognized villages in the Negev over the course of three years. This document is an abridged version of the Plan. The first of its kind, this Plan constitutes a sustainable alternative to the various government plans. It enables recognition and planning based on the existing villages, upholding principles of equality, justice and public participation, alongside professional planning norms. If implemented, this Plan will benefit all the residents of the region, Bedouin and Jews alike.

